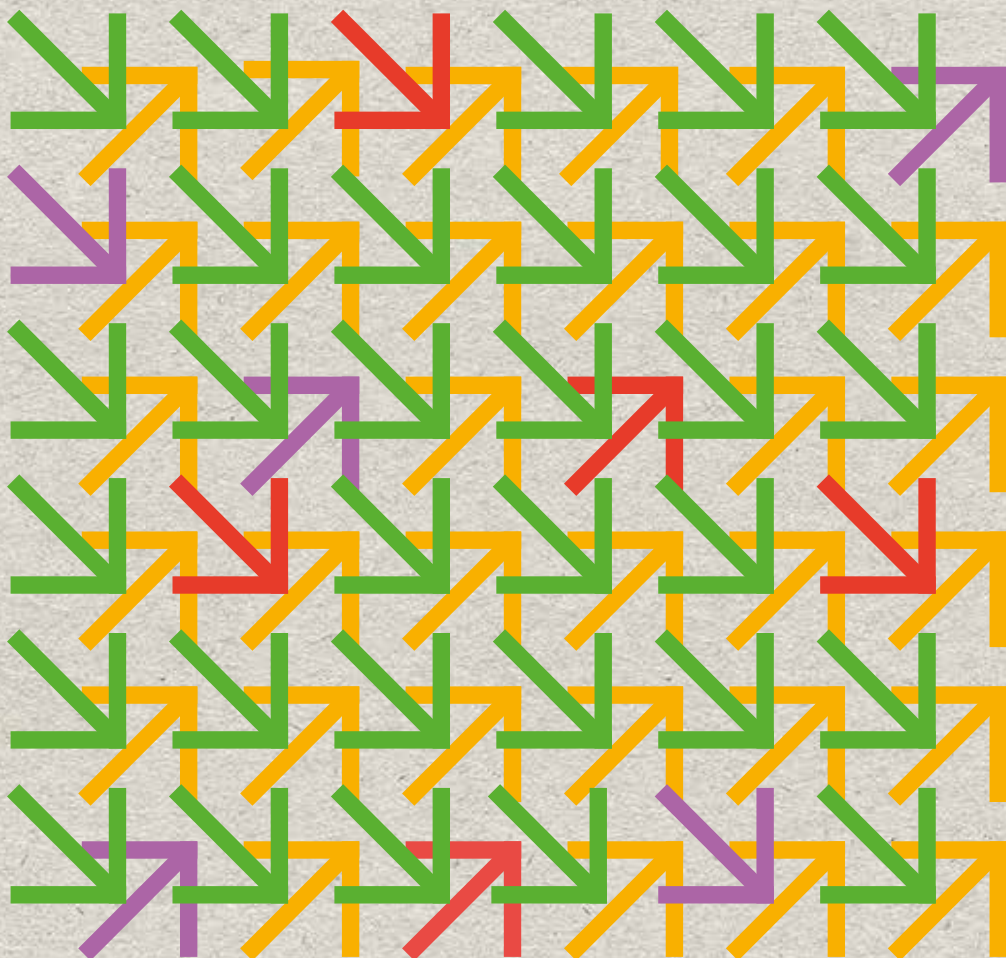


Crossing frontiers



**International networks
of Spanish architecture (1939-1975)**

Antonio Pizza y Enrique Granell (eds)





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On the occasion of the presentation of the minute book, the third AEMCI seminar, «International Networks of Spanish Architecture», was held at the Barcelona School of Architecture (ETSAB-UPC) on September 27 and 28, 2021.

In the QR code you can find, in open access, the material produced by the research group:

- Zotero database, which collects the bibliography consulted on the subject (articles, books, book chapters...), in the course of the investigation;

- Link to view the audio-visual *Crossing frontiers. International networks of Spanish architecture (1939-1975)*, written and directed by Yolanda Olmos and Carme Puche;

- Website (www.spanisharchitecturenetwork.upc.edu) of the research group where, in addition to the publications produced by the group over the years, the direct link to the English edition of this book is available in open access.



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This minutes book is dedicated to Fernando Álvarez Prozorovich,
a member of our research group, who died on April 3, 2020,
due to the Covid 19 pandemic.

