



LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS
MODOS DE HABITAR

ABADA EDITORES

LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS MODOS DE HABITAR

II CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL CULTURA Y CIUDAD
GRANADA, 23-25 ENERO 2019



Este Congreso ha contado con una ayuda del Vicerrectorado de Investigación de la Universidad de Granada obtenida en concurrencia competitiva.



UNIVERSIDAD
DE GRANADA

© De los textos, sus autores, 2019

© Abada Editores, s.l., 2019
C/ Gobernador, 18
28014 Madrid
www.abadaeditores.com

Imagen de portada: La cabaña primitiva, frontispicio realizado por Charles-Dominique-Joseph Eisen para el *Essai sur l'architecture* de Marc-Antoine Laugier, edición de 1755
Fuente: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich

Imagen de contraportada: Grabado encabezando el capítulo "Adspetus Incauti Dispendium" del libro de Theodoor Galle *Verdicus Christianus*, 1601
Fuente: Vilnius University Library

ISBN 978-84-17301-24-8
IBIC AMA
Depósito Legal M-607-2019

Cualquier forma de reproducción, distribución, comunicación pública o transformación de esta obra solo puede ser realizada con la autorización de sus titulares, salvo excepción prevista por la ley. Diríjase a CEDRO (Centro Español de Derechos Reprográficos) si necesita fotocopiar o escanear algún fragmento de esta obra (www.conlicencia.com; 917021970).



UNIVERSIDAD
DE GRANADA



Coordinador de la edición

Juan Calatrava Escobar

Equipo Editorial

David Arredondo Garrido
Ana del Cid Mendoza
Francisco A. García Pérez
Agustín Gor Gómez
Marta Rodríguez Iturriaga
María Zurita Elizalde

Diseño de cubierta

Francisco A. García Pérez

II Congreso Internacional Cultura y Ciudad
La Casa. Espacios domésticos, modos de habitar
Granada 23-25 enero 2019

Comisión Organizadora

David Arredondo Garrido
Juan Manuel Barrios Rozúa
Emilio Cachorro Fernández
Juan Calatrava Escobar
Ana del Cid Mendoza
Francisco A. García Pérez
Agustín Gor Gómez
Ricardo Hernández Soriano
Bernardino Líndez Vílchez
Juan Francisco Martínez Benavides
Juan Carlos Reina
Marta Rodríguez Iturriaga
María Zurita Elizalde

Comité Científico

Juan Calatrava Escobar, Universidad de Granada (Presidente)
Tim Benton, The Open University, Reino Unido
Miguel Ángel Chaves, Universidad Complutense de Madrid
María Elena Díez Jorge, Universidad de Granada
Juan Domingo Santos, Universidad de Granada
Carmen Espegel Alonso, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid
Rafael García Quesada, Universidad de Granada
Carlos García Vázquez, Universidad de Sevilla
Fulvio Irace, Politecnico di Milano
Ángeles Layuno, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares
Marta Llorente, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
Caroline Maniaque, ENSA Rouen
Mar Loren Méndez, Universidad de Sevilla
Josep Maria Montaner, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
Xavier Monteys, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
José Morales Sánchez, Universidad de Sevilla
Eduardo Ortiz Moreno, Universidad de Granada
Francisco Peña Fernández, Universidad de Granada
Antonio Pizza, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya
José Manuel Pozo Municio, Universidad de Navarra
Rafael Reinoso Bellido, Universidad de Granada
José Rosas Vera, Pontificia Universidad Católica, Santiago de Chile
Carlos Sambricio, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid
Margarita Segarra Lagunes, Università degli Studi RomaTre
Marta Sequeira, Universidade de Lisboa
Jorge Torres Cueco, Universitat Politècnica de València
Elisa Valero Ramos, Universidad de Granada

Presentación	XIX
Juan Calatrava	

BLOQUE TEMÁTICO 1

Arquitecturas de la casa: el espacio doméstico a través de la historia

Lo público y lo privado en la forma urbis de Santiago 1910. El espacio doméstico en el Canon Republicano	22
Josep Parcerisa Bundó, José Rosas Vera	
La Alhambra habitada. Experiencias del paisaje desde el espacio arquitectónico..	37
Marta Rodríguez Iturriaga	
Housing and Children: Architectural Models from the Modern Movement	48
Alexandra Alegre	
Högná Sigurðardóttir. La misteriosa marca indeleble del origen	59
Julio Barreno Gutiérrez	
Las casillas de peones camineros y su implantación en la costa del sudeste de España	73
Antonio Burgos Núñez, Juan Carlos Olmo García, Francisco José García Castillo	
El <i>palazzo all'italiana</i>, de la casa del príncipe al principio urbano	82
Michele Giovanni Caja, Maria Pompeiana Iarossi	
The City and the House: Going Back to the Future	95
Antonio Alberto Clemente	
Traditional Urban Housing at Alentejo's "Marble Area"	104
Ana Costa Rosado	
La consolidación del cuarto de baño en las viviendas de la ciudad de São Paulo, Brasil	117
Clarissa de Almeida Paulillo, Tatiana Sakurai	
La cama <i>amueblada</i>: del objeto a la estancia	126
María de Miguel Pastor, Carla Sentieri Omarrementería	

The Spaces, the People and the Ways of Being at Home in the North of Portugal in the 19th Century	136
Alexandra Esteves	
Casa de John Soane en Londres (1792-1827). Luz, iluminación y patrimonio	143
Rosalía Fenutría Aumesquet, José Joaquín Parra Bañón	
Rita Fernández Queimadelos. Los proyectos de viviendas realizados en la DGRD (1943-1946)	154
Paula M. Fernández-Gago Longueira, Eduardo A. Caridad Yáñez	
Arqueología urbana en Barcelona: aproximación a los espacios domésticos entre los siglos IV-VI	167
Francesc Xavier Florensa Puchol	
Memoria e identidad: el espacio de almacenaje en el imaginario doméstico	178
Marta García Carbonero	
Between Doorkeeper Apartments and Housemaid Rooms: Ways of Living in a Changing Lisbon	188
María Assunção Gato, Filipa Ramalhete	
La casa popular de zaguán, patio y corral. Habitabilidad y protección para el siglo XXI	196
Vidal Gómez Martínez, Blanca del Espino Hidalgo, María Teresa Pérez Cano	
Casa en transformación: cocina y tecnología en el siglo XX en Cuenca (Ecuador)	206
María Augusta Hermida, María José Cañar, Guillermo Mauricio Torres	
Granada: la arquitectura doméstica de la ciudad cristiana	218
Carlos Jerez Mir	
Consideraciones históricas sobre la casa tradicional gallega y otras construcciones adjetivas	230
Francisco Xabier Louzao Martínez	
Modern, Rationalist and Mediterranean: Residential Architecture during the Italian Colonization in Libya	236
Andrea Maglio	
El confort en la vivienda canaria: de la arquitectura tradicional a los EECN	250
Eduardo Martín del Toro	
Instalaciones de la casa: el espacio doméstico en el siglo XX en España a través de la tecnología	261
César Martín-Gómez, José Manuel Pozo Municio	
El diedro casa ciudad en la arquitectura nobiliaria de Sevilla: la plaza del Duque	272
Pedro Mena Vega	
Un primer acercamiento a la <i>Quinta Nova da Assunção</i> en Sintra	282
Iván Moure Pazos	

