



ANA TOSTÕES

Chair of **docomomo** International

The right to holidays or the emergence of an era of optimism

in memory of Tiago Freitas (1977–2017)

Entitled “Architectures of the Sun” this issue of the **docomomo** Journal is devoted to the theme of holidays, and considers the key role of Modern Movement architecture in the symbolic and functional affirmation of the new leisure era. The aim is to reflect on the transformation of the territory and to address the architectural challenges arising from the collective happiness and joy contained in what has been called the right to holidays.

In 1937, CIAM 5 specifically linked the housing question to leisure, considering it an absolute necessity to acknowledge that “the most privileged places will be chosen for the location of these [leisure] areas. Taking possession of these places by large masses will allow for rest and outdoor exercise, the indispensable recuperation of the forces lost in the city”.

As Charlotte Périand (1903–1999) asserted, the need to create machines à recréer, the goal was definitively to assure “the happiness of men”.

From the first optimistic architectural swimming-pool complexes to discovering the enjoyment of beaches or of winter sports in the mountains, these “architectures of the Sun” began to link the power of landscapes with the relaxation and pleasure of the human body. Associated with healthy living and claimed for all, for the first time, the beaches, mountains, lakes and forests became identified as places for vacations.

This **docomomo** Journal is a first attempt to discuss, among our network, the heritage of architectural programmes in the context of holidays, tourism and leisure, envisaged as a social conquest of modernity. Issues such as landscape, memory, identity and heritage, are explored against a background of territorial transformation and exploding tourism within the scope of the welfare society. From the joyful phenomenon of swimming pools in Australia to children’s beach-sports facilities under Italian fascism; or the workers’ vacation cities for trade unions, from republican Spain to the Franco period; from the creation of the seaside hotel to large scale tourist complexes

in the snow or at seaside locations in Brazil, France, Greece, Portugal or Slovakia; all these reveal a wide range of perceptions of the landscape based on a singular modernity. The relationship between architecture and the tourist landscape was approached as a unique issue, experienced as a reshaping of leisure spaces in accordance with the needs of contemporary society.

Above all, the landscape became an inspiration for modern architecture and to a certain extent, for large-scale complexes, in claiming the right to vacation for all. To the middle class, it represented the opening up of something that, before the war, had been a privilege reserved for the elite.

docomomo International is grateful to Susana Lobo for accepting the challenge to be guest editor of this DJ. Thanks to her commitment, allied with meticulous and rigorous work, and to the skill of a wide range of professionals, scholars and researchers who have contributed with their knowledge and dedicated work, it is with great pleasure that we present this journal.

A variety of reflections is presented: from essays dedicated to the swimming phenomena and the creation of swimming-pool complexes, to the holiday colonies and cities created for workers’ relaxation, from an investigation of hotel typology, to essays on tourist megastructures and emblematic mountain resorts.

I also wish to thank Wilfried Wang for the exciting E.1027 Dossier, which reveals the most recent thinking on Eileen Gray (1878–1976) and Jean Badovici’s (1893–1956) unique and exquisite legacy. The *Maison en bord de mer* symbolically represents the vacation refuge, set within an amazing and poetic landscape, and also raises the question of the legacy of holiday architecture: the preservation, maintenance and re-use of these buildings and sites in accordance with a responsible evaluation of the landscape in environmental and sustainable terms.

On the previous page:

Eileen Gray, Jean Badovici, E.1027, Roquebrune-Cap-Martin, France, 1929, view of guest balcony and sun pool.
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From paid holidays to mass tourism: a typological evolution

BY SUSANA LOBO

in memory of Tiago Freitas (1977–2017)¹

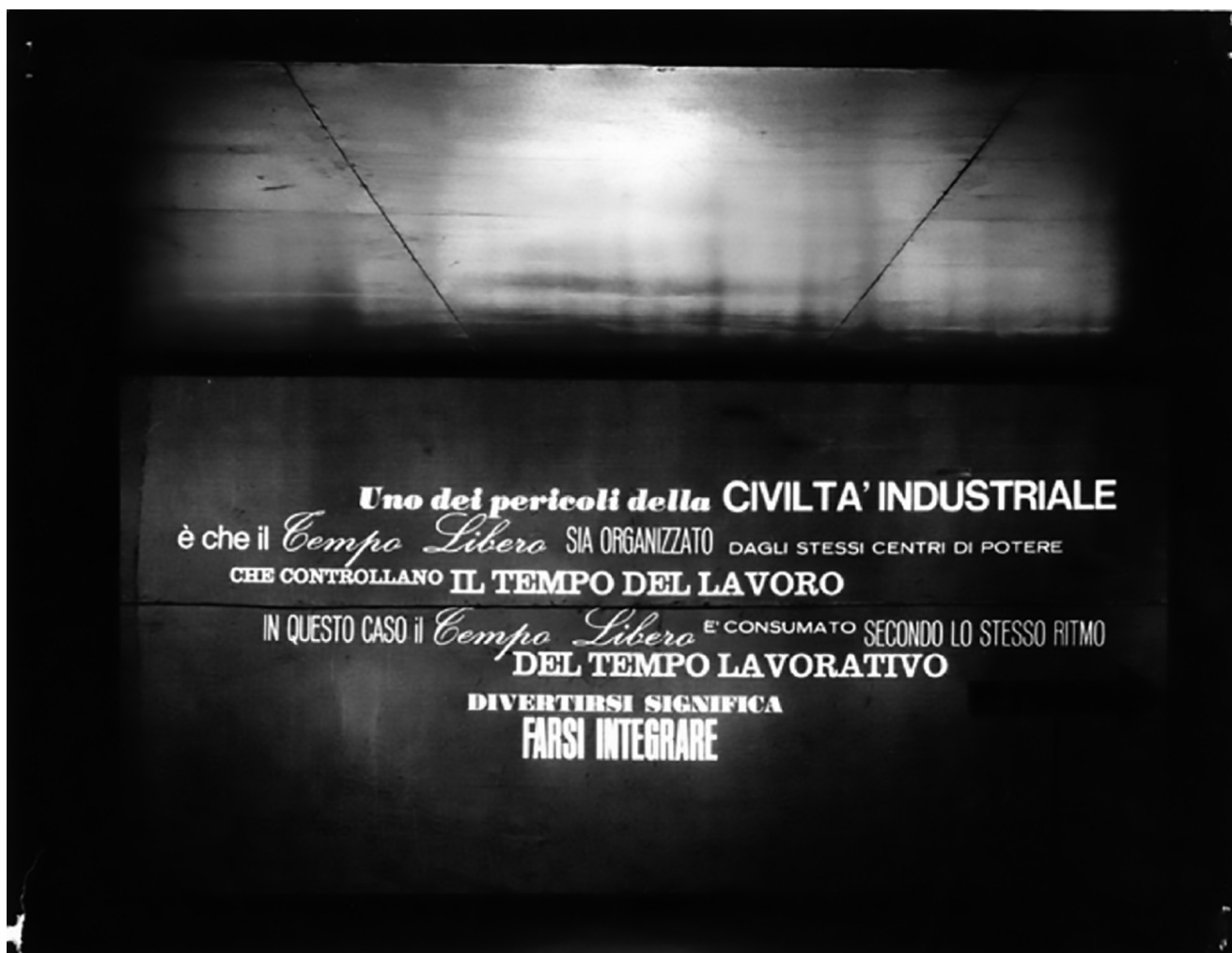
The 1919 ratification of the 48-hour working week by the *Organization Internationale du Travail* [International Labor Organization], created by the signatory countries of the Treaty of Versailles, raises a new challenge to industrialized society: the organization of workers' free time. Divided the day into "three eights" — eight hours of work, eight hours of rest and eight hours of sleep — the social framework of leisure is understood as a moral duty of the state². This issue takes on a never before considered dimension with the attention given to the instrumental use of popular recreation by European totalitarian regimes and its centralization in organisms of a political and ideological character. Leisure, in this context, would work as a privileged area of indoctrination and diffusion of the nationalist rhetoric that supports the construction of fascist dictatorships. But the recognition of the necessity to organize leisure was not restricted to totalitarian states, nor was it an exclusively political and/or social issue. In view of the growing number of urban workers, the contemplation of this "new time" implied the planning of specific spaces and programs that provided direct contact with nature and the practice of activities suitable for rest, fun, physical and mental development, on the assumption that "the environment forms the individual"³.

It is precisely on the consequences of leisure in the design of the functional city that the 5th International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM 5), held in Paris from June 28 to July 2 of 1937, focused. Under the theme *Logis et Loisirs* [Dwelling and Leisure], the congress discussed what was considered to be the "most urgent problem of our time: housing" and "immediately linked to it as inseparable, the notion of leisure"⁴. Leisure, defined in the previous meeting as one of the four functions of modern urbanism, was, until then, understood only as an activity of occupying daily spare time, after work and limited to the use of the green spaces within the city. In CIAM 5, its importance is definitively reasserted, when Le Corbusier (1887–1965), in the conclusion of his intervention, proclaims housing and leisure as essential goods that should be guaranteed as public services, "an obligation of the community for all"⁵. In fact, the choice of the CIAM 5 theme was suggested by Le Corbusier himself based on the agenda of the Popular Front

government⁶ of Léon Blum (1872–1950) elected in 1936 and responsible for the introduction of "paid holidays" in France. This same subject extended to the *Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux: Essai de Musée d'Education Populaire* [Pavilion of the New Times: Essay of the Museum of Popular Education], designed in collaboration with Pierre Jeanneret (1896–1967) for the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* [International Exhibition of Arts and Techniques in Modern Life] that also took place in Paris aside the congress.

As a direct result of the gradual democratization of the right to remunerated leave, the notion of leisure in "modern times" expands to the weekly and annual spheres, including not only rest and sports, but cultural and personal value activities, towards the theories of popular education so dear to the political discourses of the time. In the post-war period, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 1948, proclaimed the right of "every person" to periodic paid holidays. This principle emphasized that leisure, now extended to a generalized middle class, was no longer understood only in its collective dimension but conceived as a personal time, defined "according to individual desires"⁷. A new time that gains autonomy and meaning in the prosperity period of the *Trente Glorieuses* [Glorious Thirty]⁸, progressively replacing work at the basis of all relations in capitalist consumer society. For the French sociologist Joffre Dumazedier (1915–2002) this was the path to a new civilization. One in which mass leisure would be integrated into a cultural democracy sustained by comprehensive education and information policies: *une civilisation du loisir* [a civilization of leisure]⁹. *Loisirs* (translated in Italian as *Tempo Libero*) would also be the theme of the *xiii Triennale di Milano* of 1964, in a controversial exhibition that reported on pop culture and mass consumption practices to question the meaning and value of free time in contemporary society¹⁰.

It is on the subject of free time that this issue of the *docomomo Journal* is focused. More specifically, on summertime leisure. The aim is to establish a typological evolution of the "architectures of the Sun" associated with the emergence and consolidation of a seaside mass tourism in the 20th century. An evolution that can be related to sociologist Erik Cohen's (1932–2014) distinction between non-institutionalized and institutionalized tourist types,



01 Triennale di Milano 1964. Corridoio delle didascalie. Sezione Introduttiva a carattere Internazionale. [Corridor of Captions. Introduction Section with an international character]
© Triennale di Milano. Archivio Fotografico.

ranging from the drifter to the organized mass tourist", and geographer Richard Butler's (b. 1943) model on a tourist area cycle of evolution¹³, divided into six stages of development from exploration to rejuvenation or, in the opposite extreme, decline. Although this assessment is not always straightforward or linear, it reinforces the idea of tourism as a holistic phenomenon of which architecture, as a mechanism that places the tourist experience, is the ultimate material expression.

The summer holiday house is the quintessential type of seaside architecture. Heir of the 19th century "chalet" or "villa", it would know a significant transformation with the formal, spatial and technological advances introduced by the housing experiments of the pioneers of the Modern Movement. Eileen Gray's E.1027 (1926–1929), in Roquebrune-Cap-Martin (Côte d'Azur, France), is one of the most relevant examples of *Existenzminimum* research applied to the design of holiday private accommodation. In the opening essay of the "E.1027 Dossier", Wilfried Wang classifies it as the "prototypical vacation residence", highlighting Eileen Gray's (1878–1976) ground-breaking approach to summer holiday facilities as compact and rich experiences where the designer explores different relational devices to extend and enhance the sense of space.

In "Book Reviews", *Cape Cod Modern: Midcentury Architecture and Community on the Outer Cape* (Metropolis Books, 2014) also gathers a unique set of summer retreats built from 1938 by a group of modern architects, including European *émigrés* Marcel Breuer (1902–1981), Serge Chermayeff (1900–1996) and Olav Hammerström (1906–2002) among others, that combine functional design principles with local building traditions and materials to rehearse new forms of informal living in communion with the natural setting. With the creation of the Cape Cod National Seashore in 1961, administered by the National Park Service, some of these experimental houses were slated for demolition and fell into disrepair until 2007 when architect Peter McMahon (b. 1957) founded The Cape Cod Modern House Trust (CCMHT) with the aim of documenting the history of the more than 100 existing examples and restore some of them.

Like E.1027, these first seaside dwellings correspond to the exploration stage in Richard Butler's model and to Erik Cohen's type of non-institutionalized tourist drifters.

On a different record, Marco Mulazzani introduces an overview of the holiday colonies for children built under the Fascist regime in Italy (1925–1945) to observe that, despite the establishment of specific parameters of the functional organization of these structures, there is no definition

of an architectural typology as such. Instead, the wide-range of layouts and aesthetic solutions, mediating between a more classic or more modern configuration, reflect the complexity of the Italian architectural debate of this period. Defining an initial phase in the construction of holiday facilities, the colonies coincide with the involvement stage of the development of tourist areas and the explorer tourist typology.

In their essay, Mar Loren-Méndez, Daniel Pinzón-Ayala and Roberto Alonso-Jiménez trace the evolution in the Spanish spatial formalization of workers rest by comparing the GATCPAC (Catalonian faction of the Group of Spanish Artists and Technicians for Contemporary Architecture) project for the *Ciutat de Repòs i de Vacances* (1931–1934) with Franco's regime *Ciudades Sindicales de Vacaciones* (1954–1963) to expose the shift in paradigm from the modern urban model of the Second Republic to the self-sufficient, more organic enclosures of the dictatorship. Focusing in particular on the last of these settlements, built in Marbella, they advocate its conservation as a unique example of modern leisure heritage. This case-study of an initial approach to the seaside tourism town typology can be related to Richard Butler's development stage and, according to Erik Cohen, to a change from non-institutionalized to institutionalized tourist types.

In the same categories we also find both the state-run Greek *Xenia* network of tourist accommodation facilities and infrastructure (1950–1967) and the Australian swimming pools from the post-WWII period (1945–1972). Emilia Athanassiou addresses the first of these two cases associating the *Xenia* network with an upgrade in Greece's hotel hospitality industry and with the consolidation of the tourism industry as a structural sector for the country's economy following the Civil War (1946–1949) and the Marshal Plan program (1947–1951). Built by the GNTO (Greek National Tourism Organization), these official structures aimed, on one hand, to set the standard for private initiatives and, on the other, to promote the development of international tourism alongside domestic travel, by establishing modern model tourist facilities spread throughout the country. This was the opportunity for Greek architects to rehearse different spatial and formal approaches to different architectural typologies, in particular the traditional hotel and seaside hotel, located in exceptional historical and/or natural settings, and the American inspired motel, directly related to the main inland road routes. Falling into decay after the 1980s, it is now urgent to reassess the significance of this nation-wide project for Greek culture.

Hannah Lewi also alerts to the need for further documentation and careful conservation of another threatened archetypal type of modern leisure, in this case in Australia: the swimming pool. Spaces of individual and/or collective shared experiences, normally associated with the memory of summertime laid-back and fun outdoor living, the pools encapsulate a certain idea of freedom, although regulated by somewhat restricted functional requirements and social conventions. Freedom in design experimentation, as a new architectural program, but equally of self-expression, where the swimming body epitomizes the image of health and beauty.

In Portugal, the Balaia Hotel (1964–1968) announces the shift in scale of the tourism phenomenon with the emergence of institutionalized tourism and the generalization of the mass individual tourist. This is the consolidation stage in the evolution of tourist areas. Conceived as a self-contained and self-sufficient facility, this hotel megastructure symbolizes what Mario Gaviria (1938–2018) calls “neocolonialism of quality space”¹³ with the economic liberalization of the internal market and the incentives to foreign investment. The innovative “turn key” commission would revolutionize the traditional practice of architectural production in Portugal, giving way to the appearance of multidisciplinary office structures in close alignment with capitalist consumer society.

From the other side of Europe, the hotel megastructures of the era of state socialism in Bulgaria and Croatia, analyzed in *Holidays after the fall* edited by Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann and Michael Zinganel and included in this journal “Book Reviews” section, gives us an overview of the impact of the development of mass seaside tourism in the urbanization of coastal regions in the 1960s and 1970s. Opposite architectural and urban approaches differentiate these two cases: in Bulgaria, with large holiday resorts concentrated in certain locations of the Black Sea coast and designed on an urban scale by the central state and, in Croatia, with the rehearsal of a diverse range of architectural typologies by various architects for local, mostly workers' self-managed, enterprises and scattered along the entire Adriatic coast. The fall of the socialist states in the 1990s and Yugoslavia's disintegration after the war (1991–2001) led to the abandonment or destruction of many of these structures until more recently, when the new boom of international tourism, accelerating the commodification of larger stretches of land for tourism development and the privatization of many of these complexes, has raised the question of the value of modern seaside state socialist leisure architecture as cultural heritage.

At a mass scale, but in this instance for Western capitalist society, the most iconic state intervention in seaside tourism would undoubtedly be the transformation of the French Languedoc-Roussillon region on the Mediterranean into a new coastal resort as an alternative to the Côte d'Azur. The corresponding *Plan d'Urbanisme d'Intérêt Régional* [Urban Plan of Regional Interest] (PUIR, 1962–1964/1969) was designed by the Agency for Architecture and Urbanism (AAU), presided over by Georges Candilis (1913–1995) with Jean Balladur (1924–2002) as general secretary. Proposing a new territorial structure for the whole area, the plan comprised the construction *ex nihilo* of six *Unités Touristiques* supported by a system of twenty new or rehabilitated *Ports de Plaisance*. Placed at each end of this 200 kilometers stretch of coast, *Port Leucate-Barcarès* (1964–1972) and *La Grande-Motte* (1964–1977) were the two first tourist towns to be built, with projects respectively by Georges Candilis and Jean Balladur. In her essay, Izol Marez López analyzes the projects produced by the architects to conclude that these new scenarios for mass tourism development were

ideal places for the materialization of the urban and architectural revision theories of TEAM 10.

As a symbol of the stagnation stage in the evolution of organized mass-market tourism areas, but also of the capacity to stabilize and even rejuvenate certain tourist destinations, Benidorm's photograph by Garrod Kirkwood (winner of the 2019 American Photography Awards) was the choice for the cover of this "Architectures of the Sun" issue of *docomomo Journal*, documenting the ultimate built and social expression of the seaside tourism phenomenon in the 20th century. Still today, Benidorm (Alicante, Spain) remains the "tourist town par excellence"⁴, where, in the end, time, not space, is the essence of the tourist experience⁵.

But holidays were not all about summertime. Also winter resorts played an important role in the construction of the idea of free time leisure. Closing this issue, Henrieta Moravčíková gives us a take on the mass tourism development of the High Tatra Mountains under the Communist Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (1948–1990) and in particular on the sports and lodging facilities built to accommodate the World Skiing Championship of 1970 and the FICC'74 international meeting. High quality architectural works of modern architecture, these structures are threatened today by demolition and their replacement by standardized buildings of a questionable "uniform regionalist kitsch".

These and other cases illustrated in this *journal* warn us of the arduous work still to be done in raising public awareness and recognition of modern architecture as collective heritage. A mission that *docomomo* International has exemplarily taken on since 1988. I thank all the guest authors for their collaboration and support in achieving this aim.

Notes

- 1 As a personal note, I would like to dedicate this *docomomo Journal* to my first PhD student Tiago Freitas (1977–2017), in co-supervision with Professor Ana Tostões, whose ground-breaking comprehensive research on Portuguese modern summer houses was prematurely interrupted. This study would have contributed to better define this architectural type and to reassess its pertinence and meaning in contemporary society's holiday practices. Focusing on the seaside residential resorts of Moledo do Minho, Ofir, São Pedro de Muel and Rodízio the study would have been a fundamental instrument in alerting, and pressuring, local administrations to the urgency of creating specific legislation for the protection and conservation of the selected study cases, as exceptional works on their own but, more importantly, as part of a whole. The present legal void in the classification of these urban ensembles in Portugal has allowed the demolition and de-characterization of many of the less known or representative examples of one of the most expressive architectural products of modernity and, with them, the testimonies of a certain life-style.
- 2 Anne-Marie Thiesse, "Organização dos lazeres dos trabalhadores e tempos roubados (1880–1930)", in Alain Corbin, *História dos Tempos Livres: o advento do lazer*, Lisboa, Editorial Teorema, 2001, 366–391.

- 3 "L'ambient forma l'individu", *AC Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, 25, January–March 1937, 10.
- 4 CIAM, *Logis et Loisirs: 5e Congrès CIAM Paris 1937*, Paris, Editions de l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1937, 6.
- 5 Ibid., 27.
- 6 Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism (1928–1960)*, Cambridge MA, The MIT Press, 2002, 110.
- 7 Alain Corbin, *História dos Tempos Livres: o advento do lazer*, Lisboa, Editorial Teorema, 2001, 457.
- 8 Expression coined by the French sociologist Jean Fourastié (1907–1990) referring to the period of prosperity lived in Europe, between the end of WWII and the Petroleum Crisis of 1973. Jean Fourastié, *Les trente glorieuses: ou La Révolution invisible de 1946 à 1975*, Paris, Fayard, 1979.
- 9 Joffre Dumazedier, *Vers une civilisation du loisir?*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1962.
- 10 With an introduction section curated by Vittorio Gregotti (b. 1927) and Umberto Eco (1932–2016) and the contributions of authors such as Aldo Rossi (1931–1997), Gae Aulenti (1927–2012) and Carlo Aymonino (1926–2010), the layout of the display immersed the visitor in an explosion of visual and sound effects that revolutionised the established concept of what should be an architecture and design exhibition, spurring Bruno Zevi's criticism: "Il disfacimento è totale; al vuoto ideologico corrisponde un indirizzo architettonico insensato [...] le visualizzazioni, brillanti, sofisticate e astruse, comunicano il nulla, ingenerando nell'osservatore una sensazione di torpore. Se l'esito del tempo libero sta nel provocare nausea, la rappresentazione è riuscita" [The rupture is total; to the ideological void corresponds a senseless architectural answer [...] the visualizations, brilliant, sophisticated and abstruse, communicate nothingness, giving the observer a sensation of torpor. If the outcome of free time is to cause nausea, the representation is successful]. Bruno Zevi, "XIII Triennale di Milano. Tempo sprecato sul tempo libero", *L'Espresso*, 16 August 1964.
- 11 Erik Cohen, "Towards a Sociology of International Tourism", *Social Research*, Vol. 39, 1, 1972, 164–182.
- 12 Richard Butler, "The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources", *The Canadian Geographer*, XXIV, 1, 1980, 5–12.
- 13 Mário Gaviria et. al., *España a Go-Go: Turismo charter y neocolonialismo del espacio*, Madrid, Ediciones Turner, 1974, 275.
- 14 José Miguel Iribas, "Benidorm, instructions for use", in MVRDV, *Costa Iberica: Upbeat to the leisure city*, Barcelona, Actar, 2000, 110.
- 15 José Miguel Iribas, "El turismo no es una industria del espacio, sino del tiempo", *La Opinión A Coruña*, 14 May 2010 [available at <https://www.laopinioncoruna.es/contraportada/2010/05/20/jose-miguel-iribas-turismo-industria-espacio-tiempo/384595.html>].

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John and Phyllis Murphy, Kevin Borland and Peter McIntyre Architects, Melbourne Olympic Pool, Victoria, 1953—1956.
© Photographer Wolfgang Sievers, State Library of Victoria.

Public swimming pools in Australia

BY HANNAH LEWI

In Australia the image of sporting prowess and easy access to swimming venues — both natural and artificial — has ensured that public swimming pools became a site of modern architectural interest and design experimentation from the 1930s onwards. Ranging from prosaic, local amenities to award-winning significant complexes, public pools are fascinating and potent places of individual and community memories and experiences. Many still exist but many others have been lost or detrimentally altered in the last two decades. As a modern type they deserve further documentation and careful conservation and adaptation to suit contemporary use.

A sustained self-image of modern Australia has been built around its national association with water; from the mythologizing of the beach, to sporting prowess in the “artificial” location of the Olympic swimming pool. Arguably up until around ten years ago, there has been a lack of scholarly or architectural interest in the history of places for collective swimming. However, appreciation has recently surged, reflected in the theme of the Australian pavilion at the Venice Architecture Biennale on *The Pool – Architecture, Culture and Identity in Australia* in 2016, which literally turned the new Australian pavilion building designed by Denton Corker Marshall Architects into a shallow interior public swimming pool experience. The exhibition was accompanied by a ‘broadsheet’ and book on the histories, memories of all kinds of pools, both public and private, in Australia. The exhibition was a great success on location in the hot summer of Venice, and then subsequently translated into the National Gallery of Victoria in 2018.

This article reflects the author’s long-standing interest in the history of public swimming pools in Australia and their conservation, and her collaboration with the Venice Biennale team, and involvement in other exhibitions and publications¹. The research was inspired by the feeling that many pools were currently under threat or had already been left to decay. And the fundamental observation that public pools offer a way of understanding Australian modern design, in an everyday setting, that created a very particular kind of public place which most Australians have had access to. They speak of a collective desire for shared public amenities that afford leisure, sport, intimacy and fantasy.

International precedents for experimentation

While it might seem that modern pools are essentially very prosaic structures, with little architectural merit — no more than a hole in the ground filled with water — they can exhibit distinctive architectural elements and stylistic and

functional characteristics that strongly reflect the broader concerns of Modernism in the 20th century. In terms of their design language, public pools reflect the functional concerns of building modern community buildings for health and education. They often involved the use of innovative structural and mechanical solutions that enabled a close integration between exterior and interior spaces. They allowed for experimental deployment of new materials, and the servicing for hygienic and comfort standards was complex. Landscaping helped to embed the pools in their contexts — whether urban, suburban or waterside, and sometimes added a touch of the exotic.

Architectural solutions were interlinked with changing social, governmental and individual attitudes to social behaviors in public, accessibility and privacy, and the modernizing and democratization of leisure and sport. Aside from a handful of pools built for elite sporting events like the Olympic and Commonwealth Games in Australia, most were realized by necessarily economic means, typically funded through a combination of government and local community fund-raising. While some mid-century pools became “useful monuments” to commemorate war service and sacrifice particularly after WWII. Thus, any narrative on the history of public pools needs to account for architectural innovation, but also social change and the nexus between governmental strategies promoting a healthy citizenry, and how such strategies were furthered in architectural terms through modernism.

In looking at architecturally innovative pools alongside the general history of public pools, we can see their development as analogous to broader modernizing processes of abstraction and domestication; of transforming natural bodies of water — whether river, ocean, lake or pond — into artificial, contained, controlled and specialized environments. After all, the whole pursuit of swimming is artificial as drowning comes far more naturally! As one article from the



RIBA *Journal* of 1934 stated, the reason that sport and open-air pursuits had taken off in the greater community was due to the enormous growth of towns and the “artificialized” environments of factory, shop and office life:

The search for wealth and amusement that can only be obtained in urban surroundings has been followed by a realization of the vital necessity of maintaining physical health and well-being in conditions that are less than favorable².

This modernizing process which came to fruition in the early 20th century was prefaced by the growing importance of artificial water in domestic life generally, from the late 18th century on, in ways such as modern plumbing in the home and the integration of water in the picturesque garden. However, as early as 1750 the “detergent action” of seawater was discovered, and bathing for health and cleanliness began to be promoted³. The history of modern swimming pools — as distinct from religious, decorative, illicit and medicinal pools — is largely a product of Continental Enlightenment. With the design of a number of floating baths and pools in Europe in the late 18th century came the first real interest in swimming instruction. As was the case with the evolution of many modern practices and spaces, military organization also played a large role in popularizing swimming. More widespread interest in physical health, athleticism and education coincided with

military swimming training as a way of keeping armies maneuverable and fit⁴. In England, the first public baths were opened in Liverpool in 1828, and an Act of Parliament granting local authorities permission to build public baths to combat disease was passed in 1846. While the archaeological discovery of the Roman baths in Bath in 1871 further fueled English interest in public bathing⁵, and these ancient classical associations also provided a design precedent for future bathing and pool architecture. New types of urban swimming facilities appeared during the latter 19th century when bathing became more strictly codified by taking on the functions of public facilities for hygiene or for sport. France was particularly innovative in providing open-air pools and indoor heated pools in this period. There were also many, often fraught, attempts to create simulated swimming instruction environments and mechanical swimming machines.

By the end of the 19th century swimming as a formal and codified sport became recognized with amateur and increasingly professionalized competitions at local, regional and national levels⁶. Architecture was a key agent in this transformation of swimming into a structured sport, for modern pools could provide segregated and comfortable places for spectators and the press, and exacting conditions in terms of lighting, water control and measurements to uphold rules and statistical records of competitions.

Just how “public” public pools really were is revealing⁷. For, although swimming for health and survival was beginning to be widely promoted by the first decades of the 20th century, it was a pursuit not fully accessible to all. Women were heavily constrained by conventions of segregation, modesty and decorum. And the boundaries of proper bodily exposure and risk were nowhere more tested than in the public pool, along with conventions of dress, sexuality and emancipation. By the 1920s, bathing costumes became far more body-hugging which released women from the very real fear of drowning under their heavy layered Victorian costumes. This lightening of the swimming body was to parallel the growing transparency of the swimming enclosure. The beach was apparently far more liberated, or at least a far more difficult place to regulate, and by the 1930s the strict codes still enforced in municipal pools had lapsed elsewhere. However, with ever increasing promotion of health and fitness, mixed bathing became generally accepted. In Australia, segregation did not only apply to women, but also to racial groups, particularly Aborigines, who were restricted entry to many pools until well into the 20th century.

Whether for sport or leisure, by the 1930s in Europe, America and Australia, swimming became closely aligned with attaining the desirable image of the healthy body and of the Naturalism Movement, both of which were also aligned with the development of modernism. For example, this period of strengthening an Aryan Olympic spirit was captured by Leni Riefenstahl’s (1902–2003) flying divers, and Suren’s athletic nude swimmers. Concurrently, Germany rose to prominence in modern pool design, and would remain innovative into the 1960s⁸. For example, John Richards (1931–2003), the architect for the Royal Commonwealth Pool in Edinburgh (1967–1970), noted the influence of German pool programs: “every German city had a central pool and an opera house”⁹. England saw a need to improve facilities, as noted by the *RIBA Journal* of 1928; “our playgrounds and bathing places are still far from adequate to the needs of the community, and in particular the provision of places for light and air baths is almost unknown”¹⁰. This need was again reinforced in 1934: “The provision of facilities for open-air bathing is not a luxury if the standard of physique of our people is considered to be an asset economically”¹¹. Gradually swimming instruction became part of government education aims, and casual and social bathing began to be replaced by set swimming strokes and drills. Some of these military undertones have prevailed, with the widespread adherence to rectangular pools and straight lane design, and an emphasis on precision, instruction, order and ritual. This contrasts greatly with the evolution of private pools that have often been the object of organic, exotic fantasy — particularly in post WWII America, where the domestic pool industry surged and the image of the “kidney pool” was popularized¹².

In terms of design language, early 20th century pools reflected a period of transition in which predominantly classical styling was employed to clothe a thoroughly modern type and function. For example, the Memorial

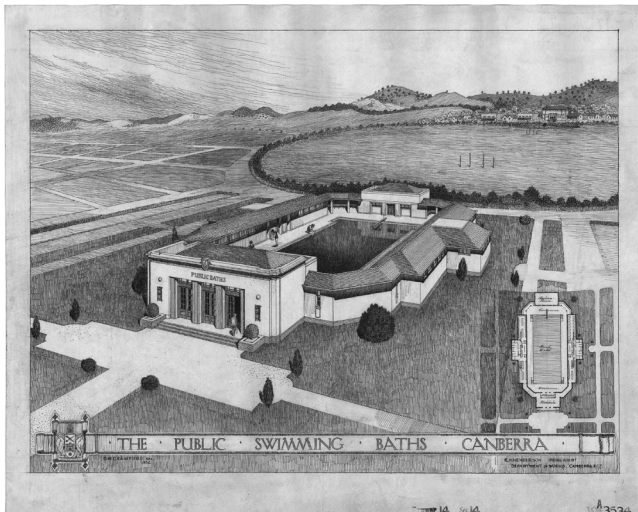
Gymnasium at the University of Berkley (1925), California by Phoebe Hearst (1842–1919) and the Marshall Street Baths in London (1934), by A & K Cross, both had barrel-vaults and coffered panels in the manner of a Roman bath-house¹³. In the decades around WWII, pool design would benefit from a number of material advances, particularly in ceramic tiles, which would become and remain a key aesthetic opportunity for surface patterning by combining hygienic and waterproofing properties. As in the development of many modern building types, in this period there is evident a growing desire for structural experimentation and expression using reinforced concrete, steel framing and structural glazing, along with an increased attention to the health-giving properties of ventilation and natural lighting. Some pools and spa centers of the 1930s that entered the international modern canon include the De La Werr Pavillion (1935) by architects Chermayeff & Mendelsohn, the Finsbury Health Centre (1935–1938), London, by architects Lubetkin & Tecton, and the Empire Swimming Pool (1933–1934), by Owen Williams (1890–1969)¹⁴.

In an effort to simulate outdoor conditions in fully enclosed pools, the use of glazing became characteristic. For example, an early influential Austrian pool of the 1930s by von Liebe and Stigler had a flat roof and fully glazed sliding doors along two sides. Completely glazed-in pools would be realized post-WWII, including, for example, the Mainz Swimming Bath (1960), by architects Pel, Beckert & Becker. Thus driven by the necessities of both function and form, swimming pool design pursued Modernist interest in transparency, and the full apprehension of built form appreciated from multiple and moving viewpoints, as promoted by Sigfried Giedion (1888–1968) and others¹⁵. This lessening of distinctions between the interior and exterior of modern buildings through the exploration of the transparent skin and window-wall aimed to dissolve physical barriers. Yet, as Richard Sennett (b. 1943) has persuasively argued, it also replaced them with new kinds of barriers that facilitated the visual sensation of bringing the outside in, but isolated all other sensory perceptions: “a visibility that was both enabling yet isolating”¹⁶. As Richard Sennett summarizes, modern transparent buildings achieved their integrity of objectness, but in so doing they aroused “an intimate of absence, of untouchableness. This is our experience of the sublime”¹⁷.

Building Pools in Australia

In the Australian context, European militaristic and instructional associations were tempered by the American image of the backyard pool being the focus for entertainment and family life. Both pools for athleticism and for leisure were introduced into communities in the mid-century which coincided with a growing national prosperity, and associated transformation of the labor market that now required less physical labor and time so that working families looked to improve their leisure time facilities. The popularity of sport and swimming was bolstered specifically by the implementation of a National Fitness Movement in each Australian state in the 1930s, widespread swimming lessons,

02 Sketch for Manuka Swimming Baths, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory (ACT), 1930. © National Archives of Australia.



and some government promotion of pool building. Not that it seemed much encouragement was needed for Australians to be interested in sport, as it would become enshrined as a potent index of morality, social fabric and fame, with swimming particularly capturing iconic images of a carefree land of sun and surf¹⁸.

In the context of the expanding suburbs and inland towns, despite Australia's predominance of coastal urban settlements, the beach was often quite far away for easy day-trip access, and pools were seen as a good substitute. However, the building of local community facilities was patchy and lagged behind expectations. Taking the case of Western Australia, for example, the development of swimming was severely hampered by the lack of provision of public pools. There was only one Olympic pool in the state until the 1950s, and that was in the remote inland goldfields town of Kalgoorlie¹⁹. Many rural towns and suburban areas struggled to raise money for their own pools, and a government policy, referred to as the "Ribbon of Blue Scheme" was implemented to provide assistance to local authorities that were more than 35 miles (56 kilometers) from the coast²⁰. It was widely recognized in parliamentary debates that pools provided important social capital to local communities, but generally funding was not particularly forthcoming and many pools were built through local fund-raising efforts.

There are few notable examples of public pool architecture in Australia before WWII, but by the late 1930s a number of Olympic standard pools had been built across the country including the Manuka Pool, Canberra (1931), and the Enfield (1933), Bankstown (1933), Granville (1936) and North Sydney Pool (1936) all in Sydney and designed by the architectural firm of Rudder & Grout. The North Sydney Pool would become one of the most iconic pools in Australia, not only because of its spectacular location on Sydney's north shore under the shadow of the newly completed Sydney Harbour Bridge (1923–1932) and Luna Park (1935), but also because of its use in the Empire Games competitions of 1938 and 1958. The design features polychromatic brickwork with horizontal banding, simple classical archways

03 Eggleston, Macdonald & Secomb Architects, Beaurepaire Pool, University of Melbourne campus, Victoria, 1957. © Photographer Christine Francis.



and arcading, elaborate glazed tiling, and glass and stucco decorations of parrots, frogs, scallop shells and other marine motifs. The filtration system was seen to be one of the most advanced in the world. Despite the economic depression, this first wave of public pool building came at a time when Australia's reputation in international swimming events was growing, notably with their dominance in the swimming at the Los Angeles Olympic Games of 1932. This decade was to see the coming of age of women's competitive swimming across the nation, signaling the full integration of female swimmers in the public pool.

Between 1945 and 1972, a great number of public pools were constructed around the country of varying types — both outdoor and indoor. Some 32 pools opened in Sydney alone between 1945 and 1972, and through the 1950s and 1960s, a number of notable architectural designs: for example the Canberra Olympic Pool was nominated for the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, Sulman Award in 1955²¹. While the Tobruk Memorial Baths and Pool, Townsville, Queensland (1951) and the Liverpool Memorial Olympic Pool, New South Wales (1959), were built as commemorative structures, honoring war service and affirming their role as significant community places.

Another notable Melbourne example of a fully enclosed modern pool was built on the University of Melbourne campus, the Beaurepaire Centre (1954–1957) was designed by architects Eggleston, Macdonald & Secomb²². The perceived need for a facility of international standards came at a time of heightened sporting awareness in the lead up to Melbourne hosting the Olympic Games in 1956. It was this generation of Melbourne architects that architect and critic Robin Boyd (1919–1971) would refer to as the cradle of modernity that lent the "weight of a generation of pioneers" to the architecture of the 1950s²³.

The resulting design enclosed the pool area with a bold but simply expressed portal frame structure forming a series of free-span bays over the 25-meter pool and amenities. Full-height glazed walls to the north and south, which originally included sliding doors, created visual connection

between inside the pool and outside to the northern end of the campus, and a feeling of transparency to the whole complex. Indeed, in reference to Richard Sennett's description of the modern sublimity of transparency, there is something quite strange about walking past the glazed wall of the pool on a cold day watching the lap swimmers inside, but hearing and feeling nothing. The architects were also very forward thinking in commissioning the well-known Australian artist Leonard French (1928–2017) to create a mosaic tiled mural on the upper gymnasium and trophy space titled "Symmetry of Sport" the geometric, colorful and abstract image was integrated into the building, accompanied by a striking horizontal tiled frieze on the exterior of the façade, and a mosaic reception desk (now lost).

Also constructed for the 16th Olympiad of 1956, and an important structure in international Olympic Games history, the Melbourne Olympic Stadium complex was the first to be fully enclosed and roofed²⁴. The competition-winning swimming pool scheme was designed by the architectural team of John (1920–2004) and Phyllis Murphy (b. 1924), Kevin Borland (1926–2000) and Peter McIntyre (b. 1950) with the engineer Bill Irwin (1917–2000). Upon winning the competition, in 1953, Robin Boyd (who was one of the competition judges) commented that: "This is a modern building in every sense of the word"²⁵.



04 Leonard French mural "Symmetry of Sport" in gymnasium above Beaurepaire Pool, University of Melbourne campus, Victoria. © Photographer Christine Francis.

05 Canberra Department of Works, Canberra Olympic Pool, ACT, 1955.
© Australian Capital Territory Heritage Library.



Although much optimism prevailed about the design, it then went through hasty and major amendments including moving the site, and omitting the restaurant, eastside concourse and some of the dressing rooms, re-thinking the number, size and use of indoor and outdoor pools, and increasing the seating capacity of the main pool stadium to 5,500. The pool itself was scaled at 55 yards (50.292 meters), with a temporary wall at one end to make it 50 meters for the Olympic event, as in Australia at that time all swimming competitions were still typically raced in yards. The structural design of the Swimming Stadium is experimental and expressive, using a series of 14 tubular steel roof trusses and tension rods that support the roof, and angled girders that support the cantilevered spectator seating. The end walls are glazed, in the manner of earlier pool designs, to allow connection between inside and out, and strip glazing is inserted above the seating. Particular attention was placed on the provision of the latest technology in diving boards for these Games. Diving boards are a potentially important element of any pool; having the ability to transform from the passive, the leisurely and the ornamental to a pool charged with dynamism and purpose. And a large ceramic sculpture by the Australian artist Arthur Boyd (1920–1999) was commissioned for the north side of the building. Despite early teething problems with leaks in the pools, the Melbourne Olympic Stadium was highly innovative and influential, both nationally and abroad²⁶. The association of dynamic and expressive tensile structures with pool design would prevail in international architecture for the next decades, with key examples including the Olympic Pools for Rome (1960) by Pier Luigi Nervi (1891–1979), Tokyo (1964) by Kenzo Tange (1913–2005), and Munich (1972) by Frei Otto (1925–2015) and Günter Behnisch (1922–2010)²⁷.

Locally a number of more experimental pool structures also followed Melbourne including Australian architect James Birrell's (b. 1928) design for the Centenary Swimming Pools in Brisbane (1957–1959). The organic planning of the complex is influenced by the aesthetics of modern artists and architects including Hans Arp (1886–1966), Laszlo



Maholy-Nagy (1895–1946) and Oscar Niemeyer (1907–2012)²⁸. The loose composition is further accentuated by the daring cantilever of the free-form restaurant building, and the flowing patterns delineated in the pool tiling. James Birrell's design thus deviates from the almost militaristic insistence on order and regularity of most public pools.

The staging of the 7th British Empire and Commonwealth Games in Perth in 1962 was another international sporting event that gave the opportunity to improve on the lack of swimming facilities in Perth, Western Australia. The pool complex as constructed consisted of three outdoor pools capitalizing on the typically Mediterranean climate, with a capacity for 1,200 bathers and 5,500 spectators in U-shaped seating galleries, shaded by cantilevered canopies. The seating areas were externally faced in glazed curtain wall and blue spandrel panels. The entrance was defined by a colonnade of deep blue glazed tiled columns. Although not architecturally adventurous it was a successful example of its type, in an international modern style, and featured very up-to-date facilities for public swimming and competition conditions:

Indirect lighting on the concourse, illumination from underwater and spotlights on each competitor as well as long bands of light to light rockeries and fountains at the glass faced entrance will give the centre a dazzling effect²⁹.

Other innovations centered on surveillance: an underwater photography and observation room with glass windows set into the wall of the pool; an air system that created ripples on the water to make it easier for divers to judge the distance from the surface; and a competition room allowing observation to the diving boards³⁰. The complex has also endured as a public pool for the Northern suburbs of Perth, with major renovations however that have significantly altered the original schema.

Among the other notable pools constructed around Australia in the 1960s and early 1970s, one of particular architectural significance is the Harold Holt Swim Centre, constructed in 1969 in Melbourne, Victoria.

Designed by the architects Kevin Borland (1926–2000) and Daryl Jackson (b. 1937), off-form raw concrete and glass compose its muscular form. Sometimes attributed as one of Melbourne's earliest Brutalist buildings, here the pool's services, structure and circulation zones of ramps, mezzanines and walkways, are emphasized as expressive elements in the whole composition. The pool complex's form and overall planning signaled Borland's interest in trapezoidal and angular geometries. Some parts of the building are highly transparent, exploiting natural lighting and an industrial aesthetic, while the change rooms, are darker and more cavernous³¹. The outdoor pools are enclosed and protected by grassy berms, cypress and date palms, with a dramatic diving tower completing the northern end of the complex. The design strongly reflects the aesthetic and social aims of community-building in Australia in the late 1960s. Despite pressures to destructively renovate the pool over a decade ago, a more sensitive renewal was enacted and some level of heritage protection that ensured the retention of most of the significant architectural elements and updating of amenities for a 21st century public.

