

The godless temple, 'organon of the infinite'

Peter Carl

*Department of Architecture, University of
Cambridge, Cambridge, CB2 1PX, UK*

This essay seeks to illuminate our understanding of 'space' by showing how Le Corbusier's concept of dwelling draws upon the notion of the secular sacred. The vehicle of analysis is the close correlation between the disposition of his own apartment, at 24 Rue Nugesser et Coli, Paris (1933), and a critical sequence of his *Le poème de l'angle droit*, published 22 years later. The correlation gives substance and structure to his repeated declaration to 'make the house a temple', in turn part of the universal claims of his concept of *unité* and therefore a significant element of his cultural aspirations regarding housing. The terms of reference for such a reformulation have their source in Romantic thought, with which this essay begins. However, the particular configuration of themes on which Le Corbusier's domestic symbolism depends—a primordial room oriented to the horizon, the contemplation of a paradigmatic woman by a creative male, a representational regime oriented to controlling the cultural background—is already present in certain Marian paintings of the fifteenth century. The configuration seeks to ensure a form of salvation re-interpreted by Le Corbusier in the light of artistic *poésie* and philosophical reflection. At the same date, Paul Valéry argues for the paradox of painting as a pure noumenal philosophy. This suggests that the long history of the secular sacred depends upon requiring the transcendent to be also transparent to thought, an ambiguity that lies at the heart of the universality claimed for 'space' by Sigfried Giedion.

Introduction

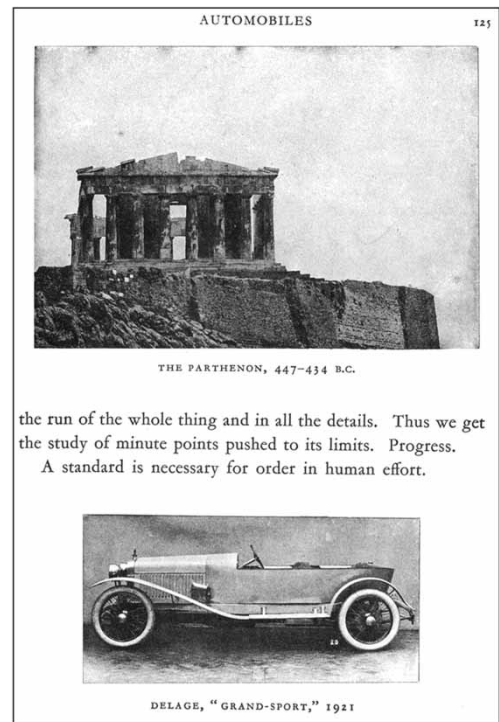
The purpose of this essay is to shed light upon a more general problem exemplified in, but hardly restricted to, Le Corbusier: remarkable buildings at the expense of vacuous cities. Not an original observation in itself, it is less obvious that the vague concept of the secular-sacred, inherited from Romanticism, might lie at the heart of what is both good about the buildings and bad about the cities. For example, the configuration traced here is central to Le Corbusier's chapel at Ronchamp as

well as to his conception of dwelling. Indeed the concept of housing—individual dwelling-temples disposed in abstract pattern-space—embodies most of the conflicts. When Le Corbusier asserts 'Housing should be considered as the central element in all urban planning' (*The Radiant City*, second edition, Paris 1964 and New York, 1967, p. 188) or 'Home or city; it is all the same thing . . .' (*ibid.*, p. 104), or 'A man = a dwelling; dwellings = a city' (title of sixth lecture, Buenos Aires, 1929, *Precisions*, Paris, 1930 and MIT,

Figure 1. Reconciling religion with technology: the Parthenon and the Delage 'Grand Sport', from Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, p. 125.

1991), one hears echoes of an ancient *topos*, which can be traced back through Alberti to Plato (*Statesman* 259b). However, when Le Corbusier also asserts that 'the keystone of the theory behind [the Radiant City] is the *liberty of the individual*' (*The Radiant City*, p. 94, as well as pp. 37, 113, etc.), one must acknowledge that the emphasis upon individual freedom has inverted the primacy of collective solidarity carried in the original formulation of the *topos*. The result is the aggregate of individuals—mass culture—whose collective identity is very obscure (see Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, Cambridge University Press, 1989), which is the ambiguity enshrined in the concept of housing and, by extension, the city.

Le Corbusier was hardly alone in attempting to resolve this ambiguity by finding a discourse which might reconcile the remains of religion with technology. Already announced in his famous juxtaposition (*Towards a New Architecture*, Paris 1923 and London, 1927, pp. 124–5: Fig. 1) of Greek temple (the embodying conditions of existence, craft-work and art, meaning rooted to the earth, tradition) and motor-car (movement, traffic, mass phenomena of statistics, diagrams and systems, industrial production, newness in history), it was declared as a bald paradox on the door to his Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux, 1937: 'the severe science of urbanism . . . urbanism total manifestation of the poetry of an epoch' (*Le Corbusier & P. Jeanneret Oeuvre complète 1934–38*, Zurich, 1964 edition, p. 159). If both religion and the city had traditionally spoken first of what is held in common, this conceptual, aestheticised religion—a repertoire of fragments from religious iconography and the



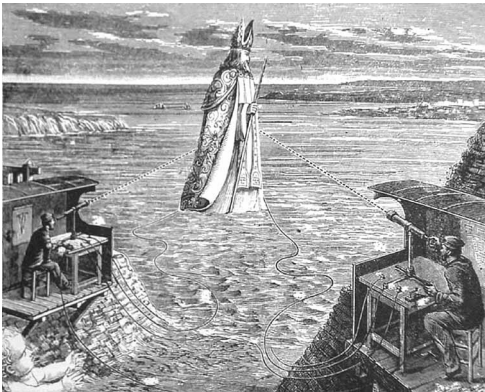
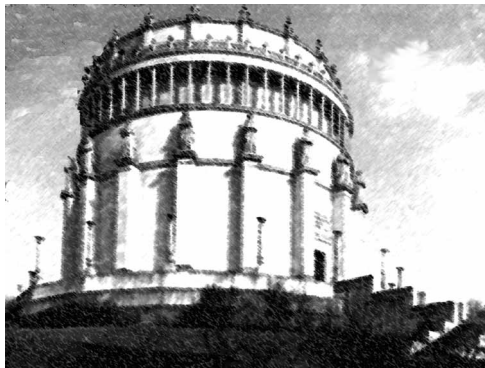
metaphorical sanctity of 'everyday life'—made itself readily available to the vague generalisations of mass-culture statistics and techniques, becoming simply one of the constituents of the ever-hopeful 'space'. 'Space', the domain of 'the people' (everybody in general, no-one in particular), held precedence over the customary distinctions of urban topography. In this one recognises that the secular-sacred has become a means by which we have accommodated ourselves to political and social

disenfranchisement, in lieu of a proper understanding of the practical life.

Secular-sacred, earth and language

In 1795, Friedrich Schiller sets in Imperial Rome the observation that ‘the temples still command respect even though the gods have been declared ridiculous’.¹ In making the gods more contingent than temples, two things have happened: first, belief in gods has become a concept rather than a living practice; and, as a result, ‘temple’ becomes one of several metaphors for an obscure, latent sacrality which can be called forth through art, a proposition often termed the ‘secular sacred’ (Figs 2, 3).

The transformation of religion into a concept is evident from F. W. J. Schelling’s lectures on art of 1799–1805,² where, for example, philosophy, as ideal, complements art, as real; and an allegorised schema is presented in which the Greek gods are organised into a hierarchy of aesthetic concepts according to the principle that ‘what ideas are for philosophy, the gods are for art, and vice versa’.³ In an exchange of letters in 1798 between Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis, the proposition is considered of unifying the *Encyclopédie* and the Bible to produce a single text which would achieve the resacralisation of knowledge and would be the basis of a new religion. From this style of thought derive such frequently-used expressions as ‘the’ sacred or ‘the’ religious or ‘the’ primitive, as well as the discipline of comparative religions, all of which testify to conceptual determinations of religion known only to scholarship, foreign to any living religion. It also served to detach religious iconography from its



Figures 2, 3. The godless temple: [top], Befreiungshalle, begun by Friedrich Gärtner, 1842, altered and completed by Leo von Klenze, 1863, Kelheim, Germany; (bottom) Max Ernst, *Le grand saint Nicolas est suivi d'impeccables parasitiques et guidé à distance par ses deux appendices latéraux*, from *La femme 100 têtes*, Paris, 1929, p. 43.

context, creating a vast reservoir of motifs from which artists felt they could freely draw. The consequent scrambling of Classical, Christian and secular motifs in art and thinking led Rimbaud to declare, only seventy years after Schelling, ‘I ended up finding sacred the disorder of my mind.’⁴

Another seventy years later, in his brief, fourteen-line statement at the dedication ceremony of the

Figure 4. The chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Haut, by Le Corbusier, 1955, Ronchamp (Haute-Saône), general view from the South, showing the ascent past the cemetery and hostel (right), the chaplain's residence (left).



Figure 5. The chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Haut, view South through eastern, exterior, chapel, showing the stratification of horizons.



chapel of Notre Dame du Haut at Ronchamp (Figs 4, 5), Le Corbusier lectured the archbishop of Besançon, the assembled clergy and the parishioners that, 'Some things are sacred, others are not, whether or not they are religious'.⁵ This represents more than the anti-clericalism that antedates Robespierre's *l'Être Suprême*. Le Corbusier arrogates the interpretation of what is 'sacred' to himself; and the chapel ('this ark . . . receptacle of silence and gentleness'⁶) finds its sacrality, what he calls 'the need for truth', in the site: 'contact with a site, situation of a place, eloquence of a place, word addressed to place. To the four horizons.'⁷ Although unknown to Le Corbusier, as far as I am aware, this reciprocity between word and site echoes Heidegger's strife between world and earth, or between culture and its conditions, of twenty years earlier. Heidegger's explication of this

concept famously required the evocation of a Greek Temple isolated in nature which, like the chapel at Ronchamp, embodied this strife more through the presence of the temple itself than through the mediation of civic or religious praxis.⁸ One must be careful not to turn Heidegger's philosophical use of the temple into aesthetic prescription; the important point is the re-configuration of the sacred in terms of a dialectics of earth and language.

Le Corbusier's declaration of the extremes of representation, site and word, is also accompanied by a declaration of his term for their synthesis—'*l'espace indicible*'.⁹ This binomial retains the reciprocity of site ('*l'espace*') and word ('*dicible*'), the latter understood, however, in terms of an intensely communicative muteness—literally, 'the unsayable'. An English translation of '*l'espace indicible*' could be 'space beyond words', where 'beyond' would also suggest before or after all words—alluding at once to our pre-existence as the mosses, puddles and mountains which begin his *Le poème de l'angle droit*,¹⁰ as well as to the silent, transparent communication with God, imagined by Augustine

to be our potential state of redemption.¹¹ Le Corbusier's concept declares space a mute transcendence to language—therefore, perhaps, inverting the priority of Heidegger's language as 'the house of Being',¹² but similarly struggling to formulate the ultimate conditions of situatedness. '*L'espace indicible*' is characterised by Le Corbusier in *Le poème de l'angle droit*, published the same year as his dedication speech at Ronchamp, 1955, as an 'absolute sublime accomplishment', an ecstatic harmony or interpenetration of times, forms and proportions, '*l'indicible* in the end precludes the control of reason, carried beyond all daily realities, admitted to the heart of an illumination, God, incarnate in the illusion, the perception, of truth, perhaps.'¹³ Before inquiring into the nature of the 'God' invoked in this passage, is not Le Corbusier asking '*l'espace indicible*' to fulfil the role traditionally enacted by a whole culture? Is this a profound insight, Rimbaud's 'mental disorder', or something in between?