The Construction of “Minho’s” Domestic Space in Portugal’s 18th Century.....	294
Flávia Oliveira	
Arquitectura moderna en la ciudad histórica. Adalberto Libera y la casa Nicoletti (Roma 1932).....	302
Carlos Plaza	
Casa Bellia en Turín: nuevos espacios para la burguesía.....	315
Alice Pozzati	
Live-Work Architecture. Learning from Peripheral Neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro.....	327
Ana Slade	
The Relationship Between Inhabitants and Vegetation in the Houses of Maceió in the 19th.....	339
Tharcila Maria Soares Leão, Josemary Omena Passos Ferrare, Veronica Robalinho Cavalcanti	
The Home and the World: Domestic Dynamics of the Postwar American Suburban House.....	350
Luísa Sol	
El hogar de Telva. Miradas femeninas al interior doméstico español 1963-1975.....	360
Jorge Tárrago Mingo, Cristina Sunga Zamora	
La casa jesuita en Granada: el Colegio de San Pablo.....	371
María del Carmen Vílchez Lara, Jorge Gabriel Molinero Sánchez	
La habitación en la arquitectura agraria granadina.....	381
Eduardo Zurita Povedano	

BLOQUE TEMÁTICO 2

El proyecto doméstico como núcleo de la modernidad: casa singular y vivienda colectiva, del Movimiento Moderno al siglo XXI

Habitar el arte: la casa del coleccionista como modelo experimental de espacio doméstico.....	394
Ángeles Layuno	
Domesticidad Mediterránea vs. Modernidad americana de Posguerra. Sert y Rudofsky.....	411
Mar Loren-Méndez	
Tradiciones en las políticas de vivienda pública.....	422
Josep Maria Montaner Martorell	

De la Weissenhoff a Oporto, un camino de servicio	430
José Manuel Pozo Municio	
Le Corbusier's <i>Immeuble-villas</i> and an After Lunch Remembrance	441
Marta Sequeira	
Le Corbusier. <i>Une science de logis</i>	454
Jorge Torres Cueco	
La casa productiva. Propuestas para la autosuficiencia alimentaria durante la República de Weimar	470
David Arredondo Garrido	
<i>Modernità y mediterraneità: sincretismo habitacional de Luigi Figini y Gino Pollini</i>	482
Emilio Cachorro Fernández, Cristina Medina Valverde	
El <i>piano Fanfani</i> en Roma: la torre de viviendas y la casa patio	496
Ana del Cid Mendoza	
Feet on the Sand: Living Spaces in Apartment Buildings by the Sea in Maceió, Brazil	510
Camila Antunes de Carvalho Casado, Maria Angélica da Silva	
Atomic-age Housing. The Fallout Shelter in Cold War America	521
Chiara Baglione	
De la manzana a la supermanzana. Recuperación e innovación en la cultura urbanística	531
Raimundo Bambó Naya, Javier Monclús Fraga	
La ventana y el balcón sobre avenida Providencia (1931/1981): evolución y permanencia de la arquitectura doméstica	544
Pedro Bannen Lanata	
Towards the Modern Block: Evolution of an Urban Type in Kay Fisker's Prewar Architecture	554
Guia Baratelli	
La casa en Isle of Wight (1955-1956) de James Gowan, austeridad en la modernidad británica	566
Alicia Cantabella Gallego	
<i>Villeggiatura</i> urbana: una residencia secundaria en el núcleo urbano de São Paulo	576
Sara Caon	
Otredades en la habitabilidad de un Monterrey moderno: primeros edificios de departamentos como alternativa a la vivienda unifamiliar	586
María de los Ángeles Castillo Soriano, Alberto Canavati Espinosa	
Brutalismo doméstico. Un espacio para la contemplación	597
Rubens Cortés Cano	

La Casa Barata dos Santos como experimento, por Nuno Portas y Nuno Teotónio (1958-1962)	608
Mª Ángeles Domínguez Durán	
Exploraciones cartográficas comparadas de paisajes residenciales: polígonos vs periferias ordinarias	620
Isabel Ezquerro, Carmen Díez-Medina	
The House as Experiment: House in Sesimbra (1960-64) by Portas and Teotónio Pereira	634
Hugo L. Farias	
La piedra en la casa moderna	645
María Ana Ferré Aydos	
Las casas unifamiliares no construidas del programa <i>Case Study Houses</i>	657
Pauline Fonini Felin	
Modern Housing and Duplex Apartments: Study of Discourses and Practices of a Typology	670
Sabrina Fontenele	
Polígonos de vivienda. Relevancia del diagnóstico en la regeneración urbana de espacios libres	681
Sergio García-Pérez, Javier Monclús, Carmen Díez Medina	
A City of Order: on Piccinato's Ataköy	692
Esen Gökçe Özdamar	
Paisaje y ciudad en las viviendas de la Universidad Laboral de Almería	702
José Ramón González González	
La imagen de arquitectura en la construcción del subconsciente colectivo	713
Carlos Gor Gómez	
Prácticas Concretas	725
Pablo Jesús Gutiérrez Calderón	
Tropical and Colonial: Single Houses as a Modern Lab in Angola and Mozambique (1950-1970)	737
Ana Magalhães	
Casa y Monumento: Roma habitada	748
Sergio Martín Blas, Milena Farina	
Las viviendas para empleados realizadas por las grandes empresas en la España de la posguerra	760
Miriam Martín Díaz, Enrique Castaño Perea	
Lecciones de Louis Kahn: la sala y la casa en Rogelio Salmona y Livio Vacchini ...	771
Clara E. Mejía Vallejo, Ricardo Merí de la Maza	