The Fate of Modern Public Pools

Due to their adoption of new materials and mechanical servicing, alongside changing attitudes towards water sustainability and sun exposure in Australia, modern public pools (in particular the outdoor pool) have certainly faced serious and challenging issues regarding their retention and conservation. With a steady decline in patronage and repair, a number of less notable pools around the country have not fared well in terms of their longevity and have been closed, privatized or significantly and irretrievably altered in the last two decades. With this loss of physical amenity comes the loss of localized, personal and collective memories and attachments to ordinary yet often formative places of sensory experiences. As Siegfried Giedion promoted, modern architecture was not just about the expression of movement in structure, but also about capturing the possibilities of engaging in the feeling of dynamic space. Through playful and ritualistic movement in water — the



07 Borland & Jackson Architects, Harold Holt Memorial Swimming Centre, Malvern, Victoria, 1969. © Courtesy Doug Evans.

sensory experience of reflective light, the smell of chlorine, or the sounds of swimming — modern pools hold a special and often nostalgic place in Australian popular and architectural culture of the 20th century.

Notes

- 1 Previous publications on pools by the author: Hannah Lewi contributions to *From the Edge*, Exhibition Guide and book Venice Architecture Biennale 2016 “The Pool”, edited by Michelle Tabet, Amelia Holliday and Isabelle Toland. Published by the Australian Institute of Architects, 2016; Hannah Lewi, “Making Space for Recreation” in Hannah Lewi, David Nichols (eds), *Community: Making Modern Australia*, 2010; Hannah Lewi “Modern Pools: The Triumph of the Artificial”, in Ann Stephen, Philip Goad, Andrew McNamara (eds), *Modern Times: The Untold Story of Modernism in Australia*, Melbourne, Miegunyah Press, 2008; Christine Phillips, Hannah Lewi “Immersed at the water’s edge: Modern British and Australian seaside pools as sites of ‘Good Living’”, *Architectural Research Quarterly* 17:3–4, 2013, 281–291.
- 2 Kenneth Cross, “The Planning and Design of Public and Private Swimming Baths”, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, January 1934, 213.
- 3 John Dawes, *Design and Planning of Swimming Pools*, London, Architectural Press, 1979, 3.
- 4 Prussian and French armies lead the way in this regard. See Thomas van Leeuwen, *The Springboard in the Pond*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1998.
- 5 John Dawes, op. cit.
- 6 Claire Parker, “The Rise of Competitive Swimming 1840 to 1878”, British Society of Sports History, 20th Annual Conference, Lancaster, 2001, (on-line version).
- 7 Catherine Horwood, “Girls Who Arouse Dangerous Passions”, *Women’s History Review*, Vol. 9, N. 4, 2000, 653–673.
- 8 Kenneth Cross, op.cit., 216.
- 9 Interview with John Richards in Miles Glendinning (ed), *Rebuilding Scotland: the postwar vision 1945–1975*, Edinburgh, Tuckwell Press, 1997, 126.
- 10 “Health and recreation Centres”, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 12 May 1928, 448.
- 11 Kenneth Cross, op. cit., 225.
- 12 Rem Koolhaas mythologises this architectural contrast between old Europe and new America with the story of a floating pool — born of European ancestry and symbolic of ruthless Soviet simplicity; “so rectilinear... no shear, no tension, no wit” — that propels itself over a period of decades to New York where it then appears totally out of context. *Delirious New York A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, Rotterdam, 010 Publishers, 1978, 310.
- 13 Kenneth Cross, op.cit., 223.
- 14 This pool used reinforced concrete in the form of a gabled roof, with cantilevered beams expressed on the elevation and emphasised with a row of fin-like vertical counterweights. See *RIBA Journal*, 1928, 444; *RIBA Journal*, 1935, 1082.
- 15 Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: the growth of a new tradition*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Uni Press, sixth printing, 1976; Richard Sennett, *The Conscience of the Eye: the Design and Social Life of Cities*, London, Faber and Faber, 1990, 103.
- 16 Richard Sennett, idem, 109.
- 17 Ibid., 117.
- 18 Jaques and Pavia, *Sport in Australia*, Sydney, McGraw-Hill, 1976.

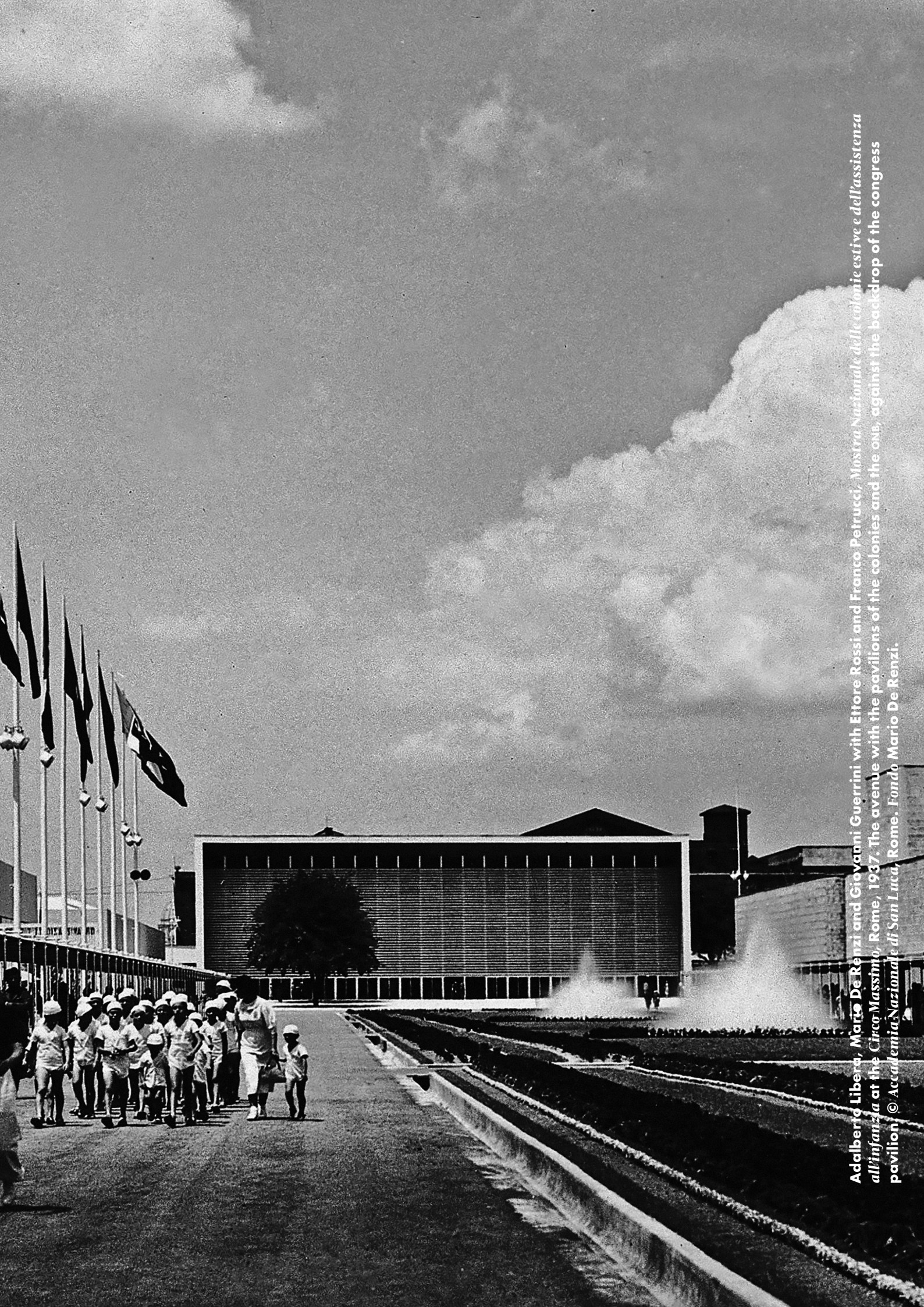
- 19 Lord Forrest Pool, constructed in 1938 and thereby being only the second Olympic pool in the country, designed by W.G. Bennett (1896–1977). Aris, Erickson & Taylor, *Lord Forrest Olympic Pool, Heritage Assessment and Conservation Plan*, Kalgoorlie, 2002.
- 20 *The West Australian*, 6 August, 1957; See *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 148, 1957, 2699.
- 21 *Architecture Australia*, 45, 4, 1956, 36–37.
- 22 The facility was funded by university benefactor Sir Frank Beaurepaire, who aside from being a highly successful businessman, had also been an Olympic swimming champion.
- 23 See *Architecture in Australia*, 46, 2, 1957, 40–42.
- 24 Conrad Hamann, “Olympic Swimming Stadium”, Kevin Borland *Architecture from the Heart*, ed. D Evans, Melbourne, RMIT University Press, 2006, 116.
- 25 *The Age*, 30 December, 1952. Boyd’s accolades for this building have been well written up elsewhere. See for example, Philip Goad, “Optimism and Experimentation”, *Architecture Australia*, 1990, 34–49.
- 26 For example, appeared in *Architectural Record*, May 1953.
- 27 Philip Goad, “Competition and Circumstance: Urban Legacies of the Olympics”, *Debating the City*, Jennifer Barrett and Caroline Butler-Bowdon (eds), Sydney, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2001, 147.
- 28 Andrew Wilson and John Macarthur (eds), *Birrell: Work from the Office of James Birrell*, Melbourne, NMBW publications, 1997, 30.
- 29 Qantas Empire Airways, *Perth Games Issue*, Vol. 28, 6 June 1962, 2–7.
- 30 C.J.E. Durand and N.J. Wilmot, *The Official History of the VII British Empire and Commonwealth Games*, Perth, 1962.
- 31 See Conrad Hamann, “Harold Holt Memorial Swimming Centre”, *Architecture from the Heart*, 167.

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Adalberto Libera, Mario De Renzi and Giovanni Guerrini with Ettore Rossi and Franco Petrucci, *Mostra Nazionale delle colonie estive e dell'assistenza all'infanzia* at the *Circo Massimo*, Rome, 1937. The avenue with the pavilions of the colonies and the one, against the backdrop of the congress pavilion. © Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome. Fondo Mario De Renzi.

Holiday colonies for Italian youth during Fascism

BY MARCO MULAZZANI

Thousands of summer colonies were created for youth in Fascist Italy¹ (1922–1943). Most were temporary structures set up to assist children only during the daytime; dozens became the concrete symbol of the totalitarian project undertaken by Fascism to shape “new Italians” starting from childhood. Actually the colonies promoted by the organizations of the regime, state agencies and industrial companies, due to a lack of precise “models” of reference for the architects involved, present a highly varied expressive panorama, reflecting the complexity of the architectural debate in those years and the difficulties that faced any truly modern approach to architecture.

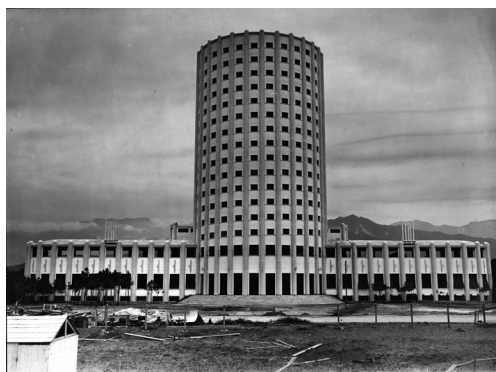
On 20 June 1937, in the enormous space of the *Circo Massimo* in Rome, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) presented the *Mostra Nazionale delle colonie estive e dell'assistenza all'infanzia* (National exhibition of summer camps and assistance to children) — “an exhibition that is the only one of its kind,” Giuseppe Pagano (1896–1945) would opine in the magazine *Casabella*, “which demonstrates the interest of the Fascist State in the health of children” and its commitment to “a complex, complete undertaking, namely that of the protection and propagation of our lineage”². Spread across over 20,000 square meters, the exhibition was composed of pavilions in a linear sequence, with the entrance and the assembly hall at the two extremities. The sequence began with a space on tourism and on the “*fanciullo nell'arte*” [boys in art], and continued with pavilions of the *Opera Nazionale Maternità e Infanzia* (ONMI), of assistance agencies (Ministry of the Interior, Red Cross, Social Welfare), education (National Education Ministry), rehabilitation of minors (Ministry of Justice), summer camps *Partito Nazionale Fascista* (PNF), semi-public and private operators, the *Fasci Italiani all'Estero* [Italian Fascists abroad], the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* (ONB), merchandise sectors, and the activities of Fascist youth organizations. This itinerary was paced by *tableaux vivants* in which dozens of toddlers, children and adolescents (male and female), observed but not disturbed, were subjected to medical examinations and heliotherapy treatments, played and learned in a kindergarten and a school, indulged in the vacation activities of a “model colony” created for the occasion, setting up campsites, doing calisthenics and taking turns at guard duty³.

At the same time, a few kilometers to the north, in the setting of the *Foro Mussolini*, another exhibition was being held, it too the only one of its kind: a “summary” of the construction activities of ONB⁴, the organization assigned the task of educating young people regarding a “Fascist lifestyle”. Founded in 1926, the ONB developed its

political-pedagogical project to the point of becoming a sort of parallel institution, in competition with public schooling. Its president Renato Ricci (1896–1956) had built one of the sacred sites of Fascism, *Foro Mussolini*, consecrated to the cult of the *Duce* and deployed for the training of educators of the younger generations. In the same spirit, Ricci planned the creation of hundreds of *Casa Balilla* scattered across the nation: constructions conceived not as simple outposts for the offices of the organization, but as centers of physical, cultural and professional activity; works of architecture with a precise identity, specifically created and perfected to be clearly associated with ONB.

At the exhibition of summer camps the ONB took part with its own pavilion, presenting a partial representation of an activity that could then be grasped in its totalitarian political dimension in the show at *Foro Mussolini*⁵. So while the two events seemed to share in the iconic representation of the life of the new Italian — from the cradle to enrollment in the ranks of the PNF — and in the celebration of the advent repeatedly envisioned by Mussolini of the “fourth great historical epoch of the Italian people, (...) the epoch of the Black Shirts, in which there will be complete Fascists, namely those born, raised and living entirely in our climate”⁶, their intrinsic difference should not be overlooked. The exhibition at *Foro Mussolini* was the coherent expression of the “most Fascist of all Fascist organizations”, bent on “the most gigantic experiment in education to the State in all of history”⁷; the exhibition at *Circo Massimo* documented the wide-ranging and varied activities in the area of assistance for children and youth, carried out by PNF but also by other public and private players. This difference is reflected in the works of architecture made for Italian youth, especially in the history of the vacation colonies.

In Italy the creation of camps was a phenomenon that began prior to Fascism, dating back to the mid-18th century. In 1918 a ministerial survey counted about one hundred



01 Vittorio Bonadè-Bottino, FIAT “torre balilla” colony, Marina di Massa, Massa-Carrara, 1933. © Archivio storico FIAT, Turin.



02 Angiolo Mazzoni, colony for *Opere di previdenza dei ferrovieri e dei postelegrafonici*, Colabrone, Tirrenia di Pisa, 1931–1933. © MART-Museo di arte moderna e contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto. Fondo Angiolo Mazzoni.

such facilities⁸, including therapeutic centers like the “seaside hospices” created to cure childhood diseases like tuberculosis and scrofula, and others more specifically for “vacations”, often based on private and philanthropic initiatives, with educational and social missions, aimed at the offspring of the poorer classes or precise categories of workers. The need for therapeutic specialization of permanent clinics and for the creation of more temporary camps for social and preventive initiatives was already clear at the first Italian conference of local agencies, organized in Milan in October 1920 on the theme of colonies in healthy climes. The insertion of initiatives for the assistance of children in the overall context of State policies aimed at the “physical and moral reconstruction of the race” became one of the strong priorities of Fascism. To this end, in 1925 the ONMI⁹ was created, an agency whose main goals included the protection and assistance of needy or abandoned mothers, children up to five years of age, abandoned or abused children under 18, also through the creation of counseling centers, kindergartens, vocational schools and — of course — colonies. In this sector the task of the ONMI was to control the activities of the existing facilities and to found new ones, operating in collaboration with the *Fasci femminili* (the women’s section of the Fascist party, an organization created in 1925) for the management of the vacation camps¹⁰. The number of new colonies created in the second half of the 1920s reflects the importance assigned to this area by the party: in 1926 the temporary seaside and mountain camps organized by ONMI and *Fasci femminili* were slightly more than 100 in number, serving about 60,000 children; in 1930, thanks to the spread of heliotherapy day camps, the temporary facilities run by PNF reached a level of 700, and the children assisted reached 150,000¹¹. Important questions remained to be resolved, however, such as the lack of control of assistance initiatives organized outside the Fascist party — particularly, though not exclusively, the many company camps — and the lack of coordination of the activities of the individual federations, with their tendency for economic reasons to promote the creation of day camps made with tents and temporary structures. There was also

the tendency to reutilize existing buildings for the (still not very numerous) sleepover camps, implying the absence of design considerations for this type of construction. The crucial theme of the definition of the characteristics of architecture specifically made for “little Fascists” was not approached even after the creation in 1931 of the *Ente Opere Assistenziali* (EOA), charged by the PNF with an overall reorganization of the activities of assistance to the population.

In the sector of the colonies, the EOA operated with a certain efficacy to regulate assistance procedures and management of facilities (in exponential growth since 1931, in the wake of the day camps), but it lacked the administrative clout to have a real impact on the activities of other agencies operating in the same field (sectors of the State administration, industrial groups, associations, etc.). The hypothesis of collaboration with the ONB generally remained limited to the use of its educators and did not cover the definition of a program of construction of new colonies. In this sense, precisely the comparison with the “pupil of the regime”, the ONB of Ricci, reveals the difference in reach of the two organizations. Starting in 1928, Ricci prepared a manual — written by Enrico del Debbio (1891–1973), architect of the *Foro Mussolini* — with a series of projects of Balilla centers of small, medium and large size,



03 Clemente Busiri Vici, the “xxviii ottobre” colony (“le navi”), Cattolica, Rimini, 1932–1934. © Archivio Clemente Busiri Vici, Rome.

as a reference guide for the creation of new constructions¹². From 1932 on, Ricci selected a small group of absolutely trusted architects, personally commissioning them to design the Balilla centers and, in 1933, he appointed the young Luigi Moretti (1907–1973) as the director of the technical division of ONB. Luigi Moretti's contribution consisted of developing and perfecting a "new architectural type", which had "no precedents, in Italy or elsewhere" and could "only find certain affinities with the 'gymnasia' of the Greeks and Romans", constructions that "since then (...) have been considered the highest expression of political civilization"¹³. This objective was pursued through the construction of some "exemplary" works of architecture, but also by preparing procedural and technical standards that translated the principle of centralized decision making on an operative level¹⁴.

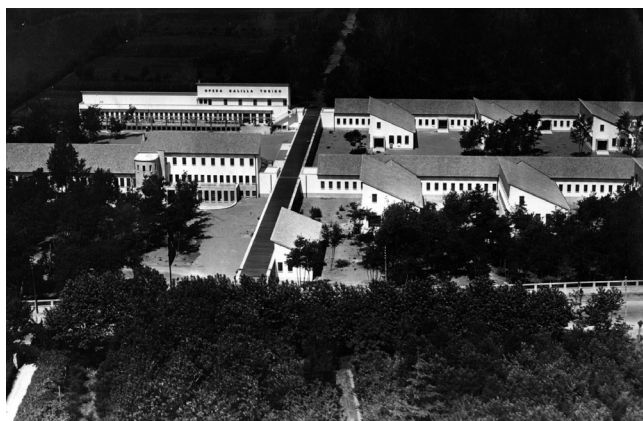
In the ambit of the camps, no comparable effort to define a "new architectural type" can be seen. Apart from the interesting project for a seaside colony for three hundred children at Castelfusano (Rome) developed by the young Mario Ridolfi (1904–1984) in 1929 in a degree thesis at the School of Architecture of Rome, in the few projects built towards the end of the 1920s we find substantial continuity with those of the previous decade — not by chance, no significant traces of this initial series of constructions have remained in the leading architecture magazines. The claim to a specificity of Italy where unlike what happens in other nations the Fascist regime is directly engaged in the action of promotion, coordination and management of camps, so that "the Italian child [is] cared for and made vigorous, with a unity of methods and orientations in all the regions"¹⁵, has not yet been transformed into clear awareness of the "educational" role that can be played by architecture.

The situation changed during the course of the 1930s. The gradual unfolding of the totalitarian program of the regime — of mass "conversion" to Fascism — was accompanied by intensification of the ideological-formative core of a model of assistance based primarily on processes of prevention and care. The sleepover camps, besides providing vacation facilities, offered an opportunity to initiate children from an early age into the experience of Fascist collective discipline¹⁶. Nevertheless, while the political context could provide programmatic indications to a generation of designers willing to demonstrate, in concrete projects, the full correspondence of modern architecture to the "new and more correct 'order of values'"¹⁷ of the Fascist era, typological considerations were still lagging behind. In fact, regarding the approach taken by architects to this design theme, it has even been observed that every one of them did as he saw fit¹⁸.

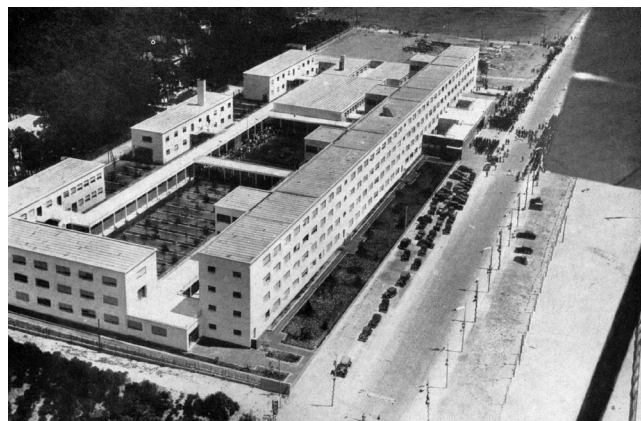
The hypothesis of substantial autonomy of architectural choices is confirmed by an overview of the slightly less than fifty colonies designed and built in the 1930s, also due to the fact that they were made for a variety of different clients: local federations of the PNF, *Fasci Italiani all'Estero*¹⁹, ONB, sectors of the national administration, industrial groups (FIAT, Piaggio, Montecatini, AGIP, SNIA Viscosa, Dalmine, ILVA, Marzotto, Rossi), the national association of war veterans, the Italian Red Cross, healthcare consortia, the city government of Rome, and so on. Alongside works of

modern architecture of great quality that were to become emblems, in Italy and abroad²⁰, of the efforts of the regime to promote the "health of the race", there were still examples of a more dated design approach; others were marred by naive symbolism and an approach to the "modern" limited only to the language, often with banal results. These latter orientations are fully represented in the "linear city" for children built at Tirrenia di Pisa, in the municipality of Calambrone. From 1931 to 1939, along two kilometers of coast, seven colonies were built, designed by architects of varying levels of ability for a variety of clients: Ugo Giovannozzi (1876–1957) for the *Federazione fascista* of Florence (1931–1932), Angiolo Mazzoni (1894–1979) for *Opere di previdenza dei dipendenti di poste e telegrafi e delle ferrovie* (1931–1933), Ghino Venturi (1884–1970) for the *Livorno Hospital* (1932–1933), Paolo Baldi Papini for the *Cassa di Risparmio di Pistoia e Pescia* (1932–1933, for the children of airmen), Mario Paniconi (1904–1973) and Giulio Pediconi (1906–1999) for *Fasci Italiani all'Estero* (1933–1935), Gino Steffanon for the *Consorzio antitubercolare provinciale* of Pisa (1933–1938), Gregorio Birelli and Dagoberto Ortensi (1902–1975) for *Opere di assistenza del personale antincendio* (1939–40). The range of solutions is wide and imaginative, with layouts in the form of a *fascis* (Ghino Venturi), an airplane (Paolo Baldi Papini) or the figure of a child with raised arms (Gino Steffanon), while the elevations attempted troublesome mediations between "classic" and "modern". The colonies by Angiolo Mazzoni and Paniconi & Pediconi (architectural firm, 1934–1984) were definitely of greater interest. The first, conceived perhaps as a "futurist" view from above (Tato, *Volando sul Calambrone*), has a symmetrical plan with "duplicated" volumes (reflecting the dual agencies of services for postal and railway workers). The architectural solutions, however, are those of Angiolo Mazzoni's repertoire, as seen in the many post offices and railway stations he designed — tall water towers with tanks wrapped in spiral staircases, glass cylinders featuring the rhythm on the outside of uprights in solid marble at the sides of the entrance, the red-orange colors of the stucco and the casements, used by the architect in constructions of various kinds. The girls' colony by Paniconi & Pediconi stands out for its greater simplicity of forms — amidst exceptions: the curved profile of the roof of the outdoor chapel, the cylindrical tower for the administrative offices — and by a well-organized layout in separate volumes, connected by sheltered walkways.

Symbolism is the distinctive feature of three of the most famous colonies built in the 1930s: *le navi*, namely the XXVIII ottobre seaside camp designed by Clemente Busiri Vici (1887–1965) at Cattolica (Rimini) in 1932–1934 for *Fasci Italiani all'Estero*, and the two "Balilla towers" built by the engineer Vittorio Bonadè Bottino (1889–1979) for FIAT at Marina di Massa (Massa–Carrara) and Salice d'Ulzio (Turin), respectively in 1933 and 1937. With one important difference: while Clemente Busiri Vici only partially sacrifices the functional quality of the complex due to an architectural and layout solution that suggests a naval squadron (an image that was clearly appropriate for children returning to the homeland of their parents for summer vacations),



04 Francesco Mansutti and Gino Miozzo, colony for the ONB federations of Milan and Turin, Marina di Massa, Massa-Carrara, 1936–1937.
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Fondo Angiolo Mazzoni.



05 Ettore Sottsass and Alfio Guitoli, colony for the *Federazione torinese dei fasci di combattimento*, Marina di Carrara, Massa-Carrara, 1937–1938.
© MART – Museo di arte moderna e contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto.
Fondo Angiolo Mazzoni.

Vittorio Bonadè Bottino bends even good sense to the aims of a self-referential form (his hotel-tower at Sestriere, in fact, are dated 1932–1933). In both the seaside and the mountain colony, the dormitories are placed along a helical ramp (in a linear arrangement, they respectively measure 420 and 300 meters) and are open to a central full-height shaft: the inevitable slope of the floor in the dormitories meant that the feet of the beds had to have different lengths.

Examples of a superficial take on the modern language can be seen in the colony by the engineer Giuseppe Peverelli (1893–1969) for the *Federazione fascista* of Novara at Miramare di Rimini (1934), and the later “Costanzo Ciano” colony by Mario Loreti (1889–1968) for the *Federazione dei fasci di combattimento* of Varese at Milano Marittima, Ravenna (1937–1939), both marked by rigid symmetry of the plan and a theatrical, monumental interpretation of devices like staircases and ramps. The Montecatini colony at Cervia, Ravenna (1938–1939) by Eugenio Faludi (1899–1991) in collaboration with the technical division of the client company was more consistent with “functionalist” premises, with its free layout and the remarkable concrete skeleton of the tower-reservoir-observatory that reached “level 50”. AGIP’s “Sandro Mussolini” colony at Cesenatico, Forlì-Cesena (1937–1939) by Giuseppe Vaccaro (1896–1970) — a parallelepiped raised on pillars to permit visual and spatial continuity from the countryside to the beach — is unanimously indicated as the most effective synthesis of functional, spatial and figurative values in a construction made for this purpose. It is a work of architecture of “direct beauty”, Gio Ponti (1891–1979) writes in 1943, achieved “without aesthetic delicacies or complications of a cerebral order”²¹; an “absolute” form that nevertheless springs from the personal research of Vaccaro.

Similar considerations can be reached if we extend the analysis to other works built in the same decade: the “colony-hotel” by Gaspare and Luigi Lenzi (architectural firm) for the recreation center for healthcare workers in Rome at Santa Severa (1933–1934), and the “skyscraper” by Camillo

Nardi Greco (1887–1968) in Chiavari (1935); the almost rural “seaside village” by Francesco Mansutti (1899–1969) and Gino Miozzo (1898–1969) for the ONB federations of Milan and Turin at Marina di Carrara (1936–1937), and the “industrial organism” of Ettore Sottsass (1917–2007) and Alfio Guitoli (1898–1939) for the *Federazione torinese dei fasci di combattimento* at Marina di Massa (1937–1938); the massive Dalmine colony of Giovanni Greppi (1894–1960) at Riccione (1933), the elegant and essential facilities by Cesare Fratino (1886–1969) and Enrico Griffini (1887–1952) for the Lino Redaelli company in Cesenatico (1937–1938) and by Giulio Minoletti (1910–1981) for the *Ente nazionale fascista della mutualità scolastica* at Formia (1938–1939); among the mountain colonies, above all those of Gino Lèvi-Montalcini (1902–1974) for the above-cited *Federazione torinese* at Bardonecchia (1938) and by Luigi Daneri (1900–1972) for Piaggio at Santo Stefano d’Aveto, Genoa (1939); among the heliotherapy colonies, the function construction by Enrico Del Debbio (1891–1973) for ONB at Monte Mario, in the *Foro Mussolini* area (1933–1934), and the lucid architecture built by BBPR (architectural firm) at Legnano (1938).

Apart from the differences due to location, and the variation of area and volume based on the number of children to be hosted (from a minimum of 100 to 1500), the layout organization and the morphological and architectural characteristics of the above-mentioned colonies cannot plausibly be traced back to a single matrix. At the same time, if we examine the careers of the designers, we find that the commissions are nearly always the result of direct, private or institutional relationships between the clients and the architects²². Very few competitions were held for the design of colonies, and they rarely led to positive results, as demonstrated by the competition organized in 1934 by the *Federazione torinese dei fasci di combattimento* for a colony at Riccione, or by the episode of the Montecatini colony²³. In any case, the competitions set specific parameters — in terms of functions and dimensions — but they did not set “norms”. Confirmation of this fact also comes from the first

(and only) national competition for standard colony models held in 1937, precisely at the time of the summer camps exhibition: the results — evidently of little interest — were announced only through the newsletter of the Union of Architects, printed as a supplement without illustrations of the magazine *Architettura*²⁴.

The summer camps exhibition at the *Circo Massimo* and that of the ONB at *Foro Mussolini* coincided with a flex point in the progress of policies of assistance and education of the younger generations of Fascism. At the start of the month of June, shortly prior to the opening of the summer camps exhibition, the EOA chapters were dismantled, while their functions in the sector of climate facilities remained with the PNF; at the end of October, with the founding of the *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio* (GIL), the experience of the ONB came to an end, as it too was “absorbed” by the PNF, while a party directive assigned the GIL the task of “surveillance and control of all the climate camps or similar institutions founded and managed by any parties”, and the commander-general of the organization (namely the secretary of the PNF Achille Starace [1889–1945]) was granted the power to authorize or deny approval for the creation of new structures²⁵. The regrouping under the control of the PNF of all the activities of assistance to children and the political education of the new generations, however, did not have a significant impact on the architecture of the vacation colonies. Instead, the strategy of the party, confirmed by the congress organized in July 1937 during the exhibition, focused on limiting the number and encouraging a further increase of the day camps, in order to extend climate benefits to all school-age children²⁶. So it should come as no surprise that the *Regolamento delle colonie climatiche* issued in 1939 by PNF-GIL was limited to providing indications of a general character on the organization of the spaces, without addressing the matter of architectural characteristics;

instead, the regulations went into detail on certain aspects like medical visits, uniforms, nutrition and daily activities, from reveille (7.00 AM) to lights-out (9.00 PM), between two ritual moments, at sunrise and sunset, for saluting the flag. In 1939 Armando Melis (1889–1961) published a functional scheme for a seaside camp that seems to translate the indications of the *Regolamento delle colonie climatiche* of the PNF, and is in fact just a diagram of functions and flows. In 1940, speaking of the seaside colonies, Gio Ponti still complained of the lack of “official texts on this subject”, and suggested taking “the technically finest examples (...) as a model to further perfect in the future”²⁷.

This is perhaps the meaning that can be attributed to the two special issues devoted in 1941 by *Costruzioni Casabella* to the seaside, mountain and heliotherapy colonies²⁸. The first true assessment of ten years of projects and constructions in this sector, the “repertoires” were introduced in critical essays by Mario Labò (1884–1961) that took their cue from the attempt to define — beyond the functional requirements, seen as an “implicit preliminary” — the specific characteristics of the colony typology. These buildings, Labò writes, replicate “somehow the tradition of the Hellenic ‘gymnasia’, which as we know were not just places for gymnastics”; their arrangement “at once contains the hotel, the school, and also the clinic. But the loftier moral requirements lie outside the practical field”. It is significant, however, that these “moral requirements” are not sought in the compliance with an ideology inculcated in the younger generations, but in the work of architects and their creations. In fact, according to Mario Labò, a grave responsibility lies with those who have to create the facilities of these youthful gatherings:

Everything in them, from the abstract lines and volumes to the organization of the plans, which trace the itineraries of



06 Giuseppe Vaccaro, AGIP “Sandro Mussolini” colony, Cesenatico, Forlì-Cesena, 1937–1938. © Archivio Giuseppe Vaccaro, Rome.



07 Enrico del Debbio, ONB heliotherapy day camp at Monte Mario, Rome, 1933–1934. © Private archive, Venice.



08 BBPR [Gian Luigi Banfi [1910–1945], Lodovico Barbiano di Belgiojoso [1909–2004], Enrico Peressutti [1908–1976], Ernesto Nathan Rogers [1909–1969]], heliotherapy day camp, Legnano (Milan), 1938.
© Costruzioni Casabella, No. 168, December 1941.

community life, from the size and type of window frames to the design of railings, from the plaster to the flooring, colors and materials, contributes — dining hall and cleaning rooms, dormitories and gymnasiums — to create the plastic form, the visual image with which these young people will always identify in memory, the memory of their stay at the colony. It is here that most of them (...) for the first time, in a calm and comfortable life, will be stimulated to allow — albeit passively — the suggestion of a taste to penetrate their being, the first stimuli of appreciation of an architectural form not seen only from the outside, but also experienced by living inside it. And this is the substantial point.

Prior to examining the various projects, Mario Labò supplies orientations on type and form: the colony organized in pavilions, the tower or in any case vertical arrangement (with or without a base), the single linear block (with or without auxiliary pavilions), the open plan, and so on. For each construction he analyzes the composition of the plans, volumes and spaces, evaluating the correctness and efficacy in relation to the context; he sheds light on qualities such as strict compliance with “rationalist” schemes, honest simplicity or compositional finesse, concession to or intelligent interpretations of local themes. He criticizes formalist solutions, contrived attempts at movement of volumes, expedients that cannot compensate for the lack of unified control of the architectural organism. The detailed judgments of the single works of architecture substantially reflect the cultural line of *Costruzioni Casabella* — which perhaps helps to explain the exclusion of works considered “falsely modern”, such as the colonies of Angiolo Mazzoni or Mario Loretì. A “partial” assessment, then, to be observed in the more general context of the debate in which the magazine directed by Giuseppe Pagano was engaged at the time against the “antimodern” and “monumental” leanings of the regime; but also a way of taking stock that conveys the “architectural problem of the colony, an indubitably original feature of today’s Italy, [and] formidable in terms of

the technical and poetic elements its presence implies”, the degree of absolute expression of modernity.

As we know, the constructed heritage produced in Italy in the years of Fascism was not rejected after WWII. The many constructions that survived the war intact met with natural continuity of use, as in the cases of post offices or railway stations; or were involved in more or less problematic reutilizations, paying the price of sizeable transformations, as in the cases of the *Casa del Fascio* and the Balilla centers. Where the colonies were concerned, most of those not damaged during the war (when they were used as magazines, hospitals, military shelters, etc.), pragmatically stripped of the most obvious symbols of the power of the regime, continued to perform their original function for several decades. Furthermore, a sizeable number of new colonies was built until the end of the 1960s, though few of the new ones were comparable in architectural value to the colonies of the 1930s. The decline of these constructions began later, as the result of interwoven causes ranging from the changes in social habits to the more prosaic focus on areas of potential appeal for real estate investment, all within the context of a general lack of interest in “the architecture of the modern era”. Initiated halfway through the 1980s, the activities of documentation and debate on the conservation of the colonies have had to leave many “wrecks” along the way in a process that can certainly not be considered complete. Even today, in the face of a few dozen cases of recovery and reuse still too constrained by the necessity to “valorize” heritage, we can still observe a lack of “exemplary” projects.

Acknowledgments

Translation by Transiting/ S. Piccolo

Notes

- 1 Fascism in Italy corresponds to the National Fascist Party government from 1922 to 1943 with Benito Mussolini as head of government. The Italian Fascists imposed totalitarian rule and suppressed any political and intellectual opposition, while promoting economic modernization, traditional social values from a rapprochement with the Roman Catholic Church.
- 2 Giuseppe Pagano, “La Mostra delle colonie estive e dell’assistenza all’infanzia”, *Casabella*, No. 116, Milano, Editoriale Domus, August 1937, 6–15.
- 3 Planned since 1936, the exhibition had an organizing committee chaired by the secretary of the PNF Achille Starace, with representatives of the many agencies involved in the field of children’s aid, demonstrating the importance attributed to the initiative; the overall architectural design was assigned to Adalberto Libera, Mario De Renzi and Giovanni Guerrini. Cf. *La città dell’infanzia*, Milano, Salocchi, 1937.
- 4 Legislation of 3 April 1926, No. 2247, *Istituzione dell’Opera Nazionale Balilla per l’assistenza e l’educazione fisica e morale della gioventù*.
- 5 Luigi Moretti was the designer of the ONB pavilion at the Circo Massimo and of the exhibition at Foro Mussolini.
- 6 “*Sintesi del regime*”, speech given by Mussolini in Rome on 14 March 1934. The words of Mussolini formed the epigraph of the catalogue of the summer camp exhibition.
- 7 The statements are by Renato Ricci; cf. the commemorative volume *Il Foro Mussolini*, Milano, Bompiani, 1937.
- 8 Gian Carlo Jocteau (ed.), *Ai monti e al mare. Cento anni di colonie per l’infanzia*, Milano, Fabbri Editore, 1990.
- 9 The ONMI was founded with the legislation of 10 December 1925, No. 2277; the regulation was issued with R.D.L. (Royal Decree Law) on 21 October 1926, No. 1904, parallel to the creation of ONB. One of

- the missions of ONMI was the “classification” of the state of health of children, in order to assign them to different types of facilities.
- 10 The direct involvement of the party in childhood assistance, also through the creation of camps by its local federations, reflected the desire of Fascism to spread its influence over the younger generations, in explicit competition with the existing world of Catholic and secular associations; this is the perspective behind the definitive distinction, in 1928, between permanent healthcare colonies reporting exclusively to the ONMI, and summer climate camps (by the sea, in the mountains and — starting in 1929 — for heliotherapy) for short stays or operating as day camps, controlled by the PNF.
 - 11 Silvia Inaudi, *A tutti indistintamente. L'Ente Opere Assistenziali nel periodo fascista*, Bologna, CLUEB, 2008, in particular chapter IV, *Tra assistenza e formazione: le colonie per l'infanzia*.
 - 12 Enrico del Debbio, *Progetti di costruzioni. Case balilla-palestre-campi sportivi-piscine ecc.*, Roma, Palazzo Viminale, 1928. Enrico del Debbio himself was responsible for the review of the Balilla center projects submitted by the local offices for approval.
 - 13 Luigi Moretti, “Case del Balilla”, *Lo Sport fascista*, No. 4, Milano, S.A. Poligrafica Degli Operai, April 1936, 20.
 - 14 Rinaldo Capomolla, Marco Mulazzani, Rosalia Vittorini, *Case del balilla. Architettura e fascismo*, Milano, Electa, 2008. “Exemplary” works by Moretti for ONB in Rome are the Balilla center of Trastevere (1932–1937) and the “Casa delle armi” at Foro Mussolini (1933–1936). In 1934 two circulars of the ONB definitively established the role of the central presidency in the choice of designers, and emphasized the discretionary authority of the technical division for the purpose of ensuring homogeneity of the criteria in the design of the Case Balilla.
 - 15 Raffaello Ricci, “L'ufficio di Assistenza Sociale nel 1931”, *Capitolium*, No. 3, Treves-Treccani-Tumminelli, Roma, March 1932, 111. Raffaello Ricci was the Italian delegate at the *Conférence Internationale des Colonies de vacances et oeuvres des plein air* held in Geneva in August 1931.
 - 16 In the first half of the 1930s the overall number of colonies, including the day camps, grew from 1,197 (for 242,233 children) in 1931 to 3,821 (for 652,749 children) in 1936; the seaside and mountain colonies (it is not specified if they were all overnight camps) were 498 in 1932 and 900 in 1936; see Silvia Inaudi, *A tutti indistintamente. L'Ente Opere Assistenziali nel periodo fascista*, Bologna, CLUEB, 2008. Immediately after the war, the survey of buildings already owned by the GIL (*Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, which absorbed the ONB in 1937) recorded the existence of 340 constructions for colonies; see “Commissariato Nazionale della ‘Gioventù Italiana’”, *Proprietà immobiliari della G.I. distribuite per regioni e provincie*, Roma, Tipografia Flli Lamagna, 1948. In 1953 a survey of the holdings of *Gioventù Italiana* reduced the number of colonies to 287.
 - 17 Fulvio Irace, “L'utopie nouvelle: l'architettura delle colonie”, *Domus*, No. 659, Editoriale Domus, Milano, March 1985, 2.
 - 18 Giulio Pediconi, interview in Stefano de Martino, Alex Wall, *Cities of Childhood. Italian Colonies of the 1930s*, London, The Architectural Association, 1988, 75.
 - 19 Formed spontaneously in 1919, the “Fasci Italiani all'Estero” were a branch of the PNF outside of Italy. Gathered for a congress in Italy in 1925, they were supplied with a statute by Mussolini in January 1928. As of 1937, 27 colonies had been built for this organization.
 - 20 “Depuis une dizaine d'année, l'Italie fait un très sérieux effort en faveur de la santé de la race”, Pierre Vago, “Colonie de vacances à Tirrenia”, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, No. 10, Paris, Éditions de L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, October 1936, 61–63 (Colony by Angiolo Mazzoni at Calambrone). In No. 4, April 1934, the magazine covered the colonies by Clemente Busiri Vici at Cattolica and by Gaspare and Luigi Lenzi at Santa Severa. In No. 7, July 1939, on the theme of “Vacances et loisirs”, in the section “Colonies de vacances en Italie” as many as eight colonies were illustrated: Daniele Calabi (1906–1964) at Lido di Venezia, Gino Levi-Montalcini at Bardonecchia, Paniconi & Pediconi (architectural firm) at Tirrenia, Giulio Minoletti at Formia, Giuseppe Vaccaro at Cesenatico, Fratino & Griffini (architectural firm) at Cesenatico, BBPR at Legnano, the heliotherapy camp in Turin (created in the unfinished villa of Riccardo Gualino [1879–1964] on a hill in Turin); the issue included a text by Gino Levi-Montalcini.
 - 21 Gio Ponti, “Stile di Vaccaro”, *Stile*, No. 27, Garzanti Editore, Milano, March 1943, 7.
 - 22 For example: Clemente Busiri Vici had ongoing relations with the *Federazione dei Fasci Italiani all'Estero*, Vittorio Bonadè Bottino was the head of the construction division of FIAT, Angiolo Mazzoni was a functionary of the Ministry of Postal Services and Telecommunications, Giuseppe Vaccaro was commissioned by his uncle Ernesto Puppini, then the president of Agip, Gaspare and Luigi Lenzi were building the new Ospedale Santo Spirito in Rome, both Giovanni Greppi and Enrico Griffini designed industrial and private buildings for Dalmine and for the Redaelli family, Enrico del Debbio and Francesco Mansutti and Gino Miozzo were “staff” architects of ONB and received commissions directly from Renato Ricci, while Mario Loreti did various projects for the municipality and PNF of Varese.
 - 23 The winners of the competition of Riccione, Ettore Sottsass and Alfio Guitoli, did not see their project built, but in 1937 they received the commission from the Turin federation for the colony at Marina di Massa. Held in 1936, the competition for a Montecatini colony at Marina di Ravenna led to prizes for various interesting projects, though none of them were built.
 - 24 “Esito dei concorsi indetti dal PNF in occasione della Mostra delle Colonie estive e dell'assistenza all'infanzia”, *Supplemento Sindacale*, No. 6, 15 April 1938, 84.
 - 25 The legislation R.D.L. 3 June 1937, No. 847, *Istituzione in ogni comune del Regno dell'Ente Comunale di Assistenza*. R.D.L. 27 October 1937, No. 1839, *Istituzione della Gioventù italiana del Littorio*. “Foglio d'ordine” of the PNF 29 October 1937, No. 187.
 - 26 Giovanni Battista Allaria, “Incremento delle Colonie diurne in rapporto all'assistenza totalitaria del PNF. Relazione al Congresso nazionale sulla vigilanza e propaganda igienica nelle colonie estive e nell'assistenza all'infanzia”, *La pediatria del medico pratico*, No. 8, 1937.
 - 27 Armando Melis, *Caratteri degli edifici. Distribuzione, proporzionamento, organizzazione degli edifici tipici*, Torino, Editrice Libreria Italiana, 1939. Gio Ponti, “Problemi italiani dell'abitazione al mare”, *Domus*, No. 152, Milano, Editoriale Domus, August 1940, 19.
 - 28 Mario Labò, Attilio Podestà (ed.), “Colonie marine e montane”, *Costruzioni Casabella*, No. 167 and No. 168, Milano, Editoriale Domus, November and December 1941. The first volume presented 16 seaside colonies (14 built and 2 as projects); in the second, 9 mountain colonies (7 built and 2 as projects) and 7 heliotherapy camps (6 built and 1 as project). By the same authors, the volume *Colonie marine, montane, elioterapiche*, Milano, Editoriale Domus, 1942.

