

# Celebrated Bodies

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Recent Australian houses by Sean Godsell, Peter Stutchbury and Gabriel Poole (among others), reflect a campaign by Modernist architects against Victorian mores concerning privacy. The paper identifies the nudist movement as a possible source of this campaign. Despite strong affinities between the Modernists' design rhetoric and the rhetoric of the early nudist movement, there is a surprising absence of scholarship into the relationship between nudism and architecture. The crystallization of Modernist principles in architecture during the inter-war period coincided with a global proliferation of 'sun-worshiper' colonies throughout the industrialised world. Early nudist texts advocated the benefits to health and psychological well-being of sunlight, fresh air, nature and the removal of superfluous affects. Modernist buildings and texts can be seen as the architectural expression of those ideals. The paper analyses statements and works by Le Corbusier (who made public his own practice of nudism), in the light of the historical origins of the nudist movement. Le Corbusier challenged assumptions regarding the privacy of ablutions spaces, thus celebrating the naked bodies of his buildings' occupants. Furthermore, by maximising their access to sunlight and fresh air, Le Corbusier provided occupants (who, according to this interpretation, should remain undressed), the rejuvenating benefits of a nudist colony. The moral imperative to lay bare a building's structure and program can be better understood when it is recognised that Le Corbusier's analogies point to bodies whose authority is connected to their nudity.

Perhaps the most memorable moment in the ABC series *In the Mind of the Architect*, was Anne-Marie Godsell's recollection of moving into Kew House, designed by her architect husband Sean. "Living here is about accepting the fact that you are in a very public domain," she explained. "It's accepting the fact that your husband has a profession and the profession involves experimenting in the private domain." Next, Anne-Marie bemused many viewers with the following fond recollection.

I remember one of the first nights we stayed in here, I became incredibly aware of the fact that there were no blinds in the front bedroom and that I'd have to [...] get into the cupboard and change, which I did and after a short space of time I got very used to changing in the cupboard.<sup>1</sup>

Among architects across Australia, Anne-Marie became the talk of the office. Not since Edith Farnsworth's relationship with Mies van der Rohe, had a client yielded so completely to the will of their architect. While some Australian architects may have aspired to meet such a client, or spouse, they may not have stopped to question one of Anne-Marie's more contentious assumptions, that the profession of architecture is one which challenges and experiments with notions of privacy. Can such a statement pass without comment? Cannot architectural delight be conferred upon a residence in any of a hundred ways, other than the simple omission of curtains?

While, in reality, there are as many architectural agendas as there are architects, Anne-Marie Godsell correctly

identified a common concern of contemporary Modernist architects, who have within their residential oeuvres, bedrooms, and even bathrooms, that place their occupants on public display. Lionised, open-planned, fully glazed and generally quite visible bathing spaces, typically photographed *without* nude occupants, are so prevalent in architects' own slide shows that audiences are not inclined to question the extraordinary assumption that ablutions need not be performed behind closed doors. For example, Gabriel Poole's Lake Weyba House has, as its central pavilion, a very large bathroom through which residents and guests must circulate. In his open lecture at The University of Newcastle in 1998, Poole suggested that the house's program might have a corrective effect on the prudishness of guests who may not yet be accustomed to social nudity.

Stutchbury and Pape's Reeves House exhibits a similar critique on society's mores concerning privacy. A skewed skillion roof, reminiscent of their Olympic archery pavilion, can be read as a gesture towards the neighbours whose homes overlook the Reeves House. By affording the neighbours an unmitigated view of the main bed and ensuite, the twisted skillion seems to chastise them for any juvenile impulse which they may have, to watch Mr. and Mrs. Reeves in the shower or in bed. Perhaps it is a characteristic of neighbours in Sydney's Northern Beaches that they are neither offended, or titillated, by the sight of middle-aged couples showering, or using their toilets. For our Victorian qualms about being seen naked, such houses are, to quote Tom Wolfe, "that glass of ice water in the face, that bracing slap across the

mouth, that reprimand for the fat on one's bourgeois soul, known as modern architecture."<sup>2</sup>

Of the three examples mentioned above, Poole's Weyba House is especially significant, since it demonstrates that Modernism's campaign against privacy is not merely a side-effect of the glass and steel idiom. Weyba House has solid walls and small windows. Dress customs are not critiqued by plate glass walls, but by the building's program. When moving between the sleeping and living pavilions, occupants must circulate via the open-plan bathing pavilion. This example highlights the need to study Architecture's critique of privacy mores, not only in terms of Architectural cannons, but in terms of broad cultural phenomena also.

