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DISSERTATION

Le Corbusier in Macedonia: The History of a Myth

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Kurzfassung

Ich schätze es war 1997 als Ich zum ersten Mal hörte, dass Le Corbusier, einer der berühmtesten Architekten unserer Zeit mit Mazedonien und der Mazedonischen Architektur des 19. Jahrhunderts vertraut war. Zu dieser Zeit als Student an der Fakultät für Architektur in Prishtina, besuchte Ich eine Vorlesung über die *Moderne Architektur*, in denen der Professor über Le Corbusiers Rolle in der Modernen Architektur sprach. Er erklärte, dass es das Gerücht gibt, Le Corbusier wäre mit Mazedonischer Architektur vertraut, und es gäbe eine von ihm entworfene Villa, die analog zu einem kleinen Zigeuner-Haus in Struga wäre.

Einige Jahre später las Ich Grabrijans Buch *Makedonska kuќa* [*Das Mazedonisches Haus]* (1955), indem er von ebenjener Analogie eines Zigeuner-Hauses und Le Corbusiers Villa Carthago (1928) spricht. Von anderen Mazedonischen Autoren erfuhr Ich nicht nur von der Analogie von Le Corbusiers Arbeit und der Mazedonischen Architektur, sondern auch von deren Schlussfolgerungen, vie zum Beispiel, dass Le Corbusier Mazedonien besucht hat, um sich zu inspirieren. Sie folgerten, dass die Mazedonische Architektur des 19. Jahrhunderts seine geheime Quelle der Inspiration und Erfolges sei.

Die Forschungen über Le Corbusiers Reise nach Mazedonien, der "geheimen" Quelle seiner Architektur sind die Grundlage meiner Doktorarbeit an der Technischen Universität in Wien. Mein Interesse galt, zu entdecken wovon eine künstlerische Seele wie die von Le Corbusier angetrieben wurde, warum Er entschied durch Mazedonien zu reisen, auf welche Art und weise Er von Mazedonischer Architektur inspiriert wurde, und schließlich, warum Mazedonien für immer ein Geheimnis in Le Corbusiers Leben bleibt.

Was Ich über Le Corbusier und die Rolle Mazedoniens in seinem Leben und seiner Arbeit herausfand, entsprach allerdings nicht meinen ursprünglichen Erwartungen. Ich entdeckte Le Corbusier anders als in Mazedonien beschrieben- anstelle der Wichtigkeit Mazedoniens für seine Arbeit, fand Ich das Gegenteil heraus: die Wichtigkeit Le Corbusiers für Mazedonien und die Mazedonier.

Danksagung

Zu erst möchte Ich meinem Mentor Professor Kari Jormakka Dank aussprechen, der für mich nicht nur ein Mentor, sondern eine große Unterstützung und Begleiter während meiner Forschungen war. Durch seinem Antrieb war es möglich, ein oder zwei Schritte weiter zu denken, als Ich es allein getan hätte.

Weiteres möchte Ich für ihre kritischen Stellungen in bezug auf meine Forschungen danken: H. Allen Brooks von der Universität Toronto-Kanada, Geoffrey Baker von der Tulane Universität in New Orleans, Ivan Žaknić von der Universität in Bethlehem und Giuliano Gresleri von der Universität in Bologna.

Der nächste, dem zu danken ist, ist Gareth Griffiths, welcher nicht nur alle Kapitel dieser Arbeit gelesen hat und kluge Kritiken beisteuerte, sondern außerdem mein English in einem druckreifen Text verwandelt hat.

Im laufe meiner Forschungsarbeit haben mich mehrere Institutionen unterstützt, denen Ich zu großem dank verpflichtet bin. Zuerst möchte Ich der *Fondation Le Corbusier* in Paris danken, ihrer Direktorin Madame Evelyne Tréhin, und Isabelle und Arnaud für ihre Hilfe. Im speziellen auch Madame Sylvie Bèguelin von der *Bibliothèque* de la Ville La Chaux-de-Fonds. In Ljubljana möchte Ich Herrn Peter Krećić danken, mit mir die Arbeit des Slowenisches Architekten Dušan Grabrijan besprochen zu haben.

Letztendlich stehe Ich auch in der Schuld aller meiner Freunde, welche auf verschiedene Art und Weise zu meiner Arbeit über Le Corbusier beigetragen haben: Enveri, Iliri, Gezimi, Idrizi, Ajdini, Armendi, Ylli, Nysreti, Bedriu, Astriti Tomorri, Sokoli, Besniku und vielen mehr. Besonders viel verdanke Ich meiner Tante Mide Osmani und ihre Familie, welche mich in meiner Forschungsarbeit bestärkt haben und mich unaufhörlich erinnert haben, nicht aufzugeben.

Zum Schluss gebührt der größte Dank meiner Familie in Mazedonien, die mich auf alle möglichen Arten unterstützt hat, während meiner gesamten Studienzeit in Wien.

Abstract

I guess it was 1997 when I for the first time heard that Le Corbusier, one of the most famous architects of the Century, was familiar with Macedonia and the 19th Century architecture from her territory. At that time as a student at the Faculty of Architecture in Prishtina, following lessons about the *Contemporary Architecture*, the professor, speaking about Le Corbusier and his role in Modern architecture explains that "there are some rumors that Le Corbusier was familiar with the 19th Century architecture from Macedonia and that a villa of Le Corbusier is analogue to a small gipsy house from Struga".

A few years later I read Grabrijans's book *The Macedonian House* (1955) where he speaks about the analogy of a gipsy house from Struga and Le Corbusier's villa Carthago (1928). From other Macedonian architects and authors, I found out not only about the existence of the analogy between Le Corbusier's work and the profane architecture in Macedonia, but also their conclusions like the one Le Corbusier to have visited Macedonia looking for inspirations and that the source of his success was indeed nothing else but the 19th Century architecture from the territory of Macedonia. In short, Macedonia was his secret source of inspiration.

Therefore searching Le Corbusier's travels to Macedonia and studying his "secretly" usage of Macedonia as a source of his architecture will make the basis of my doctoral thesis at the University of Technology in Vienna. My interest going after Le Corbusier was to discover how an artistic soul like the one of Le Corbusier was provoked and decides to travel through Macedonia, how was he inspired from houses in Macedonia and at the very end, why Macedonia remains secret for all his life.

Indeed, the initial purpose of my research about the role of Macedonia in Le Corbusier's life and work underwent beyond my expectations. I discovered Le Corbusier differently than it was described in Macedonia and instead of the importance of Macedonia in his work I discovered the opposite one, the importance of Le Corbusier for Macedonia and Macedonians.

Acknowledgements

My very first acknowledgement of thanks goes to my mentor Professor Kari Jormakka, who was not only a mentor to me, but also a guide during my research. He was often able to push my thinking at least a step or two further than I would have done it myself. I would also like to thank H. Allen Brooks from the University of Toronto- Canada, Geoffrey Baker from Tulane University in New Orleans, Ivan Žaknič from University of Bethlehem and Giuliano Gresleri from the University of Bologna for their critical commentary on my research work.

Next to thank is Gareth Griffiths, who not only read all of the chapters of this work and offered astute criticism, but also converted my English into a printable text.

Through my research I own a great thanks to several institutions. First, I would like to thank the *Fondation Le Corbusier* in Paris, the director Madame Evelyne Trèhin, Isabelle and Arnaud for their help. In particular I would like to thank also Madame Sylvie Bèguelin from the Bibliothèque de la Ville La Chaux-de-Fonds. In Ljubljana I would like to thank Mister Peter Krećić for discussing with me the activity of the Slovenian architect Dušan Grabrijan. In addition I would like to thank several authors in Macedonia, for not hesitating to claim again the same what they have written in the past years, Jovan Pavlovski, Mihailo Popovski, Filip Degu, and the staff of the *Office for the Maintenance of Monuments* in Shkup, Ohër, Strugë, and Krushevë.

Finally, I am indebted to all my friends, who in various ways contributed to my work on Le Corbusier, Enveri, Iliri, Gëzimi, Idrizi, Ajdini, Armendi, Ylli, Bedriu, Nysreti, Astriti, Tomorri, Sokoli, Besniku and many others. I owe a special debt of gratitude to my ant Mide Osmani and her family who encouraged me in my research and continued to remind me not to give up.

At the end and the most, I am indebted to my family back in Macedonia, who in all ways possible supported me throughout my entire study time in Vienna.

Dedicated to my father

Contents

Introduction

In April 2003, an IAESTE[1] seminar was held in Skopje,[2] Macedonia, organized by faculty and students of architecture from the School of Architecture at the University of Skopje. The participants in the seminar received some information about the cultural history in Macedonia, including an interesting anecdote about Le Corbusier's visit to the country:

"The great architect of this millennium, Le Corbusier, born Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, was an international Swiss architect and city planner who derived some of his architectural principles from the typical Macedonian house. Vernacular architecture in the villages of Western and Central Macedonia gave him a repertory of geometric forms and taught him the handling of light and the use of landscape as an architectural background. Le Corbusier came to Macedonia's highest town Kruševo and was overwhelmed by the style and charm of this (then) prosperous town. He drew and photographed all of the old houses in this town and his sketches could now be found in the museums in Macedonia and abroad."[3]

A book, *Monografija Kruševo* [*Monographs about Kruševo*], published in the same year, 2003, by Mihailo Popovski gives more details about Le Corbusier's visit into the town of Kruševo:

"When in 1927 the Frenchman Charles Edouard Jeanneret-Gris visited Kruševo, he could not get over his astonishment. While his companion, a man from the French Embassy in Belgrade, was acquainting him with some historical events since the beginnings of the town and specially those referring to the Ilinden Uprising, the guest, obviously excited, took notes and sketches in his big sketching pad, very fast.

Thirty years ago, the older people still remembered "the gentleman in knickerbockers, with huge camera hanging around his neck and a sketching pad in his hands...". To them it seemed that he did not miss a single house without sketching it or taking pictures. But none of them, neither then nor later when they were telling me this story, knew that this had been the famous architect Le Corbusier.

During his one- day visit the town resembled a painting with charming architecture and unseen coloring. House with stony plaques on the roofs to hold the heavy loads of snow. Most often bare, roughly plastered stony walls. The front part is always plastered and painted yellow and white, or white and navy- blue round the unusually numerous windows and doors: at the entrance, on the balconies and even the front gate. Only a small part of what Le Corbusier spotted that day has been preserved till present days."[4]

One of Popovski's sources may have been Mishel and Jovan Pavlovski's *Macedonia, Yesterday and Today*, which was published in 1998. This book also states that Le Corbusier was in Macedonia in 1927 and that was interested in Kruševo in particular. The authors explain:

"In 1927, Le Corbusier visited Kruševo and was delighted by the nineteenth century architecture unique to this small town. The densely-packed houses are characterized by magnificent architectural arrangements. Together they create a harmonious whole of

various architectural elements and vivid colors, mostly light blue or light yellow. The arrangements are supplemented by projecting balconies, wide belvederes, built-in wardrobes, porches with stone-fitted floors and large, heavy wooden gates."[5]

Similar statements about Le Corbusier's visit abound Filip Degu, the head of the *French Cultural Center* in Skopje, who proudly told me in an interview that "it is a fact that Le Corbusier was in Macedonia, and not only Kruševo but also the town of Velesi was also visited by Le Corbusier in 1927."[6] He continued to explain that "Le Corbusier himself has even written a book in a special part of which he discusses and gives details about his stay in Macedonia, and there are also sketches from Macedonia and Velesi."[7] An earlier text, Sotir Tomoski's *Makedonska narodna arhitektura*[8] [*Macedonian National Architecture*] of 1960 specifies the book in question as Le Corbusier's *Oeuvre Complete 1910-1929*,[9] which came out as early as 1929. Tomoski claims that Le Corbusier publishes his sketches of Macedonian houses here.[10]

And here begins my problem. In the *Oeuvre Complete 1910-1929,* there is in actual fact neither a discussion of Macedonia, nor any sketches of Macedonian houses. The closest things are Le Corbusier's drawings of houses in Bulgaria and Turkey, made during his Voyage to the Orient in 1911.[11] Also the standard biographies of Le Corbusier fail to mention the Macedonian connection at all. Ivan Žaknić,[12] for instance, in his *Journey to the East* (1987) gives descriptions of places Le Corbusier visited in 1911 however he names no entry or stay in any town in Macedonia. Giuliano Gresleri[13] in his *Le Corbusier: Reise nach dem Orient* (1991) documents places Le Corbusier went during his *Voyage* with Le Corbusier's own sketches and photographs, but there is no evidence that would prove Le Corbusier to have made a sketch or a photograph of houses in Macedonia. H. Allen Brooks[14] in his *Le Corbusier's Formative years* (1997) and

Geoffrey Baker[15] *The Creativity Search* (1996) also have studied Le Corbusier's early trips, but evidence that would prove Tomoski's statement is missing.

This silence on the part of Le Corbusier himself as well as most historians is astonishing if it is true what the IAESTE conference information was claiming: that Le Corbusier learned his geometric language, his use of light and his way of dealing with the landscape from his Macedonian study trip.

However, the idea that Macedonian house had influenced Le Corbusier as an architect is not new or unusual in Macedonia. Ever since the early 1950s, architects, writers and institutions[16] have claimed that Le Corbusier had some involvement with Macedonian house of the nineteenth century. In lectures at the architecture schools of the universities in Skopje[17] and Prishtina,[18] students are regularly informed about Le Corbusier's knowledge about a gipsy house in Struga and a fisherman's house in Ohrid, which are said to be models for many of his own works. Could it be that Macedonian historians have found out something, which to this day has remained a secret for Corbusian scholars in the West?

Revisionist art history

Certainly, it is conceivable that such a matter would have been suppressed by Le Corbusier and his biographers. In general, specific influences on his work are hard to verify because, as Le Corbusier says, the functionalists are the "very contraries of disciples," unwilling to acknowledge predecessors.[19]

Similarly to Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright tended to de-emphasize the influence of other architects on his work. In fact, he used to insist that he had never been influenced by anyone after his early years in Chicago: "There never was exterior influence upon my work, either foreign or native, other than that of Lieber Meister, Dankmar Adler and John Roebuck, Whitman, and Emerson, and the great poets worldwide. My work is original not only in fact, but in spiritual fiber. No practice by any European architect to this day has influenced mine in the least."[20] Wright made the job of historians more difficult also by predating his drawings, in order to make them appear more progressive.[21] Despite Wright's efforts to deny any influences, art historians have been able to make a convincing case to the effect that Wright was not as much without predecessors as he liked to pretend. Anthony Alofsin, for one, argues that Wright was indeed influenced by for J. M. Olbrich, Peter Behrens, H. P. Berlage and others; one example is Behrens' installation in the St. Louis exposition of 1904, featuring the kinds of cubic elements that also appear in the Unity Temple, designed by Wright in 1905.[22]

More obvious is the Japanese influence on Wright's architecture. Already in the very first extensive publication of his work in the *Architectural Review* of June 1900, this issue was raised by Robert Spencer, Jr. who stressed that Wright looked to nature for inspiration, but added: "If not to nature at first hand, then to those marvellous interpreters of nature, the Orientals and the Japanese."[23] Wright himself downplayed the possibility of Japanese influence on his architecture, but the critics continued to show similarities. As a personal friend of Wright's, Charles Ashbee, English arts and crafts designer whom Wright invited to write the foreword to the Wasmuth edition of his work, was aware of Wright's sensitivity to the issue but he nonetheless felt compelled to observe: "The Japanese influence is very clear. He is obviously trying to adapt Japanese forms to the United States, even though the artist denies it and the influence must be unconscious."[24] What commentators found Japanese in Wright's architecture was a closeness to nature and the

landscape, but they also pointed out specific architectural precedents. The William Winslow House of 1893 has often been linked to the Ho-o-den at the Columbian exposition in Chicago in the same year while the Nippon Tea House from the same exposition might have influenced the Frank Thomas House of 1901.[25] Likewise, the influence of the Nikko Taiyu-in-byo has been traced in the Unity Temple plan, and some historians have claimed that the Johnson Research Tower of 1944 is based on the Yakushi-ji pagoda near Nara.[26] Ultimately, Wright had to admit a certain relation to Japanese architecture, declaring: "As for the Incas, the Mayans, even the Japanese – all were to me but splendid confirmation."

Similarly, historians have identified several influences on Le Corbusier even though he himself may not have wanted to call attention to them. Many of these alleged cases of influence, however, are controversial, for example that of Dutch theosophist and architect J.L.M. Lauweriks. In 1967, Dutch historian Nic Tummers created a sensation by claiming that Le Corbusier evolved his modular system directly under the influence of Lauweriks's theory of mystical proportion. The idea goes back to Reyner Banham who in 1960 suggested that Lauweriks provided Le Corbusier with his first sight of a building designed according to systematic proportion.[27] Banham admits that his evidence is only circumstantial, but for some reason he considers it nonetheless "conclusive." In the second *Modulor* (1954), Le Corbusier relates that "looking over a modern villa in Bremen, the gardener there had said to him, 'This stuff, you see, that's complicated, all these twiddly bits, curves, angles, calculations, it's all very learned.' The villa belonged to someone called Thorn Brick (?) a Dutchman, (about 1909)."[28] Already in 1960, Banham identified the owner as the Dutch theosophist artist Johann Thorn Prikker. The house in the Hohenhof colony (am Stirnband in Hagen, not Bremen) was built for him by the patron Karl Ernst Osthaus and designed by Lauweriks.[29]

Radicalizing Banham's remark, Tummers claims that not only the Modulor, but the ideas of golden section and regulating lines in the *Vers une architecture* of 1921 were directly inspired by Lauweriks. For him, the Maison *Dom-Ino* and the settlement at Pessac are assembled in much the same way as Lauweriks' ensemble at Hohenhagen; and he points out that a motif typical of Lauweriks, that of lines meandering at right angles and forming a square spiral, forms the plan of Le Corbusier's "Museum of Unlimited Growth" project of 1939.[30] Tummers speculated that the "gardener" mentioned by Le Corbusier in the *Modulor* was Lauweriks himself, who in 1909 had taken up residence in the gardener's quarters at Hohenhof.[31]

Other historians have not always been convinced that this identification of the gardener with Lauweriks is accurate, but there is probably some truth to Banham's and Tummers' claims.[32] Le Corbusier must have been to Hagen, probably after learning about the colony during his brief stay in the office of Peter Behrens who was also building, together with Walter Gropius, a house in the area. But the visit to Hagen is not enough to prove that Le Corbusier got his ideas about proportion from Lauweriks. The idea of architecture designed according to geometrical systems had definitely been in the air in the decade or two before the First World War as an alternative to historicism. In Behrens' office, Le Corbusier would certainly have been exposed to such ideas in Berlage's book[33] with diagrams of geometrical systems developed in the culture of Dutch Theosophy by Lauweriks and de Groot.[34]

The Macedonian connection

The question about the influence of Lauweriks on the Modulor is only one of several contested issues relating to Le Corbusier but it suffices to demonstrate that the art

historical judgment on Le Corbusier may still be revised. Given this fact, it seemed possible to me that Macedonian house may have played a role in Le Corbusier's development. However, as I started to investigate the matter, it became more and more obvious that the Macedonian connection was a myth. The present study charts the growth of an error and its gradual transformation into an accepted fact – albeit in a local context.

The origin of this error can be traced back to the book *Makedonska kuća*[35] [*The Macedonian House*], published in 1955 by Dušan Grabrijan who finds a number of analogies between Le Corbusier's houses built in the 1920s and 1930s and vernacular examples from the Macedonian towns of Struga and Ohrid. Grabrijan does not think that these analogies are random or unconscious parallelisms; instead he believes they prove that Le Corbusier must have been to Macedonia and consciously borrowed some of his basic ideas from there, without ever acknowledging his great debt. A little later, Boris Čipan expressed a very similar view in his *Starata gradska arhitektura vo Ohrid*[36] [*Old Town Architecture in Ohrid*], (1955). In 1960, Sotir Tomoski published his *Makedonska narodna arhitektura* [*Macedonian National Architecture*] where he also claims that the houses in Macedonia have contributed through the creation of modern architecture through Le Corbusier's borrowings. As concrete evidence, Tomoski states that Le Corbusier's *Oeuvre Complete 1910-1929* contains some of his sketches of Macedonian houses. By this time, in Macedonia, the myth about Le Corbusier's visit to the country and his being influenced by Macedonian houses had achieved its canonical form, to use Juan Pablo Bonta's term.[37] Over the next four decades [1960-1998], no further details were added to the story about Le Corbusier's visit to Macedonia, until in 1998 Mishel and Jovan Pavlovski attempted to demonstrate that the visit took place in the year of 1927, and that Le Corbusier was seen in the town of Kruševo. Finally, Mihailo Popovski filled in some colorful detail in his 2003 publication.

In order to show once and for all that this story is just a myth, I delved into the extensive literature on Le Corbusier and consulted his personal library, contacted archives, and interviewed scholars, such as Giuliano Gresleri, Ivan Žaknić, H. Allen Brooks and Geoffrey Baker, as well as Macedonian officials.[38] The conclusion is inescapable: Le Corbusier was definitely not influenced by Macedonian house, partly because he was never there.

However, one does not need to conduct much study to realize that there is something wrong in the claim that Le Corbusier received his main ideas from a study trip to Macedonia in 1927: the idea collapses of its own chronological incoherence. Then why study such an obvious mistake?

My attempt below is not limited to correcting the error. Instead, I want to study the myth of Le Corbusier's visit to Macedonia in order to see how such an error could arise, be disseminated, and finally be accepted as the truth, and also speculate on this basis about the general character of art historical interpretations, in particular the role of precedent and the concepts of influence and resemblance. This is, then, not a historical work but a theoretical one, indebted to the influential studies by Eric Hobsbawm[39] and others on the invention of traditions, to studies on architecture history, such as Petra Ceferin's[40] book on the construction of the identity of Finnish architecture, and to analyses of architectural interpretation, such as Juan Pablo Bonta's well-known essay.[41] Before the theoretical part, however, we have to first turn to Le Corbusier and his alleged visit to Macedonia.

Influences

Architect, urbanist, painter, graphic designer, writer, polemicist and mystic, Le Corbusier was a figure of many guises to such a degree that it is hard to know where one role ends and the other begins. Being one of the most complex and, at the same time, universal figures of twentieth century architecture, he has been studied by numerous authors, looking for whatever it was that let Charles-Edouard Jeanneret evolve into the great Le Corbusier but their judgments about the most important influences vary. From the enormous literature on Le Corbusier, we will review some examples from Stanislaus von Moos, Paul Turner, H. Allen Brooks and Geoffrey Baker – but first we should ask Le Corbusier himself.

In his youth, Charles-Edouard Jeanneret admitted that Charles L'Eplattenier[42] more than any other person, was a "master" to him. L'Eplattenier was the one directing him how to understand geometry and the laws of nature, what to read and how to look at art and architecture. L'Eplattenier encouraged him to become an architect, and "the teacher" was also the one to whom Le Corbusier was "forced" to report about his travels in Italy, Austria, Germany and the Orient. But in 1916, we find him remarking cynically: "I shall write ... 'The Book of a Pupil, who thought he could trust his Master.'[43] Several of us these days believe in the baseness of the world and in the dead end, where one is done for." Soon he disclaimed any intellectual influence from his former teacher, insisting

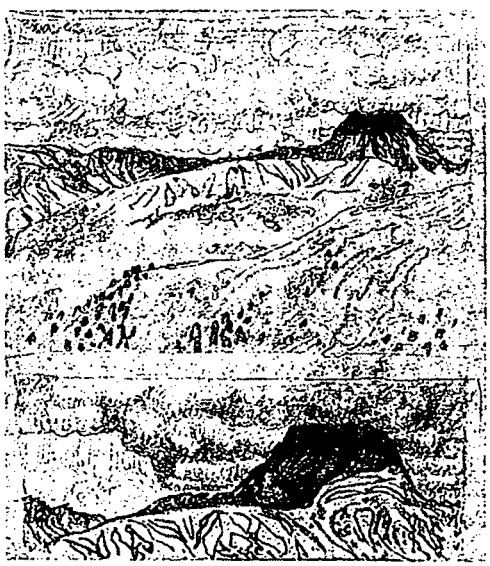
instead that no other person had ever influenced him and that his ideas had sprung full-blown from his own creative genius like Athena sprang from Zeus' forehead.

Not only did Le Corbusier want to minimize the influence of L'Eplattenier, he also made it clear that reading had never been very significant to him, and had not influenced his thoughts about "how to make architecture". For example, Le Corbusier reportedly boasted that the only books, which ever influenced him were the Bible and the works of Cervantes and Rabelais. But even though he professed a disdain for books, and pictured himself as the artist who knows by instinct rather than education, the evidence in his library, according to Paul Turner, reveals that he possessed an uncommon reverence, even awe, for books and for the absolute "truth" which he believed they must contain.[44]

Having dismissed, then, the influence of both L'Eplattenier and books, Le Corbusier declared that "he had only one master: the past, and only one discipline: the study of the past."[45] Such a claim may indeed hold significance, when one considers Le Corbusier's travels in Europe and the Orient, during which he studied past architectures. Still, there were two other factors, as well, that Le Corbusier acknowledged as sources or influences: technology and painting. In a passage titled *"Eyes Which Do Not See"* in his book *Towards a New Architecture* (1986), Le Corbusier explains: "Architects live and move within the narrow limits of academic acquirements and in ignorance of few ways of building, and they are quite willing that their conceptions should remain as doves kissing one another: But our daring and masterly constructors of steamships produce palaces in comparison with which cathedrals are tiny things, and they throw them on the sea."[46] The other source of inspiration that Le Corbusier willingly acknowledged was art. He frequently explained how painting liberated him: "The key to my artistic creativity is my work in the field of painting, which I took up in 1918 and have continued to practice daily. The basis of my intellectual quest and production lies in the uninterrupted active

pursuit of painting. It is there that the source of my open- mindedness, my disinterestedness and of the independence the integrity of my work is to be found."[47]

Elaborating on Le Corbusier's own statements, historians have identified a number of influences on young Jeanneret's thinking. Only three years after Le Corbusier's death,[48] Stanislaus von Moos attempted to isolate the original factors necessary for Jeanneret's later development. He suggests that one thing that profoundly influenced the future Le Corbusier was the character of the Jura region, especially the peaceful and majestic landscape[49] around La Chaux-de-Fonds (Fig.1), where Jeanneret had experienced the powerful visual imagery and the changing qualities of light. Secondly, explains von Moos, undoubtedly quite an important role was played by Jeanneret's early profession, that of an engraver at the *Ecole d'Art* in his home town, which in fact was not a place where one learned merely to paint and draw, but where were trained artisans who would latter contribute directly to the local economy.[50] Here, the young Jeanneret, thinks von Moos, will have had the chance to practise at the same time precision, nature, geometry and ornament in one piece of work - the pocket watch, (Fig.2.).



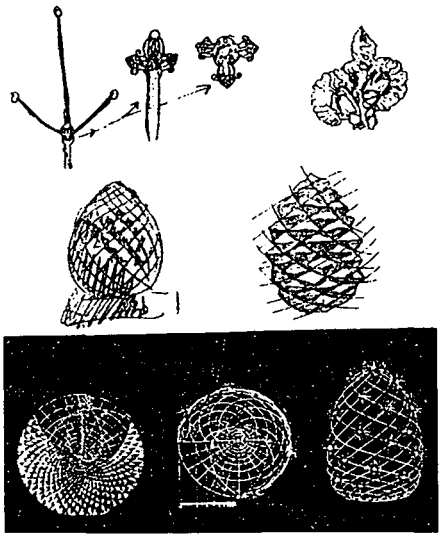


Figure 1, 2- Le Corbusier's influence: the Jura landscape, the nature and geometry

Also, according to von Moos, his teacher, Charles L'Eplattenier[51] was the predominant influence on Jeanneret who during the final two years at the *Ecole d'Art* was his sole instructor. L'Eplattenier determined that Le Corbusier should become an architect and showed him how to become one. Von Moos is more than convinced that Le Corbusier synthesized the influence of these different forces, using them in his training and education as an architect.

Speaking about the influence of the Jura landscape on Le Corbusier, another author stands close to von Moos. Patricia Sekler thinks that one recruiting element the tree occupies a foremost place in his creative work. Studying Le Corbusier's earliest drawings, Sekler further concludes that the tree as a physical reality and stylized motif was very much a part of Le Corbusier's early design vocabulary and that within the time span of his first thirty years (1887-1917), spent largely in La Chaux-de-Fonds, his interest in the tree manifested itself in many different ways.[52] In the search for the meanings, which Le Corbusier may have associated with tree, Sekler turns to his early formative years and his first concern with this motif: "in his drawings he even considered the tree form for its direct analogies to architectural elements, roots forming the bases of the framing elements of windows, trunks serving as *piloti*, masses of foliage defining the shapes of openings, branch patterns forming mullions and bars.[53]

Sekler also explains that the tree motif carried over into Le Corbusier's early work at La Chaux-de-Fonds: "his design for façade for Beau-Site (1905), a new structure for the Union Chretienne de Juenes Gens; his house for Louis Fallet *fils* (1906-1907), the first of his four houses on the hillside of the Pouillerel overlooking La Chaux-de-Fonds from the northwest; and his collaborative effort with colleagues from the Ecole on the no longer extant music room for Matthey-Doret (1906) and on the interior redecoration of the Chapelle independante of Cernier-Fontainemelon in the Val-de-Ruz (1907), then Villa

Stotzer (1908) and Villa Fallet (1905) where a tree motif had even dominated several elevations.[54]

However, according to Sekler, in 1910 and 1911, Le Corbusier's attitude toward the decorative arts and architecture changed radically as the result of his travel, reading, study, and work away from home. This change in attitude reveals itself in his designs. Thus, even though he still produced some of his most handsome ornamental repeat patterns based on pine motifs around the time that he returned from his Orient trip to La Chaux-de-Fonds in November of 1911, his next two houses, The Villa Favre-Jacot (1912) and the Villa Schwob (1916) have little applied ornament. Moreover, the tree element will be next used by Le Corbusier as extensive plantings as an integral part of the roofs cape [Villa Schwob, The Radiant City, etc.]

The tree idea is important, concludes Sekler, to keep in mind when dealing with the work of Le Corbusier. Those who search for meaning in his work soon discover that they cannot find it simply by reading his texts in chronological order or reconstructing the chronology of his artistic production. For although there is a great sense of direction in his work and an overall progression from one phase to another, he was in the habit of making frequent allusions to thoughts or images from his earlier work, often using them as a starting point for new variations or developments. Sekler explains that, "one can learn a great deal about his total work through the study of one element-the tree, but one can learn only a limited amount about that element without studying his total work.[55]

A year later, Paul Turner,[56] examined Le Corbusier's personal library, looking for clues to his early intellectual development.[57] Through the examination, he discovered that Le Corbusier had read in an extremely serious and purposeful way,[58] and revealed that books were extraordinary influential to the development of his thought, especially during his early years. According to Turner, since theory had been fundamental to Le Corbusier's

work, this reading can be shown to have formed his philosophical attitudes toward architecture; an architecture that is fundamentally intellectual and "idealistic". In other words, for him architecture was, above all, an expression of ideas and transcendental principles, rather than of "rationalist" aspects- such as function, structural and integrity or economy, which were the ostensible concerns of most twentieth century architects. Reading specific books, helped Le Corbusier to resolve or synthesize these two views of architecture in a highly personal and original way. It is only natural that the ideas Le Corbusier absorbed in his youth would have shaped his ways of thinking and inevitably influenced the formulation of his aesthetic views.[59] That is why, concludes Turner, Le Corbusier's later architecture expresses specific philosophical assumptions; his work is powerful and beautiful in a very elevated sense - and which cannot be separated from the idealism of the mind which created them, and compelling, precisely because it embodies so forcefully a search for universality, for timeless and absolute principles, and for a determined certainty with which Man can oppose himself to the vicissitudes and apparent chaos of the World.

Le Corbusier was not the product of an established school with known principles and a particular philosophy; like Frank Lloyd Wright or Peter Behrens, two leading architects of the previous generation, he chose to educate himself. H. Allen Brooks,[60] researching Le Corbusier's formative years, comes to the conclusion that Le Corbusier's travels, like those of many other architects, were traditional and indicative of personal aspirations (Fig.3, 4). Brooks explains that the years between 1907 and 1911 became a four-year period of travelling and apprenticeship, encompassing six clearly distinct episodes, each lasting a different length of time.[61] However, astonishing for Brooks was finding out that during his travels it was painting and decorative arts (in Italy), and contemporary design (in Vienna), not architecture, that pleased Le Corbusier the most. Moreover, it was the late Middle Ages, with its stylistic continuance into the fifteenth century that he

especially admired, not the "new architecture", for example Art Nouveau and the Secessionism. Brooks argues that Le Corbusier must have believed that the study of painting and sculpture was fundamental to the study of architecture, because, incredible as it may sound, Le Corbusier at this time was very unsure of how to study architecture or even what he should be looking at.[62] That is why of all the things that he saw in Italy only the Carthusian Monastery[63] grabbed his attention, while in Vienna, rather than architecture, he decided to study the human figure.[64]

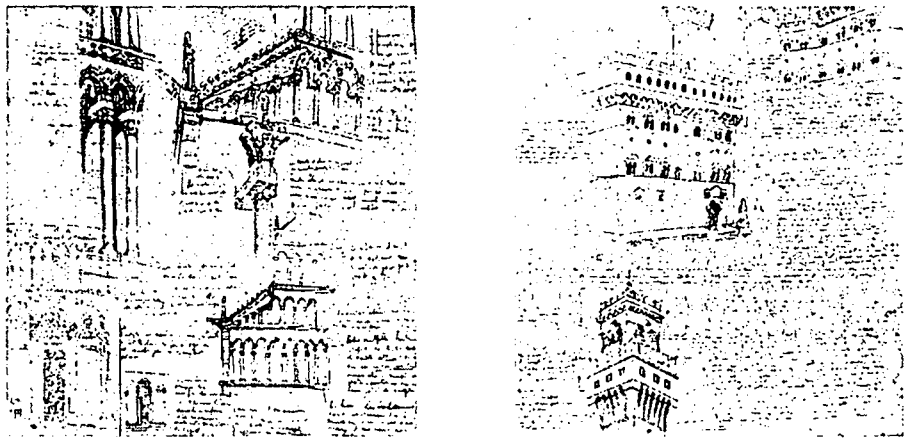


Figure 3, 4- Le Corbusier's travels (1907) and "studying the past".

According to Brooks, some progress was made when Le Corbusier arrived in Paris, where he got experience in construction, working for a short period of time for the Perrets, yet remaining still far away from the idea of the correct or traditional way of seeing architecture. Brooks points out that only his stop in Germany was of decisive importance to his future development, because in Germany he established many of the views and values that he nurtured throughout his life. Indeed, before terminating his protracted stay in Germany, Le Corbusier was converted from a medievalist to a classicist; was infused with a deep concern for harmonious proportions; was persuaded that white was the only proper colour for buildings; embraced the idea that standardization and industrialization held the key to the future of architecture; underwent his first intellectual challenge to

ideas based on Camillo Sitte; and discovered and acclaimed the merits of European folk art. In short, his German experience brought about a complete revolution in Le Corbusier's thinking. Furthermore, concludes Brooks, what can be truly called a rite of passage was Le Corbusier's *Voyage d'Orient* in 1911 (Fig.5, 6). From it he would emerge more confident and mature, both as a man and as a designer. It was a time of enlightenment, when much of his past fell into place and assumed a relatedness that hitherto had escaped him.[65]

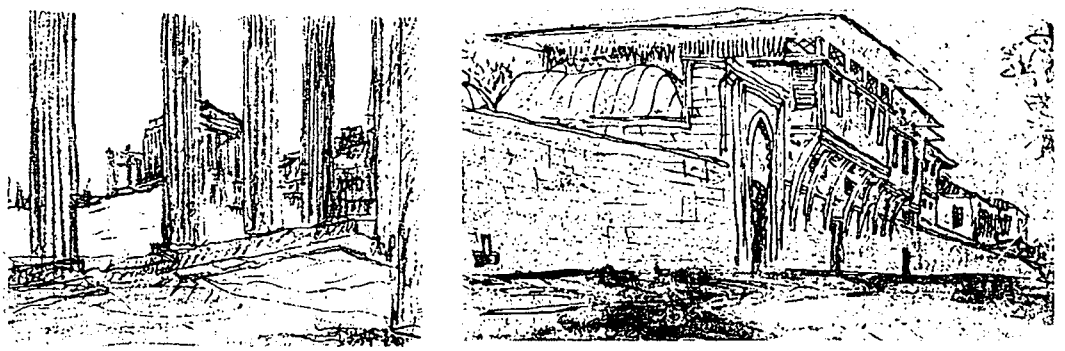


Figure 5, 6- Journey to the East, 1911: The Parthenon and a house in Istanbul

Somewhat in contrast to von Moos, Turner and Brooks, Geoffrey Baker has argued that in the early 1920s, following the formative years reading and travelling in Italy and the Orient, painting played quite a significant role in Le Corbusier's architectural evolution. Baker, searching after the creativity of Le Corbusier, argues that Amédée Ozenfant was the key contributor in the development of Le Corbusier's evolving architectural language.[66] Baker also thinks that the relationship between painting and architecture became important in Le Corbusier's work, a continuously evolving dialogue in which painting became the prime source for his aesthetic development[67] (Fig.7).

According to Baker, in an attempt to give his compositions a greater sense of order, Le Corbusier turned his attention towards the use of geometry, using triangles and diagonals to subdivide the picture surface. These attempts culminated with Le Corbusier using two

systems, which he called *traces regulateures* (Fig.8) and *promenade architecturale*. Both of these systems then emerged in his architectural work, providing an underlying order, simplicity and complexity. In short, as Baker explains, painting made it possible for Jeanneret to "arrive" in compositional terms,[68] and that Purism had developed the notion that objects themselves had meaning something first architecturally apparent in the design of ramps for abattoirs, which led to Le Corbusier believing that his art now had an authority comparable with the science and its machine products.[69]

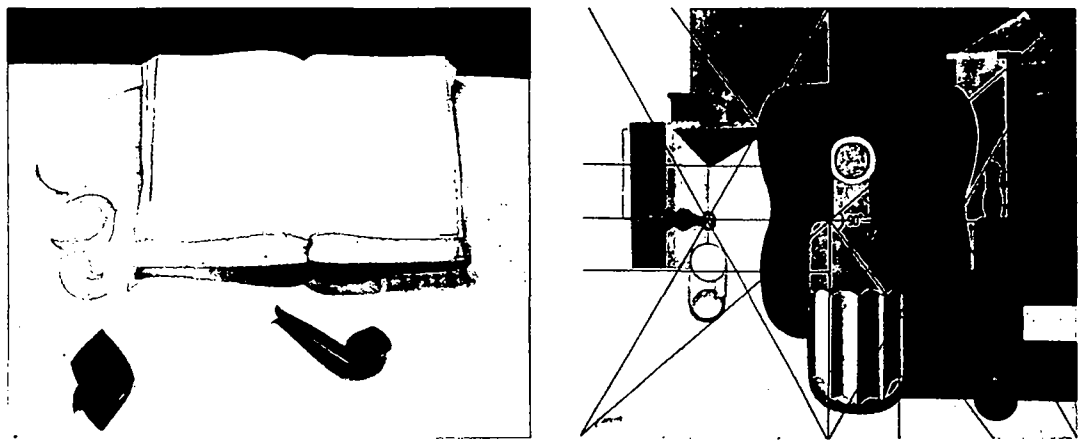


Figure 7, 8- Painting in Le Corbusier's architectural thinking: *nature morte avec libre, verre et pipe* (1918) and *Composition à la guitare et à la lanterne* (1920).

According to Baker, the basis of Le Corbusier's architectonic composition was painterly rather than constructional: his source was art and not technology. Yet, paradoxically, the genesis of his "functionalist" style lay in two abattoir designs that were uncompromisingly industrial.[70] The architectural language that emerged from Purism, concluded Baker, echoed the intentions of the movement in postulating, through its elemental organization of ramps, strip windows, skin facades, roof terraces and *pilotis* a lifestyle that reversed former constraints.[71]

Other authors, such as William Curtis (*Le Corbusier, Ideas and Forms,* 1986) Kenneth Frampton, (*Le Corbusier*, 2001), Adolf Max Vogt, (*Le Corbusier, the Noble Savage*,

1998), Ivan Žaknić, (*Journey to the East*, 1996), Giuliano Gresleri, (*Le Corbusier, Reise nach dem Orient*, 1991), and Charles Jencks, (*Le Corbusier and the Continual Revolution in Architecture*, 2000), to name just a few, in their attempts to explain how Le Corbusier's thinking took a turn, not once in his career, but every ten or fifteen years, more or less repeat what von Moos, Brooks, Turner and Baker have already argued.

To sum up, then, different historians emphasize different elements in Charles-Edouard Jeanneret's metamorphosis into Le Corbusier, including the Jura landscape, his teacher L'Eplattenier, the *Ecole d'Art* in La Chaux-de-Fonds, his readings, his travels, Ozenfant, modern painting. In some way, Le Corbusier was able to synthesize many of the above factors into an exceptional creative mix, as von Moos claims, beginning from his "memory" of the Jura region to the smallest thing he has seen, read or sketched. And most of the authors agree that naming only one single reason as "the one" for turning Jeanneret into Le Corbusier is not enough, because in the case of Le Corbusier, one should be prepared to read "against the grain".[72]

But there is no argument more against the grain than the one put forward by a number of Macedonian authors who challenge not only the testimony of Le Corbusier himself, but the general consensus of mainstream Corbusian scholars. Dušan Grabrijan, Boris Čipan, Sotir Tomoski, Krum Tomovski, and Vangel Božinovski,[73] de-emphasize the influence, for instance, of the landscape in the Jura region, of L'Eplattenier, of Jeanneret's studies of geometry or nature, his working experience in the offices of the Perrets and Peter Behrens, or his enthusiasm for contemporary technology and modern painting. Based on their own research, these authors maintain that what influenced Le Corbusier's activity as an architect more than anything else and what he would have been too embarrassed to acknowledged as a source of inspiration throughout his life was Macedonian vernacular (Fig. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14).

Figure 9, 10, 11- Houses in Macedonia, Krusheva, Kratova and Ohri.

According to these authors, the key elements in Le Corbusier's architecture in the 1920s, including the *pilotis*, the strip windows, the roof garden and the free plan, are actually taken from nineteenth century Macedonian house. Le Corbusier would thus have synthesized these elements in creating twentieth century modernist architecture. To evaluate this claim, we will next turn to the first author espousing this theory, Dušan Grabrijan. In his famous book *Makedonska kuća* (1955) [*The Macedonian House*], Grabrijan claims that Le Corbusier was influenced by houses he saw in Macedonia and used them as an unacknowledged source for his best work.

Figure 12, 13, 14- Huses in Macedonia: Ohri, Dibra, Ohri.

Analogies

Dušan Grabrijan (1899-1952) (Fig.1) was a Slovenian architect, architectural theoretician and historian, academic and writer. Throughout his career he was not only a well-versed theoretical architect and excellent teacher, but also a concise analyst, critic and stylist. Born in 1899, Grabrijan began his education in Krshko, then continued in Ljubljana, where in 1919 he decided to become an architect, entering the class of (already at that time) famous professor Jože Plečnik. In 1924 he was one of the first three students to graduate under professor Plečnik, whom Grabrijan greatly admired during his search for new insights into architecture. However, for Grabrijan the knowledge seemed to have no limits. The summer of 1925 found him in Paris, studying at the well-known *Ēcole des Beaux Arts*. After a year of studying in Paris Grabrijan returnes to Ljubljana where he worked until the end of 1929. In 1930 Grabrijan started his career in Sarajevo, first active as an architect, and then teaching at the Technical College, a job he held until the end of World War II.

After the war, Grabrijan left Sarajevo for Ljubljana, where he got involved in many activities; as an architect, critic, writer and finally as lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Ljubljana. In 1946, being one of many architects responsible for the *Building Ministry of Slovenia*, Grabrijan found himself in a circle of architects- most of whom such as Niko Bezek, Marjan Bohinec, Edo Mihevc, Oton

Gaspari, Franc Tomazić, Marjan Šorli, Eduard Ravnikar, and Marko Županćić he knew from his student days in Plećnik's school.[74] The circle that was surrounding also comprised of a new generation of Slovenian architects with whom Grabrijan discussed the problems of the time, in the field of architecture in Yugoslav society, making him one of the most respected architectural theoreticians. Many of these discussions helped Grabrijan to build some of the conclusions to his first book after the war, *Urbanizam, arhitektura, konstukcije*, [*Urbanism, Architecture, Construction*], 1946.[75]

The Macedonian House

A turning point in Grabrijan's career as an architect in Macedonia came in 1946. In that year he built three buildings in Macedonia: St. Spas Church in Skopje, an elementary school in Skopje and a sanatorium in Dibra. In overseeing the process of construction, Grabrijan had to travel to Macedonia in 1946 and 1947, and these travels may have given him the opportunity to get to know the nineteenth century architectural heritage of Macedonia.

However, as Grabrijan himself later noted, "thanks to the Slovenian Government and a Minister in the Macedonian Government," it was only in 1949 that he had the chance, together with three other students of architecture from the University of Ljubljana, to make a three-month study trip throughout almost all parts of Macedonia. [76] His trip included all the prosperous regions along the Vardar Valley, starting at Skopje and then towards the east to Kumanovo, Kratovo, Koćani, Štip, Strumica and Gevgelija and finally back to Skopje; and again from Skopje towards the west to Veles, Prilep, Kruševo, Bitola, Ohrid, Struga, Galićniku and Tetova [77] (Fig.2). He chose to study old non-Europeanized towns and old quarters of modern towns; parts where nineteenth century architecture was

still intact. It was this 1949 study, based on his own investigations and drawings of houses in Macedonia (including analyses, plans and sketches with extensive captions that explained the functions of the house), which would produce most of the material needed for his book on Macedonian architecture.

Figure 1- Dušan Grabrijan (1899-1952).

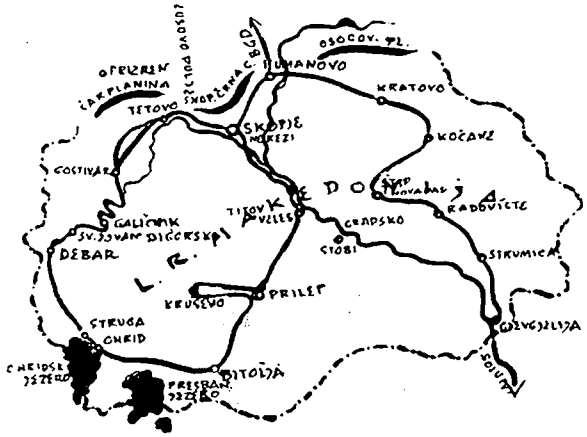


Figure 2- Grabrijan's trip in Macedonia, 1949.

Published in 1955, *Makedonska kuća* [*The Macedonian House*] presents all of what Grabrijan had investigated and found interesting in Macedonia back in 1949. One of the first issues to be discussed in the book concerns house typologies. Basing on examples from the region, Grabrijan distinguishes two basic house types in Macedonia: 1. Velesi or "low" type with rooms on the ground and upper floors and within the courtyard (the summer living area with *chardak* is on the upper floor), and with an irregular ground floor plan[78]; and 2. Ohrid or "high" type, [79] with a summer kitchen, privy and cellar on the ground floor, a winter living area with a *chardak* in front of a two- storey *trem* [porch] [80] and a summer living area with a *chardak*[81] on the upper floor and with a compact ground plan.

In the chapter titled *"Organization of the living area"*, Grabrijan argues that due to the climate in Macedonia there is a division of the living areas through the different levels of

the house; the winter living areas organized on the massive ground floor constructed of stone, and in the summer living areas organized on the upper floor constructed of a wooden frame, and organized around the *chardak*, which may be open or closed, depending on the climate. Grabrijan explains that rooms on the upper floor serve as living rooms during the day and as bedrooms at night. The *chardak* is used mostly for family gatherings, weddings and often people also even sleep there during the summer. Thus, continues Grabrijan, the *chardak* has a dual usage; it serves as a living room and as a reception room.