Interior Biopolitics—Domesticity as Mass Media in the Making of Swedish Social Democracy	783
Carlota Mir	
El arte de lo doméstico. Las casas de Alison y Peter Smithson	795
Carmen Moreno Álvarez, Juan Domingo Santos	
La vivienda colectiva como reactivador de hechos de vida urbana	806
Sebastián Navarrete Micheliní	
The Façade as an Interface in the Housing Architecture of Rio de Janeiro: Design Repertoire	819
Mara Oliveira Eskinazi, Pedro Engel Penter	
Manuel Gomes da Costa. La casa algarvia del arquitecto	831
José Joaquín Parra Bañón	
A Wealth of Typological Solutions from the Twenties: Vienna and Frankfurt	842
Alessandro Porotto	
Un pueblo entre los muros de un cortijo	856
Ana Isabel Rodríguez Aguilera	
This House Is Not a Home	872
Ugo Rossi	
Los dibujos de Rafael Leoz sobre vivienda social	883
Jose Antonio Ruiz Suaña, Jesús López Díaz	
La calle sube al edificio. Vivienda en galería en Madrid, 1949-1956	897
María del Pilar Salazar Lozano	
Casas como células. La metáfora biológica y los nuevos hábitats plásticos, 1955-73	908
Massimiliano Savorra	
El hogar que envejece	918
Marta Silveira Peixoto	
Repetition and Geometry: The House of the Painter Zigaina Designed by Giancarlo De Carlo	928
Luisa Smeragliuolo Perrotta	
Plinio Marconi's Public Housing Projects between Innovation and Historical Continuity	938
Simona Talenti, Annarita Teodosio	
Casas patio y bloques: las formas de la vivienda para la ciudad moderna, Arica 1953-73	949
Horacio Enrique Torrent Schneider	

Doméstico y prefabricado: vivienda unifamiliar en Collado Mediano de Alejandro de la Sota	961
Miguel Varela de Ugarte	
Modern Living: Particularities in Rio de Janeiro	971
Denise Vianna Nunes	
Equipando la casa moderna. España, 1927-1936	982
María Villanueva Fernández, Héctor García-Diego Villarías	

BLOQUE TEMÁTICO 3

La vivienda contemporánea desde el punto de vista patrimonial

Un carmen en el barrio del Realejo de Granada	997
Ricardo Hernández Soriano	
T y Block House, dos viviendas en Nueva York	1007
Antonio Álvarez Gil	
Experimentos de casas en el paisaje. Lo cotidiano y lo sublime	1020
Rafael de Lacour	
Cooperativas vecinales para la recuperación patrimonial de barriadas. Sixto (Málaga)	1031
Alberto E. García-Moreno, María José Márquez-Ballesteros, Manuel García-López	
Domesticidades del proyecto social del Régimen a través de los poblados de Bárcena (León)	1043
Jorge Magaz Molina	
La casa como memoria viva: injertos domésticos en ruinas vernáculas	1055
David Ordóñez Castañón, Jesús de los Ojos Moral	
PAX – Patios de la Axerquía. Rehabilitación urbana y de casas-patio con procesos cooperativos	1068
Gaia Redaelli	
La casa contemporánea en el cine: estrategia de difusión y promoción del patrimonio cultural	1080
Iván Rincón Borrego, Eusebio Alonso García	
Rehabitar después de Habitar	1092
Conceição Trigueiros, Mario Saleiro Filho	

BLOQUE TEMÁTICO 4
La casa: mitos, arquetipos, modos de habitar

Notas sobre la casa como jardín.....	1104
Xavier Monteys	
Interiores de exteriores. La otra raíz del habitar.....	1116
José Morales Sánchez	
Género y modos de habitar en la Andalucía del siglo XIX.....	1127
Juan Manuel Barrios Rozúa	
La casa veneciana, desde fuera.....	1139
Francisco A. García Pérez	
Muerte de la ciudad y desintegración de lo urbano. La casa como refugio.....	1151
Juan Carlos Reina Fernández	
The Home and Its Transformations in the Daily Life of a Brazilian Social Housing Complex.....	1164
Fernanda Andrade dos Santos, Eda Maria Góes	
El jardín secreto de Luis Barragán.....	1177
Paloma Baquero Masats, Juan Antonio Serrano García	
A «Part of Sky and a Part of Sea, Even Alone»: Luigi Moretti Villas.....	1189
Gemma Belli	
La cocina como principal motor de cambio en la vivienda moderna y contemporánea.....	1199
Juan Bravo Bravo	
Casa contra arquitectura, Bernard Rudofsky y el “arte de habitar”.....	1212
Alejandro Campos Uribe, Paula Lacomba Montes	
El espacio doméstico en las exposiciones: nuevos conceptos durante la 2ª mitad del s. XX.....	1224
Manuel Carmona García	
La cocina-moderna en la vivienda colectiva española de la primera mitad del siglo XX.....	1236
María Carreiro Otero, Cándido López González	
Espacios de sombra y aire, transiciones en la arquitectura mediterránea.....	1248
Antonio Cayuelas Porras	

Habitar los hospitales: el bienestar más allá del confort	1259
Pilar Chías Navarro, Tomás Abad Balboa	
La cocina genérica: del marco físico a la atmósfera esencial	1272
José Antonio Costela Mellado, Luis Eduardo Iáñez García	
The House of Silence: The Franciscan Dwellings in the Colonial Convents of the North-East of Brazil	1282
Maria Angélica da Silva	
Arquitectura y jardín en la vivienda doméstica española del movimiento moderno	1294
Manuel de Lara Ruiz, Carlos Pesqueira Calvo	
The Italian House vs The American House. Decoration and Life-Style in the 50's...	1309
Elena Dellapiana	
Casas de vidrio – 1950: análisis de cuatro ejemplos coetáneos	1321
Ana Esteban Maluenda, Héctor Navarro Martínez	
Microarquitecturas a medida. Experiencia de arquitectura social	1330
Antonella Falzetti	
The Made-to-Measure House: From an Ideal Home to a Palace Between the 19th and 21st Centuries	1341
Maria Teresa Feraboli	
Holiday Houses in Italy in the 1930s	1351
Adele Fiadino	
Habitar la materia: apilar Cerdeña. Casa de vacaciones en Arzachena, Marco Zanuso	1361
Mario Galiana Liras, Miguel A. Alonso del Val	
1978. La Gran Casa, o sobre el interior en la obra de Enric Miralles	1372
Carolina B. García Estévez	
Donde termina la casa y empieza el cielo	1384
Ubaldo García Torrente	
Green Housing Dream. From Welfare Equality to Deregulation and Desire: Understeshöjden, 1989	1397
Andrea Gimeno Sánchez	
The “Medieval House” of Coimbra: Archeology of Architecture in the Demystification of Archetypes	1407
António Ginja	
La casa de luz tenue. A propósito de Alvar Aalto, Luis Barragán y Antonio Jiménez Torrecillas	1418
José Miguel Gómez Acosta	