Many scholars have ruminated upon the panoptic aspects of Modern architecture. For example, in 'Building the Empire of the Gaze: the Modern Movement and the Surveillance Society', Peter Jones argues that panoptic houses point towards the Modern movement's complicity with the establishment of a surveillance society. Jones argues that "[t]he ubiquity of glass in Modernist architecture—in windows, curtain walls, skylights and glazed stairwells [...] created spaces with high levels of visibility crucial for the efficacy of panopticism."<sup>3</sup> Jones also quotes Michel Foucault, who argues that the visibility of the subjects of discipline "assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them."<sup>4</sup>

In their paper, "Cinematic Views: John Lautner's Architecture and Masculine Spatial Types", Michael Ostwald and Michael Chapman offer an alternative interpretation.<sup>5</sup> The panoptic qualities of Lautner's houses—as celebrated in *Playboy* magazine and in Hollywood movies—are discussed in terms of their occupants' voyeurism and perceived sexual prowess.

The present paper explores another possible source of Modern architecture's campaign against modesty. Among twentieth-century sub-cultures, the nudist movement is one of the best known, and least understood. Since—outside of the movement's own literature—nudism is almost always portrayed in a comical sense, through comics and jokes, the movement's influence on other cultural arenas is hard to accept, much less gauge.

However; the following three broad observations suggest that the nudist movement should not be dismissed by historians of Modern architecture. Firstly, Modernist and nudist rhetoric express common ideals. Secondly, the crystallisation of Modernist design principles coincided with a proliferation of sun-worshiper colonies during the 1930s. Finally, pioneering Modern architects, including Le Corbusier, embraced certain aspects of nudism in their own lives. While the topic of nudist architecture opens many possible lines of inquiry, the present paper will focus on Le Corbusier's interest in, and expression of, nudist ideals, with particular reference to his text *The Radiant City*, his bathroom designs, his analogies

between buildings and the naked human form, and his experiences in Cap Martin.

Various twentieth-century architects have appealed to nudism to different ends. In the 1970s, the Italian group Superstudio produced attention grabbing photomontage images featuring nude familial groups sitting on a continuous monument to rational architecture. The juxtaposition of their vulnerable forms against the rational square grid of their moment underlined the Cartesian order of their vision, which relied for its effect on the presence of mountains or bodies. Meanwhile, nudism can be associated with an antithetical kind of architecture to that of Superstudio. The highly ornamental buildings of Friedensreich Hundertwasser are commonly associated with radical speeches that he had delivered in the nude during the early 1960s.

The previous two examples involve nude posing and streaking respectively. It could be argued that any activity involving disrobing (flashing, stripping, etc.), shares territory with nudism, but such claims would ignore the nudist movement's defining values and historical roots.

The Australian historian Magnus Clarke writes that "[o]rganised nudism existed in France by 1912, in Switzerland by 1920, in England by 1922 and in the USA by 1926."<sup>6</sup> Early nudist groups in all nations, including Australia, were modelled on their German predecessor, the *Freikörperkultur* (free body culture) movement. Clarke traces that group's history to the Austrian Arnold Rickli, whose therapy for ailing city dwellers, from 1855 onwards, involved nude walks in the country. Of the few modern nudist associations who attempt to tell their histories (usually through their web sites), most attribute their movement's birth to a later figure, the German sociologist Heinrich Pudor, whose 1893 book *Naked Man* reiterates Rickli's view that nudity and nature are a remedy for illnesses associated with city dwelling. At the turn of the century, the added health benefits of being nude in mixed company were being championed by the German Richard Ungewitter. Modern scholars, including Ruth Barcan, note the importance of Sigmund Freud to German attitudes at the time, particularly his discussions of the intoxicating effect that nudity can have on children, followed by his claim that adults can regain such a shameless Eden state in their dreams.<sup>7</sup>

