

# DESIGN HISTORY IN CATALONIA BETWEEN THE INFLUENCE OF LE CORBUSIER AND MEDITERRANEAN HISTORICAL AND VERNACULAR SOURCES

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This paper proposes a short revision of the history of design put in the context of historic avant-garde. The study of documents and original sources offers a new approach to historiography interpretations. In that sense, as far as the traditional and classical approach to the period, usually following Pevsner, has repeated and spread the same interpretation of design always pointing at the universalizing aim of any product while forgetting its belonging to a specific place. This paper proposes a new vision of the period and also will present some writings and professional proposals spread during the twenties and thirties that have been hushed up. What has been found is a stream focused on Mediterraneanism and Latinism defended by Le Corbusier and spread all over through his links with Catalonia, Italy, France and Central Europe. Thus, in front of that functionalist furniture so German in spirit stand all those models which find its roots in vernacular productions of the Latin world. From that point of view, the period acquires new references which talking about a particular place suggests that there have been many aesthetic trends that inform contemporary design.

**Keywords:** functionalist furniture, first avant-garde movements, Le Corbusier; GATCPAC, vernacular

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## Introduction

Almost from the very beginning, in 1925, Gropius himself had brought the *moderne baukunst* of different countries together under the banner of “International Architecture”. In 1932, the Museum of Modern Art held its first exhibition of European architecture under the significant title ‘The International Style’, and – as Jonathan M. Woodham has pointed out so well [1] – hard on its heels and under the aegis of Gropius came Nikolaus Pevsner’s reaffirmation of internationalism, *Pioneers*. We cannot forget the original title of Pevsner’s book, just as we cannot forget the few revisions he introduced in subsequent editions and the clarity of Pevsner’s own ideological stance in

his opening words: “The history of artistic theory between 1890 and the First World War demonstrates the premise on which the present work is founded: namely, that the timeline between Morris and Gropius reflects historical unity”. [2] In short, those words fundamentally challenged the use in design of all elements associated with the notion of an *environnement*: they challenged elements that might be contemporary but at the same time tied to “place”, the tradition that could be understood as a factor of cultural identity. But Pevsner’s “historical unity” appears overly narrow and hegemonic in approach and to demonstrate this, I would only point out that he makes no reference to that very architecture and production between the Wars which has proved itself as belonging to “place”: Scandinavia [3] and one of its own

pioneers Alvar Aalto, would be the clearest example. But we also find that Pevsner's few references to Le Corbusier are made to say that his writing is as "disconcerting" as Frank Lloyd Wright's, but only so that Pevsner can then go on to discuss the American at length, while leaving Le Corbusier aside.

At the same time, the classical Spanish historiography had played a self-perpetuating role in the course of history: how it had understood the functionalism in the cradle of the Catalan avant-garde –from Bohigas [4] and Flores [5], to Mackay [6] and younger architects such as Juli Capella and Quim Larrea [7]- as a simply the culmination of progress and innovation and a prime exponent of "internationalism", while disregarding the integral relevance of the notion of "place" in designed objects and the concept of interior design.

Therefore, the work of the group of GATCPAC (Group of Catalan architects and technicians in support of the progress of contemporary architecture) architects, who from 1931 to their dissolution in 1937 had disseminated furniture design along with new architectural proposals, was only initially prompted by a conception of interiors approximating the *Neue Sachlichkeit*; in time, that interest cooled, giving way to furniture and interior design that was rooted in "place" and adopted a more "humanistic" character, infused with identity through the Mediterranean vernacular.

### **GATCPAC's functionalist designs: strategies and resources for dissemination**

Architectural debate in the 1920s and 1930s redefined its interest in the living space as much with regard to its furnishings as in more general technical, social and economic terms. Furniture design therefore played a fundamental role in design discourse, and during this period the journal became an important medium for its dissemination:

under the epithet of the so-called "modern", journals used their particular graphic layout to favour certain, sometimes dissimilar strategies.