Un análisis de la casa excavada-subterránea basado en la Sintaxis Espacial.....	1428
Antonio J. Gómez-Blanco Pontes	
King's Foundation: House, Power and Modernity in King Manuel I's inventory (1522-25).....	1440
Luís Gonçalves Ferreira	
“Raumplan-dwellings”: domesticidad y espacio en proyectos de Sejima-SANAA..	1449
Aida González Llavona	
La casa moderna en Cereté, una lección patrimonial.....	1461
Massimo Leserrí, Merwan Chaverra Suárez	
When a Big House Opens Its Doors: The São Marcos Hospital in Braga (17th-18thCenturies).....	1471
Maria Marta Lobo de Araújo	
El mito de la casa pompeyana entre los siglos XIX y XX.....	1478
Fabio Mangone, Raffaella Russo Spina	
Tiendas de campaña en Marte.....	1493
Josemaría Manzano-Jurado, Santiago Porras Álvarez, Rafael García Quesada	
La casa patio tradicional de la medina marroquí.....	1506
Miguel Martínez-Monedero, Jaime Vergara-Muñoz	
La forma tectónica de la casa: lo ontológico frente a lo representacional.....	1518
Alejandro Muñoz Miranda	
Habitar el cerro: la casa del arquitecto Bruno Violi en Bogotá.....	1530
Serena Orlandi	
Comida a domicilio.....	1541
Nuria Ortigosa Duarte	
Domestic Topographies: The House of Lino Gaspar, Caxias, 1953-1955.....	1551
Maria Rita Pais	
La ritualidad higiénica como domesticación espacial en el arte contemporáneo....	1563
José Luis Panea Fernández	
The Housing General Histories and Classes in Literature.....	1572
Fabrizio Paone	
“Paraísos” en el armario: homosexualidad y negociación doméstica en la California prebélica.....	1587
José Parra-Martínez, María-Elia Gutiérrez-Mozo, Ana-Covadonga Gilsanz-Díaz	

Profundidad espacial. Abriendo el muro. De la habitación sin nombre al jardín de invierno.....	1599
Marta Pérez Rodríguez	
Rooms. Aldo Rossi and the House in Ghiffa: Symbol, Dust and Desire.....	1609
Michelangelo Pivetta, Vincenzo Moschetti	
La colina habitada: características morfológicas y modos de habitar el campo.....	1620
Luigi Ramazzotti	
El <i>studiolo</i> como teatro de la mente.....	1632
Jaime Ramos Alderete, Ana Isabel Santolaria Castellanos	
Modos de habitar en contexto de montaña: la región oriental del Atlas en Marruecos.....	1641
Miguel Reimão Costa, Desidério Batista	
La casa en Santiago de Chile a fines del siglo XVIII: valores materiales y simbólicos.....	1652
Marisol Richter Scheuch	
Hombres de condición inquieta y despegada: el fascinante espectáculo de la precariedad.....	1660
Carmen Rodríguez Pedret	
Maid Rooms and Laundry Sinks Matter: Modern Houses in a Non-modern Context.....	1671
Silvana Rubino	
Inquietante domesticidad.....	1679
Alberto Rubio Garrido	
Houses for Whom? Between the Habitat and the Inhabiting, on Henri Lefebvre's Quest.....	1688
Teresa V. Sá	
Una casa es una «machine de l'émotion».....	1698
Javier Sáez Gastearena	
Espacio doméstico e higiene. Políticas del habitar en Sevilla entre los siglos XIX y XX.....	1710
Victoriano Sainz Gutiérrez	
La vivienda de los fareros, entre la casa y la máquina.....	1720
Santiago Sánchez Beitía, Fernando Acale Sánchez	
Naturalezas en la intimidad; acerca del jardín en los espacios domésticos contemporáneos.....	1732
Juana Sánchez Gómez, Diego Jiménez López, Isabel Jiménez López	
Cármenes, pequeñas historias domésticas.....	1743
Juan Antonio Sánchez Muñoz, Vincent Morales Garoffolo	

Algunas casas modernas: de la caverna al hogar	1755
Rafael Sánchez Sánchez	
Recuerdos de una escalera. Experiencias domésticas desplazadas en la obra de Siza	1764
Juan Antonio Serrano García	
¿No habitar es modo de habitar? Siglos de permanencia de mitos y criminalización	1778
Sonia María Taddei Ferraz, Evelyn Garcia da Cruz, Paula Andréa Santos da Silva	
Tres modos de habitar la casa popular: cereal, vid y olivar	1787
Salvador Ubago Palma	
La expresividad de la racionalidad: La casa estudio para Diego Rivera y Frida Kahlo	1800
Luis Villarreal Ugarte	
Habitar en Iberoamérica	1811
Graciela María Viñuales	

BLOQUE TEMÁTICO 5

Miradas externas: la casa en la pintura, el cine y la literatura

Habitar la aventura: casas de Jules Verne	1824
Juan Calatrava Escobar	
Casas vacías, olvidadas y recordadas: arte, literatura y memoria	1836
Marta Llorente Díaz	
La villa Arpel: machine à habiter, “donde todo se comunica...” (Mon Oncle, J. Tati, 1958)	1850
Antonio Pizza de Nanno	
El relato doméstico desde una estrategia vertical	1855
Agustín Gor Gómez	
Fondos de escena en el cine de Ozu	1868
Carlos Barberá Pastor	
Habitar tras la Transición: los hogares cinematográficos de P. Almodóvar y A. Gómez	1879
Ruth Barranco Raimundo	
Espacios domésticos en transición y la ciudad moderna en Ohayo (1959) de Yasujiro Ozu	1888
Bernardita M. Cubillos Muñoz	

La casa Stahl, una vida de ficción	1898
Daniel Díez Martínez	
Habitaciones para la escritura: el autor y su espacio de trabajo	1909
Tomás García Píriz, F. Javier Castellano Pulido	
Ámbitos privados de la residencia colectiva en el imaginario cinematográfico español	1920
Josefina González Cubero, Alba Zarza Arribas	
Los registros de la luz. Vermeer y Hopper	1929
Luis Eduardo Jáñez García	
Allí reside el tiempo, mi infancia. La cabaña telúrica de Andréi Tarkovski	1940
Alejandro Infantes Pérez, Javier Muñoz Godino	
La casa, la calle y el territorio. Narraciones fotográficas de Guido Guidi	1951
Marco Lecis	
Entre la literatura y el cine. La casa de Sokúrov en <i>El segundo círculo</i>	1961
Pablo López Santana	
Habitar un espacio, contemplar un paisaje: mujer, jardín y arquitectura doméstica en China (desde el siglo X hasta el XVIII)	1972
Antonio Mezcu López	
Registro de una mirada, Cape Cod House	1981
Jorge Gabriel Molinero Sánchez, María del Carmen Vílchez Lara	
La casa como metáfora del viaje. Fotógrafos y arquitectos en Mallorca	1993
María Josep Mulet Gutiérrez, Joan Carles Oliver Torelló, María Sebastián Sebastián	
La mirada indiscreta: la ventana en el cine como generador de emociones	2004
Patricia Pozo Alemán	
El telar es el cuerpo, el cuerpo es la casa	2016
Anita Puig Gómez	
El espacio doméstico en el cine de Jacques Tati: del bloque tradicional a la vivienda sobre ruedas	2024
Helia de San Nicolás Juárez	
Fisonomías arquitectónicas. La mediatización de casas de personalidades en Galicia	2034
Jesús Ángel Sánchez-García	
Mujeres y jardines en la China clásica: espacios domésticos en <i>Sueño en el Pabellón Rojo</i>	2046
Beatriz Valverde Vázquez	
Notas autobiográficas de los autores	2054

