Episodes from Le Corbusier’s Architectural Technologies (Fragments)

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Abstract:
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Le Corbusier claimed late into his life that architecture was founded upon technology, and that a deep understanding of technology in architecture was a key to human happiness. After having spent several months living in the apartment that he shared with his wife Yvonne and their dog Paintbrush, I began to see how his desire for a life of inspired work within and with tools of his own making had been shaped by the humanity of his personal life and that of Yvonne’s. Le Corbusier famously claimed that architecture should be thought from the inside out, like the way he imagined all biology developed. In my study of his use and misuse of technology as a founding element of architecture, I attempt to read his work in the same way: from within to without – from life to artefact. These texts are a running commentary of this process, published periodically at tmq.info.

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1. Ed and Yvonne
On the morning of Monday 28th of May, Ed penned a letter to his mother from the new apartment into which he and his wife Yvonne had recently moved. His excitement is palpable:

The sky is radiant, and we have been living for the last 15 days in miraculous new conditions: a home that is heavenly, since it is all sky and light, space and simplicity.¹

His pleasure and relief were well-warranted—as the architect of this building in which their apartment constituted the penthouse, he had struggled for several years with the myriad complexities of an extremely difficult commission. In order to secure the commission from the developers, he had pledged in his contract to find tenants for at least two and half floors of the six-story building, and without delay. Within two weeks, he had had to secure tenants for this yet undesigned building, in the middle of the summer.

So, too, had the process of construction been fraught with difficulties. Morale on site had been strained at best, and conflicts over payment between the developers and
contractors had devolved several times into stalemates that had brought the entire project to a standstill. At one point during such a caesura his partner Pierre had discovered that spectators at the sports field across the street had been using the half-completed building as grandstands from which to watch football games. On many occasions, he had had to step in to resolve conflicts between contractors or to trace stolen materials. In short, it had been a jobsite from hell.

But now they were finally installed, having spent the previous week moving the 17 years worth of clutter from his dim, rented apartment in the narrow streets of Saint Germain to this posher, brighter quarter in the 16th arrondissement. Here from their perch on the seventh and eighth floors, all of Paris spread out before the eye. To the east, the spacious green fields of the Parc des Princes formed the foreground for the denser city center behind and the Eiffel Tower marking the bend in the Seine. To the west, the countryside rolled openly in all directions hemmed in along the horizon by the Suresnes ridge that separated Versailles from Paris.

Adding her own note at the close of the letter, Yvonne concurred with her husband, no doubt echoing his catch-phrases as she wrote that he had constructed a magnificent apartment, with sun, air and light, but describing a different sense of space and time:

We’ve been installed here at Boulogne for nearly a month. I’m having a hard time getting used to it, but that will come. I really miss Rue Jacob and my friends in the neighborhood there.

The difference between his two weeks of miraculous conditions and her month of difficult transition is striking, but it
is her sense of time that most closely resembled the passage of calendar days. He had spent the last week of April, exactly a month earlier, moving everything into the new space, with the help of his friend Klipstein’s friend Schniewindt, the tenant on the first floor, and furnishing everything according to his plans. Drapes were hung and the new furniture distributed. After everything was finished he brought Yvonne out with him on Sunday for the first time to the new building, and they ate a nice lunch at Schniewindt’s before taking the elevator to the 6th floor and climbing the last round of steps to their new penthouse on the 7th.

He told his mother that these preparations had won over Yvonne, who had previously voiced her misgivings about moving to the outskirts of town earlier, saying, *she was impressed and happy, though she pretended to say nothing.* Later, he recounted how she had initially balked on principle at moving into this new space, but recanted and made like a cat, turning around and around in her box and finally purring:

> The upshot is that, she’s constantly sweeping and polishing her home with the air of a conqueror; though of course she won’t admit this, since she’s such a stubborn little ass.⁴

Ed and Yvonne had been married for 3 years, though they had been living together for over a decade, and had come to that intimate but knowing distance that prolonged domesticity often provides couples. But he reassured his mother that his feelings for his wife were still happy ones, that she was a good kid, despite her sometimes stubborn ideas. After all, he wasn’t interested in trying to change her—it wouldn’t be any fun and it certainly wouldn’t do any good. Anyway, they practiced the freedom of the seas, meaning that they left each other well enough alone, and the disposition of the rooms in the apartment responds admirably to this wisdom.⁵