Such publications could construct representations to reflect predetermined landscapes. Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) and Ozenfant's *L'Esprit Nouveau* regularly exploited this idea, as did GATCPAC's magazine *A.C. Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, which is considered below. Le Corbusier's manipulation of the giant, North American grain elevators to retrieve the simplicity of their volume and the purity of their proportions has been well documented: by eliminating the original windowed shed that crowned these structures, he transformed them into noble and robust images of modernity. Or there were his sketches of details on the temple walls at the Acropolis and at Paestum, in which these became images not of ruins but of permanence and immutability that could exist beyond time – so in line with Le Corbusier's own, idealised classicism.

One of the most widely read upmarket Catalan publications of the period was *D'Ací i d'Allà*, [Figure 1] which in 1932 revised its format – much in the style of *Cahiers d'Art* – to adopt a "modern"



Figure 1 Review "D'Ací i d'Allà" with frontispice illustrate by Joan Miró, Winter 1934

image. What contributed most to this change were its pictures of interiors furnished with Art Déco designs. Similar in format to *Das Neue Frankfurt*, there was also GATCPAC's official publication *A.C.* (1931-37), which, by way of protest, used a very graphic system of diagonal lines [Figure 2] or crosses to clearly identify these “bogus-modern” designs in similar images taken from the pages of *D'Ací i d'Allà*. From 1933 onwards, *A.C.* began to criticise this design as “functionalist academicism” as well as to defend a notion of modernity associated with the Mediterranean tradition. This concept supports what Le Corbusier referred to as the Latin Front.

With its youthful spirit and energy, GATCPAC constituted the radical end of this movement, while the tastes that held sway in Barcelona during those years were considerably more conservative. But there had been substantial resistance in earlier years, voiced in press campaigns organised by newspapers such as *La Veu de Catalunya* and *La Publicitat*, by journals like *Vell i Nou*, *D'Ací i d'Allà* itself or even by the Decorative Arts Association's own *Butlletí*. In the 1930s these were joined by the journal

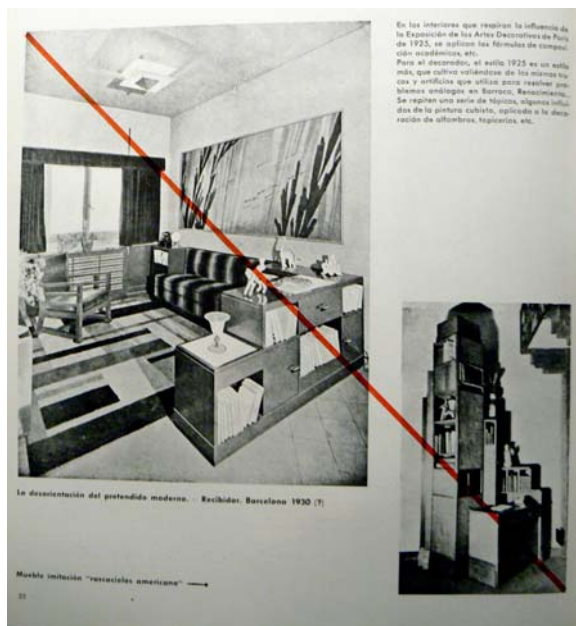


Figure 2 “A.C.” used graphic system as protest to identify these “bogus modern” designs, in “A.C.” issue 19 (1935)

*Mirador* and in all cases, what remained most evident was their desire to be modern and defend their right to modernity's inherent contradictions.

### Furnishing the home, between imported and national designs

Soon after the group was formed, GATCPAC opened a centre that could double as a meeting place and shop. The sign outside the door simply said “*Construcció i amoblament de la casa contemporània*” [‘Construction and interior furnishing for the modern house’], and the example of the centre shows how the notion of *standard* was one of the group's earliest objectives. The shop [Figure 3] was in el Passeig de Gracia, a broad avenue in the heart of one of Barcelona's most affluent neighbourhoods, just next to Gaudí's “La Pedrera”, and its clients included the parents of former mayor of Barcelona parliament member Pasqual Maragall. The Maragalls came here to furnish their home as newlyweds, and when I once interviewed them about why they had chosen GATCPAC, their answer was short and to the point:

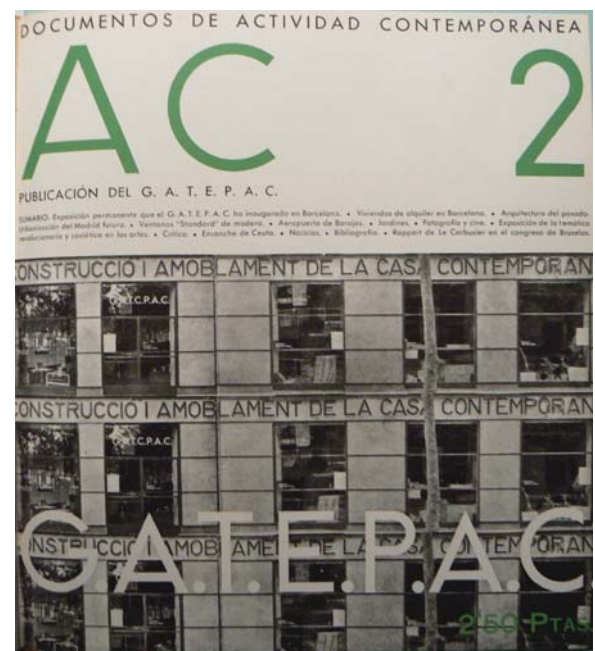


Figure 3 Frontispice of meeting place and shop GATCPAC's just next to Gaudí's “La Pedrera”, in “A.C.” issue 2 (1931)

“Because it was modern!” Such confidence reveals something about how the media worked in this period, and the public’s response. Another factor that favoured this taste for modernity was the declaration of the Republic.

### Thonet, Stylclair, Artek and others

Indeed, the few remaining documentary sources indicate the particular popularity that design had acquired with the new architecture, and the importance that furniture design had hereby gained. Foreign retailers imported furniture, enabling designs from central European capitals and from France to reach more peripheral areas. So furniture in wood and metal came from the firm Thonet, initially managed by Hermann Heydt, first from its branches in Barcelona, Madrid and Seville, and then directly from its headquarters in Paris. It was Thonet that brought to Barcelona the chairs designed by Mies van de Rohe and by Breuer. Other firms were Stylclair, created by Marcel Michaud in 1933 in Lyon, and Zürich’s Wohnbedarf, founded in 1931, both responsible for disseminating the furniture of prestigious architects and jointners such as Aalto, Artaria, Breuer, Gropius, Hafeli, Hubacher, Kienzle, Le Corbusier, Moser, Perriand, Stam and

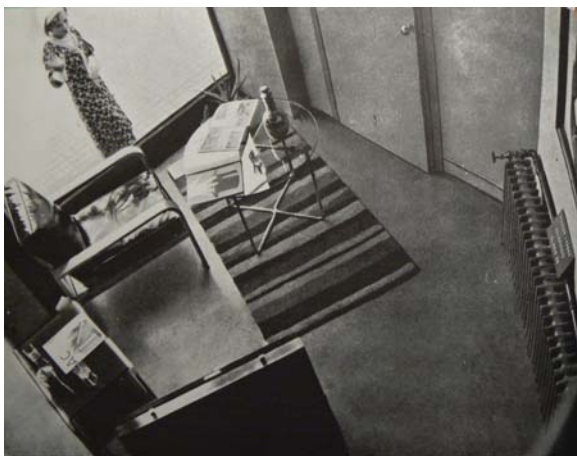


Figure 4 Show-window of GATCPAC’s shop with the new furniture design imported from European capitals (1931), Photo: Josep Sala

Steiger [Figure 4].

The contact made with architects from abroad through CIRPAC (which immediately aligned itself with GATCPAC) and the congresses of the international group CIAM also strengthened local ties with foreign designers and producers, as in the case of Alvar Aalto, whose furniture was directly sold to his own firm Artek as of 1936.