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PRESENTATION

Antonio Pizza and Enrique Granell

Key words: Spain, History of architecture, internationalization of Spanish culture, magazines, exhibitions, congresses, competitions, Francoism.

Crossing frontiers. International networks of Spanish architecture (1939-1975) is a book of essays which presents the results of the research «Spanish Architecture in International Media: Publications, Exhibitions, Congresses (first part: 1939-1975)», project I+D+i (HAR2017-85205-P) which has received the support of the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities and the European Regional Development Fund.

The main objective of this research group has been to map the presence of Spanish architectural culture abroad, during Francoism (1939-1975), through the study of the most relevant international periodical publications, exhibitions and congresses of that time, outlining a constellation of testimonies —not at all exhaustive— and sketching a history of international critique about Spanish architecture throughout this chronological period.

This research about the media presents a specific complexity of a structural nature due to the dual aspect from which is presented: the «external» and the «internal». From the «external» vision we have tried to analyse the interaction between the diverse publishing media, exhibiting institutions, private and public entities of architectural dissemination, which have woven a network of personal and group interchanges, as well as discussions and ideological positioning related to the international debate.

The «internal» vision, however, has needed a different methodology: we have studied the specific mechanics of the places of transmission (for example, the role of some particular figures in the direction of a magazine or an exhibiting entity),

its dialectics, the channels chosen in the dissemination process; something which we could, ultimately, underline as «cultural identity» of each of the cases of study.

This type of approximation allows the re-evaluation of images and texts that in previous studies had been dismissed by conventional historiography, shedding lighting on them with a new energy which allows us to identify a periphery highly expressive in its interpretative values.

Exceeding their intrinsic logic the documents have been considered as communication vehicles capable of interacting in more ample contexts. This endows them with new and surprising meanings within the historic-critic reading of events, to place them in the field of their analysis as product of a complex set of people and circumstances.

It is a hypothesis of *re-writing* history; a history that has to be necessarily interdisciplinary, surpassing mere descriptive information and aspiring to destabilize the usual historiographic topics —like those of the «modern movement», «continuity» or «rupture»—, now read from the angle of material culture. Thus we want to emphasise the semantic nexus between cultural production and media transmission, focusing our attention in political, social and professional developments, personal and group connections, public reception of the different proposals and forms of communications used.

In conclusion, this research has come to design an «archive» of modern Spanish architecture «seen from abroad», through unpublished documentary sources, with the intention of proposing a critical revision of the history of Spanish architecture of that period based on new knowledge.

This cataloguing has assumed the form of a bibliographic data base in Zotero, a platform of open access to researchers on the internet. The base collects, in a detailed way, the references to articles, books and chapters of books about Spanish architecture published abroad in the period of study.

Finally, all of the research carried out has been ordered —in the presentation conclusive seminar (27th and 28th September 2021, Barcelona) as well as in this publication— into thematic

groups: Spain in the media; Particular Figures; Interchanges and Studies about Spanish heritage.

Architectures in the media

Magazines, fairs, congresses, personal and group interchanges – understood in their double aspect of «documents», from which to extract live testimonies of the contemporary architectural debate, and of «platforms» for the dissemination of certain architectonic culture– represent a primary source of information, as well as functioning as ideological and selection of works filters.

The three essays that form this section focus on the different sides of the same coin. If, on one hand, we find Spanish architecture in international media (**Pablo Arza**, «Spanish architects in foreign magazines (1949-1975)»), on the other we find, as a necessary contrast, the presence of international architecture in Spanish media (**Ana Esteban Maluenda**: «Hodgepodge: foreign architecture in Spanish magazines»).

Both texts help us to understand the dissimilar attention given to the phenomenon in the two directions. Spanish architecture had an impact in the international sphere thanks to uni-personal contacts, international exhibitions and relevant professional prizes. Over the years, Spanish architects joined in groups that tried to position themselves in the general discourse of architecture, succeeding on some occasions.

The international presence in Spanish magazines had a different intensity. Despite how Spanish architecture was considered abroad, a large list of national architects considered themselves part of a sphere not limited by Spanish borders. Their knowledge of it was uneven, sometimes even anecdotic, guided by the chance of travelling or of foreign publications more present in the studies than generally admitted.