Indeed it did, and they lived out their lives in this apartment by the football fields in 16th, where he could closet himself in his painting studio mornings while she drank her coffee and smoked her cigarettes at the heavy marble table in the opposite wing. But when he left the apartment at midday to go to his office downtown, or when he was away for increasingly longer periods on his travels to far flung places, Yvonne was left alone out there on the 7th floor, far away from her friends and the Saint Germain bustle to which she had grown so accustomed. And this sunny and airy penthouse apartment became for her something too cold and too bright. Her cigarette smoking grew more intense and the aperitif hour ever earlier, as she scowled out onto the city laid out before her.

Thus the story of Yvonne and Ed is emblematic in some generic way of the role that a dwelling plays in our lives, showing how this peculiar technology that we call architecture shapes and colors the days and nights of those that live within it. But their story has an import in a more specific way as well when speaking about the architecture of the modern world, because of the central role that they played in the development it. Because although Yvonne and Ed were the names they used with their families, to most everyone else they came to be known as Mr. and Mrs. Le Corbusier.

2. Out of Darkness, into Light

For Le Corbusier, the move to the apartment was more than a simple relocation within the city to more comfortable quarters: it represented a whole series of intellectual and spiritual passages as well. It was the first chance for this now quite famous architect to live in a building of his own design, after having insisted for so many years that traditional apartment dwellings were a thing of the past and urging the world to move towards a new kind of architecture. His wife told the photographer Brassaï that Le Corbusier had finally had enough of all of the sarcastic remarks people make, and had resolved to lead by example.⁶ So the apartment building in the 16th was also to be a demonstration (and proof, of course) of his own ideas. It was his chance to live the experiment.

But more than an apartment, or even an apartment building, he saw the realization of his Immeuble Molitor as the realization of the first real fragment of the ideal city upon which he had been hard at work for the last decade. In 1922, when Temporal, the Head of the Section of Urbanism at the Fall Show had sought him out as an exhibitor, Le Corbusier was still best known by his given name Charles Edouard Jeanneret. On Temporal’s request, Jeanneret had replied What is Urbanism? Temporal ran down a list, *Well, as the word indicates, urbanism is concerned with the spectacle of the city; facades, stores, lighted signs— ... and of course, fountains...* No problem. Jeanneret shot back: *I will make you a diorama 110 meters square, with a huge fountain, behind
which I will place a city for Three Million Inhabitants. In the final project, the fountain was omitted, but he got considerable mileage out of this tale in later years.

The City for Three Million led Le Corbusier onto a path of constant work in Urbanism, and he continued to develop and expand his notions of the ways architecture could transform the modern city. As his own ideas became more concrete to him, the existential murmurings that arose in that area 10 years later, he would probably have replied that the lack of light there had brought them on. Shortly before moving out to the 16th, he wrote a letter to the chief of police, informing him of the events and conditions pertaining to this neighborhood:

I feel that it is my duty to share with you the following moving facts: I live in rue Jacob, and this morning I learned that a woman died last night of tuberculosis at No. 14, the coal sellers; this was Mrs. C. In 1932, Mr. B. and his wife died of tuberculosis in the same store. In 1930, Mr. R. died of tuberculosis in the same store. In 1927, the two tenants, man and wife, whose names I do not possess, also died of tuberculosis. That’s as far back as my inquiries took me. The four couples named above were solid Auvergnats, who came directly from that part of the country. It took only two years for them to die at the age of thirty. No one, apparently, has taken it into their head to inform you of this, especially not the owner who cleans the store so imperfectly after each death. Tomorrow, a new couple will arrive from Auvergne, to die, of course, in 1936 ... Best regards, etc.

Bluntly, he found Paris so badly degenerated by the scourge of the First Machine Age, that by the beginning of the 20th Century it had become scarcely distinguishable from the curse of eternal damnation. Is this a picture of Dante’s Seventh Circle of Hell? he exclaimed, showing an aerial photograph of the center of Paris. Alas, no! ... seeing this view is like being hit with a sledgehammer. The twisting small streets, pleasant enough perhaps to stroll along in their picturesque effects, reveal themselves for what they really are when one take a more elevated perspective, the perspective of the plan. From the airplane, the city shows its true character, disorganized, cramped, dark. In a word, unenlightened.