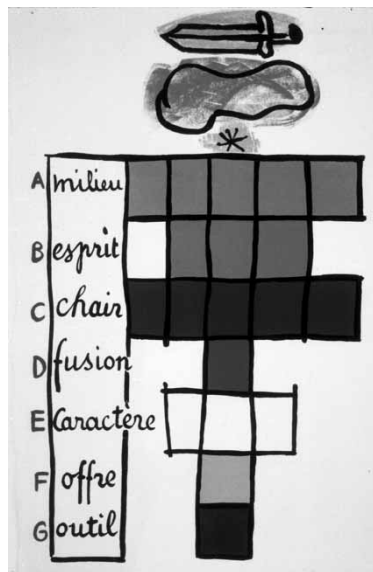
Poésie and philosophy

Any student of early Romantic thought will recognise the terms of reference within which Le Corbusier strives to understand the conditions and possibilities of representation. These he terms '*poésie*',¹⁴ in which the artist-genius seeks to bring potentially chaotic referential fragments into harmony. The simultaneity of chaos and (geometric) harmony constitutes '*l'espace indicible*'. As much as it is concerned to embrace the limits of representation, this *poésie* also seeks its own self-understanding. The autodidact Le Corbusier represents himself in over fifty books, as well as paintings, sculptures, architecture, the whole of

which he calls '*la recherche patiente*', as if the work of a scientist. Le Corbusier regularly insists that he is a practical man, not a philosopher (even less a theologian), and the practical imagination deserves more respect than it is usually given. However, to the extent that his concept of *poésie* is a spatial art informed by an aestheticised nature, poetry, theosophy, mysticism, esoterism,¹⁵ this is a legacy of the Romantic ambiguity regarding transcendence and the consequent development of a syncretism of motifs and discourses which might reconcile the full plenitude of reality with the internal coherence of the philosophic discourse of Kant and Fichte. This in turn is the consequence of a sustained attack on the very notion of a philosophical system already a decade old by the time Schelling is preaching on art. However, when Schelling asserts that 'mythology is the necessary condition and primary material of all art',¹⁶ it is unclear how anything but a conceptual determination of mythology could be reconciled with a systematic philosophy. Similarly, Le Corbusier's occasional use of the term 'cosmic' has been relayed uncritically in scholarship, which seems content with, or even grateful for, the reference, and does not inquire into the great disjunction between the ancient concept (legendarily attributed to Pythagoras) and present realities.¹⁷

Andrew Bowie is right to say that the Romantic 'problems in epistemological foundationalism'¹⁸ created the opening to *poésie*, as well as the requirement that *poésie* be transparent to thought. Georges Gusdorf better captures this tension in recognising that, so long as Being is restricted to what we can know or say about it, there is

Figure 6. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, Éditions Verve, 1955, page 8, summarising the *Iconostase* (Fig. 7) and introducing the thematic structure of the poem. The grid is numbered 1–5 horizontally. The colours, from top to bottom, are: green, blue, brown, red, white, yellow, purple. The sword, cloud and star, at top, exhibit a quite traditional sequence from heroic earthly deeds in history through natural conditions to the primordial perfection of celestial movements. However, their customary relative positions are inverted, evidently mirroring the *katabasis* (descent) which comprises the movement through the *Poème* itself. (© FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London, 2005.)

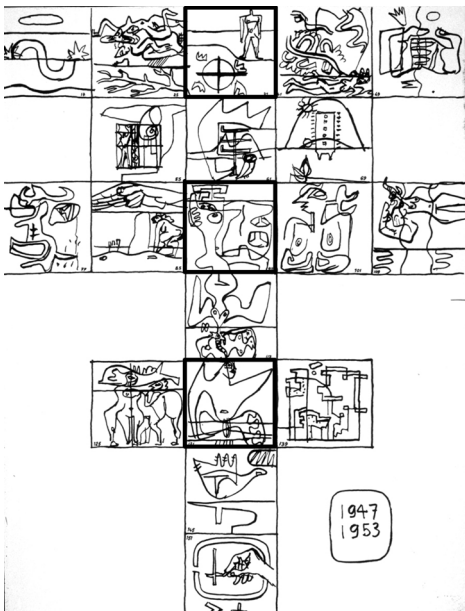


necessarily created 'a more vast non-Being, before-Being, around-Being, beyond-Being'.¹⁹ If, accordingly, 'the absolute can only be manifest by analogy, or by default',²⁰ art becomes the 'organon of the infinite. The work of science is enclosed within the finitude of the real; the work of art evokes the vertiginous perspective of non-Being, of which it is the issue'.²¹ Out of this situation emerges the tension between logic, the mode of coherence of the philosophical system, and experience, which became a philosophical category only in the late nineteenth century.²² Accordingly, religion passed, via 'religious experience' (following a path anticipated by Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*²³) to aesthetic experience.²⁴ Art became part of the

project of self-understanding, if not actually a branch of philosophy. Historically this project veered between mystical affirmation and radical nihilism, eventually arriving at the composite of discourses by which Nietzsche attempted to reformulate the practice of philosophy. This composite of discourses, much of it oriented around an artistic demiourgos, was of course tremendously stimulating for subsequent artistic speculation, including that of Le Corbusier (whose copy of *Also Sprach Zarathustra* is well-underlined²⁵).

Image and word

Le Corbusier's most concise formulation of his representational intentions is found in the 155-page free-verse, illustrated document, *Le Poème de l'angle droit*.²⁶ The *Poème* says very little about architecture directly, it mostly represents Le Corbusier's conception of the analogical structure of reality. It can be read in two ways—in the customary sequence from beginning to end, or according to a visual schema arranging its nineteen sections in seven rows of the lithographs which conclude each section. He called this arrangement the *Iconostase* (Figs. 6, 7). Despite the terminology and the visual similarity as a screen of images, this configuration would seem to have little or nothing to do with Greek Orthodox religion.²⁷ The Greek *Iconostasis* is an *opportunity* for qualifying the relationship between worshipper and altar, only taken up in the sixteenth century, whereas Le Corbusier's *Iconostase* is *completely necessary* for understanding the meanings in play. This is among the inversions created by the secular-sacred, where the artefact



assumes primacy in the communication of meanings to an observer's contemplation. The basis of Schiller's temple without gods, the proposition involves bringing architecture into direct relation with the interpretative protocols of theology and philosophy; and its genealogy can be traced back through the concept of monument, via architecture of the book (Piranesi, Ledoux, Lequeu), to such seventeenth century proselytes of symbolic archaeology as Kircher and Villalpanda. Their effort to situate the meanings in the disposition of elements intrinsic to an architectural artefact has parallels in the contemporary esoteric literature, as well as in Campanella's *Città del Sole*.²⁸

The spatial co-ordination of iconographic elements for redemptive purposes is anticipated in the conversion of Heavenly Jerusalem into the Renaissance 'Ideal City' (via the Tragic Stage set), by the accompanying theoretisation (the treatises on everything from architecture through politics to social life), and particularly by what Federico Zuccaro eventually named as the *concetto*.²⁹ The *concetto* comprises the fusion of image and word, and therefore of body and soul, human and divine, and was in practice the co-ordination of perspective (rooted in the quadrivium) and rhetoric (rooted in the trivium). Panofsky rightly saw the *concetto* as a pre-figuration of the subject-object problem³⁰ which underlies Bowie's 'epistemological foundationalism'. Le Corbusier's *l'espace* (image) *indicible* (word) preserves the structural reciprocity of the *concetto*, but annihilates the social, political and religious ceremonial context of which the *concetto* was originally part. The representational artefact seems to carry the full responsibility for mediation between particular and universal.

The seven levels of the *Iconostase* are thematically structured. The first level is Le Corbusier's contribution to the Romantic *Naturphilosophie*, insofar as it reads natural processes as mythic narratives of his own invention, including the cycle of the sun (A.1), the cycles of water (A.2 and A.4), and, A.5, the principle of the *coincidentia oppositorum*. The next level concerns architecture and proportion. The next level concerns male-female relationships—a disoriented wandering in reciprocity with sexual intimacy. The lower four levels, which together comprise an *angle droit* in the *Iconostase*, are all related to Le Corbusier's concepts of architectural

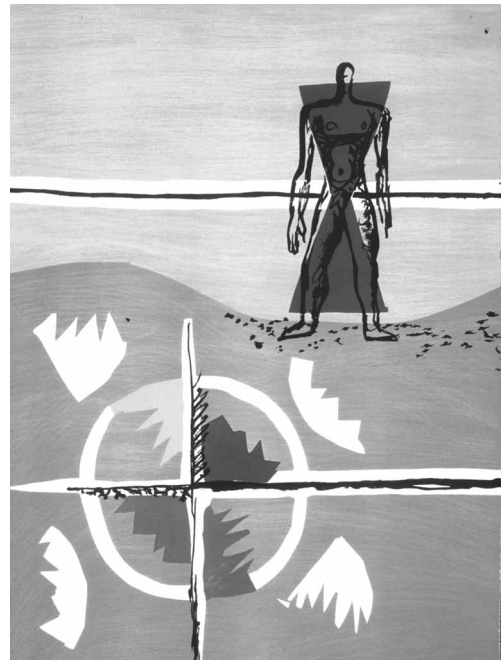
Figure 7. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, the *Iconostase*, p. 153, with the positions of the three plates discussed here (A.3, C.3, E.3) indicated in bold outline. (© FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London, 2005.)

Figure 8. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, the lithograph completing section A.3, p. 31. The sky is a luminous ochre, the ground tan, the intersecting triangles (missing in the *Iconostase*) red, and the colour-fragments remaining within the crossed circle pair levels A and D (green and red, 'milieu' and 'fusion', against the intersection) and levels F and G (yellow and purple, 'offering' and 'tool', attached to the circumference). This configuration explicates the phrase Le Corbusier often associates with the *angle droit*—a pact with nature—whereby a wholeness is restored through artistic creativity and symbolic thinking (in particular, the *coincidentiae oppositorum*). (© FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London, 2005.)

creation and its symbolism. The seven-stage central spine passes from light to dark, apparently a *katabasis*, not unlike the descent to the divine bottle from Rabelais' *Gargantua et Pantagruel*, which he copied into his *carnets* as he was completing the *Poème*.³¹ In any case, the world-cave is a common topos, from Plato's cave in the *Republic* to the initiatic renderings of Novalis' *Henry von Ofterdingen* (1802) and of Peladan, with whom Le Corbusier discussed Greek architecture.³² We are interested in three of the images of the central spine—A.3, C.3 and E.3.