In the chapter *"Spatial Architecture"* Grabrijan claims that the spatial arrangement of Macedonian houses is "fluid". The plastic modelling of space, argues Grabrijan, is apparent in the fluid arrangement of the cellar and winter living areas. Everything is organized around the *chardak*, so that all rooms are exposed to light and air. Although furniture is absent, notices Grabrijan, rooms seem extraordinarily rich. Grabrijan is also impressed by the niches at the entrance to rooms, the width of the *chardak* and the stairs located in an open space. The modelling of space is even more impressive where both the *trem* [porch] and the *chardak* extend through two storeys.

In the chapter *"Architecture in a Human Scale,"* Grabrijan suggests that the Macedonian house is furnished in its own unique style. The *chardak* is empty, save for carpets and cushions on the floor; there is no table, and if there are chairs in the reception room, they are placed along the wall around the carpet, not around the portable table. Usually, a slightly raised section of floor, covered with bedding, serves as a couch. All the remaining furniture is built in. The dimensions and furnishings of a room are thus dependent upon the basic postures assumed by its inhabitants. The human scale of the rooms in a Macedonian house is expressed, Grabrijan argues, by the changing floor levels, which create varying heights in the rooms. In contrast to other rooms, the *chardak*,

and sometimes the *trem*, occupy a two-storey space. All dimensions are quite small, and rooms gain life only through the presence of man. According to Grabrijan, the external appearance of the house is also enlivened through habitation, thus lending a harmonious quality to the entire structure. For Grabrijan, the human scale of these houses makes them homey, intimate and human.

In the chapter *"Structured and Modelled Architecture"* Grabrijan speaks about the usage of the building materials: stone on the ground floor and wood on the upper floor. Window and doorframes, cantilevers, lintels, studs and braces are all made of timber, thereby giving this architecture a pronounced lightness and serenity. The upper floor with its rows of windows, smooth surfaces and sharp edges, contrasts sharply with the rough, un-plastered masonry of the ground floor. The frame of the upper floor, composed of stills, studs, lintels, braces and beams, and the roof supported by roughly hewn rafters, which are joined by nails, can be explained, so- Grabrijan argues, only as a continuation of a long building tradition of the master builders in Macedonia. The light partitions or walls may be erected anywhere, independent of the ground floor plan masonry. Thus, the shape of rooms, the façades, the size and location of doors and windows can be modelled at will. The frame construction and floor beams enable the builders to add upper level outer rooms by means of cantilevers. The whole structure is almost entirely a dry construction.

In the chapter *"Organic Town Planning"* Grabrijan writes about the landscape in Macedonia, about the amphitheaters situated towns such as Kruševo, Ohrid or Velesi, and then about towns purposely separated into functional districts (commercial, civic, religious centres and residential). When discussing the "Elasticity of the Macedonian terrain" and its organic growth, Grabrijan explains how here, indeed, urban problems are solved down to the smallest detail.

However, what gives the book special importance are three of Grabrijan's conclusions. Firstly, he argues that Macedonia, thanks to its geographical location, mediates between two entirely different cultures, simply because the Macedonians never totally relinquished their European way of living and were always able to respond to newly emerging needs. [82] Grabrijan concludes that the Macedonian house presents a transition from the traditional Oriental to the modern European house.

Secondly, Grabrijan claims that the nineteenth century architecture of Macedonia follows "modern architectural principles."[83] Grabrijan sees the Macedonian house as a dialogue between "Oriental" and "modern" architectural thinking. "Human scale", "plasticity of spaces", "flexibility", "unobstructed views", and "geometry" were the modern principles he discovered in the Macedonian house. He believed it was very hard to dismiss the links between the modern and Macedonian house. As an energetic protagonist of progressive architecture, Grabrijan unveiled in the Macedonian architectural heritage a source of creative inspiration for contemporary architecture.

And thirdly, Grabrijan, in comparing houses from Macedonia with Le Corbusier's work, is deeply convinced there is an analogy between the Macedonian house and Le Corbusier's villas. [84] The last chapter of his book, *"The transition into the modern architecture"*, begins with this introduction: "I would like to discuss the analogy between the Macedonian house and the modern one. Maybe this analogy seems strange to you." [85] He continues: "Maybe, but only at first, because one is used to hear discussions about the analogy between Le Corbusier and the Oriental house, which at some point withstands scrutiny, but never about the analogy between Le Corbusier and the Macedonian house, simply because here things are a little more sensitive." [86]

In order to understand Le Corbusier, Grabrijan claims, one needs to know the Macedonian house. "When in Europe there arose the need for a universal house, experts who knew the Balkans took as their example the Macedonian house, though were never willing to talk about their source of inspiration." [87] He then promises to "prove how this house helped one of the most eminent representatives of modern architecture – Le Corbusier – at the very beginning of his career." [88] One of the revolutionary ideas that Le Corbusier allegedly learnt from Macedonia concerns the organization of functions in a house. Grabrijan explains: "In order to live a social life and to protect themselves from the Turks, Ohrid's inhabitants built the *chardaks* and lifted them under the roof of the house. They live in the *chardaks* during the hot summer time it is there that they organize their parties and meetings that is why the *chardaks* are under the roof, in the shadow, in the air, with an excellent view. Was this example not a vital one for Le Corbusier, changing the living program of the French traditional house, moving the guest rooms from the 'etage noble' in the upper floor, under the roof, and the servants bedrooms from the roof to the first floor, as in the Maison Meyer, Paris?" [89]

As we shall see, Grabrijan will accuse Le Corbusier of not only "borrowing" the functional organization of the Macedonian house and using it to "revolutionize" modern architecture, but also "borrowing" other elements from Macedonian houses, including the structure, free plan and free façade, the gallery, the horizontal window, the "brise-soleil", the concept of the "minimal house" and the notion of architecture in a human scale white color and cubic forms, etc. [90] "After all the parallels presented," Grabrijan insists, "no one can deny the influence of the Macedonian house on Le Corbusier's language of architecture." [91]

Bondruk versus Dom-Ino

For Grabrijan, the most important element in the Macedonian house is its wooden structure, known as the *Bondruk* (Fig.3, 4, 5). From his description, one gets the impression that the wooden *Bondruk* skeleton is a system of construction where the horizontal and vertical parts of the structure are tied together in an elastic way, building a stable whole, the basic form of which is a triangle.[92] In other words, as Grabrijan argues, the *Bondruk* system exhibits a logical structural concept; light and adaptable, it is a structure that offers very broad functional and organizational possibilities.

Figure 3, 4, 5- The *Bondruk* structure in Macedonia.

Moreover, the *Bondruk* is said to be analogous to Le Corbusier's *Dom-Ino* (Fig.6, 7): "The only difference between the structures is in the materials used; here [in Macedonia] it is wood, while Le Corbusier uses the *béton armé*."[93]

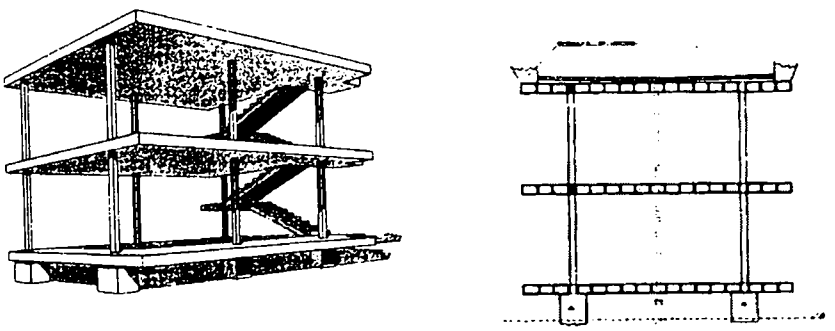


Figure 6, 7- Le Corbusier's *Dom-Ino*, 1914.

The first houses that Le Corbusier designed according to the *Dom-Ino* system are not unconventional and seem to owe a lot to Tony Garnier's projects for workers' housing. Only in the early twenties, Le Corbusier realized the possibilities of the constructional system and gradually developed the characteristics that he in 1926 dubbed the "Five Points" of modern architecture: the pilotis, the free plan, the free façade, the horizontal window, and the roof garden.

Once Grabrijan made the observation that the *Bondruk* system is very similar to the *Dom-Ino*, he logically enough looked for features in Macedonian houses that could be compared with the *Five Points*, and he is richly rewarded in this quest. Discussing the construction of the traditional Macedonian house, Grabrijan calls attention how load-bearing walls have often been replaced with wooden columns in the central part of the ground floor *trem* (Fig. 8, 10) as well as on the front façade. [94]

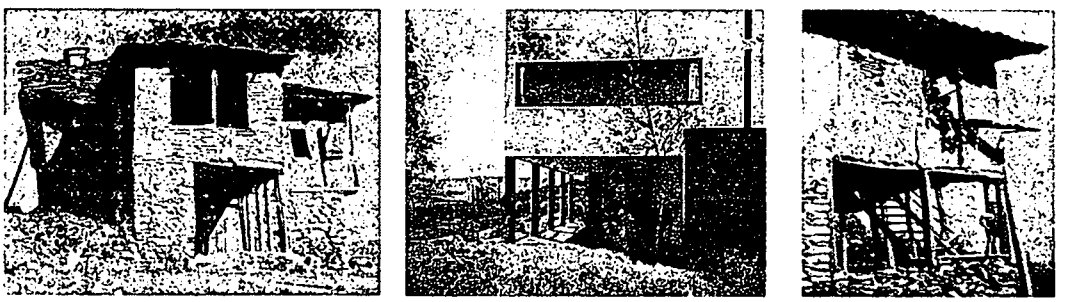


Figure 8, 9, 10- The *trem* in Macedonia, Le Corbusier in Stuttgart (1927) and again in Macedonia.

The goal was the creation of free, homogeneous and unlimited space for work, connecting the house to the garden. The *trem* in this type of houses was called *rabotnička* – the workshop. In addition to providing a open, flexible plan for the work spaces on the ground floor, the skeleton of columns also lifted the house up in the air (Fig. 11, 12). Thus, Grabrijan remarks: "Compare Ohrid's kiosks and you will get Le Corbusier's *pilotis*." [95]

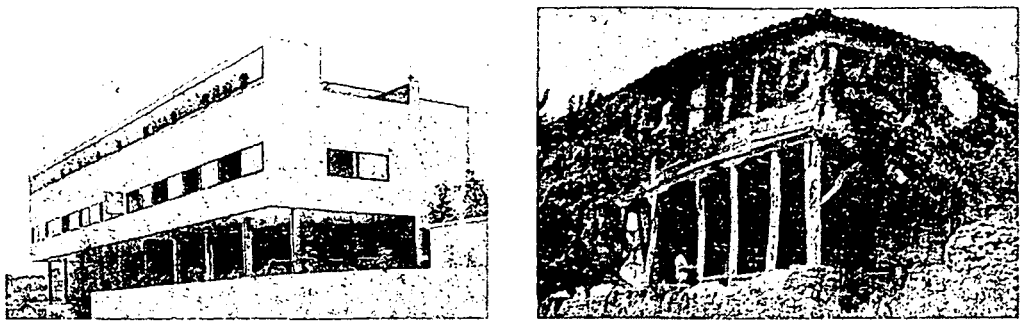


Figure 11, 12- *Pilotis*, Le Corbusier in Stuttgart (1927) and the master builders in Ohri- Macedonia.

In his book Grabrijan gives examples from different cities, such as Ohrid, Struga, and Velesi, showing that the master builders in Macedonia never include a basement in a house, thus avoiding darkness and moisture. Arguing that there is an analogy to Le Corbusier's solutions, Grabrijan writes: "Le Corbusier doesn't position his house deep in the earth. Instead, following Macedonian examples, he concentrates all secondary rooms in the *trem* [porch] on the ground floor, lifting up the dwelling spaces onto the first floor where he places a two-storey living room (and where in a Macedonian house one would have the winter spaces), while the bedrooms go to the second floor (where in a Macedonian house one would have the summer spaces). On the roof he places a roof garden."[96]

According to Grabrijan, the columns that support a slab of wood open up the possibility of organizing the each floor independently of the others. Walls need to rest upon those below but they can be freely built where they are most needed, they can meander about or be eliminated altogether if more space is required. [97] Likewise, different functions are possible on each level. Grabrijan states: "It wouldn't be incorrect to compare this with Le Corbusier's *Plan libre*"[98] (Fig. 13, 14, 15).

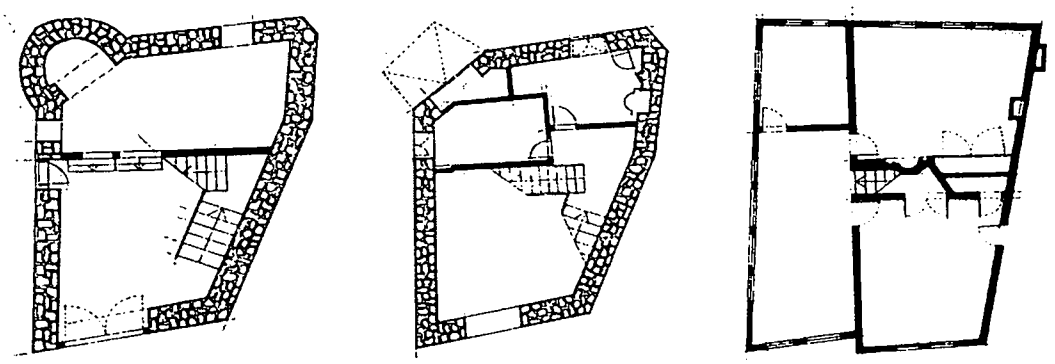


Figure 13, 14, 15- House in Ohri- example of a *plan libre*: the ground floor, the mezzanine and the first floor.

Grabrijan thinks that the structure also makes it possible for the walls to include open windows in rows, or even for the whole wall to be replaced by windows. "With such a construction, we can open windows everywhere in the wall structure, or the walls can even be completely eliminated. With such a structure, the possibility arises to organize the interior space as one wishes, to model the façade and to open windows in walls (Fig. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). Like it or not," continues Grabrijan, "I come to think here of Le Corbusier's *Façade libre* and *Fenetre en longueur*."[99]

Figure 16, 17, 18- Ohri's house, example of a *free façade*.

Figure 19, 20, 21- *Fenetre en longueur*, examples from Ohri, Struga and Dibra.

The *Bondruk* structure has, according to Grabrijan, also made possible the most important element in the Macedonian house: the *chardak* [100] (Fig. 22, 23, 24). Grabrijan explains that the *chardak* is the place that not only provides easy access to the surrounding rooms but also functions as a gathering place for the family. Everything is grouped around the *chardak*, which reaches out towards light and air. That is why the *chardak* gained the most significant position in the Macedonian house, and is the only space in the house that reveals special treatment. The *chardak* takes the top floor of the house, far from the "everyday life," that is, work that takes place in the *trem*. It needs to have a good view, silence, and unhindered access to the view, air and sun.

Figure 22, 23, 24- The *chardak* placed in the upper floor in the houses in Macedonia.

As a large interior space, with simple and flexible furniture and a charming view of the outside greenery, the *chardak* mediated between the garden and the house. In spite of the fact that there is no furniture this room, it seems extraordinarily rich. From the *chardak* one can look in all directions, through niches into other rooms, down the stairs into the *trem* below, past the joists into the attic and through the open porch and wide windows to a panorama of the town. Everything is tremendously alive and wide open in spite of the relatively restricted space. The plastic modelling of space is even more impressive in cases when both the *trem* and the *chardak* extend through two storeys.

Figure 25, 26, 27- The *chardak* compared to Le Corbusier's *roof garden* in Stuttgart (1927).

Grabrijan uses sketches and photographs of examples from Struga, Ohrid and Kruševo, to explain the importance of the *chardak* for Macedonian houses, leading in turn to the analogy between the *chardak* and Le Corbusier's *roof garden* (Fig. 25, 26, 28, 29). Grabrijan explains: "Once we know the importance of the *chardak* in the Macedonian house, we can also explain why Le Corbusier used *les terraces* (Fig. 27, 30) on the upper floor of his famous villas."[101]

Figure 28, 29, 30- The *chardak* leading to Le Corbusier's *les terraces*- Villa Stein (1927).

"Are Le Corbusier's terraces, flying between the sky and the earth, with good views, not similar to Ohrid's *chardaks*"?[102] The only difference for Grabrijan is that Le Corbusier closes the roof garden off while in the Macedonian House the chardak is open.[103]

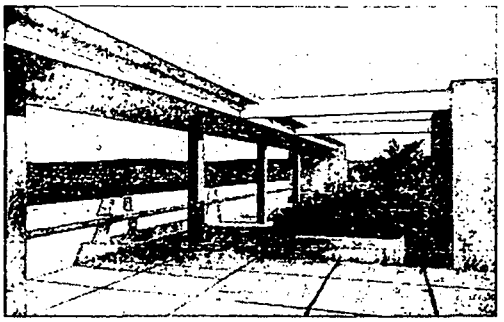



Figure 31, 32- View from the *chardak* in Macedonia (1949) and from the *roof garden* in Wiessenhof (1927)

The oriel principle

The flexibility offered by the *Bondruk* stucture is not limited only to the planning of the floors and facades. Grabrijan also finds attractive the potential the structure gives the master builders to correct the irregularity of the ground floor plan on the first floor, to enlarge the area of the first floor during the process of correction, and to practice the cantilever. From his comments on houses from Ohrid, Struga and Velesi we see that Grabrijan admires the "oriel principle" [104] (Fig. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37).



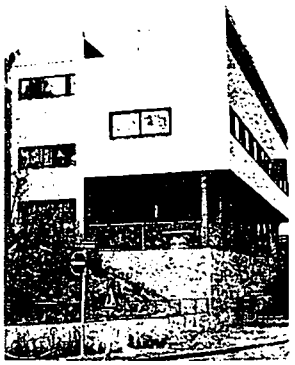


Figure 33, 34, 35- The *oriel* principle: the master builder in Macedonia and Le Corbusier in Stuttgart (1927).

"These floors", writes Grabrijan, "thanks to the use of the oriel principle, are hung like boxes in the air. The first architectural visitors to Macedonia used to call these floors

"hanging places." "Can we call them monumental?"[105] asks Grabrijan, later answering the question himself with: "monumental, explained Le Corbusier once, are only those creations [buildings] with a clear form that come together in one whole."[106] So the answer is yes, we can call them monumental because they allow a clear, pure form to come together in a single whole that is the Macedonian house. Grabrijan then poses the question: "Ask yourself, wasn't Le Corbusier using the same elements in his villas"?[107]

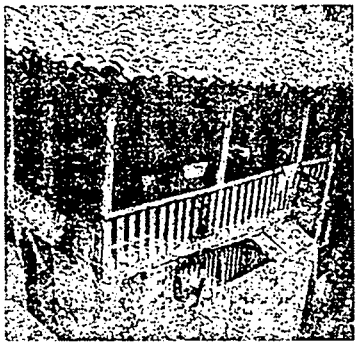
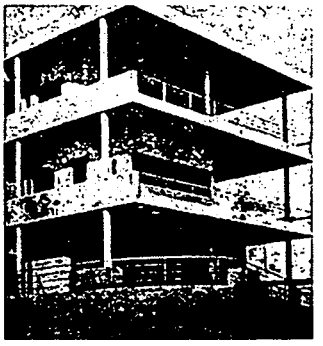




Figure 36, 37, 38- The *oriel* principle: the master builder in Macedonia and Le Corbusier in Carthago (1928).

The hangar houses

Further similarities are to be found in the plasticity of the "space architecture." Grabrijan compares Ohrid's kiosks that "fly" like airplanes in the air with Le Corbusier's "air architecture" and with *Nemours*: "Looking at the hanging houses on the steep terrain in Macedonia, which hang one above the other, we have to think in Le Corbusier's *Nemours*."[108]

For Grabrijan, the most important point is the resemblance of the "hangar houses" (Fig. 39, 41) in Ohrid or Struga to Le Corbusier's solutions in Pessac (1925) (Fig. 40), and his workers' housing in Barcelona (1933) (Fig. 42).[109] Grabrijan argues that the problems with which Le Corbusier and the master builders in Macedonia had to deal with were the

same; that is two long sides of the house were not available for openings, and a minimum amount of surface was available for "both architects" to come to a functional solution for the house. Comparing the houses of Ohrid and Struga with those in Pessac and in Barcelona, Grabrijan points out similarities in the ground floor plans, where the functional concept of the ground floor, entails simplicity and a high level of freedom in their spatial organization. Neither the master builder nor Le Corbusier, explains Grabrijan, won't foresee the use of corridors or free spaces meant, only for circulation, independent of other functions.

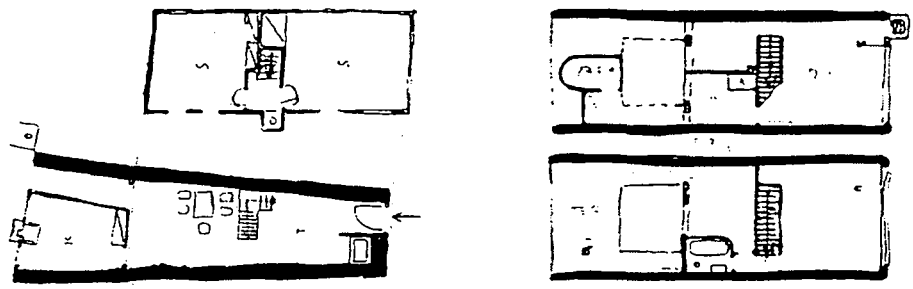


Figure 39, 40- Grabrijan compares: Ohri's '*hangar house*' to Le Corbusier's Pessac (1925).

Similarities between the "hangar houses" in Ohrid and Struga and Le Corbusier's villas exist also with regard to the first floor. In both the master builder's and Le Corbusier's solutions, the first floor contains the sleeping accommodation. In the houses in Ohrid and Struga, the master builders aimed to achieve greater quality in the houses by using two-storey levels in the living room, as well as a second entry-exit, this time not from the ground floor, but rather from the first. The same thing, explains Grabrijan, is to be found in Le Corbusier's idea of placing a flight of stairs outside the house, as a way to create a connection to the outside garden, or even a direct communication between the sleeping areas and the roof terraces. It is seems likely that both the master builders and Le Corbusier aimed at the free circulation of inhabitants inside the house and the shortest way of arriving at all levels and rooms. Grabrijan concludes that with the use of different

architectural elements inside the house (e.g. the specific placement of the stairs and use of two-story height levels), the master builders and Le Corbusier tried to achieve specific effects, through which their "minimal" house would appear bigger - even "a palace". [110]

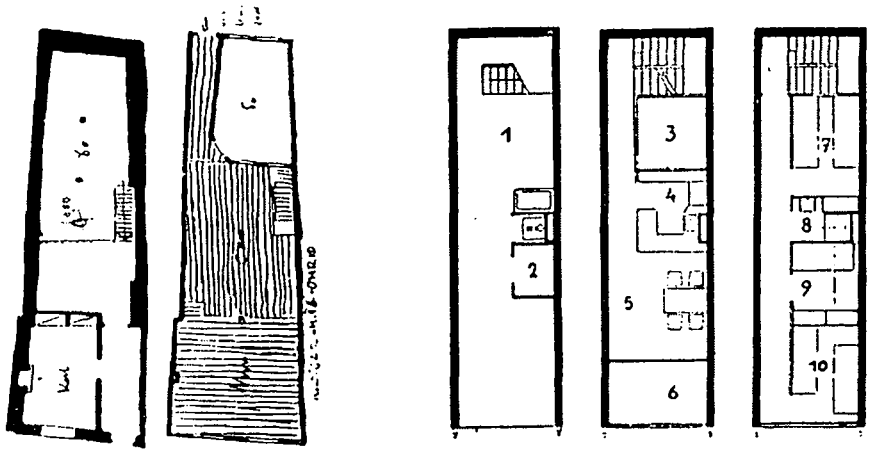


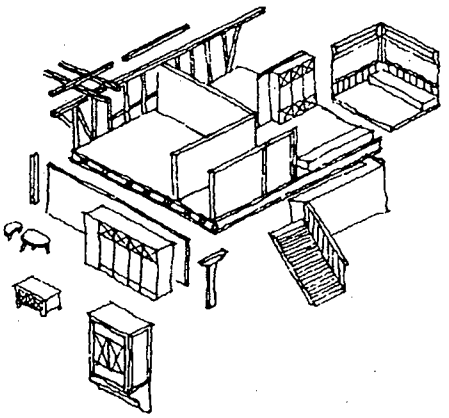
Figure 41, 42- Ohri's '*hangar house*' compared to Le Corbusier's workers' houses, Barcelona (1933).

"Judge for yourself whether these houses [the Ohrid fisherman's house and the Struga gipsy house] are that far from Le Corbusier's workers' houses in Pessac and Barcelona", declares Grabrijan, insinuating that there is an analogy between "both architects." [111]

Standardization and prefabrication

Grabrijan finds the *Bondruk* structure to be very close to the *Dom-Ino* also as regards standardization and prefabrication[112] (Fig.43, 44). He tells us that the long building tradition and the organic analyses conducted by the master builders in Macedonia have led to a continuous repetition of dimensions in structural elements, such as the columns, ribs, slabs, as well as the rooms and their high doors and windows, stairs, railings and

furniture. In dimensioning the building and its elements the master builders used tested methods, going from universals to particulars; that is from the determination of the building's whole to the details of the structure. This sort of selection, thinks Grabrijan, crystallized the objectively best solutions, resulting in standards. [113]



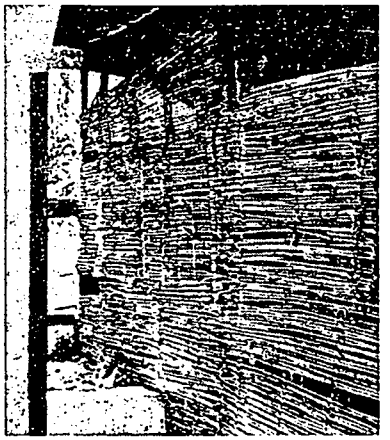


Figure 43, 44- The *standardization* and the *pre-fabrication* in Macedonia.

Through standardization, the master builders determined minimal dimensions for the elements they used: for example, in the structural elements, the size of the columns was between 8-10 cm, and the distance between the columns was 40-60 cm. [114] Grabrijan finds it also possible that some parts of the structure, such as walls, slabs, and stairs, would be produced first, and then standardized elements would be fitted in. This method in his opinion shows the ability of the master builder to construct a building from assembled parts: a sort of prefabrication. [115]

The vertical layering of functions

Grabrijan sees the first specific similarity between the Macedonian house and the works of Le Corbusier as being the vertical layering of functions through the levels of the house, and that this is most likely due to climatic influences. [116] After first constructing the

typology of the Macedonian house, Grabrijan explains that there is a different function on each floor: on the ground floor are the utility spaces, the first floor is reserved for living (during the day) and for sleeping (during the night), but also for formal occasions when the house has no second floor (Fig.45, 46, 47). If there is a second floor, it is reserved mostly for formal occasions or used as a rest area. The *chardak*, situated on the upper floor of the house, is the place where a guest is received, a place to relax and a place to organize a family party (e.g. a wedding party); it is a place where the owner shows his hospitality.

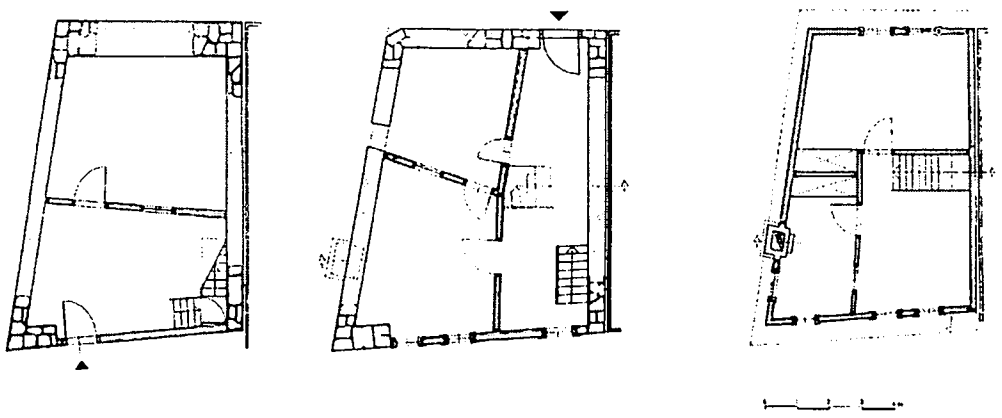


Figure 45, 46, 47- The vertical layering of the house functions: example form Ohri.

Grabrijan is convinced that the way the master builders in Macedonia reserved one floor for each selected purpose of everyday life inspired Le Corbusier to similarly organize the functions of his villas in vertical layers. "Hasn't this example influenced Le Corbusier in changing the programme of the traditional French house", asks Grabrijan, and continues: "Le Corbusier moved the servants from the first floor to the ground floor, then moved his living areas from the ground floor to the first one." [117] To make his point, Grabrijan takes a house from Ohrid and compares it with Le Corbusier's Villa Meyer, Neuilly-sur-Seine (1925) (Fig. 48, 49, 50, 51). Analyzing the impression one gets when living not on the ground floor, but, as Grabrijan puts it, in the "air", he compares the Ohrid house with Le Corbusier's villas: "What a similarity with the Ohrid house, where one lives above the

ground floor. The difference is that in Ohrid, on the mezzanine where Le Corbusier places the sleeping rooms, the master builder has placed the winter spaces; while under the roof, where Le Corbusier places the living spaces there are also living spaces beside the summer rooms in the Ohrid house.

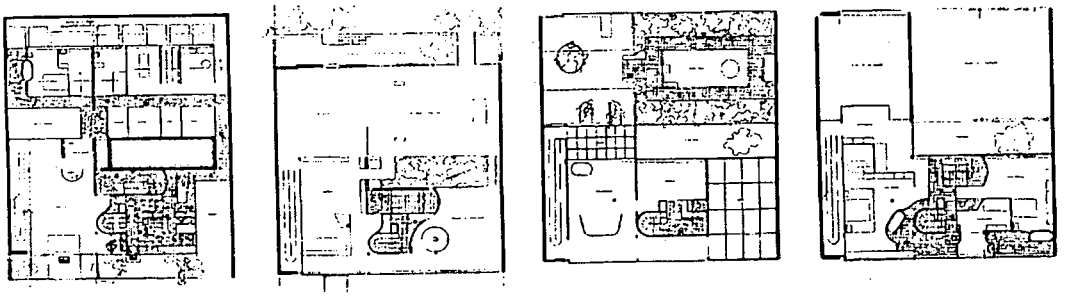


Figure 48, 49, 50, 51- Grabrijan compares the examples from Macedonia with the Villa Meyer, Paris (1925).

And while the double height space at the Ohrid house takes up the first two floors, Le Corbusier's two-storey living room begins on the first floor, from where one reaches, via the interior stairs the terrace and other dwelling spaces on the second floor."[118] To simplify his comparison, Grabrijan again compares sketches of the houses in Ohrid and Struga with Le Corbusier's Maison Cook in Boulogne-sur-Seine.

The concept of the Minimal House

Grabrijan further sees a similarity between the Macedonian house and Le Corbusier's minimal houses: in both cases, external stairs are placed in the front of the terrace. To make this point, Grabrijan, uses the example of a house from Velesi, along with photographs from Tetova and Struga, showing how one flight of stairs is placed beside the exterior wall of the house. Comparing examples of Macedonian minimal houses with Le Corbusier's designs (Fig.52, 53, 54), Grabrijan explains: "Le Corbusier organizes the

household functions on the ground floor of his minimal house and raises the areas for dwelling up to the first floor. To enter the house, he places a flight of stairs beside the exterior wall, as did the master builders in the Macedonian minimal houses." [119] Le Corbusier, according to Grabrijan, speaking about the problem of using the stairs, once explained: "these stairs beside the exterior wall of the house constitute a tremendous architectural element."[120]

Figure 52, 53, 54- The fight of stairs used in Macedonia and by Le Corbusier.

"It is very important," Grabrijan goes on to claim, "that the flight of stairs takes you up to the living room and other dwelling spaces. This sort of placement of an outer stairs we have seen in houses in Velesi. In other places, Le Corbusier will turn the stairs 180° creating in this way a compositional element with which he achieves a wide façade for a minimal house"[121] (Fig. 55, 56, 57).

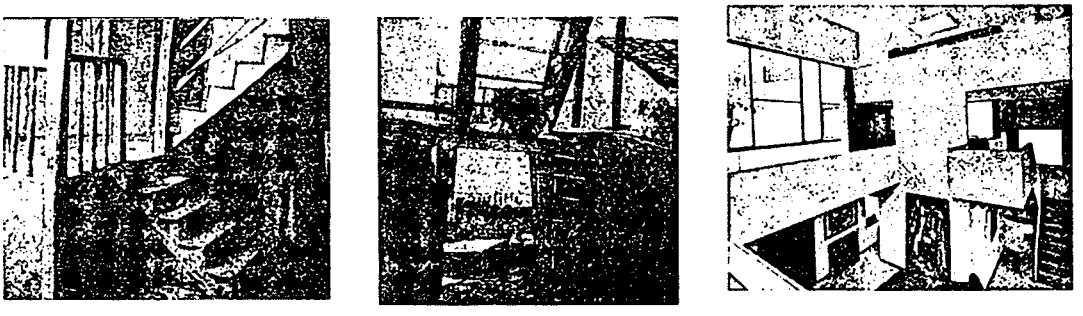


Figure 55, 56, 57- Breaking the stairs in 180°: houses in Macedonia and Le Corbusier's La Roche (1923).

The double-height space

Elsewhere in *The Macedonian house* Grabrijan thinks that the gallery is yet another architectural element used both by the master builders and Le Corbusier. Grabrijan quotes Le Corbusier as having said that "the house can never be minimal, but rather some functions have to take up smaller areas, however its heart should not be a chicken-coop, it has to be 'a space'." [122] And Grabrijan asserts that the gallery is the element forming the heart of the Macedonian house.

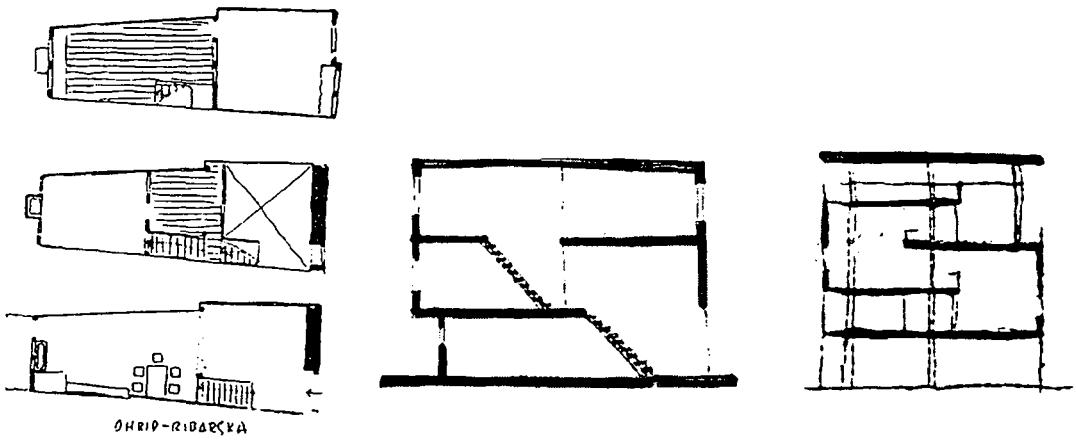


Figure 58, 59, 60- Grabrijan: A house with gallery (left), a section through the gallery of a house (middle) and a cross-section of the Villa Carthago (1928).

Discussing the matter further, Grabrijan claims that Le Corbusier places rooms around the living-room in the same way as the master builders use the *chardak* in Macedonian houses, and that Le Corbusier's living-room is indeed the same thing as the Macedonian *chardak*. Comparing the section of the unbuilt Villa Baizeau, Carthago (1928) with that of a Macedonian house (Fig. 58, 59, 60), Grabrijan concludes that Le Corbusier "already knew of this particular problem." [123] He suggests: "Analyze the gallery in houses in Ohrid and Struga, around which are placed other rooms, and you arrive at Le Corbusier's Weissenhof building in Stuttgart or Maison Cook in Paris." [124]

Grabrijan also spoke about the *promenade architecturale* in Macedonia: "You begin by passing through the *trem* on the ground floor, inside the *trem* there is an open stairs that leads you to the *chardak* on the first floor, which is surrounded by rooms, either opening directly on to the *chardak* or connected to it via passages." [125] He explains that the spatial path one takes from the *trem* to the *chardak* in a Macedonian house is a promenade through space always revealing new surprises. For Grabrijan the plastic treatment of space is even more impressive when the trem as well as the chardak reach up over two floors (as for example in the houses in Ohrid or Struga), or when the stairs are placed in different positions on each floor of the house.[126] These paths go from one side of the house to the other one: they begin from the ground floor, pass up the stairs and go through the chardak (Fig. 61, 62). There are houses, explains Grabrijan, such as in Kruševo, Struga and Ohrid, where you can have three levels on one floor.

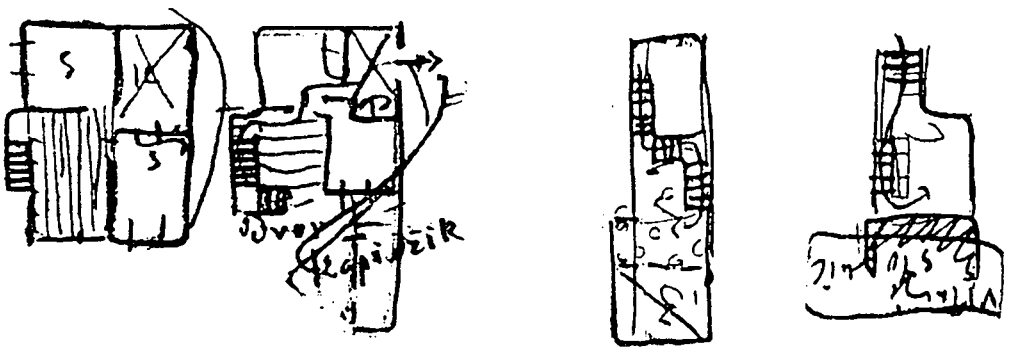


Figure 61, 62- Grabrijan explains the *promenade architecturale* in examples from Macedonia.

Describing the promenade architecturale Le Corbusier's villa in Auteuil (1922) Grabrijan then asks: "Is this not the same promenade architecturale one sees in the houses in Struga with their double-height trems?" [127] Then, using the same idea of the path which he claims Le Corbusier learned from Macedonian houses, Grabrijan suggests also that Le Corbusier

expressed a similar theme in his exhibition pavilion in Paris from 1937 (Fig. 63, 64). To explain the modernist idea of a "spatial path" [128] Grabrijan quotes Le Corbusier: "for the exhibition we chose the continuous path through the ramp and spaces with different contents that develop themselves in three levels above the ground floor. Moving up the ramp is an architectural experience that will impress the visitor." [129]

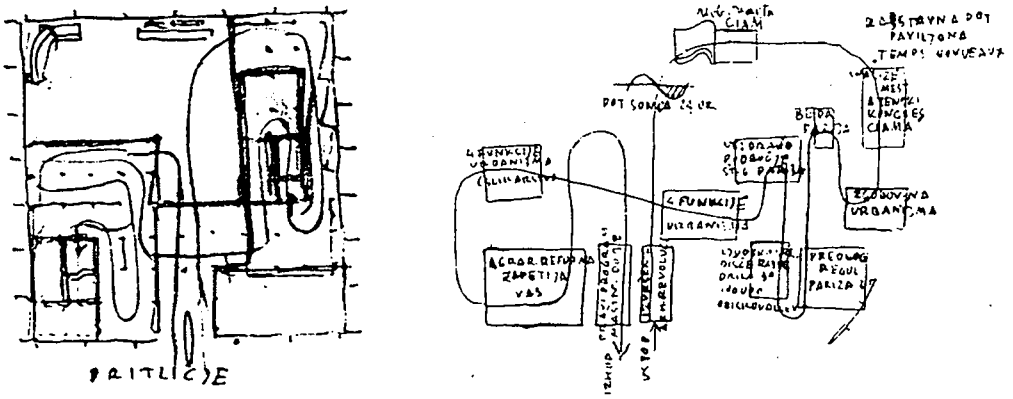


Figure 63, 64- Grabrijan explains Le Corbusier's way of achieving the *promenade architecturale* in his Exhibition Pavilion in Paris from 1937.

Other analogies

Grabrijan has noticed other similarities between the Macedonian house and Le Corbusier's villas, for instance in the Macedonian rooms without furniture, because, as Grabrijan explains, "the only furniture one finds in the room is a bed and a chair." [130] Furthermore, there is a similar desire for built-in furniture, "because", explains Grabrijan, "the Macedonian "*dolaps*" [built-in wardrobe] and "*sergens*" [the horizontal pole under ceilings for hanging men's clothes] are indeed Le Corbusier's furniture that he hides in the walls." [131] Grabrijan also comes to the conclusion that the niches at the entrance to each room, the balconies and the cantilever that you see in Le Corbusier's villas, are of the same type one sees in Macedonian houses; the only difference being the material in

that "Le Corbusier uses concrete, instead of wood." [132] Grabrijan also likes to compare the "breaking up" of the walls of rooms at an angle of 45° in the Macedonian houses with a similar treatment in Le Corbusier's houses, used by him in order to achieve free circulation paths into the house. Grabrijan thinks that similarities between Macedonian house and Le Corbusier's architecture are also evident in the harmony of the architecture with nature and in the desire for a view.[133] Grabrijan further explains that an analogy can be seen also in the heights of the spaces in the houses.[134] The height 210cm + 30cm + 210cm = 450cm, which he claims is used also by Le Corbusier in his living rooms, comes from the Macedonian two-storey *trem*.[135] Grabrijan claims that Le Corbusier's Modulor can be used completely in the Macedonian houses, because the master builders in Macedonia also used the human body as the basis for all their measurements.

Other similarities between the Macedonian house and the Corbusian one, according to Grabrijan, can be found in the "modernity" ground floor plan and elevations, in the independence of the inner disposition of rooms from the wall structure, in the architecture of the outer rooms, in the use of the fireplace and the *brise-soleil*.[136] In the last instance, Grabrijan is convinced that the Macedonian *chardak* has helped Le Corbusier to come to the idea of the *brise-soleil*. [137] "Modern terraces", concludes Grabrijan, "have their origin in the *chardaks* and *brises-soleil* that were used as sun breakers." [138] There is no doubt in Grabrijan's mind that Le Corbusier was inspired by the Macedonian way of sun protection, and argues "how else could a northern man come to the idea of using sun protection, when normally he is missing the sun all the time."[139] Finally, in ending his discussion about the analogy between the Macedonian house and Le Corbusier's houses, Grabrijan declares that the Macedonian house is a house for everybody since its chief attribute is its human scale. That is why Grabrijan asks at the end of his book: "Is there anywhere a house as similar to Le Corbusier's problematic as the Macedonian house?" [140]

Fabrication

Soon after Grabrijan's *The Macedonian House* was published, similar points were made by Boris Cipan in his *Starata gradska arhitektura vo Ohrid* [*Old Town Architecture in Ohrid*],[141] a 1955 book where he lists the characteristics of the nineteenth century architecture in Macedonia. He claims that Macedonian houses have separated the functions in the house floors, such the ground floor contents the working place, storage rooms, and other floors, one or two are reserved for the dwelling or living purposes, in short in summer and winter living areas. This division is said to be analogous with the division of the functions that Le Corbusier carries out in his own villas, [e.g. Villa Meyer, 1925].[142] Čipan explains: "The creative capability of the master builder, with which he solves this problem, has as a result an architecture that is entirely humanized, setting the master builder from Ohrid close to the protagonists of modern architecture."[143] Elsewhere in his book Čipan – similarly to Grabrijan – argues that the *Bondruk* structural system[144] allowed the master builder great flexibility and freedom in planning the floors and the facades, thus anticipating the concrete skeleton as used later by Le Corbusier in the *Dom-Ino* House.

Compared with Grabrijan, Čipan is more indirect in linking Le Corbusier with Macedonia. We find Čipan writing, for instance, the following: "Whereas our architects were indifferent towards the values of this architecture, it would be the first generation of

the modern movement that knew how to use the values of such architecture, in realizing their own goals."[145] Čipan also makes an interesting comparison: "Now we are completely aware of the value of this [Macedonian] architecture, while many world-renowned architects [i.e. Le Corbusier] declare that they were inspired by this house for the details of modern architecture... I don't accuse modernists of copying our examples. But this analogy is letting us conclude that many of the solutions of modern architecture, were all ready realized in the houses of the nineteenth century, and these examples are a testimony for its real values."[146] Čipan finally attempts to draw our attention to the idea that "the elements of the modern architecture which we use today in our projects are, indeed the same elements that the first modernists [i.e. Le Corbusier] copied from the anonymous architecture in Macedonia, without mentioning their source of inspiration."[147]

Sotir Tomoski

However, the suggestion that Le Corbusier was influenced by the architecture of Macedonia was also later made by another author, Sotir Tomoski. Unlike Čipan, Tomoski does not hesitate to go directly to the point when discussing the "modernity" of Macedonian nineteenth century architecture and the involvement of Le Corbusier. In his 1960 book *Makedonska narodna arhitektura* [*Macedonian National Architecture*], Tomoski discusses the analogy between a particular house in Dibra which has four windows built close to each other so as to form a "horizontal window"[148] an element used by the modernists and mentioned by Le Corbusier as one of the *Five Points.* Tomoski became popular in Macedonia for saying that "it is obvious that when the masters builders built these four windows so close to each other, they didn't realize that they actually marked the beginning of modern architecture."[149] And later he remarks on the same subject: "At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century,

we see the temptation to build the windows of the house very close to each other, the *chardaks* (verandas) will be enclosed by windows, making in this way a wall covered by glass.[150]

More specifically, Tomoski suggests that, "These [Macedonian] houses are the ancestors of modern architecture, as they influenced the pioneer of modernism, Le Corbusier himself."[151] He continues to say: "We" [the Macedonians] have contributed to the creation of modern architecture through the mediation of Le Corbusier. In his Œuvre Complete 1910-1929 we see sketches, *chardaks* (verandas) and interiors of our houses. Our old house, naked, rich with the sun, air and green surfaces, with large glass surfaces and with its wooden skeleton, couldn't keep away the feelings of an artistic soul like that of Le Corbusier, who will then demand modern architecture to contend with the same values."[152] Tomoski further states that in *Oeuvre Complete 1910-1929*, Le Corbusier publishes his sketches of houses from Macedonia. With his work, the myth about Le Corbusier's debt to Macedonia achieved its canonical form.

Krum Tomovski, Jasmina Haxhieva-Aleksievska and Petar Mulićkoski

In his 1966 work *Dejnosta na majstorite graditeli od Debar* [*The Creativity of the Master Builders of Dibra*][153] Krum Tomovski did not discuss the qualities of Macedonian nineteenth century architecture, and instead occupied himself with the "identification" of the masters builders from this period. Of all the achievements in the sphere of nineteenth-century architecture in Macedonia, he concentrated on the master builders from the city of Dibra and the surrounding region.[154] According to Krum Tomovski, Dibra's master builders built not only in Macedonia but in the whole area of the Balkans and Asia Minor. The proverb "If Istanbul is destroyed, Dibra will re-built it, but if Dibra is destroyed even

Istanbul cannot rebuilt it"[155] is said to prove the importance of the "Dibra School" in the whole region of the Balkans during the nineteenth century.