The intellectual climate in Germany during the early 1900s precipitated Paul Zimmerman's establishment of the prototypical nudist colony, *Freilichtpark* (Free Light Park), in Klingberg on the Baltic coast. "[I]n the tradition of Pudor and Ungewitter," Clarke writes, "it held health as the centrepiece of its beliefs."<sup>8</sup> Zimmerman's vision for the masses was not unlike Le Corbusier's, involving regular gymnastics and other sports, in a celebration of the sun when it was shining, and of their own corporeal resilience when it was not. As nudism spread, it was at pains to deny more sexually orientated trajectories of early German nudism, such as Adolf Koch's indoor

gymnasia where young proletarian nudists enjoyed quasi-sexual body contact during exercise.

While nudists define themselves in contrast to non-nudists (whom they call 'textiles'), the proliferation of nudist colonies in the 1930s, and the media attention they attracted, must have extolled some influence upon progressive elements of mainstream society. Unfortunately, the movement has an ethos of protecting the identities of its members, by, for example, using only first names. Thus, the agents by which this counter-culture influenced culture at large (for example, artists and writers who may have frequented nudist clubs), cannot all be identified. However, it can be deduced that the influence of nudism (along with Bohemia generally), has been felt more strongly by bourgeois society. While the working classes have clung to Victorian mores, at least when it comes to their own nudity, there is evidence to suggest that nudist attitudes have enjoyed a far greater uptake among the middle classes. For example, the Kinsey report records a far greater acceptance of nudity within the households of college graduates.<sup>9</sup> Clarke's surveys of Australian nudist clubs in the 1980s show that the overwhelming majority of nudists are either white-collar workers, self employed or students;<sup>10</sup> like architectural patronage, nudism cannot be generalised as a working class pursuit. Moreover, the middle classes are more likely to associate prudery with ignorance, and, by implication, consider non-private bathing spaces as emblems of enlightenment.

The cultural milieu of early Modern architecture was anything but prudish. The memoirs of Oscar Niemeyer,<sup>11</sup> for example, portray a bohemian lifestyle with every kind of hedonistic excess. While Le Corbusier's lifestyle was not entirely incomparable with that of Niemeyer, it was closer to espoused nudist ideals, and probably matched that of many active nudists. His belief that the products of industry can in turn liberate city-dwellers from problems associated with industrialisation, thus bringing urbanites back to nature, betrays a similar paradoxical disposition towards Modernity to that which Barcan attributes to the early nudist movement.<sup>12</sup> Jean Jenger argues that it was Le Corbusier's "enjoyment of nature, his ideas about health and his love of the sea and of swimming [that] made him sympathetic to nudism."<sup>13</sup> While his many paintings of nude figures do not distinguish him from any artist, sketches depicting himself or his wife Yvonne wearing no clothes in un-contrived poses or domestic settings, betray his affinity with the values of the nudist movement, where nudity is thought of as a quotidian state; the American nudist campaigner, the Reverend Ilsey Boone, had argued in the 1930s for a clothes-free social order, where people may go naked whenever the need for warmth or protection did not require clothing to be worn. Similar sentiments are expressed in the mission statements of most contemporary nudist organizations.

The following discussion is limited in its scope, to the identification of a few themes that are common to

Le Corbusier's writings and nudist rhetoric, and it is acknowledged that a more comprehensive study is required, that would, for example, look specifically at French naturism, and to texts which Le Corbusier is likely to have been exposed, such as the early French magazine *Vivre d'Abord*. The present paper has been written without access to key archival resources, such as the nudist collections of The Bibliothèque National in France, The American Nudist Research Library in Florida, or The Fondation Le Corcorbusier. Even so, a common sense of purpose between Le Corbusier and the nudist movement is immediately identifiable. Recalling a popular twentieth-century discourse that crossed from medical journals to the popular press, and informed nudism in the process, the opening pages of *The Radiant City* extol the virtues of sun, and the book's mission "to cultivate body and spirit."<sup>14</sup> A later chapter in the same book reports greater quantities of bacteria in city air compared with that of the seaside.<sup>15</sup> The next passage argues that glass facade walls flood homes with sunlight "whose invigorating effects are undeniable but whose exact action upon our organism [...] we ordinary mortals are ignorant."<sup>16</sup> In the next passage, "Questionnaire 1. —For Doctors," Le Corbusier reveals his suspicion that unmitigated outside air and sunlight may be more beneficial to the human "organism" than air which is supplied mechanically, or sun rays that have passed through glass.<sup>17</sup> Echoing nudists' beliefs that tanning leads many patients to recovery from illness, Le Corbusier is particularly interested in a new kind of glass that does not block ultraviolet radiation.