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Manuel Aymereich Amadiós and Ángel Cadarso del Pueyo, *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones de Marbella*, Marbella, Spain, 1959–1962, white curvilinear walls of bungalows. © Mar Loren-Méndez, June 2006.

From the *Ciutat de Repòs* to the *Ciudades Sindicales de Vacaciones*: seaside Vacation City for Workers in Marbella. The present of modern leisure heritage

BY MAR LOREN-MÉNDEZ, DANIEL PINZÓN-AYALA
AND ROBERTO F. ALONSO-JIMÉNEZ

The *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones* [Vacation City for Workers] (vcw) constitutes a reference of leisure architecture in Spain during the Franco regime. Starting with a literature review and the process of its cataloguing and protection, the focus lies on the last of these structures ever to be implemented, built in Marbella and the only one still in use. It, then, traces the evolution in Spanish spatial formalization of workers rest, from the urban modern vocation of the GATEPAC (Group of Spanish Artists and Technicians for Contemporary Architecture, 1930–1936) proposals during the Second Republic, to the Vacation Cities for Workers of the dictatorship, idealised as islands in privileged enclaves. Finally, reflections on transformations underwent in the vcw of Marbella, in the context of its heritage value, will be made.

***La Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones, Marbella*¹. Historiography, Cataloguing and Protection**

*Its whitewashed rough walls, flat terraces, and useless concrete beams, protruding on the sides, show a candid desire, but very refined at the same time, to reconcile Modernity with the popular. Such pairing is incredibly emphatic. The exaggerated curves, with baroque and surreal roots, do not contradict the will to appear a rustic simplicity*².

More than thirty years ago, Juan Antonio Ramírez (1948–2009) already identified the values of the *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones* [Vacation City for Workers] (vcw) in Marbella (vcwm, 1956–1963), a self-sufficient leisure city for workers and their families, built in a privilege coastal dune landscape during the Franco regime (1939–1975). Plastic white shapes became the background for the emergence of the “leisure civilization”³ in postwar Spain. Juan Antonio Ramírez offers a reflection on the marvelous contradictions of the “relaxed” encounter of modernity and the Mediterranean tradition in which he saw echoes of Islamic, Baroque shapes and local vernacular cohabiting with Le Corbusier (1887–1965) and Oscar Niemeyer (1907–2012) references and an extremely sophisticated interior design he named *estilo del relax*. This search for modernity was unfortunately substituted by a bogus and more commercial Andalusian architecture. He was not the first one to reflect on this modern architecture as heritage. In 1982, José Miguel Morales Folguera (b. 1950) included a reference in

his pioneer *Arquitectura del ocio en la Costa del Sol*⁴. In 1986 a traveling exhibition and its eponymous catalog highlighted the vcwm in a selection of the twenty-five out of the most significant works of Andalusian architecture between 1936 and 1986.

docomomo Iberia with the *Instituto Andaluz de Patrimonio Histórico* [Andalusian Institute of Historical Heritage] (IAPH) organized the first exhibition devoted to Andalusian Modern Architecture in 1999 and published the respective catalog⁵. vcwm was then included in the former *Base de Datos de Patrimonio Inmueble de Andalucía* [Andalusian Built Heritage Database]⁶. In 2002, vcwm was also included in *Sunland Architecture*, a national study in the format of a register of tourist architecture. The *Registro Andaluz de Arquitectura Contemporánea* [the Andalusian Registry of Contemporary Architecture] (RAAC)⁷ included in 2007 the vcwm among the thirty most relevant buildings of the 20th century in Málaga. At the national level, the **docomomo Ibérico** Catalog included it in May 2009. In 2014 **docomomo** Iberia elaborated a proposal for the initial catalog of the *Plan Nacional del Patrimonio siglo xx* [National Plan of 20th Century Heritage] considering the vcwm among the 256 items of Spanish architectural heritage of the 20th century. At the European level, the vcwm was included in a heritage database of architecture of the 20th century together with other significant examples from Spain, certain regions of France and Gibraltar (Figure 01).

These publications and catalogs usually focus on a descriptive approach, very centered on the plastic and

curvilinear plasticity of the Marbella complex, highlighting the monumental force of the church and its bell tower as its icon, which became the expected communal symbol of religion under the Franco dictatorship. Its architecture is framed in the so-called neopopular style, reflecting on its modern aspirations with contemporary post-war references, such as the chapel of *Notre Dame du Haut* in Ronchamp (France, 1950–1955) by Le Corbusier. In recent years, new research has offered monographic critical studies of the Spanish VCW⁸ in the historical European context of leisure and modernity, with the first monographic studies of the VCW in Tarragona (1954–1959)⁹ and in Marbella¹⁰. These studies do not only complete the historical analysis of their construction, but also take a look at their current situation.

In 2001, the Andalusian government started a line of work on architecture of the 20th century: it first inscribed a group of sixteen buildings of the Modern Movement, confirming the public commitment to the legal protection of this architecture and the incorporation of modernity within Andalusian identity, its cultural and historical values, beyond its more consolidated heritage definition through its Islamic or Baroque past. In 2006, the local government recognized VCWM as an item of Andalusian architectural Modern Movement heritage in a joint heritage declaration of four modern buildings which recognized, for the first time, modern buildings in the province of Malaga, Andalusia¹¹. VCWM has since then been inscribed in the *Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz* [General Catalog of Andalusian Historic Heritage] (CGPHA)¹² in the category of *Bien de Catalogación Genérica* (BCG). In the graphic definition of the protected area, the buildings constructed in the 1980s — the buildings for recreational use close to the communal dining room — and 1990s — five housing units for the disabled — were not included in the protected area.

At the municipal level, Marbella Town Council protected the whole complex, including it in the Heritage Catalog of the Marbella Master Plan of 2005 with level 1 integral protection. In spite of assigning the maximum protection in the catalog, it invokes its Andalusian protection as BCG while defining “allowed interventions” in the complex, becoming a clear contradiction. When specifying the “prohibited interventions” however, it forbids the demolition of any element, protected or not by the CGPHA. Unfortunately, at the moment the municipal protection has been withdrawn (Figure 02).

The human right to rest.

Spanish legislation of workers vacations

“Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay”¹³. After WWII, in the context of extreme humane suffering and, therefore, with a clear goal of life normalization and state welfare, the United Nations included the right to paid leisure in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This has its antecedent in the Treaty of Versailles which, after the WWI represented the first breakthrough in this respect, fueling the legislation regulating

workers’ entitlement to leisure and free time. Although there were some legislative advances in the 1920s and 1930s regarding dominical rest and annual vacations, major advances of a permanent nature did not occur until 1936: in that year France pioneered the regulation of the first paid holidays in France, benefiting over half a million French workers in the first summer.

In Spain, the 1918 legislation provided for fifteen days of vacation for civil servants only. In the first year of the Spanish Second Republic (1931–1939) the new regime recognized the right to one week’s holiday. However, it was during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) when the so-called national faction approved the Decree of the Labor Charter even before winning the war, establishing the right to annual paid holidays¹⁴. After 1939, the politics on workers’ rest were developed and consolidated in the context of the Franco dictatorship.

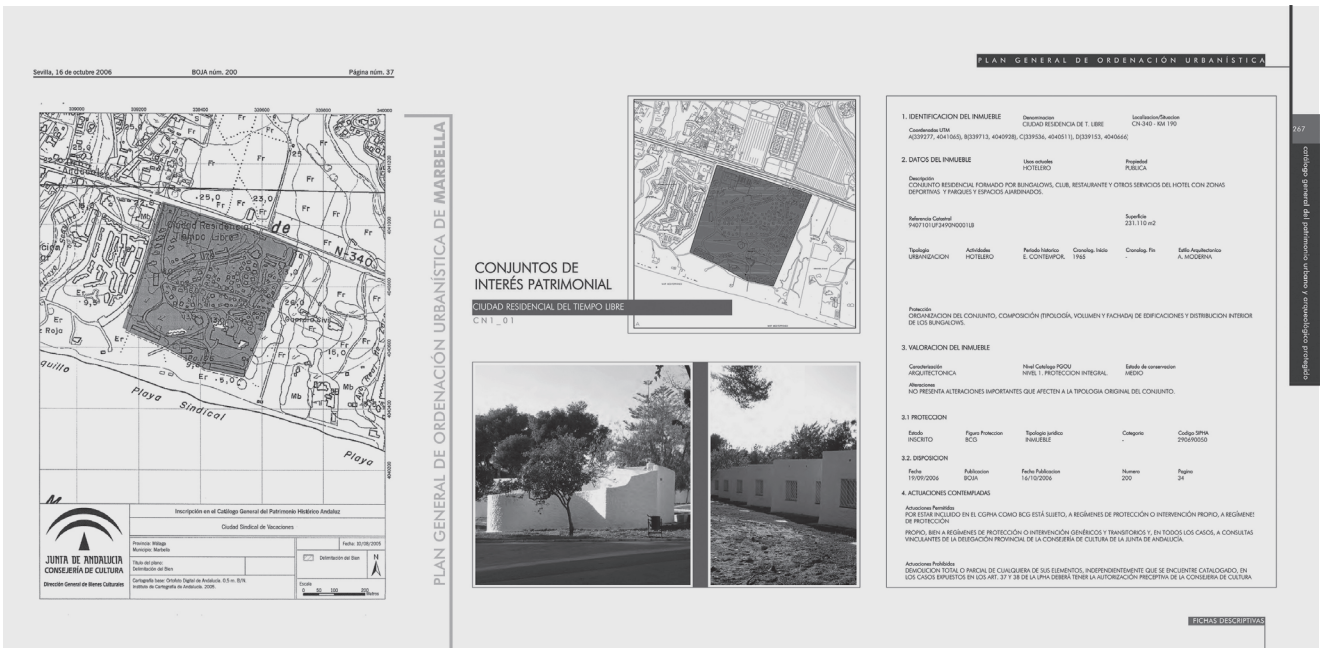
This implied that, although there was a continuity in the social spirit, the goals shifted to support the ideals of the new conservative regime on religion, family and homeland. The change in the spatial formalization is indeed very eloquent: while the projects of the 1930s were designed from the logic of the modern city, defining workers rest as an urban use, the Franco regime promoted self-sufficient complexes, islands in the territory, where architecture became an ally to reproduce its values.

Spatial definition of social leisure

Efficiency and infrastructure, rational approach to work rest, hygienist visions, new functions of the city; the first architecture of rest would incorporate the aspirations of modernity. The *Athens Charter* would identify rest as a function of Modern Urbanism. Together with places for work, dwelling and circulation, the modern city considers leisure as a social premise, accommodating workers’ rest in the city. In fact, the need to leave the city for the weekend or for the holidays is interpreted as the failure of the inherited city, incapable of offering spaces for leisure. Accessibility is an essential element in the choice of location and in some cases a project argument. A sanitary approach to rest predominated in the early modern spatial conceptualization of leisure: its implementation made it possible to move away from the unhealthy conditions of the city and benefit from contact with nature. Leisure focused on the health of the worker, on rest, on the recovery of strength to ensure work productivity and the development of the individual for his ultimate modern identification with the machine. This prophylactic approach would be complemented and replaced in the subsequent stages with active leisure, integrating the enjoyment of nature, culture and sport — all from the collective experience of rest.

The proximity to the city offers the opportunity to think of the ideal city of the worker, incorporating reflections on the growth of the city, on its suburban expansion. This is how the proposals appear, together with the weekend or rest program, spaces for permanent residence and institutional, administrative and cultural facilities. Its denomination as “city” is kept in Franco’s Union Cities, although

01 Manuel Aymerich Amadiós and Ángel Cadarso del Pueyo, *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones de Marbella*, Marbella, Spain, 1959–1962, cover, index of contents and publication of the project in the catalog about the Modern Movement in Andalucía. © Carlos García Vázquez & Ramón Pico Valimaña, MoMo Andalucía. *Arquitectura del Movimiento Moderno en Andalucía 1925–1965*, Sevilla, Consejería de Cultura y Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, 1999.



02 Manuel Aymerich Amadiós and Ángel Cadarso del Pueyo, *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones de Marbella*, Marbella, Spain, 1959–1962, heritage declaration and protection sheet. Left: Andalusian Government protection in 2006, *Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz*. © Boletín Oficial de la Junta de Andalucía No. 200 16/10/2006. Right: Municipal level protection, Heritage Catalog of the Marbella Master Plan of 2005. © Marbella Town Council, *Plan General de Ordenación Urbanística (PGOU) de Marbella*, Marbella, 2005.

the projects are limited to making self-sufficient summer complexes without urban aspirations. Holidays became synonymous with rest in a privileged setting surrounded by nature, disconnected from the city, and a low density architecture integrated in the landscape would formalize this ideal.

Pre-war proposals during the Second Republic. Workers rest within the functions of the modern city

In 1932, GATEPAC stated in capital letters, on the cover of its periodical publication AC, “Es Necesario Organizar el Reposo de las Masas” [It is necessary to organize the leisure for the masses]¹⁵. They chose the general layout of the *Ciutat de Repòs i de Vacances* [Town for Rest and Holidays, 1931–1934], a project by the Catalan faction of the GATEPAC, the GATCPAC, led by the architects Josep Lluís Sert (1902–1983) and Josep Torres Clavé (1906–1939)¹⁶.

...there was no intention of building a permanent satellite nucleus for workers: the definition of zones for rest and leisure was rather a development plan for the city than a proposal for a proletarian town. The prolongation of the Gran Via de las Cortes Catalanas formalized not only the accessibility and the infrastructural argument, but also secured jurisdiction and regulation by Barcelona¹⁷.

The *Ciutat de Repòs i de Vacances* is approached from the territorial and urban logic of the city of Barcelona, and is included in the *Plan Macià*¹⁸. The infrastructural connections solve the problem of access to the sea in the city of Barcelona and allow the public use of 11 kilometers of coastline in the municipalities of El Prat de Llobregat, Gavà, Viladecans and Castelldefels. Deployed on a barely exploited territory, the new “city” was conceived as cooperative enterprise and envisioned direct connections to the capital, thus achieving the democratization of this coastal area. This integrated urban plan, prevented an unarticulated transformation, guided by the whim of the different municipalities.

It isn't creating a new fashionable beach. The project's general orientation is profoundly democratic; aimed only to satisfy a social need of the middle and working classes, there are no casinos or luxury hotels¹⁹.

In spite of its denomination as “city” the project does not propose the ideological and physical construction of a permanent satellite city for the worker, in contrast with the Soviet Garden City in Moscow (1929) which is taken as a reference. The low-density, the respect for natural values and the minimization of road infrastructure created the desire for order and zoning compatible with the offer of a differentiated scenario of this space for workers' leisure²⁰.

The project was divided into four zones²¹; jointly contemplating the weekend and longer stays. It incorporated different facilities for bathing, sports practice, housing focused on short and long stays, camping, hotels, outdoor

cinemas, administrative buildings, amusement parks, shops and even orchards for rent and sanatorium hotels. Focused on the middle and working classes, housing proposals incorporated the modern reflection on the *Existenzminimum*, avoided any superfluous expenses, and explored industrialization in order to democratize vocational architecture. Of all the dwelling solutions, the commitment to the *Caseta Desmontable* [demountable house] stands out, in such a way that it turned this proposal based on industrialization into the first Spanish reflection on modern housing²².

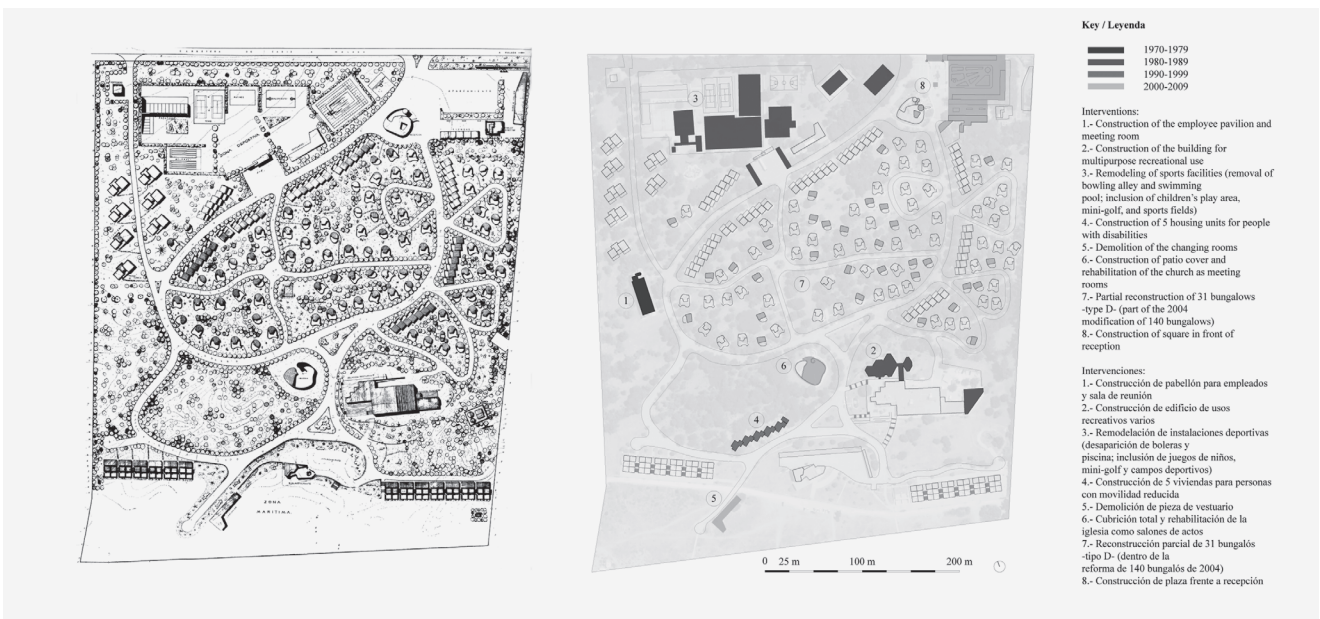
Finally, political events did not allow this proposal to go ahead, despite the interest shown by its authors. Exhibitions and conferences tried to spread the benefits that this performance would bring to Barcelona and its working class. Different groups echoed this initiative and supported it, such as the *Sindicato de Médicos* [Doctors Trade Union], which described it as social medicine²³.

The proposal of the GATEPAC for Madrid was also understood as part of the city and whose main users were its inhabitants. It was located on the banks of the Jarama River and was incorporated into the Madrid Extension Plan in 1933. The proposal was led by Fernando García Mercadal (1896–1985)²⁴. By means of a system of reservoirs, three separate action areas were established that brought together a whole series of constructions to facilitate aquatic activities as well as restaurants, dining rooms and homes. The proposal proceeded on the basis of a preexisting leisure activity, and put special emphasis on accessibility, taking advantage of the existing means of transport from Madrid.

The new order of dictatorship transferred to vacation resorts. From Modern Urban zoning to self-sufficient islands. As we have already pointed out, the Franco regime kept on promoting workers' leisure as, even before the end of the Civil War, the *Obra Sindical de Educación y Descanso* [Trade Union Welfare Fund for ‘Education and Rest’] had a department on Vacations and Trips with a specific section on vacation housing and lodging. In the first years, the Regime relied on existing private lodgings, following the French initiative in the 1930s, until the public lodgings were completed by the *Obra Sindical del Hogar* [Trade Union Welfare Fund for the Home]. More ambitious programs and infrastructure were later addressed, in accordance with the family ideals of the regime. At first, gender differentiated residences were established, while residences designed for families were not built until 1948, with the completion of San Rafael (Segovia)²⁵.

The last step consisted of extending the concept of family residences to the so-called residential cities, where large complexes with a vocation of self-sufficiency and with capacities exceeding one thousand visitors were put into play. Three were completed between the 1950s and the 1960s: Tarragona (Catalonia), Perlora (Asturias) and Marbella (Málaga). In the 1960s, two more VCWs were proposed, in Punta Umbria (Huelva) and Guardamar del Segura (Alicante); neither materialized however, despite being conceived within the new parameters of tourism, which private initiative, with state backing, was already implanting on the Spanish coast.

03 Manuel Aymerich Amadiós and Ángel Cadarso del Pueyo, *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones de Marbella*, Marbella, Spain, 1959–1962, aerial photographs, 1977–1978. © I.G.N. (Spanish Geographical Office), Vuelo interministerial (1973–1986).



04 Manuel Aymerich Amadiós and Ángel Cadarso del Pueyo, *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones de Marbella*, Marbella, Spain, 1959–1962, historic evolution from the original project to the current situation. Left: Master Plans. © "Ciudad Sindical para vacaciones en Marbella", *Hogar y arquitectura: revista bimestral de la obra sindical del bogar*, No. 41, 1962, 2–17. Right: Updated plan including dates of the new constructions, extensions, and demolitions (2018). © Authors' own compilation based on various sources.



05 Manuel Aymerich Amadiós and Ángel Cadarso del Pueyo, *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones de Marbella*, Marbella, Spain, 1959–1962. Left: church tower. Right: current entrance pylon. © Mar Loren-Méndez, June 2006.



06 Manuel Aymerich Amadiós and Ángel Cadarso del Pueyo, *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones de Marbella*, Marbella, Spain, 1959–1962, relation between buildings and their environment. © Mar Loren-Méndez, May 2018.

*The VCWs reaffirmed the concept of rest and holidays as a family activity, consolidating the social structure of the regime based on religious values and indoctrination. These rest and leisure complexes facilitated the definition of activities to be carried out during the holiday, ensuring the social interaction of its inhabitants in fifteen-day relays*²⁶.

La ciudad sindical de Vacaciones de Marbella

The Project

The VCWM was the last one to be built, becoming a programmatic and architectural model, although never further developed. The project was the result of a competition held in 1956, in which architects Manuel Aymerich Amadiós (1918–1982) and Ángel Cadarso del Pueyo²⁷ were selected for the development of the intervention. Construction began in 1959 and the VCWM was inaugurated in 1962. While the three cities diverged in their esthetic proposal, they shared a privilege coastal location and similar programs: the program was in fact the outcome of the proposal of the architects Antonio Pujol Sevil (1902–2001) and Josep Maria Monravà i López (1905–1999) for the VCW of Tarragona.

Located in a strategic area 50 kilometers far from Malaga and around 10 kilometers from Marbella, the VCWM reaffirmed its non-urban vocation, developing a self-sufficient island which even gave service to the local district of Las Chapas. Its program included three areas: housing, communal buildings and sport areas, plus the green spaces, both existing and those that would be promoted with an extensive tree planting intervention.

It occupies a privilege natural space on the Marbella dune ridge, on a plot between the Mediterranean Sea and National Road N-340, which had already become a first order road. The project reflected on the natural values of the area, becoming an essential element of the proposal: the whole complex is organized on the basis of a road structure that organizes and segregates the different uses and is characterized by its organicity and the architectural adaptation to the pre-existing topography on which it appears to rest. Such a principle of action manages to minimize the impact

of the complex so that “... the architecture is understood almost as urban furniture, sculptures set in a large maritime park”²⁸. In contrast with the complexes built in the 1960s on the Mediterranean Spanish coast, in which the density is concentrated closer to the sea, the VCWM preserved the dune fringe, concentrating the program closer to the road (Figure 03).

The sports area is concentrated in the north-west of the plot next to the N-340 road, the maritime area on the coastal edge: changing rooms and bar-restaurant; and the residential area in the central part. Housing was developed the most extensive program, situating the dwellings framed by the community buildings. At the northern limit of the housing area: reception and management building, car parks, shops and the director’s dwelling; in the south: church, relationship building, restaurant and laundromat; and in the West: employees’ dwellings and health services. The dwellings conform to four types: two detached typologies and two semi-detached ones giving a total of 199 dwellings.

This program underwent different changes to the proposal presented to the competition in 1956²⁹. The most outstanding one refers to the dwellings themselves, since only three typologies were contemplated in the original project. Other changes affected the shape and location of some community buildings or the distribution of the different areas of the complex.

Use, transformations and heritage conservation

Over the years, the project has undergone multiple modifications, sometimes losing its original power and coherence. The research carried out by the authors makes it possible to define a chronology and characterization of these transformations³⁰. The present article offers a valuation on these interventions in the context of the loss of heritage values.

On the one hand, we would like to point out that this is the only one of the three built VCW that not only is in use but still preserves the original tourist public program: managed by the *Consejería de Empleo, Empresa y Comercio* [Ministry of Employment, Business and Commerce] of the Andalusian government. The VCW of Tarragona and Perlorá (1956–1961) are in a serious state of neglect, some of their

buildings having been demolished. Taking into account that it is now located in what is called the *Golden Mile* of the Costa del Sol, this exquisite modern heritage has resisted the pressure of speculation and it is still offering a privileged coastal location for all. This is indeed a heritage value that should be emphasized. The fact that this island is still functioning also preserves the natural values of its ridge of dunes whose safeguarding was part of the project approach:

At the territorial level, it can be concluded that, paradoxically, the early urbanization of the coastal area occupied by the Marbella THUT has been key in preserving the natural values of this section of the coast, especially its ridge of dunes. The approach underlying the project, with its emphasis on safeguarding the natural environment, assumes greater relevance when considering that its application was not possible in subsequent interventions, submitted to a normative framework of intensive requirements, both infrastructural and programmatic in character³¹.

Use is indeed a fundamental ally for heritage preservation. However, the fact that this complex was built more than half a century ago poses the need for maintenance and alterations in order to incorporate new living standards and regulations. This complex was built with deficiencies in the quality of construction, which is understandable in those years of Spanish international isolation. This last section reflects on this balance between heritage values and interventions.



07-09 Manuel Aymerich Amadiós and Ángel Cadarso del Pueyo, *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones de Marbella*, Marbella, Spain, 1959-1962, exterior of the new building for recreational uses. © Mar Loren-Méndez, May 2018.

The interventions with greatest impact have implied demolitions, reconstructions, new buildings and extensions. Most of them have mostly taken place prior to the complex's protection in 2006. The following information has been verified in the context of a thorough historical documentation analysis and field visits (Figure 04).

The changing rooms and store rooms located on the beach have been demolished. Thirty-one out of thirty-two housing type D units have been partially reconstructed. These units have undergone the greatest transformation, having been altered in their geometry, while respecting the original compositional and scale criteria. This is also the case of the demolition of the former modern-design gate pylons at the complex's access point, which have been substituted by elements on either side of the entrance that imitate the chapel tower (Figure 05). In the reception building its water tank and ramp for luggage have become, together with the chapel tower, sculptural elements of the complex. It is symptomatic that the iconic force of the tank has been overshadowed by the mimetic addition of the former director's office, which imitates the aesthetic, scale and geometry of the water tank. This was really unveiled only one year ago³², for the previous publications illustrated the project with the reception building without pointing out this fact³³. In these mimetic interventions, the overall impression has not been altered, although we are facing here the historical loss of original pieces and the problems of heritage legibility due to mimetic interventions, hindering an understanding of original elements.



It is also worth noting that some of the construction of new buildings has not been, in some cases, as traumatic as those mimetic interventions. Specifically, the new pavilion of 36 apartments for employees and meeting rooms built in the 1970s, despite breaking with the horizontality of the complex, presents an interesting reflection on high-rise residential use through the white curves of its forms. A new building for recreational use was built in the 1980s and

... this is without a doubt the most aggressive intervention from an architectural point of view: it differs from the rest of the complex in its implantation, geometry and tectonics, occupying moreover a central position next to the dining room block³⁴ (Figure 07–09).

While a recreational building has been added, the original restaurant and bar of the complex, once representing the epitome of this sublime integration of local tradition and modern sophistication, is not in use and in a clear state of abandonment. In the 1990s, five new housing units were constructed for the disabled, incorporating the new social demands for leisure architecture. They are located close to the coast limit of the complex in order to minimize the distance to the beach for their users. A porch directly faces the street; its formal solution with classical columns being doubtful, but it preserved the scale of the complex. Both the recreational building and the houses for the disabled have been excluded from the 2006 protection of the complex.

All the bibliographical references on the iconic power of the church have not prevented its profound transformation. The interior has been completely refurbished, with a clear loss of its typological values: its courtyard which was a transitional element to the exterior, in typological dialogue with the houses, has profoundly modified the relationship with the exterior. Its use as a standardized assembly hall has not reflected on the symbolic nature of this architectural piece. Despite not having undergone major changes in its external appearance, the partial salmon color of its walls and the blue woodwork marking the access to the building are very worrying. The bell void in the tower has been filled in a failed attempt of reinterpreting the new role of the building after the dictatorship.

Finally, a special mention should be made regarding the constant change of tectonics and the inclusion of new urban furniture such as benches and fountains: tiles and bricks, prefabricated elements are now very present in this complex, distorting the integrity of this historic example of social leisure architecture.

In spite of all the transformations, the power and character of the project can be recognized thanks to the conservation of original elements, its relationships and routes. The vegetation, the gradation of density, the constitution of elements perched in the landscape and the formalization based on white curvilinear elements, among other characteristics, allow an evocation of a singular world alien to the city proposed in the original project: the vegetation still conveys the image of a town submerged in woodland, and the sculptural character of its white walls persists. Nevertheless, the historical loss of original elements could

be evoked, revealing the lack of protection in spite of the local and regional legal regulation. The continuity of its leisure use together with the quality of this modern architecture in dialog with the place succeed in prolonging the social vision of rest from the mid-20th century to the present day, demanding a special integral heritage plan for this unique piece of modern heritage (Figure 06).

Notes

- 1 These vacation complexes have received different names: *Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones*, *Ciudad Residencial para Productores*, *Ciudad para Vacaciones*, *Residencia de Tiempo Libre*. In its first monograph article the name was translated into English as the Trade Union Holiday Town (TUHT). In this article we are translating it as Vacation City for Workers (vcw).
- 2 Author translation from the original: “*Sus paredes con chinarro encalado, las terrazas planas, y las inútiles vigas de hormigón, sobresaliendo en los laterales, muestran un deseo candoroso, pero muy refinado a la vez, de conciliar la modernidad con lo popular. Tal maridaje es increíblemente enfático. Las curvas exageradas, de raíz barroca y surreal, no contradicen la voluntad de aparentar una rústica simplicidad*”. Juan Antonio Ramírez, Diego Santos, Carlos Canal, *El estilo del relax N-340. Málaga, b. 1953-1965*, Málaga, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Andalucía Oriental, 1987.
- 3 Joffre Dumazedier, *Vers une civilisation du loisir?*, Paris, Seuil, 1962.
- 4 José Miguel Morales Folguera, *Arquitectura del ocio en la Costa del Sol*, Málaga, Universidad de Málaga, 1982.
- 5 Carlos García Vázquez, Ramón Pico Valimaña, *MOMO Andalucía. Arquitectura del Movimiento Moderno en Andalucía 1925-1965*, Sevilla, Consejería de Cultura y Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, 1999.
- 6 All the different IAPH heritage databases have been integrated as the *Guía digital del patrimonio cultural de Andalucía* (Andalusian Cultural Heritage Digital Guide).
- 7 RAAC is a research project focused on Andalusian architecture of the 20th Century. This was developed by the IAPH with the Research Group: *Ciudad, Arquitectura y Patrimonio Contemporáneos* de Universidad de Sevilla and Dirección General de Bienes Culturales (DGB-C).
- 8 Ricardo Carcelén-González, “Cuando la clase obrera se hizo turista. Las ciudades de vacaciones de la Obra Sindical de Educación y Descanso. Estudio de un modelo inacabado 1955-1975”. Doctoral Thesis, Universidad Politécnica de Cartagena, 2017.
- 9 Jordi Guerrero Fernández, *Ciudad residencial de educación y descanso de Tarragona, 1954-1959: la organización del ocio obrero en la posguerra española*, MA Final Project, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, 2016.
- 10 Mar Loren-Méndez, Daniel Pinzón-Ayala, “Worker’s right to rest: the ‘Ciudad Sindical de Vacaciones’ of Marbella”, *vlc arquitectura*, Vol. 5, No. 2, València, Escola Tècnica Superior d’Arquitectura, Universitat Politècnica de València, 2018, 91–126.
- 11 It also included the housing complex *Desfile del Amor* (Málaga), the *Hotel Pez Espada* (Torremolinos) and the Nautical Club (Torre del Mar). The fact that the architectural protection of Modern Movement in Malaga took place later than in other provinces confirmed the peripheral character of this province. Mar Loren-Méndez, “La modernidad española como relato de las periferias. Laboratorio arquitectónico y visiones urbanas en el alejado sur ibero”, *Apuntes*, Vol. 21, No. 2, Bogotá, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2008, 234–251.
- 12 *Consejería De Cultura*, “Resolución de 19 de septiembre de 2006, de la Dirección General de Bienes Culturales, por la que se resuelve inscribir colectivamente, con carácter genérico, en el Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz, cuatro bienes inmuebles del Movimiento Moderno de la provincia de Málaga”, *BOJA*, No. 200, October 16, 2006, 34–40.
- 13 United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Paris, 1948, art. 24.
- 14 *Jefatura del Estado* (Office of the Head of State), “Decreto aprobando el Fuero del Trabajo formulado por el Consejo Nacional de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S.”, *BOE*, No. 505, 10th March 1938, 6179.
- 15 “La ciudad de reposo que necesita Barcelona”, *AC, Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, No. 7, 1932, 24–31.
- 16 In 1929 these two architects decided to develop their Final Project on leisure architecture, confirming their commitment with leisure planning within the modern approach to the city.

- 17 Mar Loren-Méndez, Daniel Pinzón-Ayala, op. cit., 97.
- 18 The *Plan Macià* was an urban project thought to Barcelona urban development and designed between 1932–1935 by the architects of GATCPAC, with the collaboration of Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. The plan remained as a project.
- 19 Authors free translation from the original: “No se trata de crear una nueva playa de moda. La orientación general del proyecto es profundamente democrática; encaminada solo a satisfacer una necesidad social de las clases media y trabajadora, y en él se prescinde en absoluto de casinos y hoteles de lujo”. “La ciudad de reposo que necesita Barcelona”, AC, Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea, No. 7, 1932, 27.
- 20 Although some authors have considered it as an exercise of desurbanization due to the absence of constructions in the strip closest to the beach and a promenade, (Roger Sauquet Llonch, *La Ciutat de Repòs i Vacances del GATCPAC (1931–1938). Un paisatge pel descans*, PhD dissertation, Sant Cugat del Valles, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, 2012, 20–21) both the layout and the perspectives present an ordered and planned space through grid streets, with a relevant presence of the architectures complementing the existing pine forests.
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- 25 Mar Loren-Méndez, Daniel Pinzón-Ayala, op. cit., 98–99.
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- 27 “Ciudad Sindical para vacaciones en Marbella”, *Hogar y Arquitectura*, No. 41, 1962, 3. The architectural students Ignacio Gárate and Alfonso Crespo collaborated in the preliminary project. The architects also designed the furniture in collaboration with José M. Arangüena and Calixto del Barrio.
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Philippos Vokos, Xenia Travel Station, Platamonas, Greece, 1961. Currently abandoned. © Emilia Athanassiou, March 2011.

Weaving the *Xenia* network in post-war Greece: The ethical structure of hospitality

BY EMILIA ATHANASSIOU

Tourism is examined as a vehicle for modernizing society and educating the people about mobility and the emerging cultures of leisure in postwar Greece. The focus lies on the historical, social and political milieu in which the re-launched Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO) conceived and carried out the state-run *Xenia* program for a network of accommodation facilities and infrastructure, in the 1950s and 1960s. The *Xenia* network upgraded Greece's hotel hospitality and consolidated its tourism industry as a strong pillar of its economy. More importantly, it rewove the country's war-torn social fabric by infusing Greek society with visions of individual prosperity, collective progress and democratic participation.

Introduction

Xenia in Homer's *Odyssey* stands for hospitality shown to a guest or the terms that define the relationship between a host and a guest¹. More specifically, *Xenia* describes a powerful institution in Ancient Greece, supported by unwritten rules and solemn customs, which regulated the relationship between traveling individuals from different regions and their hosts². *Xenia* enabled individuals to travel to different territories and receive accommodation and meals, as their hosts were morally bound to ensure their safety and well-being for the duration of their stay. It also ensured that guests would show respect towards their hosts and would not take advantage of their hospitality. Such was the significance of the concept that Zeus was named *Xenios* god protector of the travelers/guests. In addition, Homer demonstrates that *Xenia* provided a way of measuring the degree of civilization in a community, since it created a sacred and ethical bond between the "self" and the "other"³. This might explain why the Greek National Tourism Organization (GNTO), the main government agency responsible for formulating and carrying out tourism policy in postwar Greece, chose this symbolically rich name for the new hospitality infrastructure network that aimed to get the country's economy into shape, by redeveloping its tourism industry. In the 1950s, during the course of the country's much needed and painstakingly slow reconstruction, tourism was the sector that looked more promising for attracting foreign exchange as a means of balancing public finances.

In October 1950, in the midst of a long period of political instability⁴, inconclusive electoral results and unsuccessful government formation attempts, Prime Minister (PM) Sophocles Venizelos' administration re-launched the GNTO, with mandatory law 1565/50. In doing so, the government appeared to have finally responded to persistent and

pressing demands made by the Americans, who, in their capacity as administrators of the financial and technical aid that came with the Marshall Plan, sought a new master plan for the redevelopment of tourism in Greece. In the face of slow progress in the front of Greece's industrialization, the Americans turned to tourism for viable solutions to the anemic economic recovery of the country. The newly established organization played a key role in the effective realization of their short-term plans for economic growth and prosperity. The philosophy of the GNTO's policy addressed three main axes: quality, quantity, and dispersal, that is, activated as many tourist destinations in the Greek mainland and the islands as possible, with small-scale hospitality infrastructure that offered appealing services to the foreign visitors. A wide range of projects were materialized in the following two decades⁵ that can be filed under four major categories: a. transportation; b. hospitality: designing and constructing new, state-run hotels, motels and organized camping sites; c. leisure: designing and constructing tourist pavilions, organized beaches and sports facilities, rehabilitating and/or embellishing archaeological sites, monuments and places of exceptional natural beauty and organizing or sponsoring cultural (such as the Epidaurus Festival), and leisure events and d. promotion: promoting Greece as an attractive tourist destination for international audiences via printed material and travel documentaries (Figure 01).

The *Xenia* Experiment

Although the systematic efforts of putting Greece on the map of international tourist interest began as early as 1950, the *Xenia* program, with the construction of the various types of tourist facilities on a nationwide scale, did not reach full swing before 1957–1959 and peaked under PM Konstantinos Karamanlis' administration's five-year tourist

01 *Xenia Hotels and Motels, prospectus (in German), April 1966, GNTO.*
© GNTO Archives.



02 *Xenia facilities and their location on the map of Greece, prospectus (in German), April 1966, GNTO.* © GNTO Archives.



program of 1960–1964⁶. The fundamental idea of the program was to furnish the country with modern tourist facilities, in accordance with developments taking place elsewhere in the world and the Mediterranean in particular⁷. These were designed to both capture the imagination of the middle-class international tourist, capitalizing on Greece's ancient past, nature, weather and, surprisingly, its services to the Allied Forces during WWII, and address the heightening drive for domestic travel by the local, urban bourgeoisie. Between 1950 and 1955, only three new state-run hotels and four tourist pavilions were built, with a total capacity of 143 beds, and a mere eight pre-war pavilions were renovated by the Technical Directorate (TD) of the GNTO⁸. In these early and formative years for the philosophy of the program, GNTO⁹ officials laid the groundwork for the development of a plan that provided the *Xenia* infrastructure with its distinctive architectural character. This character was articulated most eloquently when architect Aris Konstantinidis (1913–1993) was appointed Chief of the Projects Department (PD) of the TD. Hence, between 1955 and 1960, 31 new hotels, with a capacity of 1,600 beds in total, and 18 tourist pavilions and travel stations were completed, while in 1960 alone, 33 hotels, with a total capacity of 2,350 beds, and 21 pavilions and travel stations were under construction (Figure 02).

The successful implementation of the *Xenia* program required strong political will from the government on the one hand and methodical and persistent efforts by the Board of Directors of the GNTO on the other hand, which had adopted and supported modernist architecture, propounded by the effective and visionary architects of the TD. More specifically, they were responsible for locating suitable sites for the construction of new tourist facilities, drawing their plans, and supervising their construction. Finally, either the new facilities were run by the organization or their management was assigned to qualified individuals, following public calls of interest. Although, its infrastructure was designed mostly by in-office architects and engineers, many projects were outsourced to private, established architectural firms, thus inaugurating a successful partnership between the public and private sectors¹⁰.

Between 1951 and 1958, architect Charalambos Sfaellos (1914–2004) served as Head of the TD, setting up the

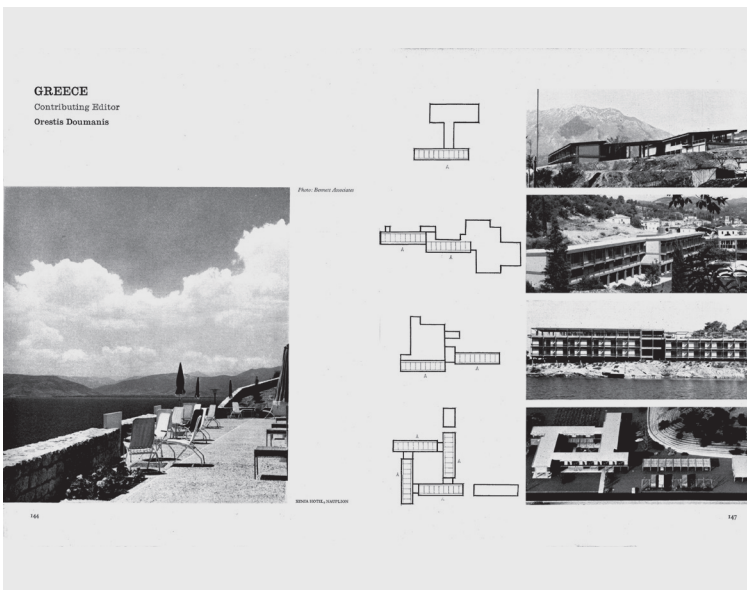
state-run tourist accommodation program of medium and small scale hotels and motels across the country, a network which would soon acquire the name of *Xenia*. This heroic period of experimentation with the formal and stylistic traits of the *Xenia* network was marked by enthusiastic productivity, despite the limited funding. The work of the GNTO under Charalambos Sfaellos can be read as an unelaborate, timid and incomplete transition to the acute postwar modernist architectural idiom that would soon follow¹¹. Capitalizing on previous experience gained under the Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece (ECA/G), the GNTO managed to include areas previously ignored by the American perspective that sought immediate results. Hence, several peripheral towns, sites and locations of interest were introduced to the program and were endowed with modern infrastructure. Besides their contribution to tourism development, the infrastructure located in distant areas of the country held enormous economic and social significance, as they provided local communities with a new concept of communal space. GNTO's implied agenda concerning the modernization of the Greek countryside promoted the notion that the newly-built infrastructure was not aimed only at tourists and travelers, but at the local community as well. *Xenia* hotels and motels, besides tourism, also served as a highly modern backdrop for various local entertainment and recreational events, performances, religious or secular ceremonies, political gatherings and receptions of government officials, often compensating for the shortcomings of small towns in proper infrastructure and modernizing the context of the public presence of power. Hence, *Xenia* facilities served as ambassadors of modernity, proposing not only a new architectural style but a fresh viewpoint and a novel ethical stance, to the introvert, isolated and “backward” societies of the Greek hinterland and the islands. They offered an appropriate setting for the initiation of the locals in an urban life-style, different from the traditional one, or a hybrid combination of the two, as is so eloquently represented in many cinematic reconstructions of the experience of the Greek summer on the silver screen¹².