One of GATCPAC’s most important founding members was its first president, Josep Lluís Sert, whose energy also consolidated links with design from abroad. As Giedion wrote “Sert’s organisational flair has put Barcelona in the forefront of Spain”. [8]

In GATCPAC meetings supported by Josep Torres Clavé and Germà Rodríguez Arias, it was Sert who constantly reiterated the need for the group to create furniture that would be as economical as possible. Most imported designs were too expensive for the general public and so departed from GATCPAC’s social agenda. This led, for example, to the decision in 1932 to import furniture from Wohnbedarf (directed by Steiger and the younger Moser) rather than from the more expensive Thonet.

The reception to this furniture was very favourable and, partly through GATCPAC, architects in Madrid and the Basque Country made orders for certain pieces. Through Thonet, Breuer’s “Spoleto” and “Wassily” chairs and Emile Guillot’s folding chair were featured in the pages of *A.C.* in as early as 1931, and were particularly successful in Barcelona before they reached other parts of Europe. The same occurred with Aalto’s furniture, which in 1936 became the fifth most imported design after Finmar, Artek-Suède, Stylclair and SIDAM. [9]

Through GATCPAC’s own contribution the notion of *standards* in furniture became established, but because of the absence of workshops equipped

with adequate tools, craft makers continued to make furniture in bent wood [Figure 5] that imitated the cantilever in metal furniture. Metal furniture embodied the precepts of simplicity, transparency, hygiene and comfort, and as GATCPAC shows, its immense popularity in Barcelona made the manufacture of metal furniture the most difficult but necessary task facing Barcelona designers. Iron was finally bent using a technique by which the metal was filled with sand, as with the exception of the firm ROLACO in Madrid (1932), no manufacturer was equipped for this task in any other way. [10] Therefore, certain metal furniture design objects in the GATCPAC's catalogue, including [Figure 6] tables, bedsteads, wardrobes, display cabinets, lights and stools were the product of skilled craftsmanship experimenting with innovative techniques, and of small companies like Blanch in Badalona or the larger Vda. J. Ribas in Barcelona, which also made models in wood. And because of this, although GATCPAC did not have access to the techniques available to other, far more advanced countries, it was convinced that without research there could be no invention; and that invention could alter the rhythms of routine and allow for innovation.

But the interest in metal furniture did not affect the popularity of wicker, which also remained an important material in this period, and which was remodelled in anonymous designs by Erich Diekmann. [11] Published in Julius Hoffman's *Möbelbau* in Stuttgart at the beginning of the 1930s, these designs also epitomized the natural values of simplicity and hygiene; they were breezy, they enhanced natural light and gave an impression of sunny warmth that looked towards contemporary architecture. Firms like Vda. J. Ribas offered this line in furniture in wood and wicker, which they sold in easy-to-assemble kits. As a measure of its widespread popularity in central Europe, wicker also featured in the exhibition of prototype weekend



Figure 5 Chair designed by Josep Lluís Sert for jeweller's shop Roca in Barcelona (1932), Museum of Decorative Arts Barcelona, Photo: Mercè Vidal

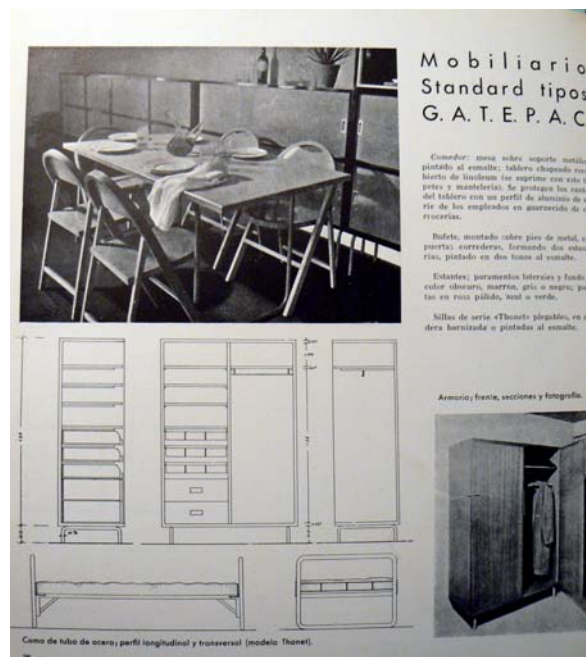


Figure 6 The furniture "standard" in the GATCPAC's catalogue, in "A.C." issue 8 (1932)