The horizon, creativity and the paradigmatic woman

The topmost image, A.3, depicts an upright—*droit*—man in luminous sunlight, standing on a ground-profile echoing the curve of the solar cycle (A.1), apparently exploiting *le sol* in *le soleil* (Fig. 8). The text develops a cycle between the upright posture, ready for action, and supine sleep, death. An horizon intersects his navel, marked by a red double triangle—the reciprocity of earthly and heavenly things—and below him is a broken cross-in-circle whose pieces are coloured after levels A, D, F, G of the *Poème*. The text for this plate declares that 'the universe of our eyes rests upon a plateau bounded by an horizon ... the inconceivable space hitherto unknown ... erect on the terrestrial plateau of knowable things, you sign a pact of solidarity with nature: this is the *angle droit*'.³³ Most relevant for present purposes is the identification of the *angle droit* with the gaze from land to sea as a movement from knowable things to unknown, inconceivable space, bounded by an

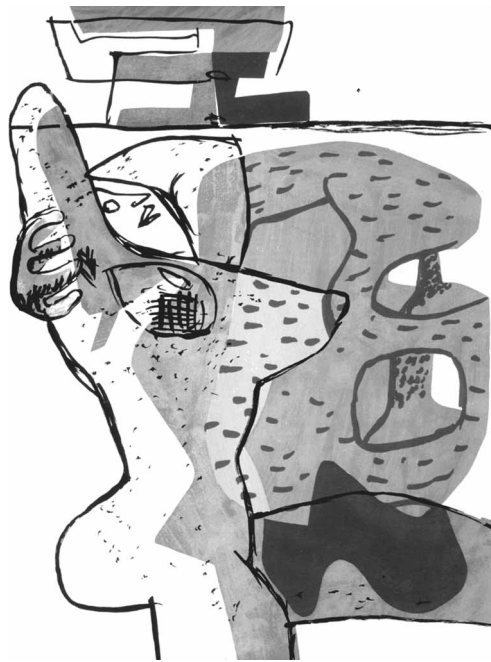


horizon. The horizon gives the bounds of existence, and is a constituent structuring element of his paintings and buildings.

The sea is a fundamental existential metaphor in the *Poème*, as it is for Romantic and Symbolist poetics generally. It is amorphous and yet also establishes a precise level (A.2); it is that to which his 'Law of the Meander' conducts ideas and truth to clairvoyance (A.4); its rising tide signals 'a new time ... a phase a limit a transition' (D.3). It is also associated with 'God, incarnate in the illusion, the perception of truth' at C.3. The C.3 plate lies

at the centre of an elaborate play between male-female relationships and artistic creativity (Fig. 9). This is symbolised in the lithograph by the buxom woman and broken seashell, which is personified in the text: 'Tender affection!, Seashell the Sea has never ceased to cast its wrecks of smiling harmony on the shore'.³⁴ The juxtaposition of 'wrecks' and 'smiling harmony' endows the sea with the exchange between death and creativity, conforming to ancient water-symbolism (as in the symbolic death and rebirth of Christian baptism), and is probably inspired by the poetic shipwreck in the *Un Coup de Dés* of Stéphane Mallarmé, of whose poems Le Corbusier was an avid reader.³⁵ Not only does Le Corbusier relate seashells to his houses (the proportioned dwelling), but these are among the artefacts of nature from which he draws primary inspiration, in lieu of architectural history or the orders.³⁶ In these terms, the sea offers up exempla for creative interpretation, taking the place of tradition; and the sea is metaphorically the receptacle for culture as a whole. In his iconography, land, and its architecture, mediates between the extremes of light and the sea.³⁷ The shore is the ambiguous margin complementary to the horizon bounding 'the universe of our eyes' and the matrix of creative metamorphosis.³⁸ This latter motif is summarised in the wineglass and its inverted double, in its customary position at the top of the C.3 lithograph—on the horizon—which Le Corbusier deploys as an embodiment of the *angle droit* bearing Dionysian connotations of metamorphic intoxication and inspiration.

The third plate, E.3, is horizontally positioned between two others, to the left (E.2) a tent (from



the series called 'Vertical Circus') to the right (E.4) a labyrinth-cave (from the series called 'St. Sulpice'), both associated in their texts with architectural creativity—including a vivid description of auto-parturition, in which the first-person voice of the poem, evidently Le Corbusier, gives birth to an architecture-creature. The level is called '*caractères*', which solicits a play between architectural character (the academic correlation of decorum and visual order) and human character. The E.3 image gave its name to the *Iconostase*, as it comes from a series of paintings called '*l'cône*' (Fig. 10). It depicts

Figure 9. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, the lithograph completing section C.3, p. 93. On a white field, the broken shell is tan, shaded in red (the colour also of the towel/ ground-form/warped plane on which the shell rests). The shading of the woman is purple and the transparent intersection with the shell yellow. Her fingertips are the blue of the wineglass and its inverted double, at top, whose base is green and brown. The tan is not part of the colour-coding of levels, but the colouring of the doubled wineglass comprises the top three levels (A–C), that of the woman the bottom two levels (F, G), the shading of the shell, fusion (D) and the white field level E. The synthesis of erotic intimacy, artistic creation from natural elements and alchemical fusion (of opposites) are among the reasons a version of this plate was also a mural on the endwall of Le Corbusier's atelier at 35 rue de Sèvres. (© FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London, 2005.)

Figure 10. Le Corbusier, *Le poème de l'angle droit*, the lithograph completing section E.3, p. 131. The yellow ochre of the candle-wax is repeated along the left border, whose bottom makes an L with the frontal/oblique corner of the grey table positioned atop the candle. The white of the candle-flame is continued in the body of *l'icône*, perhaps as smoke; she is deprived of a right breast like the *amazones* of E.2, and her left shoulder (an *angle droit*) touches a star outside the window (alternatively, or also, it is her left breast which projects to the star). The star is to the window as the candle-flame is to the room. The star is coloured light blue like the lower half of her arm and clasped hands, which are transparent for a sea horizon sustaining a red sky. Blue and red are consistent opposites in the images of the *Poème*, beginning with the cover, also soliciting a reciprocity between levels B and D. Her head is a slightly cooler blue than the star



a woman sitting in a dark room, her left shoulder or breast (an *angle droit*) touching a star outside the window, her hands clasped next to a candle, through which passes a sea-horizon. Her profile forms the background to the House in the lithograph for B.2 as well as the junction of thumb and hand drawing the symbol of the *angle droit* in that for G.3. Le Corbusier speaks of being 'mirrored' in this 'categorical *angle droit* of character ... she is rectitude [*droiture*] ...'³⁹

The two gazes of *droiture* and 'home'

We therefore have two modalities of the *angle droit*, both obtained through the 'horizontal gaze

ahead'⁴⁰—the universe of our eyes bounded by the sea-horizon (A.3) which discloses the conditions for truth in representation (C.3), and a moral rectitude disclosed in the mirroring of the architect-creator with this enigmatic woman (E.3).

Whether or not she is to be regarded a species of oracle at the heart of the metaphoric cave into which we descend, she is familiar from a type of narrative which first appears in Hellenistic gnosticism. This narrative has its roots in the tension between earthly and heavenly eros in Plato's *Symposium*, and involves the pursuit by a male of a unique woman who also embodies Truth or Wisdom. We can trace this narrative from such gnostic material as the *Pistis Sophia*, to the *Roman de la Rose* and *Divina Commedia*, to the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphilli*, to the *Chymical Wedding*, even to Breton's *Nadja*.⁴¹ Seven years after the publication of the *Poème*, however, Le Corbusier informs us that this symbolic woman is also his wife, Yvonne, or Von, as he called her: 'A woman of the utmost heart and will, of integrity and of propriety. Guardian-angel of the hearth, of my hearth ... In my *Poème de l'angle droit* she occupies the central position: *caractères*, E.3'.⁴²

We can only summarise here the full complexity of actual and symbolic which this theme represents in his work. For the purposes of his argument regarding housing, the hearth (*foyer*) of the nuclear family carries the principal meanings. In 1942, the family is described as 'not only the fundamental unity, but also the germ of society ... society is a great family ... or the family is already a society in miniature'.⁴³ In the 1954 lecture in Milan, *l'Urbanisme est une clef*, he defines 'the family



and water (Moore and Krusturp see the moon in this head). The D.3 plate is significantly modified in the *Iconstase* lithograph, in order to establish a vertical chain of communication between the woman of C.3 and *l'icône* (E.3), by way of the descending *licorne* (D.3). (© FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London, 2005.)

group' according to a somewhat mystical algebraic expression—'[the group of mother, father, children] assembled = 'the fire' = the hearth'.⁴⁴ Presumably the candle of the *l'icône* image, E.3, represents this fire and hearth of which the woman is guardian-angel; and, to this extent, we are to imagine something like an invocation of archaic hearth-cults in contemporary housing. However, it is less clear how far we are similarly to generalise the full narrative of mystical encounter between man and woman as given in *Le poème de l'angle droit*, or whether such details as Le Corbusier's pregnancy with architecture-creatures in lieu of children are meant to mark out the relationship with Von as a special case, appropriate to authorship of such a poem. Certainly of general importance is the multi-valent concept of *droiture*—spatial and moral rectitude—the general principle of which the actual person Von is an embodiment, and in the mirroring with whom, as he puts it in the *Poème*, E.3, 'I... found myself there, found at home, found'.⁴⁵

Figure 11. Le Corbusier, apartment building at 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, Paris, 1933, the East façade, as published in the *Oeuvre Complète 1929–34*, p. 147. Only the first of the two levels of Le Corbusier's apartment is visible at the top with, at extreme top right, the east half of the skylight to his studio.

Figure 12. Le Corbusier, apartment building at 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, Paris, 1933, view East to the adjacent athletic fields from one of the lower apartments, as published in the *Oeuvre Complète 1929–34*,

p. 153 (detail). As the original caption claims, this view is among the 'conditions de "ville radieuse"':

Figure 13. Le Corbusier, apartment building at 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, Paris, 1933, the plan of the lower level of his apartment, as published in the *Oeuvre Complète 1929–34*, p. 148. South is to the top; the East wing (left) is Le Corbusier's studio, the West wing is kitchen, dining room and bedroom, in between is the living room, with the hearth (*foyer*) attached to the western lift shaft.