Some time later, Jasmina Haxhieva-Aleksievska argued in her 1984 book *Merki, antropomorfnost i modularni proporcii kaj starata Makedonska kuќa* [*Measure, Anthromorphism, and Modular Proportions in the Old Macedonian House*] that the anonymous master builder stays very close to the modernists in applying mathematical and geometrical ordering principles in his architecture. In analysing houses from almost all cities in Macedonia, Haxhieva-Aleksievska discovers that geometrical and numerical methods, such as "square decomposition"[156] the "Pythagorean theorem",[157] the "Golden Section"[158] and the "Fibonacci series"[159] have been used in vernacular architecture in Macedonia. She claims that this it was not a coincidence, because there are too many examples of buildings that conform to one of these systems. Instead of chance, the use of these theorems has to have been some sort of "education" during which the anonymous master builders went through.[160] Haxhieva-Aleksievska found little difference between the *Arshin*, a proportional system allegedly used by the master builders of Dibra, and Le Corbusier's Modulor (Fig. 1, 2). The *Arshin* comprises of the sequence: 28,5 cm - 47,5 cm - 76 cm - 84,5 cm - 114 cm - 180,5 cm - 228 cm, while Le Corbusier's Modulor proscribes the dimensions 27 cm - 43 cm - 70 cm - 86 cm - 113 cm - 183 cm - 226 cm.[161]

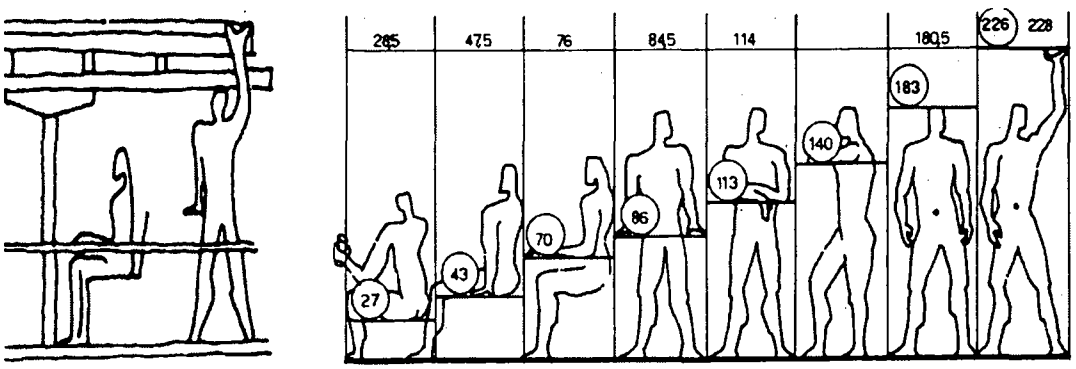


Figure 1, 2- Haxheva-Aleksievska comparing the Arshin with Le Corbusier's MODULOR.

Petar Mulićkoski in his 2000 book *Duhot na Makedonskata kuќa* [*The Soul of the Macedonian House*] claims that the soul of a nation can be read from the architecture it produces.[162] However, he points out that Macedonian architecture can't be represented solely by the architecture of the nineteenth century for the Macedonian way of dwelling reaches back to antiquity. Based on its particular qualities, Mulićkoski claims that the Macedonian house can be compared with other "well known models from around the world" such as the Pompeian house, and dwellings from Japan and China.[163]

The examples discussed above suggest that the territory of Macedonia has always served as a place "educating" master builders who built not only within the territory but also in the whole Balkan region. Furthermore, according to the above authors, the Macedonian house represents the transition from the Oriental house to the European house. Nevertheless, for Čipan the crucial thing is that "one finds the very first realized examples of modernist architecture in the territory of Macedonia, as built by the anonymous master builders, and upon which the modernists will have something to base themselves when starting their careers. Indeed, modern architecture has still something to learn from the nineteenth century architecture in Macedonia."[164]

Jovan and Mishel Pavlovski and Mihailo Popovski

As mentioned at the beginning of the present essay, during the late 1990s three authors come out with the exact date when Le Corbusier is said to have been in Macedonia. Jovan and Mishel Pavlovski were the first ones to publish this new discovery in 1998, and five years later a third author, Mihailo Popovski, claimed that Le Corbusier was in Macedonia in 1927. Popovski actually claims that it was he who discovered the date already in 1974 when carrying out research for a planned book, and thus "others", meaning Jovan and

Mishel Pavlovski, got the date from him but published the same information a few years earlier then he did.[165] With this long anticipated "discovery", Macedonian authors claimed to have settled the truth about Le Corbusier and Macedonia. Le Corbusier is said to have been in Macedonia in 1927, and visited Kruševo; Grabrijan finds analogies between various houses by Le Corbusier and buildings from each one of these Macedonian towns.

Popovski claims that there were residents in Kruševo who remembered "a gentlemen in knickerbockers, elegantly dressed, with huge camera hanging around his neck, sketching and taking notes in a pad."[166] He goes on to explain that "none of them [the residents], neither then [1927] nor later when they were telling me this story [1974], knew that this had been the famous architect Le Corbusier."[167] Interestingly enough, Popovski didn't use only the name *Le Corbusier* for the guest seen in Kruševo; he also names the visitor as Charles Edouard Jeanneret-Gris. When I interviewed Popovski, he concluded: "it must have been Le Corbusier, there is no other one except him",[168] and then continued to say that "this has to be taken as such, because both sources that knew the truth are already dead",[169] meaning for Le Corbusier and the resident of Kruševo he interviewed in 1974.

Cultural institutions

Important Macedonian institutions have contributed to the dissemination of the myth of Le Corbusier's debt to Macedonia. The Office for the Maintenance of the Cultural Monuments in Skopje, Ohrid and Struga has been spreading the story about Le Corbusier's visit in Struga, Ohrid and Kratova, suggesting that the houses he visited there provided models for his later career. An architect and former director of the Architects' Society in Skopje, Vangel Božinovski, speaking about the importance of Grabrijan's

book *The Macedonian House*, claims that Le Corbusier only really understood the meaning of the verb "to enjoy" when he came to Macedonia, because "here people built houses to enjoy living in them, and Le Corbusier, impressed by the joy the Macedonian house offers decided to use its elements for his alter work."[170] The Institute for National Architecture at the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje as well as the Macedonian Academy of Art and Science have also propagated the myth in the context of their efforts to promote Macedonian architecture locally and internationally.[171]

Another claim that Le Corbusier was in Macedonia in 1927 comes from Filip Degu the director of the *French Macedonian Culture Centre* in Skopje though he claims Le Corbusier was also in another place, the town of Velesi. Degu stated in an interview: "It is true that Le Corbusier was in Macedonia, and not only in Kruševo but also in Veles".[172] This information, Degu got, or so he told me, when "reading a book written by Le Corbusier, where he in detail describes his *Voyage* to Macedonia". Unfortunately having a bad memory, he couldn't name the title of the brochure written by Le Corbusier, but was sure to have read that Velesi was his favourite Macedonian town. "The booklet I am talking about", he suggested, clearly wishing to end our conversation, "you can find for sure in any library in Vienna."[173]

Although Degu agrees with Popovski as regards the year, 1927, they differ to the extent that according to Degu Le Corbusier visited not only Kruševo but also Velesi, and moreover Degu claimed to have read a booklet written by Le Corbusier himself in which his visit to Macedonia is discussed. The curiousity here is that Macedonia was not part of the *Voyage d'Orient* in 1911, and when Le Corbusier wrote his memoirs from his journey in 1965, only a month before he died, he also does not talk about Macedonian folklore or architecture, nor does he mention any other published articles on that topic. [174]

The silence

Later Macedonian authors accepted Grabrijan's original argument from analogy and added detail about Le Corbusier visit in 1927 to Struga, Ohrid, Kratova, Kruševo and Velesi in Macedonia. Grabrijan thinks that Le Corbusier's interest in Macedonian architecture was "not without reason" ... "because the Macedonian house is the only house type that was developed in Europe beside the Oriental one".[175] Elsewhere he suggests that, "the Macedonian house is a transition from the Oriental house to the modern one".[176] From Grabrijan's point of view, then, it is only natural that "when in Europe there appeared the need to build a house for everyone, experts who knew the Balkans [i.e. Le Corbusier] would take the Macedonian house as a model but without mentioning from where they got it."[177]

The strange thing is that such a strong influence would have remained unacknowledged by Le Corbusier and undetected by Western historians. In discussing Le Corbusier's development as an architect, Grabrijan concludes that, "in Le Corbusier's work one can distinguish two phases; the first one in his youth, where one can notice the influence of Macedonian architecture; and the second one, influenced by Arab architecture." [178] He remarks that "Le Corbusier always speaks about the Oriental and Arab house, but he never mentions the Macedonian house, as if it was a product of another sovereign culture."[179] In another passage Grabrijan explains that "Le Corbusier talks a lot about the Oriental house, but he is reserved when discussing Macedonia or, as he calls it, 'South Serbia'";[180] and likewise, "Le Corbusier talks a lot about the Oriental house, but, when it comes to the Macedonian house, he is reserved, and never speaks about his source of inspiration, always hiding it, even thought that particular source of inspiration [the houses in Macedonia] has helped him since the very first steps in his career."[181]

Indeed, Le Corbusier speaks about Oriental architecture in his *Voyage d'Orient* (1966), and also a few times mentions Arab architecture, probably after his trip to North Africa in 1929, but he never speaks, as far as I have managed to uncover, about the Macedonian house. However, I do not think this silence is because he would have been particularly "reserved". He was not reserved, for example, in calling Serbia "a land of thieves",[182] just after entering the country in 1911, or saying that Belgrade has no architecture.[183] Neither was Le Corbusier reserved in complimenting Serbian pots, even taking one of them home as a work of folk art, or writing about the gipsy dance he saw in a café in Negotin-Serbia,[184] just as he was inspired by the whiteness of the houses in Bulgaria,[185] where "white is the absolute colour" became his slogan. Also, he was not reserved in declaring that he was impressed by the Oriental architecture in Turkey; he wrote in his journal that, "the wooden Turkish house, the konak, is an architectural masterpiece." [186]

"My source of inspiration is the past",[187] Le Corbusier once said. Visiting Italy in 1907, Le Corbusier was inspired by the Monastery of Ema and instead of hiding it, he wrote that this is a place he would like to visit again, which in fact he did. If Le Corbusier was hiding his sources of inspiration, the places he visited and from where he got the "material", as Grabrijan claims, then why did he send postcards from those places he went to in 1911 as well as send "architectural reports" to his teacher L'Eplattenier? Why did he publish his sketches and photographs in the La Chaux-de-Fonds newspaper *Les Feuilles d'Avis* in 1911? If Le Corbusier had no problem in talking about the influence of Turkish or Oriental houses on his designs, why would he have kept silent on Macedonia? For a simple reason: he had never been there.

Refutation

An easy way to prove the claim about Le Corbusier's visit to Macedonia would be to produce the documents that the authors allude to, such as the sketches of vernacular architecture that he allegedly made during the visit. It would not only be a great pleasure to be able to view Le Corbusier's unpblished sketches from Macedonia but also most interesting to discover which particular houses caught Le Corbusier's attention, and what specific influence they had upon him.

Some sources claim that a number of these sketches can be found in Macedonian museums.[188] As I saw it, the place most likely to have Le Corbusier's sketches from 1927 would be Skopje Municipal Museum. Knowing that Skopje, following the earthquake of 1963 when a large part of the city was destroyed, was rebuilt after a plan in which Japanese architect Kenzo Tange (Le Corbusier's former employee) was involved and which more or less followed "Corbusian ideas",[189] one might find not only the plans for the reurbanization project but perhaps also Le Corbusier's sketches of Kruševo of 1927. However, the museum now has neither plan for the re-urbanization nor any sketches by Le Corbusier. The museum people were aware of the story that Le Corbusier had made sketches of buildings in Macedonia in 1927 but stated that there has never even been a discussion about "bringing them" [the sketches] back form Europe and putting them on display.

The second place I visited in order to find Le Corbusier's sketches was the city where he had executed them, namely Kruševo. The Ethnological Museum in Belgrade heald till the early 1950s a sketch from Le Corbusier's *Voyage* of 1911, made in nearby Knjaževac, but in Kruševo, "Le Corbusier's sketches can't be found in the museum, or in the city hall or anywhere else," as the city architect[190] explained, adding that he as an architect knows the story about Le Corbusier and his visit to Macedonia, just as he knows of the Pavlovskis' and Popovski's comments about it in their books, but that he has never seen or found "any document" proving their claims. My conversation with the city architect of Kruševo ended with his statement: "there has never even been research in this direction; collecting and exposing Le Corbusier's sketches from Macedonia."[191]

It was important for me to visit the Office for the Maintenance of Monuments[192] in Struga and Ohrid, because many of the comparative examples in Grabrijan's book The Macedonian House are to be found in these two cities. However, the administrators in Struga and Ohrid claimed that if the sketches do exist, they will probably be at the Office for the Maintenance of Monuments in Skopje,[193] because they are responsible for recording all documents concerned with the "old" architecture in Macedonia. However, my search for the sketches at the Office in Skopje, as well as in the archives of the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje[194] also ended in disappointment. The Architects Society[195] in Skopje was the last location I tried, only to learn that no one had ever seen the sketches from 1927, even if they all "knew that Le Corbusier had been in Macedonia and that his architecture contains elements of nineteenth century architecture from Macedonia".[196]

There seemed to no hope of finding Le Corbusier's sketch book, a photograph or any other definitive proof that Le Corbusier had ever travelled through Macedonia. Even though this story has been told for almost sixty years, there was no institution in

Macedonia – or even an independent researcher – that would find it important enough to make a detailed research of Le Corbusier's travels in Macedonia and to show the influence of the Macedonian house on his work. But that was hardly a reason to give up the search. I still hoped to find them, if not in Macedonia then in some European museum.[197] This would also involve contacting various institutions as well as authors who had similarly concluded that Le Corbusier was familiar with the architecture of Macedonia.[198]

If, as Popovski claims, Le Corbusier traveled to Macedonia from Belgrade, one would have expected that *Politika*, one of the most popular newspapers in Belgrade, would have informed the public about his visit to Belgrade and then to Macedonia. This was a period when Le Corbusier was followed by the media wherever he appeared: in Frankfurt, Brussels, Stuttgart and Barcelona.[199] And if he had traveled from Belgrade to Macedonia, it probably would have been recorded somewhere, at least with only a single line about the visit, if not in Serbia or Macedonia, then for sure in Paris. However, no records are to be found that confirm Le Corbusier's arrival in Macedonia. It can be concluded, then, that the earlier (oft-repeated) claim about Le Corbusier's trip to Macedonia and the sketches he is said to have made there are not substained by any hard evidence that could be located.

Interviews

Since I had no luck in finding Le Corbusier's sketches in museums or other institutions in Macedonia, the next step was to go after those authors who claimed he visited Macedonia in 1927. There was also reason to believe they knew more about the sketches or had even seen them.

The first place to be visited was the *MI-An* Publishing agency[200] in Skopje, where one could find both authors of the book *Macedonia, Yesterday and Today* (1998), Jovan and Mishel Pavlovski. I was lucky enough to meet Jovan Pavlovski. When I asked him if he could document the source of his information that Le Corbusier had been in Kruševo in 1927 – since he had been the first person to publish this information – his immediate reply was that such a thing was an undeniable fact known by everyone in Macedonia, or at least those concerned with art or architecture, "though" he added, "you are asking in vain."[201] When I asked how he came to date the visit to 1927 and place it in this particular city Pavlovski explained that the document proving his published information was somewhere in his office, promising to allow me photocopy "that piece of paper." Saying once again that, "the date and the place are true" he arranged for me to come and see him a few days later. Unfortunately, the second meeting never took place. Shortly after our meeting, the wooden barracks where the *MI-An* Publishing agency was sited burnt to the ground,[202] with, as Pavlovski later declared, "all the documentations and the inventories burnt also the document I was looking for".[203] There was not even a copy that could prove his statement about Le Corbusier's visit to Macedonia.

I asked the second author, Mihailo Popovski – who indeed gave us more specific details about Le Corbusier's "one-day trip to Kruševo" in his *Monographs about Kruševo* (2003) – the same question about the source of his information in his book. However, he replied that the information should be quoted as such, naming him as the source, even though his book came out five years after that of Pavlovskis. This was sufficient because, he continued, "it is simply true."[204] To my second request for a documentary confirmation, Popovski replied: "this information must be taken as such, because now both sources that knew the truth are already dead."[205] These two sources were Le Corbusier himself and the resident of Kruševo that Popovski had interviewed in 1974, and from whom he had got the information that the Frenchman, photographing and sketching houses in Kruševo in

1927, was indeed Le Corbusier. Popovski didn't possess any documents showing Le Corbusier had visited Macedonia.

Other authors

Regarding architects that have claimed that Le Corbusier had visited Macedonia, once again one should mention Boris Čipan. In all likelihood, Čipan's conclusion about Le Corbusier and Macedonia was based on Grabrijan's book, and in his later writings, such as the 1998 *Tekstovi za arhitekturata*, [*Texts About Architecture*], *111 Tezi za Arhitekturata*, [*111 Thesis About Architecture*] of 1986, or in his interviews published in different newspapers in the former Yugoslavia,[206] Čipan never comes closer than "the architect who knew the Balkans [Le Corbusier] took the Macedonian house as model when creating the modern house,"[207] a statement first made by Grabrijan in his book *The Macedonian House*, later cited not only by Čipan, but also by Nikoloska, Božinovski, Mulićkovski and others.

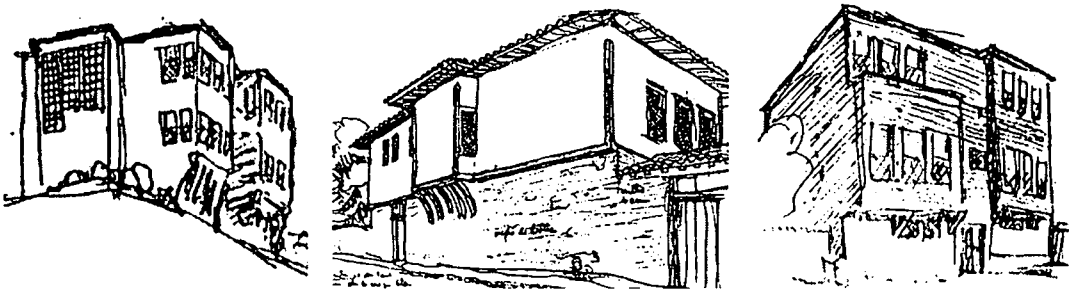


Figure 1, 2, 3- Le Corbusier's sketches from the *Voyage d'Orient* in 1911. Tomoski identifies these sketches as sketches showing Macedonian houses and being made by Le Corbusier in Macedonia.

Tomoski's statement that Le Corbusier had published his sketches of houses from Macedonia in his *Oeuvre Complete* 1910-1929 (1929), can be considered erroneous, since it is known that the sketches published in *Oeuvre Complete* 1910-1929 (1929), were from

Bulgaria and Turkey (Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5), and not from Macedonia. At least these sketches can be found in Le Corbusier's books, and it is also certain that, they were made by Le Corbusier in 1911.[208]

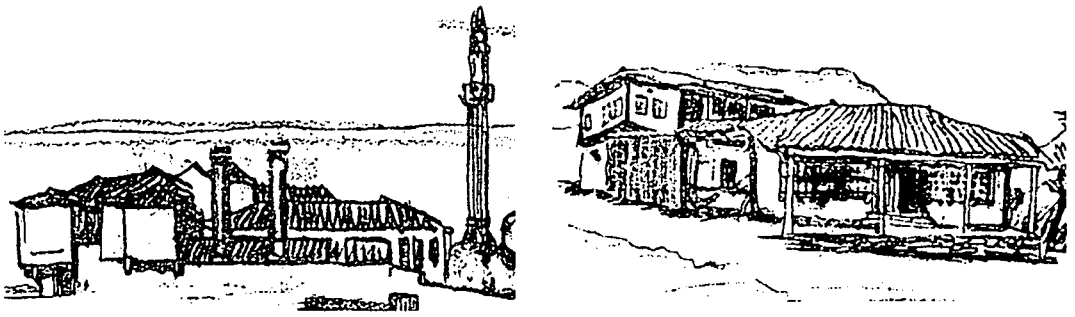


Figure 4, 5- Le Corbusier's sketches from his *Voyage d'Orient* in 1911, made in Bulgaria and Tureky and published in *Oeuvre Complete* 1910-1929 (1929). Tomoski claims they to have been made in Macedonia and to show the Macedonian houses.

Other architects in Macedonia, such as Mulićkoski, Božinovski, and Tomovski have never written anything specifically about Le Corbusier and his knowledge about Macedonia. They have all, more or less, repeated during their career and in different variations, what Grabrijan and Čipan had written in the 1950s. In short, nothing concrete is to be found from their writings that will confirm Le Corbusier's visit to Macedonia.

Dušan Grabrijan, author of *The Macedonian House* (1955), was well known for claiming that Le Corbusier mentioned in front of some Yugoslavian architects that he had been in Macedonia. The Fondation Le Corbusier in Paris[209] has a list of all architects who had worked for Le Corbusier, indicating that no fewer than twelve Yugoslavian architects had worked in Le Corbusier's atelier in the period between 1927 and 1940: Zvonimir Kavurić, 1927; Ernst Weismann, 1929-1930; Miroslav Orazem, 1931; Saša Sedlak, 1931; Juraj Neidhardt, 1933-1934; Milan Sever, 1934; Milorad Pantelić, 1936-1937; Hrvoje Brncić, 1938-1939; Marjan Tepina, 1939; Eduard Ravnikar, 1939; Jovan Krunić, 1938-40

and Marko Zupančić, 1939-40. On the other hand, Blazh Rotar,[210] writing about Grabrijan and his work, *Dushan Grabrijans- Arhitekt, Pedagog, Razniskovales in Pises* [*Dushan Grabrijan, Architect, Pedagogue, Historian and Writer*] states that Grabrijan was in contact with three Yugoslav architects who had worked for Le Corbusier: Eduard ravnikar, Marko Zupančić and later with Neidhardt Juraj.[211] If Le Corbusier was discussing his visit to Macedonia with Yugoslav architects, then supposedly it would be these three architects, Ravnikar, Zupančić and Juraj. However, none of them have ever published a single sentence mentioning that Le Corbusier "confirmed" to them that he had been in Macedonia, even though some of them, for instance Juraj still contacted him for long time after they had left his atelier, and even worked together with him in some projects, such as Neidhardt for the Algiers plan. It seems reasonable to conclude that Grabrijan did not receive any specific information from these three Yugoslav architects to prove Le Corbusier's visit.

Other historians

As regards authors discussing issues close to the matter concerning Le Corbusier visiting Macedonia, four others are worth mentioning: Marula Nikoloska, Ljiljana Blagojević, Dijana Alić and Jelica Karić-Kapetanović. Nikoloska,[212] born in Kruševo, has worked in Kruševo as an architect, and is currently the directors of the Office for the Maintenance of Monuments in Skopje. In her Master's Thesis and PhD, she researched nineteenth century architecture in Kruševo and other parts of Macedonia. In both her works, *Postanak, Razvoj i poreklo arhitekture stare gradske kuće XIX veka u Kruševu*, [*Creation, Development and the Origin of the nineteenth Century Old Town Houses in Kruševo*] (1994), and *Prostorna organizacija gradske kuće XIX veka u Makedoniji*, [*The Spatial Organization of the nineteenth century Town Houses in Macedonia*] (2002), Nikoloska

cites Grabrijan, Čipan, Tomoski and other architects, but she does not contribute to the story about Le Corbusier having visited her home town of Kruševo in 1927. Conversations with the author about the "facts" that were presented in Macedonia by different authors, where it has been claimed Le Corbusier knew Macedonia and its architecture, brought no solution to solving the dilemma. Nikoloska repeats what Grabrijan has written.

The second author that needs to be mentioned here is Ljiljana Blagojević.[213] In her book *Modernism in Serbia, 1919-1941* (2003), Blagojević writes about Le Corbusier and his opinions about architecture in Serbia during his early travels of 1911, citing his humiliating critique in 1911 of the urbanism and architecture in Belgrade, yet later accusing him of "borrowing" ideas from Yugoslavian urban planners.[214] However, there is not a single sentence about the claim that Le Corbusier visited Macedonia when it was part of 'South Serbia', between 1913 and 1941. And if Le Corbusier was in that specific part of 'South Serbia' in 1927 (the date fits with the time period covered in Blagojević's study) then it could be expected that she should have mentioned this important information regarding Serbia as part of its progress towards the Modernism, especially since Le Corbusier was the main character of her book. She does mention that Le Corbusier had "lost" a sketch made in Knjaževac in 1911, but that this sketch was "saved" in Belgrade until the early 1950s.[215] When Le Corbusier got the sketch back from a Yugoslavian delegation visiting him in Paris, Blagojević claims that Le Corbusier said that this was the only sketch he had ever lost.

Dijana Alić[216] for her work *"From the Ottoman House to Bosnian Style: Neidhardt's Design for Workers' Housing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1939 to 1942)"* (1998), and Jelica Karić-Kapetanović[217] for her work *Juraj Neidhardt, život i djelo* (1990), [*Juraj Neidhardt, Life and Work*], are also worth mentioning. Both authors discuss Grabrijan's

and Neidhardt's work, but fail to discuss the claim that Le Corbusier visited Macedonia in 1927. Especially interesting is the part in Karić-Kapetanović's book where the author writes about the correspondence between Le Corbusier and Neidhardt,[218] the respect Le Corbusier had for Juraj and their many years of work for Algiers. But there is no indication in the correspondence that Le Corbusier had anything to do with Macedonia.

"*Rememberance on Le Corbusier*"[219] (1995) is the title of the memoirs of Jovan Krunić, an architect that had worked for Le Corbusier between 1938 and 1940, and who was in contact with him until 1965. In his memoirs, Krunić presents many details about his work and time spent with him, their discussions about different ideas and projects. But there is nothing about Macedonia or Le Corbusier's visit in 1927 to Macedonia or 'South Serbia'. Being one of Yugoslavian architects in Le Corbusier's atelier, Krunić would probably have known if the maestro had ever been to 'South Serbia' in 1927, just as he knew the details of his trip to the Orient in 1911.

The archives

Beatriz Colomina, in her book *Privacy and Publicity*[220] (1994), writes that Le Corbusier, unlike Adolf Loos, saved everything when he travelled, such as newspapers, museum and opera tickets, post cards, the notebooks in which he sketched and wrote comments, photographs, presents he received or artifacts he bought in the places he visited, etc.[221] Colomina's argument regarding Le Corbusier's attitude during his travels should give us new hope in finding some proof of his visit to Macedonia. Being so orderly, Le Corbusier should have saved something also from his trip to Kruševo. That is why the next thing to do was to contact the library in La Chaux-de-Fonds, the city where Le Corbusier was born. The town librarian, Madame Sylvie Beguelin, replied to my request:

"I'm sorry to inform you that I did not find any information about Le Corbusier and his stay in Kruševo in our archive. I searched in the correspondence between Le Corbusier and his parents during his travel in the Orient (1911) and in the photos (negatives on glass) he made during the travels."[222]

Madame Beguelin's explanation also answers another question: in the La Chaux-de-Fonds archive, while the year 1927 still remains plausible as the year of Le Corbusier's travel to Macedonia, it is clear that he was not there in 1911, since there is no correspondence, sketches and photographs made by Le Corbusier in Macedonia dating from that year. However, Madame Beguelin, ended her letter with the suggestion that the *Fondation Le Corbusier*[223] in Paris is the one place in possession of the personal belongings of Le Corbusier and maybe there is evidence to be found.

I contacted the *Fondation Le Corbusier* asking whether they can verify Le Corbusier's visit to Macedonia, especially to Kruševo in 1927. Madame Evelyne Trehin, the director of the *Foundation*, replied as follows:

"You have asked us about the possibility of Le Corbusier visiting Macedonia in 1927. To answer your question, we have checked our data files and asked many other researches. But we didn't find any answer. It seems impossible that Le Corbusier took a trip to Macedonia at this time."[224]

The *Fondation Le Corbusier* is the most important institution to state that they have no documentary evidence indicating that Le Corbusier's made a trip to Macedonia in 1927. They give specific details of Le Corbusier's life and his activities, such as his father's death and his travels in Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Brussels and Barcelona. I presume, however,

that in not wishing to be the first and only authority to conclude that it was more than likely that Le Corbusier was never in Macedonia, Madame Tr[225] suggested that I also contact other authors, such as Giuliano Gresleri and Ivan Žaknić, two of the many biographers that have studied Le Corbusier's travels.

The biographers

Giuliano Gresleri selected, arranged and published Le Corbusier's notes from his journey through the central Balkans and Asia Minor in 1911. His book *Le Corbusier; Reise nach dem* Orient[226] (1991), contains detailed notes about Le Corbusier's travels in the Balkans, for example cities that he visited in Serbia, then his passage to Romania, his stay in the region of Arbanasi, Shipka, Kazanluk, Veliko Trnovo etc. in Bulgaria, his arrival in Istanbul and at the end his stay in Thessalonica, before he took the road back to La Cheaux-de-Fonds, this time via Italy.[227] The second of Le Corbusier's biographers suggested by Madame Trehin was Ivan Žaknić[228] who also writes about Le Corbusier's *Voyage* through the Balkans in 1911. In his book *Journey to the East* (1996), there are details described Le Corbusier's passage through the Balkans, especially through Serbia, but there is no evidence to be found by him about Le Corbusier having visited any place in Macedonia. Similarly, H. Allen Brooks's book *Le Corbusier's Formative Years* (1997), Paul Turner's *The Education of Le* Corbusier (1977), Geoffrey Baker's *Le Corbusier- The Creative Search* (1996), Kenneth Frampton's *Le Corbusier* (2001), and Stanislaus von Moos's *Le Corbusier, Elemente einer Synthese* (1968), also focus on the early *Voyage*, concluding the importance of his travels through the Balkans for his later work. However none of the above mentioned authors describe a stop on the way in Macedonia or mention that Le Corbusier would have stayed in Kruševo. Maurice Besset in his *Le Corbusier's Sketchbook*[229] (1981), presents sketches made by Le Corbusier at

different times and in different places he visited, but there are no sketches to be found in the book featuring houses from Macedonia.

Still, it is important to stress the fact that while Gresleri, Žaknić, Turner, Brooks, Baker, Moos, Frampton and Besset write about Le Corbusier's *Voyage* during the year 1911, the Pavlovskis' and Popovski suggest that Le Corbusier was in Macedonia later, in 1927. Is it possible that the former authors have overlooked Le Corbusier's visit in 1927? On the other hand, could it be that the Macedonian authors have mixed their dates, confusing 1911 for 1927?

I wrote to Professor Gresleri describing Pavlovskis' and Popovski's claims and all that had been said and written about Le Corbusier and his visit through Macedonia in 1927.[230] Gresleri replied as follows:

"I am responding your letter, dated 24.09.2004. Ignore both of the books you are writing me about, and also ignore all other sources, saying anything about Le Corbusier having travelled in Macedonia in 1927, a year when the "Maestro" was travelling in Frankfurt, Germany and in Barcelona, Spain."[231]

Replying to the same question, Professor Žaknić explains:

"To the best of my knowledge, Le Corbusier did not visit Macedonia, and it is most unlikely that he would have done so in 1927. The only time I can think of when Le Corbusier came close to Macedonia would have been on his Journey to the East (which he describes in his account entitled Le Voyage d'Orient) in 1911. My translation of into English of this text was published in 1987 (MIT Press). In that volume there is a map and list of the cities visited on that journey, from Berlin through Dresden, Prague, Vienna,

Vac, Budapest, Baja, Belgrade, Nis, Knjazevac, Negotin, Giurgiu, Bucharest, Turnovo, Gabrovo, Shipka, Kazanluk, Stara Zagora, Adrianopole, Radosto, and then Constantinople and Greek locations. He returned home via Italy."[232]

H. Allen Brooks[233] was of the same opinion during a conversation I had with him about this specific problem, and that Le Corbusier never came closer to Macedonia than Thessalonica in 1911. Brooks[234] also stated that the idea of Le Corbusier visiting Kruševo in Macedonia in 1927 sounded strange to him.

The above examples suggest that authors such as Brooks, Žaknić, Gresleri and others haven't overlooked Le Corbusier's visit to Macedonia in 1927, but rather they are all sure that this could not have been possible at this specific time. Then there can be no discussion of having "mixed" the dates, 1927 instead of 1911, because the Macedonian authors use specific details in their writings.

Travel documents

Mihailo Popovski categorically claims that he is more than sure about the information in his book, and eventually stated that this could be "easily" confirmed by the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the French Embassy in Belgrade, because at that time Le Corbusier would have needed a visa to enter 'South Serbia'.[235] Mr. Milena Lukovic-Jovanović,[236] director of MIPSCG, [The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Serbia and Montenegro], informed me that all files between 1918 and 1945 have been transferred to the Yugoslavian archives, and that I should contact them. However, the archives of Yugoslavia (today Serbia and Montenegro) possessed no files about Charles Edouard

Jeanneret or Le Corbusier and his journey to Kruševo in 1927. The Archive's response was short but clear:

"According to your request, dated 11.10.2004, for documents about a Frenchman named Charles-Edouard Jeanneret or Le Corbusier, we inform you that the Archives of Serbia and Montenegro does not possess any archive files showing Le Corbusier's travelling in South Serbia. This is why we are not able to respond to your request."[237]

The French Embassy in Belgrade, according to the current official, Eric Tonon[238] doesn't possess any files or documents showing that Le Corbusier had applied for a visa when continuing his trip to South Serbia. Nor does the French Embassy have any record of the French Embassy official who according to Popovski, might accompanied Le Corbusier on his trip to Kruševo. I received the same answer as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris,[239] according to which no documentary evidence can be found showing Le Corbusier's visa application to travel to South Serbia, as Popovski has claimed.

So, generally speaking, all sources, except those in Macedonia, have the same answer, namely that there is no evidence showing that Charles Edouard Jeanneret or Le Corbusier visited Kruševo or any other town in Macedonia in 1927. While there are still "missing" sketches and documents that would confirm his journey to Macedonia, the general conclusion is that such a journey did not take place.

The problem with the dating

Of course, the fact that no travel documents or sketches can be found does not prove that the trip did not take place. There are, however, many other reasons to dismiss the claim that Le Corbusier visited Macedonia in 1927 and developed his architecture of the Five Points on the basis of this experience.

Even at first glance, we must dismiss that claim that Le Corbusier developed the principles of his villas – e. g. *pilotis, plan libre, façade libre, fenetre en longueur* and *the roof garden* – on the basis of his experiences in Macedonia in 1927, because before this date he had already designed quite a few buildings in which we see the principles evolving: Maison Citrohan (1921), Villa Besnus in Vaucresson (1922), Maison Ozenfant, Paris (1923), Maison La Roche/Jeanneret, Paris (1923-24), Maison Planeix, Paris (1924-28), Maison Lipchitz, Boulogne-sur-Seine (1924-25), Villa Meyer, Neuilly (1925), Quartier Moderne Frugès, Pessac (1925), Maison Cook, Boulogne-sur-Seine (1926), Villa Stein/de Monzie, Garches (1926-28), his two buildings at the Weissenhof Siedlung, Stuttgart (1926-27). Le Corbusier's "white style" is the only period where one can find any analogy between his and Macedonian architecture.

Grabrijan states himself that in Le Corbusier's works, "one can distinguish two influential phases: the first one, in his younger years, is the Macedonian influence, while the later one is dominated by the Arab influence. The first phase of his work",[240] Grabrijan further explains "where the Macedonian influence dominates, has a more architectural character, while the second phase, where the Arab influence dominates, has a more urban character. And this is why in this book [*The Macedonian House*] we limit our-self to early work of Le Corbusier, that of the time when the Macedonian influence dominates".[241]

But in 1927, Le Corbusier instead of the beginning was close to the ending of his white phase. In fact, 1927 does not make any major change. By comparison, two years later, in 1929, as a result of his travel to South America – as well as, if we can believe Charles Jencks, the women he met onboard the ship – clear changes did occur in his work.[242] The dating is even more impossible if we try to argue, as Grabrijan does, that the *Maison Dom-Ino* was based on the Macedonian *Bondruk* system: Le Corbusier developed the *Dom-Ino* system with Max DuBois in 1914 and patented it in the following year.

It could also be pointed out that Le Corbusier was rather busy in 1927, designing the League of Nations Palace in Geneva, and fighting the authorities over it. This was also the year of his father's death, and designing the grave took time. More importantly, Le Corbusier also worked on several major projects, including the Villa at Graches near Paris, two houses at the Weissenhof in Stuttgart, and Maison Plainex in Paris, as well as traveled, to Barcelona, Madrid, Brussels, Stuttgart, and Frankfurt.

Many smaller points could be made to demonstrate the incoherence of Mihailo Popovski's version. For example, Le Corbusier couldn't have been the Frenchman who visited the city of Kruševo in 1927, simply because in 1927 Le Corbusier was not a French citizen, but a Swiss one. It was not until 1930 that, Le Corbusier, responding to the question of his profession with "Man of Letters", became a French citizen and travelled with a French passport. Le Corbusier's passport shows no visa or stamp indicating that he had been travelling in South Serbia, and the Ministry of Foreign Affaires in Belgrade possesses no document, as Popovski claimed would prove that Le Corbusier had applied for a visa to enter South Serbia in 1927.

Given the implausibility of this particulate date, 1927, one wonders why Popovski chose it, instead of claiming, for example, that Le Corbusier had visited Macedonia during the

Voyage to the East, or shortly thereafter. Grabrijan's remark about South Serbia would allow any year between 1913 and 1941; is it just a coincidence that Popovski's preferred date is exactly in the middle?

The problem with the analogies

However, even if we bracket the issue of chronology, the case for Macedonian influence is not strong, as it stands solely on the basis of analogies. Let us take another look at the analogy between the *Bondruk* and the *Dom-Ino* which Grabrijan, Čipan, Tomoski, Tomovski, and Haxhieva-Aleksievska all propose. They even accused Le Corbusier of "borrowing" the *Bondruk* system of building from the master builder in Macedonia. According to the Macedonian authors, the only difference was the building materials: the master builder used wood while Le Corbusier used reinforced concrete. To think that the *Dom-Ino* is a system originally intended for some other material than concrete is not absurd, as the connection of the cylindrical pilotis with the smooth slabs is far from an optimal solution, and as there is Le Corbusier admired the most celebrated case of an alleged *Stoffwechsel*, the Greek temple. Moreover, Le Corbusier's goal with the *Dom-Ino* may have been the same as that of the *Bondruk* master's, namely achieving great flexibility in the floors and façades.

But while the *Dom-Ino* does have certain things in common with the *Bondruk*, their structure and other characteristic elements are radically different. The *Bondruk* does not categorize elements of the architectural structure in the terms of the supporting and non-supporting elements of the structure. The "wooden slab" is formed by setting the wooden ribs closer to each other the wooden ribs, while the wooden walls are made by setting a number of wooden columns close to each other (Fig.7). Both of these elements support

the structure: "the slab" and the wall, comprised of the columns within it. In fact, in the *Bondruk* there is no third non-supporting element, which would fulfil some other function, for example a structural cover. What we find here is that the master builder was trying to nail together his structural elements – the horizontal and the vertical one – "in such of way as to indeed make a constructive whole."[243]

Le Corbusier, however, did things differently. In his *Dom-Ino* we see him to separate the structural elements into supporting and non-supporting (Fig. 8). This can be shown in the way he set back the walls away from the columns, leaving only the column as a supporting element of the structure and the walls only as a cover of the building. As Turner argues, for Le Corbusier, such an act can be explained as a "purely aesthetic desire" or as an "aesthetic potential and not a functional one" (because Le Corbusier could set the wall between the columns, and the walls were the covering "envelope" of the building and not a supporting element).[244] In the master builder's work, we see no such an aesthetic desire, applied in the building's structure. For him, the wall and the column were always one single element of the structure, the load-bearing skeleton and the envelope.

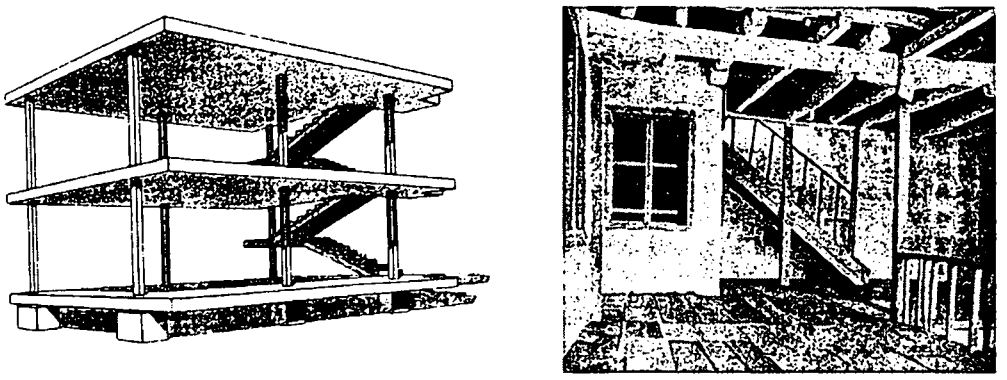


Figure 6, 7- Le Corbusier's *Dom-Ino* (1914), a clear categorization of the structure in supporting and non-supporting elements (left). The *Bondruk* structure with no separation of the structural elements in supporters and non-supporters (right).

Apart from the separation of the structural elements, another difference between the *Bondruk* and the *Dom-Ino*, is the aesthetic appearance of these same elements. In his *Dom-Ino* system Le Corbusier demands that the slabs and columns are completely smooth; that the columns have splays or brackets, and that the slabs have none of the exposed ribs that virtually all concrete constructions had at that time (Fig.7). Indeed at this time, with neither rib beams nor column splays, the *Dom-Ino* system was exceedingly difficult to construct, and there were indeed numerous problems on site. But, it seems that such problems were not of any big importance to Le Corbusier. After all, using smooth, simple forms for the slabs and the columns was a consequence of the "purely aesthetics desire"[245] of the *Dom-Ino* system.

Unlike Le Corbusier, the master builder had no such possibilities. In his structure, the wooden slab includes ribs, and in the places when the slab is exposed as a console it is supported by branches, hanging outside the wall, while the columns includes splays and brackets[246] (Fig. 8, 9). From this we can conclude that the master builder was much more worried about the functionality and rationality of the structural elements in the *Bondruk*, rather than how it looked.

Figure 8, 9- Le Corbusier's 'ideal slab and ideal column', Villa Savoye (1929-31) (left). The master builder: the wooden slab includes ribs or is supported by branches while the column includes splays and brackets, house in Ohri (right two photographs).

The important question is why were these structural differences ignored by those in Macedonia, concerned to show that the *Bondruk* and *Dom-Ino* structural system were similar? As I see it, the reasons for the differences between the two building systems can be traced to the different building materials used by the master builders and Le Corbusier, but also to their different way of "education." In actually working with the wood on the site the master builder did not have the possibility to strip the structural elements of the building down to their barest, most generalized, and most "ideal" forms, to pure slabs and columns, as Le Corbusier did. Only the new material of reinforced concrete allowed Le Corbusier to arrive at the most purest expression of the concepts "slab" and "column" – in other words, the ideal slab and the ideal column.

As regards the roles their different "education" had upon the respective systems, This is more evident in the *Dom-Ino* system, knowing, as Turner concludes, how strong was the influence of Henri Provensal and Friedrich Nietzsche on Le Corbusier's path of "self-education".[247] Under the influence of these two thinkers, we can see how Le Corbusier was striving for idealization, as opposed to the master builder who was looking for simplicity and functionality.

Keeping in mind these two points, we can also say that the master builder, during the making of the *Bondruk* was preoccupied with the economics and rationality of his structure, while Le Corbusier in the use of the *Dom-Ino* in his villas was not much preoccupied with economics and rationality. More important for Le Corbusier was the "philosophical idealism, applied in his architectural structure" as opposed to the master builder, for whom, presumably, the *Bondruk* was a pragmatic way of solving the problems of a dwelling.[248]

The Five Points

Grabrijan argued that Le Corbusier developed the *Five Points* long after the master builder in Macedonia was applying them. However, although commentators have pointed out similarities, such as lifting the house on pillars, making the ground floor into an air space, using flexible plans and façades, and creating special effects in the interior – there are also significant differences that should not be overlooked. They have to do with the construction of the building and the motivation for applying these principles.

We have to begin once again by repeating that Le Corbusier had a special attitude toward the structure, that of creating floor-slabs and columns that were totally unencumbered by the usual ribs, column-splay, and other elements typical of concrete construction at the time. It seems that for Le Corbusier, the abstract conception of the pure structural elements- "a perfectly flat slab, and straight columns"[249]- was something very important, since this attitude toward the structural elements is evident throughout his thinking in the early 1920s, specifically in his concept of *pilotis*, his treatment of windows, etc.

For example, judging by the way Le Corbusier treated the *pilotis*, they reveal a desire to isolate a structural element and to draw attention to it in its simplest and most generalized state. Later he even tried to justify the use of *pilotis* in saying that these "provide more land in cities for circulation and other uses."[250] Turner argues that in the Citrohan house (1922), and Maison La Roche (1923), large parts of the houses are raised off the ground on pillars for no apparent functional reasons, but rather to emphasize and isolate the structural column and its role. And even in his Unitè d'Habitation (1946), Turner finds that the space between the *pilotis* was not designed for any specific uses, with the result that they are generally rather dismal areas avoided by the residents (Fig. 10). Accordingly, one might conclude that Le Corbusier's original motive for employing

pilotis in his buildings was indeed conceptual or aesthetic rather than functional or pragmatic.[251]

Compared with Le Corbusier, the master builder's attitude toward his structure seems to be more "practical." He shows no desire to strip the structural elements down to their barest, a pure slab and a pure column, or to reduce them down to "the most generalized state." Instead, he uses the structural elements in a way that the materials nature allows him. Along with the column he uses brackets while the wooden floor slab is supported with the help of ribs and splays. In his houses we see that the *pilotis* are used only when they were functionally needed, only where they will have a structural importance or even if there is a need to solve a practical problem- a working area, (Fig.11). While Le Corbusier's attraction to *pilotis* seems to have been essentially intellectual and aesthetic, for the master builder, the *pilotis* were a practical solution to certain dwelling problems.

Figure 10, 11- Villa Jeanneret-La Roche (1922) and a house in Tetova.

Other of the Five Points strongly connected with the attitude toward the structure are *Plan libre, Façade libre* and *Fenetre en longueur*. As mentioned above, in the discussion about the *Dom-Ino* system, Le Corbusier separates the structural elements. He is convinced that only columns, and not walls, should be used for structural support, establishing this as the way to achieve a freedom of planning of the floor plans and façade. But, in fact, the truth seems to be something else: bearing walls bothered Le Corbusier because they serve two

functions – structure and enclosure – and not only one as he indeed "idealistically" required (Fig. 12). From this point of view, it can be said that under the "flexibility" of the plan, Le Corbusier indeed revealed his strong desire to separate the structural elements of architecture and to emphasize their most general and ideal nature.[252]

The master builder did not separate the wall from the column: he achieved the flexibility in the façade and floor planning through the *Bondruk* system where the wall and the column form one element of the structure, supporting and covering at the same time. The wall can be replaced or completely eliminated, without damaging the structure.[253] An "idealization of a structural element", in achieving the "planning flexibility", as Le Corbusier aimed for, is not to be found in the master builder's attitude. He never attempted to achieve an "idealization" of the elements he had been using. The master builder placed the window in the wall, structural and covering element at the same time, as opposed to Le Corbusier who hide them in the covering elements, not touching the structure of the building (Fig. 13). By examining the houses, we see that the master builder, placed windows between every column. When a single window is placed between two columns the emphasis is on its verticality. Only when the number of windows was multiplied-and this should be taken as the desire for more lightness in the interior- did the master builder come close to the concept of the horizontal *fenetre en longueur*. He did not care that the vertical window has two meanings: it is a space between the structural elements, and a hole in the wall, while Le Corbusier strived for one universally proper form for each element in architecture. It will be these isolated and idealized forms that preoccupied him the most. This explains why he decided upon the horizontal window rather than the vertical one. There is, then, not more than a coincidence in the use of horizontal windows: what for the master builder was a pragmatic solution was for Le Corbusier an idealization.

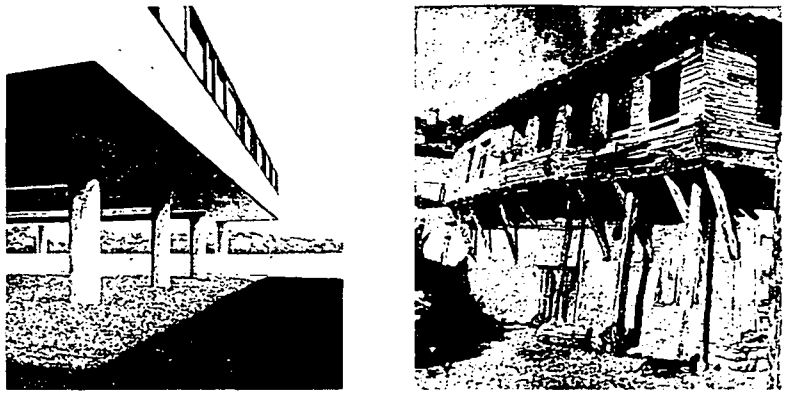


Figure 12, 13- The flexibility in floor, façade and strip windows planning, Le Corbusier versus the master.