Between 1957 and 1967, architect Aris Konstantinidis was appointed Chief of the PD. Konstantinidis intensified production and personally designed twelve *Xenia* projects.

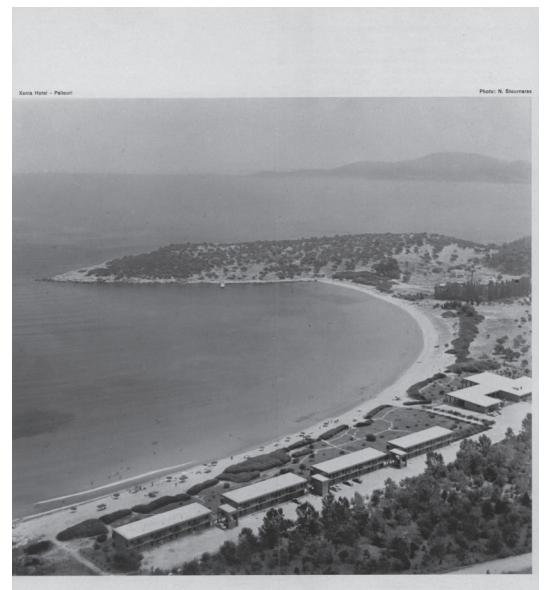
03 Yannis Triantafyllidis, *Akronafplia Xenia* Hotel, Nafplio, Greece, 1961. Currently abandoned. © Stavros Alifragkis, September 2012.



04 Aris Konstantinidis, *Xenia* Motel, Larissa, Greece, 1958. © Archimedes Athanassiou, May 1961.



05 Left page: The terrace in Yannis Triantafyllidis' *Akronafplia Xenia* Hotel, 1961. Right page: Four projects by Aris Konstantinidis. From top to bottom: *Kalambaka Xenia* Motel (1960, currently abandoned), *Olympia I Xenia* Motel (1963), *Poros Xenia* Hotel (1963, currently in use) and *Olympia II Xenia* Hotel (1966). © Aris Konstantinidis, "Architecture of Xenia Hotels", in J. Donat (ed.), *World Architecture 3/Art and Technology: Towards a third culture in architecture*, 1966.



06 Aris Konstantinidis, *Xenia* Motel Paliouri, Chalkidiki, Greece, 1960. Prospectus by GNTD, May 1970. © N. Stourmaras, GNTD Archives.

Under his supervision, the *Xenia* infrastructure achieved a distinct, mature and solid architectural character, by applying postwar functionalism and successfully adapting the principles and traits of modernist architecture to the Greek natural landscape, while leaving behind prewar formalisms or strict design typologies¹³. His personal modernism is often interpreted by Greek architectural historians as an idiosyncratic architectural expression that draws freely from the country's rich architectural tradition, namely classical dwelling typologies, such as the harmonious coexistence of the ancient Greek temple with the surrounding landscape, or the choreographic succession and proportional relation of open, semi-open, covered and closed spaces, which had survived in the medieval, anonymous, vernacular architecture of the Greek islands¹⁴. Most of the *Xenia* infrastructure reflected Konstantinidis' main priorities: unique sites of exceptional natural beauty (Figure 03), modest scale¹⁵ and fragmentation of the building's volume as a means of adjusting to the surrounding topography. Under Konstantinidis, the *Xenia* program was largely standardized on many levels. He introduced new types of areas of communal use in order to give life to the hotel all year round by attracting non-hotel guests and the locals. The aim was to turn the hotel into a space of convergence, where the local could meet the international and vice versa, where the self could come to terms with otherness¹⁶. In this respect, the architecture of the new hotels served a performative rhetoric that is compatible with the Homeric concept of *Xenia*; turning guests that were treated well by their hosts into long-lasting friends of Greece¹⁷.

Aris Konstantinidis also minimized the circulation areas of the hotel by regrouping relevant functions and launched the design of modern, elegant, but not luxurious, furnishings, as well as the use of original, modern artworks by Greek artists for the embellishment of interior and exterior communal spaces. *Xenia* hotels and motels combined extensive use of regional morphological elements and local materials (stone or marble) with modern construction techniques, such as reinforced concrete and steel. The reinforced concrete frame followed a 4×4 or 4×6 meters grid and was left, at times, unplastered and board-marked. Walls were built with mortared stone or exposed brick (Essay cover figure) or clad with ceramic tiles, while coated masonry was painted in primary colors or in the four colors of the ancient Polygnotian tradition¹⁸. Intensely colored timber window frames and metal vertical details supplemented the morphology of the *Xenia* network (Figure 07–09). Interior spaces combined Brutalist aesthetics with modern and traditional features. In some cases, local fabrics and carpets decorated floors, walls or furniture to enhance the local character, the so-called *couleur-local*. Finally, paintings or sculptures by Greek modern artists conveyed a sense of contemporaneity to the country's pleasant folklore backwardness and ancient timelessness. Modern art showcased in the *Xenias* resonated with international guests, but also functioned in an educative way for the locals. The austere, terse and laconic architecture of the *Xenia* chain introduced a new aesthetic experience and a novel dwelling mode for

tourism, as well as a distinctive ethos in the hotel business, which served surprisingly well its purpose until their eventual decline in the 1980s¹⁹.

Automobility and modern architecture: the Greek motel

In postwar Western Europe, the national Missions of the Marshall Plan promoted the deployment of the automobile by enabling favorable policies for the automotive industry. This resulted in the establishment of a new lifestyle that laid the groundwork for the emerging automobility cultures. The proliferation of the car required the construction of extensive road networks, which, in turn, prompted tourism development on the one hand and popularized modernist architecture on the other hand, in the form of newly built motels and travel stops along Europe's highways. In Greece, widespread motorization and mass summer vacations as interrelated phenomena took a more solid shape in the early 1960s, aided by the state policy of paid vacation, which was introduced as early as 1945, immediately after WWII. Thus, prewar perceptions of travel as an adventurous, exclusive and extraordinary experience, suggestive of class superiority, evolved in the postwar phenomenon of summer leave for leisure and recreation, forming a well-established social habit of escaping from the harsh realities and everyday routines of the city to the countryside, a democratic right for every social class and a crucial sector of the economy²⁰.

By the mid-1950s, it had become apparent to GNTO officials that promoting domestic tourism, alongside international, was a necessary precondition for the viability of Greece's tourism program. To this end, the country strove to gradually acquire a reliable and extensive nation-wide road network, an essential prerequisite for stimulating postwar economic activity. Much alike the electrification of the Greek provinces, the arrival of local and foreign visitors and the strategic distribution of GNTO's tourist facilities throughout the country were expected to revitalize and modernize remote regions. Furthermore, leisure and travel were expected to contribute to the psychological and moral lift of the Greek countryside, where, after years of warfare, political conflicts and economic stagnation, the gradual initiation to a modern lifestyle had finally commenced. Hence the educational value of tourism and its transformative power, which facilitated the westernization of the Greek society. From this educational process towards modernism and consumerism a new generation of Greeks emerged, trained by driving through the rhetorical spaces of contemporary motorways and modern motels, amidst an idealized landscape, where leisure and consumerism posed an indisputable solution to the problem of Greece's economy recovery²¹. Thus, modernization, as technological utopia, trendy lifestyle and novel architectural idiom, serviced the official, national narrative with a rhetorical argument that promoted progress via a free market and westernized economy. This became a recurring political slogan and a constantly unreachable target for generations to come.



Between 1938 and 1963, the number of tourists who visited Greece by automobile tripled. Figures grew exponentially toward the end of the 1950s, due to the newly-established ferry crossing between Greece and Italy at the port of Igoumenitsa²². It was a project of great symbolic and economic importance for Greece that opened a door to Europe and strengthened the country's collective sense of "belonging to the West" that PM Karamanlis' administration was promoting as the dominant national, defense, economic and cultural narrative. The connection between these two countries was supplemented by a series of tourism projects, designed to meet the specific requirements of those touring Greece by car²³. The new hybrid building type that gradually emerged along Greece's highways and scenic routes, faintly echoed its American ancestor; it was meant to appeal to the aesthetics and cater to the needs of the modern traveler, by introducing new typological and morphological standards that were expected to work as prototypes for the private sector, furthering private initiative in the development of tourism.

The architectural type of the *Xenia* motel was introduced by Konstantinidis in 1958 and soon became a very popular building type. One of the main reasons for this was the significantly lower construction cost, compared to a hotel of similar size. Naturally, easy access – but not necessarily visual contact – to one's vehicle was a major concern. It successfully answered the call for a specifically Greek modern architectural idiom, while providing basic services as a small-scale hotel. In this respect, the *Xenias* did not function as a scenic background for the country's antiquities, mechanically reproducing ancient or vernacular architectural styles in a folkloric manner. Rather, they presented articulate propagators, whose strong architectural statements and eloquent arguments favored progress and prosperity through westernization and modernization. The rudimentary architectural program of the GNT0

motels made no provision for large reception areas or spacious lounges in order to reduce the overall operating costs, since, by eliminating excess services and their corresponding spaces, fewer staff was needed, management was simplified and costs were minimized. On April 22, 1959, PM Karamanlis' administration attempted to regulate the operation of the new accommodation type with the Royal Decree *On the requirements of motels, hostels and rooms for rent*²⁴. Filed under the term *motels* were all hospitality facilities located outside residential areas or at the outskirts of cities and towns, which consisted of either a single building or several smaller ones, specifically designed to offer parking space, as well as a service station. Since motels were located near highways, they were targeting mainly tourists touring Greece by car. However, it soon became clear that motels also served all-year-round travel, such as mobile workers, business representatives, commercial salesmen, public officials etc. Thus, heating and light meal services became mandatory on a 24-hour basis, unlike other *Xenia* facilities, which lacked central heating and, in some cases, were expected to cease operation in the winter. Finally, new specifications concerning room size, furnishings and equipment were defined, with a clear intention to upgrade the accommodation conditions. In particular, the decree called for a minimum of two beds per room, an area of at least 8 square meters (m²) for the single room and 12 m² for the double room, ensuite bathrooms and, finally, reverse cycle air-conditioning in all rooms and communal areas.

The *Xenia* motels can be grouped in two distinct categories. The first type was introduced by Aris Konstantinidis. It describes an effort to apply the American functionalist type to the local landscape, by separating the communal areas from the room wings. In other words, the two (or more) independent buildings were typologically and morphologically defined by their function and the different services they were providing (Figure 05). At the same time,

the usually single-story buildings and the ortho-canonical arrangement of the ground-floor layout constituted the very definition of Doric simplicity, since one could detect in the reinforced concrete structural frame of these motels subtle references to the ancient Greek column and beam construction system²⁵. The second type of motels followed the logic of a more compact, single-unit building or building complex, styled after a scaled-down version of a *Xenia* hotel, offering full services in less space²⁶. Konstantinidis designed his first motel in Larissa, in 1958. It was the first GNT0 facility that officially bore the name *Xenia*. The new motel was located at a flat and open area outside the city, next to the highway that connected Northern Greece and Thessaloniki with Athens. The single-story main building housed the reception desk, the restaurant and its kitchen, a residence for the hotelier, and public toilets and showers for the transit tourist (Figure 04). The adjacent service station completed the range of services offered there. Rooms were located in separate, two-story wings, dispersed evenly in the surrounding area. Each wing consisted of six double rooms on the first floor and corresponding parking spaces on the ground floor (Figure 06). Visitors, after checking in, would park directly underneath their room. This minimized walking distances while spared visitors from the view of rows of parked vehicles. From the ground floor parking area, a single staircase gave access to two rooms. Visitors would also have to carry their own luggage up to their rooms, since the motel did not offer room service. Breakfast was served in the main restaurant and never in the rooms, or at the bar, since the motel offered no additional sitting or living areas. Aris Konstantinidis' plan for the motel in Larissa formed the basis of the *Xenia* motel in Igoumenitsa (1959), with a different arrangement of buildings in order to accommodate the ample view to the sea. According to him, Igoumenitsa was seen as an architectural experiment on whether one could apply identical solutions to similar morphological and climatic landscapes²⁷. Creative experimentation with the *Xenia* motels, however, was not limited to the above-mentioned typological and morphological investigations. GNT0 architects strove to achieve low-tech, economic solutions to condition the microclimate of the facilities with the use of passive bioclimatic design, such as south orientation, unobstructed air circulation, vegetation for sun-protection and shading, planting wind barriers etc. The fact that the GNT0 had complete control of the overall design process, from the microscale of the furniture to the large scale of the landscaping, presents an interesting case of a holistic design approach, unique in Greek architecture.

Epilogue

The *Xenias* were very popular at the time, as they constituted extremely attractive alternatives to the private sector, especially among the Greek middle class, which had gradually adapted to the travel cultures of the 1950s and 1960s. Between 1951 and 1967, the reinstated GNT0 managed to secure the conditions for the rapid development of Greek tourism, despite the economic turmoil, the political instability, the conflicts and the various claims made by the

professional guild of private hoteliers, who felt threatened by the initiatives of the State. In any case, the State was not ready to relinquish its role in controlling the tourism agenda, especially when it was embedded so firmly in the national narrative and State rhetoric of the times. It should be noted, though, that the initial intention of the GNT0 was to set not only the typical but also the aesthetic standards for private initiative in tourism, using the *Xenia* network as a model, an exemplary display of modern perception of space, whose architecture, besides being morphologically and functionally modern, also propounded new ways of dwelling in the neglected areas of Greece²⁸. The *Xenias* remained popular until the late 1980s, when their rapid decay and abandonment began. This happened at a time when many long-term leases of their management began to expire and the buildings were considered worn-out and obsolete. Furthermore, new energy and seismic safety measures and regulations turned their remodeling and retrofitting into a financially risky, time-consuming and technologically ambitious undertaking. At the same time, the austere and ascetic model of leisure promoted by the *Xenia* network had fallen out of fashion both with domestic and international audiences. This was also a transformative period for the GNT0, who became an agency for promoting tourism in Greece instead of a laboratory of creative experimentation with various forms of arts and their ideal convergence in the *heterotopia* of the hotel. The *Xenia* experiment had succeeded but the buildings and their modern architecture were condemned to a slow and silent death. In retrospect, one has to acknowledge that the GNT0, despite their systematic attempts to produce a coherent and consistent model for moderate tourism development, that distinguished itself from the dominant paradigm of the international hotel chain, had failed to introduce enough flexibility and adaptability in order to make the model sustainable over time. The current, poor condition of the remaining *Xenia* buildings (some have been demolished, while a few others have turned into luxurious hotels with varying degrees of success) calls for a framework for their rehabilitation and reuse, on the basis of their exceptional architectural qualities²⁹, but also their overall design philosophy, which reflected a remarkable ethos towards the stranger (*xenos*). With this in mind, turning the remaining of the GNT0 facilities, after more than twenty years of abandonment and decline, into shelters for the contemporary suppliants who seek asylum and, therefore, protection in Greece, would not be entirely without merit.

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- 5 Myrianthe Moussa, Athens, 2017, 264–279.
- 6 Vassilis Colonas, “Tourist Facilities in Greece 1950–1974”, in Yannis Aesopos, (ed.), Athens, 2015, 62–87.
- 7 Hotel networks had already been implemented in Spain with *Paradores* since 1928 and in Portugal with *Pousadas* since 1938. Initially, the *Pousadas* were buildings of an inter-war hybrid architectural style with traditional and modern elements and *Paradores* were luxury hotels located in historical medieval castles. See Ricardo Agarez, “Regional identity for the leisure of travellers: early tourism infrastructure in the Algarve, Portugal, 1940–1965”, *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol.18, No.5 London, RIBA, 2013, 721–723. See also *Arquitectura Moderna y Turismo: 1925–1965*, Fundación **docomomo** Ibérico, Actas IV Congreso, Valencia, 6–8 de noviembre 2003, and Susana Lobo, *Pousadas de Portugal: Reflexos da Arquitectura Portuguesa do século XX*, Coimbra, Coimbra University Press, 2007.
- 8 The initial period of the GNT0, under the Marshall Plan, has left us with a limited but indicative of the high expectations for the corpus of architectural projects, such as the tourist pavilions of Mycenae (1951) and Epidaurus (1953) by architect Kimon Laskaris (1905–1978), as well as *Amfitryon* hotel (1951) in Nafplion by architect Kleon Krantonellis (1912–1978), officially the first new tourist hotel designed by the organization.
- 9 December 1951 marked the completion of the Marshall Plan for Greece and the reassignment of the budget for the country’s tourism development program under state funding. In January 1952, following the end of direct US supervision over Greek affairs, there was a change in the leadership of the GNT0. Lawyer and former Member of Parliament (MP) Nikolaos Fokas took over as the first post-Marshall Plan Secretary General. In the twelve years of his administration, from 1952 to 1964, the GNT0 conceived, designed and constructed an imaginative, innovative and ambitious program for the rehabilitation of Greece’s tourism infrastructure, spearheaded by the design, construction and management of hotels, motels, tourist pavilions, travel stations and organized beaches and camping sites under the Xenia brand name. The GNT0 at the time was staffed by a small but effective team of visionaries, modernist architects and civil engineers, talented artists and graphic designers, as well as enthusiastic administrative staff, organized in different directorates and departments with distinct responsibilities that coordinated the implementation of a multifaceted tourism policy, and, in the following decade, changed the landscape of Greek tourism. Essentially, the TD functioned as a large-scale laboratory of experimentation with modern architecture in Greece.
- 10 Until 1960, approximately forty distinguished Greek architectural firms had collaborated with the GNT0 in various projects.
- 11 A typical example of this period is the *Hotel du Lac*, in Kastoria (1953), designed by Charalambos Sfaellos.
- 12 Stavros Alifragkis, “Cinematic Gazes into Greek Tourism”, in Yannis Aesopos (ed.), Athens, 2015, 262–279.
- 13 Dimitris Philippides, Athens, 1984, 289.
- 14 Helen Fessas-Emmanouil, “Modernization, Originality and Genius Loci: The Groundbreaking Hotel Architecture of Aris Konstantinidis 1958–1967”, in Yannis Aesopos (ed.), Athens, 2015, 148–159.
- 15 In two exceptional cases, such as the *Xenia* in Arta (1958) by Dionysios Zivas (1928–2018) and the *Akronafplia Xenia* at Nafplio (1961) by Yiannis Triantafyllidis, the newly-erected buildings of modern architecture were successfully situated within the walls of the local medieval fortresses.
- 16 Aris Konstantinides, London, 1966, 144–147.
- 17 Kazuhiko Yamamoto, “The Ethical Structure of Homeric Society”, *Collegium Antropologicum*, Zagreb, Zagreb Croatian Anthropological Society etc., No. 26, 2002, 695–709.
- 18 Polygnotus was an ancient Greek painter of the 5th century BC, who introduced four fundamental colors (white, black, terracotta red, and ochre) in ancient Greek painting.
- 19 Pantelis Nicolacopoulos, “Xenia Hotels 1950–1967: The Vision of Modernism”, in Yannis Aesopos (ed.), Athens, 2015, 140–145.
- 20 Ning Wang, *Tourism and Modernity — A Sociological Analysis*, New York, Pergamon, 2000, 188–189.
- 21 Stavros Alifragkis, Emilia Athanassiou, “Educating Greece in modernity: post-war tourism and western politics”, *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 18, No. 5, London, RIBA, 2013, 699–720.
- 22 Igoumenitsa’s connection with Brindisi started on August, 1st 1960, with the Greek ferry-boat *M/S Egnatia* on a daily basis. In 1961, the line was supplemented with a second ferry boat, the Italian *M/S Appia*.
- 23 These projects were a new Customs Station in Igoumenitsa by Giorgos Nikolettopoulos, the *Xenia* motel in Igoumenitsa (Konstantinidis, 1958), the now-demolished *Xenia* hotel in Ioannina (Philippos Vokos, 1958), the *Xenia* hotel in Arta (Dionysios Zivas, 1958), the *Xenia* motel in Messolonghi (Yiannis Triantafyllidis, 1958), the rehabilitation of the Igoumenitsa-Ioannina road, as well as the upgrade of the whole tourism infrastructure network in western Greece.
- 24 Government Gazette (FEK) A 71/22-04-1959.
- 25 Typical examples of this category were the *Xenia* motels in Larissa (1958), Igoumenitsa (1959), Kalambaka (1960) and Paliouri (1962).
- 26 The *Xenia* motel of Messolonghi (Yiannis Triantafyllidis, 1962) was the most prominent example of this category.
- 27 Aris Konstantinidis, 1992, 272–273.
- 28 In 1963, the GNT0 owned and managed 74 hotels and motels, with a capacity of 2,608 rooms and 5,004 beds, without taking into account the various hostels and the travel stops.
- 29 Vassilis Colonas, Athens, 2018, 121–127.

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From paid holidays to mass tourism: a typological evolution

BY SUSANA LOBO

in memory of Tiago Freitas (1977–2017)¹

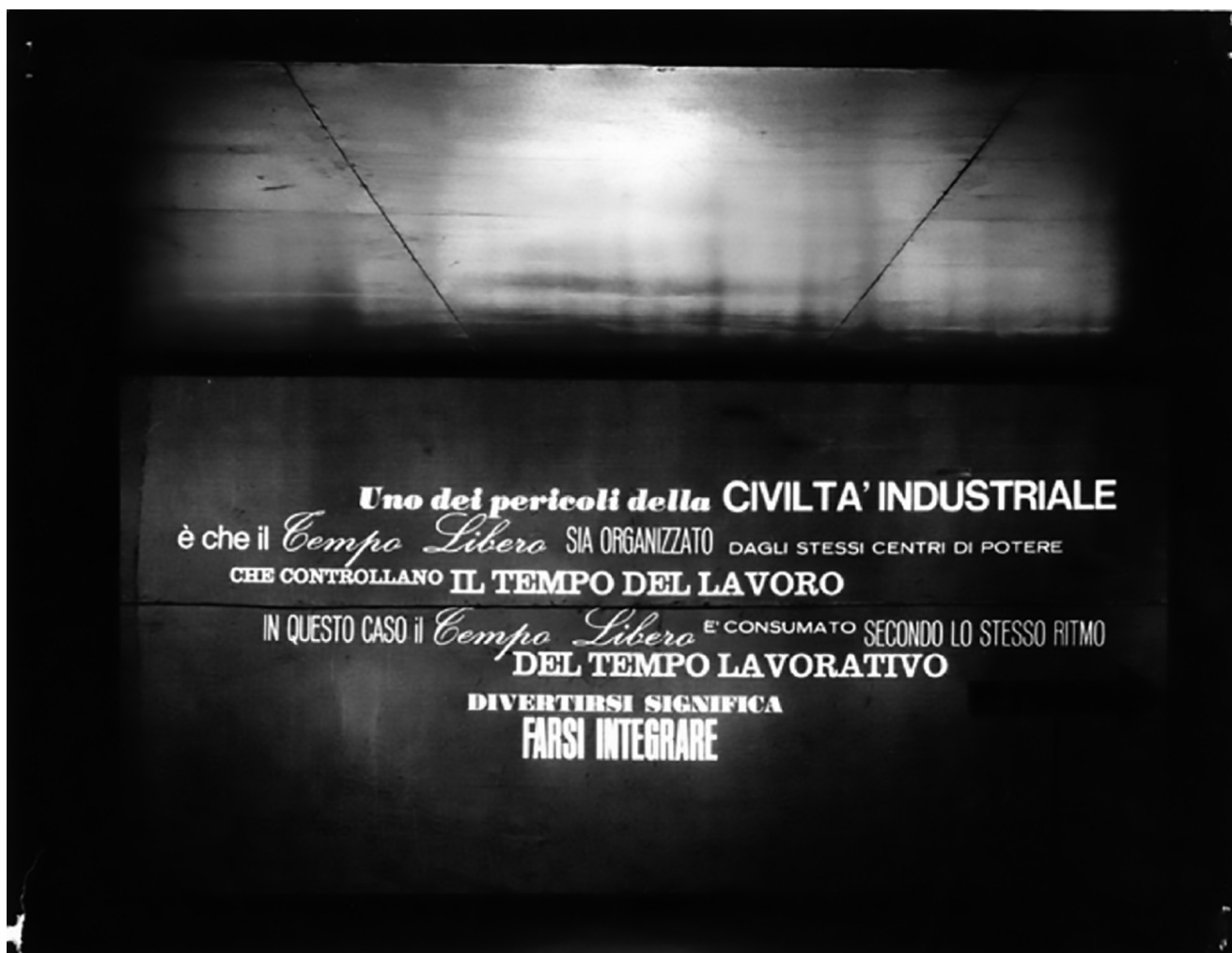
The 1919 ratification of the 48-hour working week by the *Organization Internationale du Travail* [International Labor Organization], created by the signatory countries of the Treaty of Versailles, raises a new challenge to industrialized society: the organization of workers' free time. Divided the day into "three eights" — eight hours of work, eight hours of rest and eight hours of sleep — the social framework of leisure is understood as a moral duty of the state². This issue takes on a never before considered dimension with the attention given to the instrumental use of popular recreation by European totalitarian regimes and its centralization in organisms of a political and ideological character. Leisure, in this context, would work as a privileged area of indoctrination and diffusion of the nationalist rhetoric that supports the construction of fascist dictatorships. But the recognition of the necessity to organize leisure was not restricted to totalitarian states, nor was it an exclusively political and/or social issue. In view of the growing number of urban workers, the contemplation of this "new time" implied the planning of specific spaces and programs that provided direct contact with nature and the practice of activities suitable for rest, fun, physical and mental development, on the assumption that "the environment forms the individual"³.

It is precisely on the consequences of leisure in the design of the functional city that the 5th International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM 5), held in Paris from June 28 to July 2 of 1937, focused. Under the theme *Logis et Loisirs* [Dwelling and Leisure], the congress discussed what was considered to be the "most urgent problem of our time: housing" and "immediately linked to it as inseparable, the notion of leisure"⁴. Leisure, defined in the previous meeting as one of the four functions of modern urbanism, was, until then, understood only as an activity of occupying daily spare time, after work and limited to the use of the green spaces within the city. In CIAM 5, its importance is definitively reasserted, when Le Corbusier (1887–1965), in the conclusion of his intervention, proclaims housing and leisure as essential goods that should be guaranteed as public services, "an obligation of the community for all"⁵. In fact, the choice of the CIAM 5 theme was suggested by Le Corbusier himself based on the agenda of the Popular Front

government⁶ of Léon Blum (1872–1950) elected in 1936 and responsible for the introduction of "paid holidays" in France. This same subject extended to the *Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux: Essai de Musée d'Education Populaire* [Pavilion of the New Times: Essay of the Museum of Popular Education], designed in collaboration with Pierre Jeanneret (1896–1967) for the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* [International Exhibition of Arts and Techniques in Modern Life] that also took place in Paris aside the congress.

As a direct result of the gradual democratization of the right to remunerated leave, the notion of leisure in "modern times" expands to the weekly and annual spheres, including not only rest and sports, but cultural and personal value activities, towards the theories of popular education so dear to the political discourses of the time. In the post-war period, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 1948, proclaimed the right of "every person" to periodic paid holidays. This principle emphasized that leisure, now extended to a generalized middle class, was no longer understood only in its collective dimension but conceived as a personal time, defined "according to individual desires"⁷. A new time that gains autonomy and meaning in the prosperity period of the *Trente Glorieuses* [Glorious Thirty]⁸, progressively replacing work at the basis of all relations in capitalist consumer society. For the French sociologist Joffre Dumazedier (1915–2002) this was the path to a new civilization. One in which mass leisure would be integrated into a cultural democracy sustained by comprehensive education and information policies: *une civilisation du loisir* [a civilization of leisure]⁹. *Loisirs* (translated in Italian as *Tempo Libero*) would also be the theme of the XIII Triennale di Milano of 1964, in a controversial exhibition that reported on pop culture and mass consumption practices to question the meaning and value of free time in contemporary society¹⁰.

It is on the subject of free time that this issue of the *docomomo Journal* is focused. More specifically, on summertime leisure. The aim is to establish a typological evolution of the "architectures of the Sun" associated with the emergence and consolidation of a seaside mass tourism in the 20th century. An evolution that can be related to sociologist Erik Cohen's (1932–2014) distinction between non-institutionalized and institutionalized tourist types,



01 Triennale di Milano 1964. Corridoio delle didascalie. Sezione Introduttiva a carattere Internazionale. [Corridor of Captions. Introduction Section with an international character]
© Triennale di Milano. Archivio Fotografico.

ranging from the drifter to the organized mass tourist", and geographer Richard Butler's (b. 1943) model on a tourist area cycle of evolution¹³, divided into six stages of development from exploration to rejuvenation or, in the opposite extreme, decline. Although this assessment is not always straightforward or linear, it reinforces the idea of tourism as a holistic phenomenon of which architecture, as a mechanism that places the tourist experience, is the ultimate material expression.

The summer holiday house is the quintessential type of seaside architecture. Heir of the 19th century "chalet" or "villa", it would know a significant transformation with the formal, spatial and technological advances introduced by the housing experiments of the pioneers of the Modern Movement. Eileen Gray's E.1027 (1926–1929), in Roquebrune-Cap-Martin (Côte d'Azur, France), is one of the most relevant examples of *Existenzminimum* research applied to the design of holiday private accommodation. In the opening essay of the "E.1027 Dossier", Wilfried Wang classifies it as the "prototypical vacation residence", highlighting Eileen Gray's (1878–1976) ground-breaking approach to summer holiday facilities as compact and rich experiences where the designer explores different relational devices to extend and enhance the sense of space.

In "Book Reviews", *Cape Cod Modern: Midcentury Architecture and Community on the Outer Cape* (Metropolis Books, 2014) also gathers a unique set of summer retreats built from 1938 by a group of modern architects, including European *émigrés* Marcel Breuer (1902–1981), Serge Chermayeff (1900–1996) and Olav Hammerström (1906–2002) among others, that combine functional design principles with local building traditions and materials to rehearse new forms of informal living in communion with the natural setting. With the creation of the Cape Cod National Seashore in 1961, administered by the National Park Service, some of these experimental houses were slated for demolition and fell into disrepair until 2007 when architect Peter McMahon (b. 1957) founded The Cape Cod Modern House Trust (CCMHT) with the aim of documenting the history of the more than 100 existing examples and restore some of them.

Like E.1027, these first seaside dwellings correspond to the exploration stage in Richard Butler's model and to Erik Cohen's type of non-institutionalized tourist drifters.

On a different record, Marco Mulazzani introduces an overview of the holiday colonies for children built under the Fascist regime in Italy (1925–1945) to observe that, despite the establishment of specific parameters of the functional organization of these structures, there is no definition

of an architectural typology as such. Instead, the wide-range of layouts and aesthetic solutions, mediating between a more classic or more modern configuration, reflect the complexity of the Italian architectural debate of this period. Defining an initial phase in the construction of holiday facilities, the colonies coincide with the involvement stage of the development of tourist areas and the explorer tourist typology.

In their essay, Mar Loren-Méndez, Daniel Pinzón-Ayala and Roberto Alonso-Jiménez trace the evolution in the Spanish spatial formalization of workers rest by comparing the GATCPAC (Catalonian faction of the Group of Spanish Artists and Technicians for Contemporary Architecture) project for the *Ciutat de Repòs i de Vacances* (1931–1934) with Franco's regime *Ciudades Sindicales de Vacaciones* (1954–1963) to expose the shift in paradigm from the modern urban model of the Second Republic to the self-sufficient, more organic enclosures of the dictatorship. Focusing in particular on the last of these settlements, built in Marbella, they advocate its conservation as a unique example of modern leisure heritage. This case-study of an initial approach to the seaside tourism town typology can be related to Richard Butler's development stage and, according to Erik Cohen, to a change from non-institutionalized to institutionalized tourist types.

In the same categories we also find both the state-run Greek *Xenia* network of tourist accommodation facilities and infrastructure (1950–1967) and the Australian swimming pools from the post-WWII period (1945–1972). Emilia Athanassiou addresses the first of these two cases associating the *Xenia* network with an upgrade in Greece's hotel hospitality industry and with the consolidation of the tourism industry as a structural sector for the country's economy following the Civil War (1946–1949) and the Marshal Plan program (1947–1951). Built by the GNTO (Greek National Tourism Organization), these official structures aimed, on one hand, to set the standard for private initiatives and, on the other, to promote the development of international tourism alongside domestic travel, by establishing modern model tourist facilities spread throughout the country. This was the opportunity for Greek architects to rehearse different spatial and formal approaches to different architectural typologies, in particular the traditional hotel and seaside hotel, located in exceptional historical and/or natural settings, and the American inspired motel, directly related to the main inland road routes. Falling into decay after the 1980s, it is now urgent to reassess the significance of this nation-wide project for Greek culture.

Hannah Lewi also alerts to the need for further documentation and careful conservation of another threatened archetype of modern leisure, in this case in Australia: the swimming pool. Spaces of individual and/or collective shared experiences, normally associated with the memory of summertime laid-back and fun outdoor living, the pools encapsulate a certain idea of freedom, although regulated by somewhat restricted functional requirements and social conventions. Freedom in design experimentation, as a new architectural program, but equally of self-expression, where the swimming body epitomizes the image of health and beauty.

In Portugal, the Balaia Hotel (1964–1968) announces the shift in scale of the tourism phenomenon with the emergence of institutionalized tourism and the generalization of the mass individual tourist. This is the consolidation stage in the evolution of tourist areas. Conceived as a self-contained and self-sufficient facility, this hotel megastructure symbolizes what Mario Gaviria (1938–2018) calls “neocolonialism of quality space”¹³ with the economic liberalization of the internal market and the incentives to foreign investment. The innovative “turn key” commission would revolutionize the traditional practice of architectural production in Portugal, giving way to the appearance of multidisciplinary office structures in close alignment with capitalist consumer society.

From the other side of Europe, the hotel megastructures of the era of state socialism in Bulgaria and Croatia, analyzed in *Holidays after the fall* edited by Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann and Michael Zinganel and included in this journal “Book Reviews” section, gives us an overview of the impact of the development of mass seaside tourism in the urbanization of coastal regions in the 1960s and 1970s. Opposite architectural and urban approaches differentiate these two cases: in Bulgaria, with large holiday resorts concentrated in certain locations of the Black Sea coast and designed on an urban scale by the central state and, in Croatia, with the rehearsal of a diverse range of architectural typologies by various architects for local, mostly workers' self-managed, enterprises and scattered along the entire Adriatic coast. The fall of the socialist states in the 1990s and Yugoslavia's disintegration after the war (1991–2001) led to the abandonment or destruction of many of these structures until more recently, when the new boom of international tourism, accelerating the commodification of larger stretches of land for tourism development and the privatization of many of these complexes, has raised the question of the value of modern seaside state socialist leisure architecture as cultural heritage.

At a mass scale, but in this instance for Western capitalist society, the most iconic state intervention in seaside tourism would undoubtedly be the transformation of the French Languedoc-Roussillon region on the Mediterranean into a new coastal resort as an alternative to the Côte d'Azur. The corresponding *Plan d'Urbanisme d'Intérêt Régional* [Urban Plan of Regional Interest] (PUIR, 1962–1964/1969) was designed by the Agency for Architecture and Urbanism (AAU), presided over by Georges Candilis (1913–1995) with Jean Balladur (1924–2002) as general secretary. Proposing a new territorial structure for the whole area, the plan comprised the construction *ex nibilo* of six *Unités Touristiques* supported by a system of twenty new or rehabilitated *Ports de Plaisance*. Placed at each end of this 200 kilometers stretch of coast, *Port Leucate-Barcarès* (1964–1972) and *La Grande-Motte* (1964–1977) were the two first tourist towns to be built, with projects respectively by Georges Candilis and Jean Balladur. In her essay, Izol Marez López analyzes the projects produced by the architects to conclude that these new scenarios for mass tourism development were

ideal places for the materialization of the urban and architectural revision theories of TEAM 10.

As a symbol of the stagnation stage in the evolution of organized mass-market tourism areas, but also of the capacity to stabilize and even rejuvenate certain tourist destinations, Benidorm's photograph by Garrod Kirkwood (winner of the 2019 American Photography Awards) was the choice for the cover of this "Architectures of the Sun" issue of *docomomo Journal*, documenting the ultimate built and social expression of the seaside tourism phenomenon in the 20th century. Still today, Benidorm (Alicante, Spain) remains the "tourist town par excellence"⁴, where, in the end, time, not space, is the essence of the tourist experience⁵.

But holidays were not all about summertime. Also winter resorts played an important role in the construction of the idea of free time leisure. Closing this issue, Henrieta Moravčíková gives us a take on the mass tourism development of the High Tatra Mountains under the Communist Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (1948–1990) and in particular on the sports and lodging facilities built to accommodate the World Skiing Championship of 1970 and the FICC'74 international meeting. High quality architectural works of modern architecture, these structures are threatened today by demolition and their replacement by standardized buildings of a questionable "uniform regionalist kitsch".

These and other cases illustrated in this *journal* warn us of the arduous work still to be done in raising public awareness and recognition of modern architecture as collective heritage. A mission that *docomomo* International has exemplarily taken on since 1988. I thank all the guest authors for their collaboration and support in achieving this aim.

Notes

- 1 As a personal note, I would like to dedicate this *docomomo Journal* to my first PhD student Tiago Freitas (1977–2017), in co-supervision with Professor Ana Tostões, whose ground-breaking comprehensive research on Portuguese modern summer houses was prematurely interrupted. This study would have contributed to better define this architectural type and to reassess its pertinence and meaning in contemporary society's holiday practices. Focusing on the seaside residential resorts of Moledo do Minho, Ofir, São Pedro de Muel and Rodízio the study would have been a fundamental instrument in alerting, and pressuring, local administrations to the urgency of creating specific legislation for the protection and conservation of the selected study cases, as exceptional works on their own but, more importantly, as part of a whole. The present legal void in the classification of these urban ensembles in Portugal has allowed the demolition and de-characterization of many of the less known or representative examples of one of the most expressive architectural products of modernity and, with them, the testimonies of a certain life-style.
- 2 Anne-Marie Thiesse, "Organização dos lazeres dos trabalhadores e tempos roubados (1880–1930)", in Alain Corbin, *História dos Tempos Livres: o advento do lazer*, Lisboa, Editorial Teorema, 2001, 366–391.

- 3 "L'ambient forma l'individu", *AC Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, 25, January–March 1937, 10.
- 4 CIAM, *Logis et Loisirs: 5e Congrès CIAM Paris 1937*, Paris, Editions de l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1937, 6.
- 5 Ibid., 27.
- 6 Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism (1928–1960)*, Cambridge MA, The MIT Press, 2002, 110.
- 7 Alain Corbin, *História dos Tempos Livres: o advento do lazer*, Lisboa, Editorial Teorema, 2001, 457.
- 8 Expression coined by the French sociologist Jean Fourastié (1907–1990) referring to the period of prosperity lived in Europe, between the end of WWII and the Petroleum Crisis of 1973. Jean Fourastié, *Les trente glorieuses: ou La Révolution invisible de 1946 à 1975*, Paris, Fayard, 1979.
- 9 Joffre Dumazedier, *Vers une civilisation du loisir?*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1962.
- 10 With an introduction section curated by Vittorio Gregotti (b. 1927) and Umberto Eco (1932–2016) and the contributions of authors such as Aldo Rossi (1931–1997), Gae Aulenti (1927–2012) and Carlo Aymonino (1926–2010), the layout of the display immersed the visitor in an explosion of visual and sound effects that revolutionised the established concept of what should be an architecture and design exhibition, spurring Bruno Zevi's criticism: "Il disfacimento è totale; al vuoto ideologico corrisponde un indirizzo architettonico insensato [...] le visualizzazioni, brillanti, sofisticate e astruse, comunicano il nulla, ingenerando nell'osservatore una sensazione di torpore. Se l'esito del tempo libero sta nel provocare nausea, la rappresentazione è riuscita" [The rupture is total; to the ideological void corresponds a senseless architectural answer [...] the visualizations, brilliant, sophisticated and abstruse, communicate nothingness, giving the observer a sensation of torpor. If the outcome of free time is to cause nausea, the representation is successful]. Bruno Zevi, "XIII Triennale di Milano. Tempo sprecato sul tempo libero", *L'Espresso*, 16 August 1964.
- 11 Erik Cohen, "Towards a Sociology of International Tourism", *Social Research*, Vol. 39, 1, 1972, 164–182.
- 12 Richard Butler, "The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources", *The Canadian Geographer*, XXIV, 1, 1980, 5–12.
- 13 Mário Gaviria et. al., *España a Go-Go: Turismo charter y neocolonialismo del espacio*, Madrid, Ediciones Turner, 1974, 275.
- 14 José Miguel Iribas, "Benidorm, instructions for use", in MVRDV, *Costa Iberica: Upbeat to the leisure city*, Barcelona, Actar, 2000, 110.
- 15 José Miguel Iribas, "El turismo no es una industria del espacio, sino del tiempo", *La Opinión A Coruña*, 14 May 2010 [available at <https://www.laopinioncoruna.es/contraportada/2010/05/20/jose-miguel-iribas-turismo-industria-espacio-tiempo/384595.html>].

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Holiday on the coast of Port Leucate-Barcarès, Photograph. © Fondo CANGE-G.
Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle de l'Institut français d'architecture

Tourist towns in Languedoc—Roussillon: projects and discourse for mass tourism

BY IZOL MAREZ LÓPEZ

Greenfield tourist towns in Languedoc—Roussillon, built in the 1960s, are some of the best examples of the application of modern principles in the production of architecture and space for mass tourism. Contributions of the Modern Movement in the construction of tourist facilities are thus exposed through the analysis of the theoretical proposals put into practice by Georges Candilis and Jean Balladur, modern architects of the third generation in France, in two of the tourist projects on the Languedoc—Roussillon coastline: *La Grande—Motte and Port Leucate—Barcarès*.

Mass tourism

From the 19th century, the production of tourist facilities has undergone transformations derived from the emerging needs of society. The first cultural voyages undertaken by the English, influenced by the society of the 19th century for the creation of the first tourist resorts in Europe had, as a consequence, the consumption of the territory and the transformation of the landscape.

In 1936, tourism in France underwent a great change when workers were granted paid vacations. During these periods of rest and recreation, motivated by contact with nature and the sea, the vacationers moved en masse to the French coast, sometimes in their mobile homes to camp on the beach.

The democratization of leisure activities generated a change of scale, the masses invaded the European coasts and the previously used spa facilities lost their validity. The hotels, casinos, residences and ports built in a traditional way in the 19th century tourist resorts were adapted to meet the needs of a massive sun and beach tourism, which led to the appearance of a new architecture adapted to the new leisure society.

In the mid-20th century, passive vacations were transformed into active vacations. Nautical sports were available to all, due to the introduction of plastic for the construction of boats. Step by step, the coasts of France were invaded by the masses. A transformation of spontaneous and unorganized coastlines was observed. *Ports de plaisance* [leisure ports] were built for nautical activities, and the beaches became insufficient, overflowing and decadent. The rise of boating became the activity generating the tourist exploitation of the coast of Languedoc-Roussillon. The *ports de plaisance* and marinas would be the urban elements guiding the nautical activities on the French coast and causing the change in the activities in tourist resorts (Figure 01).

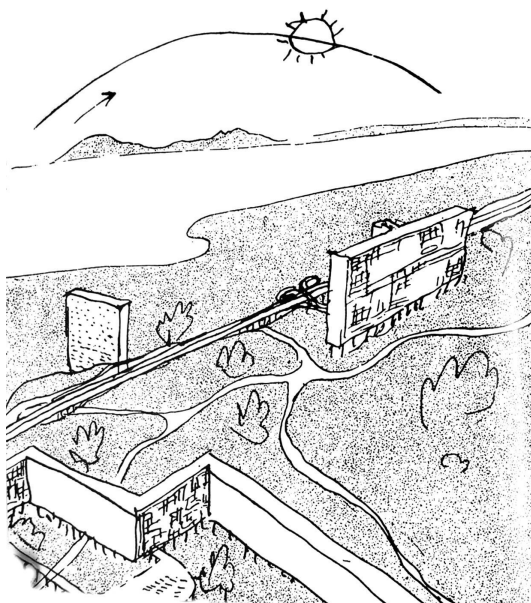
Modern architecture in France

In France, after the WWII, the government faced the needs of the reconstruction of bombed cities and the housing deficit through the creation of various agencies and public institutions that would be responsible for the reconstruction and production of housing. The magazine *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* published, in 1947, a letter from the architect Marcel Lods (1891–1978) in which he exhorted architects and urban planners to apply the *ordre ouvert*¹ implicit in *The Athens Charter* (Figure 02).