houses held in Berlin in 1932 entitled "Sunshine, Fresh Air and a Living Space for Everyone". In the same year, GATCPAC incorporated wicker designs into its catalogue from the town of Azpeitia in the north of Spain, and soon went on to organize their

manufacture in Catalonia, by a firm associated with the group.

The display of furnishing to the general public considered all aspects of equipping the home and took every opportunity to highlight the modernity of its designs. Alongside the presentation of architecture and town planning, its appearance in exhibitions, fairs or in even in the stage sets of theatre plays helped to disseminate many of the furniture designs on offer during this period as well as the materials necessary for construction. Paving the way for the founding of CIAM, in Moscow, CIRPAC's meeting in Barcelona in 1932 was GATCPAC's opportunity to exhibit much of its work.

### **MIDVA (Mobilari i Decoració de la Vivenda Actual [Furnishings and Decoration for today's living])**

Since 1931, when GATCPAC inaugurated its headquarters and shop in Passeig de Gràcia under the slogan "*Construcció i amoblament de la casa contemporània*", it had dedicated its efforts to lengthy debate about furnishing design and such issues as the import of certain models or the choice of industrial manufacturers. But in 1935, GATCPAC was replaced by MIDVA (*Mobilari i Decoració de la Vivenda Actual* [Furnishings and decoration for today's living]).

The inertia of some GATCPAC members and the working commitment of others lead to the creation, in GATCPAC's former headquarters, of the new society MIDVA. Formed by Josep Lluís Sert, Josep Torres Clavé, the young student of architecture Antoni Bonet Castellana, German Rodríguez Arias, and a handful of industrialists, MIDVA played a decisive role in disseminating new models, although its activity was interrupted by the Spanish Civil War in 1936.

MIDVA produced a series of designed objects, including a dining table, an auxiliary table, two easy chairs with sloping armrests, one of which was adjustable, and the GATCPAC's armchair [Figure 7], the most widely seen of all when it was exhibited at the Pavilion of the Republic, constructed by Sert and Lacasa, during the International Exhibition of 1937, in Paris.

All the models were made of wood and, as reinterpretations of those anonymous pieces of Balearic furniture especially common in the style of Ibiza, they maintained a clear link with their Mediterranean vernacular roots.

MIDVA's initiative not only helped to create closer associations with foreign firms, such as Artek, but actually changed its headquarters name to MIDVA, as explained above, and then participated in the First Exhibition of Decorative Artists organized in May 1936 in Barcelona by FAD (*Foment de les Arts Decoratives* [Organ for the promotion of decorative arts]), which brought together a large number of artisans, joiners, technicians and designers. For Catalonia, this exhibition constituted a major step in the renovation



Figure 7 Armchair produced by MIDVA (1935), Museum of Decorative Arts Barcelona, Photo: Mercè Vidal

and consolidation of the decorative arts and of design basing itself upon modernity and national production. When within months the Spanish Civil War broke out, that advance was brought to a standstill.

### The MIDVA installation

But MIDVA was also a direct expression of the Mediterranean current and of the Latin element that had gradually been gaining ground in modern architecture. I therefore believe that, however briefly, it is interesting to describe the organization's installation at the FAD exhibition: as I have argued above, the fundamental role that furniture and interior design played in accentuating, altering and prompting evolutionary processes was well understood by both architects and designers, and evident at the exhibition.