Finally, as for the last of the Five Points, the *chardak* or the "Macedonian roof garden," the motivation of the master builder was the same as was Le Corbusier's; that is, lifting up the man, finding a silent place, with views, air and sun, a place to rest. The differentiating factor between the master builder and Le Corbusier was the way in which they achieved this. The master builders created a space that is covered by a roof, a steep roof protecting from the strong sun.[254] Because Le Corbusier is basing his thinking on the notion of a culture in need of the sun, there is no roof, and the space is left free-it becomes a "sky space", a place open to the sky (Fig. 14). When the master builder is in the *chardak*, he sees out from the side, because he is sheltered from above (Fig. 15).

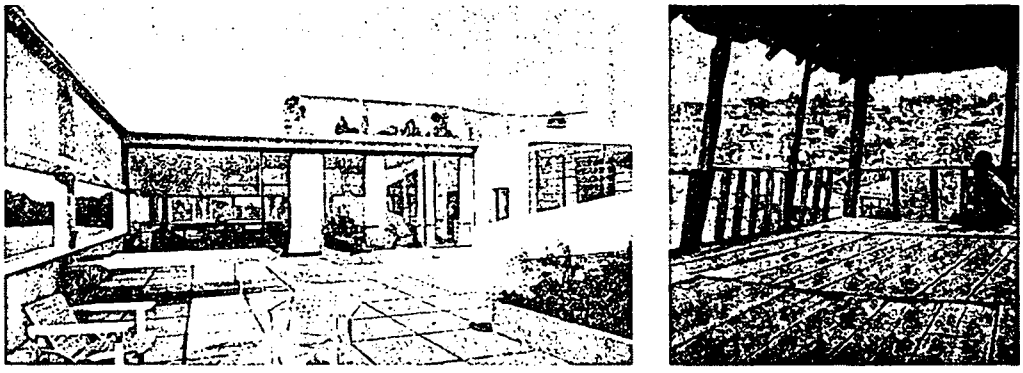


Figure 14, 15 - The *roof garden* by Le Corbusier and the *chardak* by the master builder in Macedonia.

With his vantage point he demands to see afar to the nature that he is missing close by. Le Corbusier, by the contrast, closes himself off from the side with the surroundings walls, so that he has open sky and on the roof he creates his second nature, by planting vegetation. The master builder ends his architectural play on the roof, in the *chardak*. By the contrast, the volume play, that for Le Corbusier means architecture, begins again, but this time not inside the house but in the open roof garden. The differences between Le Corbusier and the master builder in Macedonia, in using the *Five Points*, it has to do again with their "education". Le Corbusier, according to Turner, was dominated by philosophical idealism,[255] while the master builder's attitude can be characterized as functionalist and rationalist.[256]

Proportion

As discussed above, Jasmina Haxhieva-Aleksievska argued that the *Arshin*, a proportional system used in Macedonia, and Le Corbusier's Modulor were essentially the same on the grounds that the *Arshin* comprises of the sequence: 28,5 cm - 47,5 cm - 76 cm - 84,5 cm - 114 cm - 180,5 cm - 228 cm, while the Modulor proscribes the dimensions 27 cm - 43 cm - 70 cm - 86 cm - 113 cm - 183 cm - 226 cm.[257]

Whether or not the *Arshin* really defines these dimensions cannot be determined here, but the comparison is misleading. The Modulor consists of two Fibonacci series: the red and the blue. The first one is made of the dimensions (in millimeters) of 6-9-15-24-39-63-102-165-267-432-698-1130-1829 and the latter of 11-16-30-48-78-126-204-330-534-863-1397-2260.[258] For Le Corbusier, the progression in the Fibonacci series (with minor irregularities) is the main idea since it allows him to approximate the proportion of the Golden Section with rational numbers. The actual dimensions are not as important, as we

can see from the fact that originally in 1948 Le Corbusier tuned the Modulor to an ideal man whose height was 175 cm, deriving the maximum height of 216 cm. Only once one of his assistants pointed out that in English detective novels good looking men were always six feet tall, the basic dimension was changed to 183 cm, yielding the maximum height of 226 cm.

To put Haxhieva-Aleksievska's speculations in perspective, one should mention the popular anecdote, attributed to Sigfried Giedion, according to which Le Corbusier was very excited to find the vertical dimension of 226 cm in some Neolithic huts in Cyprus during the CIAM cruise in 1933.[259] Apparently, Le Corbusier felt that the conical huts with an internal balcony level were a forerunner and thus a kind of verification for his Citrohan principle and, in their dimensions, of the Modulor as well, although it is unclear what the height of 226 cm could have meant to him at this time, 21 years before the development of Modulor 2. Apparently, Macedonians do not have a monopoly on spurious information about Le Corbusier.

Standardization and pre-fabrication

"Standardization" becomes a point of argument in the analogy between the master builder and Le Corbusier. Macedonian authors claim that standardization made its first steps in the master builder architecture in Macedonia, and Le Corbusier simply "borrowed" such standardized elements from the Macedonian houses. Standardized elements certainly did exist in the anonymous architecture in Macedonia, some of which is very close to today's standards[260] (Fig. 16, 17).

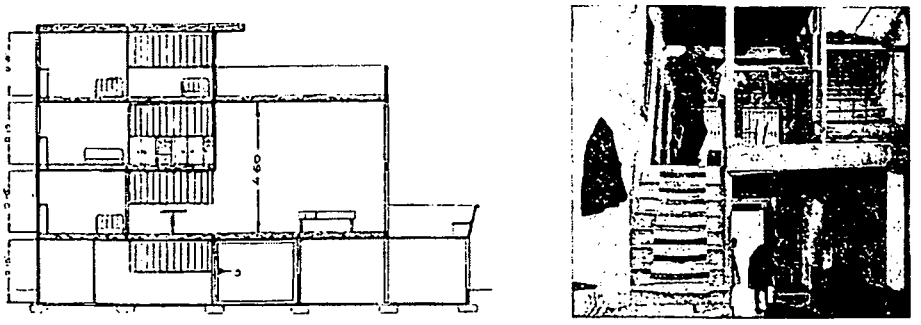


Figure 16, 17- Working with standardized elements; the height of the gallery, Le Corbusier 4.60m the master builder in Macedonia, according to Grabrijan 4.50m [2.10m+0.30m+2.10m].

But, what distinguished the use of standardization in anonymous buildings from its use for Le Corbusier was the way it was used, as well as its meaning for both architects. Thus, one finds that by using standardized elements, the master builder solved much more easily the problems that were bothering him. The standard elements allowed him a freedom of expression and autonomy. Through standardization, he demanded more than just the fulfillment of a particular function; rather he attempted to establish order, harmony and a unity in the buildings (Fig. 19).

Compared to the master builder, Le Corbusier was more precise when it came to standardization. Knowing his attitude towards idealizing things, standardization for him was not merely a solution to a problem. He demanded more than just a solution: it had to be the perfect solution (Fig. 18). Thus, he was convinced that the standards could lead to perfection, and that is why he later declared: "To solve the problem of perfection, we have to discover the standards."[261] Through the idealization of the concept of standardization he demanded perfection in everything – order, harmony and uniformity. His desire for the imposition of order and unity to the point of perfection was a result of his conceptualization of the aesthetic and philosophical underpinnings for architecture. Only if we know this side to Le Corbusier can we explain his precedence for declaring

that architecture must create this abstract or spiritual order precisely to counteract the chaos of the real (or visible) world.

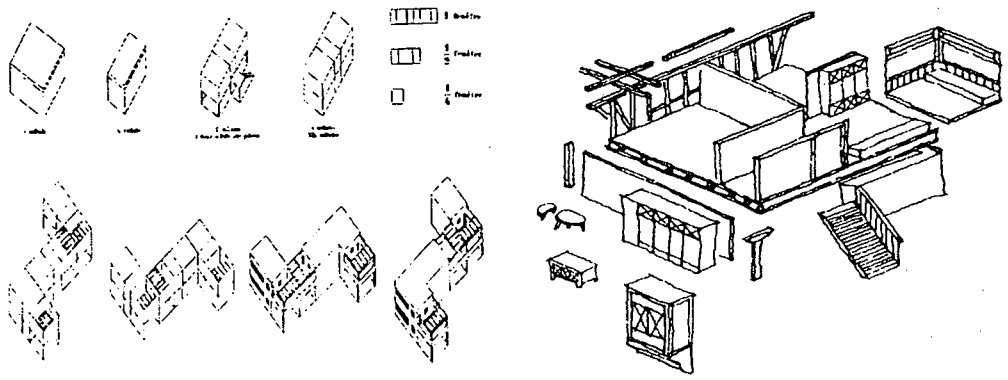


Figure 18, 19- Standardized elements, Le Corbusier in Pessac (1925), the master in Macedonia.

An alternative explanation: Turkish influence

The dating of Le Corbusier's trip to Macedonia to 1927 collapses the whole argument that the alleged visit had anything to do with the Five Points. However, when Popovski specified the year as 1927 he could have just as well taken any year from 1913 to 1941 and still agreed with Grabrijan's original suggestion that Le Corbusier had been to South Serbia. Let us play the devil's advocate and assume that Le Corbusier was in Macedonia in 1913. We have no evidence that such a trip ever took place but at least it is not chronologically absurd to claim a Macedonian inspiration for some of Le Corbusier's modernist ideas. Let us further assume that Le Corbusier visited all those cities he is said to have visited, beginning with Kratova, then Ohrid, Struga and finally Kruševo. And let us say that this *voyage* made him familiar also with the cities of Manastiri, Skopje, and Tetova. What could Le Corbusier possibly have seen in Macedonia that he couldn't have seen in Turkey during the well-documented Voyage? What specific elements might he

have noticed in Macedonia that impressed him more than Oriental architecture? This second question was indeed addressed by Grabrijan and the later Macedonian authors.

In his *The Macedonian House*, Grabrijan divides the houses in Macedonia, with the exception of single-story and high-rise houses, into two groups: Muslim houses (Turks, Albanians, etc.), which are built on a flat terrain, with a symmetrical composition, mostly with two storeys and regular plan form; and Christian houses (Macedonians) built on a steep terrain, with an asymmetrical composition, two or three storeys and an irregularly shaped ground plan. To correct the irregularities, the builders of Christian houses applied the oriel principle. According to Čipan, Tomoski and other authors, the oriel principle is a specific Macedonian architectural element used by the master builder in Macedonia. Indeed the oriel principle is the decisive difference between Muslim and Christian houses. This is the reason why these authors stressed "the fact" that Le Corbusier used the same element in his villas. According to these authors, one is justified to conclude that while in Macedonia Le Corbusier would have discovered this specific Macedonian element, which inspired his later work. One could indeed believe this to be true, because Le Corbusier used such an element in, for example Villa Stein and the Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart, in balconies, in the façades and in the interior gallery. In *Le Corbusier, The Noble Savage* (1998), Adolf Max Vogt agrees with the Macedonian authors to the effect that without the oriel principle, the Villa Stein and the Wiessenhofsiedlung could not have been conceived.[262] However, Vogt describes the oriel principle, or as he calls it the "*Çikma* construction", as a Turkish element that had been used in architecture for a considerable time. Unlike the Macedonian authors, Vogt believes that Le Corbusier got this element from houses he was sketching along the Bosphorus in 1911 during his stay in Istanbul (Fig. 20, 21, 22). Unlike both Vogt and the Macedonians, Giuliano Gresleri states in *Le Corbusier; Reise nach dem Orient* (1991) that Le Corbusier had studied the oriel principle in Tarnovo in Bulgaria, where he sketched houses with this particular element.

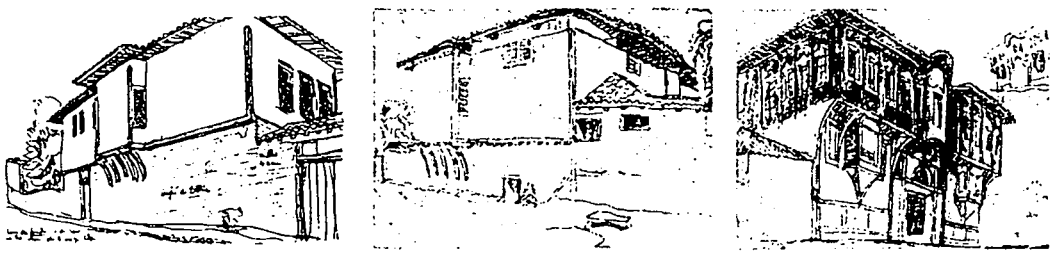


Figure 20, 21, 22- Vogt: Le Corbusier studies the *oriel principle* in Turkey, 1911.

Thus, the Macedonian belief that Le Corbusier was inspired by the oriel principle in Macedonia seems problematic. Contrary to what the authors claimed, the oriel principle did not originate in Macedonia in the nineteenth century. Rather, it has been used for a longer time in Bulgaria and Turkey. Further more, since this element is to be found in other places than Macedonia, it can not be conclusively concluded that Le Corbusier was inspired by seeing this detail in Macedonia, even if he had been in Macedonia in 1927, as has been presumed earlier for the sake of the argument. Le Corbusier was studying the oriel principle in Bulgaria and Turkey, a fact, which cannot be overlooked no matter how much this undermines the wishes of the Macedonian authors (Fig. 23, 24, 25, 26). Actually, if the oriel principle is only traceable in nineteenth century Macedonian houses, then it opens the research question (though one beyond the present study) of how it arrived there: was it an independent nineteenth century invention or was it rather brought over from Bulgaria or Turkey?

Figure 23, 24, 25, 26- Adolf Max Vogt shows the influence of the *oriel principle* on Le Corbusier's later work, the Salvation Army building (1926) and the Wiessenhof Siedlung in Stuttgart (1927).

In his book *The Macedonian House*, Grabrijan also gives examples of houses with a *trem*, a porch like place on the ground floor for working in the summer time.[263] Analyzing these examples, the critics in Macedonia were tempted to conclude that the master builder "removed" the heavy stone walls, using instead wooden columns, and that the continuity of the "garden" (or "nature") under the house then made the house seems as if it "hung in the air" or was ready "to leave the earth". In short, if one is looking for an analogy between the master builder and Le Corbusier, this would be a starting point for Le Corbusier's *pilotis*. But how sure can one be that Le Corbusier first saw the principle of indeed the use of *pilotis* in Macedonia for the first time, and not some other place?

If Le Corbusier had been in Macedonia, then he may well have probably noticed the principle of *pilotis* used by the master builders and been inspired by it, since, according to Grabrijan, there is analogy between the hangar houses in Ohrid or Struga and Le Corbusier's Villas in Pessac, Carthage and Stuttgart. On the other hand, according to Vogt, Le Corbusier found an architectural configuration in which walls are replaced with columns in Istanbul as well.[264] Vogt is able to show that Le Corbusier studied the *pilotis* of the Kiosks or the pavilions in 1911 and claims that without this experience, the Villas in Carthage and Poissy could not have been built. It would have been the Orient where Le Corbusier studied the *pilotis* principle (Fig. 27, 28), rather then Macedonia as it has been claimed.

Figure 27, 28- Vogt: Le Corbusier's influence about *the pilotis, fenetre en longueur* and le *plan libre*- the Bebek Köskü and the Sofa Kösk.

Grabrijan often stated that the *Bondruk* system of columns and floor slabs used in Macedonia in the nineteenth century houses is similar to the *Dom-Ino* system used by Le Corbusier, the only difference being the materials: wood was replaced by reinforced concrete. Again the question is whether Macedonia was the only place he could have seen this kind of building. And again, it seems that such a system of building had been earlier used in Turkey, in fact since the seventienth century. Le Corbusier himself suggests in a drawing that the precedent for the *Dom-Ino* system was a building in Flanders.[265]

Another interesting point worth discussing is Tomoski's claim that in a house in Dibra, four windows were built close to each other, and the master builder didn't realize that he was indeed making a modernist architectural element, namely the *fenetre en longueur.*[266] It is true that the *Bondruk* system allows for the placement of windows close to each other. Once again, the question is whether Macedonia was the only place where so many windows were placed in a single wall, and thus the only place where Le Corbusier could have been inspired by such an element? Vogt thinks that the Third Point – the *fenetre en longueur* – was developed by Le Corbusier by analyzing the pavilions along the banks of the Bosphorus in 1911.[267] Furthermore, the pavilions gave the inspiration for two other of the five points: the *pilotis* and the *façade libre*. So, even if Le Corbusier had somehow noticed the four windows in the house in Dibra, which according to Tomoski marked the modern *fenetre en longueur*, Macedonia is not the only place that offered such inspiration.

The *Bondruk* system used in Macedonia allowed not only the *fenetre en longueur* and the *free façade*, but also the *plan libre*, another of Le Corbusier's Five Points. And if Grabrijan and Čipan see an analogy between the master builders and Le Corbusier in organizing their floors in a "free, flexible way", with the *Bondruk* system allowing changes in different floors, then unfortunately Macedonia is again not the only place

where such a system existed. Examples raised by Eyup Asim Kümürcüoglu[268] in his book *Das Alt-türkische Wohnhaus* (1966), and Sedad Hakki Eldem[269] in his article *Kösler ve Kasirlar; Turkish Kiosks and Pavillons* (1973), show houses built in Turkey with the same building system, allowing for a different "plan organization" on every single floor of the house. And if these examples show the same capability of the building system, then the conclusion must be that Macedonia was not the only possible source of inspiration for Le Corbusier's *plan libre*, because it also existed in Turkey.

Another interesting element, "a specific one", according to the Macedonian authors, is the *chardak*, a place on the top floor of the house, open or closed, where one could work, relax, entertain guests and enjoy the view. Macedonian authors have not hesitated to compare the *chardak* with the roof garden of Le Corbusier's villas. Without knowing the writings of Kümürcüoglu and Eldem, one may believe that the *chardak*, is not only is a unique Macedonian architectural element, as has been claimed until now, but also influenced Le Corbusier in his use of the roof garden. However, Kümürcüoglu gives an example of a house named as the "Börekci house" (Fig. 29, 30, 31, 32), which casts serious doubt on the Macedonian claims about the *chardak* and its importance for both Macedonia and Le Corbusier.[270] On the second floor of the house presented by Kümürcüoglu, we see that the house has a *hayat* [a Turkish word used to describe an area in the top floor of the houses that could be compared with the *chardak* in Macedonia], also say the Macedonian *chardak*. Again it seems that the *chardak* is not unique to nineteenth century Macedonian house element. Moreover, the *chardak* was in use in Turkey a couple of centuries earlier than it was in Macedonia. And so again, the claim that Le Corbusier got the idea for the roof garden in his villas designs from the "Macedonian" *chardak* seems less plausible.

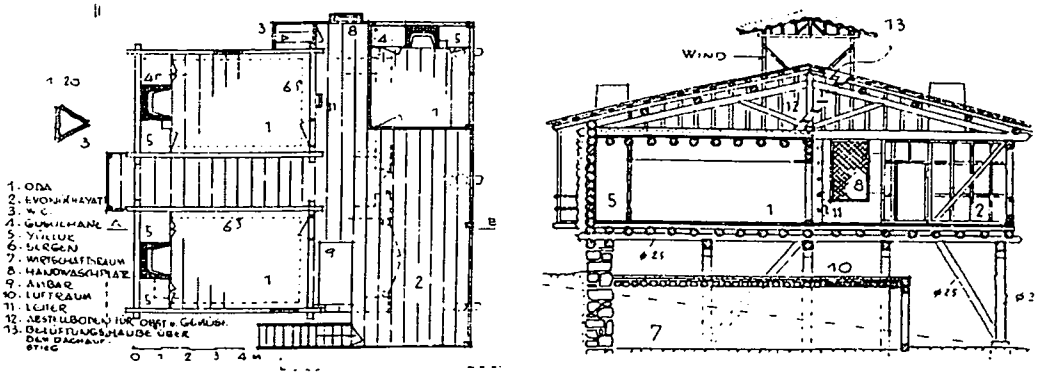


Figure 29, 30- Vogt: the Mehmet Börekci house with *hayat* (*chardak*); ground floor and its cross section.

A point worth discussing here is one raised in Čipan's 1955 book where he claims that Macedonian houses have different functions for each floor of the house: the ground floor contains the working place, storage rooms, while the other floors (one or two) are reserved for dwelling or living purposes, in terms of summer and winter living areas. Grabrijan compared this living programme to Le Corbusier's radical change of the living programme of French houses (e.g. Villa Meyer[271]) in which he divided the functions in the house according to the floor level. But, in discussing the profane architecture in Turkey, Kümürcüoglu,[272] presents the same sub-division of the house into summer and winter living areas. And again, if this separation was going to impress Le Corbusier enough to make the "changes", as Grabrijan believed, then Macedonia was not the only place that could have offered this "living programme" to Le Corbusier.

Figure 31, 32- The Börekci house and the analogy with Le Corbusier's villa Savoye, Paris, (1929-31).

Le Corbusier might also have paid attention to other elements in the Macedonian houses, such as their geometry, the gallery, the white colour and the interior furniture. But, from his sketches we see that Le Corbusier was studying the same elements in Bulgaria and Turkey during his 1911 *Voyage*. Furthermore, the conclusion that the geometry and the gallery from the houses of Ohrid or Struga also inspired Le Corbusier seems less plausible, when it is known that he was paying attention to the same elements during his *Voyage* in 1911 in Bulgaria and Turkey. Hence, from the above examples, it can be concluded that even if Le Corbusier was in Macedonia as we have presumed for arguments sake during the discussion, to offer inspiration for his later work, there would have been no great differences in his architectural thinking, because what Macedonia had to offer him in 1927, he had already studied in Bulgaria and Turkey in his 1911 *Voyage d'Orient*. So if Le Corbusier was indeed inspired by some place during the early years of his career, then that would probably have been the Orient rather than Macedonia.

Pseudo-Event

Le Corbusier's alleged visit to Macedonia can be seen as an example of what Daniel J. Boorstin has called a "pseudo-event".[273] A pseudo-event is "not spontaneous, but comes about because someone has planned, planted, or incited it. Typically, it is not a train wreck or an earthquake, but an interview."[274] Further, it is planted primarily for the immediate purpose of being reported or reproduced, and the interest in a pseudo-event is always whether it really happened and what might have been the motives. Boorstin further claimed that once we have tasted the charm of pseudo-events, we are tempted to believe they are the only important events.[275]

Good examples of the planting of pseudo-events can be found in the world of politics. Both in Stalinist Russia and in George W. Bush's America, reputations are made or broken by the clever introduction and relentless repetition of pseudo-events. Art is another field where pseudo-events reign, partly because a work of art is not so much a physical thing than a cultural construction, as I will argue in the last chapter of the present text. Our understanding of, say, Le Corbusier's architecture – in particular the meaning and significance of his work – can be influenced by real or invented cultural conditions, even if the buildings themselves do not change.

The Minister's request

In the case of Le Corbusier's Macedonian connection, it is easy to see how and why and by whom the pseudo-event was planted. We have to begin with a person introduced by Grabrijan as "Dejan", a Minister in the Macedonian Government, who seems to have been the initiator of a book about the nineteenth century houses in Macedonia. One perhaps may ask at this point what a Macedonian Cabinet Minister would have to do with architecture in late 1950s. Judging by the way Grabrijan explains things in his book *The Macedonian House* (1955), it seems as if Minister Dejan himself had for some time been pondering on what was for him two very important questions: firstly, "How could the Macedonian house", as he puts it, "have influenced Le Corbusier in designing his architecture", and secondly "What could there be specifically Macedonian in the nineteenth century houses in Macedonia"?[276]

In order to find an appropriate answer to these two questions, he decided to encourage an architect to research the matter. This architect, as we know, would be the Slovenian professor Dušan Grabrijan. "Thanks to the Slovenian Government and to the Macedonian Minister Dejan", Grabrijan explains later in his book, in 1949 he was able to make a three-month study trip to Macedonia.[277] With three students of architecture, Grabrijan studied "every house" in various cities in Macedonia, and finally, in 1955, his book *The Macedonian House* was published in Ljubljana, Slovenia, and becoming the Bible of the Macedonian architecture, a conclusion made by all the people in Macedonia interested in architecture.

The Minister's demand in 1949 "to say what specifically is Macedonian", expresses the populist desire of that time to use architecture to identify the Macedonian nation. Grabrijan was to be the one to find specific Macedonian elements in the nineteenth

century houses, elements that would distinguish the Macedonian house from Oriental one. In a certain way, Grabrijan 'manages' to show this difference in his book. It was of great importance at that time for Macedonia and Macedonians to know that there were "specific" Macedonian elements to be seen in the nineteenth century houses, knowing the fact that after the Second World War, the "history" of the national architecture had to be constructed, same as the history of the nation itself.

From this point of view, we can regard the myth of Le Corbusier and Macedonia as part of what English historian Eric Hobsbawm characterizes as "the invention of tradition." An invented tradition, according to Hobsbawm, includes, "both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner with a brief and dateable period - a matter of a few years perhaps - and establishing themselves with great rapidity."[278] These 'invented traditions' are "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."[279] Usually, they try to establish links with a suitable historic past but their connection with this past is tenuous at best. In sum, Hobsbawm writes, invented traditions "are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition."[280]

The invention of Scotland

An example of the invention of traditions is provided by Hugh Trevor-Roper's analysis of the Highland tradition of Scotland, which he argues, involves three invented traditions, as defined by Hobsbawm.[281] The first of these is the invention of a Scots-Gaelic epic poet

called Ossian whose supposed writing was "discovered" and "translated" by James Macpherson in the 1760s. As a matter of fact, Macpherson picked up Irish ballads in Scotland, transferred the scenes from Ireland to Scotland, and then dismissed the original ballads as later, degenerated imitations. Thus, the Scottish identity was created by negating the Irish. Promoters of Ossian, Trevor-Roper contends, popularized the idea that Scottish Highland culture was a distinct and an ancient one.

The second is the invention of the modern kilt sometime after about 1727 by an English Quaker industrialist from Lancashire named Thomas Rawlinson and its quick adoption in many parts of the Highland and Northern Lowlands by about 1768. Before Scotland's union with England in 1707, wearing something like a tartan kilt was seen as barbarism of the roguish, idle, predatory Highlanders who were but a nuisance to the civilized, historic Scotland of the Lowlands. The original dress of the Highlanders was the same as that of the Irish: a long shirt (in Gaelic, *leine*), which the higher classes dyed with saffron (*leine-croich*); a tunic or *failuin*; and a cloak or plaid which the chiefs had woven in many colors and the lower classes in brown; incidentally, the musical instrument of the Highlanders was the harp, not the bagpipe. [282] Once Rawlinson started a furnace in Glengarry near Inverness in 1727, he changed the costume. While the inexpensive belted plaid was good for jumping over rock and bogs, or lying hidden in the heather, Rawlinson felt it was not practical in the modern factory. Hence, assisted by the tailor of the English regiment stationed in Inverness, he separated the skirt from the belted plaid often worn by Highlanders, creating the *felie beg* or philibeg, a shirt garment with pleats already sewn.[283]

The third invented aspect of the Highland tradition of Scotland, Trevor-Roper argues, involves tartan, which was originally imported to Scotland in the sixteenth century from Flanders and reached the Highlands through the Lowlands. If the kilt is a recent

invention, the idea that the 'sett' or pattern of colors in the tartan indicates clan is even more recent. While the design of the patterns was a matter of subjective taste and fashion, the Highlanders showed their allegiance with the cockade in the bonnet. Only once the British government formed the Highland regiments, the setts began to be used to differentiate their uniforms. One manufacturer of tartan, William Wilson & Son of Bannockburn, recognized the possibility of increasing the sales of the fabric by stimulating tribal competition in Scotland. In their "Key Pattern Book" they presented a number of different setts, which were duly certified as belonging to this or that clan by the Highland Society of London. By 1820, the demand for tartan had reached a new high, and the identification of the setts was no longer as pedantic. Thus, when Cluny Macpherson was given a tartan off the peg, the pattern was relabelled 'Macpherson', having been previously sold to a Mr Kidd as the 'Kidd'; earlier still it had simply been called 'No. 155.'

The reason for the high demand of tartan was the visit by George IV to Edinburgh, which took place in 1822. This was the first time ever a Hanoverian king would appear in the capital of Scotland, and the duties of the master of ceremonies were assigned to none less than Sir Walter Scott, president of the newly-founded Celtic Society of Edinburgh. Although Scott was himself a Lowlander, he promoted the fabricated Highlander traditions with enthusiasm bordering on hallucination. With his assistant, Colonel David Stewart of Garth, Scott tartanized Edinburgh and ignored Lowland traditions.

The further consolidation of the clan tartan myth may be credited to brothers John and Charles Allen, though this is not the name by which they are known. They Scoticized their name first to Allan, then Hay Allan, then Hay, insinuating that they were descended from the last Hay, the earl of Errol. Still later, they briefly called themselves Stuart Hay and then dropped the name of Hay and went by the royal name of Stuart; the younger

adopted the name of Charles Edward Stuart while the older named himself John Sobieski Stuart after the seventeenth century hero-king of Poland, John Sobieski. In 1829, the brothers let it be known that they were in the possession of a manuscript, *Vestiarium Scoticum* or *The Garde-Robe of the Scotland* which they claimed to be the work of Sir Richard Urquhart of 1571 or earlier, previously the property of Mary Queen of Scots, and given to their father by Bonny Prince Charlie. Thirteen years later, they ultimately published the manuscript, which described the clan tartans of Scottish families. In their own name, the Sobieski Stuarts published an erudite companion volume, the Costume of the Clans, two years later. Though the Vestiarium was soon exposed as a forgery and the claims of the historical work were discredited, their spurious tartan setts were taken up by the Highland Society of London and the Scottish tartan industry. The forgery by the Sobieski Stuarts, then, left a more lasting mark on Scottish identity than the more famous forgery by James Macpherson, the Ossianic poems which were also used as evidence in the Costume of the Clans.

The Minister and Le Corbusier

It is beyond the scope of the present work to investigate the invention of a Macedonian identity as a whole; thus, we should return to the particular case under study. Minister Dejan's second demand to Grabrijan was to discover in "what possible way the Macedonian house has influenced Le Corbusier's work." By formulating the question in this way, Dejan indicates that he is aware of Le Corbusier and his work, that he suspects there may be similarities between the Macedonian house and Le Corbusier's work, and, moreover, he assumes that Le Corbusier was actually influenced by the Macedonian buildings. Thus, Minister Dejan seems to have been well-informed and remarkably prescient when he commissioned Grabrijan to do the research.

At that time (early 1950s) Grabrijan, was well versed in the modern movements in architecture. As mentioned earlier, he knew in detail the works of Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright and Adolf Loos, and was a well-known theoretician in the field of architecture. However, since the Minister Dejan was looking for an analogy between the Macedonian house and the work of Le Corbusier, the question arises of why precisely Grabrijan had been chosen for this task when during the 1930s and 1940s there were no less than twelve Yugoslavian architects working in Le Corbusier's atelier[284] and after the Second World War most of them were working again in Yugoslavia, some of them even teaching in different universities (e.g. Jovan Krunić[285] in Belgrade and Neidhardt Juraj [286] in Sarajevo). Having worked with Le Corbusier, they knew the maestro much better than Grabrijan and still they were apparently not contacted by Minister Dejan.

In order to get further with our discussion, let me speculate for a moment. If Minister Dejan had felt the need to choose an architect that had worked for Le Corbusier, he would have had to choose between a Macedonian and a non-Macedonian; with no Macedonians available, Serbs would probably have been more favored. An example would be Jovan Krunić, an architect from Serbia, someone regarded as coming from an ethnically related culture, and who had done research in Macedonia in 1950. Another good candidate would have been Neidhard Juraj, born in Zagreb and working in Sarajevo, who was also active in writing about Bosnian Oriental architecture, but who ethnically would have been regarded as a "foreigner". One might ask what the difference is between these two choices, especially when both of them had worked for Le Corbusier and were citizens of Yugoslavia.

History tells us that over the years, whenever Macedonians felt the threat from outside, they expected help from Serbia, and Serbia has indeed considered the territory of

Macedonia as part of the 'Old Serbia' or later 'South Serbia'. But if Minister Dejan had to choose a "relative" from Serbia to write a book about the nineteenth century houses in Macedonia, there was a risk that the author would not see what is 'specifically Macedonian' in these houses. It was a risk also that the author would see an analogy between the architecture in Serbia and Macedonia, because he might regard it all as part of the same region: the central Balkans. And the analogy between Macedonia and Serbia was not necessarily important to Macedonians at that time. Minister Dejan was interested in building a Macedonian identity in architecture, and that was probably the reason he did not ask any of the Serbian architects, but rather decided upon a "foreigner". However, the Macedonian Minister did not select an architect from among the "foreigners" who had direct connections to Le Corbusier, such as Juraj, but moreover chose a "foreigner" but who never worked in Le Corbusier's atelier. Being both "neutral" and a "foreigner", Grabrijan as a Slovenian, was believed to be the right person for the job, because he could always later be corrected. That might be the reason why the Minister would have believed that a neutral architect such as Grabrijan could do a better job as than, say, Krunić or Juraj.

As for encouraging an architect to find specific Macedonian elements and to link them with Le Corbusier, there is another important issue that needs to be discussed. After World War II, at just about the time when Grabrijan was completing the research for his book, two Macedonian architects, Boris Čipan and Sotir Tomoski returned from Belgrade to Macedonia and both were occupied with investigating the national heritage in their native country. Indeed, their books appeared not much later then Grabrijan's; Čipan's *Old City Architecture in Ohrid* was in fact published the same year, 1955, as Grabrijan's *The Macedonian House*, and Tomoski's *Macedonian National Architecture* came out in 1960. Minister Dejan may have refused his compatriots because it was important that someone from outside declared the Macedonian house had its own specific character that made it

different from the Oriental one and that the greatest architect of the century was influenced by this specific house. That is why, one might speculate, the first writer to make such conclusions had to be a person both powerful with words and an "outsider". Thus one might see how Grabrijan would be favored over Čipan or Tomoski.

Of course, it may also be the case that Grabrijan was chosen by accident. One could believe that Dejan's choice was made without any particular agenda if he had not been more closely involved in architecture than most ministers. In fact, "Dejan" was just a nickname for the actual Minister who contacted Grabrijan and organized his trip to Macedonia in 1949, suggesting that he look for "specific Macedonian elements." The real "Dejan" was Kiro Georgievski, an architect by training and responsible for organizing and leading projects in the rebuilding of Macedonia after the Second World War.[287] As an architect, Georgievski not only knew about Le Corbusier and his work, but must have also been familiar with the tendency of European Modernist architecture towards a "universal application and language" which would transcend and dominate national or local architectures. This may be the reason why Georgievski wanted Grabrijan to write about the "specific" Macedonian elements, up on which could later be built the national character of the future architecture. His second demand for a comparison between the Macedonian house with Le Corbusier's architecture would go even further in making Modernist architecture speak the Macedonian nation's language. In short, Kiro Georgievski had planted an pseudo-event for the purpose of being reported and reproduced, making Macedonians believe in the importance of the Macedonian house in Le Corbusier's career.

The original text

In 1952, when Grabrijan was putting together chapters for his book *The Macedonian House*, Marjan Šorli, another Slovenian architect and a close friend of his, was in USA on "a study trip". In New York, Šorli purchased Peter Blake's book about Marcel Breuer and wrote in a letter to Grabrijan:

"In New York I bought Peter Blake's booklet about Marcel Breuer. Peter Blake begins with a conversation between Breuer and Le Corbusier. When Breuer mentioned he was born in Peći [written in the Slovenian language], *close to Yugoslav border, Le Corbusier at once began to talk to him about the Yugoslav folklore architecture and to draw him sketches. Close by was a picture from some Macedonian place."*[288]

Subsequently, as Grabrijan was writing the chapter where he discusses the possibility of Le Corbusier having visited Macedonia, he used Šorli's letter as a supporting document and published it in the same chapter without any changes or further remarks. However, Sorli is not entirely accurate in her letter and later translators magnified the errors.

It is indeed true, as Šorli claimed, that Peter Blake begins his 1949 book *Marcel Breuer; Architect and Designer* with an account of a conversation between Breuer and Le Corbusier. Presenting Blake's text will help to track down the changes that were introduced by Šorli's translation into Slovenian. Blake writes:

"One day, in the late twenties, Marcel Breuer and Le Corbusier were talking together about southeastern Europe and its architecture. When Breuer mentioned that he had been born in Pécs, in southern Hungary, Le Corbusier at once began to describe the peasant

buildings in that area as he recalled them from his travels, and picked up a pencil to illustrate his point as he went along".[289]

If we compare Blake's original text with Šorli's translation into Slovenian language, we notice the following differences: first, Blake clearly states that Breuer and Le Corbusier were discussing "Southeastern Europe and its architecture" while Šorli fails to mention the topic of the discussion. The second difference in Šorli's letter is Breuer's place of birth, Pécs, which Blake situates in Southern Hungary. However, Šorli doesn't spell Pécs as in Blake's original text, but writes instead Peći, as it is written in Slovenian. Instead of Blake's "Southern Hungary" Šorli suggests that Peći is "close to Yugoslavian border", which is not incorrect, Pécs being some 35 kilometres from the Yugoslavian border. But the problem is that in Yugoslavia Peći (in the Serbo-Croatian language) is also a city in Kosova, in Albanian language pronounced as Peja. Thirdly, while Blake wrote: "Le Corbusier began to describe the peasant buildings in that area as he recalled them from his travels, and picked up a pencil to illustrate his point as he went along," Šorli translates it as "Le Corbusier at once began to talk to him about the Yugoslavian folklore architecture and to draw him sketches." And fourthly, there is the matter of the last sentence in Šorli's letter: "Close by was a picture from some place in Macedonia." I will return to this particular issue in a moment.

Reading Šorli's text, then, one gets the impression that Breuer and Le Corbusier were discussing not Southeastern Europe but rather Yugoslavian folklore architecture, and we learn that Breuer was born in Peći, "close to the Yugoslavian border," rather than "Southern Hungary". However, another change happened when Šorli's text was translated from Slovenian into Macedonian. This time the translator, Professor Branko Juvan, writes:

"In New York I bought Peter Blake's booklet where he writes about Marcel Breuer. Peter Blake begins with a conversation between Breuer and Le Corbusier. When Breuer mentioned he is from Peќ, [written in Macedonian language] *Le Corbusier at once began to talk about Yugoslav folklore architecture and to draw him sketches. Close by was a picture from some Macedonian place."*[290]

It is clear that Juvan now translating from Slovenian into Macedonian omits the words, "close to the Yugoslavian border." And the name of Breuer's birthplace, Pécs in the original, was written as Macedonians pronounce it, Peќ. The above changes during the translation, first from English into Slovenian language, and then from Slovenian into Macedonian, but also the author's and translator's removal of sentences or words, are the reasons why the whole of Blake's text ended up being interpreted in a different way. Then there is the matter of Šorli's sentence "Close by [in Blake's book] was a picture from some place in Macedonia." Perhaps Blake placed the photograph (taken from the book *La Yugoslavie* by Kurt Hielscher) at that point of the book in order to make a point related to Le Corbusier and Breuer's discussion about the importance of traditional architecture for the modern movement. The picture caption reads "Peasant houses, Central Balkans"[291] but certainly does not mention Macedonia. In his letter to Grabrijan, Sorli identifies the photo as being "from some Macedonian place," and in his book *The Macedonian House*, Grabrijan identifies "that specific Macedonian place" as the city of Kratova [in present–day East F.Y.R. of Macedonia], which he had visited in 1949. It is also important to mention that the picture caption in the Macedonian version of *The Macedonian Hous*e was not the same as in Blake's book. Instead of Blake's caption "Peasant houses, Central Balkans (*La Yugoslavie*, by Kurt Hielscher)", it now reads: "View from Kratovo, photo Marcel Breuer,"[292] a mistake that later gives rise to specific interpretations.

When I discussed this specific problem – Šorli's translation or interpretation of Blake's text – with Peter Krećić, director of the Museum of Architecture in Ljubljana, he stated that in his opinion Šorli "translated Blake's part in a little free way but correctly," and that "Grabrijan in his book *The Macedonian House* quoted the central part of Šorli's letter and changed only one or two words, which were not essential."[293] The truth is that Grabrijan did quote Šorli's letter in its original form without changes and so he cannot be blamed for the inaccuracies. While at first sight it may seem that translating "in a little free way" didn't change the essence of Le Corbusier and Breuer's discussion, this is not so. Šorli's negligence regarding the phrase "South-Eastern Europe and its architecture", changing Pécs to Peć and "Southern Hungary" to "close to the Yugoslavian border", and adding that Le Corbusier was describing to Breuer the "Yugoslavian folklore architecture", and then the translator Juvan's complete "removal" of "close to the Yugoslavian border", having Peќ, instead Šorli's Peć, and finally Grabrijan including the photo used by Blake with the new caption claiming it shows the city of Kratova in Macedonia, together establish the basis from where later Macedonian interpreters began slowly to construct the myth about Le Corbusier and Macedonia. And this, it seems, is how the construction of the myth started.

The way in which Grabrijan published Šorli's letter leaves open various combinations of interpretation of the facts. It could be though that Breuer had been born either in Peć (and was thus Serbo-Croatian) or in Peja in Kosova. Also Le Corbusier and Breuer could have been discussing Yugoslavian folklore architecture, and (by inference to the photograph in Blake's book) even more specifically Macedonian architecture. The first inference would perhaps be an interesting topic of discussion for Albanians in Kosova, because Breuer, a well-known modern architect who was educated in the Bauhaus, collaborated with Walter Gropius and designed not only the Wassily chair but a number of important buildings all over the Western world, would appear to have been born in Peja, Kosova, as Juvan

translated in Grabrijan's book. One could now ask why there was not invented story about Breuer being an Albanian born in Peja. The reason could be that no one would believe an Albanian having the name Marcel Breuer. Besides, in 1902, when Breuer was born, and at the time when he was discussing problems of modern architecture with Le Corbusier, Albanians in Kosova were trying to survive under Serbian rule. No one would have believed that under these circumstances, an Albanian could have become one of the greatest modern architects. Architecture was not an "every day issue" for Albanians at that time, so Breuer was "free" to go as a non- Albanian.

For Macedonians, what would have remained of importance from the reported discussion was that Le Corbusier and Breuer were discussing Yugoslavian folklore architecture, and below the text was a photo from some Macedonian place, a photo showing Kratova. Beginning with these last two "facts", the interpretations understood in Macedonia more or less would have been as follows: "When they met, Le Corbusier and Breuer were talking about Yugoslavian folklore architecture, but since there was a photograph from Kratova in Macedonia close by, the Macedonian architecture would have been the main theme of the discussion. Furthermore, Le Corbusier was drawing sketches of Macedonian houses for Breuer in order to make a point, sketches of houses he remembered from his travels to Macedonia. So, Le Corbusier was in Macedonia since he remembered the houses, drew sketches and had a photograph from Kratova." After 1945 Macedonia was a part of Yugoslavia, and identifying its architecture, as "Yugoslavian" was not a big mistake, since everyone in Yugoslavia was now identified as Yugoslavian.

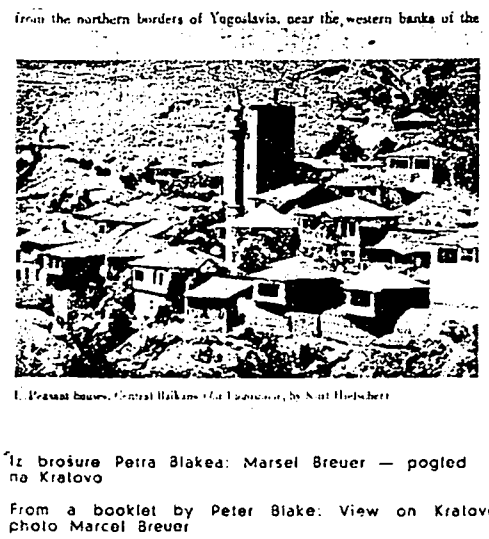
Producing the photograph of Kratova, Grabrijan actually opened the way for the claim that Le Corbusier had been in Kratova. This explains the Macedonian belief that Le Corbusier visited Kratova. For Macedonian interpreters it was not important, for example, that Juvan translated the text below the photo incorrectly: "View from Kratovo, photo

Marcel Breuer" (Fig. 1). The expression, "photo Macrel Breuer" seems to imply that the photograph was either taken by Breuer or was in his possession, but Macedonian authors were not interested to take note of this as they wanted Le Corbusier to own the photograph. From here, the public, "they for whom the world of art and architecture was dawning," as it was so often claimed in Macedonia, could proudly conclude: "we have contributed to modern architecture through our traditional architecture."[294]

However, this is only one side of the story. Reading Breuer's biography[295] we find out that he left the Bauhaus for Paris in 1924. In Paris he met Le Corbusier for the first time, in the year when the conversation Blake describes in his book took place.[296] After this first conversation, Breuer wrote a letter to Ilse Gropius, the wife of Walter Gropius in Berlin, in which he told her that he had met Le Corbusier, but turned down the offer to work for him because "Le Corbusier is too formalist."[297] At this time the only trips mady by Breuer were Pécs-Vienna-Weimar-Berlin-Paris.[298] Only much later, in 1931, he made a similar trip as Le Corbusier to the "primitive" world of the Balkans, Asia and North Africa. This makes it likely that Le Corbusier, who in 1911 made his *Voyage d'Orient*, must have been leading the conversation and providing the descriptions of South-Eastern architecture and that Breuer was simply listening.

Moreover, the photograph of Kratova, which Blake uses in his book, was neither the property of Breuer, as Juvan it says in the Macedonian version of Grabrijan's book (Fig.2), nor of Le Corbusier, taken when he allegedly visited Macedonia. Whoever was preparing Grabrijan's book in the Serbo-Croatian edition of 1955 chose not to reproduce the photograph from Blake's book as a whole but rather cropped a part of it. In the Macedonian edition, above the image we can see the last sentence of Blake's text in English, "from the northern borders of Yugoslavia, near the western banks of the," and

below the image, "Peasant houses: Central Balkans" (*La Yugoslavie*, by Kurt Hielscher)."[299]



Iz brošure Petra Blakea: Marsel Breuer — pogled na Kratovo

From a booklet by Peter Blake: View on Kratovo, photo Marcel Breuer

Figure 1- The photo showing the city of Kratova, published in Grabrijan's book *The Mcedonian House.*

1. Peasant houses, Central Balkans (*La Yugoslavie*, by Kurt Hielscher)

Figure 2- Peter Blake produced first the photo showing Kratova.

Those preparing the book for the publication were not bothered by the sentence in English above the photo, a sentence that indeed would lead to the original example. And similarly, they evidently failed to see the reference to Kurt Hielscher. Hielscher was the author of the book *La Yugoslavie*, and had travelled through Yugoslavia in 1926 taking the photograph of the city of Kratova. So, contrary to implication in Šorli's letter, Le Corbusier could not have shown the photograph of Kratova as "the place that had inspired him" when he met Breuer in 1924, as the picture was first taken two years later, in 1926, by Kurt Hielscher.

One may well ask why Blake – who knew Breuer and Le Corbusier and was informed about their conversation in 1924 – would have published a photograph from Macedonia when Breuer in fact was born in Hungary. As Le Corbusier had actually travelled through

Hungary, would then a photograph from Hungary have better suited the description of their conversation? Ivan Žaknić writes:

"I do not have that book [Blake's book] but I have a strong feeling that Le Corbusier if he did sketch as he was famous for doing it, he might have been drawing from memory Hungary which he did visit during his Journey to the East".[300]

I also discussed Blake's book with Susanne Bilenker[301] who spoke in his behalf as the publisher. She suggested that Blake's use of the photograph of Kratova was an accident, without any other purpose than to illustrate a point about their conversation. In her opinion, then, the photograph was there by accident or due to uncritical editing, and not as Macedonian scholars claim, to show that Le Corbusier owned it.