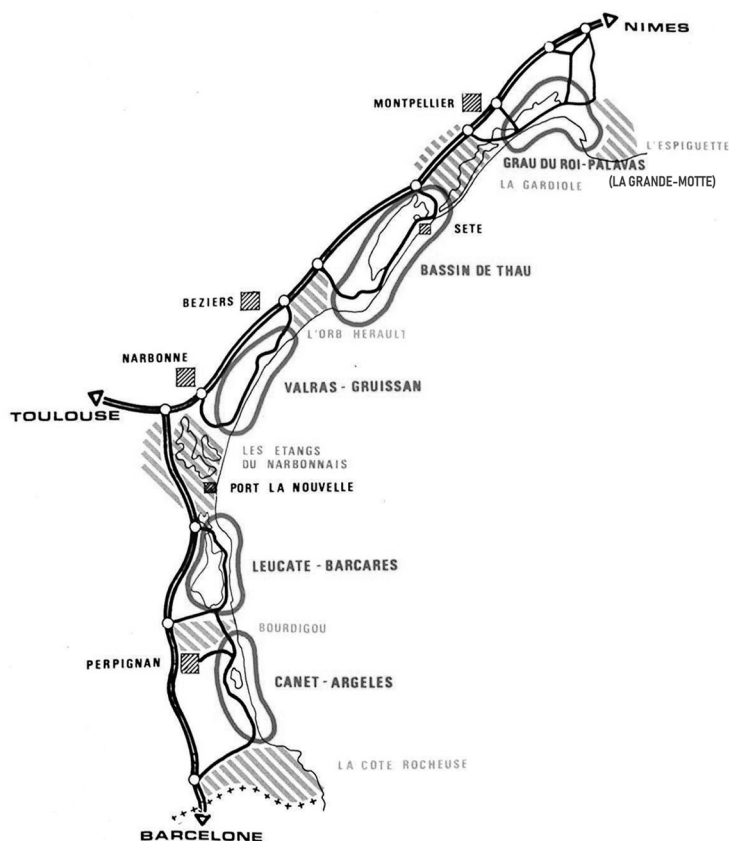
The official use of *ordre ouvert* in the construction of massive and collective housing located in the periphery, far from the urban centers, resulted in the production of *grands ensembles* [large-scale high-rise housing projects]. The rigidity and lack of flexibility in applying the principles established in *The Athens Charter*, generated their review and reformulation by the architects of TEAM 10, a group of architects of the third generation of the Modern Movement that would contribute with new forms of urban organization without giving up the postulates of modernity.

The members of *L'équipe Candilis-Josic-Woods*, active participants of this group, experimented on the elements of the vertical and horizontal articulation of residential buildings in various projects that broke with the rigid *edificio bloque* [slab block] line of their predecessors. In addition, they sought to rationalize the space based on functional criteria, considering climate, maintaining contact with nature, and also to recover concepts like the traditional *casa-patio* with solutions such as those that projected for *Atelier des bâtisseurs—Afrique* (ATBAT—Afrique).

In the second half of the 20th century, modern architecture and urbanism projected according to the principles of the *ordre ouvert*, had difficulties in adapting to urban landscapes. Most of the *grands ensembles* were located on the urban periphery and, for economic reasons, some of them



01 Le Corbusier, *Ordre ouvert*. Hand drawing. © Le Corbusier.
L'urbanisme des trois établissements humains.
Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1959.



02 Scheme of tourist units made for the tourist management at the Languedoc-Roussillon coastline.
© Fondo CANGE. Dossier 263 IFA 160. Centre d'Archives d'architecture du XX^e siècle de
l'Institut français d'architecture.

grew larger, generating serious urban and social problems. On the other hand, the *ordre ouvert* was adapted in a natural way to the needs of tourist facilities in places where the user especially valued some of the principles of the relationship of architecture to nature that the Modern Movement pursued and could not perform in the city.

It was in tourist resort areas where modern architecture could adapt some of its proposals. Initially, it was the “Five Points of a new architecture” by Le Corbusier that adapted to the new practices of a leisure society. The terrace garden became the ideal space for the enjoyment of the sea and the landscape, and the pedestrian street a place to walk, consume and socialize.

Architecture of leisure

In 1969, when *L'équipe Candilis-Josic-Woods* was dissolved, Georges Candilis (1913–1995) began writing a series of texts regarding the architecture of leisure. He wrote three articles and published a book in which he left reflected on his thoughts based on his experiences of many years in which remodeling ports, hotels, master plans and holiday homes were included.

In his speech on an architecture of leisure, he analyzed the evolution of this human activity based on two facts:

- the importance and role of the architect in the evolution of leisure;
- the influence of the civilization of leisure on architecture.

The weekend exodus to the countryside and the annual trip of city dwellers to vacation spots put the authorities in

trouble rather than sociologists or urban planners. George Candilis highlighted the importance they have taken in leisure society:

Leisure today touches a large number of people, it is subject to economic laws and it must be organized so that it is accessible to all (economy wise). From a class phenomenon in the 19th century, it became a mass phenomenon in the 20th century².

Georges Candilis suggested an immediate reordering of the coasts in thinking that you should not only take action on the coasts but also in the space where leisure manifests itself: The architect must always be present. It is up to him to think, to organize, to participate in the new organization of the cities and their surroundings³. Georges Candilis affirms that leisure has become impregnated in everyday life transforming the conception of architecture, so much, that in the future it will form an essential part in the nature of the facilities and in the construction of the city. It refers to a leisure architecture, which appeared only a short time ago and which would undergo important changes in the future. To deal with the situation, he proposed not to invent a new architecture focused on leisure but to incorporate the notion of leisure in current structures: *habitat* architecture should contain the notion of leisure in the same way as the notion of living, working, resting, “It is a matter of defining a leisure architecture in which the human needs are part of the conditions of realization of the habitat”⁴.

In 1967, the article “*Vers une architecture du loisir*”⁵ by Georges Candilis was published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. At the beginning, there is a quote from Joffre Dumazedier (1915–2002), author of *Vers une civilisation des loisirs*:

*Thus, for a hundred years, leisure has been growing and has become more valuable. It is expanding. It is not a secondary but central product of the present civilization. Has the world entered the civilization of leisure?*⁶

Georges Candilis adds that it was time to admit that “...the leisure of the masses, of the greatest number, is becoming a crucial phenomenon of contemporary civilization”⁷. In the content there is a remarkable transcription of the ideas of Joffre Dumazedier that showed on the part of the architect, a consideration for mass culture especially in the field of tourism.

Similarly, he stated that: “leisure has become a part of the organization of society”⁸. At the time, it was glimpsed that society was heading to a time where the time corresponding to the individual's work will be less than leisure time. No matter who, everyone had the right to leisure. Modern life had become so complicated, so fatiguing, so confused, that if man did not have the possibility to enjoy leisure, then he would be in imbalance so, according to Georges Candilis: “Leisure will allow man to find his lost balance”⁹.

In the article it refers to the three major functions of leisure mentioned previously by Joffre Dumazedier in his work *Vers une civilisation des loisirs* [Towards a civilization of leisure]: rest, fun and development. Each one fulfills its own objective. Rest frees man from fatigue and allows fun to overtake boredom. Development liberates man from the aspects of conformism and automatism of thought and daily actions and helps the flowering of personality. These three functions coexist in varying degrees, for all situations and for all beings.

According to Georges Candilis: “We cannot isolate the problem of leisure from the concept of human life's environment”¹⁰, since leisure is permanently manifested, intertwined with other activities and sometimes dominates them. The permanent, uninterrupted, diversified and growing presence of leisure in the life of man permeates and transforms the very conception of the art of construction. It proposes three types of leisure according to the place they occupy in the life of men: 1) daily-urban leisure, 2) weekly-suburban leisure and 3) seasonal-regional leisure, alluding that the author resumes: “Everyday leisure, end-time leisure Weekdays, leisure holidays, are present in the evolution of architecture and sometimes direct it”.

Tourist management of the Languedoc-Roussillon coastline

In France, the actions carried out to face the imminent development of massive sun and beach tourism in the 1960s coincided with official regional planning policies that integrated

tourism into activities that could be exploited to achieve economic equilibrium of the French regions. The first of the tourist projects implemented by the French Government that contributed to the economic development of France was the Tourism Management of the Languedoc-Roussillon coast, under the charge of the *Délégation à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'action régionale* (DATAR) [Delegation for regional planning and regional action]. The aim of this initiative was to boost the socio-economic development of the Languedoc-Roussillon region, which had remained based on a precarious agricultural base. The Interministerial Mission (Operation Racine¹¹), was in charge of operating the tourism policy determined by the DATAR.

To make the region of Languedoc-Roussillon suitable for the development of tourism, the Interministerial Mission made some preliminary actions such as the eradication of mosquitoes and the advanced acquisition of land to avoid future speculation. The Agency for Architecture and Urbanism (AAU) was responsible for drawing up the plan and the project to act in the region. This agency comprised Georges Candilis as president, Jean Balladur (1924–2002) as general secretary and the architects Jean Le Couteur (1916–2010), Raymond Gleize (1913–1992), Edouard Hartané (1910–2003), H. Castella (b. 1921), Eugene Beaudouin (1898–1983) and André Gomis (1926–1971).

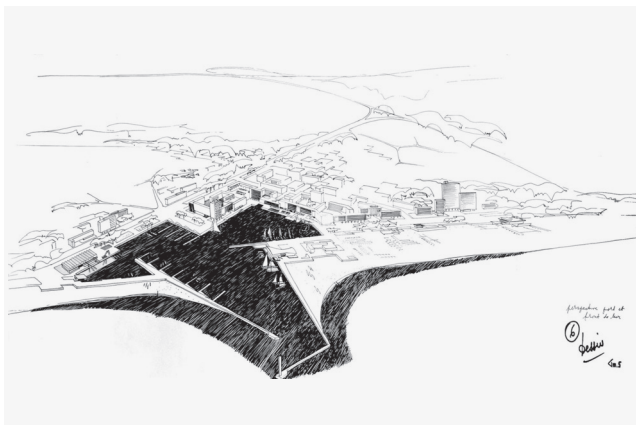
The AAU was dedicated to the exploration of the area, recognition of the landscape and study of the built and cultural heritage of the region. It also helped to locate land for a regional acquisition policy that avoided speculation and proposed a Plan for Urban Structure of the Region and a Technical Infrastructure Master Plan. The latter included actions such as the eradication of mosquitoes, reforestation of the region, drinking water supply, a road network and the creation or rehabilitation of 20 *ports de plaisance*.

In 1964, the *Plan d'Urbanisme d'Intérêt Régional* (PUIR) [Urban Plan of Regional Interest] was officially presented. The main objectives were:

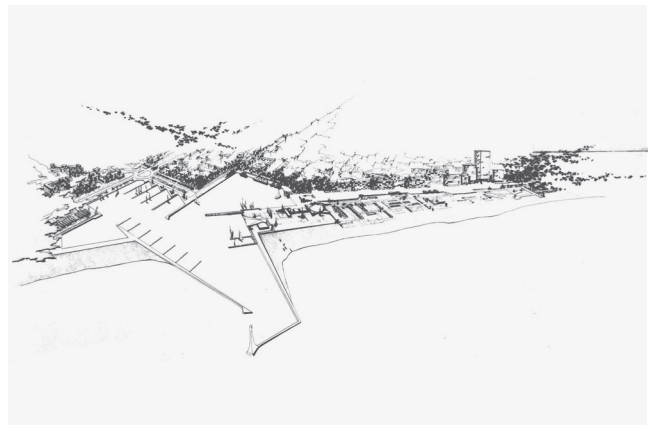
- to unify and balance tourism and the economy of 200 kilometers of coastline according to the needs of the place;
- diversify each of the zones based on the differences marked by nature and history;
- provide the characteristics of the coastal region that distinguish it from other regions and can compete favorably with them;
- contribute to the integral enrichment of the region, spreading tourism activity within the region.

The plan proposed a new structure of the region's coastline based on the establishment along the coast of tourist units (*unités touristiques*), protected green areas, tourist developments on greenfield sites and a system of *ports de plaisance*, which included existing or newly-created ports. The new tourist developments considered the port as the leading element of the main activities of the city. The first urban areas built were the two located at the ends of the region: *La Grande-Motte* and *Port Leucate-Barcarès* (Figure 03).

03 *La Grande-Motte*, France (1964). Perspective of the Port and the Sea front (Version 1). © Fondo BALJE–C–64. Dossier 373 IFA 211. *Centre d'Archives d'architecture du XX^e siècle de l'Institut français d'architecture*.



04 *La Grande-Motte*, France (1964). Perspective of the Port and the Sea front (Version 2). © Fondo BALJE–C–64. Dossier 373 IFA 211. *Centre d'Archives d'architecture du XX^e siècle de l'Institut français d'architecture*.



La Grande-Motte

In the *Centre d'Archives d'architecture du xxe siècle* of the *Institut français d'architecture* [Center of 20th century Architectural Archives of the French Institute of Architecture] located in Paris, there are unpublished documents (plans, diagrams, sketches, models, etc.) that recorded the creative process of both Georges Candilis in the *Port Leucate-Barcarès* project and Jean Balladur in *La Grande-Motte*. Both architects reflected, in a more intense way, the influence of the Modern Movement on the preliminary designs, which were modified and corrected in the design process.

There are three preliminary designs by Jean Balladur of *La Grande-Motte*. In the urban aspect, the drafts of *La Grande-Motte* are those that respond most to the principles of *The Athens Charter* with the application of zoning and *ordre ouvert* concepts. All proposals revolve around the *port de plaisance* and the city center that remained unchanged up to the final project and was built as the initial proposal. The urban structure started from a main road that crossed the city and led directly to the city center, the road system in the first two preliminary projects had the shape of a cluster of grapes with streets ending in parking areas and cul-de-sacs.

All the proposals of the architecture were made through a manifesto. Jean Balladur expressed in several sketches different ideas of the same project. A first manifesto uses the *edificio bloque* [slab block] on stilts with front sunshades to adapt the building to a holiday architecture (Figure 04). The second manifesto presents a continuous building composed of lodges, which generates a long façade with a play of light and shade. In both, you can see a covered corridor on the ground floor either by the existence of pillars or a series of arches (Figure 05). A third manifesto proposes a city with navigable canals that cross a stepped vertical mega-structure that allows the installation of terraces. The covered corridor or archway is repeated (Figure 06).

The three versions of *La Grande-Motte* present high-rise buildings far from the city center for what the *edificio bloque* [slab block] proposes with glazed facades or loggias.

In all the versions, the ground floor of the buildings present as pillars so that it can work as a series of porticos with shops and restaurants protected from the sun.

In the final project of *La Grande-Motte*, the urban structure is maintained around the *port de plaisance* located in the neighborhood called *centre-ville* that concentrates most of the recreational activities and commercial facilities. The urban structure starts from a hierarchical road system that is characterized by roads that end in parking areas and cul-de-sacs. The road system is a cluster that is less organic and spontaneous, but which allows the circulation of vehicles without interfering with pedestrian mobility.

The project eliminates the traditional urban elements of the spa city: promenade and sea front. The diagonal line of the buildings with respect to the beach opens the possibility to the properties located at the seafront to enjoy the view of the sea without obstacles. The open spaces include squares, gardens and non-traditional public green spaces such as a linear park (or parkway), a pedestrian promenade that connects the beach with a residential area in the interior of the city.

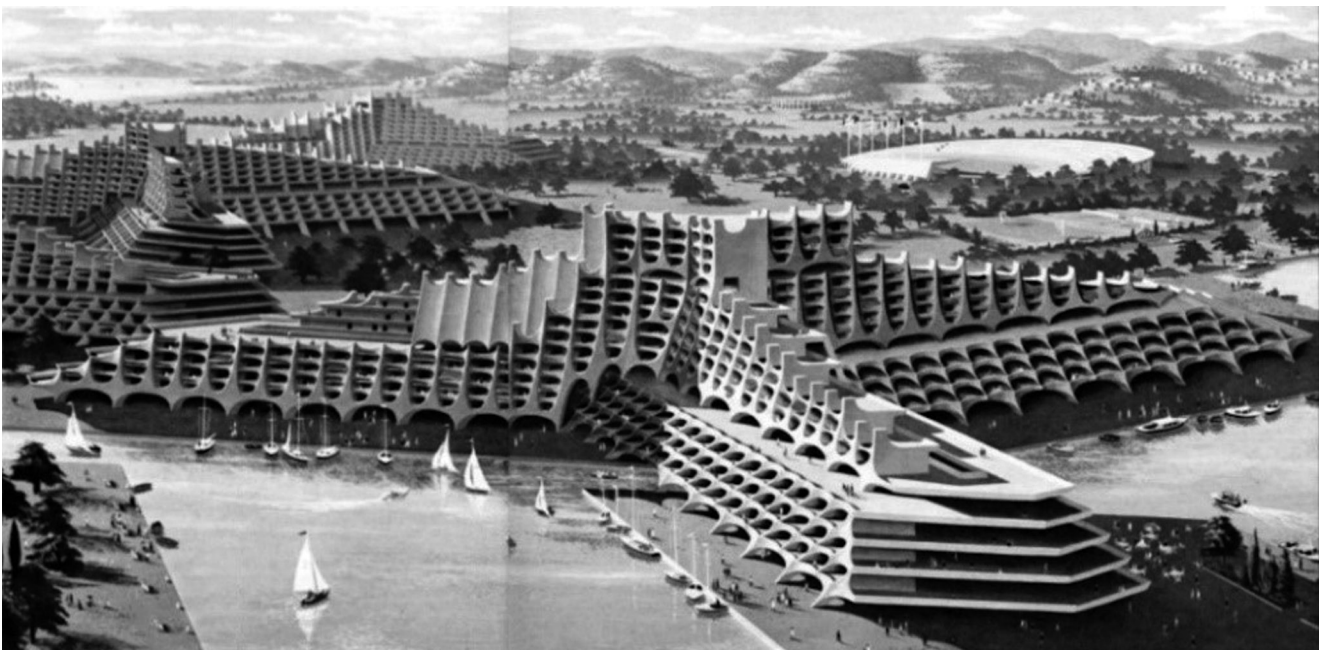
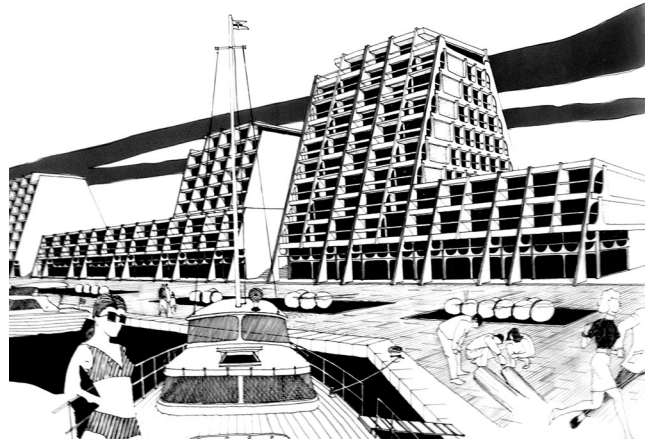
La Grande-Motte applied the modern concept of zoning where each area is a residential tourist district with an urban density and architectural typology different from the others. It can be said that the project replaces the zoning of uses of the industrial city by a zoning of architectural typologies for tourist accommodation. Areas are characterized by different densities, uses, heights and forms of the building.

Attached housing prevails in two types: pyramid buildings and shell buildings that innovate with their lattice-like facades. The architectural concept was based on a regulation that establishes the regulations to create a homogeneous city in harmony with nature, a white architecture with sinuous shapes achieved by the use of concrete (Figure 07).

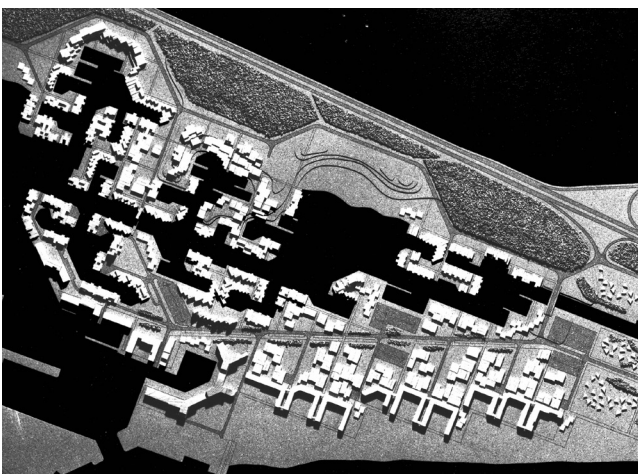
Port Leucate-Barcarès

There is a single preliminary design for *Port Leucate-Barcarès* by Georges Candilis presented in modalities, which shows the adaptation of the theoretical concepts previously

- 06 *La Grande Motte*, France (1969). Residential buildings Commodore, Concorde et Acapulco. © Fondo BALJE-C-67-2. Dossier 373 IFA 22/2. Centre d'Archives d'architecture du xx^e siècle de l'Institut français d'architecture.



- 05 *La Grande—Motte*, France (1964). [Version 3]. © "Voici la Floride de demain, Le Languedoc". Paris-Match. 1964, août, n° 799.



- 07 *Port Leucate—Barcarès*, France. Nautical boulevard model. © Fondo CANGE—G. Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du xx^e siècle de l'Institut français d'architecture.

formulated by the architect in his work with his colleagues Alexis Josic (1921–2011) and Shadrach Woods (1923–1973), immersed in the revisionist stage of the modern principles of *The Athens Charter* at the head of TEAM 10.

A first sketch of the city shows a mega-structure that runs through the entire site in a zigzag manner, allowing it to allocate a large part of the land to a green area and it is articulated by horizontal mega-structures or webs, conceived as dense points that concentrate spaces connected by patios. A vertical mega-structure spread over the land concentrates all the attached housing. The parking spaces are located at strategic points while navigable channels run through the land together with the buildings connecting the sea with the lake (Figure 08).

The urban design of the final project of *Port Leucate-Barcarès* is based on the concepts of zoning and a hierarchical road system with pedestrian priority. Each zone represents a neighborhood of individual or attached dwellings of low, medium or high density. A freeway crosses the entire city connecting it with other areas. Secondary and tertiary roads arise from the freeway to access the interior of the city in which the priority of the pedestrian with closed streets or cul-de-sacs predominates. Georges Candilis integrated stem concept within the tourist town by proposing a commercial pedestrian street that connects the sea with the lake and offering, along its route, the commercial and recreational facilities.

The architecture is characterized by the diversity of vacation habitats that represent the previous studies of Georges Candilis in his concern to solve housing problems for the less privileged classes. *Port Leucate-Barcarès* offers a typological diversity of leisure habitat that depends on accommodation needs. The attached buildings are characterized by the use of terraces, loggias and balconies commonly coupled at 45° (Figure 09). The individual dwellings are characterized by the patio as a central element of the house. New typologies are established, such as marinas for individual and attached housing and vacation villages for social housing. In the urban-tourist architecture, the web system was adapted for some shopping centers and the grids were used for the design of commercial pavilions and beach facilities.

In *Port Leucate-Barcarès*, Georges Candilis solves the road network in a different way. Since this summer town develops along a sandy Lido, which separates the sea from the inner lagoon, the general scheme is solved with a specialized road network that runs through the center of the lido and from which the parts are accessed. Along the landward side of the main access road a canal opens, around which a series of marinas or nautical boulevards are organized (Figure 10). Between the sea and the highway there are several neighborhoods with a variety of accommodation types.

Finally, note that the final projects of both tourist towns are especially sensitive to the site, the climate, the territory and the natural landscape. In *La Grande-Motte*, Jean Balladur maintains the big lines of the blueprint and proposes an architectural regulation based on pyramidal volumes and

white tones. The pyramidal shape, according to the author, is a reflection of the mountains that surround it. In *Port Leucate-Barcarès* the final project maintains the basic ideas of the first sketches, but it is developed in a more complex and detailed way.

Conclusions

The architects Jean Balladur and George Candilis, responsible for the new tourist town projects of the Languedoc-Roussillon region, based these projects from the principles of the Modern Movement. The projects of *La Grande-Motte* and *Port Leucate-Barcarès* were some of the first urban developments where the production of spaces for the development of leisure activities has come from the principles of the Modern Movement. For the sake of it, we can affirm the following:

- in the 1960s, the urban-architectural principles established in *The Athens Charter* and reformulated by TEAM 10, were an important reference in the production of the space of mass tourism;
- in the creation of space for mass tourism during the 1960s there was a transposition and adaptation of the urban-architectural models of the industrial city with the projects of new tourist towns in Languedoc-Roussillon;
- the ideal places for the materialization of the theoretical thought of the architects of the Modern Movement were the proposed scenarios for the development of mass tourism;
- the tourist towns of the Languedoc-Roussillon coast were places where different perceptions of the revisionist thinking of TEAM 10 were manifested.

This essay highlights the extent to which the tourist facilities have been designed using urban models typical of the industrial city and architectural elements that make up the repertoire of Modern architecture. The industrial activities of the traditional city have been replaced by nautical, and recreational activities and tourist services (restaurants, hotels). The *port de plaisance* centered the activities of the heart of the city and acted as a driving force for the local and regional economy. The zoning of uses is resolved by type and density, the urban layout adopts the concept of the cluster and the road system is clearly hierarchical, clearly separating the pedestrian space from the road.

Notes

- 1 The French architect Jacques Lucan (b. 1947), in his book *Architecture en France (1940–2000)* calls “ordre ouvert” the set of urban principles which were the product of *The Athens Charter* (1933). The concept is not used in texts translated into Spanish and English, here it will be used literally from the French.
- 2 Free translation from the original: “Les loisirs aujourd’hui touche le grand nombre, est soumis aux lois économiques, doit être organisé pour qu’il soit accessible à tous (souci économie). D’un phénomène de classe au XIX^e siècle, il est devenu un phénomène de masse au XX^e siècle”.
- 3 Free translation from the original: “L’architecte doit être toujours présent. C’est à lui de penser, d’organiser, de participer à une nouvelle organisation des villes et de leurs environs”.
- 4 Free translation from the original: “Il s’agit de définir une architecture des



08 Port Leucate-Barcarès, France. Collective housing with stepped terraces. © Fondo CANGE-G. Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XX^e siècle de l'Institut français d'architecture.

loisirs qui aux besoins humains et qui s'insère dans les conditions de réalisation de l'habitat".

- 5 Georges Candilis, "Vers une architecture du loisir". *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, avril-mai, No. 131, Paris, 1967
- 6 Joffres Dumazedier, *Vers une civilisation du loisir?*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1962. Free translation from the original "Ainsi, depuis cent ans, les loisirs est né, a grandi, s'est valorisé. Il est en pleine expansion. Il n'est pas un produit secondaire, mais central, de la civilisation actuelle. Le monde serait-il entré dans la civilisation du loisir?".
- 7 Free translation from the original: "...le loisir des masses, du plus grand nombre, est en voie de devenir un phénomène crucial de la civilisation contemporaine".
- 8 Free translation from the original: "Les loisirs fait partie de l'organisation de la société". Georges Candilis, extracted from a non-classified document.
- 9 Georges Candilis, "Existe-t-il une architecture des loisirs?" Fondo CANGE-A-8. Dossier 236 Ifa 314/14. Centre d'Archives d'architecture du XX^e siècle de l'Institut français d'architecture. Free translation from the original: "Les loisirs permettront à l'homme de retrouver son équilibre perdu".
- 10 Free translation from the original: "On ne peut pas isoler le problème des loisirs du concept du milieu de la vie de l'homme".
- 11 The name of the operation was taken from the first director of this mission, who was a senior government official named Pierre Racine (1909–2011).

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Zdeněk Řihák, Panorama Hotel, Štrbské Pleso, 1967-1970. © Juraj Bobula.

Building High Tatras: dilemma of form Architecture of 1960s and 1970s in the most famous Slovak mountain resort

BY HENRIETA MORAVČÍKOVÁ

The High Tatra Mountains are the most prominent alpine center of recreation and sport in Slovakia. The development of this site dates back to the end of the 19th century. From the architectural point of view, the beginning of the 20th century, the 1920s, the 1930s and the post-war period of the 1960s and the 1970s should be considered the most interesting periods. At that time, the most important architectural works were created in the High Tatras, which in different ways dealt with the fundamental question: how to build in the mountains? Through the built results achieved in the region, it is now possible to study the success of this discussion.

Tourism in High Tatras

The High Tatra Mountains became a center of mass tourism in the 1960s similar to other European mountain resorts. At that time, Czechoslovak society was strongly influenced by the optimistic acceptance of the reforms of state policy. The standard of living of most Czechoslovak citizens gradually improved. In 1968 Czechoslovakia introduced Free Saturday and the number of legally guaranteed holidays was increased. Leisure became an important phenomenon for individuals and for state organizations as well, especially the socialist trade union, or so-called Revolutionary Trade Union, which incorporated the leisure and recreation of working people into its main agenda. However, the citizens of socialist Czechoslovakia, like most of the inhabitants of the Eastern bloc, could not choose their holiday destination freely. They had to restrict themselves to friendly socialist nations or settle for a holiday in their own country, which was the most convenient solution from a financial point of view. For this reason, the Czechoslovak government initiated an evaluation of potential tourist destinations, which eventuated in the so-called "Zoning of the Czechoslovak tourism". The High Tatras, probably the smallest alpine area in Europe with peaks of a maximum height of 2,655 meters, was considered one of the most attractive holiday destinations in Czechoslovakia. In the official zoning framework, the Tatras were Type IV — Alpine resort of tourism and winter sports. Design of any new developments would have to be adequate for this category.

However, it was not the first time that the High Tatras were the center of interest for tourism. Already in the late 19th century the mountains had been the favorite spa of the Hungarian nobility, the bourgeoisie and the intellectual elite of the country. Even when tuberculosis treatment

centers for a broader audience were established in the High Tatras in the 1930s, exclusive sanatoria and small hotels predominated in the resort until the end of the 1940s. In the beginning of the development of tourism in the area, hiking and winter sports had been performed only by the upper middle class and intelligentsia. The High Tatras had been a fashionable place, where the rich and the bohemians spent their holidays. After the nationalization of private property in 1948 the situation changed dramatically. The sanatoria and hotels were opened for the broad audience of the working class. To be on holidays in the High Tatras became a fabled goal for most of the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Hungary and Poland. It was understandable as they were the only accessible alpine resort for the people from the Communist bloc. However, the original exclusive character of the High Tatras that were reminiscent of the interwar period was not compatible with the idea of a modern socialistic resort. It would have to be replaced by the collective spirit and at the least by a declared egalitarianism. Also the international character of the resort's original architecture was perceived as not compatible with the idea of the legendary role of the High Tatras in Slovak national mythology. The High Tatra Mountains were considered the symbol of Slavic pride and strength and, therefore, for political and state reasons, it was decided to give them not only a popular but a national touch. These ambitions dominated the conception of the High Tatras development until the 1980s. Facilities for mass and collective recreation arose as an antithesis to the original building tradition in these mountains. Among them were luxury hotels, mostly of high quality architecture, designed for foreigners and the communist oligarchy, Revolutionary Trade Union sanatoria of a lower standard

01 Eugen Kramár, Ján Šprlák-Uličný, Judge's Tower in the ski resort, Štrbské Pleso, 1966–1970. © Rajmund Müller.



but still good architecture, and holiday homes of a low standard and low quality of architecture built by diverse state enterprises. This type of construction was accompanied by health-resorts and convalescent homes financed by the public health sector with lower budgets but of interesting architecture. A special chapter of building development in the High Tatras for individual recreation started to occupy the lower meadows during the heyday of chalets.

World Skiing Championships

The era of political and social reforms and warming of relations between West and East in the 1960s brought to the High Tatras new challenges in the form of big international sport events. The first of them was the World Skiing Championship which, paradoxically, took place in 1970, at the onset of the era of normalization that followed the Warsaw Pact's invasion of Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968. Nevertheless, preparations for the event had already started in the late 1960s and they influenced the architecture of the High Tatras decisively. On one hand, the newest trends in building sport and accommodation facilities were introduced and on the other, the new construction represented intense development that displayed less respect to the natural features. New hotels, shopping centers, apartment blocks, new cableways, sport areas and infrastructure were built. With a total of thirty-five built structures, the World Skiing Championships should be considered the beginning of the era of mass tourism in the High Tatras. Whilst, in the 1950s, around 20,000 visited the Tatra Mountains, in 1970 it was 500,000, and four million visitors a year in the 1980s.

The High Tatras have been a protected national park since 1949, where economic activities could not be realized, and construction regulations barely existed. The increased exploitation of the area by tourism and sports placed an extreme burden on the environment, which, in 1974, resulted in a tightening of protection measures, entry bans or seasonal inaccessibility of certain locations.

The main championship grounds were built at Štrbské Pleso, the highest Tatra settlement. Already the name of the grounds — the Dreamland — indicated the ambitions associated with it. This was also reflected in the architecture of sports facilities (rides of all classic ski disciplines with an amphitheater auditorium, stands for 25,000 spectators, two ski jumps, and a judges' tower) and a hotel that were built between 1967–1970. The authors of the architectural design were Eugen Kramár (1914–1996) and Ján Šprlák-Uličný (1933–1993). At the foot of Solisko Peak they formed a group of fashionable architectural objects of abstract form and dynamic shaping. Their volumes were kept in proportions that the natural environment did not control but complemented. The architect, Eugen Kramár, himself summarized the principles of creation in the High Tatras in the year of the center's completion as follows:

So how to build in the Tatras? With traditional technology... from the materials closest to nature, the site of their own, to complement the dynamics of natural stone with dematerialized glass surfaces and overhanging structures¹.

He used the very same principles when working in other Tatra resorts such as the Čedok travel agency office in Starý Smokovec (1967) or the Eurocamp grounds in Tatranská Lomnica (together with Alexander Valentovič, Arnošt Mitske, Peter Csellágh and Mária Krukovská [b. 1930], in 1974) that were designed for the international meeting of the *Fédération Internationale de Camping, Caravanning et de Autocaravaning*, (FICC'74). It is exactly these buildings that are the most successful works of post-war architecture in the Tatras region.

But let's go back to the sporting struggles of the World Skiing Championships, which are not only written into their history through their architecture, but also as a manifestation of national cohesion and pride. The highlights of the event included ski jumping. At that time, 100,000 spectators were cheering for Jiří Rašek (1941–2012) the Czechoslovak favorite, under the spectacular ski-jump ramp. The fact that he finished second behind the representative of the Soviet Union was more than characteristic of the period shortly after the occupation.

Dreamland has long been a sought-after place for sporting events and recreation, but its maintenance has been minimal. When the tourist industry in the High Tatras was dampened in the 1990s and the Slovak sports associations were unable to obtain any relevant international sporting event for the resort, Dreamland began to deteriorate. Even the privatization of the facilities over the past decades has not brought the necessary investments to prevent the devastation of this extraordinary location². New private owners are mostly interested in new developments and not in improvement of the old structures.

Building Boom

Building of sport and recreation facilities in the High Tatra Mountains represented great a challenge for Slovak society. Especially in the sense of harmonizing often opposing

interests. Environmentalists and architects have tried to enforce the modern principles of building regulations and the planning of the region in the Tatras. The first general plan of the area, the “district plan”, was approved in 1959. It specified the allocation of the built structures, their functions and the system of traffic, which was based on the high-speed Allweg. However, the rate of building, height and shape of the new built-up areas remain unregulated despite the state interests having been clearly expressed. The accommodation capacities that had to be achieved in the High Tatras were set in the five-year economic plans. The required number of beds was still growing. For example, in 1968, the state authorities demanded a doubling of the accommodation capacity, despite the fact that the transport situation was not addressed at all and the 1911 electric railway, along with the increasing number of passenger cars, still transported visitors to the Tatras instead of the planned Allweg. The Slovak government committee for tourism also sought to address the increasingly complex situation by examining foreign experiences. In the 1970s a trip to the Italian, French and Swiss Alpine resorts was organized by the committee and some architects were invited to take part as well. Despite an idealistic determination to avoid the mistakes and adopt the good practices of foreign resorts, the architects’ objections to mass tourism in the High Tatras did not find any response. Their role was thus limited to shaping the requirements of increasing volumes. In the High Tatras, too many national interests were simply pursued. The mountains were to be everything to everyone, a national symbol, a recreation center for workers, a center for international sport, a source of foreign income, and the highest-situated scientific workplace in the country.

Dilemma of Form

Large volumes, a demand for a regional expression, and their own creative ambitions have put architects in front of the dilemma of the formal design of alpine architecture. Although the controversy over how to build in the Tatras has been going on since the 1930s, it intensified in the 1960s and the 1970s when they built most of the accommodation and infrastructure in the Tatras. The architects were divided into supporters of mountain architecture *à la chalet* and advocates of nature-contrasting abstract forms³. Thus, in the architecture of the High Tatras, there were two competing lines of shaping form. One line advocated an abstract, functional and modern technology-based form that contrasted with the surrounding nature with smooth façades, flat roofs and modern materials. In this line, architecture was part of a new perspective on the landscape, as a source of healthy air, sun and eye-catching appearance. Its perceptions were also adapted to its formal side — large glass surfaces, terraces, pavilion-like or at least structured buildings, modern materials and construction, and mostly flat roofs. The second line followed the local or mountain tradition of building. It was conditioned by solid compact forms, traditional materials such as stone and wood, traditional construction (initially true, later on only pretend) and, of course, a sloping roof that eventually became a neuralgic point of

Tatra architecture. In connection with the architecture of the High Tatras, it should be remembered that these settlements were established in a territory that did not have a tradition of original settlement. Before the construction of the first recreational and therapeutic homes there were no traces of rural occupation, nor even individual houses. Settlement was concentrated on the foothills of the mountains and only the pastures and shelters of shepherds and hunters were at the levels of the present settlement chain. The absence of a specific model of previous architecture made it impossible to build on local patterns but also to parody them, as was so often the case in the Alps. In the Tatras, it was basically always a matter of transforming current architectural trends into the mountain landscape or importing traditional forms from another environment⁴. The two lines mentioned were only seemingly contradictory as, in fact, they represented only two variants of one trend, the import of foreign patterns into the High Tatras.

However, the question of “how to build in the Tatras” was not about finding a national or regional style, as was the case in the nearby Zakopane on the Polish side of the High Tatra Mountains. There, Stanisław Witkiewicz (1851–1915), the most prominent representative of Polish regionalism, implemented several architectural works at the beginning of the 20th century, which later served as the basis for local tradition. However, German or Hungarian architects, who were the first to build in the Slovak part of the Tatras, had no ambition to create regional specific forms. Mostly, they took the timber frame construction architecture of the Alpine resorts as a model. Only occasionally did works based on the tradition of folk architecture of northern Slovakia appear. Examples were the chapel of St. Salvatore in Dolný Smokovec (1890) and Téry’s Cottage in the Little Cold Valley (1899) from a native of nearby Spišská Sobota, Gedeon Majunke (1854–1921), or the Hohenlohe hunting lodge in Javorina (1897) by Anton Müller (1848–1932). Functionalist architects who, through their works, entered the image of the Tatras after 1918, drew inspiration from completely different sources than national or regional, nor did they seek to respond to such topics. The only exception was Dušan Jurkovič (1868–1947). He, like Stanisław Witkiewicz, had the ambition to create a regional architecture in the High Tatras. He used not only his own experience with building in the country and state-of-the-art technologies, but also the spirit of this unique place in the design of the cable car stations at Tatranská Lomnica and Lomnický štít (1936–1938). The impressive stone structures are today one of the most authentic contributions to the autochthonous architecture of the High Tatra Mountains. Dušan Jurkovič’s attempt, however, remained without followers.

The mythical role of the Tatras as a national symbol began to be reflected in the local architecture, also under the influence of state ideology, only after WWII. Among the first works that transformed the forms of traditional folk buildings of northern Slovakia was the mountain hotel near Popradské Pleso (Ladislav Bauer, Ferdinand Čapka, 1957–1963). The timber-construction, with its rugged saddle roof, dormers and shingle roofing, is



successful architecture despite the large capacity of 130 beds. It is mainly due to the happily chosen proportion between the roof and the body of the building. Regional motifs, this time of the Spiš Renaissance, found their place in the building of the municipal office in Starý Smokovec (Viktor Malinovský, 1957). The fact that they were also conditioned to some extent by the method of the socialist realism does not degrade the value of this cultivated traditional architecture.

In the same period also emerged works in the High Tatras where architects declared some form of dialogue with the principles of functionalism. Indeed, the functionalist avant-garde has left a number of excellent inspirational impulses in the Tatra settlements. Again, abstraction, technological innovation and experimentation appeared. Thus, both forms of design could fully develop. The ROH convalescent house in Monkova Valley with a capacity of 140 beds (Soňa Kvasničková, Lumír Lýsek [b. 1934], Lýdia Švihrová [b. 1935], between 1958–1964) was a revolutionary building in this sense. Architects, still students at the time of the project, created an asymmetric composition of several volumes, emphasizing abstract forms and distancing themselves from folk or historical patterns.

In a relatively happy period at the beginning of the 1960s, several buildings were built, which represented an excellent basis for further construction. Regardless of their architectural form, they were characterized by respect for demanding climatic conditions, responsible handling of construction and technology, and the use of traditional craft details. It is these qualities that have kept them in a relatively good technical condition to this day.

The growing demand for accommodation in the High Tatras at the end of the 1960s caused the dilemma of the form to be reflected in volumes that were almost double that of the previous ones. Efforts for regional forms have led to the hypertrophy of traditional shapes. There were saddle roofs covering 12-storey buildings and their endless lines competing with the panorama of the surrounding mountains, as can be seen in one of the most luxurious facilities of that time — *Hotel Patria* at Štrbské Pleso (by Zdeňek Řihák [1924–2006], between 1968–1976). At that time, the professional press showed doubts not only about “using this shape (sloping roofs) to cover a 12-storey building”, but also about using elements of timber buildings that “seem false, making them a cheap fashion effect”⁵. Efforts to convey the impression of traditional folk architecture were also reflected in

the interiors of recreational facilities where “Slovak restaurants” in the form of cottages with artefacts that were reminiscent of the pastoral past of the Tatras were created.

The size of the required volumes forced architects to reach for extreme solutions. A number of modern accommodation, sports facilities and service facilities that were created in connection with the World Skiing Championships have also been criticized. Probably the most significant local critic of architecture of that period, Martin Kusý (1916–1989), evaluated them as a failure, which “failed to tighten either the detail, the concept, or the quality of their realization to the level of the world average”. According to him, construction was “marked by haste and makeshift”. He was also not convinced by

*fashionable forms, whether round or pyramidal, in any case without the details of high mountainous harsh conditions as well as without considering the urban landscape consequences*⁶.

However, the works of autonomous abstract forms did not avoid criticism either. The stylized pyramid of *Hotel Panoráma* at Štrbské Pleso (by Zdeňek Řihák, 1967–1970) and the circular *Hotel Park* in Nový Smokovec (by Igor Svoboda, 1966–1969) have been blamed for

*using too many diverse materials and shapes, which produce only architecture for architecture's sake, not being functionally and climatically justified and revealing only the efforts of the authors' self-realization*⁷.

Similar reservations were raised about the last remarkable work of Tatra architecture of that period, the recreation facility of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Tatranská Javorina (Štefan Svetko [1926–2009], Štefan Ďurkovič [1929–2009], Julián Hauskrecht, František Husovský, between 1975–1977). The dilemma of the form of alpine architecture was solved there in a way typical for those architects: they enclosed the large volumes of the building into powerful figures in the shape of horizontal cylindrical segments.

The professional community may have best accepted more reserved forms that followed the era of the Tatras functionalist architecture. As Jaroslav Vitek (1930–2008), an influential architect of that time and himself the author of several healthcare facilities, emphasized:

*... typical mountain roofs, shapes and materials are not always decisive for successful integration of architecture into the mountain landscape, but also — or above all — the location, scale and discreetness*⁸.

His words were directed towards the sanatorium *Helios* at Štrbské Pleso (by Richard Pastor, 1967–1975), which was one of the highest rated works of that time. The gently modelled ground plan curve of this rather extensive building seems to paraphrase the Alvar Aalto (1898–1976) aesthetics of the legendary vase or the ground plan of the Baker House dormitory at Massachusetts Institute of

- 03 Štefan Svetko, Štefan Ďurkovič, Julián Hauskrecht, František Husovský, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's recreation facility, Tatranská Javorina, 1975–1977. © Rajmund Müller.