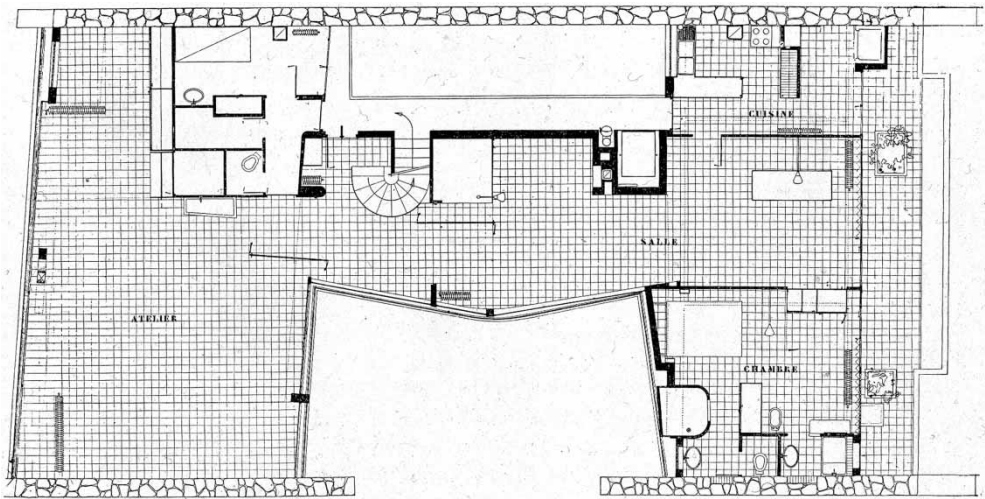


Figure 14. Le Corbusier, apartment building at 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, Paris, 1933, view South-west into the living-room and its hearth (*foyer*) of his apartment, as published in the *Oeuvre Complète 1929–34*, p.145. The hearth is also equipped with niches for the exhibition of *objets à réaction poétique*. This room is darker than the others, being



Le Corbusier's home

It is evident that this symbolic structure was relatively well developed twenty years before the publication of *Le poème de l'angle droit* in the dwelling he

designed for Von and himself. Occupying the top two floors of an apartment block built in western Paris (Fig. 11), he sees it as a fragment of the housing for the *Ville Radieuse*—the city redeemed in light—with an eastern view to athletic fields (Fig. 12) and a western view to the hills of Saint-Cloud and the Suresnes.⁴⁶ Although pairs and doubles appear elsewhere in his work, this is an unusual plan in his corpus (Fig. 13). The apartment is divided into two wings; and, between the wings, the living room is dimly illuminated by a skylight and a northern clerestory (Fig. 14). The west wing is Von's realm—bedroom, dining room and kitchen; addressing the hills of the Suresnes, the ship-cabin water-rooms recall his ship-as-city theme as well as his frequent association of rolling hills with the sea (Fig. 15). The east wing, associated



illuminated by borrowed light, by a North-facing clerestory (visible at left of Fig. 17) and by the skylight over the hearth. The hills of the Suresnes are just visible above the balcony parapet to right (West).

Figure 15. Le Corbusier, apartment building at 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, Paris, 1933, view into the elaborate North-east corner of the bedroom to his apartment, with its ship-cabin water-rooms intersecting the vault. Although this photograph was not published in the *Oeuvre Complète*, the wicker chair in the left foreground appears in all the published images of this (Von's) portion of the apartment. The bed is elevated to a level that brings it, the dining-table, the parapet shelf and the kitchen counter into a group making a square in that part of the plan. (© FLC/ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London, 2005.)

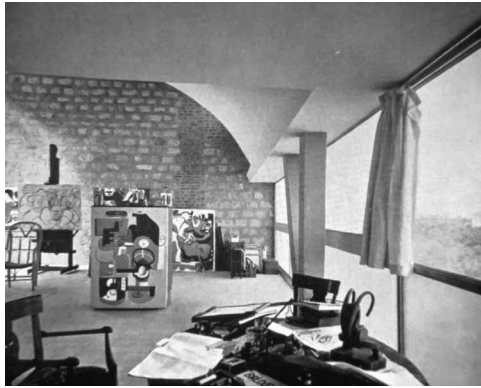
with the agon of athletic contest, is devoted to his studio (Fig. 16). The vaulted ceilings in these two wings⁴⁷ are made to be a cave (E.4), on her side, and a tent (E.2), on his—in the latter case through combining a ventilation duct with a column, to suggest the struts for an aeroplane wing. This recalls the play between biplanes and desert shrine in *Towards a New Architecture*, as well as conforming to his affection for aeroplanes and for the aerial view as a new perception of reality offered by the twentieth century.⁴⁸ The address, 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, commemorates the two French pilots who died in the sea trying to cross the Atlantic. A year before the publication of the *Poème*, he provides a lengthy description of his studio as an 'archipelago', which he navigates 'with the security and precision of an old pilot',⁴⁹ creating architecture-creatures out of the wrecks of smiling harmony cast upon its shores.

The horizon, Von and the domestic temple

Two photographs (Figs. 17,18) looking in opposite directions are paired in the layout for the

presentation of the apartment in the *Oeuvre Complète 1929–34*.⁵⁰ At first glance, these photographs seem quite innocuous and banal. They are not intended to illustrate the beauty of the interiors but to illuminate the architectural argument. The photograph looking from Von's realm (Fig. 17) must be concerned only to exploit the Leger painting to identify that portion of the apartment as hers. An apparent reference to *Corbu as corbeau*—raven—emerges from the woman's head embedded in the initials L. C., whilst the 'coffee-bean' is probably a reference to the creation of men and women by splitting a sphere, *Poème*, C.4, pp. 98–100, originally from Plato's *Symposium*.⁵¹ The photograph from his studio (Fig. 18) presents a dominant horizon within a very elaborate interlocking of frames (which includes the reflection of light on the floor), after the fashion of the diagram which generated his Modulor proportion of a decade later and used frequently to structure his canvases and site plans. An easel and stool mark the central spatial division, and the photograph is therefore the view—or gaze—of the artist from his studio past the hearth, identified with Von, to Von's realm of the apartment, ultimately to the horizon of the Suresnes, were the film sensitive enough to capture the hills. The photograph is a local interpretation of a general principle, in which the apartment, oriented to the horizon, always recapitulates the situation of the 'universe of our eyes'. It is also, of course, the view horizontal ahead at Von, embodiment of rectitude. In other words, the apartment anticipates his two modalities of the *angle droit*, obtained through the 'horizontal gaze ahead'—the view from the studio (C.3) toward a metaphoric

Figure 16. Le Corbusier, apartment building at 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, Paris, 1933, view of Le Corbusier's studio, looking North from the library, as published in the *Oeuvre Complète 1929–34*, p. 145. This image was republished by Le Corbusier several times over the heading 'Unité'. Not yet the fecund jumble it later became, the vaulted studio is presented in a carefully structured image, in which the paintings mediate the dialogue between the rubble party-wall and the translucent glass façade, creating a number of thematic alignments and visual puns. For example, the *angle droit* made by the curtain and mullions also exposes the athletic fields (Fig. 12) through the open window; the truncated curve of the dark, disorderly table of the library is the reciprocal of the luminous curve of the vault, also truncated; the back of the chair, distant left, imitates the mullion-structure and



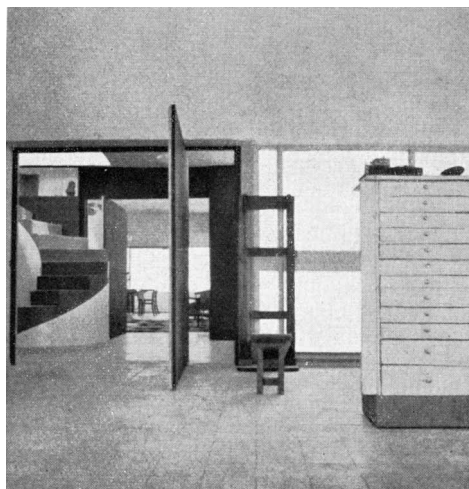
sea-horizon (A.3), and a reciprocal movement from Von's domain which meets in the foyer (E.3).

The term 'unité' in the expression *unité d'habitation* does not simply refer to the aggregate of residents living in a species of vertical town. In his essay devoted to the concept of *unité*, he deploys phrases like 'contemporary chaos metamorphosed into harmony' and 'accord with the cosmos', and he compares his vision of architecture to the Parthenon and to Chartres Cathedral (Fig. 19).⁵² These are among the general considerations which enable him to declare, 'Since 1920 I have considered the dwelling as the temple of the family—the temple of man which once served as a home for the gods . . .'⁵³ It would be difficult for him to be more explicit regarding the ambition and character of his interpretation of the secular-sacred. As regards the dwelling, this symbolic structure can be succinctly summarised; from particular to universal, the sequence runs: partner (actual Von) -> family -> hearth/fire -> home -> *droiture* (primordial room +

symbolic Von, *lcône*) -> 'temple' -> *l'espace indicible*. To be 'found at home, found' is sufficient to participate in the highest meanings, and the city can be reduced to generalised pattern and horizons (Fig. 20). Indeed, Le Corbusier believed so firmly in the synthetic power of this metaphoric temple that he dispensed with traditional urban topography, arriving at the familiar pattern of housing, office-towers and transport set in a naturalistic landscape. The disposition of dwelling-temples in abstract, systematic space (vertically or horizontally) comprises the concept of 'housing', and unaccountably still carries the valence of an Enlightenment culture empowering the people. Accordingly, it is possible to regard Le Corbusier's formulation as an effort to understand the spiritual possibilities of an operation customarily conducted in the material domain. Housing converts dwelling into a mass-market intrinsic to itself, largely divorced from the rest of urban life, oriented about statistical generalisations regarding 'life-style' and costs, precise management of resources, safety, health, ease of use, etc., for which a century of aesthetic inventiveness has failed to compensate.

Intramundane salvation

The apartment as universe of our eyes oriented to the horizon (A.3, for general purposes [Figs 21, 22]; for his apartment it is A.3 + C.3), brought together with the gaze at Von as paradigmatic woman (E.3), fuse the two settings propitious for the perception of *droiture* (Fig. 23). Accordingly, this pairing also fills out the general metaphor of 'temple' with a more particular drama. Mary, in her oculus (eye) in the East wall of the chapel at Ronchamp commands



V-strut of the East window as well as the vault; the probably airbrush-enhanced fall of light from the western skylight establishes a second vanishing-point at the intersection of the *angle droit* made by the bricked-up pipe-chase, the two paintings and the lantern that appeared in some of his earliest Purist paintings; etc.

Figures 17, 18. Le Corbusier, apartment building at 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, Paris, 1933; views from the dining room (left) and from Le Corbusier's studio (right), published next to each other in the *Oeuvre Complète 1929–34*, pp. 148–9.