Misinterpreting Grabrijan

One could summarize the Macedonian interpretations of Blake's book as follows: "Le Corbusier had a photograph from Kratova, thus Le Corbusier had visited Kratova, and he had visited them to see its small, white houses." Indeed a photograph showing the city of Kratova was published by Grabrijan in the last chapter of his book *The Macedonian House* (1955), where he discusses the possibility that Le Corbusier had visited Macedonia. The next question to be asked is how, then, could one claim that Le Corbusier also visited Struga and Ohrid.

Blake didn't publish any photographs from Struga and Ohrid in his book on Breuer and commentators in Macedonia seem to have no external source for confirming this story. Astonishingly, Grabrijan again has played a role, if only indirectly, in the process of

inventing the story that Le Corbusier was in Struga and Ohrid. It starts with the spurious claim by Grabrijan that Le Corbusier himself had stated before Yugoslavian architects that he had been to Macedonia.[302] The next step was Grabrijan's claim of an analogy between the Macedonian house and Le Corbusier's designs, and his assertion that the Macedonian house would have inspired Le Corbusier since the very beginning of his career.[303]

As mentioned earlier, Grabrijan becomes famous in Macedonia for comparing a gypsy house was compared to the Villa Carthage in Tunisia, where the similarity, according to Grabrijan, lies in the two storey gallery used both, the anonymous master and Le Corbusier, as well as the "pure" solution of the construction, the flexibility in organizing the floors, the analogous way of positioning the stairs beside the wall, the use of the living room and, most importantly, the *promenade architecturale* that makes the house look even bigger than it is in reality.[304] Other examples where Grabrijan finds similar analogies between the houses in Struga and Le Corbusier's works are those of an Albanian house in Struga and the Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart (1927),[305] and another house in Struga and the Villa Auteuil (1923).[306]

On the other hand, the fisherman's house and the hangar houses from Ohrid are, according to Grabrijan, analogous to Le Corbusier's workers' houses in Pessac (1925),[307] and Barcelona (1933),[308] as well as Maison Cook in Bologne-sur-Seine (1926). Here Grabrijan claims that both architects achieved similar solutions for houses with a deep plan and three occupied walls, thus leaving only one of them free for light penetration. However, what most impressed Grabrijan was the analogous plan organization in the interior. There is of course nothing wrong with an architect, for example Grabrijan, discussing analogies between the houses in Struga and Ohrid in Macedonia and some

works by Le Corbusier, just as, say, people find analogies between Mies van der Rohe's houses and both classical temples and traditional Japanese houses.

In the present case, however, the commentators go beyond the limits of analogy, and start making statements about Le Corbusier actually having been in these places. Without going any further into Grabrijan's version of the analogy between the Macedonian house and Le Corbusier's works, no matter how close such analogies might be, I would like to concentrate on the question of how Macedonian authors interpreted Grabrijan's analogy between the gypsy house in Struga or the fisherman's house in Ohrid and Le Corbusier's villas. Though basing themselves on Grabrijan's analogies, the Macedonian mythopoets will need Le Corbusier to have been in Struga and Ohrid, for him to have seen with his eyes the house in Struga and Ohrid, to have drawn sketches of them and to have checked every room inside the house, as if he was looking for something important that he had lost days before. That is why Grabrijan's analogy in Macedonia switches abruptly from "there is an analogy" to the statement "Le Corbusier himself was in Struga and Ohrid himself."

In short, by misinterpreting Grabrijan's analogies, commentators in Macedonia invented the story that Le Corbusier had been in Struga and Ohrid. Statements about analogies these will then occur alongside ones such as "Le Corbusier was in Macedonia at the time when it was called 'South Serbia'."

The gentlemen in knickerbockers

After reading the relevant passages in the books by Popovski and the Pavlovskis, Geoffrey Baker suggested that the descriptions of the man visiting Kruševo fit well with the character of Le Corbusier.[309] He was known for doing all that he is supposed to have

done in Macedonia; sketching, photographing and studying buildings in detail. Judging solely by these descriptions, one could indeed think that the gentlemen, who visited Macedonia, might have been Le Corbusier. But even if we believed that someone saw a man like this in Kruševo, it would be unjustified to jump to the conclusion that the person in question must have been Le Corbusier. Back in 1927, it would not have been unusual in just about any town in Macedonia to see an elegantly dressed European visitor. Indeed, a stylish black suit would distinguish the European gentleman from the inhabitants of Kruševo. At around that time, a many traveller from Europe that decided to travel to Kruševo would have good reason for taking notes, sketching and taking photos; that is what travellers do. At that time it was "in style" for a tourist to take photos of everything; examples include Kurt Hielscher[310] Kratova in 1926 or Frederic Boissonnas in Kruševo in 1919.[311]

But how then did they manage to describe Le Corbusier so precisely? The first and general answer is that the description of Le Corbusier was that of an average European gentleman in the year 1927. We do not have any stronger evidence that the man was indeed Le Corbusier, if indeed there was someone matching the description. Such a evidence would be, for example, a photograph showing Le Corbusier sketvhing and taking notes in Kruševo. Also a photo taken by Le Corbusier himself in Kruševo or in some other town he visited, or even a sketch, would suffice as proof just like the many photographs and sketches he made in other places in the Balkans in 1911. There is also a second explanation why the description seems to fit Le Corbusier. By the time Popovski published his description about the visitor in 2003, the world of art and architecture knew a lot about Le Corbusier's life, travels, work and attitudes as an architect. Such information could be gleaned from his own writings or the many other books about him. So, it is probable that Popovski had read somewhere that Le Corbusier was described as an elegant gentlemen, photographing or sketching wherever he went.

Kruševo

A number of cities in Macedonia have been named as places that Le Corbusier visited in 1927: Kratova, Struga, Ohrid, Kruševo and Velesi. Geographically, Kratova and Velesi are in the east part of the country while Struga, Ohrid and Kruševo are in the west. To see all these places, Le Corbusier would have had to travel virtually all over Macedonia. But I want to concentrate for a moment on the only place which is mentioned in printed books as the city that Le Corbusier visited in 1927, Kruševo. Why would anyone inventing a story about Le Corbusier have come up with the idea that he had visited Kruševo?

Beginning with Popovski's statement that Le Corbusier came to Kruševo from Belgrade, we can note that the visitor would have had two possible ways to get to Macedonia. One is from Belgrade, through Nish and Kumanova to Skopje, the biggest city in Macedonia at that time and today's capital, while the second route would have been Belgrade-Prishtinë-Kaçanik-Skopje. Popovski, like all Macedonian authors, prefers Le Corbusier to have come to Skopje through Nish and not through Prishtina,[312] so let's grant for the sake of the argument that this was indeed the case. However, to travel to Kruševo, the highest town in Macedonia, Le Corbusier would have had to passed through the cities of Tetova and Manastiri; still, Popovski makes no mention that Le Corbusier would have visited these main cities in Macedonia. And of course Le Corbusier would have had to rest somewhere before arriving in Kruševo in order to be able to spend the whole day there sketching and photographing – after all, the journey from Skopje to Kruševo is some 140 kilometers. It seems improbable that one would be travelling through Macedonia without passing through Skopje, Tetova and Manastiri. At that time Skopje was not the biggest city in Macedonia, but it was a military centre and known for its mosques and architecture generally. Tetova or Kalkandele, as Turks called it, was a center of business, while Manastiri was a center of culture, and was known as "the city of consuls". It

remains a mystery why these cities are not featured in the story of Le corbusier's trip to Kruševo.

If one follows Eric Hobsbawm's notion that inventions are born when a nation is looking to build its identity, one may well account for lack of references to Skopje, Tetova and Manastiri in the Popovski's list of cities visited by Le Corbusier in 1927, and explain why Kruševo was chosen instead. [313] Firstly, Macedonian authors claim that Kruševo is a pure Macedonian town, even though one can also find Macedonian authors, who maintain that Kruševo was actually built by different nations who chose the highest place in Macedonia, 1450 meters above sea level, to build their future town as a stronghold against the Ottoman threat.[314] Secondly, in 1903 Kruševo was the town of the Ilinden uprising against the Ottomans, a town declared the first "free Macedonian territory." Since 1903, Kruševo had been though of as the town where the Macedonian nation was born and where Macedonian history was made. That is why it was important for the nationalistic rhetoric that Le Corbusier visited Kruševo and was inspired by its architecture, rather than the ethnically more varied architecture of Skopje, Tetova or Manastiri.

Grabrijan's last word

More then fifty years ago Grabrijan started the ball rolling, providing the basis on which later authors constructed an entire myth about Le Corbusier and Macedonia. How far can Grabrijan really be blamed for initiating the myth in early 1950s?

Blazh Rotar, writing about Grabrijan's life and activity as an architect, professor and theoretician, explains that in 1929 Grabrijan began to work in Sarajevo, later the capital

of Bosnia and Herzegovina. [315] Upon his arrival in Bosnia, he found the townscape of mosques and simple cubic houses a true source of inspiration. Disillusioned by the limitations of the formal vocabulary of the modern movement, Grabrijan sought a more poetic and intuitive approach to architecture. In Sarajevo, he focused on the traditional Bosnian Oriental house, the simplicity of which he believed offered many lessons for modern architects, and identified the "unwritten principles" of modern architecture as that of human scale, unobstructed views, geometry, open and flexible spaces, simple furniture, the use of local materials and traditional buildings techniques. The formal characteristics of the Bosnian Oriental house, according to Grabrijan, were also read as "modern": the house was raised and connected to the ground by a single flight of stairs, it was lit from above, it had double-height spaces, cubic forms and it was situated in the context of open greenery. In short, in Sarajevo Grabrijan was intrigued by the Bosnian context, as the dialogue between the "Islamic" and the "modern" echoed themes discussed so often by Le Corbusier.

Knowing both sides, the Bosnian Oriental house and the work of Le Corbusier, Grabrijan in his early writings always compared houses from Bosnia with Le Corbusier's villas, claiming there to be an analogy between them. In one of his first articles about Sarajevo and its architectural phenomena, published in *Jugoslovenski List* and titled *"Le Corbusier and Sarajevo"*[316] Grabrijan concludes that Le Corbusier was close to the Oriental house and that he saw early modernism in the Bosnian house. Another important article by Grabrijan, published in Sarajevo, was the *"Turkish House, its sources and principles"* in which Grabrijan established a close link between the Turkish house and the Bosnian Oriental house. [317] Grabrijan also remarks that almost all his observations regarding the Turkish house could be also applied to the Bosnian Muslim house.

However, if before Second World War Grabrijan got the chance to get to know the Bosnian Oriental house, between 1929 and 1941, after the War he was active in Macedonia. Traveling to Macedonia in 1946 and 1947, he also had the chance to get to know nineteenth-century houses from Macedonia. But, it was only in 1949 that he found the time to make a three-month study trip in different places in Macedonia, recording its architectural heritage. Nevertheless, before his death in 1952 Grabrijan had studied both the Bosnian Oriental house and the Macedonian house, and in the period between 1951 and 1952, he was writing two books, *The Bosnian Oriental Architecture in Sarajevo*,[318] first published in 1957, and *Razvojni put naše savremene kuće*, [*The Development of Our Modern House*] [319] first published in 1959.

The Bosnian Oriental architecture in Sarajevo, according to Peter Krečič (the present Director of the Museum of Architecture in Ljubljana, Slovenia, who also wrote the foreword for the English edition of the book in 1983), grew from Grabrijan's enthusiasm for the future for modern architecture.[320] Grabrijan constructed a typology of the Bosnian Oriental house based on his own investigations and drawings of houses in Bosnia, or more precisely, Sarajevo. The analysis included plans and sketches with extensive captions that explained the functions of the house. The typology presented the layout of the house as one based upon a series of organizational principles such as the division of private rooms and public areas, the functional use of the space, and circulation patterns, and concluded that it was hard to question the links between the modern house and the Bosnian Oriental house. In *The Development of Our Modern House*, Grabrijan claimed that not only the Bosnian Oriental house, but also the Macedonian house can be compared with the modern house. This time Grabrijan was more precise in comparing examples from Bosnia and Macedonia with the work of Le Corbusier. Together the two books suggest that the Bosnian Oriental house should have a lot in common with the Macedonian house, since both are analogous to Le Corbusier's works.

However, this is not the argument put forward in *The Macedonian House*, published in 1955. In this book, Grabrijan sees things a little differently, sensing no continuity between the Oriental house in Sarajevo and the Macedonian house.[321] Instead, he argues that the Macedonian house has its own specifically Macedonian elements that distinguish it from the Oriental house. Thus would seem to contradict his own statements made in the other books where he claims that the Bosnian Oriental house and the Macedonian house are close to the modern house and to Le Corbusier's work. In *The Macedonian House* the specific Macedonian elements that make the house in Macedonia different from the Oriental one are as follows:

First, the Macedonian house is a closed building, with a closed trem-porch and chardak-varanda, while the Oriental house has an open porch and divhana-veranda; second, the Macedonian house has a salon in the air, or a chardak under the roof, intended for living purposes in the summer time and for gatherings and parties; third, the Macedonian way of organizing the kitchen is different; fourth, in the Macedonian house people stand, while in the Oriental one they lay down on the floor, and finally, the Macedonian way of living is European.[322]

Keeping in mind the examples in Grabrijan's *Bosnian Oriental Architecture in Sarajevo*, Kümürcüoglu's *Das Alt-türkische Wohnhaus* (1966) and Eldem's "*Kösler ve Kasirlar*; Turkish Kiosks and Pavillons" (1973), we can see that the five characteristics Grabrijan names as specific to the nineteenth century houses in Macedonia were present also in the Oriental architecture in Bosnia and Turkey. It is possible that Grabrijan, for twenty years an expert of the Bosnian Oriental house, could have overlooked the analogy between the Bosnian Oriental and the Macedonian house?

As I see it, the answer to this question should be looked for elsewhere. In 1949, Minister Dejan asked Grabrijan to identify "what is there specifically Macedonian in the nineteenth century houses of Macedonia"[323] Knowing the political circumstances in 1949, it is understandable that Grabrijan had to name at least a few specific Macedonian elements, even if there were only five, although earlier he described the same elements in Bosnian Oriental architecture. On the other hand, the Macedonian Minister also urged Grabrijan to elaborate on "the influence of the Macedonian house on Le Corbusier's architecture."[324] This might have been the reason why Grabrijan first supposed that Le Corbusier had mentioned in a discussion with Yugoslavian architects working for him that he had been to 'South Serbia', without naming any date or place. Grabrijan's suppositions, supported by the letter he got from his friend Marjan Šorli in 1952, were good enough for Macedonians intent on constructing the myth about Le Corbusier.

However, from what Grabrijan writes in *The Macedonian House*, it seems that he knew exactly where Le Corbusier had been travelling: "Let's get back to the question of whether Le Corbusier had been in Macedonia or not"[325] writes Grabrijan at the end his book, continuing: "it seems that Le Corbusier was staying in the Egey Macedonia and that he was in Thessalonica."[326] We know that the first time Le Corbusier was in Thessalonica was in 1911, before South Serbia even existed. But it seems that Macedonian authors wilfully ignored Grabrijan's suggestion and instead concentrated on the idea that Macedonia was Le Corbusier's secret source of inspiration.

Is Grabrijan to blame for the myth because he was the first to suggest that there is an analogy between the Macedonian house and the works of Le Corbusier, and for suggesting that Le Corbusier had been to Macedonia? I would say no: Grabrijan is not the villain because he states that the modern house is analogous not only with the Macedonian one, but also with the Bosnian Oriental one, and that Le Corbusier stayed in

Thessalonica, not Macedonia. It is, then, not Grabrijan but rather later Macedonian critics, authors and educators who are to be blame for using Le Corbusier's name to construct the myth and boost their identity, history and past. The case seems clear; in Macedonia during the early 1950s the architecture was not understood merely as a solution to the question of the dwelling and urban problems, or even as a solution for solving the practical issues of everyday life, but much more as an instrument of nationalist propaganda.

Why is there a myth about Le Corbusier and Macedonia?

All the reliable sources of information – the *Fondation Le Corbusier* in Paris, the Library in La Chaux-de-Fonds, my contacts with authors such as H. Allen Brooks, Geoffrey Baker, Ivan Žaknić, and Giuliano Gresleri, Stanislaus von Moos and Charles Jencks – suggest that Le Corbusier could not have found the time, or had the desire to travel to Macedonia in 1927, "for only one day trip" as the Macedonian author Popovski writes in his monograph about the city of Kruševo.[327] The whole episode about Le Corbusier visiting different towns in Macedonia then finally traveling to Kruševo is an invention of a few Macedonian authors. Why would anyone invent such a story? Why Le Corbusier, in particular, and not some other modern architect, let us say, for example, Alvar Aalto?

In *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm explains that the process of inventing new traditions or myths occurs more frequently when a rapid transformation of a society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which old traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated: in short, when there are sufficiently large and rapid

changes on the demand or supply side.[328] After World War II Macedonia was recognized for the first time as a state and the Macedonians declared a nation. Yet the new nation would have to go through a period of "social transformation," in order to forge an identity and a past of her own. According to Hobsbawm, in such circumstances where the transformations of a society either comes to the achievement of the new traditions, or will be adapted the old ones, of course if the old ones are fulfilling the demands of the new created society.[329]

Instead of initiating a new architectural tradition, as might be expected since the Macedonian state and nation were new, its nineteenth century architecture was now redefined as "national Macedonian architecture." This took place without there ever being any discussion about what could possibly be pure "national Macedonian" in the nineteenth century architecture from that specific territory, or how the "national Macedonian architecture" could be distinguished from the national heritage of the neighbouring countries of Albania, Bulgaria and Greece.[330]

However, we have seen that various Macedonian authors were not satisfied with the selection of nineteenth century architecture as a "national Macedonian architecture", and instead demanded much more, building upon Grabrijan's suggestion that Le Corbusier had visited Macedonia at the time when it was part of 'South Serbia' (1913-1941).[331] In this case, Grabrijan must be taken as the single person "responsible" for original Corbusian myth. The invention was ultimately instituted as follows:

Le Corbusier visited Kratova, Ohrid and Struga, and finally Kruševo in 1927. He was influenced by the nineteenth century houses and borrowed elements from it for the first phase in his carrier, but keept secret the source of his success [i.e. Macedonia].

In order to answer the question of why one would create a myth about Le Corbusier and Macedonia it could be argued that the invention of a myth was done firstly to get "others" to notice the unknown national heritage. It should be remembered that many European nations towards the end of the nineteenth century had also invented their specific architectures, such as the National Romantic styles of Hungary or Finland, and promoted these through world exhibitions and publications. Grabrijan, in *The Macedonian house* explains the situation as follows: "For us [the Yugoslavian population] it was even harder than for others, being exploited from outside, ignored from the inside, we had no chance to express our national architectural heritage."[332] The fact that Macedonian architectural heritage was an inspiration to the most important architect of the twentieth century would undoubtedly get the attention of the world. It was strongly believed that in showing how Macedonia helped Le Corbusier to make his career, the Macedonian nation would earn the respect and recognition, which it was needing so badly after its creation.

The next step was the creation of a myth that set back the historical roots as far back in the past as possible. This happens always when the new nation looks to replace its new and unknown identity with an ancient and autochthonous one. The existence of a myth helps in the formation of historical continuity, which in the present case had to be invented, by creating an ancient past beyond effective historical continuity, either by semi-fiction or forgery. The temptation of the Macedonian authors to connect their national architecture with the past will never end. Going back to history and setting the historical roots in the past still remains a common tendency when Macedonians deal with their architecture: "Our architecture", concludes a Macedonian architect Vangel Božinoski in an interview given to Igor Stojanovski, "does not begin with the nineteenth century architecture, but some milleniums BC."[333] But as so often is the case, Božinoski does not explain what is meant by Macedonian national architecture over a period from the antique period until the nineteenth century.

But it seems that one specific interest for (mostly) new nations to invent myths about themselves is the desire to built an identity when they have identity problems. This, indeed, was the situation after the Second World War, and it continues to be so even today. "They [inventions] are highly relevant to that comparatively recent historical innovation, the nation, with its associated phenomena: nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, histories and the rest. All these rest on exercises in social engineering which are often deliberate and always innovative, if only because historical novelty implies innovation," as Hobsbawm concludes.[334] Having Le Corbusier alongside the national Macedonian architecture was expected to help to build the "image of the nation," and might even explain why during the creation of the myth, Le Corbusier was said to have visited only Kruševo – the city of the Ilinden uprising in 1903.[335] Finally, Hobsbawm claims that the appearance of a myth will not have any importance of their study unless it is strongly connected with the identity of the nation that is inventing it. And the myth about Le Corbusier was invented in order to "identify" the Macedonian architectural heritage as being important.

But, why Le Corbusier and not Alvar Aalto, for example? The reputation of Aalto was known in Macedonia. Boris Čipan for example, compared Aalto's Hansaviertel housing block in Berlin (1953), to a Muslim house in Macedonia, finding an analogy between the *chardak* and the rooms surrounding it in the Muslim house and the living-room surrounded by other rooms as used by Aalto in Berlin.[336] Čipan then demanded, following Aalto's own desire for "national" elements to be present in modern architecture, that Macedonian architects should do the same thing as Aalto did for Finland, that is to use national architectural elements in their modern works. Čipan's conclusion was: " simply, there is Aalto to be followed."[337]

However, even though Aalto was known by Macedonian architects – and like Le Corbusier, was known to have traveled in Southern Europe, acknowledging the influence of Greek classical architecture as well as the *architettura minore* of Northern Italy and the Mediterranean area – he was the architect to be used for the purpose of creating a myth around Macedonian national architecture. There are two main reasons why Le Corbusier was chosen and not someone like Aalto.

First, in the early 1950s, it was known that Le Corbusier had travelled through the central Balkans and Turkey.[338] The source may have been Le Corbusier's articles in *Les Feuilles d'Avis,* the local newspaper of La Chaux-de-Fonds, or the writings of modernist historians, such as Giedion. According to Grabrijan, the architects who worked for Le Corbusier during the 1920s and the 1930s believed that he might have also gone through Macedonia. This claim was simply accepted by later Macedonian authors as a fact. Second, due to both his published writings and architectural works by the 1950s Le Corbusier was accepted as the leader of the modern movement. Hence, it would have been more natural for the authors interested in getting recognition for nineteenth century Macedonian architecture to promote Le Corbusier's name in connection with the values of that architecture, talking of "analogies" and keeping the facts as vague as possible. The most important thing for them was that "national Macedonian architecture" should be mentioned in the same breath as Le Corbusier.

Interpretations

In his book *Architecture and Its Interpretation* (1979) Juan Pablo Bonta argues that many interpretations of works of art and architecture – if not all of them – "display a certain internal consistency within their own frames of reference."[339] Bonta thinks that there is also a certain logic or order in the ways in which the various interpretations of a single work follow each other. He argues that time is an important factor in the process of interpretation, and that by arranging the interpretations, according to their chronological sequence, certain patterns may emerge which had not been considered previously and deserve closer inspection.[340] As an example, Bonta takes Mies van de Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion of 1929, focusing on the problem of why and how this architectural work was initially overlooked by critics and historians, and why it took decades for it to be rediscovered by distinguished critics (such as Hitchcock, Blake and Pevsner), who then considered it the most outstanding masterpiece of the twentieth-century architecture.

By following the various interpretations regarding Le Corbusier, and his (supposed) relation to Macedonia in a chronological manner, from the very frist writings about him in 1955[341] and until the year 2003,[342] it can easily be concluded that the Macedonian interpretations contain all the stages of Bonta's "filter" of interpretation: blindness, pre-canonical, canonical interpretation, dissemination, silence, oblivion and reinterpretation.

Blindness, pre-canonical responses and canonical interpretation

According to Bonta[343] blindness is the first step in the process of architectural interpretations. It presents a time period during which a certain architectural work, for some reason or other, has passed unnoticed. As regards nineteenth century houses in Macedonia, as an architectural phenomenon, the blindness of critics lasted until the 1955.

In explaining the way in which things were interpreted and the role of the critics in the process of interpretation, Bonta argues that when a work departs from culturally established patterns, it always requires a collective effort of clarification, and that architecture becomes incorporated into culture as a result of the work of critics, no less than that of designers.[344] It seems that in Macedonia, the work of critics until 1955 was hardly recognized, and that is why architecture was badly incorporated into the culture. Incorporating architecture into the culture, according to Bonta, requires meanings to be verbalized and new canons to be established. It seems that in Macedonia it took more then a century, as the oldest house in Macedonia it was built around 1840 but only in the early 1950s architects, beginning with Grabrijan will write about the qualities of a specifically Macedonian architecture.

The 1950s presents a shift in judging the nineteenth-century architecture in Macedonia. For example, in 1955 Grabrijan in his book *The Macedonian House* argued that the architecture of the previous century in Macedonia should be treated as a heritage important enough to be used as the basis for the creation of modern architecture, not only in Macedonia, but also in Yugoslavia. Grabrijan presented a few suggestions to break the blindness about nineteenth-century architecture. It is necessary to return to the letter sent to Grabrijan in 1952 by his colleague Marjan Šorli: "In New York" wrote Sorli "I bought

Peter Blake's book about Marcel Breuer. Peter Blake begins with a conversation between Breuer and Le Corbusier ... Close by was a picture from some place in Macedonia."[345]

On the same page Grabrijan reproduces the photograph Šorli was talking about, which indeed shows the city of Kratova. By reproducing it, Grabrijan started the process of interpretations about Le Corbusier and Macedonia. Elsewhere in his book, Grabrijan writes that "Le Corbusier in his writings and in the conversation with our [Yugoslavian] architects has mentioned that he has visited Macedonia, or as he calls it 'South Serbia'," and further elaborates that "Le Corbusier speaks a lot about the Oriental house, but when it comes to the Macedonian house he seems to be reserved."[346] Moreover, Grabrijan explains: "In his work we see a Macedonian influence in his first phase and that when modern architecture needed advice, architects who knew the Balkans, would take the Macedonian house as a model in creating the modern one."[347]

In the last chapter of his book, Grabrijan continually draws analogies between the houses in Struga and Ohrid and Le Corbusier's Villa Carthage, his houses in Pessac, and his workers' houses in Barcelona. Grabrijan thinks also that the *Bondruk* system was taken by Le Corbusier as a model for the *Dom-Ino* skeleton. The flexibility in planning the floors and facades explains, states Grabrijan, how indeed Le Corbusier arrived at his *Dom-Ino*. In publishing his statements, Grabrijan was the first to draw attention to the importance of Macedonian architecture, and the role it had in helping one of the most important architects of the century, Le Corbusier, from the very beginning in his career. Grabrijan's suppositions, published in 1955, are indeed matter of continuous judgments and illuminated guesses, but without statements supported by facts or at least backed up by the consensus of the academic community. Grabrijan's scholarship was to be regarded as tentative, presenting individual interpretations, but as we have seen, these later became subject to further controversy with other individuals adding to the scholarship (Čipan,

Tomoski, Nikoloska, Haxhieva-Aleksievska, Božinovski, Mulićkovski, etc.), from where began the process of further interpretations of the story about Le Corbusier and Macedonia. In accordance with Bonta's theory, Grabrijan's guesses presented in the early 1950s can be taken as pre-canonical responses and, furthermore, he can be considered as the single initiator and author of the pre-canonical responses.[348]

However, Grabrijan was not the only architect and author interested in the nineteenth century houses in Macedonia. Jovan Krunić, another architect who became active in scholarly research in Macedonia, traveled from Serbia to Macedonia in 1950, only one year after Grabrijan. Krunić published his first views about the value of the nineteenth century houses from Macedonia in 1951-52,[349] and went on to write a number of articles about it. But, Krunić never mentioned in his writings that Le Corbusier had some connection with Macedonia, that he had visited 'South Serbia' or been impressed by its architecture. This is particularly telling since Krunić had actually worked for Le Corbusier between 1938 and 1940. Although, Krunić's articles are important for breaking the blindness about the nineteenth century houses in Macedonia, they can't be taken as pre-canonical responses, because he does not give the basis for the later discussion of Le Corbusier and Macedonia, as we see happens with Grabrijan.

Another author that might have have been given the same attention as Grabrijan and in some way breaks the blindness is Boris Čipan, who in his book *Old City Architecture in Ohrid* writes: "The creative capability of the master builders, with which he solves his problems, has as a result an architecture all humanized, setting the master from Ohrid close to the protagonists of modern architecture", and that "it would be the first generation of the modern movement – Le Corbusier, Aalto [*sic*] that will know how to use the values of such architecture, in realizing their own goals."[350] Finally Čipan will raise the controversy of Le Corbusier failing to acknowledge his sources: "The elements

of modern architecture which we use today in our projects, indeed are the same elements that modernists [Le Corbusier] copied from the anonymous architecture in Macedonia, but without speaking about their source of inspiration."[351]

Čipan further explains:

"After this, it is unacceptable to see our [Yugoslav and Macedonian] young architects using the two-storey gallery, the cabinets hidden in the walls, or the kitchen with its modern elements, as standard achievements without seeing that these were invented by their predecessors one century earlier. As a way to create 'home for everyone' the European architects discovered the Macedonian house. Following its model, they created the rational house with the cabinets in the walls, but without acknowledging their sources of inspiration. And today, we use these elements as imported discoveries from modern architecture, because we were blind to see the examples in our territory realized in the nineteenth century."[352]

Čipan's statement that Le Corbusier took the Macedonian house as model in creating the modern house can be also classified as a precanonical responses. If we are looking to limit the year of the precanonical responses in this case, then that would be 1955, the year when Grabrijan and Čipan published their suppositions, and the interpretation regarding Le Corbusier and Macedonia during the stage of the precanonical responses achieved the following form:

Le Corbusier was in Macedonia in his youth in order to be inspired by its architecture and we today can see the Macedonian influence in his work. Le Corbusier took the Macedonian house as a model to create the modern house.

However, by the end of the 1950, there was a new viewpoint in the interpretation of Le Corbusier in Macedonia. By then it had changed sufficiently that instead suppositions by one or two authors there were now mature and important statements by leading authors in Macedonia. Grabrijan's and Čipan's writings about Le Corbusier and the importance of Macedonia in his work had opened the way for further interpretations by other authors.

In 1960 Sotir Tomoski received public attention in Macedonia – and became respected as the father of national architecture – when he published his book *Macedonian National Architecture*. Tomoski gives an example from a house in Dibra, where four windows were built so close to each other that it somehow reminds him of Le Corbusier's *fenetre en longueur*: "It is obvious that when the master builder built these four windows so close to each other, he didn't realize that actually he had marked the beginning of modern architecture. At the end of the nineteenth century and begin of the twentieth century we see the temptation to build windows of the house very close to each other, the chardak-verandas will be closed in with windows, making in this way a wall covered completely by glass. These houses are the predecessors of modern architecture. Even the pioneer of modern architecture, Le Corbusier itself, was inspired by them."[353] Tomoski then concludes: "Our architecture contributed to the modern architecture through the name of Le Corbusier. In his *Oeuvre Complete 1910-1929*, we see sketches, chardak-verandas and interiors of our houses. Our old house, naked, rich with sun, air and green surfaces, with large glazed surfaces and with the wooden skeleton, couldn't keep away the feelings of an artistic soul like Le Corbusier, who then demands that modern architecture fulfill the same".[354] Tomoski concludes: "These [Macedonian] houses are the ancestors of modern architecture, and from which was inspired even the pioneer of the modern architecture, Le Corbusier."[355]

Grabrijan's and Čipan's tentative suggestions and Tomoski's more definitive statements suggest that many previous responses were distributed by the repetition of the essential facts. It has to be said that at this point the interpretation does not recognize one single author – initially Grabrijan – but rather is shared by an entire community, or at least by an identifiable section of it, namely the academic and professional subcultures: Boris Čipan, Sotir Tomoski, and Krum Tomovski.[356] Bonta calls such a development in the process of interpretation as the canonical interpretation.[357] In short, after Tomoski's conclusion that Le Corbusier in his *Oeuvre Complete 1910-1929* shows sketches of Macedonian houses no one will doubt that Le Corbusier had visited Macedonia, had been inspired by the Macedonian houses of the nineteenth century and that had used Macedonian elements in his later career, without mentioning from where those elements were coming. By the 1960s, using Grabrijan's suggestions and his analogy between the houses in Macedonia and Le Corbusier's villas, Čipan's conclusions and Tomoski's statements, the interpretation regarding Le Corbusier and Macedonia will have achieved its final form:

Le Corbusier was in Macedonia toseek inspiration, and what he saw inspired his later work. He visited the towns of Struga, Ohrid, and Kratova. We recognize in his houses elements of our nineteenth century Macedonian house. We Macedonians have contributed to modern architecture through Le Corbusier, who took our house as a model in creating the modern house. Yet he was never willing to say a word about the originality of his work, and did not discuss the sources of his inspiration.

This general interpretation about Le Corbusier and Macedonia became the culminating interpretation at the end of the 1960s. Once the canonical interpretation was fixed in Macedonia, there began the phase of its consolidation. From this perspective, what needs to be explained is not how some precanonical responses became included in the canonical interpretation, but rather how it is that some of them were abandoned. One of the forces

that govern the process of filtering is the necessity of reconciling contradictory aspects among diverse initial speculations. At the stage of precanonical responses a variety of conflicting views can coexist, where the canonical interpretation emerges as a number of unrelated responses, which gradually settle into a consistent pattern. After the reconciliation of all contradictory aspects – e.g. the acceptance of Struga, Ohrid and Kratova as towns visited by Le Corbusier, not giving a date when Le Corbusier was in Macedonia, naming only that which was called 'South Serbia' – after the 1960s we have the generalized version of the canonical interpretation as follows:

Le Corbusier was in Macedonia, he was inspired by what he saw there and he uses the elements of the nineteenth Century Macedonian houses in his later works.

Another factor that has an effect on the process of canon formation is the means graphic and photographic used to record all that has been claimed before. Beginning with Grabrijan and Tomoski, we see both authors trying to give a pictorial record of what they were suggesting and supported their conclusions with drawings and photographs. For instance Grabrijan's analogy, is supported by comparative sketches and photographs between Struga and Villa Carthage and and between Ohrid and Pessac, and there is also the analogy *Bondruk* and *Dom-Ino*.[358] In Tomoski's writings there is the comparison between the house in Dibra and houses Le Corbusier published in his *Oeuvre Complete 1910-1929*.[359] The third factor that leads from pre-canonical responses to the canonical interpretation is the presentation of the issues considered worthy of concern. The 1960s were the years in Macedonia when Macedonian architects tried to base their modern architecture on the elements of the nineteenth-century architecture. This was an issue worthy of concern and that is the reason why the myth of Le Corbusier and Macedonia had to be promoted in the canonical form.

The period of dissemination

With the publication of Tomoski's *Macedonian National Architecture* in 1960, people became convinced about Le Corbusier having Macedonia as a source of inspiration and it became that which Bonta calls the canonical interpretation and the 1960s was a point in the process of interpretation in which the canonical interpretation reached a wider public, what Bonta terms the period of dissemination.[360] In the period between 1960 and 1998 the interpretation about *Le Corbusier used Macedonia as a source of inspiration* was further consolidated in Macedonia by different interpreters and then sold to the general public in a simplified form.

The process of consolidating the view has to do with the generalization of the whole interpretation. During the period of dissemination, interpreters in Macedonia did not occupy themselves with details, such as for instance the precise dates or even the year when Le Corbusier would have visited Macedonia (or 'South Serbia') or the precise places he visited, other than Struga, Ohrid and Kratova. Even Grabrijan's analogy between nineteenth-century Macedonian houses and Le Corbusier's work was discussed only in a general way, and without using specific details. Architects, authors and different institutions would all occupy themselves in "selling" the story. Accordingly, the interpretation that Le Corbusier visited Macedonia would be simplified to a level acceptable to the general public. And, of course, moreover, there was no reason to doubt that this interpretation would be anything but true. So the final version of the interpretation in the late 1970s was as follows:

Le Corbusier had been in Macedonia to seek inspiration for his future work. An analogy exists between the Macedonian house and the work of Le Corbusier. We see how our

Macedonian elements were used by Le Corbusier in his villas, but he himself never realized that Macedonia was the source of his inspiration.

However, during the long period of dissemination of the idea that *Le Corbusier had visited Macedonia*, there are some interesting points to be recorded. First, interpreters tend to base their version of the "story" not on written texts (very rarely in this case) but on verbal statements. This explains the fact that in Macedonia, everyone who was dealing with art and architecture knew "from somewhere" the story about Le Corbusier and Macedonia. Second, interpreters were capable of basing their statements not only on facts such as Šorli's letter and the photograph of Kratova "owned by Le Corbusier," referred to in Grabrijan's book, but also on verbal statements, as made for instance by Tomoski, who claimed that sketches in Le Corbusier's *Oeuvre Complete 1910-1929* are of Macedonia, when in fact they are from Bulgaria and Turkey. In doing so, they all help to perpetuate the myth.[361]

Then, during the phase of dissemination, according to Bonta's theory, in interpreting architectural phenomena it might happen that the initial relationship between a particular phenomenon [between Le Corbusier and Macedonia in the present case] and any texts may be completely lost due to the successive deformation of the "primary" text. In this case, such an example of verbiage running wild happens with the infamous letter sent to Grabrijan in 1952 by his friend Šorli concerning a passage in a book by Peter Blake. Up until the beginning of the period of dissemination, we have been dealing only with successive deformations of the primary text. As analyzed in detail above, Šorli distorts the topic of the conversation between Le Corbusier and Marcel Breuer, changes "South-Eastern Europe and its architecture" to "Yugoslavian folklore architecture" and "Southern Hungary" to "close to the Yugoslavian border."[362] The second deformation of the text appeared in 1955, this time in the Macedonian edition of Grabrijan's book, translated by

Branko Juvan who somehow forgets to translate "close to the Yugoslavian border," leaving only "Le Corbusier at once began to talk about Yugoslavian folklore architecture."[363]

Nevertheless, as Bonta claims, the most interesting point in the stage of dissemination is not the changing of facts or losing the relationship between the phenomenon and the text, as the examples in Macedonia show, but the abandonment of the first important facts, the basis from which the interpretation was started. [364] In the present case, the interpretation about Le Corbusier and Macedonia began with Šorli's letter and the picture showing the city of Kratova, interpreted as:

Le Corbusier had been in Macedonia, he was explaining to Breuer his source of inspiration, and he had a picture from Kratova.

But, when the story reached the public or canonical interpretation, the facts were abandoned. In the second Macedonian edition of *The Macedonian House*, from 1986, as the book was enlarged in terms of the number of pages and sketches, the famous letter from Šorli and the photograph of Kratova were absent, though in the first Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian edition of 1955, the letter and the photograph from Kratova were the main documents proving the connection between the Le Corbusier and Macedonia. For Macedonian interpreters it seems that at that time it was important that the story to be sold in a generalized form and also to be accepted as such – which it indeed was. That is why the translator of the second edition, Dolja Spirova-Stefanija "doesn't know how such an important fact for Macedonia and Macedonians [publishing Šorli's letter] was left unpublished in 1986."[365]

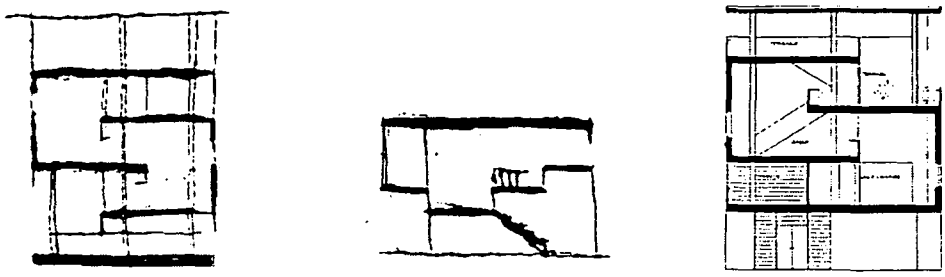


Figure 1- Cross-section of the villa Carthago, published in *The Macedonian House* (1955), (left) published upside down but compared to a gipsy house in Struga (middle). The real cross-section of the villa Carthago (1923) (right).

Another example of this kind is the involvement of the Minister Dejan who, according to Grabrijan, was interested in solving two problems: first, to find out what is specifically Macedonian in the nineteenth century architecture in Macedonia, and second, to find an analogy between Le Corbusier and the Macedonian architecture.[366] In his book Grabrijan does not give us the real name of the minister referred to in 1949. It might be that it was not usual to give too many details about such a very highly placed person in the government. While the Slovenian (1976) and Serbo-Croatian (1955) editions of Grabrijan's book contain only references to "Minister Dejan," the Macedonian versions of the same book from 1955 and 1986 has a note explaining who indeed was the Minister Dejan – an architect, Kiro Georgievski.[367] A deformation of a different kind occurs with the sectional sketch of the Villa Carthage (1923), used to show the analogy between the houses from Struga and the Villa Carthago – which in all editions of *The Macedonian House* was reproduced upside down (Fig. 1). No one has ever noticed this mistake.[368]

Silence, oblivion and reinterpretation

According to Bonta, interpretations eventually go through states of silence, oblivion and reinterpretation.[369] This seems to happen in the present case, as well. After 1986, the year when the Macedonian edition of Grabrijan's Macedonian House was published for the second time, the process of interpretation in Macedonia appeared to dry up. Since the canonical interpretation had been established, it was difficult to think of the "story" in any other way, and over years it became tedious to keep repeating the same points, to hail the same version. Under these circumstances, the story of Le Corbusier visiting Macedonia was likely to be mentioned less frequently, simply because there was an indication of things being taken for granted. No other comments or new interpretations about Le Corbusier and Macedonia seem to have been recorded after 1998, or at least not until recently.

The silence in the process of interpretation in the present case can be explained first of all as "absence" of the main actors: Grabrijan died in 1952, leaving his book completed but unpublished, Le Corbusier in 1965, Sotir Tomoski in 1985. After the interpretation had achieved the stage of canonical interpretation, other authors that have written about Le Corbusier and Macedonia, such as Jasmina Haxhieva-Vasilevska, Vangel Božinovski, Boris Čipan, Marula Nikoloska, Petar Mulićkovski, and Krum Tomovski, have based their comments on the earlier texts, mostly on Grabrijan's and Tomoski's writings or misreadings of Le Corbusier. This is a reason why the silence became self-perpetuating and to led to a state of what Bonta terms oblivion[370] that is to a state where the story becomes meaningless, where interpretations are liable to wear out.

But as Bonta argues, oblivion does not necessarily mean that the story about Le Corbusier and Macedonia was already old and totally forgotten. Oblivion will not imply the

conclusion of the interpretative process of the work, and it can't be declared as the end stage of the interpretation even in the present case. Indeed, the canonical interpretation will be further presented to the public, but in a "reduced" form. Thus, in 1998 there appeared in Macedonia new information about Le Corbusier and Macedonia, which was enthusiastically accepted by the public. In their book *Macedonia, Yesterday and Today* (1998), Jovan and Mishel Pavlovski write:

"In 1927, Le Corbusier visited Kruševo and was delighted by the nineteenth century architecture unique to this small town. The densely packed houses are characterized by magnificent architectural arrangements..."[371]

A few years later architects, students of architecture, and the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje would also be involved in distributing the same new information. Perhaps in order to make an impression on the visiting guests, during the Seminar on IAESTE Development, held in Skopje between 24th and 27th April 2003, this same information was presented:

"The great architect of this millennium, Le Corbusier, by the name of Charles- Eduard Jeanneret, was an international Swiss architect and city planner who established some of his architectural basics and principles according to the typical Macedonian house... Le Corbusier came to Macedonia's highest town Kruševo and was overwhelmed by the style and charm of this (then) prosperous town..."[372]

But it seems that Mihailo Popovski in his book *Monographs about Kruševo* (2003), is even more specific about Le Corbusier having visited Macedonia. Claiming to be the first person to discover the year (1927) and place (Kruševo) Le Corbusier was staying during his trip to Macedonia, he writes:

"When in 1927 the Frenchman Charles Edouard Jeanneret-Gris visited Kruševo, he could not recover from astonishment. While his companion, a man from the French Embassy in Belgrade, was acquainting him with some historical events since the beginnings of the town and specially those referring to the Ilinden Uprising, the guest, obviously excited, took notes and sketches in his big sketching pad, very fast..."[373]

So the year 1998 records new information about the already old story of *Le Corbusier and Macedonia*; namely that Le Corbusier had visited Macedonia in 1927, and that the city of Kruševo had been his point of interest. This kind of new and indeed important fact was good enough for the process of interpretation not to be over. Instead of oblivion, a new stage of interpretation was about to begin after 1998 that of reinterpretation or, as Bonta suggests in reference to Thomas S. Kuhn's study of the accumulation of scientific knowledge, of revolution, in which everything is re-examined.[374] According to Bonta, an obvious way to begin a reinterpretation is when there are aspects of the facts that were overlooked at the stage of the canonical interpretation – something which is inescapable in any interpretation – and as time passes and the attention of the architectural community focuses on new topics, more and more issues will be found to have been omitted in an old canonical interpretation.[375] The above examples in Macedonia show that now we have to deal with new, overlooked facts; that is, the year when Le Corbusier visited Macedonia, 1927, a new city he visited, Kruševo, and a record of his behavior (the way he was sketching, taking notes in his pad and photographing, and the way he was dressed). These new facts, published in 1998 and in 2003, by the Pavlovskis and Popovski respectively, build the basis for the stage of reinterpretation of the already old story about Le Corbusier and Macedonia.

The first step in the process of reinterpretation in Macedonia was the destruction of the mystique associated with the old canonical interpretation. If we cast an eye over the above presented texts, we see that from the old version of the interpretation – the canonical stage of the interpretation – only the main *idea* has been taken: that Le Corbusier had visited Macedonia and was inspired by Macedonian architecture, and not the old facts that he was in Struga, Ohrid, or Kratova. The canonical interpretation was thus destroyed by presenting new facts: the year 1927, Kruševo as a city visited by Le Corbusier.[376] Taking the canonical interpretation for granted, then ignoring it, and then challenging it, are the first steps in the process leading to reinterpretation. But for reinterpretation to occur, it is necessary for there to be a change in focus, a switch to a new area of interest. And in Macedonia this time we have the switch, the new area of interest, the date, the city, and the "complete" description of Le Corbusier's action.