- 04 Richard Pastor, Helios Sanatorium, Štrbské Pleso, 1967–1975. © Rajmund Müller.



- 05 Oľga Ondreičková, Post office and Telecommunications building, Štrbské Pleso, 1969–1970. © Rajmund Müller.



- 06 Milan Krejčí, Gas station, Nový Smokovec, 1966. © Projekt 1967, No. 3, 75.

Technology (MIT), Cambridge Massachusetts. This attested to the lessons learned by Slovak architects from their contacts with Finnish architecture. Similarly, the technicist architecture of the telecommunications building at Štrbské Pleso (by Oľga Ondreičková [b. 1935], between 1969–1970) also received a positive response. Both of these projects were created outside the generously funded tourism sector — one in the healthcare sector and the other in transport and communications — and clearly showed that for the improvement of the values of Tatra architecture not the finances but the architect's ability to deal with this challenging task was crucial.

The helplessness of the domestic architectural scene in relation to the question of how to build in the Tatras was also confirmed by the discussion in the late 1970s, in which architects stated that “in the Tatra Mountains should be no experimentation” and that “small objects should clearly have a sloping roof” while large volumes not. Paradoxically, they also agreed that “half-timbered architecture does not belong to the High Tatras” (although it was the first one there) and that, while respecting local materials, it is possible to “cope with the tradition of Tatra folk architecture” [sic], even if that never existed. The atmosphere of the time was characterized by the vague final statement of one of the protagonists: “Construction must be of a unified nature, corresponding to the alpine environment and to the purpose of the building”. The general disappointment over the results of the construction in High Tatras led, at the end of the 1980s, to the belief that “the 20th anniversary of the beginning of construction in the Tatras must become its conclusion”⁹.

No or new dilemmas

Looking back at the architecture of the 1960s and 1970s in the High Tatras shows that, as in other Alpine resorts, its biggest problem was the uncritical pressure to constantly increase accommodation capacities in the absence of any functioning building regulations. Unlike most European resorts, however, in the Tatras at that time the decadent taste of the average visitor could be avoided. At the time, the Tatras still avoided the “uniform regionalist kitsch”, which Friedrich Achleitner (1930–2019) writes about in connection with Austrian Alpine architecture¹⁰. Thus, in the international context, the Tatra architecture of the 1960s and 1970s represents a unique phenomenon of concentrated and, with its aesthetics and individual authorial performances, a remarkable effort. However, the imperfection of the then construction industry, ignorance or overlooking the challenging climatic conditions, coupled with the experimentation of architectural form, have made these exceptional works often problematic buildings. The Tatra architecture of the 1960s and 1970s is, in most cases, in very bad technical condition, very energy-demanding and, therefore, expensive and unpopular with the owners. As a result, massive remodeling is devaluing the original extraordinary creative and imaginative forms. The famous Bellevue Hotel in Horný Smokovec (by Karol Király, 1965–1968), which appeared in several films of that time, was converted into a conventional form, removing all the original elements

of Brussels style. The survival of the most valued Tatra work of the second half of the 20th century, the *Helios* sanatorium, is in the balance with a central section on the verge of collapse. Another symbol of the Brussels Dream, a gas station in Nový Smokovec (Milan Krejčí, 1966), has already met that fate. It was demolished at the beginning of the 21st century and replaced with a standardized facility. The unique Eurocamp area could also not avoid demolition. Its ruins, as a glamorous memento, have welcomed the visitors to Tatranská Lomnica since Fall 2010. Other high-quality 20th century architectural works in the High Tatras have been altered into cheap imitations of Alpine chalets and timber-constructions. The decadent taste of the *nouveau riche* and the “uniform regionalist kitsch” is decisive for private investors who have controlled the region since the late 1990s. Unfortunately, the architectural form is today in the High Tatra Mountains not a dilemma.

However, the pressure of capital and the weak position of official institutions, including the Monuments Board, is mobilizing more and more representatives of the professional community, including **docomomo** Slovakia, and local activists. They strive to popularize this vast architectural heritage to the general public. It is obvious that only with the public's support can remarkable works of modern architecture in the High Tatras be maintained for future generations.

Notes

- 1 Eugen Kramár, “Architektúra v Tatrách”, *Projekt* 12, 1970, No. 5–6, 223.
- 2 Hotel FIS and the sport facilities of Dreamland have been listed since 2004 in the **docomomo** International Register. **docomomo** Slovakia, *Architektúra & urbanizmus* 40, 2006, No. 3–4, xv.
- 3 See for example Lumír Lýsek, “Keď logika podporí invenciu”, *Projekt* xx, 1978, No. 4, 8.
- 4 Matúš Dulla directed the attention to the International Nature of Tatra Architecture. “Dvesto rokov našej tatranskej architektúry — kruh sa uzatvára?” [Twenty Years of Our Tatra Architecture — Is the Circle Closing?], *Projekt* xxxi, 1989, No. 3, 6.
- 5 Pavol Merjavý, “Hotel Patria”, *Projekt* xx, 1978, No. 9–10, 18.
- 6 Martin Kusý, *Architektúra na Slovensku 1945–1975* [Architecture in Slovakia 1945–1975], Bratislava 1976, s. 224.
- 7 Merjavý, op.cit., 18.
- 8 Jaroslav Vítek, “Rozhoduje poloha, mierka, nevtieravosť” [It is the position, scale, discreetness that decides], *Projekt* xx, 1978, No. 9–10, 14.
- 9 “Ako stavať v Tatrách? Beseda”. [How to build in Tatras? Discussion], *Projekt* 20, 1978, No. 9–10, 48–52.
- 10 Friedrich Achleitner, *Region, ein Konstrukt? Regionalismus, eine Pleite? Basel* [Region, a construct? Regionalism, a bankruptcy?], Birkhäuser Basel, 1997, 113–126.

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E.1027: *Maison en bord de mer* a prototypical vacation residence¹

BY WILFRIED WANG

The house by the sea — *Maison en Bord de Mer* — formed the basis of Eileen Gray's spatial research, in this case applied to a vacation residence. The subsequent sequences of programmatic and typological researches into summer vacation facilities exemplifies Eileen Gray's interest in generalizing the comprehension and acceptance of compact places of abode during vacations. Her ability to thoroughly project a comprehensive and mutually supportive program for a large organization such as a vacation center was the ultimate result of these paths of research. Even though the project was never realized, its timing and documentation proves Eileen Gray's pioneering spirit.

E.1027²

Eileen Gray's first free-standing piece of architecture and landscape design — the structure called E.1027 and built from 1926 to 1929 directly on the rocky coast of Roquebrune-Cap-Martin in the south of France — was explicitly designed as a compact house for summer vacations: a "*Maison en bord de mer*" was the title of the special monograph of the French avant-garde architectural magazine *L'Architecture Vivante* in the winter of 1929. While vacation residences were the domain of the wealthy, E.1027 was an unusual case of a demonstrative object brought into the world as a result of a challenge that its subsequent owner made to its designer: Jean Badovici (1893–1956), the editor *L'Architecture Vivante*, had invited Eileen Gray (1878–1976), the house's designer, to show the world what she meant by modern architecture. The project was conceived in 1926, at a time when the architectural discourse was framed by notions of standardization, economy of space and affordability of good design quality for everyone. The house's completion and the publication of the special issue falls in the same part of the year of 1929 as the meeting of the *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne* in Frankfurt am Main, that was focused on the design and construction of housing for minimum existence, or *Existenzminimum*.

E.1027 was to accommodate up to eight vacationers to feel "completely comfortable"³ in a useable floor area of 132 square meters (m²). Its typology is not that of a traditional residence or villa, but that of the "camping style"⁴. E.1027 was not meant as a model for conventional domesticity. There were no ascribed parents' or children's bedrooms, though there was a "master bedroom". While there are three separate bedrooms (two large ones and a tiny one for the maid), the other places of sleep are in the "living room"⁵ or "large room"⁶, which can be transformed for other purposes,

and which was designed "in such a way that each of the inhabitants could, if need be, find there total independence and an atmosphere of solitude and concentration"⁷. The description of the house underscores this topic further:

The problem of the independence of the room: each person, even in a house of reduced dimensions, should be able to remain free and independent. He should even have the feeling of being alone, and if he likes, completely alone⁸.

Thus, in the living room, there is a 2.2 × 2 meters (m) divan for reclining, sitting, resting or conversing as well as a small *Davenport* divan — a convertible sofa — set in a projecting niche that can accommodate two people. Providing a little sense of privacy between these sleeping areas, a three-paneled paravent on a sliding track screens the two sleeping areas. With the exception of the maid's room — described in the explanation as "the smallest livable cell"⁹, each of these sleeping areas has its own means of egress. The master bedroom has a separate small balcony and an external staircase that is reached via the bathroom. Here again the design underscores "the independence of each of the rooms"; "although the house is quite small, there is a comfort that one would have thought possible only in a much more imposing house"¹⁰.

Therefore, in syntactical terms, E.1027 exhibits an openness and connectivity to the exterior that most normal houses or villas do not possess. Routes are deliberately circuitous, from the entrance sequence to the movement pattern throughout the house; a quality that Eileen Gray documented in the analytical diagram accompanying the special edition of *L'Architecture Vivante*. In this diagram, a series of lines with arrowheads indicate the many routes through the spaces. At the same time, in spatial compositional terms, she

On the previous page:

Eileen Gray's E.1027 Master Bedroom, 1:1 Installation, Akademie der Künste, Berlin. Photograph © Carsten Krohn, 2019.

provided different solutions to the accommodation of inhabitants, some more protected, others more exposed (even a hammock on the balcony outside the guest niche).

Gray's enriching spatial economy

In E.1027, Eileen Gray was experimenting with her own notion of spatial economy:

Thus this quite small house concentrates in a reduced space everything that may be useful for comfort and contribute to the joy of living. Nowhere have we sought a line or form for their own sake; everywhere we have thought of man, his sensibility, his needs¹.

The concentration of all necessary facilities within a limited space was undertaken while simultaneously providing a sense of comfort, even a wealth of choices from which the users were able to choose. Such an approach was the guarantor for success in accommodating up to nine people in a house with a useable area of 132 m². As a result, the house feels more generous than its conventional contemporaries of the *Existenzminimum*. In E.1027, Eileen Gray had developed her own notions of spatial economy, that was in part related to the notion of the *Raumplan* by Adolf Loos (1870–1933) in one aspect, as outlined below, however, it was a notion of spatial economy that only existed in relation to an enrichment of spatial experience. This simultaneous presence of a feeling of spatial enrichment provides E.1027 with a sense of generosity that achieved by means of the architecture's following compositional qualities:

1. Four types of spatial extensions

Adolf Loos' concept of spatial economy, an idea that his first biographer Heinrich Kulka (1900–1971) termed the *Raumplan*², was based on the spatial sensation that one has when sitting in a tiny theatre box overlooking a larger auditorium: there is a compensatory feeling of security that is provided by the small box while sensing the generosity the larger space of the auditorium. This spatial relationship allows for a differentiated and enriching composition such as Eileen Gray used in the relation between the guest niche and the salon; the first type of spatial extension that she employed; she prepared an analytical diagram for this niche that was published in the special edition of *L'Architecture Vivante*. Eileen Gray further amplified this effect with a small, but meaningful detail: at the height of the head of a person lying in the guest bed there is a square opening in the window shutter framing the distant rocky coast. Here, she uses the idea of the *camera obscura* to enhance a sense of space.

The compensatory sensation of a small space overlooking a large one is also experienced when the person lying in the bed of the master bedroom views through the horizontal window towards the Mediterranean Sea; however, with an important additional quality, namely the fact that the right-hand end of the window frame is out of sight, thereby suggesting to the viewer that the horizontal panorama is infinite. This sense of infinity as a result of the viewer not being able to see the edge of an enclosure is the second type of spatial extension developed by Eileen Gray.

The third type of spatial extension is a modern variation of the Lloosian theatre box to auditorium relation. To explain the differentiation of the master bedroom in E.1027 in the special issue of *L'Architecture Vivante*, Eileen Gray prepared a diagram comparing a regular rectangular room against one with the same area that is divided in about two-thirds to one-third (actually according to the Golden Section) to accommodate a study next to the sleeping area. Rather than looking from a small box into a larger auditorium, in the master bedroom the view from the bed towards the study is not one of looking from a small volume towards a much larger one, quite the contrary. Yet, one experiences a spatial generosity. The sense of space of the sleeping area is enhanced.

While all the published photographs of E.1027 are towards beds and divans, none provide the view that the persons lying in these beds or divans have looking outwards. For this purpose, during the research conducted on E.1027, an analytical perspective was produced of the view from the square divan in the *salon* to show how Eileen Gray used the notion of the display of layers of colors and materials to create a neo-plasticist extension of objects, and by extension the observing subject, into space. The divan itself, the floor with its fields of tiles and the carpet, the double-level bedside table to the left, the two protecting walls with their covering such as tiles and the tubular cushions, the marine chart behind, all of these were laid out in a space extending composition. This is the fourth type of spatial extension that she developed. The term "concatenated extensions" was developed for this sense of expanding one's spatial experience by means of related compositional elements that stretch from the subject towards a larger context³.

Eileen Gray is likely to have known Adolf Loos' Tristan Tzara House (1925–1926) and the Knize Shop (1927–1928), both in Paris; she certainly studied Adolf Loos' project for a house in Lido, in Venice, for Alexander Moissi (1879–1935) that was both exhibited at the Parisian *Salon d'Automne* in 1923 and published in the inaugural issue of *L'Architecture Vivante* in the winter of 1923. Eileen Gray traced over the publication plans, developing a series of alternative versions in the manner of a critical alteration. These studies laid the compositional basis for E.1027⁴. While Adolf Loos' project for Alexander Moissi was not a house for minimal existence, Eileen Gray's studies brought forth a number of elements that were carried forward into the realized version of E.1027: the helical stair (much condensed in E.1027), the terraces and external stairs, the space divider with a semi-circular bull nose, compact bedrooms, the fireplace, etc. In her development of the Moissi House, she radically departed from any historical references in which Adolf Loos still was steeped, instead opting for an abstract modernist language.

Her *pièce de résistance* on the topic of types of spatial extensions, however, could be regarded to be the neo-plasticist delamination of fields of tectonic, material and color elements, the concatenated extensions. These four spatial compositions are not easily discernible when plans and photographs are viewed on their own. Without being there, without the opportunity of experiencing the real

composition, many commentators have lacked the first-hand experience. The conventional method of observing architecture has failed to inspire commentators to explore what lies beyond the surface. This lack of research and imagination, however, is not confined to the case of Eileen Gray and E.1027.

While Eileen Gray may have known of Adolf Loos' interest in placing rooms of different heights and sizes within a compact form, in E.1027 she demonstrates her own understanding of the idea of spatial economy while simultaneously enriching the user's experience. In her approach to enriched spatial economy she developed significant additions such as the *camera obscura* effect and the sensation of infinity. Eileen Gray made significant contributions to the notion of spatial economy through the invention of these four space extending examples. They are an important expansion of what has unfortunately become the orthodox reductive modernist planimetric compositional approach, an approach that rarely looks beyond the outline of the interior spaces for a way to offer more than the net internal area.

2. Individualized spatial enclosures

Distinct from the four techniques of spatial extension, in E.1027 Eileen Gray provided dense facilities in the immediate surroundings of resting areas. In the smallest of all spaces, the guest niche, a compact cupboard for bedlinen, a *mosquito* net, bookshelves, a reading light, storage space for a kettle, and a rotatable table that serves as a breakfast table or converts into a support for books, complete with a pencil case at the base of the bookstand to prevent the book from turning the pages on its own or from slipping down, she had thought of the guest's needs in the same manner as the designers of the luxury sleeping carriages, and more. The door behind the bed not only provides an individual means of egress for the guest, the two independently operable elements of the outer louvered shutter and the inner glass door allows the guest to control light and airflow. Similar facilities are offered in the other three sleeping areas, but not in the maid's room.

A person resting in such a space would thus feel well-served with an apparent surfeit of facilities, yet, they are not only quite essential, their accommodation on the specific fitted furniture as well as in the various bedside table designs gives the guest a sense of generosity that an otherwise bare, modernist interior does not provide.

Each resting and sleeping facility is designed differently, a fact that underlines Eileen Gray's ambition not only to prove her design acumen, but also to meet the challenge that she set herself: to show that each situation can elicit a range of solutions as long as there is the willingness to both imagine as well as to explore these situations with the utmost rigor. To Eileen Gray modern design and architecture is not the provision of a single-track answer to a defined need but the liberation of imagination at the service of different users.

The design of individualized spatial enclosures with fitted and loose furniture meets her own criticism of formulaic modernism:

Technique isn't everything. It is only the means. One must build for man, so that he may rediscover in the architectural construction the joy of feeling himself, as in a whole that extends him and completes him, so that the very furniture, losing its individuality, merges with the architectural ensemble¹⁵.

Equipped with such backgrounded extensions of the body, veritable architectural prostheses, the provision of actual space can be minimized. Coupled with the spatial extension techniques as outlined above, E.1027 could be experienced as a space capsule for vacationing guests in the manner of Atlantic steamships, sleeping carriages of the Venice Simplon-Orient Express, however, fixed to a privileged piece of the French Mediterranean coast in the *Maison en Bord de Mer*.

From E.1027 to the Centre de Vacances

Eileen Gray was a pioneer in numerous fields, including the design for summer vacation accommodation and facilities. Her involvement with this topic was related to both her experience with public housing of the 1920s as well as her awareness of the debate on *congés payés* or statutory paid summer vacations in France. On this topic, the central French trade union, *Confédération Générale du Travail*, had made this topic part of their demands since 1925; however, it was not until the left-wing *Front Populaire* under Léon Blum (1872–1950) was voted into office in 1936 that paid summer holidays became a worker's right.

While for Eileen Gray, who was financially independent, staying at luxury hotels was always an option, she was conscious of the cost of extended stays in hotels. With the possibility of millions of French workers being able to spend time off work and therefore potentially in places other than their homes raised the question of affordable as well as meaningful vacation accommodation for large numbers. About a year after the completion of E.1027, Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici worked on a series of camping tents. One of these showed the system of an almost semi-circular unfolding, umbrella-like structure. The tent was closer to the concept of "*le style camping*" than the house of E.1027. According to Eileen Gray, it was "to be erected by one person, light enough to be carried on a motorcycle or in a car"¹⁶. Their umbrella tent foreshadowed the mass-production and design logic of Citroën's *Deux Chevaux*. In the early 1930s, Eileen Gray studied the design of minimum dwellings of around 33 to 40 m², pavilions, single-family houses. The formal spectrum ranged from strict right-angled boxes to units with curved roofs, even steel and fabric structures. Inspired by constructional components such as flat and corrugated metal panels, prefabricated concrete profiles, steel tubes, she was investigating their formal properties in relation to their adaptation to mass-produced dwelling units. Not only were these designs left at a schematic level, they represent a broad spectrum of research rather than an in-depth typological study of inhabitation types or construction systems.

By far the largest project that Eileen Gray ever undertook was for *Centre de Vacances*, a vacation center for about 177

01 Installation of Eileen Gray's Master Bedroom from the design for E.1027, curated by Wilfried Wang originally for the School of Architecture, The University of Texas at Austin here exhibited at the *Akademie der Künste*, Berlin, Spring 2019, view of the sleeping and changing area. Photograph © by Andreas (FranzXaver) Süß.



02 Installation of Eileen Gray's Master Bedroom from the design for E.1027, curated by Wilfried Wang originally for the School of Architecture, The University of Texas at Austin here exhibited at the *Akademie der Künste*, Berlin, Spring 2019, view of the study area. Photograph © by Andreas (FranzXaver) Süß.



03 Installation of Eileen Gray's Master Bedroom from the design for E.1027, curated by Wilfried Wang originally for the School of Architecture, The University of Texas at Austin here exhibited at the *Akademie der Künste*, Berlin, Spring 2019, detailed view of the coiffeuse. Photograph © by Andreas (FranzXaver) Süß.



04 Installation of Eileen Gray's Master Bedroom from the design for E.1027, curated by Wilfried Wang originally for the School of Architecture, The University of Texas at Austin here exhibited at the *Akademie der Künste*, Berlin, Spring 2019, view of the hand washbasin area. Photograph © by Andreas (FranzXaver) Süß.

guests (1936–1937). Sited next to the sea, and served by a nearby motorway, she developed a prototypical program for a vacation and leisure center that broadened the pleasures of seaside activities (including a diving board) with a gymnasium, a theater combined with a cinema, dance stage and café; and a refectory for take-away food combined with a regular restaurant. There was to have been car

parking near the entrance, where she also foresaw a dispensary. The center was laid out with the key activities securing the four corners and the three residential types placed at the core, with if the temporary residential units — elliptical prefabricated dwellings — were sited on a skewed rectangular platform, rising a floor above the eastern part of the site.

There were three types of accommodation: type A was based on the prefabricated reinforced concrete elliptical tubes that Eileen Gray considered

easily transportable by truck. Advantages: Single framework. Jointing of the sections, only assembly required. Mass-produced, they would be economic, for the Centre de Vacances, they would also serve as emergency housing for homeless people. Insulation: Plaster panels and glass-wool⁷.

The project was displayed in the *Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux*, by Le Corbusier (1887-1965), in Paris 1937 and was published in the accompanying catalogue with an enthusiastic comment by Le Corbusier:

A holiday center everywhere has appeal for leisure activities. As the result of paid holidays, we have seen during the summer of 1937, the country being invaded by those who benefit from it. ... Here is a project that has been remarkably well thought out. It is situated on the sea, it contains a restaurant organized with the latest methods of service and distribution. The movable camping site is composed of temporary cabins that can easily be erected and dismantled according to the influx of tourists. there is entertainment planned in a theater and cinema in the open air. Theater people (which kind? New ones, amateurs maybe) will be happy to discover stages in the country able to present their manifestations full of fresh poetry⁸.

In the group of mobile units, there were about 21 units, most of these facing the sea. Type B consisted of single (8) or double bed (6) units with showers and hand washbasins; type C was also a mix of single (24) and double bed (16) units, however, just with hand washbasins. Showers were grouped in a collective sanitary space together with the toilets. The focus of the design was on spending time on the exterior, much of Eileen Gray's design energy was invested in the articulation of the ground floors.

While the model did not show any vegetation, it is safe to assume that Eileen Gray would integrate the buildings, treated as they were like free-standing pavilions, with the existing and new landscape elements, including shrubs and trees, analogous to her approach for E.1027. Seen from the vantage point of the 21st century, with commercialized vacation centers operating along the entire Mediterranean coast, her *Centre des Vacances* is a well-understood model. At the time of its inception, the proposal must have struck the visitors to the *Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux* as utopian. The guests, for whom the vacation center was planned, would have come from the mobile working and the middle classes. For them, an era of paid holidays had barely begun with the new left wing French Government just having passed legislation in 1936 granting every working person the possibility of spending a few weeks in a camp such as this one. Eileen Gray had evidently devoted a lot of time and energy on the high degree of resolution of each component and on the overall design. She must have had high hopes, especially with Le Corbusier's endorsement, that her design would

have been seen as a viable proposal. The fact that it was not realized must have been all the more disappointing to her.

Notes

- 1 This essay is based on the research that was conducted by numerous students, members of the office of Hoidn Wang Partner and the author over a period from 2014-2017 culminating in the O'NFM_7: E.1027, Tübingen-Berlin, Wasmuth Verlag, 2017.
- 2 In the abbreviation E.1027, the letter "E" stands for Eileen, the number 7 stands for the letter G, as in Gray; the number 10 stands for the letter J, as in Jean; and the number 2 stands for the letter B, as in Badovici.
- 3 Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici, typescript of the English language version of the "Description" of E.1027, 15, National Museum of Ireland, Eileen Gray Archive.
- 4 Ibid., 15.
- 5 Ibid., 13.
- 6 Ibid., 15.
- 7 Ibid., 13.
- 8 Ibid., 14.
- 9 Ibid., 24.
- 10 Ibid., 20.
- 11 Ibid., 25.
- 12 Heinrich Kulka, *Der Architekt Adolf Loos*, Vienna, Anton Schroll Verlag, 1964, 131. It was Kulka, who coined the term *Raumplan*. Loos spoke about the notions of economic spatial planning, but never used the word *Raumplan* itself.
- 13 Wilfried Wang, "E.1027: A Total Work of Modern Art", O'NFM_7: E.1027, Tübingen-Berlin, Wasmuth Verlag, 2017, 73-79.
- 14 Wilfried Wang, "Three-Story House", Caroline Constant, Wilfried Wang (Eds.), *Eileen Gray: An Architecture for all Senses*, Tübingen-Berlin, Wasmuth Verlag, 1996, 84-87.
- 15 Eileen Gray in conversation with Jean Badovici, "De L'Éclecticism à Douce", transl. by Peter Adam, in *Eileen Gray: Architect, Designer*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1987, 236.
- 16 Eileen Gray quoted by Peter Adam, *ibid.*, 303.
- 17 Eileen Gray, *Architectural Portfolio*, National Museum of Ireland, Eileen Gray Archive.
- 18 Le Corbusier, "Un centre de vacances", *Des Canons, Des Munitions? Mercil Des Logis ... S.V.P.*, Paris, Éditions de L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1937, 80.

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- WANG, Wilfried; ADAM, Peter, *Eileen Gray: E.1027*, Tübingen-Berlin, Wasmuth, 2017.

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E.1027: murder and mystery of the camera Gems on the history of the house E.1027 created by Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici

BY CHRISTIAN MÜLLER

The bouquet of stories related to E.1027, the house built 1926–1929 by the Irish architect and furniture designer Eileen Gray with the support of Jean Badovici, is colorful and intriguing. In “E.1027: Murder and Mystery of the Camera”, gems on the history of the house, new research material and previously unpublished facts related to E.1027 are revealed. Above all, the search for an answer to the question “Which photo camera was used to take the original pictures of E.1027”.

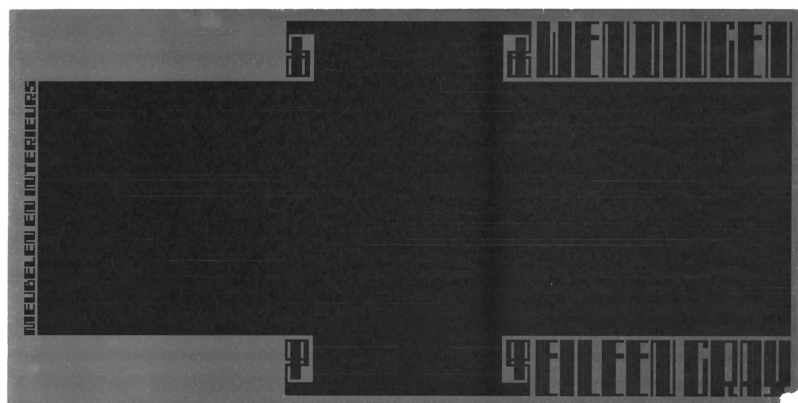
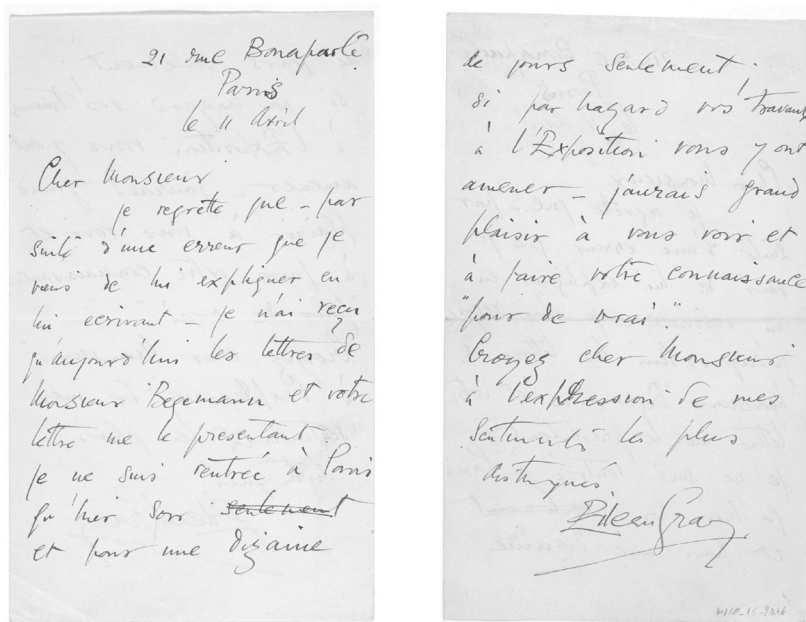
Thirty years ago, as a student of architecture from the ETH Zürich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich), I stepped up a staircase to the attic of a house in the city center of Zürich. The name at the doorbell said: “Kägi”. I remember the inside, a completely darkened room, lit only by a fluorescent aquarium where some skeletons of small-scale human bodies made their appearance. A rather strange reception for a doctor’s practice. My school mate, Stefan Hecker, and I, were not here for the doctor, but for a key. The key to his property E.1027 (1926–1929) where, in the following summer of 1990, we were fortunate to spend several weeks in the *Maison en bord de mer* [House at the seaside] at the French Côte-d’Azur. It was the key to my year-long fascination, scientific research, comprehensive survey of the building and furniture¹, explorations, discoveries, publications², surprises and — still — remaining mysteries on E.1027.

Dr. Peter Kägi was always correct and very generous to Stefan Hecker and me. Whenever we wished, we could stay in E.1027, for longer periods too. We had a key. Like so many architectural monuments fate was against E.1027. In 1991 Peter Kägi put a unique set of twenty-eight pieces of original furniture, temporarily stored at a secret location in Zürich, up for an auction at Sotheby’s in Monaco. Stefan Hecker and I immediately initiated a campaign to have the sale canceled, or at least to preserve the set as an entity. Through Arthur Rüegg (b. 1942) and Swiss **docomomo** coordinator Ruggero Tropeano (b. 1955), **docomomo** International became alarmed by the situation a few days before the sale was scheduled. In just three days an international campaign which they launched was unable to prevent the furniture being dispersed³. Stefan Hecker and I had no choice but to document the furniture taking measurements and photos for a later re-edition by ClassiCon, Munich.

In September 1994, Peter Kägi’s attorneys at law contacted me with the request to actively support them in writing a sales document for E.1027 that expressed the importance of the architectural achievement represented by the house E.1027⁴. The house owner got into financial difficulties. Morphine and a divorce demanded payment.

Once again, history took a grotesque turn. Dr. Peter Kägi was murdered in 1996 in the living room of his property E.1027. A sad ending. The official verdict stated: he did not pay his gardener. The local rumor said: he did not pay the gardener for additional services of homoerotic provocation. The gardener was arrested on his way to Nice, whilst escaping in Dr. Peter Kägi’s Rolls Royce.

Peter Kägi’s children, uncertain whether to accept or to reject the heritage of their father, proceeded for the time being with the sale of E.1027. The legal vacuum attracted the most diverse clientele. From northern Italian businessmen to Irish dandies, they all showed up pretending an interest in buying. A local architect, temporarily in charge of some renovation works at E.1027, claimed ownership of the house and went to court⁵. Thomas Rebutato (1907–1971), called Robert, offered his restaurant “L’Etoile de Mer”, just a few steps from E.1027, in exchange for E.1027⁶. Simultaneously, the French authorities tried to classify E.1027 as a historic monument: “*nous envisageons de classer la villa d’Eileen Gray parmi les monuments historiques à assurer dans l’avenir sa bonne conservation*” [we plan to classify the Eileen Gray’s villa as an historical monument to assure its future conservation]⁷. In September 1998, the French Ministry of Culture and Communication approached Stefan Hecker and me, if we were “kind enough to help them in preparing the dossier for the classification”⁸. This procedure of the French authorities was opposed by the heirs, as they preferred a sale of the house without restriction or servitudes. Two years later, there was still no



02 Cover of Wendingen 1924, issue 6, H.Th. Wijdeveld (red.) et al., *Eileen Gray meubelen en interieurs*, Santpoort, Uitgever C.A. Mees, 1924. © Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam/ WIJD_736-13.

progress in this matter. The regional conservator of historic monuments clarified:

I was able to present the file created in preparation for the classification of the villa firstly at the regional cultural heritage commission in Aix-en-Provence, ..., then to the superior commission in Paris, ... These two bodies have pronounced in unanimity in favor of the classification of the villa E.1027 among the historical monuments, the classification being the highest measure existing in the French legislation.

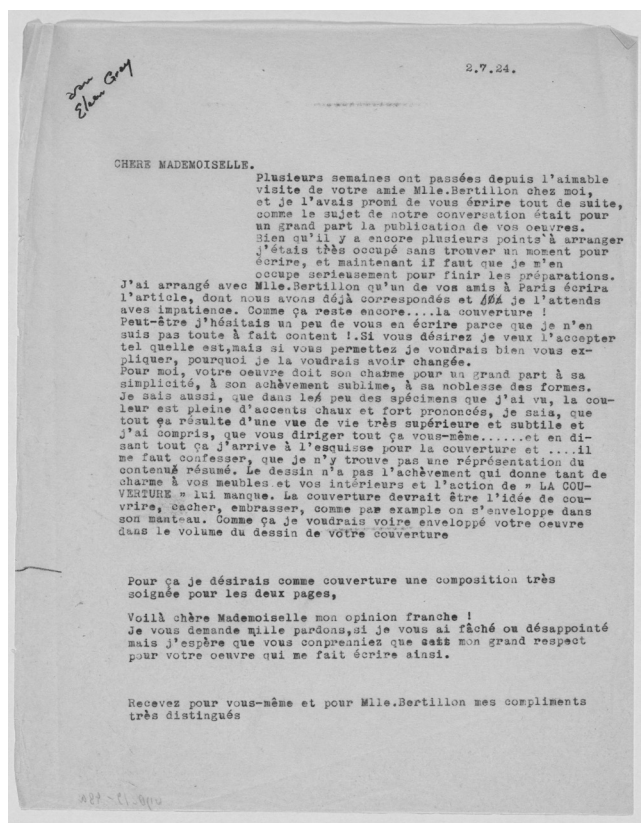
However, representatives of Kagi's inheritance, owner of the house, still refuse this proposal, thus prohibiting the signature of the order by the Minister of Culture. As the villa is for sale, the outcome of the current procedure remains subordinate to the change of ownership⁹.

After three years of tug-of-war, E.1027 was given for a symbolic amount — via the national agency “Conservatoire du littoral” — to the state of France and the city of

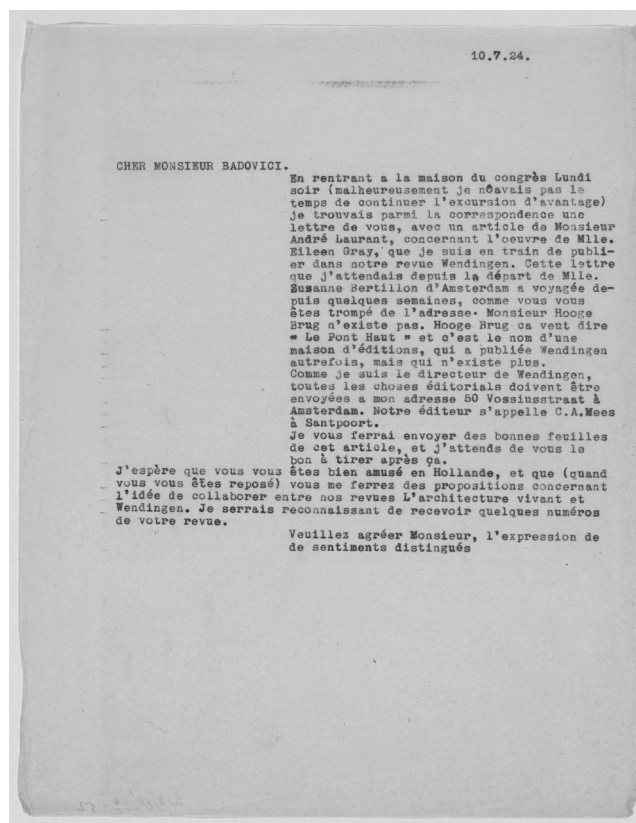
Roquebrune-Cap-Martin. The house was declared an historic monument. In all those years E.1027 remained, albeit in very poor condition as it was left open to vandalism.

What would Eileen Gray think of all the bickering, if she were still alive? After she left Roquebrune in the early 1930s, all the major interventions and decisions were done by men who claimed to know best how to deal with this house. Their motives may have been well-intentioned, but did they match those of the introspective creator? Eileen Gray herself appraised E.1027 with the following words: “The house to be described should not be considered a perfect house, where all problems are resolved. It is only an attempt, a moment in a more general research”¹⁰. When time came to build E.1027, Eileen Gray constructed the house on the same principles as her lacquered screens and decorative panels: adding layer upon layer¹¹. Each layer (primary architectural shell, secondary architectural shell with infill elements, built-in furniture, movable furniture, colors, textures and decorations) completely changed the

03 Letter from H.Th. Wijdeveld to Eileen Gray, Amsterdam, 2 July 1924.
© Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam/ WIJD_19-48a.



04 Letter from H.Th. Wijdeveld to Jean Badovici, Amsterdam, 10 July 1924.
© Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam/ WIJD_15-9a and WIJD_19-52.



spatial perception anew. She experimented on site, thus improving to the desired result.

Joseph Rykwert (b. 1926) was one of the earliest to re-discover Eileen Gray in the 1960s. He reflects:

To the end, Eileen Gray remained relatively indifferent to a past which seemed awesomely impressive to those of us much younger than herself, and insistent that the present and the immediate future were so much more interesting than anything she might summon to reminiscence. She was always keen to hear about new materials, new techniques, new designs. ... It was always its "modernity" — the way her work related to that of the young — which seemed to her to provide a sanction, a validation of designs which were sometimes regarded as far-fetched or eccentric by her contemporaries¹².

The tragic ending of Dr. Peter Kägi, the controversy over Le Corbusier (1887–1965) and his murals, a container loaded with marihuana belonging to Eileen Gray and shipped to the UK: the bouquet of stories is inevitably related to E.1027, like pieces of an obscure jigsaw puzzle. A jigsaw puzzle where pieces are appearing, and others seem to be wrong ones.

In the words of Prunella Clough (1919–1999) "That little house seems to have a 'hex' on it: bad luck, and very like so much in Eileen's life"¹³.

However, not all the pieces of the E.1027-puzzle are found yet. One question still hasn't been answered. Which camera was used to take the original pictures of E.1027 that were published in 1929 in *L'Architecture Vivante*? They

were pictures of the highest quality and were well-considered compositions. I'm convinced Eileen Gray took those pictures herself. As she instructed Jean Badovici (1893–1956) with "Defense de Rire" [laughing prohibited] when entering their house, and as she showed him where to store his shoes in the closet, Eileen Gray always was in control of the scenography.

Which camera was used to achieve these results? There is a reflection of parts of the camera in a mirror of the master bedroom at E.1027, this is the only hint Eileen Gray is giving us¹⁴. A wink by the photographer? Eileen Gray had no institutional education as an architect when she started building her houses and had no institutional education when she started photography. Eileen Gray was "a person of unaffected modesty"¹⁵. She always learned from the masters. Stefan Hecker and I pointed out her learning method and inspirations in our publication *Archithese 4-91*, dedicated to the work of Eileen Gray. She worked on *Villa Moissi* (1923) by Adolf Loos (1870–1933) for the facades, on *Petit Hotel Particulier*, in Paris (1924) by A & G Perret for the floor plan and on *Villa Baizeau*, in Carthage (1927) by Le Corbusier for the interior perspective¹⁶.

However, Eileen Gray had rarely desired physical contact, when invited to meet superiors in person. She remained on the side-lines:

On being asked whether she had met Guillaume Apollinaire, "Ah oui" [Oh yes], she answered "j'étais invitée à dîner avec lui un soir; puis j'ai réfléchi: qu'est-ce que j'avais à dire à ce grand

05 Jean Badovici & Eileen Gray, E.1027. *Maison en Bord de Mer*, France, 1929.
© National Museum of Ireland/NMIEG-2003-1641.



poète? et alors j'ai appelé et j'ai dit que j'avais la grippe..."[I was invited to dinner with him one evening; then I reflected: what could I have to say to this great poet? and then I called and said I had the flu ...]"⁷.

I dare to make a comparison to the novel *"Les Dimanches de Jean Désert"* by Jean de La Ville de Mirmont (1886–1914), a book published in Paris in 1914. The novel tells, with hopeless irony, the life of the main character, Jean Désert, and the character's ability to blend in with absolute anonymity. Eileen Gray, in 1922, named her shop located on the fashionable *Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré* in Paris with the same phonetic name *"Jean Désert"* — fortuitously or deliberately⁸?

Again, my question: how did Eileen Gray attain the professional photographic skills and who provided her with the state-of-the-art equipment to take the photographs of E.1027?

Architects of the Dutch group *De Stijl*, such as Jan Wils (1891–1972), played an incubator role in Eileen Gray's professional career. The most intriguing one was, undoubtedly, Hendricus Wijdeveld (1885–1987), the chief editor of the Dutch magazine *Wendingen*. He has so far been underestimated in importance, barely being given the credit for being a key person in Eileen Gray's career. With this in mind, my investigations regarding the camera led me to the "State Archive for Dutch Architecture and Urban Planning", *het nieuwe instituut*, in Rotterdam. I discovered a written conversation between Hendricus Wijdeveld and Eileen Gray. These letters remained unknown sources for almost 100 years⁹. In a published version they appear for the first time in this issue of *docomomo Journal*. The earliest letter dates from 11 April 1922. In that handwritten letter²⁰, Eileen Gray sent Hendricus Wijdeveld her excuses not having met him in Paris. Hendricus Wijdeveld arranged the Dutch Pavilions at the various Salons in Paris.

Hendricus Wijdeveld and Eileen Gray remained in written contact. Hendricus Wijdeveld recognised, as nobody else in the beginning of the 1920s, the design talent of Eileen Gray. And he softly pushed her to the edge, stimulating her not to hesitate to include tactility and charm in her work. When discussing the cover of the magazine *Wendingen*, devoted to her work (mainly pieces of furniture), Hendricus Wijdeveld criticized and advised her on

the cover, which Eileen Gray proposed to him in a preliminary graphic design version:

As it still remains ... The cover! Perhaps I hesitate a little to write to you because I'm not quite satisfied! If you wish I would like to accept it as it is, but if you permit I would like to explain to you why I wish it had changed. For me, your work owes its charm in a large part to its simplicity, its sublime completion, its noble forms. I also know that in the few specimens that I have seen, the color is full of lime accents and very pronounced, I know, that all this results from a view of life very superior and subtle and I understood that you are directing all that yourself ... and by saying all that, I get to the sketch for the cover and ...

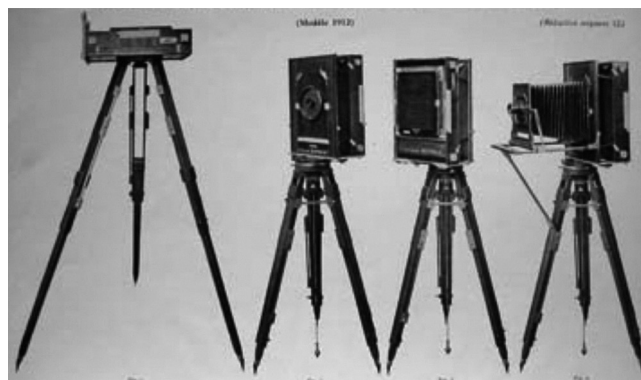
*I must confess, that I do not find a representation of the contents summarized. The drawing does not have the completion that gives so much charm to your furniture and interiors and the action of "THE COVER" is missing. The cover should be the idea of covering, hiding, embracing, as for example one wraps himself in his coat. That way, I would like to have your work enveloped in the drawing volume of your cover.*²¹

Embracing charm and tactility, it must have pleased Eileen Gray to read it. A path in the opposite direction than the discourse of that time. To remember: Le Corbusier's manifesto *Vers une architecture*, demanding an architecture based on function and an aesthetic based on pure form was published just one year before, 1923.