The stand [Figure 8] itself was situated on a terrace covered by a ceiling vaulted in the rural Catalan style and recreated different themed areas, from dining and reading spaces to leisure areas for rest and sport. The furniture and wall furnishings defined the different functions of these individual areas within a common space. The materials were particularly significant: wicker; plated string from Palma (originating in the traditional practise of chairs crafted *'de boga'* – from bulrushes or reed



Figure 8 The MIDVA's stand with models GATCPAC's, in "A.C." issue 23-24 (1936)

mace); tile and vitreous pottery (present in peasant homes and in research in the period of Catalan Modernisme or *Art Nouveau*); Figueres stone (also traditionally used); Melis (a kind of resinous pine used in Catalonia for beams, doors and auxiliary furniture as early as the fourteenth century); the mineral uralite (used industrially to make cement). As we can see, together these materials constituted a material culture based on local tradition and they dressed the installation in a veritable symphony of Mediterranean colour: limestone white, blue [12] and yellow. The stand was simply completed with a cut out painting by Joan Miró, carried put on a cement support; an earthenware vase; pottery dishes painted white and a courgette, the outline of which was reminiscent of the more organically-shaped works of Jean Arp. The stand was made by three members of GATCPAC and MIDVA: Josep Lluís Sert, Josep Torres Clavé and Antoni Bonet Castellana.

### Le Corbusier and GATCPAC: funcionalism and latin identity

In this last section I shall consider how the Mediterranean or Latin line in GATCPAC's furnishing and interior design was in no way unconnected to other foreign trends which, in the current of functionalism and / or rationalism, reinforced what Le Corbusier described as the Latin Front. In the mid 1930s, GATCPAC contributed to international debate at the same time that debate was being raised in other parts of the world. Its advance reaffirms that what began peripherally was brought together on common ground.

Especially through the influence of Sert, from 1928 onwards GATCPAC began to have direct contact with Le Corbusier, its initial admiration increasingly becoming an apprenticeship. During Le Corbusier's first visit to Barcelona, in 1928, he had already observed that "*The architecture I*

*propose is essentially Latin because it is mathematical and has clarity of vision. Do you understand why I should consider this architecture to suit your land, which has certain clear and well reasoned ideas for structural solutions?'*. [13]

Studies have considered Le Corbusier's interest in the Mediterranean area [14], but I believe they view this interest as simply one more of the architect's many preoccupations. In Paul V. Turner's examination of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret's earlier apprenticeship – in the days of his youth before adopting the name Le Corbusier – we are given a valuable opportunity to see that interest from another angle. The influence on Jeanneret of Charles L'Eplattenier, his teacher at the École d'Art at La Chaux-de-Fonds in Switzerland, was decisive in the younger man's reflective and thorough absorption of Henry Provensal's theory in *L'Art de demain* (1904). In that book, Provensal had discussed the need to seek "integral harmony" and he referred to this as "the Absolute", which existed in art in three divine and eternal laws: "Unity, Name and Harmony". These three concepts went on to play a significant role in all the Le Corbusier oeuvre. And no less important for him were Alexandre Cingria-Vaneyre's thoughts in *Les Entretiens de la ville du Rouet*, which reflected upon the artistic identity of the Swiss *romane*, rejected the notion of German influence and upheld its Graeco-Latin foundation: "*Our classical soul [ . . . ] can evolve only by means of a Graeco-Latin formula,*" Cingria-Vaneyre wrote; "*Geneva must be Graeco-Latin.*" Next to these lines in the margin of his copy of the book, Le Corbusier wrote the words "*I fully agree*". [15] And this, it would appear, partially explains why in 1911 Le Corbusier left Berlin and his workshop in Behrens to undertake the long journey across the Mediterranean eventually described in his book *Le Voyage d'Orient*. There, he observed that "*This journey to the East leaves the lavish ornament of Northern*

*architecture far behind. It answers the sun's persistent cry, it reaches for the far-flung horizons of deep blue seas and the great white walls of temples: Constantinople, Asia Minor, Greece, Southern Italy – all these will serve as ideal vessels*".