It is too early to judge how long it will take for such a reinterpretation to crystallize or whether it will crystallize at all. It can be predicted, however, that should a canonical reinterpretation emerge, it will be constructed from the point of view of the current interests of society. Its prime components, as Bonta concludes, could be semiotic, philosophical or religious, but there are also several other centers of interest, which could provide the basic insight.[377] In the case of Macedonia, the prime component in the emergence of a reinterpretation is less likely to be philosophical or religious, but rather historical; that is a component that will help to create an identity for the Macedonian nation, or in fact to rebuilt the identity for the second time after 1945, keeping in mind the political circumstances in the former Yugoslavia after the 1990s, when Macedonia became independent and the rebuilding of the nation's identity once again came in question.[378]

Conclusions

Despite Le Corbusier's protestations to the contrary, historians like to identify precedents for his work. Colin Rowe famously suggested that Le Corbusier's geometry echoes the "mathematics of an ideal villa" of Palladio[379] (Fig.1, 2) while Stanislaus von Moos identifies a Palladian prototype for a detail of the Villa Church, a stairwell tower in the courtyard of the Palazzo Chiericati.[380] Von Moos also claims that the "long window" comes from the 1914 *Modellfabrik* in Cologne, designed for the Werkbund exhibition by Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer, and that the Maison Citrohan was actually derived from a small bistro, "Legendre," opposite Ozenfant's studio in Paris.[381] Villa Schwob is, according to von Moos, based on the Ward Willits House by Frank Lloyd Wright, even though the similarity is hard to see, and he also speculates that the three-storey hall at the Maison La Roche-Jeanneret hall may have come from Arthur Little's Shingleside House.[382]

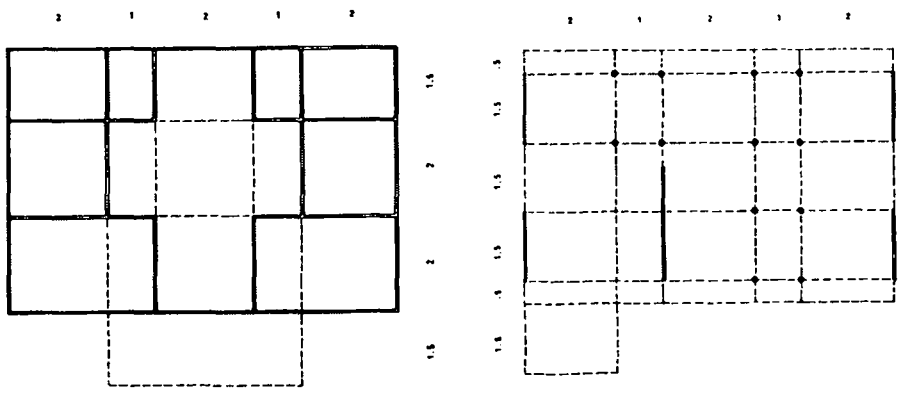


Figure 1, 2- Rowe: Palladio's Villa Foscari (1550-60) and Le Corbusier's Villa Stein (1927)

Adolf Max Vogt claims that the origin of the pilotis, the horizontal window, the oriel principle and other characteristics of the Corbusian villa is the Oriental house.[383] By contrast, H. Allen Brooks explains that the model for the villas was provided by the funnel-shaped chimney stack of the farmhouse in La Cornu, (Fig. 3, 4, 5), close to La Chaux-de-Fonds, where Le Corbusier spent the winter months of 1909-1910,[384] while William Curtis thinks that the villas were "profoundly influenced" by the houses in Pompeii that Le Corbusier visited towards the end of his Voyage to the Orient. Curtis does not hesitate to claim that the Serapeum at Hadrian's Villa, which Le Corbusier also visited during his Voyage in 1911, would be transformed forty years later into the light towers of the Ronchamp chapel.[385] Richard A. Etlin finds that the visit to the Acropolis crystallized Le Corbusier's conversion to Romantic Hellenism, sparked by Camillo Sitte's picturesque approach to urban design and Auguste Choisy's analysis of the visual paths of the Acropolis, and led to the discovery of the architectural promenade, as discussed in the Vers une architecture. Etlin writes: "Once again the young architect would make the ideas of another thinker his own. Influence is too weak a term. First in Sitte and then in Choisy, Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) found a revelation of a truth about architecture whose deep resonance largley determined the course of his future artistic life."[386]

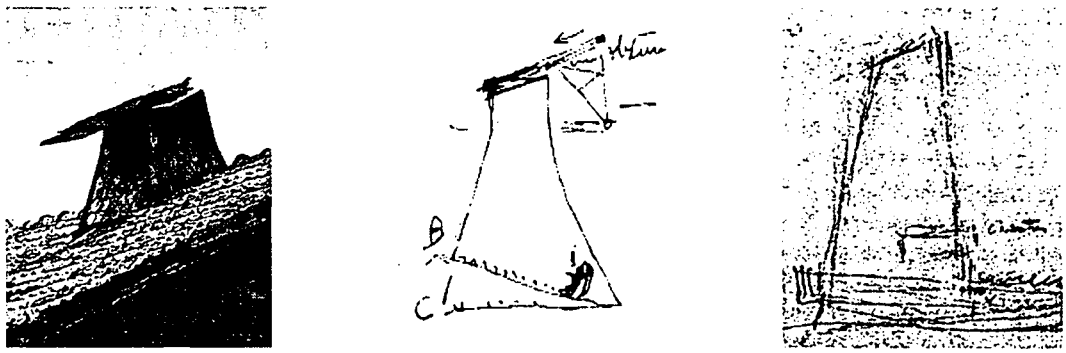


Figure 3, 4, 5- Brooks: chimney stack of the farmhouse in La Cornu, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Corbusier's early studies for the Assembly Chamber, Chandigarh (1954) and a conceptual sketch for the church at Firminy, France (1961)

Especially eager are historians to find models for what they consider to be early, instead of mature, projects. Thus, Kenneth Frampton explains that, "we must look to Cingria-Vaneyre as the ideological source for the calm geometric forms that would grace the Villa Jeanneret-Perret, designed by Jeanneret for his parents in 1912." He also finds motifs drawn from Behrens, which is to him ironic, "given Cingria's anti-German disposition and Jeanneret's ambivalence towards Behrens". He goes on to explain that "Behrensesque allusions are decidedly evident in the Rundbogenstil windows of the Villa Favre-Jacot, a work which, as Stanislaus van Moos has remarked, resembles Behrens's Goedecke House at Eppenhausen, Westphalia, of virtually the same date. This was not the only Teutonic influence acting on Jeanneret at the time, however, as is suggested by the raised arises of the Villa Jeanneret-Perret, since these derived from the cable mouldings that emphasize every seam in Josef Hoffmann's Palais Stoclet in Brussels in 1911. At the same time the overhanging eaves of the villa, together with its banded windows, suggest an influence from farther afield, notably Frank Lloyd Wright, whose work Jeanneret would have known through the publication of Wright's Wasmuth volumes in Berlin in 1910."[387]

In addition to the difficulty of really proving these influences, there is the additional problem that the works thus explained seem to dissolve into a mesh of quotations without integrity. In what sense have we understood the work when we can name a series of precedents that may have influenced it?

Theoretical parallels

If the method of similarity is difficult to apply as regards buildings and their visual characteristics, it is no less problematic when dealing with texts. Especially when we

enter the domain of architectural theory, it becomes very difficult to identify precursors or influences. Original ideas are extremely rare, especially when compared with science or with the rapidity of formal development in the various arts.[388]

In the early twenties, to give an example, when the international style was born, functionalist ideas had been common property for decades. One of the central dogmas of the movement, that of equating beauty and functionality, never reached the popularity it had enjoyed at the turn of the century.[389] Most of the functionalist ideas can be traced back to nineteenth century authors, such as Horatio Greenough, to the Enlightenment, and ultimately to Aristotle and other classics.[390] This is as true of machine analogies, the ship simile, the respect for the engineer as the *l'aurore des temps nouveaux* and the demand for a style reflecting the age as it is of the principles of honest materials and structures.

Gillian Naylor is actually prepared to classify Le Corbusier's *Vers une architecture* of 1923 as a *Werkbund* document.[391] Even though Henri Provensal, Edouard Schuré, John Ruskin and Anatole de Baudot seem more important to Le Corbusier than the Werkbund[392] Naylor's remark can be supported by comparing, for example, *Vers une architecture* with another collection of magazine articles, the 1907 volume titled *Vom neuen Stil* by Henry van de Velde.

Like Le Corbusier, he emphasizes the importance of the engineer's aesthetic for the new architecture. Both regard reason and rationality, as opposed to sentimentality, as characteristic of our age - although they feel that reason and rationality are not at all popular. The two authors also agree that functionality is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of beauty. They long for architecture expressive of its age, for purification or cleansing, and for exact forms - of which both give, rather surprisingly, the Parthenon as an example. Both admire Greek architecture and complement it by comparing it to ocean-

liners and other engineering products. Gothic style is derided and historicism in general gets to be compared to parasites and masquerading in clothes of another age. Both van de Velde and Le Corbusier end their pleas for a new architecture with the reassurance that although a new artistic style is necessary, a social revolution can be avoided.[393]

Still, when we compare the buildings designed by the architects according to their theories, the results appear to be different. Should we identify the theory at verbal level, in which case there is little difference between van de Velde and Le Corbusier, or by the way they seem to have understood their theories, in which case the difference is radical?

Similarity, precedent, and influence

One of the reasons why pointing out precedents and influences is so popular among art historians may lie in the superficial resemblance of such an explanation to to causal explanations in natural science. The most notorious case is perhaps the history of ideas where the diachronic continuity of certain ideas is demonstrated on the basis of the hypothesis that the ideas can be meaningfully separated from their contemporaneous context. It may be more important, however, that this kind of explanation by precedent appears at first glance more objective and scientific than the impressionist rhapsodies of a Walter Pater[394] or the formalist excesses of a Douglas Graf.[395] Nonetheless, I will suggest below that this is an illusion: one cannot determine precedents, influences, or similarities without first interpreting the work in a strong way.

Undeniably, there are cases where the influence of a precedent seems clear. Consider Jack Hoggan, a former miner who in 1987 took up painting full time and changed his name to Jack Vettriano. Although self-taught, he quickly became the most popular living artist in

Scotland whose works are collected by the likes of Jack Nicholson, Madonna and Robbie Williams. His most famous painting *The Singing Butler* was sold for £744,800 in April 2004 and it has been reproduced millions of times on prints and merchandise, more often than Claude Monet's *Water Lilies* or Vincent van Gogh's *Sunflowers*. In October 2004, Scottish newspapers revealed that some of his best known paintings were actually copied from a £16.99 handbook, *The Illustrator's Figure Reference Manual*, published in 1987, with only minor changes in clothing. The shocking discovery was made by Edinburgh graphic designer Sandy Robb when he was doing research for a friend's wedding invitations and realized that the figures in the manual corresponded exactly to such inimitable Vettriano masterpieces as *The Singing Butler* (1992), *Dance Me To The End Of Love* (1997), *Elegy For A Dead Admiral* (1996) and *Waltzers* (1992).[396] To critics, his work is regarded at best as nostalgic pastiche.[397]

Figure 6, 7, 8- Changing the images, the clothes, the coloring and the orientation by Jack Vettriano: *The Singing Butler* (1992)

Still, a number of artists have sprung to his defence. An honorary member of the Royal Scottish Academy, Richard Demarco, explains that "art does not come straight out of nature, it comes out of other art. Manuals, whether they are about architecture or about painting, have been used since the beginning of time. It doesn't matter what the source is, the magic is how he uses this manual to turn such basic,

bland figures into something unique and unforgettable." In a similar fashion, Francis McKee, a researcher at the Glasgow School of Art specialising in copyright and intellectual property argues that, "really you can't fault him for using these images. These are standard practice models and he has just taken it a bit further as the basis of his images. I can't see anything wrong with that at all. Most artists survive on theft in some way. When you look at the Renaissance period ... [or] Medieval paintings of the Madonna and child, it was the same image all the time."[398] Here, then, the precedent is clear but its significance is questioned. Indeed, it could be argued that the genius of Vettriano has to do with the minute changes he makes to the figures, including the coloring, the clothes and the orientation, as well as the general atmospherical setting, which is not taken from the book (Fig.6, 7, 8).

To take a more serious case, a good example of the problems that plague the similarity method is provided by the voluminous literature on Picasso's *Guernica* (Fig.11). With the exception of the burning house that seems directly linked to the bombing of the town of Guernica, all the figures in the painting have been traced back to earlier works by the artist. Nonetheless, many art historians that have written extensively on the *Guernica* – including Juan Larrea, Vernon Clark, Max Raphael, Anthony Blunt, Alfred Barr, Wilhelm Boeck, Rudolf Arnheim, Frank D. Russell, Werner Hoffmann and Max Imdahl – have pointed out precedents outside of Picasso's *oeuvre*. Although the literature is far too large to review here, my point can be made by simply comparing two texts on the Guernica, both of 1988: *"Guernica und die Weltausstellung Paris 1937"* by Werner Spies, published in his book *Kontinent Picasso,* and *Picasso's Guernica. History, Transformations, Meanings* by Herschel B. Chipp.[399]

Spies is critical, for example, of the comparisons that Larrea and Blunt have made between the *Guernica* and the *Apocalypse of Saint Sever.* Blunt claims that Picasso's

sketch for the bull and the final version of the warrior statue at the bottom of the painting show remarkable similarity to some Mediaval manuscripts, in particular the Saint Sever *Apocalypse*, kept in the National Library in Paris, or the Gerona *Apocalypse*.[400] Blunt suggests that Picasso could have seen these images in the essay *Les miniatures des commentaires aux Apocalypses de Gerona et de Seu d'Urgell* (Fig.9, 10) by Joaquim Folch i Torres, as published in the *Cahiers d'Art* in 1931.[401]

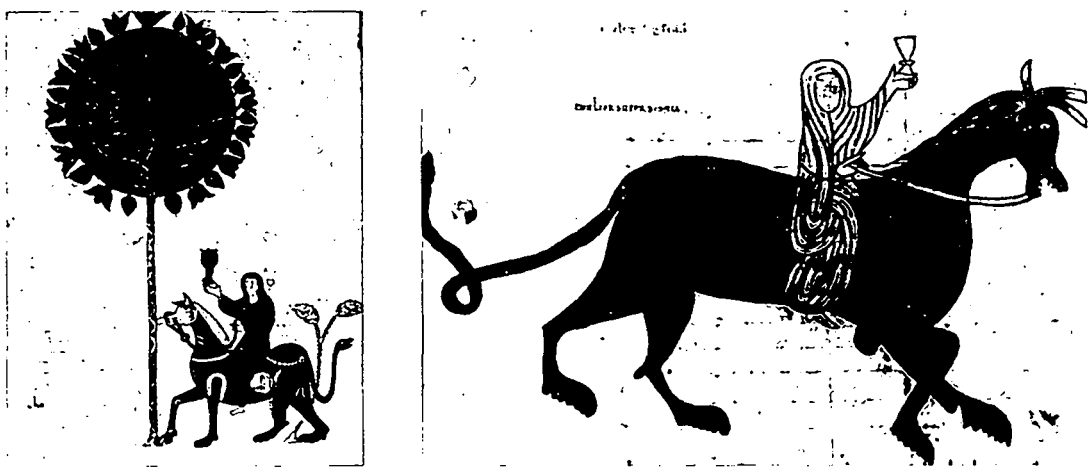


Figure 9, 10- '*Reitende Frau*' from *Gerona* Apocalypse and Apocalypse of *Seu d'Urgell*.

Werner Spies, however, rejects such suggestions and argues that *"Die Erarbeitung des Bildes – für diejenigen, die, wie Arnheim, Blunt, Russel [sic], die logische Entwicklung der Bildidee entdecken und nachzeichnen wollen, bringt der Blick auf das thematische Material, das hier zunächst erscheint, keine Hinweise, die mit dem Ereignis Guernica verbunden werden können. Pferd, Stier, Frau, die ein Licht trägt, Pegasus, der der Flanke des tödlich getroffenen Pferdes entspringt: all dies sind Motive, die man aus dem Werk kennt und ide vor allem in den mittleren dreißiger Jahren im zeichnerischen und graphischen Oeuvre in den Vordergrund getreten sind."*[402]

Figure 11- Picasso's *Guernica*, State VII. Photograph by Dora Maar

This, as such, is not a devastating critique of the method, as it is by no means clear that the "event Guernica" was a stronger determinant of the painting than the tradition that Picasso felt kinship with or his earlier works. Spies, however, presumably wants to explain the special position and idiosyncratic features of Guernica *vis-à-vis* Picasso's total *ouvre*. From this point of view, it is understandable when he writes that *"Weder Arnheim noch Russel können mit ihrer Methode, die sich an die These einer Entwicklung der verschiedenen Bildelemente hält, das Entstehen von Guernica erklären. Und auch Larrea und Blunt, die erstmals Bildquellen für Einzelmotive vorschlagen, gehen am Wesentlichen vorbei. Keine dieser Quellen oder Vergleiche – auch nicht die, die dann regelmäßig zu Raphael, Rubens, Poussin, Delacroix, Géricault oder Goya gezogen werden – ersetzen den Initialschock, von dem Picasso offensichtlich ausging, um das auszudrücken, was das Ereignis in ihm hervorrief."*[403]

To sum up, Spies is not against the search for precedents in general. In fact, in the very same essay he points out that an image of the Whore of Babylon in the *Apocalypse* of Seu d'Urgell shows a horse with repetitive markings on the skin, similar to the pseudo-writing

on the horse in *Guernica*.[404] He goes on to explain that *"Alles in Guernica konzentriert sich in diesem Pferd. Die Binnenstruktur unterstreicht es – es ist das schriftartige Muster, das wir aus den Kommentaren der Apokalypse von Seu d'Urgell kennen."*

But then, surprisingly, Spies continues to associate the pseudo-writing with early Cubist *papier collé*: *"Wir wissen, daß Picasso die Form des Pferdes in den vorbereitenden Stadien des Bildes aus ausgeschnittenen Zeitungsseiten entworfen hatte. Matta, der damals täglich im Atelier ein- und ausging, berichtete dies: 'All diese kleinen schwarzen Linien, die man da auf dem Pferd sehen kann, das hängt mit dem Zeitungspapier zusammen, das er wegmachen mußte. Er vermißte die Struktur des Zeitungspapiers – er brauchte diese kleinen Linien in seiner Komposition –, deshalb malte er sie hinein.'"*[405] If one were to follow Freudian methods, one could talk about overdetermination for the stripe motif. Spies, however, is clearly no Freudian, and so one wonders which inspiration or source is the one that he prefers.

It should, perhaps, be pointed out that one of the four beasts in another miniature also is similarly striped and could conceivably have served as a model, and the dragon in yet another image reminds one of Picasso's Franco Cycle, *Sueno y mentira de Franco,* of 1937. Incidentally, Spies argues that one of the images in the Franco series was inspired by a tournament scene by Christoph Jamnitzer (1610), even though the similarity is hard to pinpoint.[406]

Elsewhere in the same book, Spies points out other similarities without really articulating their motivation. To give just one more example, he explains Picasso's *Minotaur* of 1928 with a reference to a painting of a young bison in Altamira (even though Spies does not identify the image), as published in the *Cahiers d'Art* in 1926.[407] The bullheads do not look very similar – in fact, Picasso's bull is rather naturalistic – but Spies thinks Picasso

cannot have taken the upward-looking gaze of the animal from any other source (although, the positions of the heads are not too similar). He has nothing to say about the startling aspect of Picasso's *Minotaur*, the way that the bullhead is directly connected to the pelvis with running legs, without any trunk or other body parts (Fig.12, 13).

Figure 12, 13- Picasso's *Minotaurus*, 1928 and a painting of a young bison in Altamira, published in *Cahiers d'Art* in 1926.

These suggestions by Spies suffer from the same problem, as do those of many other art historians who are looking for similarities between two works. If any detail or aspect of a work can be related to any detail or aspect of any other work (that the artist may in principle have seen), then the method is clearly too open in that it allows for an unlimited number of similarities to count as significant: any two things whatsoever will by necessity share an infinite number of characteristics. The similarities that count have to be grounded in some context.

Herschel B. Chipp provides such a context in his interpretation of the painting. Analyzing Sketch #6 of May 1, 1937 (Fig.15), Chipp points out that in a few hours Picasso had formulated the basic conception of *Guernica*. "This composition represents Picasso's first attempt to gather his images into a unified theme. He also introduces a new actor into the drama: the supine figure of a fallen warrior who still grasps a spear, a figure so large that it extends across the entire panel, providing a base for the pyramid formed by the

upraised neck and head of the horse. The addition of this personage complicates more than just the composition, for it creates a triumvirate of bull, horse, and human being analogous to that of the first act of the bullfight just after the mounted picador has incited the bull to charge the horse... This episode, by introducing a human being into the bull-horse encounter, also opens up the possibility of a male-female conflict, like the one featured in the etchings and drawings of 1933 to 1936."[408]

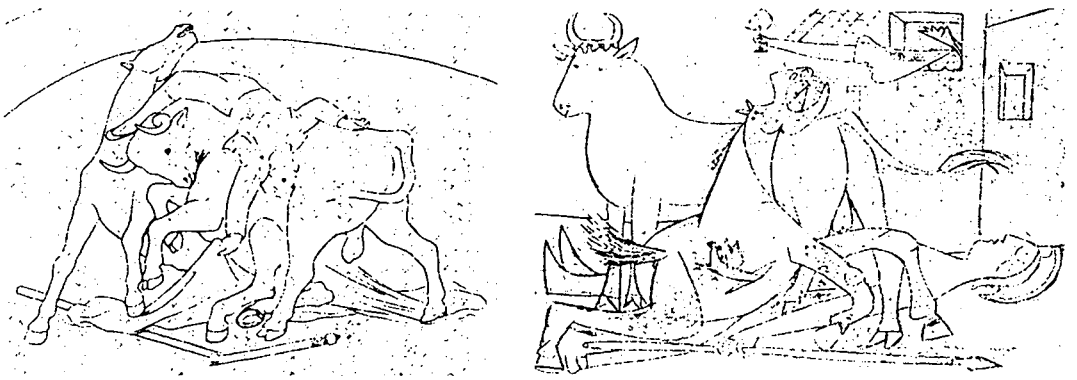


Figure 14, 15- Picasso's 'torero' theme- bull, horse and picador (1923) and his *Guernica* sketch # 6 , 1 May (1937).

Chipp then goes on to elaborate on the torero theme (Fig.14), which originally was quite graceful and harmonious. As Picasso's domestic life drifted into a crisis, also the depictions of bull fights took on a new bitter taste: "By 1934, the scene in the arena has become a furious and bloody battle between bull and horse, both now acting and even looking like human beings. And the picador, a relatively neutral participant, has been transformed into a beautiful blonde girl whose serene countenance and voluptuous nude body recall Marie Thérèse [Walter] as she was portrayed in so much of Picasso's art of these years." Soon, the theme develops further into depictions of domestic violence: "On 10 July his gentle blonde companion [Marie Thérèse] is viciously attacked by a brunette woman [Picasso's wife Olga Koklova] wielding a kitchen knife. The latter's face,

distorted by rage and hate, resembles, in a somewhat abstracted form, one that reappears later in sketch 32 for *Guernica*."[409]

"The series of etchings called *Femme Torero II* (Fig.16) from late June 1934 can now be viewed as portraying three characters – derived from the bull, horse, and falled picador figure groups of the 1920s – juxtaposed in an emotionally charged personal triangle." Chipp points out that in *Femme Torero III* (Fig.17), the Marie-Thérèse figure "lies supine beneath the two animals, her position that of the victim who was to appear three years later in sketch 6 for *Guernica*"[410] (Fig.18). He concludes: "The personae of this murderous drama of 1934 – like a tragedy by Lorca – make up the characters, and even the composition, of sketch #6 of 1 May 1937, Picasso's first version of the central figure group of *Guernica*."[411]

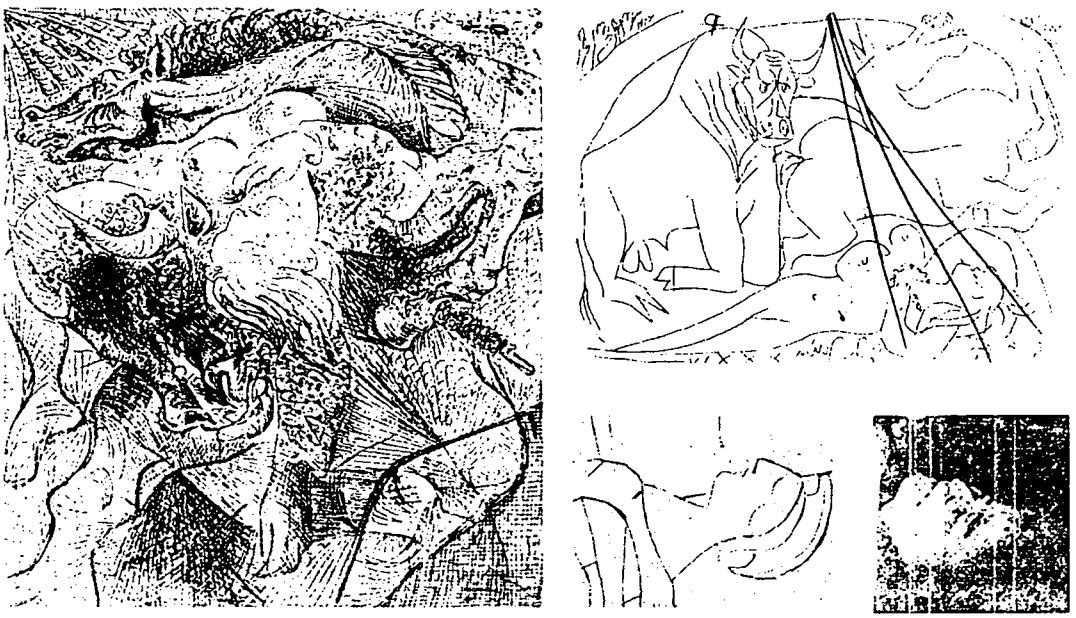


Figure 16, 17, 18, 19- Picasso's *Femme Torero* II (1934), *Femme Torero* III (1934), the *Fallen Woman* from the sketch # 6 (1937) and a bombing victim in Guernica (1937).

In Chipp's reading, then, the individual motifs have been collected together for a reason. This is not merely a case of finding a bull in an earlier work by Picasso – or in Altamira –

but of trying to explain why Picasso would have been drawn to these particular motifs. Here, the interpretation is grounded on Chipp's psychological reconstruction of Picasso's relationship problems.

Werner Spies, by contrast, will have nothing of such psychologization. Instead, he promises to have solid proof that explains the creation of *Guernica*. Boldly he declares that has found the decisive source for the painting that Picasso must have had before his eyes when he drew the sixth sketch for Guernica: *"Ich habe aufzeigen können, wie Picasso bei einer Darstellung einsetzte, die diese Ingredienzen der Panik, der Perplexion enthielt, die das Bild Guernica als Ganzes bestimmt. ... Dafür, daß Picasso Baldung Griens Holzschnitt Der behexte Stallknecht* [*The Bewitched Groom* (Fig.20)] *vor Augen hatte, habe ich die Beweise vorgelegt."*[412]

Figure 20, 21- Hans Grien's *The Bewitched Groom*, ca. 1544 and Picasso's sketch # 6 for *Guernica* 1937

Here, the reader is interested to have the proof presented once again, and Spies complies, in a footnote: *"Spätenstens in den Wochen, da Picasso an Guernica arbeitete, mußte er den Katalog 'Fantastic Art Dada Surrealism' des Museum of Modern Art (New York, Dezember 1936) in Händen halten. Alfred Barr bildete die Graphik Baldung Griens in diesem Katalog ganzseitig ab. Dies wäre der 'terminus post quem' einer Begegnung*

Picassos mit dem Behexten Stallknecht. Doch glaube ich, daß Picasso dieses Blatt schon vorher kannte. ... Doch nur in dieser Skizze ist zu Guernica und in dem Pferd ist der Bezug zu Baldung Grien direkt nachweisbar." Spies published this finding already in 1981 and it has become a commonplace in the literature on the *Guernica*, even though Chipp, for example, does not acknowledge this suggestion.[413]

To see if the suggestion is plausible, we have to take a look at Baldung Grien's *Bewitched Groom* (ca. 1544). It seems to be set in an interior space; an old woman is peering in through a window, swinging a torch that lets us identify her as a witch, a favorite topic of Baldung's. A man – perhaps a stable hand – lies prostate on the floor, entranced or dead, with his pitchfork beneath him and another tool next to his hand. Sensing something strange, the horse is about to enter the back room but turns his head to see the man. The perspective that recalls Andrea Mantegna's Christ in *The Lamentation* is striking and uncanny: the feet of the man extend to the edge of the picture but his head reachs almost to the entrance of a second room, making the witch and the horse appear to be in a different scale altogether. Since Baldung's coat of arms appears on the wall behind the groom, who also bears some facial resemblance to portraits of the artist, some autobiographical reference may have been intended. It has been suggested that the *Bewitched Groom* may be about the inevitability of physical passion, and its connection with the frailty of human nature; or it may be about witchcraft, a subject of growing concern in the sixteenth century, or a threatening woman intruding into the male world.

How close is, then, the similarity between *The Bewitched Groom* and Picasso's Sketch 6 for *Guernica*? The first important thing to note is that we not are talking about an abstracted detail but two complete drawings. Now, both Grien's image and the sketch by Picasso show a horse, a man lying on his back, a woman with her hand extended, a window. Perhaps the greatest difference is that Picasso also includes a bull. Moreover, the

position of the bull resembles that of the horse in Baldung's woodcut, while the position of the horse is unrelated. Picasso sets the scene outside, although he also has three windows (as opposed to two in Baldung) connecting the exterior and the interior. The man lying on the ground is holding a spear (as opposed to a pitchfork) and he is not presented in the same striking perspective as in Baldung's work. Indeed, Picasso seems oblivious to perspective. Minor motifs are also different. The woman in Picasso's sketch is holding a candle to bring in light (to the outside?) instead of trying to set the stable in fire with a torch, as in Baldung's work. Finally, Picasso also has a Pegasus emerging out of a wound on the horse's side, while there is nothing comparable in the woodcut.

In other words, *The Bewitched Groom* does not account for the appearance of any figure in Sketch 6; the precise shapes can be better explained through a comparison with other works by Picasso or the *Pathosformeln* of Baroque and Renaissance art. What Baldung Grien's work shares with Picasso's sketch is the combination of the characters of woman, slain man, and a horse; moreover, the position of the horse in Baldung and that of the bull in Picasso are similar. Spies does not mention these similarities, however. For him, the essential element is the motif of inscrutability, or mystery. This is what he calls the "intial shock": *"Dies der Initialschock – alle anderen Details, die er im Laufe der nächsten Tage einführt und ausprobiert, verändern die Grundaussage des Ausgangbildes, dessen Eindringlichkeit eben in der Unfaßbarkeit eines Geschehens besteht, nicht."*[414]

It is definitely true that *The Bewitched Groom* radiates a kind of surrealist air, reminding one of Magritte's *Menaced Assassin* (1926) (Fig.22), Leonora Carrington's *White Horse Inn* (1936) (Fig.23), or any number of surrealist works by other painters, including Picasso. Spies acknowledges the point that this motif of incomprehensibility was not particularly new in 1937, and writes: *"Das Motiv der Unerklärbarkeit, das hier erscheint, paßt einerseits zur Ikonographie des Picasso in der dreißiger Jahre. Die surrealistische*

Offenheit der Narration und die Verkehrung von Mythen sind augenfällig."[415] Again, this statement undermines the value of Spies' finding: Picasso did not need to have Baldung Grien's woodcut before his eyes in 1937 to reveal the attraction of mystery.

Figure 22, 23- Margritte's *Menaced Assassin* (1926) and Leonora Carrington's *White Horse Inn* (1936).

Can we really know what Picasso had before his eyes on May 1, 1937, and does it matter, or is it just one of those biographical questions that Osip Brik ridiculed by comparing art historians to maniacs who "passionately seeking the answer to the question 'did Pushkin smoke?'" when he was writing the *Evgeny Onegin*?[416] Clearly, Picasso had access to several issues of *Cahiers d'Art* but he was not equally influenced, if at all, by all the images that were potentially before his eyes. For this reason, it is not sufficient for an explanation of the *Guernica* to demonstrate that Picasso could have seen a particular image.

Whether Picasso would have first seen Baldung Grien's woodcut in the MOMA catalogue of December, 1936, or earlier, is therefore of relatively little interest. It is quite possible that Picasso had Grien before his eyes in May, 1937 but that he nonetheless chose to paint from memory. Paul Gauguin, Wassily Kandinsky and Piet Mondrian all took memory to be an eidetic faculty that yields access to Reality and developed abstraction through the method of *anamnesis*, as Mark A. Cheetham has argued.[417] Picasso could also have been drawing from a number of sources, including perhaps a few

that had once inspired Grien. This cannot be decided here and it is more important to understand why he was attracted to the particular image, whenever he happened to see it first. Here, Chipp's psychological reconstruction, crude and banal as it is, is at least providing some background.

Demonstrating influence

Returning to Le Corbusier, how much can be proven about his influences? Let us go back to Nic Tummers' 1967 suggestion that Le Corbusier evolved his modular system directly under the influence of Lauweriks's theory of mystical geometry.[418] How strong is his argument? It is undeniable that there is a certain similarity between the proportional systems of the two architects, and it is also a demonstrable fact that Lauweriks had a certain influence on modern architects both in the Netherlands and in Germany; one of his students in Düsseldorf, for example, was Adolf Meyer.[419]

But unlike the argument of Grabrijan and his followers to the effect that Le Corbusier must have visited Macedonia because there are similarities between Corbusian villas and Macedonian houses, Tummers can even point to an indirect acknowledgement of influence in the second *Modulor* of 1954, as quoted above in the introduction. Le Corbusier talks about having seen a modern villa in Bremen, constructed according to geometric principles, as explained to him by a gardener. Banham realized that the house was in the Hohenhof colony and it had been designed in 1909 by Lauweriks. What Tummers was able to add is that Lauweriks was living in the "gardener's house" at the estate.

Can we, on this basis, agree with Tummers who concludes that the "gardener" was actually Lauweriks himself who explained the basics of his system to the young colleague? Does this evidence warrant the claim that Le Corbusier was influenced by Lauweriks to develop the Modulor four decades later?

Obviously, the identification of the gardener as Lauweriks is not conclusive. If the person talking to Le Corbusier was in fact a gardener and not the designer, it is possible that Le Corbusier only got the confusing information that he recalls in the Modulor anecdote, instead of an understandable exposition of the proportional system. Here, the influence would be minimal. We could also explain the similarities between the two proportional systems by suggesting that both Lauweriks and Le Corbusier were independently reacting to a third source, perhaps one that neither one identifies explicitly. The original source could be Pater Desiderius Lenz of the Beuron monastery whose influence on Behrens is clear.[420] It could also be August von Thiersch, the author of the influential *Handbuch der Architektur* and professor in Munich.[421] Or it might be Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc who certainly was familiar to Le Corbusier and to Lauweriks; as Henderson observes, both de Bazel and Lauweriks have been counted among the so-called Dutch Viollet-le-Duc School.[422] Perhaps the gardener was indeed the mastermind who originally devised the concept of a geometrical design system, and then taught this principle to both architects. Here, then, there would be no influence of Lauweriks on Le Corbusier.

From now on, let us make a few counterfactual assumptions. Imagine that we find in Le Corbusier's library an essay by Lauweriks, e.g. *"Ein Beitrag zum Entwerfen auf Systematischer Grundlage in der Architektur"* which was published in the Berlin journal *Ring* in 1909.[423] Still, it is of course possible that Le Corbusier never really read the essay and thus was not influenced by it either. Assume further that there is a note on the margin, in Le Corbusier's handwriting: "I'd like to do something like this – but let's wait for a

while." This would verify the assumption that Le Corbusier had known about Lauweriks' thought, but still is not evidence of influence. We do not know what aspect it was that Le Corbusier admired in the Lauweriks essay – is he just thinking that he would also like to become a designer-theoretician?

Ultimately, we have to define what we understand as influence. If influence is understood as a relation in which a person does something because of another person, then we have distinguish between influence and mere inspiration. It is often the case that artists are inspired to do something because of an earlier thing but that they misunderstand the thing, deliberately or not, arriving at a new creation. In this case, it would be misleading to talk about influence.

Consider an example discussed by John Onians.[424] In a particularly influential passage of his Ten Books, Leonbattista Alberti defined a row of columns as nothing more than a wall perforated and opened in different places. Though revolutionary, this idea is not without precedent. In one of Alberti's sources, the encyclopaedia *De Universo* by Hrabanus Maurus, there is a chapter where the author discusses walls, columns and many other elements of buildings; still, the chapter is titled *'De parietibus'* or "On Walls." In turn, Hrabanus had used Isidore of Seville's earlier encyclopaedia *'Etymologiae'* as his model. The contents of *'De parietibus'* in *De Universo* are practically the same as those which Isidore put under the heading *'De partibus aedificatorium'* or "Parts of Buildings": both discuss walls and columns, among other things. The difference between Isidore and Hrabanus, then, is not much more than the mistake by an anonymous scribe, of inserting an extra *'ie'* in the title either in the manuscript copy of *Etymologiae* or *De Universo*. This would be an example of Alberti being inspired by what the medievals wrote (what the words looked like) but not really influenced by what they thought.

To return to the Lauweriks example, let as further assume that Le Corbusier was demonstrably impressed by the geometrical system and decided to apply it in his own designs. If this is the case, we can indeed talk about influence. However, the question remains why he was so influenced by Lauweriks instead of Thiersch or the Beuron school, for example. The interest that many architects around 1905 had in geometrical systems is not difficult to explain: mathematics was often seen as an objective basis for architectural design and a way of avoiding the pitfalls of both historicist styles and the indulgencies of art nouveau. However, to answer why Le Corbusier would have been drawn to Lauweriks instead of Desiderius Lenz we would have to reconstruct the context and show that there was a problem that he felt could be best resolved by following the model of Lauweriks.

Similarly, the Macedonian writers would have to explain why Le Corbusier chose to be influenced by Macedonian, rather than Turkish or Bulgarian architecture, as regards the analogies that Grabrijan proposed, and more generally, one would have to understand why Le Corbusier was drawn to the Balkans – instead of being impressed, like the Wagner school architects, such as Josef Hoffman, by Capri, or like Adolf Loos, by Algeria. Although the thesis that Le Corbusier Macedonia is not credible, there certainly remains the possibility that he found out about Macedonian architecture through publications.

In actual fact, in Le Corbusier's library there is a book, *L'Image de la Serbie* (1919) by Frederic Boissonnas that contains photographs from Skopje, Shtipi, Kumanova, Gjilani, Prishtina, as well as three images from Kruševo (Fig.24, 25, 26). Boissonnas' book has not been mentioned by any Macedonian author as a source from where Le Corbusier might have known Macedonia, especially Kruševo. Let us assume counterfactually that all the five points can be found in Boissonnas' images of Macedonia, and that we can

demonstrate that Le Corbusier obtained the book in 1919. Have we thereby demonstrated that Le Corbusier was influenced by these precedents? Moreover, have we understood Le Corbusier's work when we have proven a similarity and the possibility of a chronologically reasonable connection?

Figure 24, 25, 26- Boissonnas's *L'Image de la Serbie* (1919); three photographs showing the city of Kruševo

To explain why Le Corbusier chose to be influenced by this source and not that, one would need a profound understanding of the work. In other words, it is possible to identify precedents only after one has already interpreted the work to a degree that one knows what is essential in it. That means that interpretation comes before historical investigation, not vice versa.

Figure 27, 28- Boissonnas's house from Kruševo (1919) and the same house published by Mihailo Popovski in his *Monografija Kruševo* (2003)

Van de Velde's orientalism

Here, it is probably useful to consider a more architectural example. In the book *Form & Detail,* Kari Jormakka analyzes the Arts and Crafts school (1905-06) in Weimar (Fig.30), designed by Henry van de Velde, and focuses in particular on the famous horseshoe-shaped gable as an example of the difficulties in interpretations based on precedent.[425] Many historians explain the window ornament by pointing out that in 1903, two years before drawing the design, the architect traveled to the middle east where he must have seen similar forms.[426] In what sense can this be understood as an explanation for van de Velde's design?

As Jormakka points out, we cannot assume that van de Velde would not have known such forms before 1903. Even without traveling to Syria, he might have encountered similar shapes in buildings in Cordoba, Venice or even Leipzig, or simply in literature. Moreover, German Jugendstil architects, such as August Endell and Bernhard Pankok, used Orientalist motives already in the 1890s and so did van de Velde as well. The horse shoe arch already appears in van de Velde's Exhibition room for Keller and Reiner in Berlin, 1898, and in the Havana-Compagnie in Berlin, 1899. While the Folkwang Museum in Hagen 1899-1902, for example, does not have exactly the same horse shoe arch as the Weimar school, its columns and arches resemble those of the Great Mosque in Damascus. In the latter case, the orientalism is well in tune with contemporary advertisements, which usually linked tobacco with the near east. At the same time as van de Velde decided to use an Islamic arch in Weimar, the industrialist Hugo Zietz built the Yenidze cigarette factory in Dresden as an Islamic mosque (Fig.29), complete with a large horse-shoe shaped dome as well as a minarette which functioned as a chimney.

Figure 29, 30- Yendize- cigarette factory in Dresden (1906) and Henry van de Velde's Art and Crafts school in Weimar (1905-1906)

Even if we could find a precedent that van de Velde would be quoting, as it were, we would in Jormakka's opinion still have to explain how quotations in this sense could be squared with van de Velde's expressed intentions about the relationship of ornament to a historical moment. In his essay on the Line, he insists that "the line is something abstract developed out of all the documents left behind by nations and epochs. Such a line we then name after the nation or the epoch and it gives us equally reliable information about the feelings and characters, about the entire psychology of these races and civilizations as history itself."[427] Given this theory, the peculiar line of the horseshoe arch should be linked with Islamic culture; to apply such a form on a building in Weimar would constitute inorganic and gratuitous "ornamentation", to use van de Velde's term, as opposed to "ornament" which emerges organically from the object, clarifying its structure or essential functions. The architect rejected all ornamentation and advocated ornament, which "becomes an organ and refuses to be something applied." He stressed that "this ornament is above all necessary, it arises out of the object it is related to, it refers to its function or its origin, it helps the object to conform to its goal and its utility."[428]

While it is hard to make the connection between the Great Mosque in Damascus and the horseshoe gable in Weimar, Jormakka demonstrates how easy it is to reconstruct the derivation of the form from abstract geometrical shapes, such as circle, equilateral triangle and square.[429] We can begin with the width of the Kunstgewerbeschule western wing. The height of the roof from the base up to the bend in the mansard is half of the total width. This means the facade forms a double square. By rotating one of the squares we get a larger one, which gives the width and height of the central motif. The ledge of the second storey windows corresponds to the middle of the larger square. By connecting the corner of the larger and the smaller squares we get another radius and the center of a circle that gives us the tip of the roof and the middle of the attic window. By connecting the other corners of the same squares we get the radius and the center of a circle that gives us the inside of the horseshoe. By drawing an equilateral triangle inside the circle we get the steel beam of the facade. Finally by continuing the diagonals all the way to the ground we determine the height of the sockel and derive another equilateral triangle, as well as the third of the original small squares, which determines the position of the windows (Fig.31, 32).

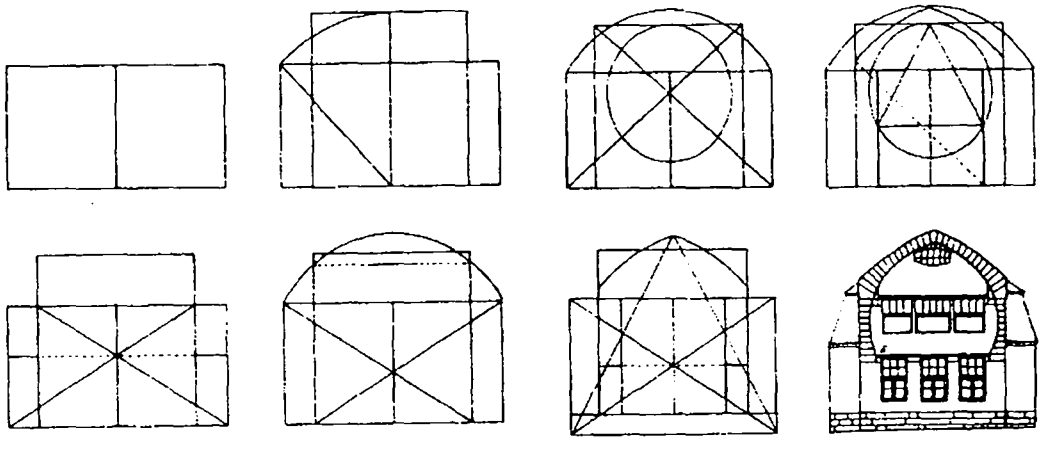


Figure 31, 32- Jormakka- demonstrates the derivation of the form from abstract geometrical shapes, such as circle, equilateral triangle and square.

Jormakka's simple analysis suggests that whether or not van de Velde's oriental journey inspired him to take up familiar Islamic forms, he was not copying but deriving the forms from dimensions of the building. However, even though the horse- shoe form was clearly determined in its details by geometry rather than by oriental precedents, this fact alone does not explain why van de Velde wanted to place such ornament precisely here. To understand the full extent of van de Velde's ornamental strategy, Jormakka takes another look at the Art school and in particular the entrance. The architect defined the gestural line as the trace of the man, representing the movement provoked by inner life.[430] In line with this conception of ornament, van de Velde stresses the most dynamic circulation element, the stair, in both schools. In the Art school, the first floor balcony railing corresponds to the missing segment of the oval defined by the stair and thus represents the movement in the stair in effigy. The facade of the Art school reveals and reinterprets the spaces beyond. This notion also explains the peculiar ornament above the windows on the side wings: two-dimensionally, they repeat the general form of the entrance, representing space where in fact the facade is relatively flat. The Baroque layering of pilasters with classical bases around the windows also supports the same reading.

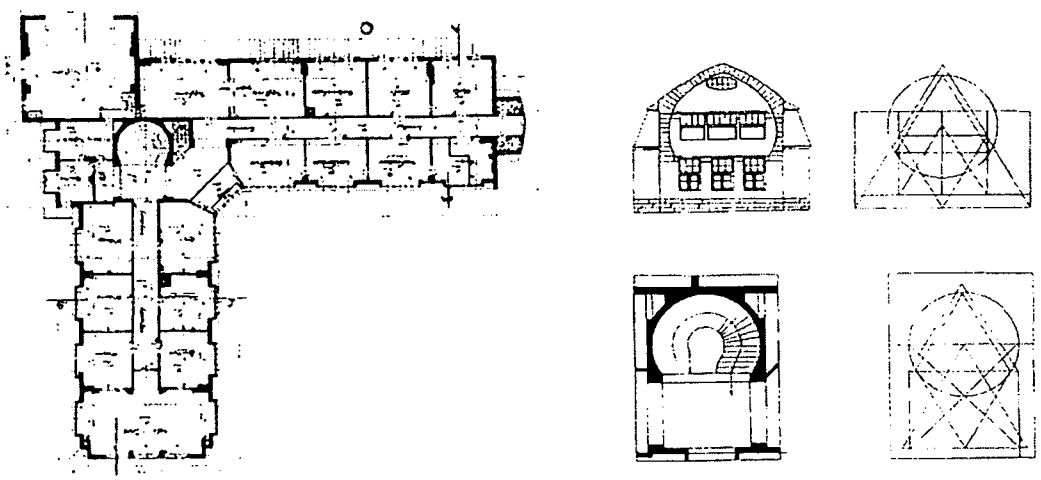


Figure 33, 34- Jormakka: the form of the stairs and the arch are derived from an overlay of circle, equilateral triangle and square.

On the basis of this analysis, Jormakka argues that the horse- shoe gable on the Arts and Crafts school façade, instead of being inorganic "ornamentation", aspires to the condition of "ornament".[431] The oval stair of the Crafts school is reflected in the horseshoe gable above van de Velde's office. Both the form of the stair and the arch are derived from an overlay of circle, equilateral triangle and square, once again asserting the primacy of geometry in determining forms which may appear linked to historical models. As the stair axially terminates in the office of van de Velde, the trace of the three-dimensional movement through the stair is recorded in the two-dimensional facade ornament (Fig.33, 34). While Jormakka allows that the gable may maintain a certain resemblance to Moorish or even Syrian forms, he nonetheless maintains that in the general economy of the design, the arch assumes radically new meanings: the relation between the stair and van de Velde's office is direct and axial in an informal organization of functional spaces; hence, the ornament celebrates the artist as the heart of the school and the origin of its architecture. For van de Velde, as Walter Benjamin observed, "the house is the expression of the personality. Ornament is to his houses what signature is to a painting."[432] Ultimately, then, in Jormakka's reading, the final criterion of a correct interpretation is a congruence with the theoretical opinions of the architect, as well as the relevance of the proposed principle in the general economy of the design.

Quotation, meaning and context

Jormakka also gives another example, the song *Nannas Lied* written by Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht.[433] It contains the refrain: *"Wo sind die Tränen von gestern abend? Wo ist der Schnee vom vergangenen Jahr?"* It is easy to recognize these lines as a deliberate echo of François Villon's famous poem, *Ancient Ladies*: "Where is the snow of yesteryear?" Here, the lines are identical and we can be sure that Brecht knew Villon's

poem. Still, it would be strange to talk about influence in this particular case – rather the opposite is the case. Critics had accused Brecht of producing little more than paraphrases of Villon, and he responded by quoting the father of French poetry verbatim, thereby accentuating the differences between him and his older colleague.

As Umberto Eco has argued, to present a statement as a quotation is a way of saying it without being committed to the content of the statement. Eco finds this method to be typical of postmodernity: "The postmodern reply to the modern consists of recognizing that the past, since it cannot really be destroyed, because its destruction leads to silence, must be revisited: but with irony, not innocently. I think of the postmodern attitude as that of a man who loves a very cultivated woman and knows he cannot say to her, "I love you madly,' because he knows that she knows (and that she knows that he knows) that these words have already been written by Barbara Cartland. Still, there is a solution. He can say, 'As Barbara Cartland would put it, I love you madly'."[434] Since the speaker, by quoting another, is not himself making a statement, we cannot say that the original statement would have influenced the second statement (the quotation). Thus, explicit quotation cancels influence.