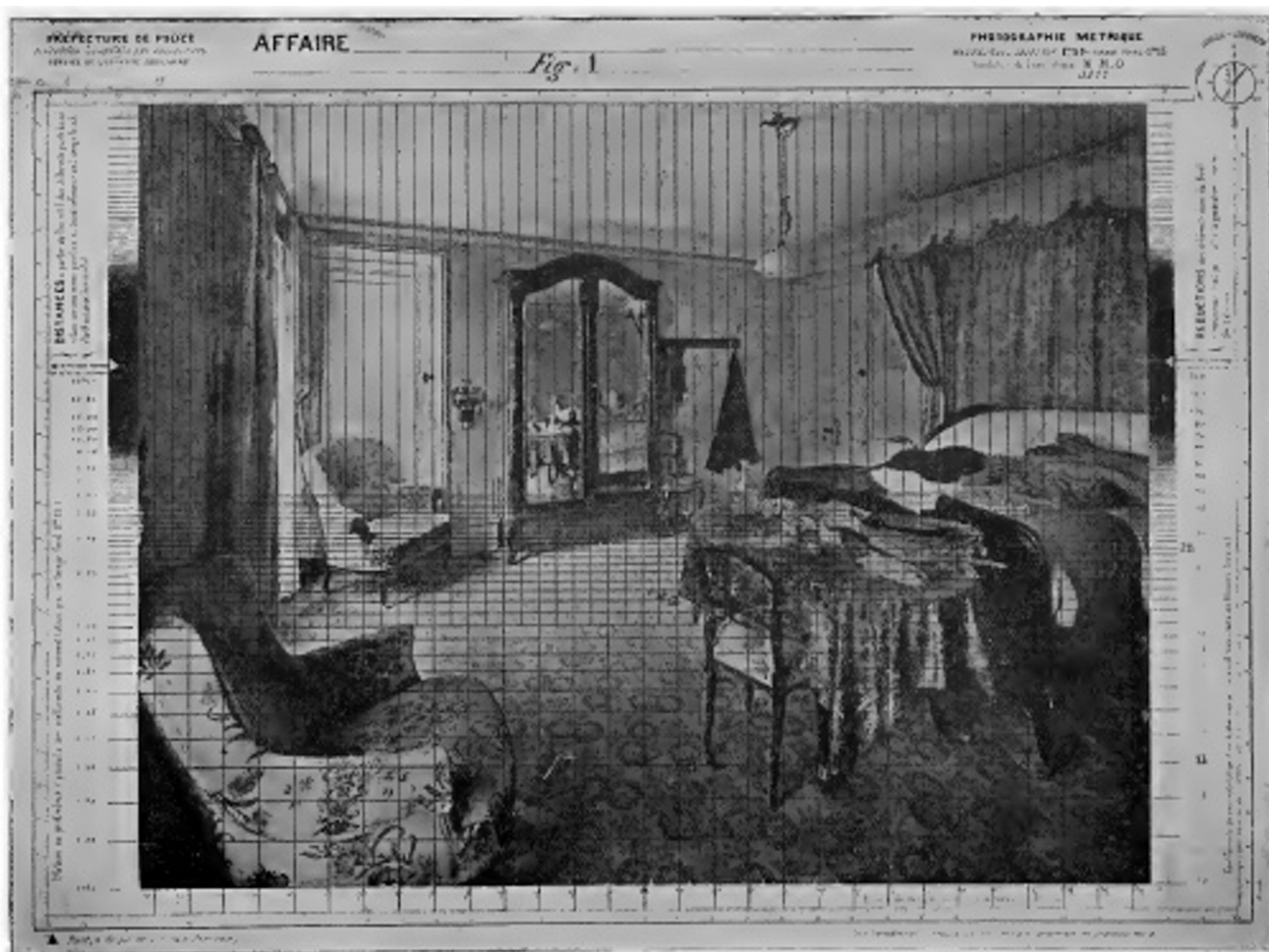
That same letter of Hendricus Wijdeveld, written on 2 July 1924 to Eileen Gray, offers us another surprise.

Contrary to what I thought until I encountered those letters, Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici did not appear as "a couple" to Hendricus Wijdeveld. It was surprisingly Hendricus Wijdeveld who proposed Badovici as author of the article in *Wendingen*²². It seems as if Jean Badovici until then did not have a close relationship with Eileen Gray as was the case soon after. Was the writing of the *Wendingen*-article in the summer of 1924 the beginning of the deeper professional and personal relationship between Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici?

Hendricus Wijdeveld suggested a personal meeting with Eileen Gray in order to discuss the *Wendingen* publication. Again, Eileen Gray preferred to send another person on her behalf to meet Hendricus Wijdeveld in Amsterdam.



06 "Appareil de Photographie métrique avec mise en plaque de l'image à l'arrière, format 24 x 30". © Alphonse Bertillon *Photographie Métrique de Alphonse Bertillon. Identification judiciaire*, Paris, Établissement Lacour-Berthiot, 1913, 4.



Who was this person and why is it important to know? The answer may lead us to the camera which is used some five years later to photograph E.1027.

The mysterious contact person, Mademoiselle Bertillon, must have been a close acquaintance of Eileen Gray. Hendricus Wijdeveld wrote in his letter to Eileen Gray, "*votre amie Mlle Bertillon*" [your friend Miss Bertillon]²³. The letter does not mention a first name of *Mlle Bertillon* and a *Mlle Bertillon* is not known in the biography of Eileen Gray. I cannot draw a conclusion other than that person must be Suzanne Bertillon. A decorative artist, designer of furnishing fabrics, clothes and wall coverings. Suzanne Bertillon exhibited her works at the *Salon d'Automne* and at the *Salon des Artistes Décorateurs* in the 1920s. Exactly the same two places and dates, where Eileen Gray exhibited her own works in Paris. Suzanne Marguerite Bertillon had her studio at 14, *Rue Visconti*, in Paris from 1920 until 1938. Eileen Gray had her atelier, with Evelyn Wyld (1882–1973), in the overlapping time period (1910–1924) right across the street at 17, *Rue Visconti*.

Is the correlation of Eileen Gray to this *Mlle Bertillon* wishful thinking? Does a family name without a first name meet scientific requirements? I didn't want to leave the field to speculation and dug into the archives again.

After days of browsing papers and letters I had the proof in my hands — a letter from Hendricus Wijdeveld to Jean Badovici — in easy-to-read typescript it says "*Mlle. Susanne Bertillon*"²⁴. Eureka!

The artist Suzanne Bertillon was the niece of Alphonse Bertillon (1853–1914), inventor of anthropometrical photography which was the leading investigative method to photograph criminals. A typical mug shot is two-part, with one side-view photo, and one front-view. The background is usually stark and simple. Alphonse Bertillon developed standards for recording crime scenes. Overview shots, where every piece of furniture and every detail is important in order to tell the story of the total. The story of the crime-scene. In his book, to be read as a user-manual, the translated legend of one illustration says: "Transforming photography into an architect's plan using the perspective chart"²⁵. The telling of a story by taking care for all the details and the *mise-en-scène* of the place of action is stunning between Alphonse Bertillon's photographs of a crime scene and Eileen Gray's photographs of her interiors.

In later years, Suzanne Bertillon wrote the biography of her famous uncle, a book, that is a major source of the family's history. Obviously, Suzanne Bertillon stayed in close contact with Alphonse Bertillon.

Was Alphonse Bertillon the “master photographer” for Eileen Gray? Yes, his photos were a source of inspiration for Eileen Gray, his manuals the key to gain knowledge. The Bertillon family was the best advisor for Eileen Gray when it came to buying professional equipment. Professional cameras, which Eileen Gray could order and buy in Paris such as a custom-made camera of the “Bertillon-camera” type manufactured by “Lacour-Berthiot”. The equipment used by the French police officer Alphonse Bertillon. Crime and Photography — CSI E.1027 — The floor to further investigate is yours.

Notes

- In August 2006, Stefan Hecker & Christian Müller donated all their research material on Eileen Gray, including more than 700 photos of E.1027, to the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin.
- Select publications by Stefan Hecker and Christian Müller on the work of Eileen Gray:
Stefan Hecker & Christian Müller, *archibese 4-91*, “Eileen Gray”, CH-Heiden, Arthur Niggli Verlag, 1991.
Stefan Hecker & Christian Müller, *Eileen Gray Works and Projects*, Barcelona, Editorial Gustavo Gili S.A., 1993.
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- Gray gave each of her houses, rugs and furniture in a playful way names referring to geographic places or to persons: Lou Pérou, Bastide Blanche, Bibendum, E.1027, etc.
- The first ever presentation of these letters in public took place at the lecture of Christian Müller in Berlin, 11 April 2019, part of the symposium *Eileen Gray E.1027 Master Bedroom*, Akademie der Künste, Berlin.
- Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ WJJD_15-9a and WJJD_15-9b.
- Free translation from the editors from the original: “...Comme ça reste encore... La couverture! Peut-être j’hésite un peu de vous en écrire parce que je n’en suis pas toute à fait content! Si vous désirez je veux l’accepter tel quelle est, mais si vous permettez je voudrais bien vous expliquer, pourquoi je la voudrais avoir changée. Pour moi, votre œuvre doit son charme pour un grand part à sa simplicité, à son achèvement sublime, à sa noblesse des formes. Je sais aussi, que dans le peu des spécimens que j’ai vu, la couleur est pleine d’accents chauds et fort prononcés, je sais, que tout ça résulte d’une vue de vie très supérieure et subtile et j’ai compris, que vous dirigez tout ça vous-même... et en disant tout ça j’arrive à l’esquisse pour la couverture et... Il me faut confesser, que je n’y trouve pas une représentation du contenu résumé. Le dessin n’a pas l’achèvement qui donne tant de charme à vos meubles et vos intérieurs et l’action de ‘La Couverture’ lui manque. La couverture devrait être l’idée de couvrir, cacher, embrasser, comme par exemple on s’enveloppe dans son manteau. Comme ça je voudrais voir enveloppé votre œuvre dans le volume du dessin de votre couverture.” Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ WJJD_19-48a.
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- Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ WJJD_19-52.
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Eileen Gray and the influence of Cubism

BY ROSAMUND DIAMOND

Eileen Gray's design approach, resulting in the production of her two houses E.1027 and *Tempe à Pailla* as complete works, could have been influenced by the revolutionary effects of Cubism, in particular Marcel Duchamp's version "Elementary Parallelism" and some of his later art practices. There are parallels between Gray's use of purpose-made and standard fittings and Duchamp's adaptations of mechanisms and his "readymades". This is discussed in the multiple design fields in which Eileen Gray worked. There is a similarity in her approach to transformable fixed and loose furniture and architecture in the means by which she transforms space.

Introduction

Eileen Gray (1878-1976) was a prodigious designer of everything associated with her working life, from furnishings and interiors, to the invitation cards sent from her gallery, Jean Désert, while she experimented with collage, sculpture and photography. Respected for her furniture and interiors, she also designed speculative public building projects and a few built works, of which the still existing houses E.1027 at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin (1926-1929) and *Tempe à Pailla* at Castellar (1931-1934) were the most complete¹. Although the houses reveal an affinity with contemporary architectural developments, they are unique fusions of building and interior space which are difficult to categorize within architectural convention. This essay on the relationship between Eileen Gray's furniture and architecture suggests how her approach might have emerged from contemporary art movements. Its main focus is on her first complete and extant house, E.1027, and the interiors, furniture and fittings that she was producing simultaneously. The essay will speculate on her design methods, considering conceptions of space based on changing contemporary artistic practices, which in turn arose from momentous events and scientific discoveries. The essay is based on the available evidence of her artistic work, book ownership and known acquaintanceships. The two houses as they remain², and the records, Eileen Gray's sketches, drawings and photographs, demonstrate how the buildings and their external spaces, were uniquely developed through the design interdependency of the architecture and all their fixed, movable and loose furnishings³. They are exceptional works of complete design⁴, resulting from Eileen Gray's conceptual approach and working practices. In the period between 1922, when her furniture design changed, and 1929, when she completed E.1027, there was an intense interaction between the fields and techniques in which she was working. There is a similar structural approach to each component, whether

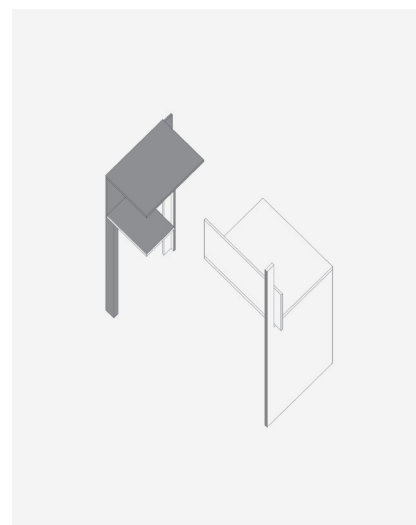
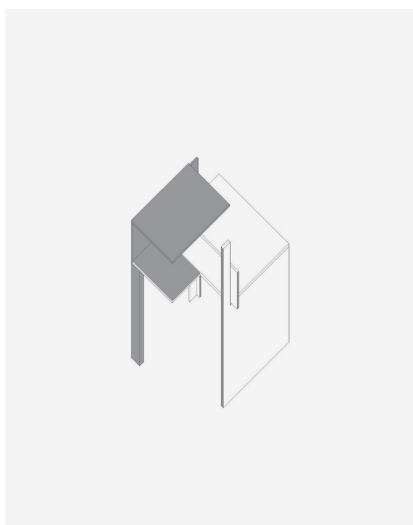
a pivoting piece of fixed furniture or a spatial composition, resulting in a condition in which they are interdependent, a vision of both the individual and social living conditions on which the houses depend.

This essay proposes that the development of Gray's furniture and house designs was influenced by new ways of perceiving space in art and photography, and by the revolutionary effects of Cubism. Exceptionally, Eileen Gray worked to an equal extent in the fields of art, interior design and, eventually, architecture. The chronology of her designs and architectural experiments is relevant because she was working on interior commissions, furniture, carpet designs and lighting at the same time as her first known architectural studies, the purchase of the land at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin and the design of E.1027. It is difficult to be precise with regards to the evolution of her designs for furniture and fittings, although various items have been dated⁵. At some stage, her approach altered with regards to three-dimensional form and fabrication. The pieces remained of consistently high material quality, while her designs began to change, discarding social and spatial conventions that had previously affected their forms. Tables became multi-sided and freestanding, without fixed orientation. Chairs were designed to be moved to suit the user, with curved forms or adjustable back rests that precluded them from being formally positioned in rooms, or against walls. They supported a way of sitting concerned more with individual occupation than appropriate posture. Simultaneously, Eileen Gray developed different fabrication methods, designing a new kind of transformable or portable furniture which could respond to contemporary living conditions and smaller spaces. This partly arose from her interest in the compact design associated with luxurious train and boat travel, camping, and British Campaign furniture. To alter space and its inhabitation, she designed the jointing components for semi and fitted furniture and her block screens.

01 Eileen Gray, *De Stijl* table, 1922–1924, oak and sycamore, paint. © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Sydney and Frances Lewis, INV: 85.114.



02 Drawings of Eileen Gray, *De Stijl* table whole and dismantled. © Amy Glover, Rosamund Diamond (ed.).



She used unique pivoting systems in loose and later fixed furniture as early as 1919⁶. How this transformation happened is an important question. It affected her approach to furniture and building design, resulting in a unique architecture.

Cubism, spatial movement

As a sophisticated member of creative Parisian society starting in the early 20th century, Eileen Gray was exposed to artistic and technical developments that could have affected her singular design methods. She was not trained in a conventional sense as a furniture designer or as an architect. Through her own efforts, she became highly skilled, notably in lacquerwork. She attended the Slade art school in London for two years, and then made a transformative move to Paris in 1900, where she attended the *Académie Julian*, overlapping with Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968)⁷. This coincided with a period of revolutionary development in the visual arts. One of the most significant was Cubism, developed in the period between 1907 and 1914, by Georges Braque (1882–1963), Juan Gris (1887–1927) and Pablo Picasso (1881–1973)⁸. The Cubists' painting reappraised subjects, materials, their assembly in space and ways of seeing. In the period between the turn of the century and WWI, a freedom and an awareness of promise in the fields of art, science and technology permeated their work. Their still lifes, composed of paint and other random materials, assembled everyday objects, often manmade and of ephemeral use, and presented these simultaneously from different viewpoints, acknowledging scientific discovery, investigations of the human mind and the social change that was restlessly disrupting the formal conventions of bourgeois life. Their works conveyed the transitory. They were not trying to represent modern life or form, but physical presence, investigating human spatial perception. "Cubism changed the nature of the relationships between the

painted image and reality"⁹. They composed random collections of objects, as if their mental assemblage and the spaces between them mattered more. It was the same space that Albert Einstein (1879–1955) and later Werner Heisenberg (1901–1976) were discovering. "If we use the word 'space' purely diagrammatically, we can say that they realized that it was in the space 'between' phenomena that one would discover their explanation"¹⁰. This also changed perceptions of physical matter. Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle (1927) suggested the impossibility of dividing the potential from the actual. The Cubists "created a system by which they could reveal visually the interlocking of phenomena. And thus they created in art the possibility of revealing processes instead of static states of being"¹¹. Cubism could have offered Eileen Gray a new approach to furniture and building design. She developed pieces which altered the spaces they occupied, with a transience associated with contemporary life, responding to changing needs.

Eileen Gray used the same spatial techniques in furniture, interiors and architecture. Her black-and-white "*De Stijl*" occasional table 1922–1924¹², described as such because of its relationship to the Dutch group with whom she was in contact, is the first where she creates a dynamic interaction with space that has been associated with Neoplasticism. The table, composed of two horizontal surfaces with two legs, and interlocking supporting slabs, alters from each visual angle, as if describing its multiple and changing use. The components dismantle any conventional reading of a table, occupying space with an ambiguity of support. The table's surface planes construct multiple spatial layers. She had a similar approach to architecture in E.1027, with a method of layering space by means of the extruded volumes of intermediate spaces, illustrated in her schematic diagrams for the house's spatial concept, in a special edition of *l'Architecture Vivante*¹³. One example is the guest niche in the main salon extruded from the house's external form and

as a separate space within it, which Eileen Gray described as “C Divan — could be used as a temporary room screened off”¹⁴. This method of layering space by means of the volumes of fixed furnishing pieces, results in a small house of great spatial richness.

It is Marcel Duchamp’s interpretation of Cubism in his short period of painting and later his three-dimensional work, that seems to reflect more closely how Eileen Gray’s interior spatial design developed. His *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2*, 1912, [Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2], his earlier work *Nu [esquisse], jeune homme triste dans un train*, 1911-12 [Nude [Study], Sad Young Man on a Train], and other related works, differ from the earlier Cubist paintings of Braque and Picasso because the starting point for their subjects is the body in space instead of the composition of still life objects or buildings and geographic forms. *Nu descendant un escalier* represents the actions of movement in space in a way that is more reminiscent of photography or the cinema. It presents figurative temporality, recording movement by repetitive representation. Distinguishing his work from the earlier Cubist works, Marcel Duchamp introduced his idea as “elementary parallelism”¹⁵, using repetitive movement such as the bodily actions of descent which had been recorded by the photographer Etienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904), whom he later acknowledged as an influence¹⁶. Referring to *Nu descendant un escalier*, Marcel Duchamp later described “keeping only the abstract lines of some twenty different static positions in the successive action of descending”¹⁷. The spaces separating the positions are painted as equivalents and the figure’s movement is discernible catching the light at different angles.

Marcel Duchamp withdrew *Nu descendant un escalier* from the *Salon des Indépendants*, which took place in Paris from March 20, 1912, and where the Cubists exhibited. It was, however, shown at another Cubist exhibition in Paris, organized by the Puteaux Group later that year, so it is possible that Eileen Gray saw it. Alternatively, since the painting achieved notoriety in 1913, when it was shown at the Armory Show in New York, she may have seen it published. Eileen Gray owned a copy of the book

Du Cubisme et des moyens de le comprendre [Cubism and ways to understand it] by the artist Albert Gleizes¹⁸, who was a member of the Puteaux Group. Eileen Gray also knew Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918) and owned a copy of his book *Les Peintres Cubistes*¹⁹ [The Cubist Painters], which she had purchased in 1913. This was a collection of essays written between 1905 and 1912 on various artists, several of whom she also knew²⁰. It included the following commentary on Marcel Duchamp, which he later condemned: “It will perhaps be reserved for an artist as disengaged from aesthetic preoccupations, as occupied with energy as Marcel Duchamp, to reconcile Art and the People”²¹.

Eileen Gray’s furniture designs, interiors, and houses seem to translate the artistic development of Cubist art into three dimensions. Her designs for transformable furniture were concerned, as with Cubism, with the spaces between, and the pieces’ ability to change the rooms they occupied. She constructed spaces from fixed furniture with moving parts, conveying the changes she identified in contemporary life: no longer structured formally, for example by predetermined meeting times for meals and social engagements. New ways of treating space and its occupation in her loose and subsequently fitted furniture must have appealed to her rejection of bourgeois conventions in Paris, and previously of her family’s lifestyle and pretensions. The changes are apparent in her loose furniture designs, the interiors she designed for clients, notably Madame Mathieu-Lévy, her own and Jean Badovici’s (1893-1956) apartments, and her two completed houses. These works were more than explorations of ordinary or exotic materials, the jointing methods used in her works were original and sophisticated spatial investigations, with the capacity to transport their users. Eileen Gray’s transformable loose furniture, and her fixed furniture with moving parts activated by use, reproduced the temporality of human habitation.

In 1919, she began a scheme for Madame Mathieu-Lévy’s apartment in *rue de Lota*, which was completed in 1924. In the first stage she concealed the traditionally plastered main salon walls behind large butted lacquer panels with abstract designs in tarnished silver, which were described in a *Harper’s Bazaar* 1920 review:

*the walls might pose as studies from the latest Cubist exhibition. At least one panel might be Nu descendant un escalier but, in fact, the design is achieved by streaking the black lacquer with over-tones of silver, slightly tarnished in places*²².

Eileen Gray’s block-screen technique for lining the hall to the principal bedroom and her designs for the freestanding block screens marked a point of exceptional transformation in her design system, an equivalent to Cubism’s spatial shifts and Marcel Duchamp’s representation of movement, together with his interest in the mechanical rotary actions of everyday appliances.

Her first freestanding block screens were made around the same period as the *Rue de Lota* hall²³, with the spatial concepts for them and the transformable room linings developed simultaneously. The hall consisted of 450 brick



03 E.1027, view from the west, 2014. © RD.

configured reflective lacquer panels, linked together with “brass or chrome rods” so that they pivoted²⁴.

The freestanding block screens were composed of seven or eight rows of black or white lacquer units rotating in opposing directions. Instead of enclosing or dividing, these screens conveyed a critical spatial ambiguity that is also discernible in Marcel Duchamp's works. Their partial transparency created by the pivoting mechanism and the highly reflective lacquer blocks, meant that they were capable of dematerializing, depending on their orientation, or by the setting of lines so that the blocks were counteracted or reflected. The block screens were sophisticated and highly crafted items. Later, in E.1027's and *Tempe à Pailla*'s design, Eileen Gray used refined pivoting mechanisms, whilst she simultaneously adapted standardized building fittings for the terrace doors and pivoting windows and shutters. Through devices incorporated in the buildings' fabric and in their fixed furniture, a complex spatial layering was developed that seemed to expand the houses' modest footprints.

Mechanisms and "readymades"

At the same time as Marcel Duchamp was making his Cubist paintings, his preoccupation with rotating mechanisms was represented two dimensionally in his *Coffee Mill* 1911 and his rotating machine, *Chocolate Grinder* (No. 1), 1913. *Coffee Mill* 1911 which is painted with direction lines in a flattened spatial representation, conveys the space in which the machine stands, its operating mechanism, and a suggestion of the hand which turns the mill. Eileen Gray used elaborate jointing, rotating and pivoting mechanisms in loose and fixed furnishings in E.1027 and then *Tempe à Pailla*, as metaphors for the inhabitation she envisaged. Rotation appears as a practical device and an expressive one, in the fittings that were built into her houses. In E.1027, this is notable in the bedside table armatures for the guest-divan niche off the living room, as well as those for the principal and guest bedrooms. Rooms and areas in E.1027 are subdivided by means of furnishings that bespoke the specific use of particular areas. In the guest-divan niche, Eileen Gray uses pivoting and rotational devices in the headboard and the glazing at the foot of the bed, to construct an additional, individually inhabited space. A side table pivots from the wall and can be rotated and tilted for reading, while a small opening in the window shutter allows someone lying on the divan a private view out to the sea. In the guest bedroom area on the lower floor, the satellite mirror with its projecting armature holding another circular, pivoting magnifying mirror; a device for personal observation, is another example of a semi-rotating spatial manipulator. In *Tempe à Pailla*, a ceiling aperture in the principal bedroom could be obscured by a circular disk that is controlled from the bed using a pivoting armature. These are not concealed but expressive mechanisms. The two techniques, one involving purposed designed fittings for specifically conceived locations and the other adaptations of standard fittings, recall Marcel Duchamp's combination of his highly developed metaphorical works, notably *The Large Glass* of 1915–1923 with its machines and rotating structures, and

his “readymade” artworks composed of familiar everyday objects, such as the *Bicycle Wheel*, 1913²⁵. Duchamp transformed daily equipment into fantastic rotating mechanisms – *Chocolate Grinder* (No. 1), 1913, is later incorporated into his *Large Glass*.

In his *Nu descendant un escalier*, Marcel Duchamp shows rotational movement as three partially dotted circles indicating repetition²⁶. This method of indicating motion appears in some of Eileen Gray's drawings of furniture in plans for her house²⁷. In *Tempe à Pailla*, Eileen Gray invents an expanding cabinet to alter her bedroom space, alongside a chest of pivoting drawers, drawing the motion onto the floor plan. Eileen Gray's assemblages of readily available electrical parts into lights and switches for bed panels, a combination of bespoke and standard fittings, are equivalent to Marcel Duchamp's “readymades”, serving the occupant, as is the loose double-socket unit, a strange unique object used on E.1027's external terrace and in her apartment. The mechanisms in Eileen Gray's houses never seem to be purely functional. The suspended mosquito netting contraptions over the beds in E.1027 and *Tempe à Pailla* and the shower curtain holders are simultaneously finely balanced, materially spare, and humanly suggestive.

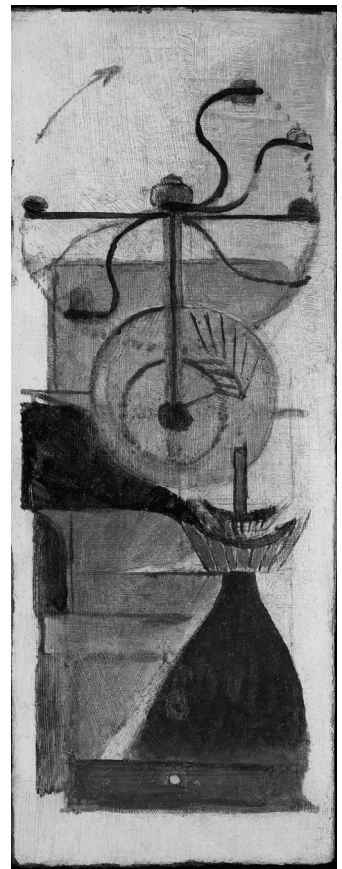
Complete Works

In E.1027 and *Tempe à Pailla*, Eileen Gray constructed multiple layers of space through the interposition of intermediate partitions, fixed and loose furniture. Pivoting and rotating tables, stands, and drawers, juxtapose unstructured communal life with personal inhabitation. In the main living space of E.1027, the intermediate partitions are not at full height, so that the ceiling presents a continuous plane over spaces which may be constantly transformed by occupation. Loose furniture adaptable for different activities, expands space through its transparency and the reflectance of its nickel plated steel framing. Into these pieces of furniture, Eileen Gray embedded the potential for the house to be inhabited in non-programmed ways, whereby the occupants, collectively and individually, could pursue their own momentary needs, desires and dreams. If the Cubism of George Braque, Juan Gris, and Pablo Picasso differed from Marcel Duchamp's “elementary parallelism” in that the former was the representation of static objects from different viewpoints while the latter was that of human form in movement, then a similar distinction could be discerned in Eileen Gray's practice between repose and action. The fixed furniture responding to physical sensations, personal thoughts, and memory, encouraged mobility and personal engagement. Analysis and the mental condition were significant components of contemporary art revolution, notably the Dada and Surrealist movements.

Eileen Gray's concurrent experiments with photography and light, as well as her familiarity with artists who had an interest in glass and photography, such as Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray (1890–1976), whom she knew personally, could have informed her use of glass and hinged mirrors as elements for layering and admitting light into E.1027, as with the mirror with a pivoting section above



04 Marcel Duchamp, *Nude Descending a Staircase*, No.2, 1912, oil on canvas. Credit Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection, 1950, 1950-134-59. © Association Marcel Duchamp / ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2019.



05 Marcel Duchamp, *Coffee Mill*, 1911, oil and graphite on board. © Association Marcel Duchamp / ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2019. Photo: © Tate Gallery London, 2017.



06 Eileen Gray, black block screen, 1923, lacquered wood, with brass rods. © Aram Designs Ltd, holder of the worldwide license for Eileen Gray designs.



07 Eileen Gray, E.1027, guest niche with rotating bedside table. Photo: © RD.

the basin in the main bedroom dressing area. In E.1027, she used mirrors as devices to multiply the complexity of the spaces, and as tools to draw the exterior of the house inside. The idea that light and its admittance and reflective qualities can generate spatial layers continues through her work. Marcel Duchamp experimented with glass and optical devices as part of his departure from painting and conventional art forms. One of the first art “machines” he constructed was the *Rotary Glass Plates* (Precision Optics) of 1920²⁸. Another example of a similar genre, *Rotary Demisphere* (Precision Optics), was made for the collector Jacques Doucet (1853–1929), for whom Eileen Gray had made furniture. Marcel Duchamp constructed his complex, elusive work *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (*The Large Glass*) from mixed material conveying physical and psychological actions, held flat between glass sheets in metal frames²⁹.

*Among the reasons that he gave for using glass was the fact that it eliminated the need for background. The transparency of the glass meant that its emptiness was always filled with whatever its surroundings were*³⁰.

Why did Eileen Gray write on the walls of E.1027? Her application of texts could also refer to Marcel Duchamp. The statements or instructions on walls and fittings, recall Dadaist language and Marcel Duchamp’s attachment to wordplay with its double meanings that he ascribed to his “readymades” and other works. In E.1027 “*Entrez Lentement*” [enter carefully] is stencilled by the main entrance, “*Defense de Rire*” [laughing prohibited] on the lobby partition, and “*Sens Interdit*” [forbidden direction] on the door to the private spaces, all carrying multiple meanings regarding the use of the house within the context of modernist and architectural preoccupations. Inside the building, Gray’s texts are either matter-of-fact or ironic: “*Oreillers*” [pillows], inscribed on E.1027’s guest alcove headboard is a generous act for a guest’s comfort, or an admonishment to silence. Marcel Duchamp later stated:

*One important characteristic was the short sentence which I occasionally inscribed on the “readymade”. That sentence instead of describing the object like a title was meant to carry the mind of the spectator towards other regions more verbal*³¹.

Most of the remaining contemporary records of the houses, the drawings, presentation images, and photographs, were made by Eileen Gray herself. Her techniques for imagining E.1027 and *Tempe à Pailla*, and developing their detailed design, include a series of drawings in which interior sectional elevations are projected around room plans. They are versions of an 18th century type of orthographic projection, also used by some members of the *De Stijl* movement. In the 18th century they would have depicted decoration with furniture arranged against walls with its implied socialization. In Eileen Gray’s versions, the building enclosure, apertures, linings, fitted parts, transformable fixed furniture, pictures, and carpets, are line drawn with equal emphasis

as if interdependent, flattened onto the elevations, whilst generating layers of subsidiary spaces within the rooms. They recall on the one hand, 18th century projected drawings, and on the other, Cubist space, with its repetition of objects viewed from different angles. In Eileen Gray’s drawings, the imagined spaces between objects, and the dynamic actions of placement and use, are presented with the concomitant relationship of the furniture to the spaces between, which is sometimes depicted as flattened or floating. The abstract layering of Eileen Gray’s projection drawings is realized in the house’s spaces, and often shown in her photographs, using a constant play of tone, flattening conventional depth of field so that distant planes do not necessarily recede.

Should one envisage E.1027 as a receptacle without furniture, or could the fixed furniture exist without its enclosing space? Eileen Gray’s drawn plans are never empty. The three beds of the salon, guest niche and the master bedroom are shown in her floor plans and the stylized plan designating sun paths, views and routes. Marcel Duchamp stopped painting. Discarding it as a medium, he developed the “readymade”, and created *The Large Glass* from several of his investigations and artistic practices including drawing, painting, sculpture, language, rotating mechanisms, photography, glass and transparency. In this work, he developed a non-conventional form of artistic representation to evoke modern human experience in all of its transience, in both physical and psychological terms. Eileen Gray’s unique architecture in E.1027 and *Tempe à Pailla* can be explained as the construction of entire environments in which the different fields of art and design associated with contemporary existence and its space could be developed. In designing the components simultaneously, with equal emphasis, she produced an entirely coherent architectural solution.

Notes

- 1 Unfortunately, her design method cannot be fully examined with regards to her public architecture as none of those projects were built.
- 2 I refer to the houses and records of them in their original forms.
- 3 Eileen Gray worked alone as a designer, with the collaboration of makers, producing furniture and fittings, and solely on the houses producing her own design drawings, supervising the construction, and taking most of her own photographs.
- 4 Architecture has adopted the term *Gesamtkunstwerk* associated with opera (particularly Wagner) to describe a “total work”, in which a whole project, typically but not always a house, has been designed and executed as a whole. The original term is defined for example by the Oxford English Dictionary, as “a work in which drama, music and other performing arts are integrated and each is subservient to the whole”. Twentieth century architectural examples include Gerrit Rietveld: *Schroder house* (1924–1925), Josef Hoffman: *Palais Stoclet* (1905–1911), Adolf Loos: *Villa Müller* (1929–1930), Mies Van der Rohe: *Tugendhat house* (1928–1930).
- 5 It is difficult to be precise on the evolution of her furniture and fitting designs although various items have been dated. See the catalogue *raisonné* of furniture and fittings in Peter Adam, *Eileen Gray: Architect/Designer*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1987. Adam states that it is very difficult to date the furniture. A chronology of Eileen Gray’s work: Table in black and white *De Stijl* (1922–1924) Galerie Jean Désert opens (1922) Block (Brick) screen, prototype blackened wood, metal (c.1918) Block screen, white, painted wood (1922) Block screens, black lacquer, white lacquer (1922–1925) Rue de Lota apartment (Madame Mathieu-Lévy) (1918–1922)

- Rue de Lota hall (1922–1924)
- Transat chair (1925–1926)
- Non-conformist chair (1926–1928)
- Folding table, tubular steel and painted wood (1926–1929)
- Dressing table with pivoting drawers (1925–1928)
- Adjustable circular table, chromed tubular steel frame (1925–1928)
- Satellite hanging lamp (1919–1925)
- First architectural studies: three-storey house, after Adolf Loos's Villa Moissi (1923)
- E.1027 (1926–1929).
- 6 Examples include the dressing table with pivoting drawers from 1919–1925, the Transat Chair with pivoting headrest from 1925/1926, pivoting bedside tables and pivoting drawers for the fitted wardrobe from 1926–1929, and the block screens from 1922/1923 (prototype from 1918).
- 7 Eileen Gray attended the Slade School of Art in London from 1898 to 1900, the *Académie Julian* in Paris from 1902 to 1906. Marcel Duchamp also attended the *Académie Julian* between 1904 and 1905.
- 8 John Berger dates the period of Cubism from 1907 to 1914. See John Berger, *The Success and Failure of Picasso*, London, Penguin, 1960, 48–73, and John Berger, “The Moment of Cubism”, in John Berger, *The Moment of Cubism and Other Essays*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, 1–32.
- 9 Ibid., 51.
- 10 Ibid., 67.
- 11 “... Cubism is an art entirely concerned with interaction: the interaction between different aspects: the interaction between structure and movement: the interaction between solid and the space around them: the interaction between the unambiguous signs made on the surface of the picture and the changing reality which they stand in for”. Ibid., 68.
- 12 The description is from a Sotheby's catalogue from 1980 and is reflected in Peter Adam's catalogue *raisonné*, see note 5.
- 13 Jean Badovici, Eileen Gray, “E.1027, Maison en Bord de Mer” in *L'Architecture Vivante*, Hiver 1929, Albert Morancé, Paris, Reprint Édition, 2006, Imbernon Marseille.
- 14 Description on a page from Eileen Gray's portfolio showing exterior photograph, plan, typed legend, 1956, 21.
- 15 “First, there's the idea of the movement of the train, and then that of the sad young man... who is moving about; thus there are two parallel movements corresponding to each other. Then there is the distortion of the young man – I had called this elementary parallelism. It was a formal decomposition; that is, linear elements following each other like parallels and distorting the object. The object is completely stretched out as if elastic. The lines follow each other in parallels, while changing subtly to form the movement... I also used this procedure in the *Nude Descending a Staircase*”. Marcel Duchamp in Pierre Cabanne, “2. A Window onto Something Else”, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, London, Hachette UK, 2009, 29.
- 16 Pierre Cabanne, *ibid.*, 37–38.
- 17 “Painted, as it is, in severe wood colors, the anatomical nude does not exist, or at least cannot be seen, since I discarded completely the naturalistic appearance of a nude, keeping only the abstract lines of some twenty different static positions in the successive action of descending”. Michel Sanouillet, Elmer Petersen (eds.), *Duchamp du signe*, Paris, Flammarion, 1975, 222.
- 18 Albert Gleizes, *Du Cubisme et des moyens de le comprendre*, Paris, Editions les Cibles, 1920, see Jennifer Goff, *Eileen Gray, Her Work and Her World*, Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2015, 22.
- 19 Guillaume Apollinaire, *Méditations esthétiques; les peintres cubistes*, Paris, Eugène Figuière et Cie., 1913, and see Jennifer Goff, *ibid.*, 22.
- 20 See Chapter 3, “The Artist: Painting, Sculpture, Photography,” in Jennifer Goff, *ibid.*, 83.
- 21 Pierre Cabanne, *op. cit.*, 37–38.
- 22 Unknown author, “Lacquer Walls and Furniture Displace Old Gods in Paris and London” *Harper's Bazaar*, London, September 1920.
- 23 A wood and metal prototype was made in 1918.
- 24 Peter Adam, *op. cit.*, 52.
- 25 “Please note that I didn't want to make a work of art out of it. The word ‘readymade’ did not appear until 1915, when I went to the United States. It was an interesting word, but when I put a bicycle wheel on a stool, the fork down, there was no idea of a ‘readymade’, or anything else...” Marcel Duchamp in Pierre Cabanne, *ibid.*, 47–48.
- 26 Eileen Gray may also have seen the version of Duchamp's first glass and optical device *Rotary Glass Plates* made for the collector Jacques Doucet, for whom she had made furniture.
- 27 Section and plan of the principal bedroom in *Tempe à Pailla*, Castellar, ca. 1934.
- 28 It consisted of five glass plates with kinetic black lines spun on an axle.
- 29 Its development is recorded in Marcel Duchamp, *The Green Box*, Paris, 1934, and Richard Hamilton, George Heard Hamilton trans., *The Green Book*, London, Percy Lund Humphries, New York, George Wittenborn, 1960.
- 30 Dawn Ades, “Camera Creation”, in Jennifer Mundy, (ed.), *Duchamp, Man Ray, Picabia*, London, Tate Publishing, 2008, 94.
- 31 Marcel Duchamp, “Apropos of ‘Readymades’”, in Michel Sanouillet, Elmer Petersen (eds.), *Salt Seller: The Essential Writings of Marcel Duchamp*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1975, 141–142, quoted in Gavin Parkinson, *The Duchamp Book*, London, Tate Publishing, 2008, 154–155.

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Should Le Corbusier's E.1027 murals be considered as "historical monuments"?

BY AGNÈS CAILLIAU

Le Corbusier's murals in E.1027, the famous house designed by Eileen Gray, have been maintained and restored as "historical monuments".

I subscribe to a different view, and shall express it from three perspectives:

- a legal and administrative dimension: only Eileen Gray's E.1027 is designated a Historical Monument. The murals are not covered by this classification.
- an artistic point of view: Le Corbusier's murals are detrimental to the original state of the architectural work and to the spirit of the house, they are discordant. The murals, by their mere presence, endanger the architectural work.
- a physical/technical angle: Le Corbusier's murals themselves are in physical danger.

The title of this article is deliberately provocative. The intention is to question the "historical monument" status of Le Corbusier's E.1027 murals from three perspectives:

- legal and administrative: because they are part of the E.1027 building which itself is a 20th century historical monument.
- artistic: are Le Corbusier's paintings complementary to the architectural works of Eileen Gray (1878–1976)?
- technical: how can we ensure the preservation of the murals? Do they need to be kept within the house?

The protected "historical monument" status of E.1027

This first section refers to French legal concepts concerning historical monuments. This aspect is a prerequisite to a full understanding of this topic. France was late in recognizing the importance of E.1027, as it has been for numerous French 20th century buildings.

When E.1027 was initially listed in the historical monument inventory, on 29 October 1975, it was called "*La Villa construite par Badovici*" [The Villa built by Badovici], *promenade* Le Corbusier in Roquebrune-Cap-Martin, (Alpes Maritimes).

Twenty-five years later (27 march 2000), the French Ministry for Culture and Communication issued a new decree that superseded the older one giving it the name of "*La Villa E.1027 d'Eileen Gray*" as an historical monument in its entirety, including the garden and lands. Thus granting it the maximum protected status available, and naming its designer, which is rare enough to be worthy of note (Figure 01). The name of the creator of E.1027, the designer Eileen Gray, was

from this moment completely associated with the decision to designate it a historical monument. The decree that establishes its status mentions the name of its creator a second time: "from an artistic point of view, the E.1027 Villa by Eileen Gray in Roquebrune-Cap-Martin (Alpes Maritimes) is of public interest because of its great importance in the Modern Movement of 20th century architectural history".

The report that this decision was based on contains serious and detailed research undertaken by the enumerator Jean Marx, of the Regional Directorate for Cultural Affairs of the Provence Alpes — Côte d'Azur Region. Eileen Gray is known as a "decorator and architect of Irish origins". It clearly states that, "apart from some modifications made by Le Corbusier, a regular guest, when he decorated it with painted murals in 1938, the house had undergone no other transformation since its creation".

The word "decorator" is particularly significant. In French, "*décor*" is a slightly old-fashioned word that is often used for historical monuments. It usually makes reference to an ensemble of paintings, to polychromes in general, and any other supplementary elements that are part of the monument. The term "*villa*" which is used to refer to E.1027 is in fact inappropriate. It is the term used by the locals of the Côte d'Azur to designate an opulent house which has lands.

The portfolio prepared by Eileen Gray with and for her architect friend, Jean Badovici (1893–1956), gives us all the information required for an understanding of the exceptional nature of the house. It should be known it is referred to by Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici as a house: "we have tried to convey with this tiny house...".

Eileen Gray, Jean Badovici and Le Corbusier always referred to E.1027 as "the house". Le Corbusier called it

“Bado’s House” or “*la baraque*” (a familiar term for any house, that Badovici also used). Let’s hope that the term “house” might one day be employed as part of the restoration work of E.1027 by the Cap Modern association.

The entrance, a pedestrian-only access, leads us to “*La Maison en bord de mer*” grounds, via concrete steps. As an introduction, waves, little pebbles and fish swimming have been drawn in the fresh mortar, with simplicity and poetry, Eileen Gray’s deep qualities. See the hand rail made of tubes. Minimalism is obviously already present, anticipating the whole property’s atmosphere. The “tiny house” is built on narrow terraces held up by dry stone walls (Figure 02).

Houses in the south of France often have an entrance on all sides. As Eileen Gray wrote “the entrance has been removed which is suitable for a place where the windows and doors are rarely opened”¹. A staircase leads up directly to the balcony and “*la living-room*”.

The artistic relationship between Le Corbusier’s murals and Eileen Gray’s house. Is there synergy between the two works?

Our analysis is based on the well-documented research by Marie-Odile Hubert² (b. 1982) and also that of Tim Benton³ (b. 1945) which leads us to observe that:

- Le Corbusier did not prepare any drafts or sketches for this group of paintings which could have indicated his intention of complementing the modernity of E.1027.
- Le Corbusier expressed himself on the walls of E.1027 with no thought as to any particular chronology related to space or time.
- Le Corbusier indicates no order, nor the existence of any relationship between the paintings themselves. The eight paintings were undertaken with no special research to take into account and complement their setting. They are located in a very practical and pragmatic way, on the flat surfaces of those walls that were large enough to paint

standing up, “naturally” framed by the inner and outer corners of the perpendicular surfaces surrounding them.

- Le Corbusier’s paintings deal with recurrent themes, with some variations, that already existed in his paintings that pre-date these murals by several years.

As an example, let’s examine the murals, starting with the two that are located on the main level of the house (Figure 03).