This section also includes the work about the impact of publishing production that allowed the introduction of the international architectural theoretic debate in Spain in the mid-sixties

(**Magali Franchino:** «*Provoke debate.* Architecture, Theory and Critique in Editorial Gustavo Gili»). Until that date the publishing production in this field was almost exclusively monopolised by the Argentinian editorial industry, at times in the hands of exiled Spaniards. The successive crises in the Andean country contributed to the moving of the centre of publishing production towards Spain, where in the next two decades the publishing house Gustavo Gili had an especially important place. This rise coincided with the appearance, in the 60s and 70s, of new currents of thought which organised the international debate.

Individual trajectories

This section deals with the international fortune of several particular figures of Spanish architecture who hit the media in a different but deliberate way.

Ramón Graus and **Teresa Navas-Ferrer** present in their work, «Modern icons of the ‘calculated risk’, Candela and Torroja in international key (1936-1973)», the impact achieved by Eduardo Torroja with the self-publishing of a book that explained his work prior to the war in the construction of reinforced concrete vaults. In 1939, after being appointed civil director of the Central Laboratory for Testing Construction Materials, he used this platform to project his influence in the USA, even having a meeting with F. L. Wright. For Candela the leverage of his ascent was the publication of the Cosmic Rays Laboratory in the campus of the Ciudad Universitaria in Mexico. This article also aims to highlight how the search for forms, ever more related to the spectacle logic, has made recent history to question its true significance.

On his part, **Nicolás Martín Domínguez** («From *Paris avec amour*: Corrales y Molezún in three French publications (1958-1970)») asks the question, how do they see us from abroad? applying a different communicative strategy, developed by Ramón Vázquez Molezún and José Antonio Corrales. Between 1958 and 1970 these architects gradually published a dozen ar-

ticles about their work in several French media. The detailed study of these publications would allow the author to doubt the generalised belief of the bad treatment given to Spanish architecture in specialised foreign press.

Marisa García-Vergara and **Julio Garnica** address in «Bofill, heterodoxy and mass media. From utopia to history (1960-1975)», a very special case. In the mid-70s the creation of a multidisciplinary workshop called the attention of the international media to the work of Ricardo Bofill, recognising from the beginning a kind of fusion between tradition and urban utopia. «La Ciudad en el Espacio» was the result of a yearned for prefiguration of the future, based on the development of aggregative systems. This project made the workshop into a kind of *intellectual guerrilla* which launched itself into the conquest of the media which paid great attention to them.

Interchanges

This chapter is about the real presence of Spanish architectural culture in the international sphere through the construction of national pavilions as well as visits of relevant personalities to meetings and congresses. In fact, in a period of cultural obscurantism, the direct, personal and group interchanges between exponents of European modernity and local professionals would be fundamental —along with «more institutional» relationships and presences.

Enrique Granell, («Spanish pavilions at international fairs 1951-1965»), underlines the interest they provoked in specialised media as well as in the personal contact established by the authors with international architects. There is a first cycle constituted by the pavilions in the Triennale di Milano, in which Spanish architecture is presented along with the most advanced plastic arts attempting a synthesis of the arts. Secondly, there are the pavilions of Brussels and New York which demonstrated that Spanish architecture promoted by the Francoist regime had a double face.

On one hand, the one produced in the interior of the country, of very variable quality, and on the other, the one projected to represent it internationally, equivalent to the cultural currents that defined these competitions.

Joaquín Medina Warmburg, in «Fantasy, technology and consumption. Spanish architecture in Germany», determines the start of the interest caused in Germany by Spanish architecture in José Ortega y Gasset's visit to the Darmstadt congress in 1951, where he coincided with Heidegger as well as the top echelons of German architects. From that moment the interest for Gaudí's architecture was emphasised, first interpreted in expressionist key and later in fantastic key. Later on German technicality became interested in Torroja and Candela's laminar structures. The third way was opened up by mass tourism in the 60s. The construction of tourist facilities in which some German companies took part and which accommodate thousands of German visitors meant they were published and commented on in the specialised press.