This is demonstrated in a more extreme way by Jorge Luis Borges in his short story, "Pierre Menard, Author of the Don Quixote" (1939, published in 1944).[435] Here, Borges imagines a French symbolist poet Pierre Menard – actually, there was a real, albeit insignificant surrealist called Pierre Menard in Paris in the 1920s – who decides to crown his literary experiments by writing the Don Quixote. He does not want to copy the Don Quixote, not even to compose another Quixote, but to create the same work, syllable by syllable identical to Cervantes' masterpiece. A way of making this possible would be for Menard to master 16th century Spanish, recover the Catholic faith, forget the history of Europe between 1602 and 1918, be Miguel de Cervantes – but Menard discards this

possibility as too easy, and instead attempts to reach the Quixote through the experiences of Pierre Menard. "To compose the Quixote at the beginning of the seventeenth century was a reasonable undertaking, necessary and perhaps even inevitable; at the beginning of the twentieth, it is almost impossible. It is not in vain that three hundred years have gone by, filled with exceedingly complex events. Amongst them, to mention only one, is the Quixote itself."[436]

Menard fails in his attempts, and leaves behind only a few fragments. Borges observes that "Menard's fragmentary Quixote more subtle than Cervantes'. The latter, in a clumsy fashion, opposes to the fictions of chivalry the tawdry provincial reality of his country. Menard selects as his 'reality' the land of Carmen during the century of Lepanto and Lope de Vega."[437] These are of course descriptions of the same country and same time, but in different registers: as Arthur C. Danto points out, it would not have been feasible for Cervantes to refer to Spain as 'the land of Carmen', Carmen being a nineteenth-century literary character familiar, of course, to Menard.[438]

For Borges, it is a revelation to compare Menard's Quixote with Cervantes'. "The latter, for example, wrote ... '...truth, whose mother is history, rival of time, depository of deeds, witness of the past, exemplar and adviser to the present, and the future's counselor.' Written in the seventeenth century, written by the 'lay genius' Cervantes, this enumeration is a mere rhetorical praise of history. Menard, on the other hand, writes: ''...truth, whose mother is history, rival of time, depository of deeds, witness of the past, exemplar and adviser to the present, and the future's counselor.' History, the *mother* of truth: the idea is astounding. Menard, a contemporary of William James, does not define history as an inquiry into reality but as its origin. Historical truth, for him, is not what has happened; it is what we judge to have happened. The final phrases – *exemplar and adviser to the present, and the future's counselor* – are brazenly pragmatic."[439] For

Borges, the contrast in style is also vivid: "The archaic style of Menard – quite foreign, after all – suffers from a certain affectation. Not so that of his forerunner, who handles with ease the current Spanish of his time."[440]

Of course, Borges' story is just a fantasy, but it still raises questions about the nature of interpretation. As physical objects, Menard's completed book and Cervantes' masterpiece would have been as similar as any two copies of the original Don Quixote. But is a literary work of art really the same as the physical book? Hardly: One can, for instance, burn a copy (even the author's manuscript) of *Don Quixote* without causing the work go out of existence; in this sense, the novel is "logically incombustible" while a physical object is not. On the other hand, there are poems and compositions, which have never been written down, so that no physical object corresponding to the work seems to exist. We would also call two copies of the Don Quixote the same, even though it is obvious that no two things can be identical in every respect, as Jormakka observes.[441] My copy is old and stained with coffee; the one in the bookstore is a fancy edition with illustrations. As books they are different; as works of literature, they are identical because when experiencing literature, we are interested in the words and their meanings, and usually not in the color of the ink or the proportions of the page.

If works of art in general cannot be identified with material things, as Jormakka argues, then insofar as we are thinking of architecture as an art, properly analyzed by architectural or art history, we are not talking about physical buildings but of something more akin to the meanings of texts. Hence, to establish the kind of similarity that is a precondition of any claim of influence, we have to demonstrate a similarity on the level of meaning or interpretation, not on the level of the material counterparts of architectural works of art.

A question of method

What can we learn from Grabrijan's mistaken attribution of Macedonian influence on Le Corbusier? It is not difficult to see that the myth is wrong, and in particular the year 1927 for the supposed trip of Le Corbusier to Macedonia could not possibly explain his white style, as it was about to end at that time and because the basic elements of the style had been determined as early as 1915 when Le Corbusier patented the Dom-Ino system.

However, our investigation of the Macedonian thesis has broader implications. To claim that Le Corbusier was influenced by Macedonian architecture is not the only mistake; a more damaging, even if common, mistake is to infer that one work of architecture has influenced another if there is a certain amount of similarity and if a historically possible connection can be established.

In an interview, philosopher Arthur C. Danto says that art historians "have a terrible idea of what they call affinity. They operate with resemblances: you can find a precursor only in the sense of finding things that resemble and hence have an affinity with. That is what I call an external genealogy because there is no causal relationship."[442]

To give an example of the kind of writing that Danto criticizes, consider William J. Curtis' celebrated monograph on Le Corbusier. Paul Gapp in the *Chicago Tribune* has called Curtis "the best architectural historian writing in the English language" and David Wild has described the book "not only the best single work on Le Corbusier - a model of scholarship." Another book by Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, has received equally high praise.[443] Stanislaus von Moos said that "some of these chapters will set new standards in the historiography of modern architecture" and James Ackerman topped it all

by concluding that Curtis' book "may well be the best survey of any field in the history of architecture written since the prime of Nikolaus Pevsner and Sigfried Giedion."[444]

What is it that makes Curtis such an exemplary architectural historian? In the *Design Book Review*, Doug Suisman articulated Curtis' strengths as "an intuitive sense of the past, the intellectual agility to trace the complex course of style and influence, the acumen to disengage idea from form." To see how Curtis intuitively senses influences, let us take a look at one example, the precursors that influenced Le Corbusier in the design of the Parliament Building in Chandigarh (1953-61).

According to Curtis, the chimney of the farmhouse at La Cornu (Fig.35) where Le Corbusier lived in 1909 resurfaced again in the Assembly Building – but the Indian building was also influenced by Tatlin's Monument to the Third International (Fig.34); the Hagia Sophia; the Jantar Mantar observatory in Delhi; the Al-Malwiyah minaret in Samarra, Iraq and the minaret of the Mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun in Cairo; the Pantheon; Egyptian hypostyle halls; as well as "cooling towers that Le Corbusier saw in Ahmedabad."[445]

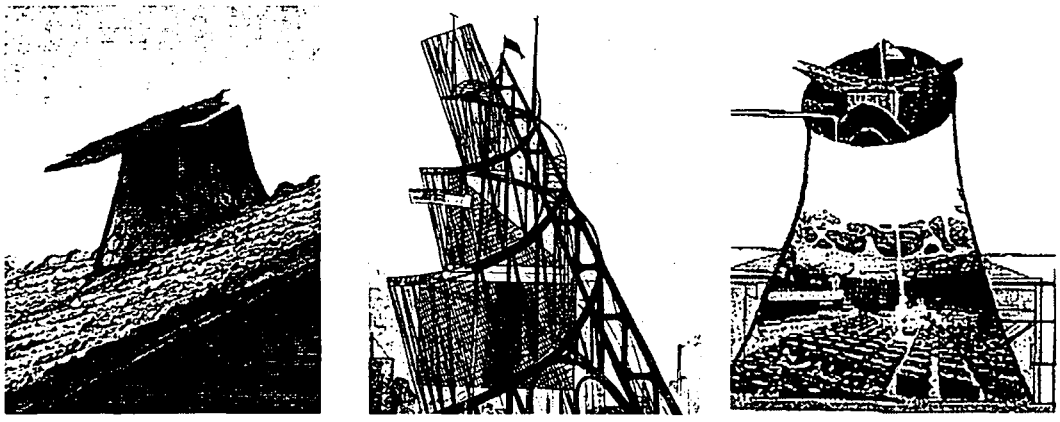


Figure 35, 36, 37- The chimney of the farmhouse in La Cornu- La Chaux-de-Fonds, Tatlin's Monument for a Third International, 1919-20 and section through Le Corbusier's General Assembly, Chandigarh, 1953-61.

In addition to these sources, Curtis also points to the influence of the Altes Museum in Berlin (Fig.36), the Mogul tradition of deep loggias and gardens, the Diwan-I-Khas at Fathepur Sikri, Lutyens' Viceroy's House in New Delhi, Le Corbusier's own Swiss Pavilion and the Marseilles Unité, the Basilica of Constantine, the Mogul Diwan-I-Am, the Pont du Gard, Hindu temples as well as the Red Forts of both Delhi and Agra. Such an abundance of sources diminishes or cancels the explanatory power of each and every one of them. Curtis' intuitive methodology resembles the one that he imputes to Le Corbusier: "As in a dream, bizarre connections might actually constitute a new structure of truths in which hermetic levels of meaning would be combined."[446]

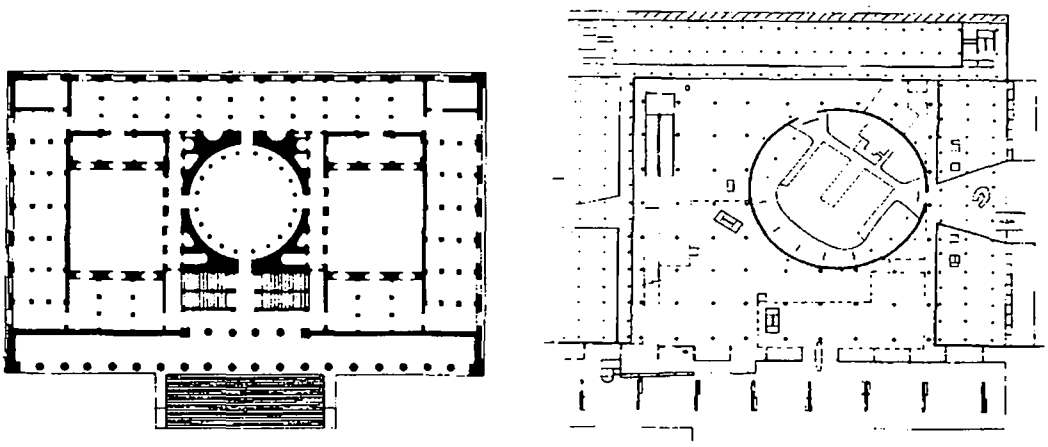


Figure 38, 39-Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin (1824-8) and Le Corbusier's Parliament Building in Chandigarh, 1951-63.

But can we say, then, that Curtis is wrong? Not really. In *Architecture and Its Interpretation*, Bonta quotes the semiotician Luis Jorge Prieto's comparison between a medical doctor and an anthropologist examining a remote culture and its views about the therapeutic properties of plants. The medical doctor would analyze the plants and determine their efficacy as medicine; should the native's beliefs about the powers of the plants prove to be incorrect, he would try to extirpate them. The anthropologist, by contrast, would not be interested in the plants in themselves, but rather in what the natives

thought about the plants. "He would try to understand the origin of the islanders' beliefs, and how those beliefs changed over time. [He] would seek to clarify the relationship between these beliefs about shrubs and other beliefs held by the community. He would investigate ways in which the islanders' system of beliefs regulated their social organization and their interaction with the physical environment. The goal of the anthropologist – unlike that of the medical doctor – is not to substitute scientific knowledge for non-scientific beliefs, but to study scientifically the non-scientific beliefs of the people. The activities of the medical doctor could destroy the very facts the anthropologist is interested in."[447] Bonta goes on to explain that both the medical doctor and the anthropologist are scientists, but the doctor practises a physical science and the anthropologist a human one. Although architecture can in one perspective be said to constitute physical reality and thus be an object of study for the physical sciences, Bonta emphasizes that it is also a cultural phenomenon and as such subject to the methods of the human sciences.

Danto's theory of art can be used to expand on Bonta's intuitions. Danto suggests that works of art are originally "material things" which have been "transfigured" onto a new ontological level by interpretations that establish their semantic dimension.[448] Comparing his theory with other approaches that make the artwork an *explanandum* of interpretation, Danto declares his theory of interpretation to be "constitutive," for an object is an artwork at all only in relation to an interpretation. If interpretations are what constitute works, he concludes, there are no works without them and works are misconstituted when the interpretation is wrong.

Formal versus historical readings

Obviously, there can be many kinds of interpretation. Curtis' method of listing resemblances as a form of interpretation can be contrasted with the formalist method, as practiced by Jacqueline Gargus in her book *Ideas of Order* (1993). Curtis explains the Ronchamp church by Le Corbusier by suggesting that it echoes the surrounding landscape and captures the spirit of the place. He also points out that "the gradual ascent up the hill has a ritualistic character, which the architect turned to good effect by organizing the building as a sequence of évènements plastiques ('sculptural events') incorporating the setting and surrounding horizons."[449]

Then Curtis turns to the origins, claiming that "the inventions of Ronchamp were not without precedent in Le Corbusier's paintings, in his rugged wooden sculptures of the late 1940s, in his sketches of shells and boats of the early 1930s (the roof structure was, in fact, directly inspired by a crab shell), in the landscape sculptures of the buildings in his Algiers schemes, and in the curved rubble wall of the Pavillon Suisse."[450] In addition to naming precursors in Le Corbusier's own work, Curtis identifies external sources as well: "In fact some of Le Corbusier's inspirations at Ronchamp were heathen in tone. ... As a young man he had soaked himself in nature worship, in the writings of Ruskin, in the symbolic allegories of Art Nouveau ..."[451] More precisely, Curtis elaborates: "Other connections can be found with a great variety of 'sources'. It seems that the top lighting of the 'Canopus' at Hadrian's Villa (sketched in 1911) may have inspired the lighting system of the towers; certain mud buildings from the Mzab, seen in Algeria in the mid-1930s, may have influenced the main perforated wall; a fascination with sluices may have registered in the water scoop of the Ronchamp roof. Dolmens and Cycladic vernacular structures have even been adduced as other clues, and it is possible that the procession to the Parthenon was once again inspirational."[452]

Unlike Curtis, Jacqueline Gargus discusses the Notre Dame du Haut in the context of a typological analysis of religious buildings (Fig.40, 41). Le Corbusier's church is seen as a synthesis of various strands of argument that first emerged in the Pantheon, Old St. Peter's in Rome, the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, S. Maria della Consolazione in Todi, the Tempietto in Rome, S. Maria presso S. Satiro in Milan, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Rome and the Vierzehnheiligen in Lichtenfels. She suggests that, "like the earlier examples, the church [in Ronchamp] is simultaneously longitudinal and centralized. Instead of developing these contrary themes along a single axis, Le Corbusier affects the transformation along a constantly changing perimeter. The reflection of half the church yields a centralized plan; the reflection of the other half results in a longitudinal plan. Additional references to traditional ecclesiastic architecture emerges as the perimeter effortlessly transforms from the abstraction of a razor sharp line to paired towers, reminiscent of the westworks in a cathedral. The asymmetrical inversion of the plan is signaled by the misplacement of the apsidal wall of the church: instead of serving as a back drop to the altar, ti faces the altar. The altar itself backs against a convex wall, which forms the screen for an outdoor chapel. It is almost as if the church had been turned inside out, the twist yielding strange distortions which nonetheless harken back to the original type."[453]

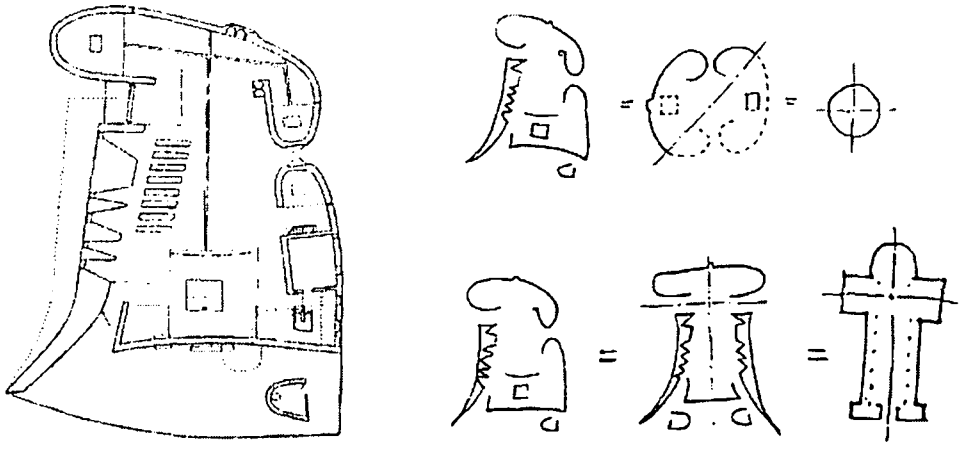


Figure 40, 41- Le Corbusier's Notre-Dame-du-Haut, 1950-54 and Jacqueline Gargus's analysis of the plan

While the reading of Ronchamp by Gargus can still be seen as a historical one – after all, her book is a history of Western architecture from Egypt to the 1980s – some of her other interpretations dispense with the issue of precedents altogether and rather focus on the internal coherence of the schemes, in terms of figure/ground relationships, space and mass, the parti, geometrical and other formal transformations, etc.

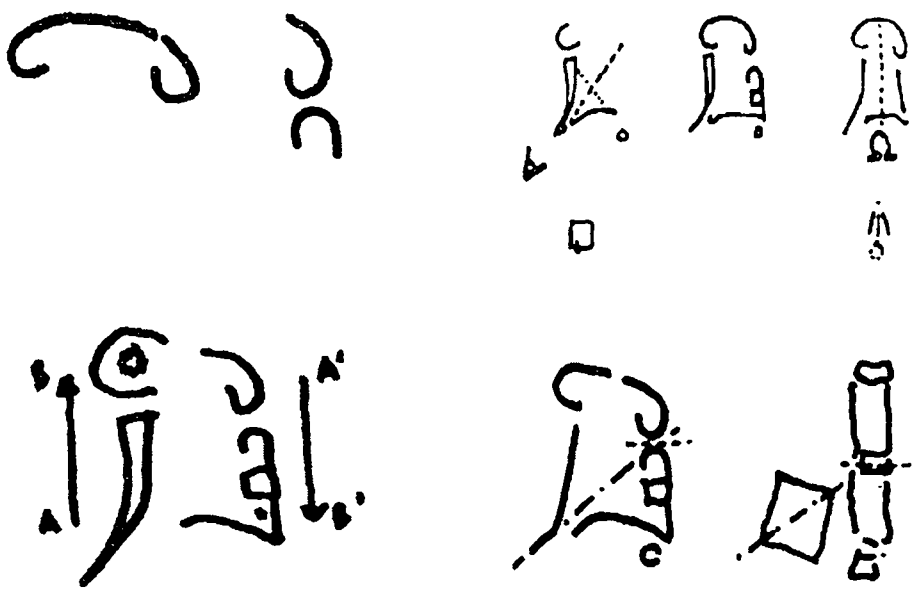


Figure 42- Graf analyzing Ronchamp.

In this regard, Gargus often comes close to the interpretive techniques of Douglas Graf. A summary cannot do justice to his subtle, detailed and technical reading of Ronchamp but in principle, he reads the perimeter of the church as a sort of Hegelian history of architecture, including the genesis of the southern wall from a point to a plane that begins to contain volume (the windows) – as he writes, "*vallus* is ... resurrected to re-perform the act of archegenesis from stake to wall to volume as the south facade of Ronchamp unrolls toward the first chapel"[454] – the reconceptualization of edge as plane and the creation of volume through perimetrical enclosure at the first chapel; the replication of the first chapel at the north portal and the mirroring of the second chapel to make the third

which also means the extraction of precinct from an object of singular significance to the interchangeability of cell, as displayed by the relationship of the third chapel to the vestry; the reintegration of inside with outside and the reduction of precinct to a suggestion of spatial enclosure at the 'last space' between the vestry and the eastern wall; and finally, the mirroring of the first chapel from the perspective of the southeast corner by the outdoor 'sacristy' as the 'fourth chapel' (Fig.42).

The focus of Graf's reading is on the reciprocities, opposing/cooperating configurations, symmetries and asymmetries in plan and section but the goal in this and many other readings, such as his interpretation of Frank Gehry's unbuilt Familian House (1980), is demonstrate the ultimate coherence of the schemes and position them in an ahistorical discourse, thereby explaining their architectural value. [455] He is even is able to integrate even the cistern beyond the western perimeter of the Ronchamp church into the composition as a axial element, rather than a random recollection collaged onto the whole. Here, there is no question of trying to find out what the original intentions of the designer might have been; the point is to discover the architectural logic of the concept.

Intentionalism and its alternatives

Whereas Curtis attempts to reconstruct the ideas that inspired Le Corbusier to conceive his designs, Gargus and Graf are interested in explaining the buildings as works of architecture, demonstrating why they hold a significant position in history and how they make a contribution to an architectural discourse – without thereby claiming to have discovered what the architect was thinking at the time of design. In short, Curtis wants to explain the man, while the formalists Gargus and Graf want to know the building. There is certainly something to be said for the latter, in that Le Corbusier was not exemplary or

admirable as a person – most people who knew Le Corbusier shared the judgment of Philip Johnson: "He was just plain mean!"[456] – but he did create magnificent buildings, and that is the basis of his reputation and the reason architects, critics and historians keep returning to his works.

In its focus on the architect's thoughts and inspirations, the traditional approach of Curtis is a variation of intentionalism, and one that tends towards the biographical method. The theory of authorial intention holds in essence that a text means what the author intended it to mean. As opposed to such an idea, Monroe C. Beardsley and W. K. Wimsatt argue that the author's experience and intentions at the time of the writing are matters of historical interest, if any: they do not determine the meaning, effect or function of his creation. Beardsley defines works of art as self-sufficient entities, whose properties are decisive in checking interpretations and judgments. He insists that our experience of a work is a wholly autonomous one. We cannot take account of any entity or fact which is not aesthetically perceivable in the work of art itself; aesthetic value is exclusively determined by the work itself. In the New Critical tradition of close reading, Beardsley and Wimsatt take the concept of a work of art seriously and therefore cannot accept the object as a work of any individual artist. While the intentionalist critic confuses the judging of a work of art with the judging of the artist, what really matters is that which is embodied in the text and which is accessible to any reader with knowledge of the language and the culture to which the text belongs.[457]

These accusations are not without basis. In the Introduction to his *History of English Literature* Hippolyte Taine writes: "On turning over the large stiff leaves of a folio, or the yellow leaves of a manuscript, in short, a poem, a code of laws, a confession of faith, what is your first comment? You say to yourself that the work before you is not of its own creation. It is simply a mold like a fossil shell, an imprint similar to one of those

forms embedded in a stone by an animal which once lived and perished. Beneath the shell was an animal and behind the document there was a man. Why do you study the shell unless to form some idea of the animal? In the same way do you study the document in order to comprehend the man; both shell and documents are dead fragments and of value only as indications of the complete living being."[458]

Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve was another French proponent of the biographical method. In his *Nouveaux lundis* he states his conviction as follows: "Literature, the literary product, is for me indistinguishable from the whole organization of the man. I can enjoy the work itself, but I find it difficult to judge this work without taking into account the man himself. I say without hesitation: Like tree, like fruit. Literary study thus brings me naturally to the study of morals."[459] He goes on to explain that "one has to ask oneself a certain number of questions about an author, and give answers to them (even though not out loud - and even though the questions many seem quite irrelevant to the nature of the works studied). Only after such question can one be sure about the whole problem one faces, What did the author think about religion: In what way was he impressed by the contemplation of nature? How did he handle himself in the matter of women? How in the matter of money? Was he rich? Was he poor? What rules of living did he follow? What was his daily routine? And so on. - To sum it up: what was his master vice, his dominant weakness? Every man has one. Not a single one of the answers we give to these questions can be irrelevant to forming an opinion about the author of a book and about the book itself - that is, it we suppose we are dealing with something other than treatise in pure geometry."[460] Sainte-Beuve wished to study an author in his genealogy as well as his living family, including his children.

As opposed to such extreme biographical readings, most critics for the past 60 years have rejected appeals to the author's intention as the means to establish meanings and have

proposed alternative methods that have been reviewed by Kari Jormakka in *Constructing Architecture* of 1991.

Reader-oriented pluralists, including Paul Valéry and T.S. Eliot claim that the work means everything it means to different observers.[461] Jormakka argues that this position is, however, unsatisfactory because works are actually identified independently of readers and because the effect a work has on a reader is both too variable and too private to be acceptable as an object of criticism.[462] By contrast, text-oriented pluralists, including Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes and the architecture critic Jeffrey Kipnis, maintain that the work has as many meanings as the text or the physical artwork can sustain.[463] Jormakka rejects this position as well, arguing that it is always possible to construct a translation manual so as to ascribe any arbitrary meaning to any work. If all such codes are equal and if the complete meaning of a work is the sum of the meanings it can sustain, all works have the same infinite meaning. Such a view, then, according to Jormakka's argument, fails to discriminate between different works and also makes evaluation impossible.[464]

Conventionalists, such as Monroe C. Beardsley, maintain that a work means what it means in an existing convention, or else communicates nothing at all.[465] However, Jormakka shows that following a convention is not necessary for successful communication. Because for the past two centuries works of art have often tended towards unconventionality, conventionalism is unsuitable for a critical principle.[466]

Instead of intentionalism, pluralism and conventionalism, Jormakka opts for what is known as the principle of charity. Laurent Stern formulates it as follows: "If there is agreement on the canonical status of a text, then among two competing interpretations that may equally fit the text, the one which assigns greater value and significance to the

text will be preferred."[467] Here, "value" is to be understood as value within the discourse of art or architecture, not as a subjective preference of the artist or critic, or an extrinsic value, such as a economic or use value. According to Jormakka, such artistic values within the discourse of art or architecture are constructed through interpretations. To give a simple example, in the discourse of European art ever since the Romantics it has been a value to be avantgarde, rather than retrograde or conservative. However, this quality is only recognizable in a context broader than the individual work, within a narrative.[468]

Narrative sentences

In contrast to the positivist program of accepting only those statements as true that are either logical or ultimately verifiable by direct observation, Danto talks about narrative properties in historiography. "To ask for the significance of an event, in the historical sense of the term, is to ask a question which can be answered only in the context of a story. The identical event will have a different significance in accordance with the story in which it is located or, in other words, in accordance with what different sets of later events it may be connected."[469]

Narrative sentences are true statements that could not have been verified at the time the events they describe took place. An example of a true statement that could not have been available to a contemporary observer would be of the form: "The 30-year war started in 1618."[470] Danto's claim is that many aesthetically or artistically relevant descriptions are in fact narrative. When we describe the *Mademoiselles d'Avignon* as being early Cubist in style, we are obviously not only innocently referring to certain kinds of arrangement of forms that we might have discussed with Picasso in 1907 but also presupposing something about the later development of Picasso's style into Cubism proper. In the

progressive narratives of Hegelian art history (which Danto endorses to some extent), the position of the work within the narrative also bears a certain value: it is better to be avant-garde than rear guard, better to be of the future than of the past. Furthermore, a masterpiece usually brings about a change in the narrative, e.g. by starting a new narrative or closing an old one. In terms of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of art as a social field, the work would effect closure by being too perfect to imitate and thereby closing off the possibility of any later artists entering the field with a similar work. Thomas Kuhn made a point similar to Danto's theory when he wrote in 1971 that, "The final product of most historical research is a narrative, a story, about particulars of the past... Its success, however, depends not only on accuracy but also on structure. The historical narrative must render plausible and comprehensible the events it describes."[471]

In most accounts of the history of historiography, positivism and historicism are viewed as methodologically and theoretically divergent approaches to the study of the past. Historicism's greatest theorist, Johann Gustav Droysen, set the tone of the debate by arguing that positivism's adoption of the methods of the natural sciences negated the hermeneutic basis of historicism and consequently destroyed the uniqueness or individuality of the human past. Not only was positivism an approach based on the principles of natural science incapable of revealing the spiritual character of the human world, the driving force behind the historical process but, it was unable to transform historical study into an autonomous scientific discipline. Rather, its naturalistic approach reduced history to the status of a dubious natural science.[472]

The method of resemblances is suspiciously close to positivism, as many early twentieth-century art historians realized. Still, many maintained that the classification of works on the basis of stylistic similarities or other resemblances and the determination of filiations or influence on such a basis was central history. Thus, Max Dvorak in 1914 explained

that "*nur die historischen Ereignisse und Vorgänge auf dem Gebiet der Kunst sind der Gegenstand der kunsthistorischen Forschung*," and quoted Eduard Meyer's formula: "*historisch is ... was wirksam oder gewesen ist.*"[473] Dvorak maintains that an art historical explanation requires more than a "discerning eye and a warm heart" and concludes that "*Eine Kritik des künstlerischen Factums hat nur dann eine Beweiskraft, wenn sie das Ergebnis einer historischen Beweiskette bedeutet und auf Grund eines Vergleiches des Kunstwerkes mit stilistisch verwandten, zeitlich, local und individuell nahstehenden Denkmälern ergolgte.*"[474]

One of Dvorak's students, Hans Sedlmayr (who originally studied architecture at the Technische Hochschule in Vienna and switched to art history at the main university in 1920) took a more polemical and critical position in his 1931 essay on the methodology of art history. Sedlmayr distinguishes between what he calls the "first science of art" and the "second" one. The former focuses on issues that can be resolved without 'understanding' the work of art: firstly, establishing the date of the work, identifying the author, or reconstructing its "objective from", ans secondly, comparing works of art and assigning them to classes, determining genetic connections on the basis of similar characteristics and the temporal order, or examining the historical changes in the work. As an example of an unproblematic fact Sedlmayr states that in its formal appearance, the Hagia Sophia is closer to the San Vitale than a Gothic building.[475]

The "second science of art" uses different, more hermeneutic methods in order to understand how the elements of the work relate to each other and make up an organic, necessary whole, how the work represents the *Weltanschaung* of the period, or what it means in an 'iconological' sense, To use Erwin Panovsky's later term. Through the method of *Structuranalyse*, this second approach can also determine the position of a work in a historical development and thus establish the approximate date as well as

geographical location, and also propose the reconstruction of missing parts in a work.[476] Sedlmayr attempts to formulate scientific and objective principles for the "second science" but in so doing he also comes to point out a problem in the positivistic "first science". Namely, on the basis of Gestalt theory, Sedlmayr suggests that there is no pure, objective perception, as the first science would seem to assume. Instead, he maintains, different persons perceive the work in fundamentally different ways. Hence, the main problem of art history is to constitute the object it pertains to study.[477]

Later in his career, however, Sedlmayr relied less on Gestalt theory, and put more weight on his concept of "visible character" as the principle that unifies a work of art. Thus, his analysis of the Karlskirche (Fig.43), for example, is structured around the idea that this is a monument to a ruler. Sedlmayr claims that "*man-auch ohne das geringste vom Auftraggeber, von Anlaß und Bestimmung des Werkes zu wisse- rein aus dem anschaunlichen character des Ganzen heraus spüren, nein wissen würde, daß dies ein Herrscherbau ist ... einmalig, unnachahmbar und unwiederholbar.*"[478]

However, despite the emphasis on the inimitable visible character of the building, Sedlmayr also wants to suggest that just about every formal element he can articulate imitates those in other buildings. In the general composition and some details, he discerns the influence of Francois Mansart's church of Val-de-Grace in Paris (Fig. 44). The gabled turrets of the façade are for him derived from Flemish architecture; one example being the Beguine church in Brussels. From the Pantheon come the temple front withinscription, the coffered dome, and the principle of combining the temple front with a rotunda; although in the latter case, the building could also have been influenced by St. Paul's in London (Fig. 45) or the Invalides in Paris.

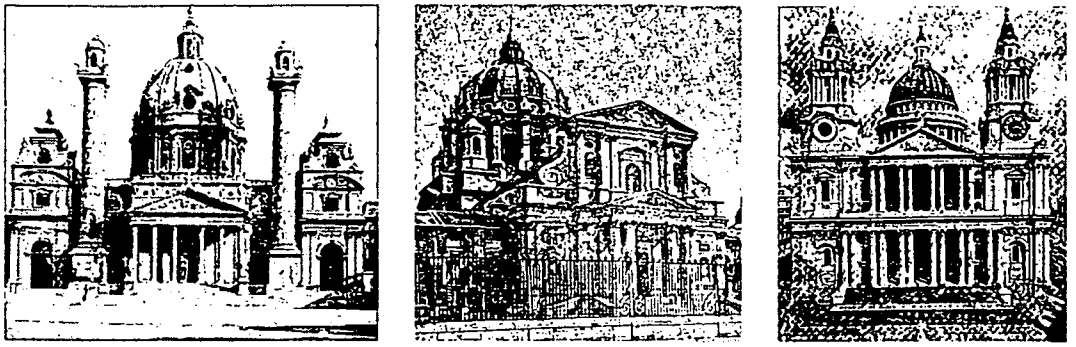


Figure 43, 44, 45- Fischer von Erlach's *Karlskirche* (1715-1737) in Vienna, François Mansard's *Val-de-Grace* church 1645 in Paris, and Christopher Wren's *St. Paul's Cathedral* (1675-1710) in London.

The portico reminds Sedlmayr of the temple of Concordia on the Roman Formu, and the corridor in the wide façade of the narthex in the Hagia Sophia. From him, the dome of the Karlskirche (Fig.46) was modeled after Michelangelo's dome for St. Peter's in the Vatican (Fig.47) and the altar after Palladio's Il Redentore in Venice. Sedlmayr also links thee wide façade with the thoroughfares on both ends to Carlo Maderno's design for St. Peter's façade (Fig.48) as well as Bernini's unrealized project form the flanking towers.

Figure 46, 47, 48- Fischer von Erlach's *Karlskirche* (1715-1737), Michelangelo's *St. Peter's church* (1546-1564) and Carlo Maderna's façade for the *St. Peter's church* (1606-1612).

He further finds a precedent for the latern in Filippo Borromini's Saint'Agnese in Agore in Rome. The tall columns with a spiral relief remind him of Trajan's Column in Rome and of Joachim and Boaz before the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. The elements connecting the side pavilions with the main building come from the Jean Baptiste

mathey's Church of St. Francis Seraphicus of the Knights of the Cross of the Red Star in Prague and Carlo Rainaldi's double churches on the Piazza del Popolo in Rome.[479]

Some of the quotation in the *Karlskirche* can be linked with the iconographical program that according to Sedlmayr sought to present Vienna as the new Jerusalem, new rome and new Byzantium and merge the figure of emperor Karl VI with that of Carlo Borromeo, the ideologist of the Counter-Reformation, and that of Charlemagne, the founder of the Roman-German *Reich*. It could also be proposed that some of the elements should be seen as spoils, in the tradition of classical and Early Chrisitan architecture, as a sign of the vistory of Christianity over its enemies: Jewish orthodoxy, as represented by Joachim and Boaz: Roman empire, as represented by the Pantheon; and even Islam, if we interpret the two columns of the Karlskirche as a reference to the twin minarets of the Hagia Sophia, as illustrated in Fischer von Etrlach's *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur*.[480] However, the other motifs that have allegedly been designed after more contemporary modelscannot be understood on the basis of iconography or the visual character, and they seem to represent a questionable "first science" approach that does not help to explain the inner logic and necessity of the work, as Sedlmayr himself demanded. To suggest that the Karlskirche is a "*Novum Theatrum Architecturae*," a display of the entire history of architecture, "alles in allem", is not much of an interpretation according to the rules of the criteria Sedlmayr articulated in the essay "*Zu einer strengen Kunstwissenschaft*."[481] In his polemic against another famous reading by Sedlmayr of Vermeer's *Model and Painter*, Kurt Badt argued that the final, "mystical meaning" that Sedlmayr presents is banal and unspecific- a charge that could incidentally be made against the iconological readings of Erwin Panofsky as well, especially his interpretation of Gothic architecture- and that the whole reading misses the essence, the Heideggerian *Logos*, of the work.[482]

Differences and similarities

How much do similarities between two works of art or architecture really matter? To Danto, Marcel Duchamp's readymades and Andy Warhol's *Brillo Boxes* suggest that one of two perceptually indistinguishable objects can be an artwork while the other is not. He concludes from this that being an artwork cannot be reduced to physical properties. Instead, while works of art are perceptually indiscernible from their material counterparts, they nevertheless exist on two separate ontological levels so that the relation of a work of art to its material bearer is analogous to the way the human body is inhabited by the soul. Consequently, many qualities of works of art are radically different from the qualities belonging to material things. It is not that when we attend to something as a work of art, we notice certain of its qualities of the material thing that we missed before; a work of art has other qualities because it is another thing.[483]

In *The Transfiguration of the Commonplace*, Danto provides an example where the context determines not only individual features of the work but even the *genre*. Danto starts with Søren Kierkegaard's comment that in his life, after all turmoil and agony, everything melts into "a mood, a single color"; the Danish sage likens this to a painting depicting the Exodus where one could see the Red Sea after the Israelites had crossed over and the Egyptians were drowned. Now, Danto imagines an art exhibition, which includes a number of identical red rectangles. The first one is a historical painting, *Israelites Crossing the Red Sea,* the second, a penetrating psychological study called *Kierkegaard's Mood.* Next to it is the *Red Square,* a clever bit of Moscow landscape, and beside that, a minimalist work with the same title. There is also a metaphysical painting *Nirvana* depicting the Samsara order, sometimes known as "Red Dust". A follower of Matisse exhibits a still-life called *Red Table Cloth.* In addition to these works of art, there is a canvas grounded in red lead by Giorgione, and a rectangular surface with red paint on

it, an object which does not have any artistic and not even any art-historical interest.[484] From the last two objects, it is obvious that it is not only the meaning but also the genre and even some more fundamental qualities that are imperceptible. Determination of the kind of art a given object exemplifies requires contextual assumptions. Without external evidence it is not possible to decide whether a performance of the *4'33"* by John Cage is a piece of music, a play, a dance, a piece of textile sculpture or, perhaps, not a work of art at all but rather a sitting for a photographer or a portrait painter.[485]

This is, then, the reason why in Danto's view criticism or historiography that operates with the concept of similarity, resemblance or affinity, faces serious methodological problems. To suggest his alternative to the search for resemblances, Danto goes on to quote Wittgenstein from Ray Monk's biography. "Hegel seems to me always wanting to say that things which look different are really the same," Wittgenstein remarked, "whereas my interest is in showing that things which look the same are really different."[486] Danto concludes: "That's my philosophy ... that's my method of indiscernibles. As the motto for *Philosophical Investigations*, Wittgenstein wanted to use a passage from *King Lear* where the fool promises to teach Lear differences.[487] I think the whole drift of our history is not 'I'll teach you differences' but 'I'll teach you samenesses.'"[488]

Insofar as we follow the etymological root of criticism, the Greek *krinein,* meaning 'differentiating', the goal of critical historiography should also be to appreciate differences.

Notes:

[1] International Association of the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience.

[2] The spelling of the town names in Macedonia in the text below will be in the Macedonian language.

[3] See: www.iaeste.org.mk/sid/aboutmacedonia.htm or the IAESTE Seminar held in Skopje, 23-24 April, 2003.

[4] Popovski, Mihailo, *Monografija Kruševo* [*Monographs about Kruševo*], Skopje: Narodna i Univerzitetska Biblioteka, 2003, p.32.

5 Pavlovski, Mishel&Jovan, *Macedonia yesterday and today*, Skopje: MI-An Publishing Agency, 1998, p.99.

[6] Interview with Filip Degu, at present time the leader of the French Macedonian Culture Center, Skopje, August 2004.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Tomoski, Sotir, *Makedonska narodna arhitektura* [*Macedonian National Architecture*], Skopje: Makedonska Kniga, 1960, p.8.

[9] Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret, *Oeuvre Complète 1910-1929*, Zürich: W. Boesiger et O. Stonorov Publiée, Les Éditions d'Architecture, 1929. Sketches Tomoski speaks about are in pp.17-21.

[10] Authors in Macedonia will use the term the 'Macedonian House' in order to describe the nineteenth century houses built in the territory of Macedonia. More appropriate term will be 'the houses built in Macedonia', or even specifying the city where built, such: 'houses from Ohrid', 'houses from Struga', etc., because the question of the existing of the 'Macedonian house' has still not been solved. However, in this work I will use the same terminology as the Macedonian authors- 'The Macedonian House.'

[11] Le Corbusier, *Oeuvre Complète 1910-1929*, pp.17-21.

[12] Žaknić, Ivan, *Journey to the East*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987, pp.32-66. (Žaknić edited and annotated Le Corbusier's version of *Le Voyage d'Orient*, Paris: Forve Vives, 1966)

[13] Gresleri, Giuliano, *Le Corbusier, Reise nach dem Orient*, Zürich: Spur Verlag, 1991, pp.108-120.

[14] Brooks, H. Allen, The *Formative Years of Le Corbusier*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997, pp.225-303.

[15] Baker, Geoffrey, *Le Corbusier- The Creative Search*, London: E&FN Spon, 1996, pp.138-169.

[16] Architects dealing with this particular matter in Macedonia were: Dušan Grabrijan (Slovenian), Boris Čipan, Sotir Tomoski, Krum Tomovski, Marula Nikoloska, Jasmina Haxhieva-Aleksievska, Vangel Božinovski, and Petar Mulićkovski. Authors: Mishel and Jovan Pavlovski and Mihailo Popovski. Institutions involved in Macedonia: *The Office for the Maintenance of the Cultural Monuments* in the city of Skopje, Struga and Ohrid, *The Architect's Society* in Skopje, *The Macedonian Academy of Art and Science* [MANU], *Museums* in Skopje, Kruševo and Ohrid, *The Macedonian Archives* in Skopje, and *The University of Kiril and Metodij- The Faculty of Architecture* in Skopje.

[17] Discussion in May, 2005 with Dominika Boškova- Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje, claiming that "the connection Le Corbusier and Macedonia we stressed out from Le Corbusier's notes books, sketches, traveling maps, photographs and his writings about the Macedonian architecture". Jasmina Haxhieva-Aleksievska is a Professor of the course: '*The Macedonian National Architecture*', claiming that she knows the story about Le Corbusier and Macedonia as been published by authors, such as Grabrijan, Tomoski, Pavlovskis' and Popovski. Discussion in Skopje, Faculty of Architecture, August, 2003.

[18] Vllaznim Vokshi, Professor of at the University of Prishtina-Faculty of Architecture. During the course of '*Contemporary Architecture*' lectures held in 1997, he explains there to be some rumors about Le Corbusier being familiar with a gipsy house from Struga and a fisherman's house in Ohrid in Macedonia,

and that an analogy can be made between these specific houses in Struga and Ohrid with some of Le Corbusier's early works. No further details were discussed at that time.

[19] Le Corbusier, *The Modulor.* Transl. by Peter de Francia and Anna Bostock, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954, p. 219.

[20] Wright, Frank Lloyd, *A Testament*, New York: Horizon Press, 1957, p. 205.

[21] Furthermore, some artists are in the habit of deliberately obfuscating their past. Pablo Picasso, asked in 1920 about the influence of African art on Cubism, replied, "Negro art? Never heard of it!" Leighten, Patricia, *Re-ordering the Universe. Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, p.137; see also pp.114-115, pp.137-138.

[22] Alofsin, Anthony, *Frank Lloyd Wrigh, The Lost Years, 1910-1922.* A Study of Influence. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, p. 9 et passim.

[23] As quoted in Nute, Kevin, Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan. London: Chapman & Hall, 1993, p. 2.

[24] As quoted in Nute, p. 3. Of course, the Japanese influence on Arts&Crafts was extensive, as we can see from Edward W. Godwin's Anglo-Japanese furniture. See Nute, p. 13.

[25] Nute, pp. 48-68. However, David Gebhardt has observed that the Turkish Pavilion in the exposition actually looks more like the typical Prairie house. See Nute, p. 66.

[26] Nute, pp. 167-170, 172-174.

[27] Lauweriks, J.L., "Ein Beitrag zum Entwerfen auf Systematischer Grundlage in der Architektur", in *Ring*, Heft 4, April 1909. Tummers, H.M., *J.L. Mathieu Lauweriks*, Hilversum 1968. Sebastian Müller, "Die Moderne in der Architektur und J.L.M. Lauweriks" in *Maßsystem und Raumkunst. Das Werk des Architekten, Pädagogen und Raumgestalters J.L.M.Lauweriks*. Ausstellungskatalog . Hagen, Krefeld, Rotterdam 1987. p.75

[28] Le Corbusier, *The Modulor I & 2.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986; Modulor 1, pp. 25-26.

[29] Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, London, 1960, p.142.

[30] The "square spiral" of the Museum project looks like the symbols of Kundalini in theosophical speculation. The Tantric concept of kundalini, or cosmic energy, is often represented as a coiled serpent that rests near the base of the spine, at the lowest "cakra" or energy node. When this creative energy is awakened it spurs the "unfolding of consciousness" in a thin red line that ascends through the body. In Egyptian, Indian and Christian art, the symbols of Kundalini include the swastika and the meander. Henderson observes that the "kundalini was the second major principle of Lauweriks's Theosophical theory after proportion and measure... It was present in the exhibition space at Düsseldorf in the symbolic meanders, and it appeared in the work of de Bazel in the same years. At Hagen Lauweriks took it beyond symbolism, using it to determine the arrangement and order of the whole complex of buildings." Henderson, p. 9.

[31] N.H.M. Tummers, J.L. Mathieu Lauweriks. Zijn werk an Zijn Invloed. Op Architectuur en Vormgeving Rond 1910: "De Hagener Impuls" (Hilversum, 1967), pp.35-36.

[32] Henderson, Susan R., "J.L.M. Lauweriks and K.P.C. de Bazel: Architecture and Theosophy." *Architronic.* Vol. 7, number 2, pp.1-15; here, p. 13n5.

[33] H.P. Berlage, *Gedanken über Stil in der Baukunst,* Leipzig, 1905.

[34] J.L. Lauweriks, "Het nut en doel Kunst", (Nothing New in Art) *Theosophia* 1907, cited by H.M. Tummers in *J.L. Mathieu Lauweriks,* Hilversum 1968; "Einen Beitrag zum Entwerfen auf Systematischer Grundlage in der Architektur", in *Ring,* Heft 4, April 1909, p. 34, cited by W. Pehnt in *Die Architektur des Expressionismus,* Stuttgart 1973. Peter Behrens and Lauweriks taught together in the architecture school in Düsseldorf; Adolf Meyer was one of Lauweriks's star students. Once Behrens accepted the director position in the school of architecture and applied arts in Düsseldorf in 1903, he invited the Dutch theosophist and architect J. L. M. Lauweriks to the faculty. Under his influence, Behrens started experimenting with the mystical mathematics of the theosophists, H. P. Berlage's pyramid grids and the Egyptian geometries of Pater Desiderius Lenz of the Benedictine monastery in Beuron; the geometric

basis of Behrens' designs for the Oldenburg exhibition (1905) and the crematorium in Delstern near Hagen (1906/7) is striking. Even in more mundane assignments, Behrens stuck to simple geometry: Haus Cuno in Hagen, for example, uses squares and square root of two rectangles both in plan and in ornamentation. See e.g. H.P. Berlage, *Gedanken über Stil in der Baukunst*, Leipzig, 1905. J.L. Lauweriks, "Het nut en doel Kunst", *Theosophia* 1907; "Ein Beitrag zum Entwerfen auf Systematischer Grundlage in der Architektur", in *Ring*, Heft 4, April 1909, p. 34.

[35] Grabrijan, Dušan, *Makedonska kuća, ili prelaz stare Orientalne u savremenu Evropsku kuću*, [*The Macedonian House, or the transition of the Old Oriental House into the Modern European House*], Ljubljana: Državna Založba Slovenije, 1955. In the coming text the quotes are selected from the Serbo-Croatian Edition of the book '*The Macedonian House*' of 1955. At the same year (1955) the book was also published in Macedonian language, the Slovenian edition appears in 1976, while the second Edition of the book in Macedonian language was published in 1986, Skopje: MISLA.

[36] Čipan, Boris, *Starata gradska arhitektura vo Ohridd* [*The Old City Architecture in Ohrid*], Skopje: Makedonska Kniga, 1955.

[37] Here I apply J.P.Bonta's distinction of the canonical interpretation: "[it] is a cumulative result of many previous responses, distilled by repetition and reduced to the bare essentials." See Bonta, J. Pablo, *Architecture and its Interpretation*, A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture, London: Lund Humphries, 1979, p.145.

[38] The Office for The Maintenance of the Cultural Monuments: in Skopje, Marula Nikoloska and Viktorija Apostolova, in Ohrid Lenče Koćkoska, in Kruševo Nikola Jovanovski.