Esta casa no es un hogar *This House Is Not a Home*

Ugo Rossi

PhD Architect, Università Iuav di Venezia, urossi@iuav.it

Resumen

Esta intervención ahonda en la pérdida de la tradición de habitabilidad sustituida por la modernización en relación con la obra de Bernard Rudofsky y Peter Harnden, que enfrentaban a la casa concebida como un "machine à habiter", una casa mediterránea y mítica, una evocación de Paraíso. Un lugar protegido por los Dioses, Vestales y Faunos. Una idea que la razón creía haber suprimido para siempre.

Palabras clave: Bernard Rudofsky, Peter Harnden, exhibiciones móviles, Plan Marshall, exhibición de arquitectura moderna

Bloque temático: El proyecto doméstico como núcleo de la modernidad: casa singular y vivienda colectiva, del Movimiento Moderno al siglo XXI

Abstract

The aim of this intervention is to investigate the loss of the housing tradition pursued by modernization in relation to Bernard Rudofsky and Peter Harnden's architectural work. Rather than a home as a "machine à habiter" they proposed a mythical one, an evocation of Mediterranean and of the Paradise, a place protected and inhabited by Gods, elves, fauns and vestals, that progress and science thought to have swept away forever.

Keywords: Bernard Rudofsky, Peter Harnden, mobile exhibitions, Marshall Plan, Modern Architecture exhibition

Topic: *The domestic project as the heart of modernity: the single, one-off house and collective housing, from the Modern Movement to the 21st century*

This House is not a Home

The history of the house as a home, now over ten thousand years long, constitutes the archive of the many options chosen by humanity in terms of living. From houses dug in stone to stilts, from settled houses to nomadic ones, from houses made of stone to the ones made of wood and paper. It is possible, from an anthropological point of view, to use the house to go back to the private life of people and to the many answers developed by each civilization with regard to their ways of living.¹ How and what they cook, eat, how they wash, sleep, what they believe in. In short how a population lives in a given time and place and, since the so called age of the machine, this long history has been progressively simplified, and because of the affirmation of the scientific thought, the house too changes into a machine. It is of course the history of a recent progress and it does coincide with the researches and projects aimed to solve “the problems” in the early years of the machine age.² The very same history of the “modern” house, which endured the same path drawn by the technical progress in the last hundred and fifty years.

In 1936, Nikolaus Pevsner publishes his hypothetical genealogy of modern architecture pointing to its route: from William Morris to Walter Gropius;³ from the first shy steps to improve industrial products to the full achievement of unity between art and industry reached by the Bauhaus. In Pevsner opinion the common denominator of the Modern Movement is the ongoing synergical development between art and industry, he states that «the true pioneers of Modern Movement are [only] those who from the outset stood for machine art».⁴

Before Pevsner’s historical “reconstruction”, one of the most important occasions of affirmation of the “Modern Style” is supported by the New York Museum of Modern Art, MoMA. Established in 1929, entirely devoted and committed to the promotion of modern art, in 1932 MoMA organizes the exhibition *Modern Architecture*,⁵ curated by Alfred Barr Jr., Philip Johnson, Henry-Russel Hitchcock and Lewis Mumford. To the organizers this show is the occasion to indicate two types of architecture and two figures as reference points for a new kind of architecture: «The work of Le Corbusier, Oud, Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and, by contrast, that of Wright occupied the principal place in the exhibition»⁶ and to celebrate the first decade of Modern architecture in the world.⁷ This whole critical and historical apparatus will only be a preparatory one in terms of what modern society was expecting from architecture and architects, it will be with the *Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) that the most significant results to “represent” the architecture of Modernity will be achieved.

Besides the first Congress (1923), whose official Declaration of *La Sarraz*,⁸ contains a synthesis of the objects of modern architecture, it is during the second CIAM, held in Frankfurt in 1929,

¹ Philippe Ariès, Georges Duby, *Histoire de la Vie privée* (Paris: Seuil, 1985).

² Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (New York: Praeger, 1960).

³ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement, from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936).

⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*, 26.

⁵ *Modern Architecture, International Exhibition*, MoMA Exh. #15, February 9-March 23, 1932, MoMA, New York.

⁶ Henry Russel-Hitchcock, “Foreword to the 1958 Edition”. Henry-Russel Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, *The International Style* (New York: Norton & company, 1966), vii.

⁷ Henry-Russel Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, (New York: Norton & company, 1932).

⁸ “La Sarraz Declaration”, 1928.

that the modern dwelling is fully discussed – *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum* – defined in relation to a “minimum” standard of living, and it is also there that the *Frankfurter Küche* is produced, a prototype kitchen subjected to the strict parameters of statistics, economics, ergonomics, standardization and functionality. In 1930, at the third CIAM in Brussels instead, are discussed the evaluation and selection criteria for the residential building types, houses can be “tall, average or low” in relation to the their reciprocal setting and social significance. At the forth 1933 CIAM in Athens, the theme addressed is *Die funktionelle Stadt*, the actual distribution of the city in functional areas, the *Zoning*. The fifth CIAM in Paris in 1936, is devoted to *Logis et loisirs*, two of the four categories (Housing-Leisure-Work-Roads) in which the city was divided into during the Athens’ CIAM.

Still today those experiences represent, together with the MoMA's exhibition and Pevsner's book, the first tangible results of the transformation of the idea of the “home”, of “living” and of “architecture” in the early years of the age of the machine. A fundamental part of that history as the most important works of modern architecture belong to that period. Many of those suggestions and proposals still survive today – *Zoning* and *Existenzminimum* – and from them derive a number of building regulations and the so called Urban Standards which contribute to shape our urban environment and our homes. In anthropological terms though, the really tangible change in our way of living will come forward in the post-modern era,⁹ à condition determined by the running out of the myths and the promises of progress wrecked during and after WWII.