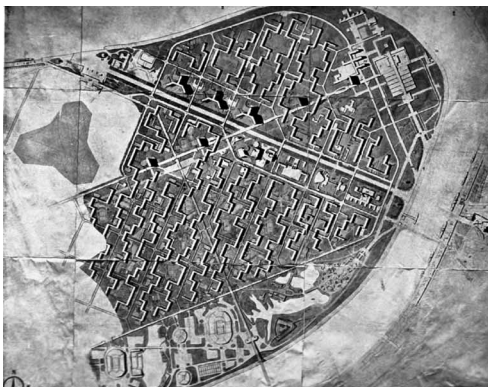
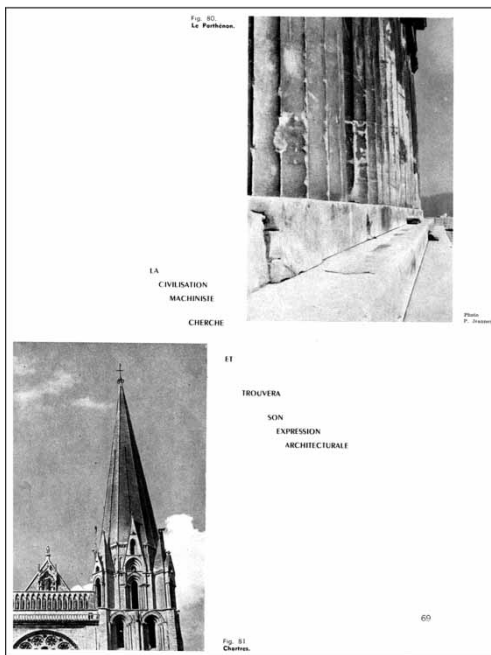
a symbolic prominence with regard to the only consistent horizontal that is similar to the role of *l'icône/Von* in the apartment (Fig. 24). The overlay of domestic setting and chapel in these terms is not a new idea (Fig. 25). Aside from the several iconographic similarities⁵⁴ between Le Corbusier's vision and Jan van Eyck's 'The Virgin and Chancellor Rolin',⁵⁵ they are linked more fundamentally by a structural principle.⁵⁶

Only Rolin is wholly of this world; everything else in the painting carries intimations of the Kingdom of Heaven, even if developed by van Eyck from contemporary Burgundian natural and urban settings. Rolin is reconciled with the background as he is with Mary. Indeed the whole painted world is organised for his benefit, insofar as the Word of God permeates all created things (ontologically) as well as grants salvation to finite humans

(soteriologically). This background is not simply a stage-set, but, as background in any profound sense, embodies that which is common-to-all, like ethics or like Heidegger's 'earth' (*physis*) as receptacle of culture. The systematic coherence of perspective, however, converts the theology of salvation into a certainty, in two ways—first, through the careful co-ordination of the background with the *dramatis personae*, and, secondly, by striving to guarantee the relatedness of the viewer to the meaning through the geometry of optical correctness (the motif of realism). One speaks of realism, because all this takes place only in visual contemplation—everything outside the enchanted construction of the 'picture' is the uncertain or ambiguous domain that is, in fact, our practical life. The effort to establish an actual setting for the practical life which would have the pictorial and

Figure 19. Concluding image from Le Corbusier's essay 'Unité', published in a special issue of *l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 1948, p. 69.

Figure 20. Le Corbusier's plan for Antwerp, 1933, as published in the *Oeuvre Complète 1929–34*, p. 157. The vast field of housing is disposed in blocks *à redent* according to the principles of the 'heliothermic axis' which in fact ensured that the glass façades were exposed to the worst conditions of east and west light. The main thoroughfare begins at an airport (west) and is aligned to the Cathedral (east), corresponding to the dialogue between technology and religion (Fig. 1), here qualified by the spiritual possibilities of flight (Footnote 48). Beyond providing the seven office-towers, some public institutions along the main route (including his Palace of



symbolic coherence of the picture is, of course, not restricted to renaissance interests in the so-called 'ideal city', but persists in the recurring aspirations for a better world in post-Enlightenment utopian thinking, including that of Le Corbusier.

The internal coherence of the van Eyck is appropriate to its mimetic and theological purposes. However, in recognising the affinity between Rolin's audience with the mother of the incarnate God and Le Corbusier's 'found at home, found' (E.3), the suspicion arises that his domestic temple seeks to invoke a species of intramundane salvation (Fig. 26).⁵⁷ This is not simply a matter of iconography, but is inherent in the deep structuring of his proposition, which in fact allows the iconography to be meaningful. The effective orchestration of the background for the sake of human activities in history is the primary constituent of modernist architectural 'space', even if correct optical perspective no longer matters (although the assembly of fragments in a field is the fundamental operation of perspective). The claim of the cultural background is converted into a claim *upon* the background, which is consequently flattened to the limits of representation (Fig. 27).

Topography of praxis versus 'space'

Art, or more generally, *poésie*, embodies the moment of transcendence which fills out the Romantic Absolute as replacement for God or gods; and similarly the Romantic Absolute is the vehicle by which the godless temple becomes generalised as 'space', in the form of the tectonic embodiment of reference (the reciprocity of 'earth' and language). The appeal to *poésie* is never



Ce rue à Rio-de-Janeiro est ce-
libre.



Around de lui se dressent des mon-
tagnes échelonnées; la mer les baigne.



Des palmiers, des bananiers; la
splendeur tropicale anime le site. On
s'arrête, on y installe son fauteuil.

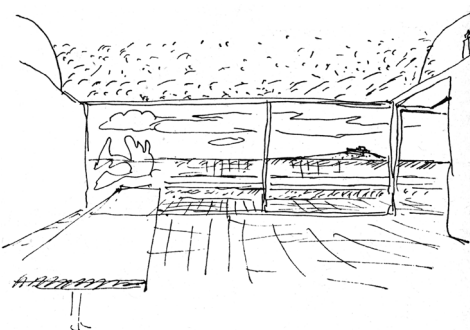


Craci! un cadre
tout autour.
Craci! les quatre
obliques d'une pers-
pective! Votre
chambre est ins-
tallée face au site.
Le paysage entre
tout entier dans
votre chambre.

Le pacte avec la nature a été scellé! Par des dispositifs d'urbanisme, il est possible
d'inscrire la nature dans le bail.

Rio-de-Janeiro est un site célèbre. Mais Alger, mais Marseille, mais Oran, Nice et toute
la Côte d'Azur, Barcelone et tant de villes maritimes ou continentales disposent de paysages
admirables!

65



actually able to resolve the epistemological crisis, however, because the universe of analogy is made accountable to the internal coherence of self-understanding, and therefore exhibits its means of synthesis like a methodology.⁵⁸ This is the basis of the autonomous representational artefact traced back to the Mannerist and Baroque *concerto*. The profound difference between order as internal consistency (whether perspectival geometry or philosophical system) and political, social or cultural order creates an hiatus of indeterminacy between the two spheres of order. This hiatus is never satisfied with the amalgam of poetic syncretisms and science but is always afflicted by the infinity of the non-Being, before-Being, around-Being, beyond-Being observed by GUSDORF. Le Corbusier's attempt to combine synthesis of meaning with being-loved by the paradigmatic woman displays two aspects of one drama—the quest for situatedness as salvation from the ocean of infinity. Ironically, this form of synthesis *creates* the ocean of infinity, exemplified by the individual dwelling-temple stranded in the systematic pattern-space of 'housing'. Finitude as eccentricity to meaning is not experienced as normal or creative, but rather as a crisis which seeks resolution through representational salvation.

Paul Valéry also returns to the fifteenth century in seeking to resolve this dilemma by shifting the centre of gravity from philosophy to *poésie*, in his essay 'Leonardo and the Philosophers', published no less than five times between 1928 and 1936.⁵⁹ Valéry rants against aesthetics and systematic philosophy, and wishes to convert philosophy into a pure noumenal 'art' shorn of any concern for hypostasis (a term derived from trinitarian theology). He then

Soviets project), the athletic facilities to the south and a revised version of his Mundaneum project in the north-east, the principal concern was coherence of circulation. The phrase, '*machine à habiter*', applies more accurately to his cities than to his houses.

Figures 21,22. The process of assembling a room embodying the conditions described in A.3 of *Le poème de l'angle droit*: 'the universe of our eyes rests upon a plateau bounded by an horizon . . . the inconceivable space hitherto unknown . . . a pact of solidarity with nature.' At the top, the general principle is demonstrated using the harbour of Rio de Janeiro, from *La maison des hommes*, 1942, p. 69. Below, a sketch from the dining-room of his apartment at 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, looking across the balcony to the hills of the Suresnes, from his essay '*Unité*', p. 18.

Figure 23. Diagram showing the pairing of the two conditions of gaze which give rise to perception of *droiture*, corresponding to the pairing in his apartment of Figures 17, 18 (transposed Left for Right, however, to conform to the relationship of male/female, horizontal room and paradigmatic woman, in the painting of van Eyck, the disposition in the *Iconostase* and in Le Corbusier's flat, as summarised in Figure 26). The evident similarity between the view of Rio and E.3 may have arisen because the Rio drawing and the early versions of the *Iconostase* image were both done in the early 1940s.

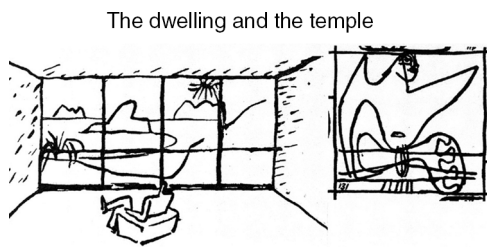
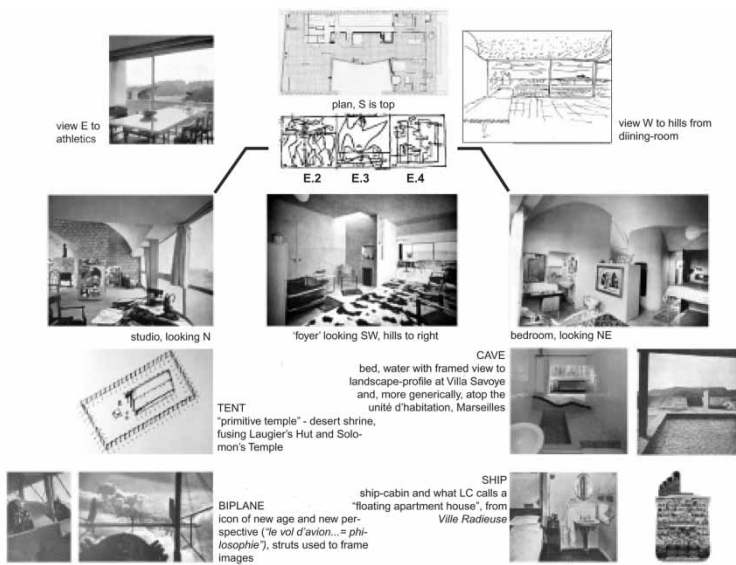


Figure 24. View of interior of the chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Haut, looking east towards the altar. The surrounding landscape (which otherwise conforms to the principle of Fig. 21, see Fig. 5) is hidden to the interior; but the sloping floor and convex, raking

appears to contradict himself, waxing poetic about 'a few extraordinary beings... [whose] abstract thought... of the greatest subtlety and depth, never lost its concern for figurative creations or tangible applications and proofs of its concentrative power... an indefinable inner aptitude for effecting continual interchanges between the *arbitrary* and the *necessary*... painting was [Leonardo's] philosophy'.⁶⁰ One sympathises with Valery's intentions, which are very close to those of the painter-architect Le Corbusier,⁶¹ for whom Leonardo was something of a paradigm.⁶² However, this nobly-expressed confusion beautifully embodies the tragic character of operating within the hiatus of indeterminacy, whose radical openness to the full plenitude of possible meaning—the remains of the Romantic Absolute—is disabled by the requirement of making reality subject to the limitations of logic and experience. When the hiatus of indeterminacy is made into Giedion's 'space conception', supposedly the basis of a 'universal civilisation in the making' and a 'new tradition',⁶³ we realise that the godless temple as 'space' invokes a species of continuum in which 'the' sacred is diffused as a vague principle of order and unresolved ambiguity regarding the individual's place in reality. We suffer less from a loss of the sacred than from a deficient understanding of the secular—the concrete relationships of praxis.