While there are more obvious sources of these attitudes, such as the Garden Cities Movement for example, it is worth pursuing the possible influence of nudism, for the way it might have been played out at a programmatic level. From the introduction to the present paper comes an obvious question: how might Le Corbusier's residential bathing areas have been effected by his sympathy with nudism?

Pilgrims of Le Corbusier's work who have stayed in *Le Corbusier Hotel*; on the shopping level of the *Unité d'Habitation* in Marseilles (1954), will have encountered a peculiar piece of programming. Toilets open off short publicly accessible vestibules, each serving two hotel suites. Shower cubicles are accessed via the hotel suites, in the usual manner. Meanwhile, within the suites themselves, there are bidets, separated from the bed and sitting area only by a waist-height robe. Given that toilets are banished far beyond the confines of the suites, placing the bidet within full view of other occupants seems especially immodest; unless, that is, the toilet is associated with excrement and the bidet is associated with hygiene, as it would be for a nudist. An attention to hygiene had been a natural corollary of the nudist movement's health and fitness orientation. Koch's brand of nudism had focussed inordinately on personal hygiene, with communal showers and mutual soaping rituals.<sup>18</sup> For Le Corbusier, the fact that both toilets and bidets entail

the exposure of their users' reproductive organs is not a factor in their classification or spatial grouping. Rather, the bidet and the basin—the former used for genital and the later for oral hygiene—share a celebrated and public zone in the suite plan. Guests may witness their roommate's genitals when it involves acts associated with hygiene, just as they may see their roommate's mouths as they brush their teeth. In Le Corbusier's thinking, as is the case for the nudist movement, genital exposure per se, is of no consequence and so should not inform a building's program.

Within Le Corbusier's oeuvre, no space celebrates the nude human form with such poetry as does the ensuite of the Villa Savoye. Though they never include figures, published images of the anthropomorphic mosaic recliner are patently incomplete without nudes, preferably clean, fit, tanned and radiant ones, having lived a life of prescribed exercise and solar exposure.

Nudism can also provide new interpretations of Le Corbusier's analogies between buildings and the human body. The most obvious, and banal observation along these lines, is that Modulor Man is nude; but so are most figures in works of Modern art. More compelling are Le Corbusier's four figures in *The Home of Man*,<sup>19</sup> conflating the human skeleton, digestive tract, cardiovascular system and naked form with the structure, program, services and skin of a building. While the exterior form of a building may be modified by the use of proportioning systems, it should remain unadorned, or nude. It is such a commonplace of architectural discourse to speak of buildings being stripped bare, thus revealing their material essence, that the analogy to stripping the human body of clothing, which is inherent in the choice of words like strip, can easily be overlooked. Moreover, there is a moral implication, that the state of being stripped, whether applied to a building or a person, has more integrity than does the state of being clothed. For Le Corbusier and the nudist movement, the removal of superfluous affects to reveal an essential state, testifies to the *a priori* authority of that which is being exposed.

A noble body is likeable to a technologically advanced Dom-ino frame or a perfectly resolved program. Neither bodies, structures or programs require embellishing and they should be appreciated on their own. As stated, nude bodies and nude buildings can be viewed as symbols of authority. In the epistemology of Le Corbusier's and the nudist movement's aesthetics and morality, naked/honest forms can be taken as empirical first principles, circumventing religious arguments for example. For pioneering nudists in all countries, their own bodies were indeed nationalistic and totalitarian symbols. In his studies of the nudist movement in Australia, Grant Rodwell identifies a number of leading eugenicists whose writings found an enthusiastic audience among nudists in the 1930s.<sup>20</sup> He argues that nudists in Australia liked the thought that, since colonisation, natural selection was producing a taller, darker and healthier race of