It will only be during the post-war reconstruction period that Western society will kill off the horrors of the recent past with new myths: consumer's products and goods as suppliers of wealth and comfort.

On 6 August, 1945 was unhooked “Little Boy” on Hiroshima and three days after “Fat Man” on Nagasaki, those days sealed the end of WWII, but also the starting point for the future scenario. The awareness that the clash between the former allies – USA-URSS – can not be fought with conventional weapons, leads the opposing sides to what George Orwell called the “cold war”.¹⁰

Soon after WWII the US find themselves in the predicament of having to face the spreading of Communism amongst the debris of Europe. That is why they decide to set up their propaganda activity to contrast the Soviet “soft power”.¹¹ The US decision will imply a cultural commitment, knowing that economical and political victories were of course important goals, but that a cultural win would have been most definitely a major victory.

With a Presidential Decree dated 22 October 1953, the *United States Information Agency* (USIA) – together with a huge apparatus with the same purposes – is put in charge of persuading, throughout the use of cinema, publications and radio broadcastings, that US objectives and policies favour aspirations of freedom, progress and peace and to turned them into a reference points for rebirth it is necessary a widespread promotion of culture.

In 1948 the Marshall Plan Office in Paris was the organizing centre of exhibitions across the Europe. The architect Peter Harnden (since 1950 associated with Lanfranco Bombelli) was the

⁹ Jean-Francois Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979).

¹⁰ George Orwell, “You and the Atomic Bomb”, *Tribune*, October 19 (1945): 48.

¹¹ Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the home front: The soft power of mid Century design* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

Head the department and he was responsible for the design of the exhibits that toured through Europe. Mostly housed in different conveyances such as canal barges in Holland, the Europa Zug train in Germany, or on caravan and trucks, all aimed to show NATO's (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and America's support around Europe.¹²

Those travelling exhibitions had the goal to promote culture, architecture, the *American Way of Living*, the outcomes in terms of welfare produced by the Marshall Plan, the benefits assured to the NATO countries and finally divulging the huge opportunity for a peaceful deployment of the atomic power. Soon after, those shows will demonstrate to be very efficient to promote and divulge in the many European nations the results of the cultural and economic policies from 1949 to 1959.

Following on the cultural and economical development and the exchange politics, in occupied Germany are built the *Amerika Häuser*, used to house exhibitions, conventions and all sorts of initiatives aimed to improve the knowledge of American culture. An example is the exhibition *Wir bauen ein besseres Leben (We're Building a Better Life)*.

This exhibition was a typical Marshall House event.¹³ Opened in Autumn 1952, the exhibition, designed by the Peter Harnden and Associates, showed a roofless home of a middle class family living in the Atlantic Community. Visitors could see the interior of a rectangular balcony running all around and above the house. The house included also the latest in Western consumer technologies. Everything was intended to demonstrate that the greater standards of living could be obtained by the people of the Atlantic Community throughout increased productivity and integration. Simultaneously were on show 6,000 products, all manufactured in Marshall Plan's member-nations.

American Way of Living involves every aspects of life; besides the home, great importance is given to the industrial products of moder living. The fridge and the kitchen for most Americans are representative of the essence of the People's Capitalism, for their possibility of choices and abundance. The American Kitchen, full of appliances and equipments, is a product aimed to convince Europeans to adopt what West Germans call, the American "Fat Kitchen".¹⁴

In that sense a very important travelling exhibition will be also *The Modern Food Service*, designed by the Peter Harnden Associates as a portable supermarket model, that opened in Paris in May 1953. The show's set up is the usual one, using caravan-trailers. Outside the trailers are positioned some boards in seven different languages explaining the theoretical and practical aspects of selling and distribution in a supermarket. The display system inside the trailers is the reconstruction of a real supermarket, with products and fridge units from which to select goods in a way unknown until then in Europe: the "self-service". The display allows to actually "practice" the entire shopping ritual in the supermarket, autonomously selecting the goods, with a real shopping trolley, that will then be taken to the cash point to be paid for.

In occasion of the 1958 Bruxelles World Fair, the architect Bernard Rudofsky and the Harnden Associates Firm attempt to put forward themed shows intended to promote an image of the USA as a country of freedom and endless possibilities. The proposal will not be accepted by the

¹² "Four Mobile Exhibitions: Caravan, Train, Barge", *The Architectural Review*, n.° 4 (1953): 216-225.

¹³ The Marshall House is the Berlin's American House.

¹⁴ Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the home front*.

dominant institutions. They will favour instead the image of a consumer society and of immediate promise of happiness and goods.

In Bruxelles, the rivalry between the two economic and political systems to control the world prevailed on all sorts of propositions for cooperation and brotherhood. The optimistic intentions to contain the cold war were crippled by the political contraposition expressed within the US and the URSS pavillons, where in the second one is displayed the first satellite to orbit around Planet Earth – the *Sputnik* – launched on 4 October 1957.

The most important and influential US exhibition in the 1950s was the *American National Exhibition in Moscow* in 1959 (ANEM), not so much because it was housed in the Soviet Union but because of the significance that it carried. During the ANEM Richard Nixon, with the *Kitchen Debates* deliberately shifted attention away from the space race to consumer culture.¹⁵

Apart from the matter regarding the atomic power dispute and the space race, what was left of the idea of Modernity in the post-modern and post-atomic era was based on what Nixon stated in Moscow: the importance of the link between consumer goods and political freedom, redefining the concept of freedom through the one of freedom of consumption, freedom of choice, and the free-market system.

It is not by chance that because of the diminishing of the ideological conflicts, the knocking down of walls and the globalization taking place nowadays, the current market and political strategies are the consequences of that process, in other words the natural development of the post WWII years policies.

The promise for a better world that flourished through the free choice of products, the free circulation of people and ideas, imposed its supremacy above any other alternative.

Development is now the prerogative of anybody who has the will and strength to perpetuate that kind of social project which coincides with the one of a consumer society and of individual freedom. In such a condition of total eclipse of reason¹⁶ the architect has given up influencing society, relinquishing, above all, his or hers social function and passively enduring the dictatorship of consensus.¹⁷

Despite the congruous number of architects that tried to contrast that evolutionary¹⁸ process, in reality their commitment appears not so incisive and meaningful. On the other hand, like Tom Wolfe¹⁹ reminds us, architects' propositions have never really influenced the house that we inhabit. The house in which we live in today, once the expression of different ways of living and of the different cultures of the world – first because of standardization and the myth of the machine and after because of the goods aspirational dream and the ethnocentric cultural model – is interpreted and conceived as a product for a one dimensional humanity,²⁰ in which the only devices intended for the creation of a comfortable and humane environment are gadgets of sorts

¹⁵ Kitchen Debate, July 24, 1959.