That is why he had been so hard at work on a new city, one that could resolve these ills and bring society into its next phase. As he saw it, the hundred years from 1830–1930 had created an entirely new set of conditions for the modern world and the humans that lived within it. But far from being a enthusiastic spokesperson for the rise of mechanization in everyday life, he was rather deeply troubled by the sense of wrong-headedness and artifice that appeared to be the main result of the Machine Age. In contrast, he wanted to usher in a new phase of mechanical production in which the relations between technology and humanity were sustainable and auspicious. Thus in response to a century of blind mechanization, he hoped to provide the plans that could lead to a Second Machine Age – a modern system of organization and production that could reap the benefits of technological advance while at the time time providing for those basic, natural and archaic desires that humans bear within themselves. This plan was called the Radiant City.

In the Radiant City, sunlight would be paramount. His friend Dr. Winter had confirmed to him what he had already expected – that sunlight was essential for health and happiness. Winter went so far as to describe the human body as fundamentally a solar transformer. In the Second Machine Age, society would again move towards the light, as it had done before in the Enlightenment, before the rise of the machine had so drastically impoverished the life of the city dweller. The coal-blackness of this tuberculosis-ridden store on his block only served to make this lesson more grisly in its concrete details.

His own apartment, that he shared with his wife and their newly purchased schnauzer Pinceau, would be the first real test of this city based on light.

3. The Case of 24 NC

The apartment building at 24, rue Nungesser et Coli, Paris, is not one of Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret’s better known works. It is often overshadowed, even by others of their works of the same time-period, such as the iconic Villa Savoye, the elegant Pavilion Suisse or the ambitious Palais des Soviets. When I studied architecture, I can’t remember having ever heard anyone mention it. It does not appear in many history books of architecture, and does
not form the subject of much research. In some ways, this situation is odd, since the building houses Le Corbusier’s own apartment and painting studio, and the since he used the space consistently for many years as a place to provide journalists with interviews, meet collaborators and solicit commissions. In addition, it remains maintained in near original condition by the Fondation Le Corbusier, and is open for visits.

There are perhaps a number of reason why this building is not better known. For one thing, the project is relatively strange in their oeuvre—a smallish, narrow apartment building on the outskirts of the historical town. It has none of the free-standing clarity of the works mentioned above, and it does not seem to have advanced either the state of their own architecture nor that of the modern movement in general. Furthermore, it doesn’t seem to properly exhibit several of the features that their own *Five Points of a New Architecture* call for: the volume is not raised up on *pilotis*, nor are there properly speaking *strip windows*. The use of glass brick, too, is an uncommon feature for their work; it has led many to see an overlarge influence of Pierre Chareau’s *Maison de Verre*, completed several years earlier. Finally, it occupies a position in Le Corbusier’s work that has traditionally been viewed as ‘down-time’, a sort of ‘middle-ages’ of Modernism that occurred after the financial crises of the early 30’s and lasted until well after the close of the Second World War.

This orthodox appraisal of their work follows a characteristic form that is attached to many significant and longevous figures, in which ‘early’ and ‘later’ phases are picked
out in order to illustrate a fundamental transition from one worldview to another. Think of the way Wittgenstein's early hardcore 'logical positivism' has been contrasted with his later more wondering 'investigations'; or how Duchamp’s Large Glass prepared no-one for the posthumous Étant Donné. In the case of Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, this approach has been used to divide the work into two periods, which for the sake of convenience can be called the Purist and the Brutalist. But while these two basic divisions are nominally valuable in situating their work in the context of their times, it is hopelessly imprecise when speaking more particularly of any group of works. And with respect to Le Corbusier, it ignores the very fundamental and consistent re-evaluation and rejuvenation that he subjected his ideas – to what Charles Jencks has so aptly dubbed the continual revolution, a phrase that captures both the consistency and the violence that characterized his work.