By definition, the *res extensa* disposes reality as a spatial continuum to the *ens cogitans*; and the long history of attempting to invest this continuum with meaning has been carried out in a spirit of inventiveness and newness in history. Conversely, however, the regular appeals to myth, religion, 'the'



vault give prominence to the only consistent horizon (at the height of the choir balcony floor), invoking the conditions of A.3. Just above this, and organising the dark, convex apse, is the oculus containing the votive statue of the Virgin of the Apocalypse, corresponding to the paradigmatic woman of E.3, *icône*.

Figure 25. Jan van Eyck, 'The Virgin and Chancellor Rolin', early 1430s, Louvre, Paris. (© RMN 2005.)

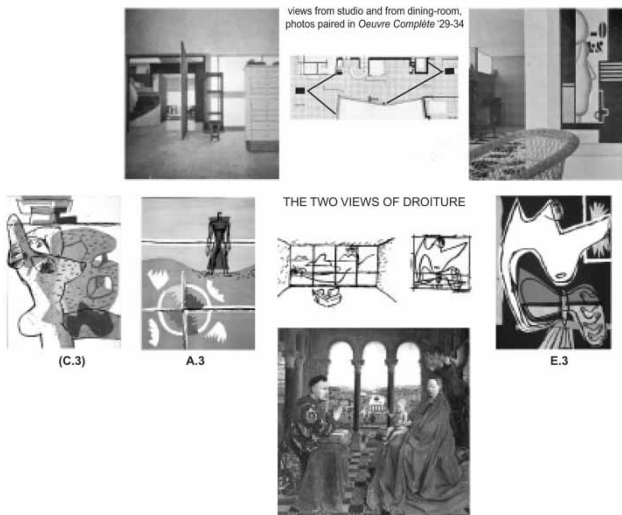


Figure 26. Iconographic map of the plan disposition of Le Corbusier's apartment at 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli, showing how the several dualities are absorbed within the two views granting *droiture*.

Figure 27. Giorgio de Chirico, 'Le Muse Inquietanti', 1925, Galleria nazionale d'arte moderna, Rome. The godless temple as 'space': the large wooden platform combines the drafting-table, floor of the atelier (or shop-window), stage and piazza into a single representational setting subject to design. When the cultural background is made a project for accomplishment like any picture, symbols lose their weight and become mobile—possibly threatening, possibly ridiculous—in the winter dawn (it is the south-west façade of the Castello Estense) that is history as accomplishments. The painting evokes the dilemma of de Chirico's Hebdomeros—simultaneously sublime hero and abject slave—who finds the clamour and techniques for securing an unnecessary salvation absurd, but is like a person stranded in a foreign language, unable to communicate



sacred—even in their most fragmentary and conceptual forms—have not disturbed such archaic structures as the reciprocity of earth and light, the significance of up and down, the play of opposites, the dialectics of stability and change, let alone such typical situations as prone sleep, face-to-face discourse, or the institutional depth of praxis. Like the tension between death and life in ancient water symbolism (still present in Le Corbusier's motif of the sea), 'space' has become the receptacle of taxonomic patterns, instrumental systems, alienation, as

well as of identity in difference, possible continuity of meaning, reconciliation. The promiscuous neutrality of 'space' does not, however, leave us utterly disoriented or confused. Le Corbusier's elaborate spatial and moral poetics of *droiture* are unable to save the case for housing or for his vacuous cities; but these same poetics, when deployed on behalf of an individual building—notably the chapel at Ronchamp—achieve results of richness and profundity. This is neither a question of scale, as such, nor even of the quality of design (the *unité d'habitation* is generally deemed a beautiful object), but rather of the concreteness of dialogue with the given reality (the cultural background). Architecture qualifies the richness, conflicts, history, and structure of this background, from whose excess of meaning all creativity of finitude takes its measure.

Notes and references

This paper has been developed from a lecture delivered to the Society of Architectural Historians, Providence, USA, 2004, with generous assistance from the Samuel Kress Foundation.

1. Schiller, Friedrich, 'Letter IX' of the *Letters on the Aesthetical Education of Man*, originally published in *Die Horen*, as *Brief über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*.
2. Eventually published posthumously as *Die Philosophie der Kunst* in 1859 by his son, Karl F., in Schelling's *Sämmtliche Werke*. The lectures cover an important transitional period in Schelling's thinking, as he moved away from Fichte's concept of transcendental ego, and began to identify the absolute as God. The published lectures come from the last period, and are

- edited, translated and introduced by D. W. Stott as *The Philosophy of Art*, University of Minnesota Press, 1989 (foreword by D. Simpson).
3. *Ibid.*, Part I, 28, ff. In his *System of Transcendental Idealism* of 1804, Schelling had declared, 'Art is paramount to the philosopher, precisely because it opens up to him, as it were, the holy of holies, where burns in eternal and original unity, as if in a single flame, that which in nature and history is rent asunder, and in life and action, no less than in thought, must forever fly apart.', cited *ibid.*, p. xxxiv (Stott's introduction).
 4. 'Je finis par trouver sacré le désordre de mon esprit.' *Une saison en enfer*, 1872, II, *Alchimie du verbe*; in *Rimbaud, Complete works, Selected letters*, translation, introduction and notes by Wallace Fowle (University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 194–5.
 5. 'Des choses sont sacrées, d'autres ne le sont pas, qu'elles soient religieuses ou non.' *Le livre de Ronchamp*, fourteenth volume of *Les cahiers forces vives*, directed by Jean Petit, Paris 1961, p. 21 (dedication text dated 25 June, 1955).
 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ('cette arche') and 17 ('vase du silence et douceur').
 7. *Ibid.*, p 17: '... le besoin du vrai... Contact avec un site, situation dans un lieu, éloquence du lieu, parole adressée au lieu. Aux quatre horizons.'
 8. Heidegger, Martin, 'The Origin of the Work of Art', originally a lecture, *Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes*, 1935; translation of a later version in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, by Albert Hofstadter (Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 15 ff.
 9. As footnote 5; *l'espace indicible* is a central concept for Le Corbusier's later poetics. The subject of an article published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 1946, he claims to have discovered the concept in 1945, according to the 'Preamble' to *Le Modulor*, Paris, 1950 (English translation by de Francia and Bostock, Harvard University Press, 1954, p. 30; see also Chapter 1 and p. 207 of *Modulor 2*, Paris, 1955, English translation, Harvard, 1958, p. 25). Knowingly or not, the phrase used in the 'Preamble', p. 32 (and *Modulor 2*, pp. 27, 207), 'a fathomless depth gapes open' is a decent translation of the Ancient Greek 'chaos'. See also note 46. Le Corbusier's concept requires the interaction of words and space, and therefore differs from the ekphrastic topos of professing an inability to match words to architecture, as in, for example, the praise of Haghia Sophia by Manuel Chrysoloras in the early 1420s, translated and analysed in Smith, Christine, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism. Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence, 1400–1470* (Oxford University Press, New York/Oxford, 1992), pp. 166–7 (I am grateful to Fabio Barry for raising this issue and for this reference).
 10. *Le Poème de l'angle droit* (Éditions Verve, Paris, 1955), p. 13. This work awaits proper study; see Becket-Chary, Daphne, 'A Study of Le Corbusier's *Le poème de l'angle droit*' (unpublished MPhil. Dissertation, Cambridge University, 1990).
 11. Augustine, *The City of God*, D. Knowles translation, London, 1972. The concluding chapter, 'The eternal felicity of the City of God in its Perpetual Sabbath' (XXII.30) is prepared, in reverse sequence, by Chapters XXII.1 (creation of angels and men), XIX.13 (The Peace of the Universe ...) and XIX.11 (the determination of 'Jerusalem' as 'vision of Peace'). James Dunnett argues that Corbusian topographies were meant to institute a condition of meditation in 'The Architecture of Silence: Corbusier's motivations in house and city design', *Architectural Review*, Vol 178, no. 1064, October 1985, pp. 69–75.
 12. Heidegger, Martin, 'Letter on Humanism', in *Pathmarks*, edited by W. McNeill, translated by F. Capuzzi, pp. 239 ff. (originally *Brief über den Humanismus*, Bern 1947, revised for *Wegmarken*, Vittorio Klostermann Verlag, except through private irony (de Chirico, G., *Hebdomeros*, with introduction by John Ashbery [Exact Change, Cambridge, Mass., 1992], p. 85). © SIAE, Rome and DACS, London, 2005.)

- 1967 and 1976). In *Towards a New Architecture*, Le Corbusier had declared, p. 68, 'Geometry is the language of man', London, 1927, F. Etchells translation of *Vers une architecture*, Paris, 1923.
13. *Le Poème de l'angle droit*, *op. cit.*, pp 89–91 (punctuation added in my translation): '... un absolu sublime/accomplissement il est l'accord/des temps la pénétration des/formes la proportions—l'indicible/en fin de compte soustrait/au contrôle/de la/raison/porté hors/des/réalités/diurnes/admis/au coeur/d'une/illumination/Dieu/incarné/dans/l'illusion/la perception/de la vérité/peut-être/bien ...'
 14. 'Poésie, chef de file de l'économie et maîtresse du social ... la nourriture essentielle des peuples, celle qui donne l'endurance, maintient le courage, entretient la foi ...', Le Corbusier, *Poésie sur Alger*, Paris, 1950, pp. 10 and 46; essay dated 1942. For a more complete summary of his concept of poésie, and its relationship with 'harmonie' and 'unité', see the essay 'Unité', cited below, note 52. Within German Romanticism, *poesie* meant not only poetry or the representational arts in general (based on the Greek *poiesis*), but also included an aesthetic consideration of nature.
 15. This list represents a summary of the thematic range of Le Corbusier's dialogue between his arts and the sacred. It affects everything, and accordingly one could cite the whole Le Corbusier literature. However, for an introduction to the themes and further bibliography, see Benton, Tim, *et al.*, *Le Corbusier Architect of the Century* (Arts Council of Britain, London, 1987); Curtis, William, *Le Corbusier Ideas and Forms* (Phaidon, Oxford, 1986); Frampton, Kenneth, *Le Corbusier* (Thames and Hudson, London, 2001); von Moos, Stanislav, *Le Corbusier, Elements of a Synthesis* (MIT Press, 1979); Walden, R., (ed.), *The Open Hand, Essays on Le Corbusier* (MIT Press, 1977); Saddy, Pierre, *et al.*, *Le Corbusier le passé à réaction poétique* (Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, Paris, 1988); and, for general background, Tuchman, Maurice, *et al.*, *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890–1985* (LACMA and New York, 1986). In this Journal, see the essay by Flora Samuel, 'Le Corbusier, Teilhard de Chardin and The Planetisation of Mankind', Vol. 4, Number 2, June 1999, pp. 149–65 (as well as her book, with Sarah Menin, *Nature and Space—Aalto and Le Corbusier* [Routledge, 2002]).
 16. Schelling, F. W. J., *op. cit.*, p. 45.
 17. See, for example, Moore, Richard, *Myth and Meta Architecture* (Atlanta, Ga., USA, 1977) (a shorter summary in *OpPositions* 19/20, 1980, pp. 110–139) and, inspired by him, the several publications of Krustup, Mogens (eg., *Porte Email* [Copenhagen, 1991]) and Jencks, Charles, *Le Corbusier and the Continual Revolution in Architecture*, (Monacelli Press, 2000). Le Corbusier himself is more discrete about such matters than many of his interpreters.
 18. Bowie, Andrew, *From Romanticism to Critical Theory* (Routledge, 1997), p. 33.
 19. Gusdorf, Georges, *Du néant à Dieu dans le savoir Romantique* (Payot, Paris, 1983), p. 121.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 119. Compare Schelling, 'art is itself an emanation of the absolute', *op. cit.*, p. 19.
 22. Gadamer, Hans-Georg, *Truth and Method*, Second English edition (London, 1979), Glen-Doepel translation of second German edition of *Warheit und Methode*, 1965, pp. 55ff: '... unlike *Erleben*, the word *Erlebnis* became common only in the 1870s' (eg. Dilthey's biography of Goethe, 1870; his *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* is 1905). Gadamer observes, *ibid.*, p. 57, 'As against the abstraction of the understanding and the particularity of perception or representation, this concept implies the connection with totality, with infinity.' In the Second Part, II, Gadamer develops these insights with respect to the