In those years the relationship with Italy was also revived. **Antonio Pizza** in his text «Multiple dialogues between Italy and Spain during the Sixties», explains to us the interest first developed by Bruno Zevi in his magazine *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*, emphasising a certain continuity of the architecture of that moment with Gaudí and *Modernisme*. The highest point would be, without a doubt, the publication of the very significant issue 15 of the Italian magazine *Zodiac*, directed by Vittorio Gregotti, who would talk, referring about Spain, of a «una storia di straordinaria qualità per molta parte ancora da scoprire». In the magazine the experiences developed by architects in Madrid and Barcelona appear.

Paulo Tormenta Pinto, **Ana Brandão** and **Sara Silva Lopes** explain in their text «Nuno Portas and the Spanish influence on housing policies during the democratic transition», the change suffered in the relationship between Portugal and Spain due to the Carnation Revolution. The central figure of this interchange was Nuno Portas who had already had contact with Spanish architects

in the mid-60s during the Small Congresses. The events of April 1974 led Portas to hold posts of responsibility related to housing policies. To discuss his program he summoned an interdisciplinary group of Spanish architects, urban planners and sociologists. The events that took place later with the arrival of democracy to Spain in 1975 intensified this relationship.

Studies about Spanish heritage

The history of Spanish architecture had been written from within, isolated from its relations with history in general; and these would be the years in which the idea of the existence of a Spanish architectural «heritage» would also be consolidated «from abroad». It is a necessary subject for reflection for an adequate consideration of this historical legacy as well as for setting out eventual actuation tools, in relation to its protection and/or restoration.

In her article «A global history: the interpretations of Earl E. Rosenthal and George Kubler about Spanish architectural heritage, (1948-1957)», **Carolina B. García-Estévez**, highlights the importance of the work of American Hispanists who put great Spanish monuments in relation to universal history of architecture. Their interpretations were occasionally divergent. Rosenthal explained the Cathedral of Granada placing it in a global discourse. George Kubler argued with him questioning the unilaterality of his thesis, insisting that architecture must be understood not as an artefact that belongs to a specific time, but rather as a series of elements that define the features of a specific family.

When Gaudí died on the 10th of June 1926, his posterity, or fortune, was projected towards the future in two divergent ways. **Juan José Lahuerta** specifies it in «On Gaudí's double fortune: impostures and misunderstandings». One came from the local context and had to do with the enormous popularity which Gaudí had always enjoyed in the city of Barcelona, first as one of its great eccentrics and then as solitary genius, sullen and misunderstood and, finally, as «architect of God». The route

of the other way, however, was starting right at that moment and its character was decidedly universal: it would consist of fitting Gaudí's work into the formal and ideological machinery of the vanguards—from Paris in particular and, even more particularly surrealists—, and secondly, in short, in the general economy of the so called Modern Movement.

From 1949, coinciding with the visits of some renowned Italian architects and critics to Barcelona—as **Antonio Pizza** and **Marisa García-Vergara** detail in their essay («Recovery of the popular and historization of Antoni Gaudí in Italian publications (1949-1958)»)—, the re-reading of popular architecture and an unusual attention towards Antoni Gaudí's work would give place to a critical revision of this heterogeneous legacy, feeding debates and polemics about the new orientations of post-war architecture. Sartoris would be one of the first to point out Gaudí's modernity, placing it in the history of modern architecture. On the other hand, Bruno Zevi puts him as starting point of his «historization» of modern architecture, publishing the photographic reproduction of the multi-coloured bench in Park Güell as the dust jacket of his foundational —*Storia dell'architettura moderna*—, in 1950.

The studies collected in this volume do not intend to close the study of this period. There are many subjects still not seen that come out in connection with open discussions. More than a summary they respond to a way of relating to history. When we close a door many others open.

Architectures in the media

Spanish architects in foreign magazines (1949-1975)