From this orthodox position, then, the Immeuble Molitor is a minor work, executed in a period of difficulty. But what this orthodox position glosses over is the way in which this building, and especially the apartment that crowns it, frames a whole series of ideas, networks, private relations and discourses. In this sense, the building can become far more interesting as a point of departure for studying Le Corbusier's concepts of technology than more obvious expositions of their implementations, such as the Villa Savoye or the Pavilion Suisse. It is the way that the building was shaped by and hosted the increasingly technocratic and authoritarian concerns of the early 30’s, the covert way that Le Corbusier came to reside at this location, the use he made of the apartment as an integral element of the myth of himself, the
influence of his wife and the presence of his friends and collaborators on the floors below that makes the Case of 24 NC so compelling.

### 4. This Damned Project

Let’s turn first then to the question of Le Corbusier’s presence in the *Immeuble Molitor*: how did he manage to procure this spacious penthouse apartment on the west side? After all, most of the architects I know have at one time or another hatched this kind of idea: to secure for themselves a desirable roof-top location in a building of their own design, but in my experience, Le Corbusier appears to be one of the extremely few who has managed to realized this fantasy. How did he do it?

The short answer is: covertly. He wangled a deal with the developers, hush-hush. And for this he was to be embroiled in a property suit for many years to come. Although he stated later that he ‘accepted the commission’ since the site corresponded with ‘the conditions of the Radiant City’ despite having a lot on his plate, his own role in initiating the project was likely much more active. He had been working with development projects in this part of town since the early 1920’s. In issue N° 18 of *Esprit nouveau*, he inserted an advertisement for himself—describing a site just around the block from where the *Immeuble Molitor* would be—and offering his design services. So, too, he had attempted to interest Edmond Wanner in collaborating on a project that will fill the entire block along rue Nungesser et Coli. Wanner had been Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret’s client for the *Immeuble Clarté* project in Geneva, in which many of Le Corbusier and Jeanneret’s ideas of *Dry Building* had been realized. The *Immeuble Clarté* had been assembled, properly speaking, rather than traditionally ‘built’, from June 1931 to July 1932. The architects’ desire to utilize this system of construction was thwarted by the stipulation that the developers’ own contractors be employed in the realization. But Le Corbusier had a plan, and this plan was not limited to realizing an apartment building in the ‘conditions of the Radiant City’, but also to finding a space for himself in this project. In March he had told his mother: “We’ve been commissioned to do an apartment building in Boulogne, if this comes through, I will have my rooftop.”

A contract was signed on the 28th of June, 1931, with the *Société Immobilière de Paris Parc de Princes*, which included several odd and revealing details, the first of which was that the architects assumed responsibility for finding tenants for the project within a term of six weeks, as we saw earlier, which Le Corbusier threw himself into with characteristic aplomb, making lists and writing letters to potential clients, including Josephine Baker, Antoine St.Exupéry, Fernand Léger, Philippe Lamour and James Joyce. Secondly, Le Corbusier ceded certain ‘rights’ to the project on the condition that he could have an apartment on the upper floors ‘at his convenience, with terraces and a floor area in keeping with his needs.’

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24, rue Nungesser et Coli. TMQ 2005
The vagueness of the formulation might simply be understood as a bureaucratic artifact in the contract, were it not for the reply letter to the Société Immobilière de Paris Parc de Princes from the architects that re-emphasizes the ‘extraordinarily low fee’ of 5%, while at the same time urging the developers to ‘keep the apartment out of the general accounting’. Le Corbusier paid 80,000 francs out of pocket, for the area between the roof slab of the 6th floor and the outer zoned limited of construction. In other words, he arranged to build upon the top of the building as though it were an independent site, and to hire and pay his own contractors on his own. Thus the apartment for Le Corbusier, all the documents for which were filed separately under Mon appartement, was essentially a discrete project from the building as a whole, conceptually, constructionally, financially, and as it developed, temporally.

The documents were sent out and a bid received in December of 1931 that drew attention to the fact that the price was based on a ‘rigorous conformity’ to the drawings, including even the specification of bronze keys for the doors of the servants quarters.\textsuperscript{20} Construction started in February of 1932.\textsuperscript{21} But this rigorous conformity was soon to devolve into complete disorder as problems with payments, theft of materials and bankruptcy of initials subcontractors threatened to bring the entire project to a standstill. Le Corbusier’s more usual energetic and executive tone begins to show the signs of wear during this time:

I have only two measurable points in the day: getting dressed and getting undressed; between the two? Laboring with getting things done.\textsuperscript{22}