- principle of effective history and the concept of hermeneutical experience.
23. Approved by Paul III in 1548.
 24. Werner Hofmann saw the phenomenon of 'Romantic religiosity [in painting, such as that of Freidrich] . . . not as something directly perceived by the eye of the artist himself but as a pre-existent work of art . . .' (*The Earthly Paradise, Art in the Nineteenth Century* [Braziller, 1961], p. 152).
 25. On this, see Turner, Paul, *The Education of Le Corbusier, a study of the Development of Le Corbusier's Thought 1900–1920* (Garland Press, New York, 1977).
 26. The right angle had been the subject of an article by Ozenfant and Le Corbusier (as Jeanneret) in *l'Esprit Nouveau*, No. 18 (no pagination), of about 1924, to judge from the 'actualité' section. The article is divided into two parts, which seem also to represent the two authors—the second part is an unmistakable Corbusian rant, and is written in the first person. The first part is the more interesting, as it seeks to establish the fundamental ordering principle of the *angle droit* in archaic writing and art, preferring the term *hiératisme* to carry *le sens du sacré* and to distinguish Purist art, with its involvement with *les objets-types* (banal but perfectly legible), from the extremes of Impressionism/Futurism (both concerned with the ephemeral and the oblique) and de Stijl (meaningless abstraction).
 27. Le Corbusier encountered the iconostasis on his journey to the Orient; and his phantasmagoric experience of a night festival of the Virgin on Mount Athos possibly inspired certain aspects of the poem ('A fantastic vision of the sanctuary of the Virgin . . . in a dark apse behind the iconostasis.'). See Žaknić, Ivan, ed. and trans. (with Nicole Pertuiset), *Journey to the East* (MIT, 1987), pp. 202–206 (originally written between 1911–14, not published until 1966 as *Le Voyage d'Orient* [Paris, Forces Vives]).
 28. Written about 1602, not published until 1904, ed. E. Solmi, Modena.
 29. Zuccaro, F. *L'idea de' pittori, scultori ed architetti* (Milan, 1607), I.3, pp. 38 ff.
 30. Panofsky, E., *Idea, a Concept in Art History* (Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 88–91; translation by S. Peake of *Idea: Ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte der alteren Kunsttheorie, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, Nr. 5* (B. Teubner Verlag, Leipzig, 1924).
 31. See Carnet H1, pp. 78–80 and 85–89 in *Le Corbusier Sketchbooks, Volume 3, 1954–57*, Françoise de Francieux (MIT and Fondation Le Corbusier, 1982). Most of this made it into *Modulor 2, op. cit.*, pp. 89–91 and 196–200.
 32. Le Corbusier, *Precisions* (MIT, 1991), p. 51; E. S. Aujame translation of *Precisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme* (Paris, 1930).
 33. *Op. cit.*, pp. 29–30, 'L'univers de nos yeux repose/sur un plateau bordé d'horizon . . . l'espace inconcevable/jusqu'ici insaisi. Droit sur le plateau terrestre/des choses saisissables tu/contractes avec la nature un/pacte de solidarité: c'est l'angle droit.' The right angle is regularly associated with the concept of a 'pact with nature' in his writings.
 34. *Op. cit.*, p. 89, 'Tendresse!/Coquillage la Mer n'a cessé/de nos en jeter les épaves de/riant harmonie sur les grèves.'
 35. In a letter to James Johnson Sweeney of 1961, Le Corbusier cites the full title of this poem—*Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard*—as evidence that Mallarmé thought that 'there was always the possibility to conquer even destiny.' See Jean Jenger, *Le Corbusier Choix de lettres* (Basel, Birkhäuser and Paris, Fondation Le Corbusier, 2002), p. 474. Mallarmé is the only author, along with Cervantes and Rabelais, to be mentioned in *mise au point* (see note 44), including the last of several quotations from Mallarmé in Le Corbusier's writings (and on the mural of the Pavilion

- Suisse)—here from his '*Le guignon*'. See the unpublished Dissertation of Lucy Carmichael, *Garder mon aile dans ta main: the influence of poetry on the poetics of Le Corbusier* (Cambridge, 1995).
36. See, for example, section 16 of the chapter '*l'architecture*' and the concluding '*un atelier de recherches*' of his *Entretien avec les étudiants des écoles d'architecture* (Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1957), no pagination. In his dialogue with the sculptor Savina, (selected excerpts in Jean Petit, editor, *Le Corbusier lui-même* [Geneva, 1970], pp. 251–254), one sees that the 'pact with nature' moves from drawing (of items from nature) through materials and polychromy to a species of 'vision' of the statuary against natural surroundings, that forms part of the argument for the synthesis of architecture, urbanism and landscape preached since his early writings, and summarised in the essay '*Unité*', cited below, note 52. See also, in the same volume, p. 178, Le Corbusier's account of *objets à réaction poétique*.
37. The 'prodigious spectacle' of Nature is deemed to have been produced by 'the interplay of two elements, one male, one female: sun and water' in 'Laws', *The Radiant City* (second edition, New York, The Orion Press, 1967) (translation by Knight, Levieux and Coltman from *La Ville Radieuse* [Paris, 1964]), p. 78.
38. See the famous remarks on the Brittany shoreline in his *Une maison—un palais* (Paris, 1928), p. 22, where the play between 'un phénomène géométrique' and a 'pays des songes' anticipates l'espace indicible.
39. *Op. cit.*, p. 130, 'Catégorique/angle droit du caractère . . . Je me suis miré dans ce caractère . . . Elle est la droiture . . .'
40. *Ibid.*, 'Regard horizontal devant'. There is an important element of distance in this mirroring gaze, which allows Le Corbusier to overlay the quest theme (see next paragraph) upon that of the so-called 'mystical marriage', as is customary in the esoteric literature (whose *copulatio* is enacted in the image at D.3, including the apparent presence of *Pinceau*, the family dog). His frequent metaphoric use of 'marriage' refers to the *coincidentia oppositorum*.
41. This list sketches out a theme which might be seen to have its antecedents in Ulysses/Penelope and Aeneas/Lavinia, whose appearance in the literary form of the epic endows these relationships with a foundational power, perhaps distantly derived from more archaic hierogamy ceremonies. What I have emphasised is the quest narrative as a search for salvation through gnosticism, coupled to the male-female tension, although this description hardly does justice to Dante. By the time we reach Breton and Le Corbusier, the story carries the nuance of the clever artist saving the woman by elevating her in his art. The moment of gnosticism is related to my primary theme, the substitution of synthesis in contemplative art for the full scope of the institutional order of praxis.
42. Jean Petit, *Le Corbusier lui-même, op. cit.*, p. 121. The inner title-page of the *Poème* changes '*angle*' to '*angel*'. Beyond the requirements of literary idealisation, I suspect Le Corbusier's mother has been allowed partially to inspire the characterisation of *lcône*. See, for example, the drawing and inscription on pp. 76–7 of his *Une petite maison* (Zurich, 3rd edition, 1981). Any contrast with the distressing circumstances of Von's final years is irrelevant.
43. de Pierrefeu, François (text) and Le Corbusier (illustrations), *La maison des hommes* (Paris, Plon 1942), p. 120. This is another formulation of the theme of house/city mentioned in the Introduction to this article.
44. Le Corbusier, *mise au point*, the 1987 edition [originally 1965], edited by Jean Petit, Geneva, (the second half of this book is the Milan lecture), diagram p. 99 (see also man similarly defined, no. 34, p. 89).
45. *Op. cit.*, p. 130, ' . . . m'y suis trouvé/trouvé chez moi/trouvé.'

46. Descriptive text, drawings and plates in *Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret Oeuvre Complète de 1929–1934* (W. Boesinger, Zurich, 1935), pp. 144–153. For a history of the construction and description, see Green, Christopher, 'The architect as artist at home: Porte-Molitor apartments, 24 rue Nungesser-et-Coli', in Tim Benton *et al.*, *Le Corbusier Architect of the Century* (Arts Council of Britain, London, 1987), *op. cit.*, pp. 127–29 and Sbriglio, Jacques, *Immeuble 24 N.C. et Appartement Le Corbusier* (Birkhäuser, Fondation Le Corbusier, 1996). For a treatment of iconographic aspects of his apartment not considered here, see Carl, Peter, 'Le Corbusier's Penthouse in Paris, 24 Rue Nungesser-et-Coli', *Daidalos* 28, June 1988, pp. 65–75. On Charlotte Perriand's general and particular influence on the design, see the essays by McLeod, Mary, 'New Designs for Living: Domestic Equipment of Charlotte Perriand, Le Corbusier, and Pierre Jeanneret, 1928–29', pp. 36 *ff.*, and Ruegg, Arthur, 'Transforming the Bathroom: Perriand and Le Corbusier, 1927–57', pp. 114 *ff.*, in McLeod, Mary, ed., *Charlotte Perriand an Art of Living* (New York, 2003). He claims that the south wall of the stair-hall inspired the concept of *l'espace indicible* in the footnote, p. 27, of *Modulor 2*, *op. cit.*
47. On p. 148 of the *Oeuvre Complète de 1929–1934*, *op. cit.*, Le Corbusier complains that the Parisian regulations regarding the *gabarits*, the roof-profiles, are left over from an age of wooden construction, and are 'inadmissible in the epoch of construction in steel and reinforced concrete.' However, he publishes in the subsequent volume of the *Oeuvre Complète*, 1934–38, p. 131, a sketch attributed to 1929, called *Ma Maison*, whose vast studio is lavishly endowed with vaults. These are indebted to a factory on which he was working and do not yet show the subtlety of the vaults for his apartment or for the subsequent *Maison de week-end* (1935), opposite which are published the sketches for *Ma Maison*. The House for an Artist, 1922, already shows a vault for the studio (*Towards a New Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 220).
48. 'Le vol d'avion = spectacle à thèse = philosophie . . . indifférence à nos notions millénaires, fatalité des événements et éléments cosmiques . . .' (Petit, Jean, *Le Corbusier parle* [Geneva, 1961], p. 78). See note 62.
49. Petit, Jean, *Le Corbusier lui-même*, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
50. *Ibid.*, pp 148–49.
51. Plato, Symposium, 189D and *ff* (Plato, *Lysis Symposium Gorgias*, trans. W. R. M. Lamb [Loeb Edition, Harvard, 1925] *et seq.*, pp. 134 and *ff*; in conformity with Le Corbusier's reading we find at 192E, '...the craving and pursuit of that unity [of two halves] is called Love'). The sphere—in fact an oval, like the painting—is divided horizontally in the Milan lecture (*mise au point*, *op. cit.*, p. 90). The Brassai photograph of Le Corbusier's Rue Jacob apartment, taken in the early 1930s, shows this painting over the fireplace (*foyer*), and was published by Le Corbusier in *La Ville Radieuse* (Paris, 1935), p. 9 (under the heading 'The Free Man').
52. Le Corbusier's essay, 'Unité', appeared in a special issue of *l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* devoted to Le Corbusier, aged 60, 1948, pp. 17 and 52. 'L'ideal est que l'oeuvre atteigne l'éclat du diamant. Une éthique et une esthétique de franchise' (p. 55). The essay itself is dated 20 August 1947. The phrase 'accord with the cosmos' appears in his earliest writings, for example the 1924 article 'L'Angle Droit', *op. cit.*
53. 'Introduction', *L'Oeuvre Complète 1938–46*, (Boesinger, Zurich), p. 8 (repeated in *mise au point*, *op. cit.*, p. 50). A few lines later, Le Corbusier characteristically also sees this 'temple' as a 'universal objet de fabrication, "produit de consommation féconde" . . .'
54. Beyond the obvious similarities of topography and the visual discourse with the paradigmatic woman, the