Anglo-Saxon Antipodeans. Pointing to similar assertions by nudists elsewhere, Rodwell claims that, worldwide, nudism was buoyed by a nationalistic and racially prejudicial fervour. In similar fashion, Clarke identifies the Aryan supremacist undercurrents of inter-war German nudism.<sup>21</sup> Le Corbusier's theories can be seen as a product of those times, especially his choice of an idealised six feet tall French man as the basis of a proportioning system that he wished to patent.<sup>22</sup>

If naked white walls and nude human bodies are symbols of authority, then the act of 'dressing' a rival architect's white wall, whilst remaining nude yourself, is both witty and diabolical. Such are the circumstances surrounding the only nude photograph of Le Corbusier. He is 'dressing' a wall of E-1027, the Modernist sea-side house designed by Jean Badovici and Eileen Gray, with whom Le Corbusier had a complex and problematic friendship.<sup>23</sup> While maintaining his own authority by remaining undressed, the photo shows him adulterating Gray's house, without her consent. According to Beatriz Colomina, the mural represents a battle between Le Corbusier and Gray, and she alludes to the possible symbolism of his nudity. Interpreting the photograph in terms of Le Corbusier's sympathy with nudism, and nudist ideals, adds another layer of meaning to Colomina's observation. It is especially significant that this event took place in Cap Martin, where Le Corbusier would have enjoyed the greatest sense of being an 'organism', enjoying sea air and the therapeutic benefits of ultra violet radiation, in a region (the South of France) where nude bathing has historically enjoyed its greatest levels of acceptance. The nudist lifestyle he enjoyed at Cap Martin is encapsulated in the cabin he had built for his holidays there, in which there are no barriers whatsoever between living areas and ablutions facilities. Arguably, Cap Martin is the place where nudist ideals had their greatest influence on Le Corbusier's thinking with respect to programming and formulating analogies between nude buildings and nude bodies.

The present paper is, admittedly, a somewhat superficial venture into what may be an important alternative history of twentieth-century architecture. Unfortunately, given the secretive nature of nudism—which is practiced behind closed doors, in anonymity on beaches and in clandestine organizations who protect their member's identities—it is a history that will never be fully unravelled, either using archives or oral histories.

While evidence connecting Modernism to nudism may be circumstantial, the movements are substantially alike, both in their rejection of Victorian Puritanism, and in their willingness to employ the fruits of an enlightened scientific age in their Janus-like quests for a lost Eden. On the day that their vision extends beyond the confines of nudist clubs or architects' Utopian imaginations, houses such as the ones discussed at the beginning of this paper will no longer shock observers for whom domesticity does entail visual privacy.