[16] The "idealism" in Le Corbusier's work became a substratum from which his creation could be sustained, and this was already evident in the years of Purism. The material culture of the Mediterranean countries inspired his keenest interest and embraced the very greatest and the very finest details. The proof is the recent appearance of Le Corbusier's *Carnets* [17], which contain the account of his journey to the East. It is just at this time, therefore, during the mid 1930s, when designers in Catalonia, Italy or Greece expressed their conviction that new architecture, design and interior design had to maintain the spirit of research; that without this spirit there could be no invention and new design would be conventionally labelled as just another "style" – the very one, indeed, which we now call the "International style". To avoid this, they believed it necessary to be anchored in "place", to maintain and share "place" with one another, and extract from it a "Latin identity."

The Fourth CIAM Congress, held in the summer of 1933 on board the ship "Patris II" as it sailed for Athens, became a touchstone for many architects and designers. At that time, the journal *A.C.* described the event as follows:

"The Latin contingent in this Congress is more strongly felt than it was in earlier editions. We form almost the majority and we are sailing across the Mediterranean. This will explain many of the differences between the Fourth Congress and previous meetings.

Modern architecture has found itself on the shores of this Sea, or more precisely, it is

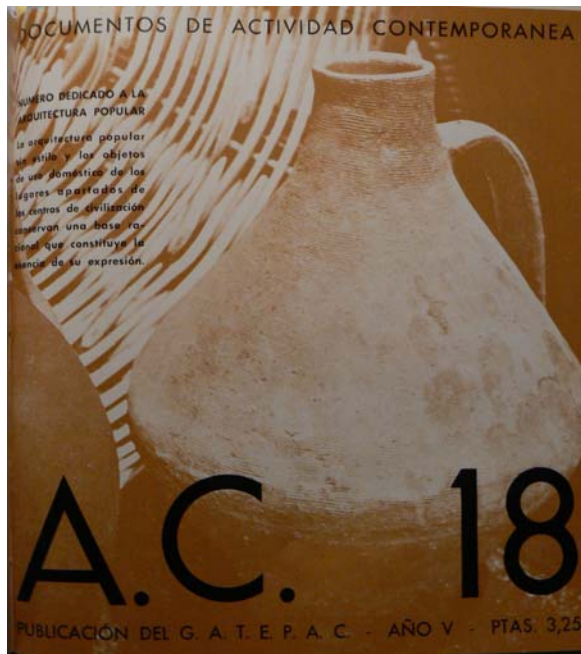


Figure 9 "A.C." issue 18 dedicated of popular architecture (1935)

gathering back to its own shores the pure shapes of the Mediterranean. These shapes have influenced the constructions of Northern countries, which have allowed themselves a new building technique by using them.

The coastline of Greece and the Greek Islands share an architectural style with the Balearic Island of Ibiza and Minorca: the walls of their villages whitewashed with lime, the flat or arched roofs of their houses. The spirit of this architecture is essentially modern, the continuation of the same shapes that have repeated themselves over the centuries in so many corners of the Mediterranean". [18]

The opportunity to contemplate the landscape of a Latin vernacular had a profound effect on all the participants in the Congress, and many years later this return to the Mediterranean brought back stirring memories for Italian architects like Gino Pollini: *'The feeling of ancient tradition was clearly present in every soul, even though it could not be expressed in the work of the Congress'*. [19] Its



Figure 10 Week-end house designed by Sert and Torres Clavé (1934-1935) for the coastal town of Garraf,, in "A.C." issue 19 (1935)



Figure 11 The interior equipping was remodelled in anonymous designs by German Rodriguez Arias in San Antonio (Ibiza), in "A.C." issue 19 (1935)

effect was such that the Italian journal *Quadrante* dedicated an entire issue to Greece and the Fourth CIAM Congress (no. 5 Sept. 1933), and issues 18 [Figure 9], 19 and 21 of GATCPAC's *A.C.* ran features on popular architecture, the evolution of interior design in the home and the island of Ibiza respectively.