It is a version of a 1938 mural that brings to mind previous paintings known as “The Figure with the Yellow Door” and “Figure in front of the White Door”, according to Tim, who describes it as the

fruit of detailed research undertaken in 1932 on the relationship between the shape of a tree and that of a female nude. The model for the tree can be found in the courtyard of the Vidal house where Le Corbusier spent every summer between 1926 and 1936 during his vacation in Piquey⁴.

This painting is, therefore, related to the house where Le Corbusier and his wife spent their holidays, in Cap Ferret, in the Arcachon Bay. The impact of this painting is even more “violent” because Le Corbusier placed it at the end of the long diagonal line of the living room, so that it is immediately visible and imposing on the field of vision of anyone entering the house.

Eileen Gray wrote:

We wanted to design this room in such a way that anyone could, at any moment, be completely independent and experience a solitary and contemplative atmosphere (...) with a large divan of 2.2 meters by 2 meters, where one can sit or lie down, rest or have a comfortable conversation, an essential piece of furniture that can be converted into a bed.

The mural renders Eileen Gray’s concept of the E.1027 living-room impossible.

Additionally, Tim Benton has this to say about this painting:



01 General view of *Maison en bord de mer* E.1027 in Roquebrune-Cap-Martin (toponymic name: brown rocks), France. © Agnès Cailliau, 2019.



02 Path leading to the *Maison en bord de mer* E.1027, Roquebrune-Cap-Martin, France. © Agnès Cailliau, 2019.

The mural version of the “Figure à la porte jaune” is hard to defend in the context of E.1027. Crude in style with strident colors, it does not positively contribute to the delicate articulation of space⁵.

Le Corbusier was aware of the forceful character of his paintings which did not hinder his admiration of E.1027:

Here is this house that’s as big as the Lakeside house, brought to life by forceful and explosive paintings, some of which are ten square meters (...) This house is remarkable, in an attractive location, night and day⁶.

And “At Bado’s, five days in his delightful house, busy painting two murals that have turned out really well and have really helped me progress”⁷.

In August 1939, one year after the first mural, Le Corbusier painted another mural in the interior dining area — “coin salle à manger” — that covers the entire wall (Figure 05).

The presence of the radiator in the corner of the painting does not seem to bother the painter, even though for many, the underlying effect is to highlight its presence. This mural shows how Le Corbusier did not adapt to the architectural partition wall. Instead he monopolized it. This mural invades all of the deliberately narrow space for meals, and goes against the obviously minimalist and fluid traits which characterize the prevailing atmosphere of the house. The Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici portfolio in 1929 gives the first state of the room.

This is a mural version on the theme “Masque et pigne de pin” (painting with mask and pine nut) from 1930 according to Tim Benton. As for Marie-Odile Hubert it represents a butcher’s bone. Personally I sometimes see a sweet blue and white female figure about to be eaten by a big red monster! In any case, a nightmarish and frightening scene to sleep beneath, for friends and guests of E.1027.

Le Corbusier completely disregarded Eileen Gray’s furniture. The painting continued behind a writing cabinet, as if it were not there!

On a draft watercolor painting dating from before the mural, it is interesting to note the blank part of the writing cabinet mark he represented.

Here are decisions which could have been made during the restoration of the house:

- remove Le Corbusier’s mural,
- take the opportunity to “restore” the writing cabinet in the rules of art, i.e. according to Eileen Gray’s design as much as possible.

The main entrance of E.1027, at the end of a concrete path that runs parallel to a terrace, was also used as a dining area, as it is next to the kitchen and sheltered from the wind and the sun.

In a very detailed analysis of this painting, Tim Benton sees an allusion to Yvonne, Le Corbusier’s wife, who loved knitting. The existence of this painting in the main entrance is disturbing.

The writing “*le sens interdit*” [wrong way or no entry] and “*entrez lentement*” [enter slowly], stencilled by Eileen Gray and fortunately still preserved, seem to be addressed to

Le Corbusier, as if he had insolently crossed a line in an untimely manner with his personal artwork.

According to Tim Benton, the painting on the right hand side of the E.1027 entrance mural is a reminder of an earlier painting by Le Corbusier, “*La Femme rouge à la pelote verte*”. The preparatory sketches and studies for this painting show an evolution in the detail of the wrought iron balcony, which became solid and black, and of the louvered shutter, which became stylized. Once again, “as it is often the case in his artwork dating from the end of the 30s, Le Corbusier reuses themes he has already employed several years earlier”⁸.

As Tim says:

The painting in the entrance clearly dominates the area that leads to the interior; the dazzling and contrasting colors – green, red, blue, yellow, brown and light blue, – in the shadows of the entrance can be interpreted as wanting to revitalize the wall. However, it is difficult to construe this painting as anything other than dominating the villa⁹.

By painting standing up and naked in Cap Martin, Le Corbusier was indulging his passion for painting, cultivating his natural hedonism. The paintings are treated like artworks that are part of a series with variations, like a musical composition. Le Corbusier seems to follow an internal, personal order. He expresses it through his work, making himself at home on the walls of E.1027, with his usual audacity. At this time before the WWII, the large walls made up for the lack of space in his small studio that overlooked the roof of the house, the scarcity of canvasses, and the financial difficulties noted by Tim Benton as well as the painting supplies he asked Badovici for.

His paintings, which he erroneously called *frescoes*, are a very personal “framing.” One can only concur with Tim Benton when he writes: “It is nevertheless impossible to deny that Le Corbusier’s graphical interventions create a stark contrast with the style of the Villa, to the point that it takes a lot of imagination to disassociate them, and to judge them individually, with their own respective qualities”¹⁰.

Technical aspects of the murals: how can we best preserve the artworks?

Located by the sea, E.1027 is extremely exposed, there are sea mists and sea breezes, salts, sun, temperature variations, strong rain, flooding, with all the logical consequences one can imagine for the artworks.

The murals were painted on dry partition walls on a “finish coat that is made up of a mixture of air lime and a hydraulic binder, Portland cement, or natural cement. A lime-based coating has been applied to this mortar”¹¹. Cement is not a very good material. Microscopic cracks appear as it ages. The salt is migrating, both from within the walls outwards, through the supports to the outer layers of the painting, and back again, disintegrating the murals.

Despite the recent painstaking work to consolidate the coats, fill in the gaps, remove layers, renovate the faded paint etc., the required conditions for maintaining and conserving the murals are not fulfilled¹². A case in point is

the painting in the dining area, which is located in front of a large window, in direct sunlight. It is prone to rising damp with salt efflorescences, that easily migrate due to the wide range of temperatures and multiply the many parameters of serious risk to the works.

The murals had already been repainted three times by Le Corbusier himself in 1939, 1949 then finally in 1962. Le Corbusier was particularly keen that they should be preserved. Later, every mural was repainted yet again by a local painter called Jean Broniarski in 1977–1978.

It is worth noting here that the “original” state, as determined and restored by Marie-Odile Hubert, gives the impression that the murals were extremely well finished, even though one can see that the actual originals were crudely finished, with drips between the solid colors. Perhaps the two layers of paint subsequently applied by Le Corbusier ten then twenty three years after the initial layer were intended to hide these imperfections.

The restoration of the nautical map led to the decision to hide the mural in the living room behind a cover, that can be open or closed. This cover is light years from Eileen Gray’s immensely clever furniture. She believed that “What is required is to give an object the shape that best matches the spontaneous gesture or instinctive reflex that accompanies its purpose”¹³.

To sum things up:

- only Eileen Gray’s E.1027 is designated a Historical Monument (in the legal sense). The murals are not covered by this classification.
- Le Corbusier’s painted murals are detrimental to the original state of the architectural work and to the spirit of the house, they are discordant. The murals, by their mere presence, endanger the architectural work.
- Le Corbusier’s murals themselves are in physical danger.

We suggest that the murals should be removed — it is possible, by cutting the partitions made with hollow bricks, two centimeters behind the art works. The clay substrate permits their careful removal in order to preserve them.

The murals, positioned as if they were framed paintings, could then join the rest of Le Corbusier’s works, and further the understanding of the different phases of his career as an artist/painter.

In parallel, we note as Tim Benton does, that on 27 March 1932, Le Corbusier wrote to Yvonne about his admiration for the murals and frescoes in the Catalan Art Museum of Barcelona – yet these have been removed from their original locations! The principle of a posthumous relocation of these endangered works to a museum should therefore

03 E.1027, view of the main entrance. © Viviana Andrada Baumann, 2016.



04 Le Corbusier, “*La grande pièce*”, or living-room in E.1027, *Maison en Bord de mer*, Roquebrune-Cap-Martin, France, mural referred to as “*Peinture murale de la toilette complète*” by P.A. Gatier & M.O. Hubert, or “*La première peinture dans la salle de séjour*”, according to Tim Benton. © Agnès Cailliau, 2017.



05 E.1027, view of the dining area, 1939, a variation on “*Spirales géométriques*” 1932. © Viviana Andrada Baumann, 2016.

06 E.1027, view of guest balcony and sun pool.
© Viviana Andrada Baumann, 2016.



not aggrieve him. The principle of preserving these works by relocating them to a safe place, should not be considered an offense in these circumstances. Given that Le Corbusier returned three times to repaint his murals, without modifying them, shows his tenacity which should be taken into account.

This would allow the restitution of the very interesting “sgraffite”. (The work is neither a painted mural nor a sgraffito. It is once again an erroneous term used by Le Corbusier and taken up by architectural historians). It appears as “engraving” research in the surface of the wall, explained by E.1027 being a “laboratoire” according to Jean Badovici.

This would also avoid the murals being constantly treated as a digression to E.1027. Their very presence can even be detrimental to Le Corbusier, for example there is an article in The Guardian of 13 April 2015, “Eileen Gray’s E.1027 review”, which describes “painted murals, crude and garish on its walls” and refers to Le Corbusier as someone who “asserted his dominion as a urinating dog, over the territory”.

Our conclusion is in direct opposition to the one made by Pierre-Antoine Gatier (b. 1959), the head architect for historical monuments, and responsible for the restoration of E.1027 when he says:

These paintings represent a vital testimony to Le Corbusier’s activity as a mural painter and as a participant in the ensemble that is created (by the architecture and the murals) around the Cabanon. The group responsible for the restoration of Villa E.1027, validated by the site’s steering committee, proposes an amalgamation of these historic estates, thereby permitting the conservation on-site of Le Corbusier’s murals alongside Eileen Gray’s polychromes, and opposing the artificial return to the lost state of the designer¹⁴.

I would like to leave you with two quotations by Eileen Gray. I think they beautifully illustrate her wisdom and the mindfulness she had on her surrounding environment :

We must plan for a time when the current need for movement, for a busy life, comes to an end; it will gradually decrease as the influence of war disappears and is replaced by a need for inner culture and a more refined life.

You want architecture to be a symphony that expresses the entirety of an inner life (Figure 06–07).

07 View of the E.1027 exhibition wagon, Association Cap Moderne, Roquebrune-Cap-Martin railway station. © Agnès Cailliau, 2019.



Notes

- 1 Eileen Gray & Jean Badovici, *L’Architecture Vivante*, 1929 EAM. Ed. Imbernon.
- 2 Marie-Odile Hubert, “Les Peintures murales de Le Corbusier – E.1027”, in *Le Corbusier Ultimes pensées, derniers projets – 1960/1965* Massilia, 2013, Paris, Fondation Le Corbusier, Marseille, Editions Imbernon, 12–33, 2013.
- 3 Tim Benton, *Le Corbusier, peintre à Cap Martin*, Paris, Editions du Patrimoine, 2015.
- 4 Ibid., 47.
- 5 Ibid., 47.
- 6 Ibid., 67, Lettre de Le Corbusier à sa mère, 25 août 1939, FLC R2 (1) 142.
- 7 Ibid., 46, Lettre de Le Corbusier, lettre à sa mère, 8 mai 1938, FLC R2 (1) 248.
- 8 Ibid., 67.
- 9 Ibid., 71.
- 10 Ibid., 82.
- 11 Jean-Marc Vallet, “Les Peintures murales de Le Corbusier – E.1027, note sur le CICRP”, in *Le Corbusier Ultimes pensées, derniers projets – 1960/1965* Massilia, 2013, Paris, Fondation Le Corbusier, Marseille, Editions Imbernon, 34–35.
- 12 Marie-Odile Hubert, “Les Peintures murales de Le Corbusier – E.1027”, in *Le Corbusier Ultimes pensées, derniers projets – 1960/1965* Massilia, 2013, Paris, Fondation Le Corbusier, Marseille, Editions Imbernon, 25.
- 13 Eileen Gray, Jean Badovici, “E.1027 Maison en bord de mer”, *L’Architecture vivante*, Hiver, Paris, Albert Morancé, 1929, réédition Marseille, Edition Imbernon, 2006.
- 14 Pierre-Antoine Gatier, “Les Peintures murales de Le Corbusier – E.1027 Liminaire de PA Gatier”, in *Le Corbusier Ultimes pensées, derniers projets – 1960/1965* Massilia, 2013, Paris, Fondation Le Corbusier, Marseille, Editions Imbernon, 8–9.

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(b. France, 1951) Graduated from *École de Chaillot*, and from ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), former “*Architecte-Urbaniste en chef de l’Etat*”, Agnès Cailliau led a dual career as a teacher in schools of architecture (Lille, Rouen) and as an “*architecte du patrimoine*” [heritage architect]. She chaired **docomomo** France from 2007 to 2017.

Tourism and modern architecture in a “Green Hell”: *Hotel Amazonas* (1947-1952)

BY RICARDO PAIVA

The investigation focuses on the relationship between tourism as a modernization strategy towards the integration of the Amazon within Brazil and modern principles adopted in the *Hotel Amazonas* in Manaus, analyzing how the pioneering project, designed by architect Paulo Antunes Ribeiro, aligned the economic, political and symbolic dimensions of the agents involved in the process. There is a growing need for the historical re-evaluation, the documentation and an emergency conservation of the building, which was an icon of tourist development and modernization of Brazil and the Amazon.

Introduction

This paper uses the book *Green Hell* by Alberto Rangel, published in 1908, as a metaphor, which takes the hostile nature of the Amazon Rainforest as the main argument of his narrative, emphasizing that the forest conditions the rhythms of life and imposes resistance to its colonization. After WWII, this idea of a “Green Hell”, including the jungle, the rivers, fauna and flora of the Amazon is appropriated as a resource for the promotion of the region’s tourism.

Although the modernization of the Amazon through industrialization was delayed, an increase and incentive to tourism through the actions of the State was suggested, in addition to market actions in the fields of lodging and aviation. All of this resulted in the construction of an important modern example of the hotel typology: the *Hotel Amazonas* (1947–1952) in Manaus, a project by the architect Paulo Antunes Ribeiro¹ (1905–1973). The hotel represented a symptom of the diffusion of modern architecture’s values in Brazil, demonstrating its acclimatization in different contexts of the most developed centers, also contributing to the modernization and valorization of the tourist image of the Amazon.

The genesis of modern hotels in Brazil: signs of modernity

The construction of hotels in Brazil, in the middle of the 20th century, was increased by the State and the market, according to the stage of urbanization in different corners of the immense country, and contributed to the articulation and displacement of people and goods among the main urban centers, as

well as for the development of tourism as an economic activity.

The “pre-legal-institutional” period of national tourism policies, which began in 1938 with decree-law 406/1938 and extending until 1966, the year of the creation of EMBRATUR (the Brazilian state tourism company), is characterized by the disconnection of the instruments of regulation and institutional fragmentation, concentrating primarily on the control of travel agencies². This period includes the first actions of the “*Estado Novo*” (“*Era Vargas*”) in the field of tourism, bound up in the context of the creation of the *Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda* (DIP) [Press and Propaganda Department], with its

strong ideological appeal in the construction of the country’s image. It “used tourism as a form of social control, because it perceived its benefit in the formation of the image of the New State”³.

Still in the 1940s, two modern hotel projects inaugurated the contribution of “programmatic modernism”⁴, the erudite and theoretical modern branch, to the hotel typology: the Park Hotel São Clemente (1944), located in Nova Friburgo, designed by Lúcio Costa (1902–1998) and the *Grande Hotel de Ouro Preto* (1945) by Oscar Niemeyer (1907–2012). These buildings are significant references not only for understanding the genesis of the modern hotel in Brazil, but also as expressions of the specificities that characterize Brazilian modern architecture.

Hotel Amazonas: icon of hotel architecture in the Amazon.

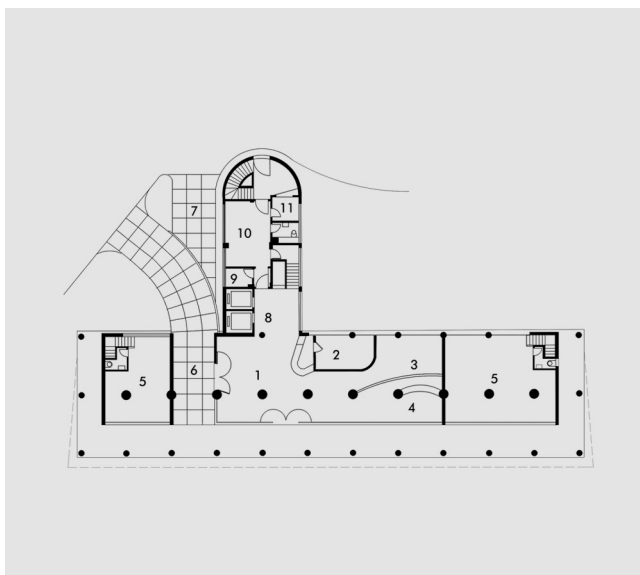
The *Hotel Amazonas* (also known as the *Hotel Ajuricaba*) in Manaus, designed in 1947 by the architect Paulo Antunes Ribeiro was, at the time of its inauguration in 1952, an important example of the modern hotel typology, not only from the Amazon but from Brazil as well, occupying a prominent place in the historiography of modern architecture in the country⁵.

The importance of the *Hotel Amazonas* in the panorama of Brazilian modern architecture was reinforced by Roberto Burle Marx’s landscaping project⁶. He was also responsible for some art works, such as the engravings with fauna and flora themes from the Amazon region, a condition that added significant value to the pioneering and modern character of the building.

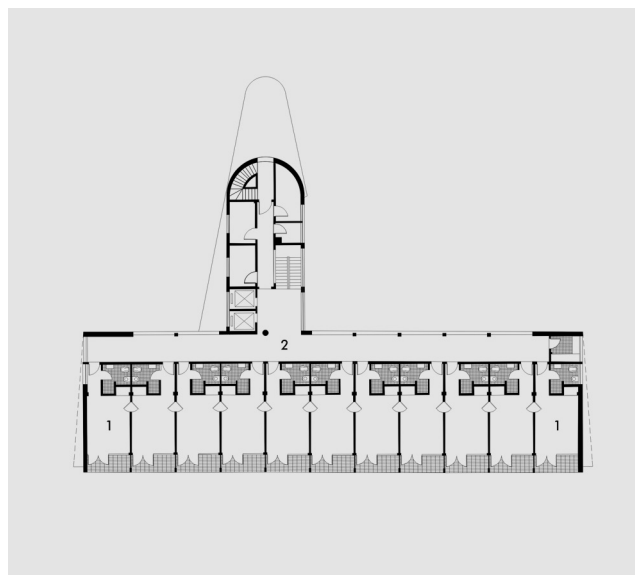


01 Paulo Antunes Ribeiro, *Hotel Amazonas*, Manaus, Brazil, 1947–1952, Aerial View. © Instituto Durango Duarte.

- 02** Paulo Antunes Ribeiro, *Hotel Amazonas*, Manaus, Brazil, 1947–1952.
Ground floor – *Hotel Amazonas*: 1. Reception; 2. Administration;
3. Reading room; 4. Internal counter; 5. Stores; 6. Vehicle circulation;
7. Access ramp; 8. Elevator lobby; 9. Telephone booth; 10. Services;
11. Concierge. © Ricardo Paiva.



- 03** Paulo Antunes Ribeiro, *Hotel Amazonas*, Manaus, Brazil, 1947–1952.
Typical Floor – *Hotel Amazonas*: 1. Hotel room; 2. Corridor.
© Ricardo Paiva.



Located on an irregular plot in the center of the Amazonian capital, relatively close to the port area and to the banks of *Rio Negro* (Figure 01), the hotel was owned by *Prudência Capitalização*⁷, a real estate company that undertook the construction of important buildings in several Brazilian state capitals. *Prudência Capitalização*'s performance in Manaus was due to Adalberto Ferreira do Valle (1909–1963)⁸, president of the company, who

*played a decisive role in the revitalization of the Amazonian economy, by investing in the implementation of Hotel Amazonas, Brasília and the Refinaria de Manaus Company*⁹.

The project contributed to the modernization of Manaus and the hotel's image was widely employed for tourism promotion of the Amazon, using the discourse of exuberant nature in harmony with the modernity proposed by the architectural project. In the early 1950s, several publications in *Revista Cruzeiro*, a nationally circulating magazine, brought the discourse of the *Green Hell*, which contradictorily sought to ally the natural potential of the Amazonian Forest with the idea of civilization, a "paradise of comfort" modernity (Figure 06). The political and symbolic dimension in the construction of the hotel was so significant that the inauguration was attended by the then President of the Federal Republic of Brazil, Getúlio Vargas (1882–1954).

The *Hotel Amazonas* also raised the process of verticalization of the central area, where historical buildings and houses of a maxi-

mum of four floors prevailed. It was a very dynamic commercial area, besides the fact that the location allowed views of the *Rio Negro*, being strategic to meet the demands of leisure and business.

As in the *Hotel da Bahia*¹⁰, the solution obeyed the principles of modern architecture advocated by Le Corbusier, expressed in the adoption of the five points proposed by the master (Figure 04–05). The horizontal strip window was reinterpreted with the implementation of balconies in the suites facing the street, which formed a grid. The pilotis were also readapted, since the building was located in a traditional urban structure, with the building built to the boundary of the plot. The alignment of pillars on the ground floor made it possible to create a transition area between the public and the private, which provided a protected and sheltered passageway (Figure 02–03).

The original design consisted of forty-eight apartments distributed on four floors and a single luxury suite on the top floor, forming the garden terrace designed by Roberto Burle Marx. This presidential suite was built especially to host presidents, politicians and famous artists, cooperating to mythologize the modernity desired by the hotel in a still provincial city.

It is interesting to note that the building relied on its own power generators located on an adjacent plot to meet its usage and power demands and to avoid the intermittent electricity supply in the city. Additionally, the hotel featured several innovations, such as air conditioning, imported from the United

States, the incorporation of a bar, a nightclub and a mini zoo on the ground floor, which revealed the hybrid character of the program. These features, the luxury and its modern architectural language qualified it as one of the most important buildings constructed at the time in Manaus. This hotel is a good example of tropical acclimatization¹¹ according to the principles of architectural modernism, through the implantation and orientation of spaces in response to conditioning factors of ventilation and insolation, the use of shutters in the window frames and the use of balconies. These features are passive energy strategies, anticipating sustainable solutions.

In the context of the decline of *Prudência Capitalização*, the *Hotel Amazonas* was auctioned in 1963 to a Portuguese businessman named Vasco Vasques, who had, as guarantor, the *Banco do Estado do Amazonas* [Amazonas State Bank], demonstrating the partnership between the State and the market in the development of tourism and of the hotel industry. In addition, *Panair do Brasil*'s¹² work in the Amazon was a significant stimulus for tourism in the region, facilitating the flow of people and goods and connecting Manaus to the rest of the world. The *Hotel Amazonas* was the base for the airline's crew, who had scheduled flights to the area.

*Its services collaborated with President Getúlio Vargas' project of the rational exploration of the region. Medicines, mail bags and professionals were transported in its Catalina flying boats and they contributed to the integration of the region with the rest of the country*¹³.

04 Paulo Antunes Ribeiro, *Hotel Amazonas*, Manaus, Brazil, 1947–1952. Photo from the 1950s. © Instituto Durango Duarte.



05 Paulo Antunes Ribeiro, *Hotel Amazonas*, Manaus, Brazil, 1947–1952. Posterior View. © Instituto Durango Duarte.



06 Paulo Antunes Ribeiro, *Hotel Amazonas*, Manaus, Brazil, 1947–1952. Advertisement of the *Hotel Amazonas* in the *Revista Cruzeiro*. © Magazine *O Cruzeiro* (15) in 26.01.1952, 67.



07 Paulo Antunes Ribeiro, *Hotel Amazonas*, Manaus, Brazil, 1947–1952. Current state of conservation, 2018. © Photographed by Ricardo Paiva.

Thus, the integration of the Amazon region was a geopolitical issue of national sovereignty.

After a short interval of decline due to the decrease in tourist numbers, the implementation of several policies for the Amazon, such as the creation of the Manaus Free Trade Zone, in 1965, and the policies of EMBRATUR, since 1966, the city reassumed a certain force in domestic tourism. These factors motivated the expansion in the early 1970s of apartment units in the *Hotel Amazonas*, which increased from forty eight to ninety, increasing in height with the addition of three floors. Later, it was extended in length at both ends, totaling 110 apartments, to compete with the *Tropical Hotel* in Manaus. These changes greatly compromised the integrity of the original project and contributed to the de-characterization of its intrinsic modern attributes, impacting on the conservation of its cultural, historical and artistic values. The hotel closed in 1996 and the building currently houses commercial accommodation and residential uses for a more disadvantaged population (Figure 07).

As a conclusion: *Hotel Amazonas* lives its own hell

In summary, the *Hotel Amazonas* is an emblematic example of the first period of tourist development and hospitality in Brazil, also corresponding to the phase of the introduction of the principles of modern architecture in the region. Despite the diversity of solutions for typologies in the country, the modern attitude established itself as an erudite posture, presenting urban inserts of great relevance and raising the creation or reinforcement of new centralities; the management of the program in a more complex way, including the incorporation of new uses, making the hotel a hybrid typology; the wide use of reinforced concrete as a structural and industrialized material system; more abstract formal expressions typical of modernism; and the incorporation of the visual arts and landscaping in the architectural solutions striving for an integration of the arts.

The restitution of the historical and cultural significance of the *Hotel Amazonas* in the development of tourism and modern architecture in the Amazon and Brazil and as an important part of Brazil's patrimony is urgent as it has lost its integrity in the face of contemporary urban dynamics. Such pressures include: the decay of central areas, the opening of new opportunities for real estate and tourist valorization, as well as the weakness of State safeguards for built heritage, especially modern heritage.

Nowadays, the suppression of the old hotel's public areas and the ownership fragmentation of the housing units — still offered as a

means of lodging on platforms such as Airbnb — hamper the restoration of the original characteristics of the project. Nevertheless, a joint action by the preservation agencies, the Academia and the owners could, through documentation and awareness of the heritage value of the building, promote the elaboration of guidelines for a conservation proposal to understand the hotel's history and its transformations through the years, safeguarding the memory for future generations. In order to free *Hotel Amazonas* from hell, conservation actions must also be linked to public tourism policies, including in its agenda the rehabilitation of this meaningful heritage which is worthy of nothing less than a place in heaven.

Notes

- 1 Paulo Antunes Ribeiro was born in the city of Rio de Janeiro and graduated from the National School of Fine Arts in Rio de Janeiro in 1926. The architect is part of the first generation of modern architects in Brazil and he was strongly influenced by the work of Le Corbusier, mainly because he studied between 1928 and 1929 at the Institute of Urbanism of the University of Paris. The architect achieved a relative national and international prestige in the 1950s, having elaborated projects of diverse typologies (hotels, offices, hospitals, residences, banks, clubs and urban plans) and in several Brazilian cities.
- 2 Rita Cruz, *Política de turismo e território*, São Paulo, Contexto, 2000.
- 3 João Santos Filho, "O Turismo na Era Vargas e o Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda — DIP", *Cultur: Revista de Cultura e Turismo*, Vol. 02, 2008, 112.
- 4 Hugo, Segawa, *Arquiteturas no Brasil 1900–1990*. São Paulo, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2002.
- 5 Published in magazines: *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 42–43, ago. 1952; *Habitat* 4, 1951, 68; *Arquitetura e Engenharia* 16, 36–7, mar./abr. 1951.
- 6 "The international projection of modern Brazilian architecture is due to the contributions of Roberto Burle Marx (1909–1994). The importance of the landscape architect to modern Brazilian architecture transcends the supposed subordination and complementation of the landscape design to the building. His large contribution to the artistic, architectural and urban culture places landscaping on a higher plan of importance, when it tries to establish a differentiated relationship between modern man and nature, insofar as the garden responds to a social function, which is based in hygiene, in education and in art" in Ricardo Paiva and Beatriz Diógenes, "Caminhos da Arquitetura Moderna em Fortaleza: a contribuição do paisagista Roberto Burle Marx", in 8º Seminário *docomomo* Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 2009, 2.
- 7 *Prudência Capitalização* was responsible for the construction of significant buildings throughout Brazil, such as: Prudência Building (1944–48) in São Paulo, by Rino Levi (1901–1965); the Jangada Building (1948) in Fortaleza, project by Sylvio Jaguaribe Ekman (1900–1978); Caramuru Building (1946) in Salvador, designed by Paulo Antunes Ribeiro. "In Manaus, the 'Hotel Ajuricaba', built in a very modern style, compatible with the tropical climate of the city ... All these commercial buildings, destined to house facilities of the company that,

in 1945, was proud of maintaining a service network comprising 19 branches, 20 auxiliary offices, and 1,045 branches (capitalization agents) spread throughout the country". Paulo Amador, *Capitalização. Uma história de Prosperidade*, São Paulo, Grudiana, 2002, 49.

- 8 He was director of Prudência Capitalização de São Paulo; director of *Banco Sul Americano do Brasil S/A*; vice-president of ItaiSca Real Estate Company of São Paulo; president of the Brazilian Spinning Company of São Paulo; vice-president of PANAM Advertising and Sales Promotion; president of the Society "Friends of Campos de Jordão". Available at: <http://www2.camara.sp.gov.br/projetos/1965/00/00/08/FY/000008FY6.PDF>.
- 9 Accessible from: <http://amordebica.blogspot.com.br/2011/02/nasce-banda-do-mandys-bar.html>.
- 10 Paulo Antunes Ribeiro was also responsible, in partnership with the architect from Bahia Diógenes Rebouças, for the design of the emblematic *Hotel da Bahia* (1947–1951), and it is possible to identify certain architectural similarities between both, for more about this see Nivaldo Andrade Júnior, *Arquitetura Moderna na Bahia, 1947–1951: uma história a contrapelo*, 2012.
- 11 Lauro Cavalcanti, *Quando o Brasil era moderno. Guia de arquitetura 1928–1960*, Rio de Janeiro, Aeroplano, 2001.
- 12 *Panair do Brasil* was created on October 17, 1930 by the powerful aviation company Pan American Airways Inc. of NYRBA do Brasil, an acronym for New York, Rio, Buenos Aires that began its activities in Brazil in 1927. Alejandra Saladino, "O fechamento da Panair do Brasil e a ascensão da VARIG", *Cantareira (UFF)*, Vol. 3, 2005.
- 13 Ibid.

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Ricardo Alexandre Paiva

(b. Brazil, 1975) Architect (1997), master's degree (2005) and PhD (2011) from FAU-USP. Pos-doc at IST-UL. He is Associate Professor at the Architecture, Urbanism and Design Department at the Federal University of Ceará. He coordinates the LoCAU (Laboratory of Critics in Architecture, Urbanism and Urbanization). Among other publications, he is the organizer and author of chapters in the books *Turismo, Arquitetura e Cidade* and *Megaeventos e Intervenções urbanas*.

Eileen Gray E.1027 Master Bedroom

Installation at the *Akademie der Künste Berlin*

Berlin, Germany, 12 April 2019 – 10 June 2019,

Curator Wilfried Wang, Co-Curator Peter Adam

In contrast to art, architecture itself cannot be exhibited. While in sculpture and painting the original works themselves are shown, in architectural exhibitions models, photos and drawings can only refer to something else. Although they can convey a design concept, they do not convey the real spatial experience, which only emerges from the passage through the building, and, in interaction with changing situations of light, specific atmospheres result. The current exhibition on the legendary house E.1027, which the artist Eileen Gray built (1926–1929) as her first architectural work on the French Mediterranean coast, goes beyond a classical architectural exhibition, because a part of the building is presented as a full-scale model, which is walkable.

This house is one of the very few examples of a modern *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a total work of art that has been designed by one person, in which architecture, landscape architecture and furniture design have been developed as an artistic unity. The extensive interior fittings of the house were largely lost over time as the building stood empty and gradually began to deteriorate while the furniture pieces were sold or considered to be lost. In addition, Le Corbusier painted various walls of the house and intervened massively in the design, much to the annoyance of Eileen Gray. For the overall concept of this particular work, however, the interiors in their original version are essential, so that during the recent renovation of the house not only the exterior was reconstituted, but also some of the interior. However, in this house that has been accessible to visitors since 2016, those areas of which only black-and-white photographs from the time the house was built have only been reconstructed rudimentarily.

Meanwhile, Wilfried Wang and students of the University of Texas at Austin have spent years exploring the interior of the house and reconstructing it in great detail. They have accurately drawn numerous objects constructively and reconstructed in a meticulous way. A goal of the investigation was the understanding of the complex mechanics of the hinged and folding systems of the

furniture. This research has shown that on-site reconstruction of the interiors cannot yet be considered complete.

The walk-in full-scale model exhibited at the *Akademie der Künste* in Berlin shows the master bedroom, which is not a classically rectangular room, but a newly developed spatial concept in which a rectangle is first divided into two parts and these were moved in plan so that two different room zones arise: a kind of vestibule with workplace and the actual sleeping area. The visitors pass through this part of the house in a S-shaped path and experience the architecture in segments. In contrast to a conventional room, where the entire space is visible immediately upon entering, visitors of E.1027 constantly see new parts of space in their field of vision. Although the spatial configuration is very small, the perception of a maximum spaciousness was nevertheless achieved, as the people entering the room walk towards a glazed corner of the building, which allows a wide panoramic view over the sea, while the more private areas with the bed are not visible when entering. The experience of spaciousness can also be experienced from the bed, as the end of the window is hidden behind a wall.

The room is reminiscent of a luxurious cabin of a ship because, in a confined space,

maximum comfort is created. The built-in wardrobes, fold-out shelves, lighting elements and multilayered mirror systems above the washbasins are complex and at the same time simple in their form and materiality. The technical expression is individualized by a polychromy, by poetic inscriptions on components of the house as well as by decorative elements. Those, however, do not appear as something applied, but bind the different parts together in a unity, so that the design appears as if made of one piece, as a tailor-made container for life processes. The furniture is as solemn as the furniture of Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich, but less monumental and representative, and, in contrast to Marcel Breuer's furniture from the Bauhaus period, less geometric and industrial in appearance. Eileen Gray's architecture is proportioned in a harmonious, human body-based way, while the overall spatial constellation and furnishings are proportioned to a system of the golden section spiral, as Wilfried Wang demonstrated in the accompanying monograph on the house (see "Book Reviews").

The walk-in installation is supplemented by a presentation of photos from the time of the origin of the house. Shown are the photos that Eileen Gray probably shot herself and published in the journal of her then-life partner, Jean Badovici, who worked on the detailing of some elements of the house. They published the house together in a special issue of *L'Architecture Vivante* as a portfolio with a loose collection of leaves. In this sense, Eileen Gray's concept of a comprehensive design also includes the publication of the work. Like Marcel Duchamp, she not only created a three-dimensional object, but also systematically developed the compositions and sequence of illustrations to convey this work.

Carsten Krohn



01 Eileen Gray's E.1027 Master Bedroom, 1:1 Installation, *Akademie der Künste*, Berlin. Photograph © Carsten Krohn, 2019.



02 Eileen Gray's E.1027 Master Bedroom, 1:1 Installation, detail, *Akademie der Künste*, Berlin. Photograph © Carsten Krohn, 2019.

BOOK REVIEWS



The Public Private House. Modern Athens and Its Polykatoikia

Edited by Richard Woditsch
Publisher: Park Books
ISBN: 978-3038600848
Language: English
Year: 2019

Spectacular photos of Athens' dense urban morphology open *The Public-Private House*, a book dedicated to the study of the high-rise apartment buildings called *polykatoikia* - *poly* [many] + *katoikia* [dwelling] – and its Greek urban context. *Polykatoikia* is studied as a building type, as an urban phenomenon and as a spatial integrator.

In the first part, "Sea of White Cubes", a photo essay offers a complete impression of Athens and its signature housing structure, followed by a collection of maps. The second part, "(How to Build) a Type", investigates historical developments, the democratic process of planning in the city, and compares these buildings with Le Corbusier's Dom-ino system, as well as with external factors such as social aspects and Athens' strict building code. The third part, "Studies", provides an illustrated analysis of Athens' most notable examples of *polykatoikia* packed with detailed drawings (floor plans, sections, schemes of occupation and axonometries) revealing its diverse types of uses and atmospheres. The last part offers a perspective of current developments in Greece, contributing to these buildings' transformation facing the 21st century.

Mafalda Pacheco



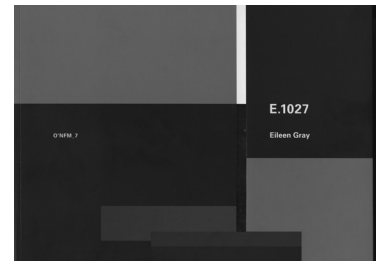
Beach Therapy

Author: Martin Parr
Publisher: Damiani
ISBN: 978-88-6208-625-7
Language: English
Year: 2018

The photographer Martin Parr is renowned for his documentation of seaside culture. At the single-page preface of *Beach Therapy*, launched in 2018 by Damiani, he affirms that beaches are places where people can really be themselves. He has often used these seaside spaces as a laboratory to experiment with new cameras and techniques.

This book is the outcome of Martin's recent exploration using a telephoto lens and it presents a global perspective on the beaches he has photographed between 2014 and 2018. Made from a great distance, the images presented show, primarily, a wider view with smaller figures on the beach landscape creating a pattern of vivid colour. Flora and fauna frame some images with the beach as a background, creating a sort of a voyeuristic angle. Gradually, the images presented get closer and closer, in a sequencing that creates an intriguing narrative. It is an interesting portrait of the beach as a natural landscape as well as a space of cultural uses.

João Lucas Domingos



E.1027 – Eileen Gray, O'Neil Ford Monograph 7

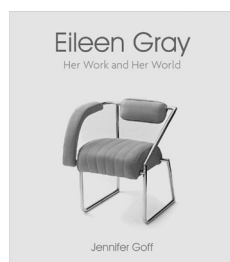
Edited by Wilfried Wang and Peter Adam
Publisher: Ernst J. Wasmuth publishers
ISBN: 978-3803008312
Language: English
Year: 2017

Even though this book covers only one very small house, the study was carried out with unparalleled profoundness. Designed by the artist Eileen Gray as her first architectural work, the holiday house E.1027 was built on the French Mediterranean coast but remained unknown for a long time. Alongside Rietveld's Schröder house and Mies' Tugendhat house, it is one of the very rare examples of a total work of art, a *Gesamtkunstwerk* of modernism. However, contrary to these two houses, Eileen Gray created the spatial concept of the house and the garden, as well as the entire furniture, alone. So the design is more comprehensive than, for example, the standard furnished houses of Le Corbusier. "E.1027 was a built manifesto", Wilfried Wang writes, explaining that the building is a response to the Swiss architect, who, ironically, will play a role in the history of the house, but a rather inglorious one.

The book begins with two essays by Peter Adam, who personally knew Gray. On the basis of conversation reminiscences and manuscripts, he introduces her thoughts and design concepts while also describing their friendship. In the second text, he analyzes her connection to Le Corbusier and her then life partner, Jean Badovici, whom she calls co-architect of the house, although he was only involved in a few elements of the detailing. Le Corbusier admired the building with envy, or so the book argues, noting he attacked the architecture with numerous murals and by building and living next to it – much to Gray's annoyance. In further essays, Rosamund Diamond writes about the artistic context in which the house was built, Silvia Beretta on garden design, Wilfried Wang on Gray's architectural design methodology, Izabella Z. Dennis on color design, and Rachel Stella on the history of the house's use.

The building is comprehensively documented in this monograph with photos that Eileen Gray took of the house, plans from archives, newly drawn technical drawings, as well as recent photos, but especially with numerous reconstructions of lost furniture pieces, which together form a creative unity. This research goes beyond previous architectural monographs, because over the years Wilfried Wang and students of the University of Texas at Austin have reconstructed the interior of E.1027 down to the last detail. Their work shows that the actual reconstruction done of the building's interior cannot yet be considered complete.

Carsten Krohn



Eileen Gray: her work and her world

Author: Jennifer Goff

Publisher: Irish Academic Press

ISBN: 978-0716532767

Language: English

Year: 2015

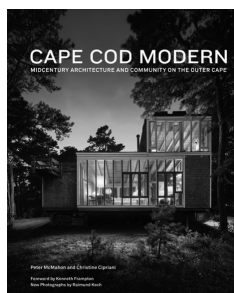
Eileen Gray: her work and her world is a shrewdly illustrated, comprehensive study on the life and artistic production of the French-based Irish designer and architect. A serious attempt to rectify and demystify Eileen Gray's history and to contribute to her due inclusion in the Modern canon. Approaching her lack of recognition and "rediscovery" in the late 1960's, Jennifer Goff addresses the condition of female artists in the 20th century and provides considerations about attribution matters, especially concerning Gray's architectural designs, namely the E.1027 house and the issues involving Jean Badovici and Le Corbusier.

Based on her PhD research, Goff explores Gray's private archives and library alongside her work and remaining correspondence with friends and acquaintances, creating a web of connections from the people she knew, to the books she read and the many artistic avant-garde movements she was aware of, linking them with specific aspects of her design and philosophy. This analysis, as it comprehends a great range of influences and an extensive scope of her output, allows Goff to decipher some of Gray's "coded symbols" and to demonstrate how some of her design

elements reappear in different pieces on the various media she used.

Each chapter is dedicated to a particular subject of her biography and professional activity, but all provide some broader context, so they can be read separately. Throughout the book, one can grasp a deeper understanding of Gray's personality, adding to her known withdrawal and perfectionism some vulnerability, wit and sense of Irish self-identification, although the book's emphasis seems to be — understandably — on her career.

Pedro Sambrano



Cape Cod Modern: Midcentury Architecture and Community on the Outer Cape

Author: Peter McMahon, Christine Cipriani

Publisher: Metropolis Book

ISBN: 978-1-935202-16-5

Language: English

Year: 2014

The publication *Cape Cod Modern: Midcentury Architecture and Community on the Outer Cape* is organized in four chapters which evolve accordingly with the phases of building in the Outer Cape (United States) between 1938 and 1977.

The Foreword is signed by Kenneth Frampton, which characterizes the publication as a "...painstakingly researched and beautifully written study...", in which/where it is possible, through its 270 pages, to find more than 250 photographs (70 by Raimund Koch) and several technical drawings (by Thomas Dalmas) of the site. The authors, Peter McMahon and Christine Cipriani, present us the communion between the traditions of Cape Cod fishing towns and Bauhaus concepts (together with postwar experimentation), resulting in the regional modernism buildings sample that is Cape Cod.

Cape Cod Modern is a journey through four decades, keeping pace with the discoveries and interpretations of architects, artists, scientists, politics and writers in a land destined to disappear. Here is possible to understand a fragile subset of modern architecture in America, where about 100 houses were planned for

an incognito future, in an economical way and, until recently, silent in the history of architecture.

Silvio Alves



Holidays after the Fall: seaside architecture and urbanism in Bulgaria and Croatia

Edited by Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann
and Michael Zinganel

Publisher: Jovis Verlag GmbH

ISBN: 978-3-86859-226-9

Language: English

Year: 2013

A pleasant survey of the origins and architectural history of mass tourism after WWII in two erstwhile socialist states: Bulgaria and Croatia.

These geographical references help to organize the content of the book which begins with an insightful introduction about the origins of mass tourism and the modern concept of living, the authors explore the general prerequisites of mass tourism and the specific conditions for this development in East and West Europe and the arise of an international typology of seaside architecture and urbanism. These architectural typologies are shown and investigated through a rich variety of case studies that end each part of the book.

It is important to point out the photography series that opens and closes the publication which shows, at the beginning, a vibrant holiday scenario on the Croatian Adriatic in the early 1970s and, at the end, the photo series "Holidays after the fall" (2012), taken for this publication, that presents the low-season air of desertion on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast.

This publication goes from the initial optimism about the construction and promotion of modern leisure architecture having remarkable quality and diversity, passing through important political changes and privatization of business, to how these buildings have been economically and physically restructured.

Carolina Chaves