¹⁶ Max Horkheimer, *Eclipse of Reason* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947).

¹⁷ Max Horkheimer, *Eclipse*, 20.

¹⁸ It will suffice mentioning the Mediterranean, ancient and popular genealogies of modern architecture put forward by Italian and Spanish architects in the 1930s, or the subversive suggestions offered, after 1959 at the Otterlio's CIAM, by the Team X group.

¹⁹ Tom Wolfe, *From Bauhaus To Our House* (New York: Pocket Books, 1981).

²⁰ Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man* (London: Routledge, 1964).

and domestic appliances. The need to use catalogues and standardised solutions points to the problem of the uselessness of other forms of approach, because the post-modern home keeps all its answers in the manuals, the regulations and the “technical” and performing specifications. The only way to make up for the formal absence of cultural rooting is to include in our houses technical devices that could induce and “guarantee” comfort and “physical well-being” to the domestic environments.

In an article Reyner Banham describes a modern day home in which all the pieces of mechanical equipment could exist without the house itself and he reminds us that “*A Home is not a House*”²¹: «when your house contains such a complex of piping, flues, [...] antennae, conduits, freezers, heaters – when it contains so many services that the hardware could stand up by itself without any assistance from the house, why have a house to hold it up?».²² The importance that equipment has in the construction, both with regard to the cost and the dimensions, is equal to half of the house itself. Banham seems to be well aware of this aspect, so much so that in his ironical assumption, the house could become a glass bauble, a wooden beam floor and a column made of a number of pieces of equipment. A house built in such a way ignores any possibility of privacy and comfort in terms of space, all made, as it is, of machines and pieces of equipment, it does not offer any appeal to be inhabited, if not as part of a vast natural outdoors space. With houses and cities under a glass dome, the idea itself of architecture disappears, so much so as to have to consider the possibility of architecture without buildings.

In opposition to the “machine-as-a-piece-of-good” house, produced first by the machine society and soon after by the consumers’ one, the architect Bernard Rudofsky, since the 1930s in contrast with the Modernist and Rationalist enquiries, puts forward the concept of a mythical house, evocative of an ideal Paradise, a sheltered place, inhabited by Gods, elves, fauns and vestals, that progress and reason though of having swept away for ever.²³

Educated in Vienna, active in Italy from 1932, his writings and planning proposals published on the *Domus* magazine in 1938, Rudofsky states that “*What is necessary is not a new way of building but a new way of living*”.²⁴ His research establishes a new interrelationships between architecture and numerous ways of living. By acknowledging that standardization and the establishment of a Modernist international culture that would have brought on the cancellation of cultural diversity, Rudofsky defines his planning proposals as the result of the comparative study of the different ways in which the world civilizations live. The new way of living to which he refers to is none other than the need to learn from other societies to rectify the noticeable aporias on which our houses (the Western ones) and our ways of living are conceived. With no concern for the consolidated habits caused by prejudice or by the fear to confront the exotic and the unknown, Rudofsky constantly asks to verify the ways of living to which we are passively subject to.

Rudofsky develops this interest of his during the occasions in which he is involved, the projects, the writings, the editorials and the unconventional and bizarre exhibitions that he devotes to anonymous forms of architecture, to clothing and footwear. He displays the amateur or

²¹ Reyner Banham, “A Home is Not a House”, *Art in America*, n.° 2 (1965): 70-79.

²² Reyner Banham, “A Home is Not a House”, 70.

²³ On Bernard Rudofsky see: Ugo Rossi, *Bernard Rudofsky Architect* (Napoli: CLEAN, 2016).

²⁴ Bernard Rudofsky, “Non ci vuole un nuovo modo di costruire ci vuole un nuovo modo di vivere”, *Domus* n.° 123 (1938): 6-15.

dilettante point of view away from the *mainstream* one of the experts.²⁵ The central and constant topic of his work, guided by the rejection for an ethnocentric perspective – starting from the *Lebensreform* and from the art history without names by Wölfflin – leads him to recognize that the forms of architecture without a *pedegree* and the ones by “*ignorant*” builders are far richer in terms of culture, history and myth than the ones generated by science and techniques. They are the most appropriate to the inherent peculiarities of specific places and much more so than the pre-packaged and universal solutions adopted by the industrialised countries.²⁶

In his projects in Italy, Brazil, Long Island or Frigiliana, Rudofsky expresses his “*joie de vivre*” through gardens whose outdoor areas can be experienced like the indoor ones. For him the luxury of a house is not determined by technique and technologies: air conditioning, jacuzzi, fireplaces with digital flames, television sets, vacuum cleaners, fridges... it is rather a room in the open air in which, like in the garden of Eden, one can work and sleep, cook and eat, play and relax, in an environment cooled by trees and water and enlightened by the sun.

Surprisingly so, Peter Harnden and Lanfranco Bombelli will reach a similar result in the early years of the 1960s. After leading the US Government Department for Architecture from 1949 to 1959, and planning more than three hundred projects aimed to promote the *American Way of Living*, when the government will offer them to leave the Parisian office to move to Washington, in view of the problems encountered at the *Brussels’ World Fair*, Harnden and Bombelli will decline the offer. Instead they choose to settle down in Spain,²⁷ preferring to work for a more selected and finer elite of clients, planning houses that have nothing to do with modernity, internationalism, technique and industrialization.

Spellbound by the places and by the Mediterranean way of life, their houses in Cadaques, Malaga, Palafrugell²⁸ originate from the popular housing tradition and the one the local seamen's one. They will be made of “real and functioning chimneys”, pergolas, walls, roof tiling and most of all they will be built to be inhabited without machineries and electrical appliances, cooled down by trees, yards, mats, reed wattles or, much like the Arab Spanish architectures, by water basins.²⁹

The Western house concept widespread all over the world and forged on an international and universal way of living, does away with the element of surprise sprung from personal discovery, in its place remains only its pure and simple acknowledgement. The only “surprise” is entrusted to some digital devices aimed to control the functions of the house, from central heating to oven programming, from the burglar alarm system to the opening of the door. If like Banham says, this house is not a house anymore because the machine has taken its place, today we can also say that the houses which we inhabit are not homes because they lack the cultural roots, the multifaceted, milenary history of the ways of living, they lack of a specific place, a precise situation, just like Rudofsky and Harnden & Bombelli demonstrated.

²⁵ Bernard Rudofsky, *The prodigious builders* (NY-London: Harcourt Brace, 1977): 84-127.

²⁶ Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects* (New York: MoMA, 1964).