## NOTES

- 1 [http://www.abc.net.au/arts/architecture/ep\\_trn1.htm#trn\\_god1](http://www.abc.net.au/arts/architecture/ep_trn1.htm#trn_god1), accessed 4 June 2005.
- 2 Tom Wolfe, *From Bauhaus to Our House*, London: Picadore, 1981, p. 7.
- 3 Peter Jones, 'Building the Empire of the Gaze: The modern movement and the surveillance society', *Architectural Theory Review*, 2, 2, (1999): 1-14; see p. 8.
- 4 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, London: Penguin, 1991, p. 209.
- 5 Michael Ostwald and Michael Chapman, 'Cinematic Views: John Lautner's architecture and masculine spatial types', in Harriet Edquist and Hélène Frichot (eds.), *Limits: Proceedings of the 21st annual conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2004, pp. 365-370.
- 6 Magnus Clarke, *Nudism in Australia: A first history*, Geelong: Deakin University Press, 1982, p. 51.
- 7 Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, in James Strachey (ed. and trans.), with Anna Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 4, London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1966, pp. 244-245, cited in Ruth Barcan, "'The Moral Bath of Bodily Unconsciousness": female nudism, bodily exposure and the gaze', in *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 15, 3 (2001), accessed online via Taylor and Francis Ltd., 20 June 2005.
- 8 Clarke, *Nudism in Australia*, p. 49.
- 9 Paul Gebhard and Alan Johnson, *The Kinsey Data : Marginal tabulations of the 1938-1963 interviews conducted by the Institute for Sex Research*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998, p. 97.
- 10 Clarke, *Nudism in Australia*, p. 305.
- 11 Oscar Niemeyer, *The Curves of Time: The Memoirs of Oscar Niemeyer*, trans. Isabel Murat Burbridge, London: Phaidon, 2000.
- 12 See Ruth Barcan, "'Regaining what Mankind has Lost through Civilisation": Early nudism and ambivalent moderns', in *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, 8, 1 (2004): 63-82; also see Ruth Barcan, *Nudity: A cultural anatomy*, Oxford: Berg, 2004.
- 13 Jean Jenger, *Le Corbusier: Architect of a new age*, trans. Caroline Beamish, London: Thames and Hudson, 1996, p. 41.
- 14 Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City: Elements of a doctrine of urbanism to be used as the basis of our machine age civilisation*, trans. Pamela Knight, Eleanor Levieux and Derek Coltman, Gouda: N.V. Drukkerij Koch en Knuttel, 1967.
- 15 Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City*, pp. 40-43.
- 16 Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City*, p. 44.
- 17 Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City*, p. 44.
- 18 Clarke, *Nudism in Australia*, p. 49.
- 19 Le Corbusier and Francois de Pierrefeu, *The Home of Man*, London: The Architectural Press, 1948, p.124.
- 20 Grant Rodwell, "'Dreams of a New Race of Australians": Nudism, Sun-Worship and Eugenics in Australia During the 1930s', in *Race for a Place: Eugenics, Darwinism and social thought and practice in Australia, Proceedings of the History & Sociology of Eugenics Conference, University of Newcastle, 27-28 April 2000*, Newcastle: Faculty of Arts and Social Science, University of Newcastle, 2000, pp. 275-284.
- 21 Clarke, *Nudism in Australia*.
- 22 Le Corbusier, *Modulor 2: 1955 (Let The User Speak): Continuation of 'The Modulor' 1948*, trans. Peter de Francia and Anna Bostock, London: Faber and Faber, 1958.
- 23 For a thorough discussion of Le Corbusier's complex and perverse relationship with Gray, see Beatriz Colomina, "Battle Lines E. 1027", <http://www.architecture.auckland.ac.nz/publications/interstices/i4/THEHTML/keynotes/colomina/main.htm>, accessed 18 June 2005.

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- 1 [http://www.abc.net.au/arts/architecture/ep\\_trn1.htm#trn\\_god1](http://www.abc.net.au/arts/architecture/ep_trn1.htm#trn_god1), accessed 4 June 2005.
- 2 Tom Wolfe, *From Bauhaus to Our House*, London: Picadore, 1981, p. 7.
- 3 Peter Jones, 'Building the Empire of the Gaze: The modern movement and the surveillance society', *Architectural Theory Review*, 2, 2, (1999): 1-14; see p. 8.
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- 12 See Ruth Barcan, "'Regaining what Mankind has Lost through Civilisation": Early nudism and ambivalent moderns', in *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, 8, 1 (2004): 63-82; also see Ruth Barcan, *Nudity: A cultural anatomy*, Oxford: Berg, 2004.
- 13 Jean Jenger, *Le Corbusier: Architect of a new age*, trans. Caroline Beamish, London: Thames and Hudson, 1996, p. 41.
- 14 Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City: Elements of a doctrine of urbanism to be used as the basis of our machine age civilisation*, trans. Pamela Knight, Eleanor Levieux and Derek Coltman, Gouda: N.V. Drukkerij Koch en Knuttel, 1967.
- 15 Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City*, pp. 40-43.
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- 18 Clarke, *Nudism in Australia*, p. 49.
- 19 Le Corbusier and Francois de Pierrefeu, *The Home of Man*, London: The Architectural Press, 1948, p.124.
- 20 Grant Rodwell, "'Dreams of a New Race of Australians": Nudism, Sun-Worship and Eugenics in Australia During the 1930s', in *Race for a Place: Eugenics, Darwinism and social thought and practice in Australia*, *Proceedings of the History & Sociology of Eugenics Conference, University of Newcastle*, 27-28 April 2000, Newcastle: Faculty of Arts and Social Science, University of Newcastle, 2000, pp. 275-284.
- 21 Clarke, *Nudism in Australia*.
- 22 Le Corbusier, *Modulor 2: 1955 (Let The User Speak): Continuation of 'The Modulor' 1948*, trans. Peter de Francia and Anna Bostock, London: Faber and Faber, 1958.
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