As a result of disagreements, the entire project came to a standstill for six months. In June, he managed to arrange for more credit and to get work started again, before leaving for the CIAM Athens Congress. But again that fall, trouble arose. Le Corbusier cut short his vacation to return to Paris to try to kick start the process again: without a break, for weeks, maneuvering, acting, discussing, convincing… but still hoping to be installed in the new building by the end of 1933, where life will much more relaxed in a practical dwelling.\textsuperscript{23}

These hopes, too grew increasingly thin, as he struggled to keep the project on track, in October:

For the last five weeks I’ve been untangling a very unpleasant situation at Boulogne. I’ve had to step in for my clients,
who are out of money and credit and can’t get either. In this,
I’ve been updating the financial and legal situations, making
transactions (...) in a word, not getting out of the saddle for
five weeks, day after day, hour after hour. And saving the
situation. If I hadn’t, it would have been the end.24

Finally, by Christmas, his indefatigable patience was nearing
its end: “That this damned project would be finished...”25

But his covert project on the 7th and 8th floors was near-
ly finished.

15. A Present for Yvonne

When we look more closely at the ways in which the foun-
dation of technology is supposed, in the work of Le Cor-
busier, to transcend from the particulars of stable know-
ledge into the realm of poetic truth, we will see that love
also has its part.

The apartment out in the 16th had been built for them
both, of course, but it seems that is was really more for Ed
and his ideas than for Yvonne and her wishes. We saw in
Episode 1 how he had worked assiduously to prepare the
place for her, and stay off her protests. Nonetheless, Yvonne
remained critical of the space. She confiding to the photog-
rapher Brassai, who had taken photographs of their old flat
in St. Germain: “You can’t imagine what it’s like. A hospital,
a dissecting lab! I’ll never get used to it.”26

The impression of the lab was further underscored by
the heavy marble table that was intentionally modeled on
a dissecting table. In addition, the apartment was one of
the first projects, along with the Clarté building in Ge-
neva, that eschewed the dogma of the strip window in favor of translucent and transparent fields of glass. During his South American lectures several years earlier, he had advanced the idea that the essence of architecture lay in ‘lighted floors’, and the Immeuble Molitor pursues this idea.

Yvonne had made up her mind about these lighted floors and she complained to Le Corbusier that the apartment resembled a barracks. Le Corbusier later told a reporter to whom he was showing the apartment:

Light is a problem that I came to notice at some stage. It is my wife who, again, brought my attention to this question. One day she told me that my home was like a barracks and I said: “why do you say that?” Suddenly, thinking about it, I saw that, it was Sunday evening, we were once together, both of us, and I said: “It is the light that does that, there is too much light”. There is very intense light everywhere, even too brutal in places.37

But if she never really warmed up to the idea of this clean light space, out on the 7th and 8th floors, out in the 16th, Yvonne enjoyed the time they spent on the Côte d’Azur, when visiting Jean Badovici in his house at Cap Martin. They were frequent visitors there during the 30’s and 40’s, as well as to Badovici’s house in Vezeley. After Le Corbusier has discovered the Starfish in September, 1949, he and Yvonne returned often during their vacations, staying at the place and becoming good friends with the proprietor, Rebutato.
Thus it is worthwhile to attach some importance to Le Corbusier’s statement that the Cabanon at Cap Martin was built primarily for Yvonne. It has been common to view the Cabanon as the last refuge of an old-master, world weary and widowed, seeking retreat in a pastoral setting from the intellectual battles that had informed his professional life. Some commentators have gone so far as to see the construction of the Cabanon on the site immediately behind E-1027 as symptomatic of Le Corbusier’s purported (and sexually charged) fascination with Eileen Gray, though this hypothesis appears to rest upon extremely slender foundations. Others have understood the Cabanon as a return to an unalloyed natural setting, a sort of Corbusian Walden Pond, if you will. But while this second hypothesis has the benefit of being mainly true, it overlooks Yvonne’s very real role in the project. In the Modulor 2, Le Corbusier explains how his system of measurement allows him to design rapidly, certainly and faultlessly, and provides the example of the Cabanon as proof, relating that on the 30th of December, 1951, on a table corner in a little snack bar on the Côte d’Azur, I drew—as a birthday present for my wife—the plans for a small cabin.28

The modulor allowed him to dash off the definite plans for the project in 45 minutes. While the date—two days before Yvonne’s 60th birthday—suggests perhaps that his birthday present preparation may have been equally rushed, the public attribution to his wife suggests that his gift was in earnest.