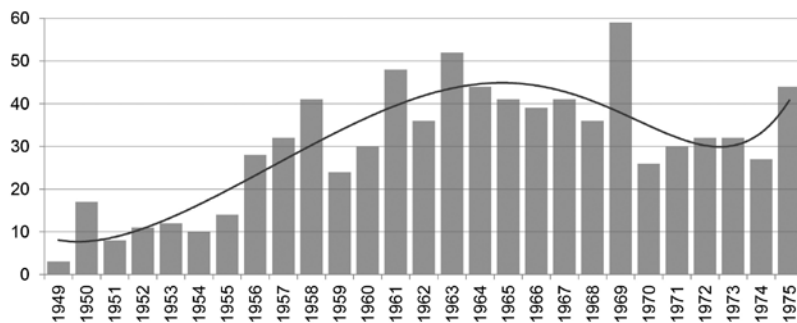
Pablo Arza Garaloces

In 1992, when Kenneth Frampton published the third revised edition of *Modern Architecture. A Critical History*, he decided to incorporate a new chapter focused on four countries «in promising development, in view of the average good quality of their architecture» (1). One of those countries was Spain. For the English critic, the good situation of the Spanish architectonic discipline was not a phenomenon that had happened in a fast and unexpected way. Rather, it was the result of thorough work developed through the last decades. In fact, Frampton maintained, «the current power of Spanish contemporary architecture emanates from the beginning of the 50s» (2).

Besides, as is well known, approximately from 1950, several Spanish architects started, not without vacillations, the search process of that modernity which would gradually substitute the academicist and nationalist figurations supported by the Regime after the civil war. It was the beginning of a new phase in which «vanguard Spanish architecture, conscious of its already endemic underdevelopment compared to European culture, [...] would start an intense adventure» (3). Moreover, this moment coincided in time with the attempt to overcome the political and economic isolation of the autocratic period, which no doubt helped to ease the cultural interchange with the exterior.

The results of this updating effort started to be visible, beyond the Spanish context, from the pages of different foreign architectural magazines. Some events, like the V National Convention of Architects in 1949, in which the work of Coderch roused the attention in the Italian sphere, the Reynolds prize to the SEAT dining area in 1957 or the success of the Spanish Pavilion in the World Exhibition in Brussels in 1958, caused Spanish architecture to receive growing attention from the international specialised press throughout the decade of the 50s. This process of diffusion would consolidate in the following decade, as the twelve monographic issues on Spanish architects published between 1962 and 1970, as well as many articles (4) (Fig. 1).

There are many factors, related and unrelated to the architectural discipline, which favoured this process. This text focuses its attention on the role played by the Spanish professionals in the diffusion and kudos of their architecture abroad, through the pages of periodic publications. This is a question that can help to better understand the phenomenon, because in many cases what is said or shown in relation to Spanish architecture is as interesting as knowing who provided that information and the reasons which drove them.



[Fig. 1] Number of articles per year dedicated to Spanish architecture in foreign magazines between 1949-1975. Elaborated by the author.

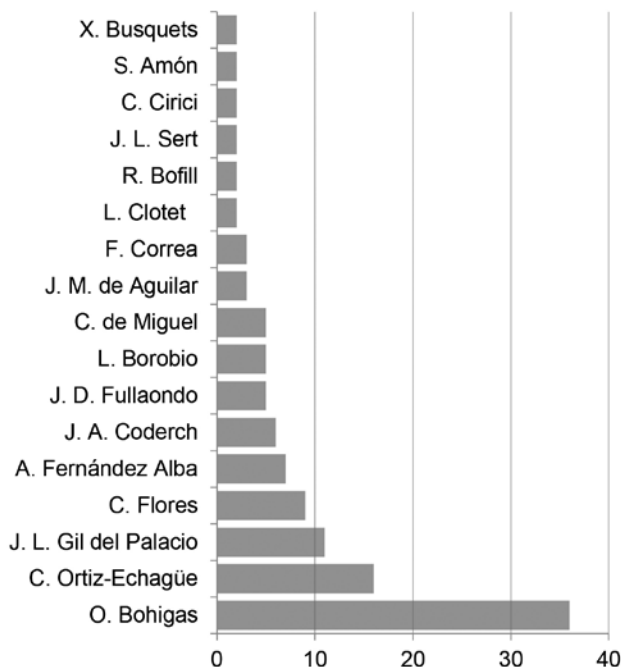
Spanish collaborations in detail

Before introducing this panorama, it would be convenient to clarify some methodological questions. Firstly, the primary sources of this study have been foreign architectural magazines, mainly European and American. The intention of offering a precise vision of the reception that Spanish modern architecture had in this media justifies the exhaustive search of references. In this sense, we not only have paid attention to the great periodic publications, but also to any other that had some reference about Spain, even the most modest (5).