²⁷ Harnden and Associates will participate in the early 1960s to some exhibitions organized by the government probably because of contracts already stipulated. The important international shows that will be organized soon after in Kabul, Dehli and Moscow will be entrusted to Jack Massey, Buckminster Fuller and to the Eames. See: Jack Masey, Conway Lloyd Morgan, *Cold War Confrontations* (Baden: Lars Müller, 2008); Peter Blake, *No Place Like Utopia* (New York: Knopf, 1993).

²⁸ Manuel Martín (editor), *El Cadaqués de Peter Hamden i Lanfranco Bombelli* (Girona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2003);

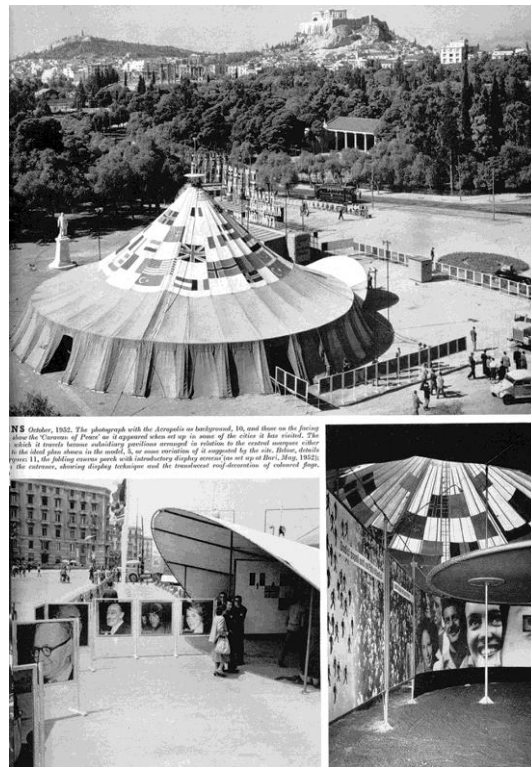
²⁹ “An American's House in Spain, Air Conditioned by Water”, *Vogue*, n.º 8 (1962): 124-130.



Figure 1: Luigi Cosenza and Bernard Rudofsky, Casa a Positano, 1936
Source: Archivio Cosenza, Napoli

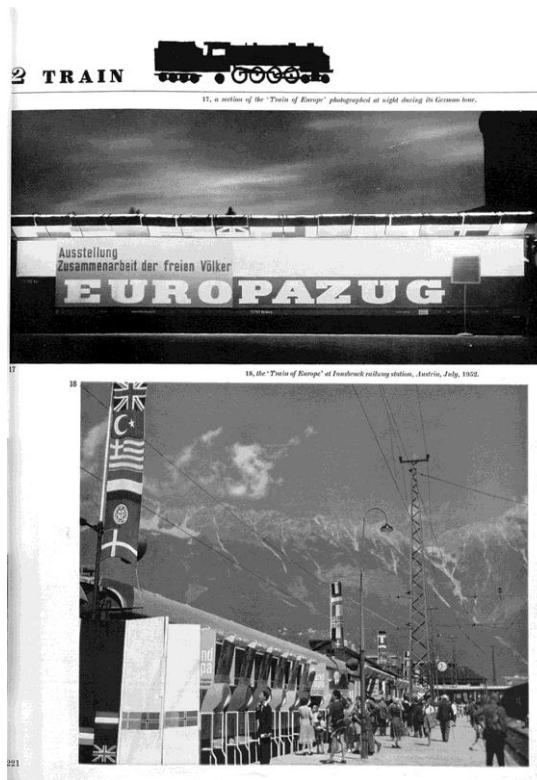


Figure 2: Luigi Cosenza and Bernard Rudofsky, Casa Oro, Napoli 1935-1937
Source: Archivio Cosenza, Napoli



15 October, 1932. The photograph with the Acropolis as background, 16, and those on the facing show the 'Caravan of Peace' as it appeared when set up in some of the cities it has visited. The which it travels having underlying specific program in relation to the social movement which in the ideal plus shown in the world, 5, or some variation of it suggested by the site. Below, Article figure 13, the building course given with introductory display section (see set up at Bonn, June, 1932); 14, the entrance, showing display technique and the translucent re-decoration of colored paper.

Figure 3: Four Mobile Exhibition: Caravan
Source: *Architectural Review*, n° 4 (1953): 219



2 TRAIN 
17, a section of the 'Train of Europe' photographed at night during its German tour.

18, the 'Train of Europe' at Innsbruck railway station, Austria, July, 1932.

Figure 4: Four Mobile Exhibition: Train
Source: *Architectural Review*, n° 4 (1953): 221



Figure 5: An American's House in Spain, Air Conditioned by Water
 Source: *Vogue*, n° 8 (1962): 124-125

Bibliography

- “An American's House in Spain, Air Conditioned by Water”, *Vogue*, n.° 8 (1962): 124-130.
- Ariès, Philippe, and Georges Duby. *Histoire de la Vie privée*. Paris: Seuil, 1985.
- Banham, Reyner. “A Home is Not a House”, *Art in America*, n.° 2, (1965): 70-79.
- . *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*. New York: Praeger ,1960.
- Blake, Peter. *No Place Like Utopia*. New York: Knopf, 1993.
- Castillo, Greg. *Cold War on the home front: The soft power of mid Century design*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- “Four Mobile Exhibitions: Caravan, Train, Barge”, *The Architectural Review*, n.° 4, (1953): 216-225.
- Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, and Philip Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*. New York: Norton & company, 1932.
- Lyotard, Jean-Francois. *La condition postmoderne*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979.
- Marcuse, Herbert. *One Dimensional Man*. London Routledge, 1964.
- Martín, Manuel (editor). *El Cadaqués de Peter Harnden i Lanfranco Bombelli*. Girona: Collegi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2003.
- Masey, Jack, and Conyay Lloyd Morgan, *Cold War Confrontations*. Baden: Lars Müller, 2008.

Orwell, George. "You and the Atomic Bomb", *Tribune*, London, October 19, 1945.

Pevsner, Nikolaus. *Pioneers of the Modern Movement, from William Morris to Walter Gropius*. London: Faber and Faber, 1936.

Rossi, Ugo. *Bernard Rudofsky Architect*. Napoli: CLEAN, 2016.

Rudofsky, Bernard. "Non ci vuole un nuovo modo di costruire ci vuole un nuovo modo di vivere", *Domus*, n.° 123 (1938): 6-12.

----- *Architecture Without Architects*. New York: MoMA, 1964.

----- *The prodigious builders*. NY-London: Harcourt Brace, 1977.

Tom Wolfe, *From Bauhaus To Our House*. New York: Pocket Books, 1981.