[39] Hobsbawm, Erick, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

[40] Čeferin, Petra, *Constructing A Legend, the International Exhibition of Finnish* Architecture 1957-1967, Jyväskaylä: Gummerus Printing, 2003.

[41] See Bonta, J. Pablo, *Architecture and its Interpretation*, A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture, London: Lund Humphries, 1979.

The Influence

[42] The ideas of L'Eplttenier are not very well known except through occasional remarks made by Le Corbusier later in his career. SeeTurner, Paul Venable, *The Education of Le Corbusier*, New York: Garland Publishing, 1977, pp.67-69.

[43] Gregh, Eleanor, "The Dom-ino Idea," Oppositions Winter/Spring 15/16. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1979, p.77.

[44] SeeTurner, 1977, pp.67-69.

[45] Brooks, H. Allen, The *Formative Years of Le Corbusier*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997, p.93.

[46] Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1986, p.86.

[47] Baker, Geoffrey, *Le Corbusier- The Creative Search*, London: E&FN Spon, 1996, p.243.

[48] Moos, Stanislaus von, *Le Corbusier, Elemente einer Synthese*, Stuttgart: Huber Frauenfeld und Stuttgart, 1968. „Ist es noch zu früh, ihn durch die Brille der Kunstgeschichte als Erscheinung der Vergangenheit zu würdigen", p.6.

[49] The most distinctive feature in this landscape is the sapin, the French word for those majestically tall, straight and symmetrical evergreen trees of the spruce or fir family, irrespective of their actual species

Nature, however, remained the basis of Le Corbusier's studies, with stone (the main local building material) receiving increasing attention as he sought to create columns, piers, and capitals, the forms and decorative qualities of which were derived from the characteristics of masonry rather than (as had been common throughout history) from living plants such as the lotus or acantus.

[50] Through their artistic skill at ornamenting watches and other precious objects they would help maintain- and, it was hoped, increase- La Chaux-de-Fonds's share of global market.

[51] Charles L'Eplattenier (1874-1946) was born in Neuâchtel, yet raised in Les Geneveys-sur-Coffrane, a village in the Val-de-Ruz lying about midway between Neuâchtel and la Chaux-de-Fonds. He studied art briefly (1891-92) in Budapest while living with his aunt. Then, from 1893 to 1896, he went to Paris, first to the Ecole des Arts Décoratifs and later to the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where his courses included painting and sculpture, as well as architecture. L'Eplattenier's courses at the Ecole d'Art were "design decorative" and "composition decorative" (decorative design and ornamental composition), subjects basic to all areas of instruction within the school. This provided him with an omnipresence not shared by those who taught specialized subjects such as engraving, gem- setting, or enameling. The students, meanwhile, were expected to be proficient in both design and execution. To specialize in design only was not an option; the student who designed ornamentation had to learn the technical and artistic skill to execute his or her own designs.

[52] Sekler, Patricia, "Le Corbusier, Ruskin, the Tree, and the Open Hand", published in Walden, Russell (ed.), *The Open Hand: Essays on Le Corbusier*, MIT Press, Cambridge, (Mass.), 1977, p.55.

[53] Sekler, 1977, p45.

[54] Ibid, pp.45-47.

[55] Ibid, p.44.

[56] Turner, 1977, pp.1-4.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Le Corbusier read with a deadly serious attitude towards the search for knowledge- often filling his books with extensive annotations revealing the diligence and sincerity with which he pursued this search. See Turner, 1977, pp.115-120.

[59] La Chaux-de-Fonds, his period of travelling, his period back in La Chaux-de-Fonds during World War I and his first years in Paris after 1917, are his years of "education". After 1920 the major outlines of his thinking had been shaped, and his attention turned primarily to creation and propaganda. See Turner, 1977, pp.115-120.

[60] Brooks, 1997, pp.95-150.

[61] His travels, as was traditional among architects at that time, commenced in Italy. He then went to Vienna (four months), had two sojourns at home during 1910 (approximately four and half months), followed by Germany (12 months), and finally a "Voyage d'Orient" (7 months in the Balkans, Turkey, Greece, and central Italy). In preparation for the trip(s) only the first few months were carefully pre-planned; thereafter chance and Le Corbusier's changing values played the decisive role. The pattern was consistent: winters in cities- Vienna, Paris, La Chaux-de-Fonds, and Berlin- and the summer's random travel, often with a friend. See Brooks, 1997, pp.95-150.

[62] Eleven days after arriving in Florence he wrote to L'Eplattenier: "The city appears to me not rich in architecture, isn't that so? Or are my eyes still dazzled by Pisa? Follow Brooks, 1997, pp.95-115.

[63] Carthusian monasteries are unlike all others since each monk lives not in a narrow, ill-lit, single room cell but in a modest house of several rooms with a fire place, cellar, attic, terrace, and a small private garden with flowers, vegetables, and fruits trees. A bridge- like walkway (the origin of Le Corbusier's Architectural promenade) connects the house to the cloister's outer wall which in turn, is pierced by an unglazed window through which one may contemplate the distant view (the window in the wall at Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye, Poissy, of 1929, or his parent's house at Corseaux-Vevey on Lake Geneva, 1923). This existence, in such a setting, became Jeanneret's dream of the ideal life; much that he designed

and built in the future years would reflect his love affair with the Chartreuse d'Ema. Thus, it was the idea, rather than specific forms, that primarily impressed him.

[64] He began private lessons with a relatively obscure sculptor who had studied at the Academy, Karl Stemolak. His enthusiasm was unbounded and he bestowed upon Stemolak the same praise he had conferred upon Ruskin while in Florence: "From Stemolak I learn to see". Yet it is consistent with what Le Corbusier believed throughout his life- that the act of creating architecture was a long, patient search in the study of form. In virtually every book he wrote he made references to the trip such as those in Vers une architecture, 1923, or the autobiographical "Confession" in L'Art decorastif d'aujourdhui of (1925) by which date, however the five month trip had become so magnified in his mind that it lasted "pres d'un an". And in Œ Complete (1929) he published 42 sketches from this one trip- while totally ignoring all his previous travels. See Brooks, 1997, Travels in Vienna and Italy, pp.95-115, pp.117-150.

[65] Brooks, 1977, pp. 255-303.

[66] Baker, 1996, p. 240; "The two men, Jeanneret and Ozenfant, subsequently met regularly to discuss art and particularly Cubism, and in September 1918 Jeanneret spent a few days with Ozenfant in the countryside at Andernos. During this sojourn Ozenfant showed Jeanneret his notes on his theory of Purism, suggesting they develop them together in the form of a book and exhibition. The resultant book, entitled Apres le Cubism, was published on 9th November 1918."

[67] Ibid, p.246; "Throughout his life Le Corbusier used painting as a means of exploration and experiment; this may be regarded as a kind of aesthetic gymnastics in which, freed from the day-to-day problems that surround the architect in practice, he could engage in pure research towards what he regarded as his central objective, to express the poetic content of life; My research is, like my feelings, directed towards what is the principal value in life: the poetry".

[68] Ibid, p.263.

[69] Ibid, p.264.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid, p.285.

[72] Vogt, Adolf Max, *Le Corbusier The Noble Savage*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998, p.x. "To read LC's vector in the opposite direction."

[73] Authors presented in this study discussing this problem in Macedonia, are: Dušan Grabrijan *Makedonska kuća, ili prelaz stare Orientalne u savremenu Evropsku kuću* [*The Macedonian House, or the transition of the Old Oriental House into the Modern European House*], (1955); Boris Čipan *Starata gradska arhitektura vo Ohridd* [*The Old City Architecture in Ohrid*], (1955); Sotir Tomoski *Makedonska narodna arhitektura* [*Macedonian National Architecture*] (1960); and Krum Tomovski, "Dejnosta na majstorite graditeli od Debar ["The Creativity of the Master Builders of Dibra"], Gostivar: Bigorski naucni-kulturni sobiri, I naućen sobir, 22-23.X.1971.

The Analogy

[74] Rotar, Blazh, "Dushan Grabrijan- Arhitekt, Pedagog, Raziskovales in Pisec" ["Dushan Grabrijan, Architect, Pedagogue, Historian and Writer"], *Revija*, Ljubljana: SRP 21/22, 2001.

[75] Grabrijan, Dušan, *Urbanizam, arhitektura, konstrukcije* [*Urbanism, Architecture, Construction*], Ljubljana: Projektivni Zavod LRS, 1945-1946.

[76] Grabrijan, Dušan, *The Macedonian House*, Ljubljana: Državna Založba Slovenije, 1955, p.22.

[77] Ibid, p.24.

[78] Ibid, p.41.

[79] Ibid, p.52.

[80] Grabrijan's explanation: *trem*-porch, doorway, cloister. It is a place under the first floor of the house where one works under the shadow. The *trem* is the place under the house, when lifted up on pillars.

[81] Grabrijan's explanation: *chardak*-room on the upper floor, enclosed porch. The *chardak* in houses in Macedonia is placed in the corner or in the middle of the house. It can also take the whole upper floor, it can be open or closed with windows, some time even the *chardak* is a double hight space.

[82] Grabrijan, 1955, pp.108-120.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid, p.108.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Grabrijan, 1955, p.114.

[90] Ibid, p. 68.

[91] Ibid, p.118-120. See also Grabrijan's comments about the Macedonian House in his *Razvojni put naše savremene kuće*, [*The Development of Our Contemporary House*], Beograd: Građevinska Kniga, 1973, pp.95-103.

[92] Ibid, pp.79-81.

[93] Ibid, p.80.

[94] Grabrijan, 1955, pp.80-81.

[95] Ibid, pp.40-46.

[96] Grabrijan, Dušan, *Razvojni put naše savremene kuće*, [*The Development of Our Contemporary House*], Beograd: Građevinska Kniga, 1973, pp.110-111.

[97] Ibid, pp.76-81.

[98] Ibid, pp.89-93.

[99] Ibid, p.81.

[100] Ibid, pp.55-57.

[101] Ibid, p.115.

[102] Ibid, pp.114-115.

[103] With these operations, Le Corbusier broke the schematism of the European house, from which he then created the problem known as the "architecture of space" and the Macedonian *chardak* was the element that helped Le Corbusier arrive at this idea. Ibid, p.111.

[104] Ibid, pp.106-107.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid. "We are thinking here of Le Corbusier's consoles which differ from the Macedonian bay window only in terms of material: instead of wood, Le Corbusier uses *béton armé*," writes Grabrijan.

[108] Ibid, pp.118-120.

[109] With 'hangar houses' Grabrijan described houses with two long sides, which are not available for openings, and have a minimum amount of surface available for the master to come to a functional solution of the house.

[110] Le Corbusier's life-slogan: "A House-A Palace"

[111] Grabrijan, 1955, p.111.

[112] Ibid, pp.81-85.

[113] Ibid, pp.83-86.

[114] Ibid, p.81.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid, p.29, and p.108.

[117] Ibid, p.108.

[118] Ibid; pp.114-115.

[119] Ibid, p.108.

[120] Ibid, p.105.

[121] Ibid, p.108.

[122] Ibid, p.110.

[123] Ibid, p.111.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid, p.114.

[126] Ibid, p.80.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid, p.116.

[129] Ibid, pp.115-118.

[130] Ibid, p.116.

[131] Ibid, pp.118-120.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid, p.80.

[134] Ibid, pp.110-115.

[135] Ibid, p.68.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid, p.86.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid.

The Fabrication

[141] Čipan, Boris, *Starata gradska arhitektura vo Ohrid* [*The Old City Architecture in Ohrid*], Skopje: Makedonska Kniga, 1955, p.71, Čipan is quoting Grabrijan, and hence one might guess that he already knew Grabrijan's book *Makedonska kuća*, 1955.

[142] Grabrijan, Dušan, *Makedonksa kuća*, [*The Macedonian House*], Ljubljana: DZS, 1955, p.114. Grabrijan to make the analogy even stronger compares in sketches and photographs the houses in Struga with Le Corbusier's Villa Meyer, Paris, (1925).

[143] Čipan, 1955, p.32.

[144] Ibid, p.96. Grabrijan also in his *The Macedonian House* often compares the *bondruk* system to the modern skeleton system [Dom-Ino], saying that the only differences lies in the materials. In the *bondruk* system stone and wood are used, as opposed to the more common skeleton system using concrete and steel.

[145] Ibid, p.58.

[146] Ibid, p.15.

[147] Ibid, p.47. Čipan further explains: "After this, it is unacceptable to see our young architects using the two-storey gallery, the cupboards hidden in the walls, the kitchen with its modern elements, as standard achievements, and indeed they have still not seen that they were invented by their predecessors one

century earlier. In the way, to create a "home for everyone" the European architects discovered the Macedonian house. Following its examples, they created the rational house with the cupboards in the walls, but without referring to their sources of inspiration. And today, we use these elements as imported discoveries from modern architecture because we were blind to see the examples in our own territory, realized in the nineteenth century".

[148] Tomoski, Sotir, *Makedonska narodna arhitektura* [*Macedonian National Architecture*], Skopje: Makedonksa Kniga, 1960, p.16.

[149] Ibid, p.18.

[150] Ibid, p.35.

[151] Ibid, p.60.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Tomovski, Krum, "Dejnosta na majstorite graditeli od Debar ["The Creativity of the Master Builders of Dibra"], Gostivar: Bigorski naucni-kulturni sobiri, I naućen sobir, 22-23.X.1971.

[154] The city of Dibra and the surrounding region are named as the region where the builders, who later worked in groups throughout the whole region of the Balkans and even in Asia Minor were "educated". Because they were coming from the Dibra region, their work will be described as the work of "Dibra School".

[155] In his book Grabrijan refers to this proverb, showing how important the "Dibra School" and its builders were for the region of the Balkans at that time.

[156] Haxhieva-Aleksievska, Jasmina, *Merki, antropomorfnost I modularni proporcii kaj starata Makedonska kuќa*, [*Measure, Anthropomorphism, and Modular Proportions in the Old Macedonian House*], Skopje: Studenski Zbor, 1984, p.32.

[157] Ibid, p.35.

[158] Ibid, p.38.

[159] Ibid, p.56.

[160] Ibid, p.48.

[161] Ibid., Haxhieva- Aleksievska, in analysing the houses built by the anonymous master builders, concludes that indeed they were dimensioning all elements of the houses, taking the man's body or his parts in order to arrive at the correct dimensions for the structural elements, as well as the furniture, doors, windows, and height and other dimensions of the spaces and rooms.

[162] Mulićkovski, Petar, *Duhot na Makedonskata kuka* [*The Soul of the Macedonian House*], Skopje: Geniusloci, 2000, pp.21-39.

[163] Mulickovski, 2000, pp.75-87.

[164] Čipan, 1955, p.56.

[165] Conversations with Mihailo Popovski, the author of the book *Macedonia, Yesterday and Today*, Skopje: MI-An Publishing Agency, 1998, august 2004.

[166] Popovski, Mihailo, *Monografija Kruševo* [*Monographs about Kruševo*], Skopje: Narodna i Univerzitetska Biblioteka, 2003, p.32.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Conversations with author Mihailo Popovski, August 2004.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Vangel Božinovski, speaking about the importance of Grabrijans's book The Macedonian House in a documentary fil prepared by the Macedonian Television-MTV, 1998.

[171] MANU-The Macedeonian Academy of Science and Art publishes Čipan's, Tomoski's, Tomovski's, Haxhieva-Aleksievska's and other architect's articles presenting the ninetienth century architecture from Macedonia. See *The Architecture in the Territory of Macedonia*, book 10, Skopje, Narodna I Univerzitetska Biblioteka 'Sv. Kliment Ohridski', 2000.

[172] Conversations with Filip Degu, Skopje, August, 2004.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Giuliano Gresleri, *Le Corbusier. Reise nach dem Orient*, Zürich: Spur Verlag, 1991, pp.176-177. See also Žaknić, Ivan, *Journey to the East*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987, pp.32-66.

[175] Grabrijan, 1955, p.80.

[176] Ibid, p.116.

[177] Ibid, pp.110-115.

[178] Grabrijan, 1955, p.111.

[179] Ibid, pp.115-118.

[180] Ibid, p.80.

[181] Ibid, p.110.

[182] Gresleri, 1991, p.116. See the note 21.

[183] Blagojević, Ljiljana, *Modernism in Serbia, 1919-1941*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003, pp.4-8.

[184] Gresleri, 1991, p.117.

[185] Gresleri, 1991, pp.110-113.

[186] As quoted by Moos 1979, p. 14.

[187] Brooks, 1997, p. 93.

The refutation

[188] See www.iaeste.org.mk/sid/aboutmacedonia.htm also seminar on IAESTE, 24-27 April, Skopje, Macedonia.

[189] Kenzo Tange was occupied in the process of the City urbanization, after the earthquake in Skopje 1963. He has worked for Le Corbusier. See Tafuri, Manfredo& Francesco Dal Co., *Gegenwart*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags- Anstalt, 1988, p.153.

[190] Conversation with the city architect in Kruševo, Nikola Jovanovski in 2003.

[191] Ibid.

[192] *The Office for the Maintenance of Monuments* in Struga and Ohrid deal with the restoration of the nineteenth century monuments.

[193] *The Office for the Maintenance of Monuments* in Skopje has documented all monuments not only from Skopje, but from all parts of Macedonia.

[194] Discussion with Jasmina Haxheva- Aleksievska, professor at the Faculty of Architecture- University of Skopje, 2003.

[195] *Architect's Society* in Skopje, discussion with Emilija Spiroska, architect, in 2005.

[196] Ibid.

[197] In Balkan it happens, though very often, valuable documents to be hold in other countries, and Paris was for sure interested to collect Le Corbusier's sketches done in Kruševo in 1927.

[198] See www.iaeste.org.mk/sid/aboutmacedonia.htm, or seminar on IAESTE, 24-27 April, Skopje, Macedonia.

[199] Colomina, Beatriz, *Privacy and Publicity; Modern Architecture as Mass Media*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994, pp.10-36.

[200] Conversations in July 2004 with one of the authors, Jovan Pavlovski, Skopje.

[201] Ibid.

[202] See the newspaper: "*Dnevnik*", Skopje, date 23 July 2003, testifying the burning of the "*MI-An*" Publishing in Skopje.

[203] Conversation with the author Jovan Pavlovski in August 2003, after the "MI-An" Publishing was totally burned.

[204] Conversations with Mihailo Popovski, August, 2004.

[205] Conversations with the author Mihailo Popovski in August, 2004.

[206] "*Politika*", "*Borba*" and "*Nova Makedonija*" were newspapers where Čipan published his interviews. See Čipan, Boris, *Tekstovi za arhitekturata* [*Texts about Architecture*], Skopje: DataPons, 1998.

[207] Čipan, 1955, p.13.

[208] Le Corbusier *Ouvre Compléte 1910-1929*, Zurich : Les Éditions d'Architecture, 1929, pp.17-21.

[209] Yugoslav architects that have worked at Le Corbusier's atelier in Paris: Zvonimir Kavourić 1927; Ernst Weismann 1929-30; Miroslav Orazem 1931; Saša Sedlak 1931; Juraj Neidhardt 1933-34; Milan Sever, 1934; Hrvoje Brnčić 1938-39; Jovan Krunić 1938-40; Marjan Tepina 1939; Marko Župančić 1939-40; Milorad Pantelić 1936-37; Eduard Ravnikar 1939. See Karen Michels, *Der Sinn der Unordnung*, Braunschweig/ Wiesbaden, 1989.

[210] Rotar, Blazh, "Dushan Grabrijan- Arhitekt, Pedagog, Raziskovales in Pisec" [„Dushan Grabrijan, Architect, Pedagogue, Historian and Writer"], *Revija* SRP 21/22, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2001.

[211] Karlic-Kapetanovic, Jelica, *Juraj Najdhardt, život i djelo*, [*Juraj Nidhardt, Life and Work*], Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1990, pp.37-60.

[212] Marula Nikoloska, *Postanak, Razvoj i poreklo arhitekture stare gradske kuće XIX veka u Kruševu*, Magistarski rad, [*Creation, Development and the Origin of the nineteenth Century Old Town Houses in Kruševo.*], Master Thesis, Belgrade, 1994, and *Prostorna organizacija gradske kuće XIX veka u Makedoniji*, Doktorska Disertacija, [*Spatial Organization of the nineteenth Century Town Houses in Macedonia*], PhD Thesis, Belgrade, 2002.

[213] Blagojević, Ljiljana, *Modernism in Serbia 1919-1941*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003.

[214] Ibid, p.233, note 14.

[215] Ibid, p.233, note 6.

[216] Dijana Alić, *"From the Ottoman house to Bosnian Style; Neidhardt's design for workers' housing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1939-1942)"*. An earlier version of this paper entitled, "In the search of stabilizing architectural principles: From the Ottoman house to Bosnian style," was published in Firm(ness) commodity De-light?.: Questioning the Canons, Proceedings from the Fifth Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zeland , Melbourne, 1998, pp.9-14.

[217] Karlic-Kapetanovic, 1990, pp.37-60.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Jovan Krunić, "Remembrance on Le Corbusier", *Politika*, Belgrade, June 3-13, 1995.

[220] Colomina, 1994, pp.10-36.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Sylvie Béguelin, Conservatrice des fonds speciaux responsible de la recherche et de l'information Bibliotheque de la Ville, La Chaux-de-Fonds. Conversations March- May, 2004.

[223] The *Foundation Le Corbusier* in Paris, 8-10, square du Docteur- Blache 75016, is the institution where is kept everything that it has to do with the name of Le Corbusier and presents one of the reaches archives in the world holding Le Corbusier's documents.

[224] The letter was dated: Paris, le 13 novembre 2003, et/asj 03.2115, signed by Evelyne Tréhin, the director of the Foundation Le Corbusier.

[225] Tréhin continuing her letter will sugesst: "Nous vous suggèrons toutefois de vous rapprocher de:
M. Ivan Žaknić ; 67, Dempsey Avenue- USA- Princeton NJ 08540 and
M. Giuliano Grasleri ; 54, viale Oriani- 40137 Bologne, tel.: 39 051 300 556.

[226] Gresleri, Guiliano, *Le Corbusier; Reise nach dem Orient*, Zürich: Spur Verlag, 1991, pp.108-119.

[227] Ibid.

[228] Ivan Žaknić, *Journey to the East*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987, pp.32-66.

[229] Maurice Besset, *Le Corbusier's sketchbook. Vol. I, II, III, IV.*

[230] Giuliano Gresleri was contacted via e-mail, 24-09-2004.

[231] Giuliano Gresleri's respond to my question about the Le Corbusier's trip to Macedonia.

[232] Ivan Žaknić's respond to the question if Le Corbusier was traveling to Macedonia or not. The letter is dated October 5, 2004.

[233] Conversation with the author, 2004.

[234] Ibid.

[235] Conversations with Mihailo Popovski in August of 2004.

[236] Mr. Milena Lukovic-Jovanovic, letter dated 15.10.2004.

[237] Letter from the Archive of Serbia and Montenegro, dated October 12 2004.

[238] Eric Tonon, French Embassy in Belgrade, conversation in 2004.

[239] Conversation 2004

[240] Grabrijan, 1955, p. 120.

[241] Ibid.

[242] Jencks, Charles, *Le Corbusier and the Continual Revolution in Architecture*, New York : The Monacelli Press, 2000, pp.195-202.

[243] Grabrijan, 1955, pp.76-82.

[244] Turner, Paul, *The Education of Le Corbusier*, New York: Garland Publishing, 1977, pp.124-125.

[245] Ibid, p.125.

[246] Grabrijan, 1955, pp.79-80.

[247] Turner, 1977, pp.4-30.

[248] Ibid, p.126.

[249] Ibid, p.174.

[250] Le Corbusier, 1929. pp.125-129.

[251] Turner, 1977, p.175.

[252] Le Corbusier, 1929, pp.125-129.

[253] Grabrijan, 1955, pp.79-80.

[254] Ibid, pp.48-54.

[255] Turner, 1977, pp.178-182.

[256] Grabrijan, 1955, pp.79-80.

[257] Ibid., Haxhieva- Aleksievska, in analysing the houses built by the anonymous master builders, concludes that indeed they were dimensioning all elements of the houses, taking the man's body or his parts in order to arrive at the correct dimensions for the structural elements, as well as the furniture, doors, windows, and height and other dimensions of the spaces and rooms.

[258] Le Corbusier, 1954.

[259] Fernandez, Henry Dietrich, "Le Corbusier and his observations of the Neolithic origins of Architecture." Lecture in Malta, at the Conference "The Founding Myths of Architecture," 8.10.2005.

[260] Grabrijan, 1955, p.68 and p.79.

[261] Le Corbusier, *Towards a new architecture*, New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1986., pp.211-247.

[262] Vogt, Adolf Max , *Le Corbusier The Noble Savage*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998, p.33.

[263] Grabrijan, 1955, pp.25-43.

[264] Vogt, 1998, pp.48-61.

[265] See Etlin, Richard A., *Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier. The Romantic Legacy.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994, p. 15. Cf. Moos, 1979, pp. 18-19.

[266] Tomovski, 1960, pp.7-10.

[267] Vogt, 1998, pp.47-48.

[268] Kümürcüoglu, Eyup Asim, *Das Alt-türkische Wohnhaus*, Wiesbaden:Otto Harrassowitz, 1966, pp.12-40.

[269] Eldem, Sedad Hakki "Kösler ve Kasirlar; Türkish Kiosks and Pavillons", *Akademie der Künste*: Istanbul, Vol. II, 1973, pp.19-21.

[270] Vogt, 1998, p.48.

[271] Grabrijan, 1955, p.114.

[272] Vogt, 1998, p.36.

The Pseudo-Event

[273] Boorstin, Daniel, *The Image*, A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America, New York: Athenеum, 1967.

[274] Boorstin, 1967, p.11.

[275] Ibid., p. 44. See also Navasky, Viktor, *Naming Names*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981, pp. 204-206, pp.322-323.

[276] Grabrijan, Dušan *The Macedonian House*, Juliana: Državna Založba Slovenije, 1955, p.120.

[277] Ibid., p.22.

[278] Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p.1.

[279] Ibid.

[280] Ibid.

[281] Trevor-Roper, Hugh, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 15-41.

[282] Trevor-Roper, p. 19.

[283] The kilt first appeared a few years later but became so well-established that in 1746 an act of parliament, issued with the goal of integrating the Highlanders by banning their dress, explicitly named it. Trevor-Roper, p. 21.

[284] Yugoslavian architects working at Le Corbusier: Zvonimir Kavourić 1927; Ernst Weismann 1929-30; Miroslav Orazem 1931; Saša Sedlak 1931; Juraj Neidhardt 1933-34; Milan Sever, 1934; Hrvoje Brnčić 1938-39; Jovan Krunić 1938-40; Marjan Tepina 1939; Marko Županćić 1939-40; Milorad Pantelić 1936-37; Eduard Ravnikar 1939. See also Karen Michels, *Der Sinn der Unordnung*, Braunschweig/ Wiesbaden, 1989.

[285] Jovan Krunić after the Second World War was working in Belgrade as a University Professor at the Faculty of Architecture.

[286] Neidhardt Juraj was active at the Faculty of Architecture in Sarajevo.

[287] Grabrijan, 1955, p.22, (Macedonian edition of 1955), then documents in the Macedonian State Archives, doc. Number 1.158.101.49/135-141, dated October, 19, 1949- Skopje and doc. Number 363, dated April, 4, 1947- Skopje.

[288] Marjan Šorli, 1952 letter to Grabrijan, Arhitektonski Muzej, [Architectural Museum] Ljubljana, 2004.

[289] Blake, Peter, *Marcel Breuer; Architect and Designer*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1949, p.7.

[290] Grabrijan, 1955, (Macedonian edition), p.108.

[291] Blake, 1949, see the photograph in p.7.

[292] Grabrijan, 1955, (Macedonian edition), p.109.

[293] Conversation with Peter Krečić, director of the Museum of Architecture in Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2004.

[294] Tomoski, Sotir, *Makedonska narodna arhitektura* [*Macedonian National Architecture*], Skopje: Makedonksa Kniga, 1960, p.16.

[295] See Breuer's biographers:

Gatje, Robert F., Marcel Breuer, The Monacelli Press, 2000.

Papachristou, Tician, Marcel Breuer; new buildings and projects, Praeger, Publishers, New York, Washington, 1970.

Hyman, Isabelle, Marcel Breuer, architect, the career and the buildings, 2001.

[296] Of course, the story about Breuer would undermine Popovski's dating of Le Corbusier's alleged visit in 1927: if he took his photographs of Macedonia in 1927, how could he have been in possession of a photograph in 1924 when he met Breuer and discussed about some place in Macedonia as his source of inspiration?

[297] Gatje, Robert F., Marcel Breuer, The Monacelli Press, 2000, pp.15-17.

[298] Gatje, 2000, pp.19-21.

[299] Grabrijan, 1955, (Macedonian edition), p. 109.

[300] Conversations with Ivan Žaknić; discussing the possibility Le Corbusier to have been in Macedonia, 2004.

[301] Conversations with Sussane Bilenker; discussing about Blake's book Marcel Breuer; architect and designer and the photo showing the city of Kratovo he used in his book, 2004.

[302] Grabrijan, 1955, pp.108-120.

[303] Ibid, pp.110-111.

[304] Ibid, p.114.

[305] Ibid, p.116.

[306] Ibid, pp.109-110.

[307] Ibid.

[308] Ibid.

[309] Conversations with Geoffrey H. Baker, April, 2005.

[310] Hielscher, Kurt, *Jugoslavien*, Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1926.

[311] Boissonnas, Frederic, *L'image de la Serbie*, Geneve: Editions D'Art Boissonnas, 1919.

[312] Not to leave open the possibility one to claim Le corbusier was first in Prishtina-Kosova and got influenced by the houses he might have seen there.

[313] Hobsbawm, 1989, pp.1-4.

[314] Sotir Tomoski discussing about Kruševo and its houses of the 19th century explains that before the Ilinden Uprising (1903), the city itself had 12.000 inhabitants, from which only 4.000 were Macedonians. See Tomoski, Sotir, "Kruševo i negovite kuќi" [Krusheva and its Houses"], an article published by *The Macedonian Academy of Science and Art* [MANU] in *Arhitekturata na pocvata na Makedonija* [*The Architecture in the Territory of Macedonia*], Skopje: Narodna I Universitetska Biblioteka, book 10, 2000, p.57.

[315] Rotar, Blazh, "Dushan Grabrijan- Arhitekt, Pedagog, Raziskovalec in Pisec" ["Dushan Grabrijan, Architect, Pedagogue, Historian and Writer"], *Revija*, Ljubljana: SRP 21/22, 2001.

[316] Grabrijans, Dušan, "Le Corbusier I Sarajevo- uoči izložbe njegovog bivšeg asistenta arh. Juraja Neidhardta", *Jugoslovenski List*, Sarajevo, 31. Oct. 1936.

[317] Grabrijans, Dušan, „Turkish House, ist Sources and Principles", *Novi Behar*: Sarajevo, 15.VII.1937.

[318] Grabrijan, Dušan, *The Bosnian Oriental Architecture in Sarajevo*, Ljubljana: Dopisna delovska univerza-Univerzum, 1957. First published as *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Modernity*, 1957.

[319] Grabrijan, Dušan, *Razvojni put naše savremente kuće*, [*The Development of Our Contemporary House*], Belgrade: Građevinska Kniga, 1973.

[320] Grabrijan, 1957, p.4, foreword by Peter Krečić.

[321] Grabrijan, 1955, p.123.

[322] Ibid, p. 120.

[323] Ibid.

[324] Ibid.

[325] Ibid.

[326] Ibid.

[327] Popovski, Mihailo, *Monografija Kruševo*, [*Monographs about Kruševo*], Skopje: Narodna i Univerzitetska Biblioteka, 2003, p.32.

[328] Hobsbawm, 1989, pp.1-4.

[329] Ibid.

[330] In all these countries, such as Albania, Bulgaria and Greece, the architectural heritage of the state was called "national", even there are similarities in architecture within their territories.

[331] Grabrijan, 1955, pp.108-110.

[332] Ibid, p.108.

[333]Vangel Božinoski, in an interview given to Igor Stojanovski, speaking about the "Macedonian Architecture".

[334] Hobsbawm, 1989, pp.1-14.

[335] In Kruševo during the year 1903 was organized the so-called "Ilinden" uprising against the Ottoman Imperia and was created a free territory for couple of days, that is why today the city of Kruševo guilt as the city important for the Macedonian history.

[336] Čipan, Boris, *Tekstovi za arhitekturata* [*Texts about Architecture*], Skopje: DataPons, 1998, p.112. Here Čipan compares a Muslim house [not Macedonian- Christian or Slavic] with Aalto's "Hansaviertel" in Berlin, while all the time he distinguishes houses in Macedonia in Muslim and Macedonian-Christian. See also Milenković, Branislav, *Uvod u arhitektonsku* analizu I [*Introduction into Architectural Analysis I*], Beograd: Gradevinska Kniga, 1990 and *Uvod u arhitektonsku analizu II* [*Introduction into Architectural Analysis II*], Beograd: Gradevinksa Kniga, 1991.

[337] Čipan, 1998, p.112.

[338] Through Le Corbusier's writings about his Voyage d'Orient in different papers of the time, "*Feuille d'Aris*", La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1911.

Interpretation

[339] Bonta, Juan Pablo, *Architecture and its Interpretation*, London: Lund Humphries, 1979, p.131.

[340] Ibid.

[341] In 1949 Dušan Grabrijan makes a study trip to Macedonia. This marks the beginning of the interpretation about Le Corbusier and Macedonia.

[342] Popovski, 2003, p.32. Popovski is the last one till 2003 that has published something about Le Corbusier and Macedoina.

[343] Bonta, 1979, pp.134-138.

[344] Bonta, 1979, p.138.

[345] Grabrijan, 1955, p.108.

[346] Ibid, p.120.

[347] Ibid.

[348] Bonta, 1979, p.138.

[349] Krunić, Jovan, "Smeštaj, razvoj I osnove bitoljske kuče pri koncu turske vladavine", *Zbornik Arhitektonskog fakulteta u Beogradu*, Beograd, III (1956-1957), 5, 1957.
Krunić, Jovan, Neke naše stare konstrukcije I njihove forme (Primeri narodne arhitekture starih majstora makedonije), *Arhitektura*, Zagreb, 9-12, 1951.

[350] Čipan, Boris, *Starata gradska arhitektura vo Ohridd*, Makedonska Kniga, Skopje, 1955, p.32.

[351] Ibid.

[352] Ibid. See also, *Tekstovi za arhitekturata* [*Texts about Architecture*], Skopje: DataPons, 1998, p.112.

[353] Sotir Tomoski, *Makedonska narodna arhitektura*, [*Macedonian National Architecture*], Skopje: Makedonksa Kniga, 1960, p.16.

[354] Ibid.

[355] Ibid.

[356] Boris Čipan and Sotir Tomoski were active at the Faculty of Architecture- University of Skopje [Skopje], while Krum Tomovski at present time is a member of the Macedonian Academy of Science and Culture.

[357] Bonta, 1979, p.138 and p.145.

[358] Grabrijan, 1955, p.111.

[359] Tomoski, 1960, p.16.

[360] Bonta, 1979, p175.

[361] Bonta, 1979, pp.134-138.

[362] Blake, Peter, *Marcel Breuer; Architect and Designer*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1949, p.7; Marjan Šorli, 1952 letter to Grabrijan, Arhitektonski Muzej, [Architectural Museum] Ljubljana, 2004.

[363] Grabrijan, 1955, (Macedonian edition), p.108.

[364] Bonta, 1979, pp.175-186.

[365] Conversations with the translator of the 1976 edition Dolja Spirova-Stefanija, November 2004 - April 2005.

[366] Grabrijan, 1955, p.22

[367] See Grabrijans edition of 1955, p.22 and 1986 edition, p.27.

[368] Ibid, p.111.

[369] Bonta, 1979, p.182-201.

[370] Ibid, p.183.

[371] Pavlovski, Mishel&Jovan, *Macedonia Yesterday and Today*, Skopje: MI-An Publishing, 1998, p.99.

[372] See Seminar on IAESTE, www.iaeste.org.mk/sid/aboutmacedonia.htm

[373] Popovski, 2003, p.32.

[374] Bonta, 1979, p.202.

[375] Ibid., p.182.

[376] Filip Degu, director of the *French CulturalCentre*, Skopje, conversation 2003.

[377] Bonta, 1979, p.217.

[378] The process of building identity of the Macedonian state appears twice, in 1945 and 1990.

Conclusions

[379] Rowe, Colin, *The Mathemathics of Ideal Villas and Other Essays*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982, pp.3-17.

[380] Moos, Stanislaus von, *Le Corbusier; Elements of a Synthesis.* Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1979,84, 118.

[381] Moos 1979, p.75.

[382] Moos 1979, p.86, p.122.

[383] Vogt, Adolf Max, *Le Corbusier The Noble Savage*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998, pp.32-58

[384] Brooks, H. Allen, *Le Corbusier's Formative Years*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997, pp.186-191.

[385] Curtis, William, *Le Corbusier, Ideas and Forms*, London: Phaidon, 1986, pp.29-30, p.35.

[386] Etlin, Richard A., *Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier: The romantic legacy*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994, p. 112.

[387] Frampton, Kenneth, *Le Corbusier*, London: Thames&Hudson, 2001, pp.16-17. Cf. Moos, Stanislaus von, *Le Corbusier : Elements of a Synthesis*. Cambridge, Mass. : The MIT Press, 1979, p. 17-18.

[388] Below, I am following Jormakka, Kari, *Constructing Architecture*. Tampere: Datutop, 1991, pp. 145-146.

[389] On beauty and function, cf. Kurt Junghanns, *Der Deutsche Werkbund. Sein erstes Jahrzehnt* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1982), 8; Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), p.100.

[390] Cf. Edward Robert De Zurko, *Origins of Functionalist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), passim.

[391] Gillian Naylor, *The Bauhaus*, London: Studio Vista/Dutton Paperback, 1968, pp.184-185.

[392] Cf. Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern* Architecture, Montreal: McGill University Press, 1965, p.164. It is likely that Le Corbusier heard about Velde's book during his five-month employment in Peter Behrens's office 1910-1911.

[393] Henry van de Velde, *Vom neuen Stil*, Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1907, 95, 61, 101, 35, 74, 79, 101, 100, 94, 97-98, 34-35, 101. Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris: Les Éditions Crés et Cie, 1924), 7, 69, 80, 7, 100, 85, 35, 79, 86-88, 67, 72, 10, 110, 168, 16, 105, 11, 175, 177, 216, 178, 71, 178, 19, 72, 240, 243.

[394] See Pater's brilliant description of the Mona Lisa, as quoted in Turner, A. Richard, Inventing Leonardo. New York: Knopf, 1993, pp. 124-125.

[395] See Graf, Douglas, "Diagrams." Perspecta 22, 1986; Graf, Douglas, "Strange Siblings." Datutop 14, pp. 5-56.

[396] Curiously enough, last year Vettriano had threatened another painter, Joe Mclaughlin with legal action for plagiarizing one of Vettriano's works. Inspired by a photograph in a glossy magazine, Mclaughlin painted an image of Vettriano arranging the rear-view pose of a naked model; this painting, called "The Artist" was sold for £540 in May 2004. At the same time, Vettriano had also produced a version of the same scene called "Reach Out and Touch" which formed part of a new exhibition, the first in four years, of his work at the Portland Gallery in London where it was valued at between £35,000 and £120,000. Mr Mclaughlin denied a breach of copyright and the matter was ultimately resolved when it became clear both artists had been inspired by the same image. See the article by Paul Kelbie in The Independent Online Edition. http://news.independent.co.uk/uk/this_britain/article316931.ece

[397] Jones, Jonathan, "A picture of poor taste", The Guardian, October 5th, 2005. See: http://eee.guardian.co.uk/arts/critic/feature/0,1169,1585398,00.html

[398] http://news.independent.co.uk/uk/this_britain/article316931.ece

[399] Spies, Werner, *Kontinent Picasso*. München: Prestel-Verlag, 1988; Chipp, Herschel B., *Picasso's Guernica. History, Transformations, Meanings*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

[400] Blunt, Anthony, *Picasso's Guernica*. New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969, pp.53-56.

[401] Cahiers d'art. Peinture, sculpture, architecture, art ancien, ethnographie, cinéma. Revue d'art paraissant dix fois par an, dirigée par Christian Zervos, 6éme année, n°7-8, 1931.

[402] Spies, p.71.

[403] Spies, pp.72-73.

[404] Spies, p.98.

[405] Spies, p.98.

[406] Spies, p.95.

[407] Spies, p.146, p.149.

[408] Chipp, p.79.

[409] Chipp, p.80.

[410] Chipp, pp.82-83.

[411] Chipp, p.83.

[412] Spies, p.73.

[413] See Spies, "Picasso und seine Zeit." In Spies (Hrsg.) *Pablo Picasso. Eine Austellung zum hundertsten Geburtstag*, Werke aus der Sammlung Marina Picasso. München: Prestel-Verlag, 1981, pp.29-31.

[414] Spies, p.74.

[415] Spies, p.74.

[416] Brik, Osip, "The So-Called Formal Method," in L. M. O'Toole and Ann Shukman, eds. and trans., *Formalist Theory* ; vol. 4 of *Russian Poetics in Translation.* Oxford: Holdan Brooks, 1977, p.90.

[417] Cheetham, Mark A., *The Rhetoric of Purity. Essentialist Theory and the Advent of Abstract Painting.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, especially pp. 1-39.

[418] See Zoon, Cees, "Auf dem Wege zu einer monumental "Nieuwe Kunst"—die Proportionslehre und Entwurfstheorie von J.L.M. Lauweriks," Maßsystem und Raumkunst: Das Werk des Architeckten, Pädagogen und Raumgestalters J.L.M. Lauweriks, exhibition catalogue (Krefeld, 1987), pp.32-53.

[419] Annemarie Jaeggi, Adolf Meyer. Der zweite Mann. Ein Architekt im Schatten von Walter Gropius (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1995), pp.29-38.

[420] On Behrens and the Beuron School, see Gisela Moeller, *Peter Behrens in Düsseldorf: die Jahre von 1903 bis 1907* (Weinheim, 1991), p.108.

[421] August von Thiersch, "Die Proportionen in der Architektur," Handbuch der Architektur I (Darmstadt, 1883): pp.38-77.

[422] Henderson, p.13n17.

[423] Lauweriks, J. L. M., "Ein Beitrag zum Entwerfen auf Systematischer Grundlage in der Architektur", in *Ring*, Heft 4, April 1909.

[424] Onians, John, *Bearers of Meaning*, Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1988, p.148; cf. Jormakka, *Geschichte der Architekturtheorie*, Wien: Edition Selene, 2002, pp.30-31.

[425] Jormakka, Kari (Hrsg.), *Form & Detail.* Weimar: Bauhaus-Universitätsverlag, 1997, pp.7-9, 25-28, 38-44, 47-51.

[426] This suggestion is made, for example, in Hüter, Karl-Heinz, "Die Stammgebäude der Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar. Ihre Erbauung und kunstgeschichtliche Stellung." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar.* 9. Jg. 1962. Heft 4. p. 371 and Hüter, *Henry van de Velde.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1967, p.169; and Dolgner, Dieter, *Henry van de Velde in Weimar 1902-1917*, Weimar, VDG, 1996, p.56.

[427] Velde, Henry van de, "Die Linie," *Zum neuen Stil,* p.186.

[428] Velde, "Das neue Ornament," *Renaissance,* pp.102-103.

[429] Jormakka, *Form & Detail*, pp. 47-50.

[430] Velde, Henry van de, *Formules de la beauté architectonique moderne,* Weimar, 1916, Bruxelles: Archives d'Architecture Moderne, 1978, p.81.

[431] Jormakka, *Form & Detail*, p 49.

[432] Benjamin, Walter, "Paris, die Hauptstadt des XIX Jahrhunderts." *Gesammelte Schriften* V.1. Her. Rolf Tiedemann. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1982, p. 52.

[433] Jormakka, *Form & Detail*, p. 8.

[434] Eco, Umberto, *Reflections on The name of the rose*; trans. William Weaver, London: Minerva, 1994.

[435] Borges, Jorge Luis, "Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote", in *Labyrinths.* Eds. Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby. New York: New Directions. 1964, pp. 36-44.

[436] Borges, pp.41-42.

[437] Borges, p.42.

[438] Danto, p.35.

[439] Borges, p.43.

[440] Borges, p.43.

[441] Jormakka, Kari, *Geschichte der Architekturtheorie*, p.15-16.

[442] Jormakka, Kari, "An Interview with Arthur C. Danto", Datutop 18, 1996, p. 121.

[443] Curtis, William J. R., *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1996.

[444] Curtis 1986, dustjacket.

[445] Curtis 1986, p.196 ; Curtis 1996, pp.427-432. Although Curtis does not mention him as a source at this point, it appears that these associations come mostly from Stanislaus von Moos. See Moos 1979, pp. 257-59.

[446] Curtis 1986, p.180.

[447] Bonta, 1979, pp.12-13.

[448] Danto, Arthur C., "The Appreciation and Interpretation of Works of Art", in Craige, Betty Jean (ed.) *Relativism in the Arts*, Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1983; Currie, *op.cit.*, pp. 66-84.

[449] Curtis, Modern Architecture, pp. 420.

[450] Ibid., p. 420.

[451] Ibid., p. 421.

[452] Ibid., pp. 421, 423.

[453] Gargus, Jacqueline, *Ideas of Order*, Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1993, pp. 82-83.

[454] Graf, Douglas, "Strange Siblings." Datutop 14, pp. 42-56, here p. 46.

[455] Graf, Douglas, "Strange Siblings." Datutop 14, pp. 5-56.

[456] Philip Johnson as interviewed in the film My Architect (2003), directed by Nathaniel Kahn.

[457] Beardsley, Monroe C., *Possibility of Criticism*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970, p. 16; Wimsatt, W.K. and Beardsley, Monroe C., "The Intentional Fallacy", p. 1016. In Adams, Hazard (ed.), *Critical Theory since Plato*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1971, pp.1015-1022.

[458] Taine, Hippolyte, *History of English Literature.* Tr. Henry van Laun. New York, W. L. Allison, 1895. Quoted from Jormakka, Kari, "Reading Architecture." Lecture manuscript, The Ohio State University, 1990, p. 143.

[459] Sainte-Beuve, Charles-Augustin, *Literary Criticism of Sainte-Beuve.* Translated and edited by Emerson R. Marks. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971, as quoted in Jormakka, *Reading Architecture,* pp. 144-5.

[460] Ibid. p. 145.

[461] Valéry, Paul, "Concerning 'Le Cimetière Marin'", *The Art of Poetry,* tr. Denise Folliot, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press , 1989, p. 152; Eliot, T.S., *On Poetry and Poets*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957, p. 22-23, 126. Cf. Wimsatt, W.K. and Beardsley, Monroe C., "The Affective Fallacy", p. 1022-1023 *et passim.* In Adams, *op.cit.*, pp. 1022-1031; Beardsley, Monroe C. *Aesthetics: Problems in the Philosophy of Criticism.* New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1958, p. 145.

[462] Jormakka, *Constructing Architecture*, 1991, pp. 40-47.

[463] Derrida, "Limited, Inc." *Glyph 2* , 1977, pp.162-254; Derrida, "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences." In Rylance, Rick, *Debating Texts*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987, p.134; Barthes, Roland, *Image-Music-Text*, tr. Stephen Heath, New York: Hill and Wang, 1977, p.158-161, 164; Kipnis, Jeffrey, "A Matter of Respect," *A+U*, Jan 90, pp.134-135.

[464] Jormakka, *Constructing Architecture*, 1991, pp. 48-51.

[465] Beardsley, *Aesthetics*, p. 20; Wimsatt, W.K. and Beardsley, Monroe C., "The Intentional Fallacy", p. 1016. In Adams, Hazard, *op.cit.*, pp.1015-1022.

[466] Jormakka, *Constructing Architecture,* 1991, pp.51-53.

[467] Stern, Laurent, "On Interpreting," The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 39:2, Winter 1980, p. 124.

[468] Jormakka, *Constructing Architecture*, pp. 53-60; 69-70; *see also Jormakka, Kari, Geschichte der Architekturtheorie.* Wien: Edition Selene, 2003, pp. 17-31.

[469] Danto, A. C., *Narration and Knowledge.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, p. 11.

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