The force with which pictures in such journals could influence their readers has been discussed above, and this was particularly important with *A.C.*'s Issue 19 (1935), which contained a variety of photographs related to interior design: the weekend houses [Figure 10] designed by Sert and Torres Clavé between 1934 and 1935 for the coastal town of Garraf; the house designed by the architect Germàn Rodríguez Arias in 1934 on Ibiza [Figure



Figure 12 Sert's studio in Barcelona (1931) with armchair GATCPAC's; objects from Ibiza, carpet in wicker, anonymous chair and Fernand Léger picture, in "A.C." issue 19 (1935)



Figure 13 The Aptment Block 24, Nungesser et Coli (Paris) and Le Corbusier's home (1931-1934), in "D'Ací i D'Allà", Winter 1934 and "A.C." issue 19 (1935)

11]; Sert's own studio in Barcelona, as it appeared in 1931 [Figure 12]; Rodríguez Arias's studio, also in Barcelona, in 1932; the interior of the apartment and studio designed by Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret in Paris in 1934. All these photographs were accompanied by brief captions, although here

I have only considered the description [Figure 13] of Le Corbusier's bedroom: "*Gentleman-academics of modernity! See how perfectly modern design can function without the usual hackneyed phrases or tubular chrome chairs, without excessively "functional" furniture or severely "rational" structures; look at its curving surfaces, which for some of you may be disconcerting...*" (A.C., no. 19 1935). The same photograph had been published one year earlier in *D'Ací i d'Allà*, which ran a special Christmas issue on twentieth century art written by Josep Lluís Sert and Joan Prats. Le Corbusier's dining room and bedroom were featured opposite pictures of different interiors designed by Werner M. Moser, from Zurich, and accompanied by the following text: "[. . .] *the interior of a modern house can at the same time be friendly, intimate and entirely Latin in spirit. There is nothing cold or clinical about this room: there is no German severity. But the racial differences do become clearly evident when we compare these photographs with those on the other page*". [20]\_

In August 1932, Le Corbusier made his feelings very clear in a letter he wrote a letter to the architect Guido Fiorini: "Your letters were waiting for me when I arrived in Spain [. . .] I delivered a paper in Barcelona [. . .] about the major projects of town planning. I have spoken at length to President Macià and met many people. I believe that the time has come for the Latin countries to act and that Latin inspiration will dominate the second era of the Machine Age". [21] In the period starting with the Fourth CIAM Conference and leading up to the end of the 1930s, that movement rooted in the tradition of the Mediterranean vernacular gained ground, and then continued to exist beyond World War II, in the different regions of post-war Europe.

#### Endnotes

- [1] Woodham, 2001, pp. 87-88.  
 [2] Pevsner, 2000 (1936), p. 39; pp.166-167

- [3] Norberg-Schulz, 1996.
- [4] Bohigas 1973 (1960); 1998.
- [5] Flores, 1960.
- [6] Mackay, 1989.
- [7] Capella, J., Larrea, Q., 1991, pp. 18-19; 1994, pp. 148-150.
- [8] Ólafsdóttir, 1998, p.179.
- [9] *Ibidem*, p. 180.
- [10] Rafael Marquina and Antoni Moragas's cantilever design for a chair in 1957 could be manufactured because the technology was available. An explanation was given by designers when they were interviewed by Isabel Campi and Anna Calvera.
- [11] Dieckmann, 1931
- [12] This is very possibly the dark blue still know as *blauet*, used to paint the outer walls of terraces in many houses on the Catalan coast. The name is commonly used in the coastal town Sitges and on the island of Ibiza.
- [13] Gifreda, 1928 -18-May.
- [14] *Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée*, 1987.
- [15] Turner, 1987, pp.91-96.
- [16] Jeanneret, 1984 (1911), p.26 and p.138; pp.187-188.
- [17] Le Corbusier, 2000.
- [18] A.C, 1933, pp.16-17.
- [19] Talamona, 1997, p.130 and footnote 40.
- [20] *D'Ací i D'Allà*, 1934, n/p.
- [21] Fondation Le Corbusier (Paris), 1932, C3-5, 153/154.
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