In the months following this rapid sketch, Le Corbusier was eager to see the plans come into effect, and wrote a memo to Wogenscky, his right hand at the office, telling him that he would like for the 366 366 Roberto matter at Cap Martin to be done urgently. For once I am insisting about something for my own use. I am counting on your friendship! This question concerns, in particular, my wife. I am prepared to pay what it may cost, but diligence will be necessary, by putting one foot in front of the other (and in the right direction).29

Yvonne’s lack of ease in the Paris apartment had been exacerbated by years of isolation, smoking and drinking, in addition to problems with her health. But she enjoyed the people and landscape of Cap Martin, and in his desire to make up for ‘keeping her in a drawer’, it seems that he conceived the Cabanon as a way of providing a ‘box of happiness’, as he called it, by building a tiny resort for themselves wall-to-wall with the Starfish, where they enjoyed their aperitifs, their meals, and their local friends.

As Le Corbusier wrote to her from Cap Martin in the days that the Cabanon was being assembled on site:

I am writing you this letter with all of my heart. I am just back from Roberto’s where everything is waiting: the people, the animals, the house. Yours is there, albeit very small, pleasant and beautiful. You still really don’t know that you are at the bottom of my heart, have been for many years, the guardian angel. You are in my thoughts at every instant—home or away. Whenever I return, I find you, even with age, even more beautiful. (…) I hope that with the shack at Robert’s I have given you a box of happiness, facing the dog’s head and your little countryside, which from here is very beautiful.30

Thus this little box on the shore, the ultimate machine à habiter, like the one built for his parents on that other shore, is one of the most personal expressions of his relationship to his loved ones, and the scope of architecture to release and commemorate the terms of these relations.
Notes

1. FLC: R2-1-203.
2. FLC: H2-3-60 (P. Jeanneret to Cornet, 1932.12.03).
3. FLC: R2-1-203.
4. FLC: R2-1-258, R2-1-203.
5. FLC: R2-1-203.
11. It has been common to ignore the influence of Pierre Jeanneret in the work that is usually attributed to Le Corbusier. While this may be justified in certain cases, my present purpose, which is to reflect on the technological features of their thought, would be sorely incomplete without the recognition of Pierre. If Le Corbusier was the prophet of the Second Machine Age then Pierre is surely its implementer. His technical competence and continual presence in the office in Paris was an extremely central factor in the production of the work between 1923 and 1940.
12. The five points were originally published in German, in Roth, Alfred (1927) – *Zwei Wohnhäuser von Le Corbusier und Pierre Jeanneret* (Stuttgart: Akad. Verlag Dr. Fr. Wedekind & Co.). The number and order of the points was variable over the years, but this first canonic publication lists: 1. The Pilotis. 2. The Roof Garden. 3. The Free Plan. 4. The Strip Window. 5. The Free Facade. (Parenthetically it should be mentioned that Ulrich Conrad’s influential *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-century Architecture* erroneously attributes the Five Points to Le Corbusier’s 1926 *Almanach d’architecture moderne*. See also Werner Oechslin’s 1987 article in *Assemblage*, *Le cinq points d’une architecture nouvelle*, which reproduces the original French text from which Roth produced the German version.)
16. The name of the district immediately outside of 16th.
17. FLC R2-1-111. LC to his mother, 1931.03.20.
18. None of these personalities rented an apartment in the *Immeuble Molitor*, although, as we shall see later, Le Corbusier did manage to convince some of his friends to move into the building.
19. Kouznetzoff and Noble to Le Corbusier and Jeanneret, 1931.06.28.
20. FLC H2-1-59.
21. FLC R2-1-145.
22. FLC R2-1-176.
23. FLC R2-1-195.
24. FLC R2-1-197.
25. FLC R2-1-199.
29. FLC M2-9-1 (Le Corbusier to Wogenscky 1952.02.08).
30. FLC R1-12-99 (Le Corbusier to Yvonne, 1952.07.18). The ‘dog’s head’ is a landscape formation [cf. R2-2-150]. The little countryside refers to Yvonne’s hometown, Monaco.