following themes suggest a deeper commonality:

The paradigmatic woman: The specifically Mariological aspects in van Eyck's painting—called out by the inscription on the hem of her gown—are only latent in the vague sanctity which attends Le Corbusier's fusion of Von and his Mother. The domestication of the house of the Virgin was well developed in the Annunciation of Robert Campin's *Mérode* triptych, roughly contemporary with the van Eyck painting.

Paradise on earth: Le Corbusier's concept of 'three-dimensional urbanism... the full flowering of architecture: prelude, chorale and fugue, melody and counterpoint, texture and rhythm' (*Modulor, op. cit.*, p. 168) is rooted in the Modulor as 'appreciable measure' (*ibid.*, p.177); but, insofar—are the 'sisters' of music and architecture allow us to 'approach the esoteric, the language of the gods' (*Entretien, op. cit.*, section 9), we find ourselves in the presence of a harmony 'reigning over all things, regulating all the things of our lives, [which] is the spontaneous, indefatigable and tenacious quest of man animated by a single force: the sense of the divine, and pursuing one aim: to make a paradise on earth' (*Modulor, op. cit.*, p. 74). Although van Eyck's city is evidently redolent of the Christian Heavenly Jerusalem, and the chamber in which the encounter with Rolin takes place is evidently suitable for a celestial coronation (not a view from the seventh floor of the *unité d'habitation*), van Eyck tells his story entirely in terms of actual Burgundian cities of his day—a latent paradise on earth. This potential for an immanent miracle recurs often in Le Corbusier's writing.

Room-horizon, world-horizon: The visual and symbolic continuity of the ground in the painting is, as we have seen, a pervasive Corbusian theme, although the mediative clarity of moving from the given world via the Marian *hortus conclusus* to her chamber is not relevant to Le Corbusier's understanding.

River: Similarly the river evokes Le Corbusier's Law of the Meander, in which the river embodies the overcoming of obstacles and the eventual arrival, in the sea, at truth, even clairvoyance (*Le poème de l'angle droit, op. cit.*, A.4), as well as his dialectics of light and water. Again, however, van Eyck's river is more precisely situated within Christian theology, seeming to flow towards us, from God, whilst its reflected luminosity of heaven also leads the eye from our world towards God. Le Corbusier's river represents history, van Eyck's points toward the eternity of God.

Rural and urban topographies: The central opening of the painting separates the city (right) from its rural counterpart oriented about a monastery (left), by the river (with bridge, island and boat), a settlement typology of symbolic importance to Le Corbusier (ranging from his regular references to the inspiration of the monastery of Ema, near Florence, to his river, boat and ship iconography).

Pictorial perception and meaning: Whilst the Trinitarian structure of arched openings in van Eyck's painting has no place in Le Corbusier's iconography, the manner in which this central opening both measures the communicative distance between Rolin and Mary (the equivalent of Le Corbusier's gaze at Von, E.3) and is the perspectival portal which allows the eye to move past the unifying bridge and salvational boat, past the horizon to the luminous heaven which is the face of God (the equivalent of Le Corbusier's gaze at the horizon, A.3), implicates the structure of seeing in the participation with God. This strategy is more obviously related to the Incarnation in the antecedent Annunciation paintings, which typically place Gabriel in Rolin's position, and allow the viewer to grasp the meaning by gazing between them (see Rawlings, Peter, 'Study of the Iconography and Architectural Setting of the Annunciation in Renaissance Painting',

unpublished MPhil Dissertation, Cambridge Department of Architecture, 1992). This symbolic structure is deeply obscured, but still preserved, in the radically open-ended referential field of (Cubist) 'space' which seeks embodiment—or incarnation or hypostasis—in the careful arrangement of forms anchored to earth. The degree to which this process of embodiment is still a matter of visual synthesis in contemplation in the work of Le Corbusier (beyond the reciprocity between A.3 and E.3), is evident, first, in the primacy of the frontal view in his Purist-Cubist images and architectural settings, secondly, in the consequent pervasiveness of the horizon in his paintings and architecture and, thirdly, in the fusion of chaos and geometry, space and word, which comprises the concept of *l'espace indicible*, which in turn recalls the *conchetto's* fusion of image and word

Light and the artist: Insofar as the *fiat lux* of Genesis refers to the one part of reality God actually created *ex nihilo*, and insofar as God's creation of the world is the content of God's response to Job, one can see in van Eyck's painting an explicit reference to this creative light as a vehicle of salvation and communication with God (accompanied by the Genesis cycle on the column-capitals), and an implicit parallel between God's creation and that of the painter. Panofsky (*Idea*) and Cassirer (*Individuum und Cosmos*) both call attention to the shift, from the time of Leonardo, still concerned to read nature as God's creation, to Mannerism, where *natura naturans* becomes more directly associated with artistic imagination and a resulting idealisation of nature according to the Humanist conception of the Antique. Nietzsche takes this principle for granted, elevating the theme to the will to power through art, whereby Dionysiac creativity becomes central to authentic humanity, and a means of intramundane salvation. For Le Corbusier, who, for the last thirteen years of his life (as long as his Purist

period), identified himself with a Dionysiac Bull, 'The artist is a medium of infinite, extraordinary sensitivity; he feels and discerns nature and translates it in his own works. He is both the victim and interpreter of his fate' (*Modulor, op. cit.*, p. 30). The works of this artist will not only synthesise the major arts (*Oeuvre Complète 1946–52, op. cit.*, p. 67)—therefore culture—but will create the conditions by which converse will be possible with the gods (therefore a pre-Christian condition) who are 'behind the wall, at play with numbers' (*Modulor, op. cit.*, p. 220). This artist passes through 'the portal of miracles... Let him remain, entranced by so much dazzling, all-pervading light' (*Modulor, op. cit.*, p. 71).

55. Paris, Louvre, originally Notre Dame du Chastel, Autun, about 66cm high, generally agreed to be early 1430s. The literature on this work is extensive. For good colour-plates and a brief, sensible description, see Dahnens, Elisabeth, *Hubert and Jan Van Eyck* (Alpine, New York, n.d. [about 1980]), pp. 266 ff. For a more detailed analysis (mostly Mariological) and summary of scholarship, see Purtle, Carol J., *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 59 ff. In virtue of the role of the artist in Le Corbusier's apartment, mention might be made of the body of paintings that orbits about the Boston 'St. Luke and the Virgin', attributed to Rogier van der Weyden and regularly paired with the van Eyck.
56. On these issues, see now Vesely, Dalibor, *Architecture in the Age of Divided Representation, the Question of Creativity in the Shadow of Production* (MIT Press, 2004), Chap. 3.
57. This thought is anticipated in the treatment of utopia in relation to what the authors call the 'gospel' of modernist architectural polemics in Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* (MIT, 1976). On the phenomenon of modern gnosticism see the fundamental text of Eric Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics* (Chicago, 1952).

58. Vesley, *op. cit.*, proposes to resolve this dilemma through his concept of communicative space, which depends upon an ontology of language persisting through the strata of representation and therefore reality.
59. Valéry, Paul, 'Leonardo and the Philosophers—A Letter to Leo Ferrero', in *Leonardo Poe Mallarmé* (Vol. 8 of the Collected Works), the 1929 version with marginal notes, translated by M. Cowley and J. R. Lawler (Routledge and Princeton University Press, 1972) pp. 110–157; the publishing history, p. 438.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 126–143, emphasis original. One sees a similar confusion in Panofsky's conception of the first stratum of understanding of what he then called 'iconology'—it is difficult to understand how perception of 'pure form' could lie at the heart of 'practical experience' (*Studies in Iconology*, 'Introductory', [Oxford University Press, 1939], pp. 3–17).
61. 'I am ... a geometrician-poet ... immanent poetry/ immanent happiness/eyes to see with/hands to grasp with' (*Modulor 2*, *op. cit.*, p. 68).
62. Le Corbusier on Leonardo shortly after the completion of the apartment: 'The obsession of Leonardo da Vinci—painter, sculptor, architect, hydraulic and military engineer—was that man could fly' (*Aircraft*, Paris, 1935; London, 1985), p. 70. This apparent banality must be understood in its context, where 'the aeroplane is the symbol of the new age' (*ibid.*, p. 13) and flying stood for a Nietzschean 'LIVE HEROICALLY! BELIEVE AND ACT!' (*ibid.*, p. 66).
63. Giedion, Sigfried, *Space, Time and Architecture, the growth of a new tradition*, fifth edition (Harvard, 1967), p. xxxvi. It might be offered that a new tradition is a contradiction in terms, an error arising from the historicistic tendency to think in terms of culturally distinct epochs. The background to Giedion's assertions appears in the exchange between form and psychology (conforming to that between logical reason and experience suggested here) in late nineteenth-century German aesthetics documented and discussed in Mallgrave, Harry and Ionomu, Eleftherios, *Empathy, Form and Space* (Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994). The interesting effort by Martin Buber to cope with the concrete (architecture) and conceptual (space) dimensions of this legacy is discussed in this Journal by Judi Loach and Raquel Rapaport, 'Buber on (looking at) architecture' (Vol. 5, No. 2, June 2000, pp. 189–214), although one hears Siegfried Krakauer's reservations regarding Buber's archaisms again here ('The Bible in German', translated and edited in *The Mass Ornament* [Harvard University Press, 1995], pp. 189–201).