Besides, analysing the found references we have confirmed that the author of the article does not always appear reflected nor the person who provides the information for its elaboration. Only 38% of the total of articles include the author or the source from which the information comes—I mean foreign collaborators as well as Spanish—. Therefore, the names that will be presented here are those of which there is written evidence in the magazine, although this does not mean they are the only ones who have contributed to this work or even that some of them had not carried out a longer labour than that registered by the publications. For instance, this is the case of Antonio Coderch. His name appears in six articles but he collaborated with *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and *Domus*, above all, facilitating materials from the projects of his studio, as well as productions by his colleagues, for their publication (6).

Having clarified these questions, the data extracted from the magazine has facilitated the finding of 145 characters, responsible for some articles; of these, almost a third—44—are Spanish architects, critics or commentators. The rest 101 are foreigners. However, the Spaniards are practically the authors of almost as many articles as the foreigners, which allows us to declare that their labour was more constant (7). Additionally, 18% of the total of references dedicated to Spain in the period of study are by a Spanish author.

It is also convenient to point out that not all of them published with the same intensity. Of the identified characters, sev-



[Fig. 2] Authors of two or more articles about Spanish architecture in foreign magazines. Elaborated by the author.

enteen —less than half— had two or more contributions. Their names appear collected in the graphic shown next, where we can clearly see which authors were more active (Fig. 2).

Furthermore, if we pay attention to how the articles by Spanish authors are distributed throughout the period, there is a certain increase as the years progress. If between 1954 and 1964 we count sixty three articles, between 1965 and 1975 (8), there are eighty. This fact manifests the ongoing interest on the part of some architects to make known Spanish architecture abroad. It is true that to this quantitative growth also contributed, on one hand, the increase of the attention given by foreign critics to Spanish production and, on the other, a greater recognition of the intellectual authorship in periodical publications, which progres-

sively included the signature of the author in each article. At the same time, we can also detect an increase in the relationships of the Spanish with editors or members of other publications, which favoured the appearance of these chronicles.

Additionally, in relation to the approach and contents of the articles, in general terms we can affirm that the majority are focused on presenting the results of the professional practice and not on the theoretical corpus that might support it or place it in international tendencies. Also, apart from a few exceptions, mostly the authors of these articles addressed the architectonic production of their colleagues and not their own. But, as is logical, they show preference for those professionals with whom they have architectural or intellectual affinity.

Finally, in relation to the link of the Spanish authors with the magazines, we have detected two types of collaborations: sporadic and regular. The first one refers to figures who collaborate occasionally in certain issues of a magazine. In the second are those authors who publish assiduously in the same magazine. As we will see it is habitual that they are part of the publication editorial team. It would be convenient to clarify that there are authors who can be in both groups, like for example César Ortiz-Echagüe, *Werk* correspondent, but who also wrote an article for *Der Architekt* and another for *Bauen Wohnen*.

The role of the Spaniards in monographic issues

Within the collaborations called sporadic, the prominence of those architects who with their orientation and advice participated in the preparation of the monographic issues dedicated to Spanish architecture throughout the 60s decade stands out (Fig. 3). The foreign editors, facing a reality that in many cases they barely knew, travelled to Spain or established contact with local architects, who helped them with the task of selecting contents for the different issues, applying the understanding of the keys of the country's architectonic history.

In some cases, this fact is faithfully reflected in the appreciation notes that the directing teams dedicated to them in these special issues. For example, the editorial department of *Baumeister*, in the 1967 monographic, recognised «the cordial support, advice and hospitality» given by «Francisco Cabrera, Carlos Flores, Ferenc Lantos and Vicente Bonet» for the elaboration of the issue (9). Also Vittorio Gregotti, in *Zodiac*, expressed his thanks «for all the courage and the intelligence of the group of Spanish architects who built this issue» (10).

Some architects had more responsibility and implication in the elaboration of several monographs. The case of César Ortiz-Echagüe, one of the authors of the mentioned SEAT dining area,



[Fig. 3] Cover of some monographs dedicated to Spain: *Werk* (1962), *Kokusai-Kentiku* (1963), *Zodiac* (1965), *Aujourd'hui Art et Architecture* (1966), *Baumeister* (1967) and *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (1970).

is significant. His role was fundamental in the first special issue about Spain, published in *Werk* magazine in 1962. Ortiz-Echagüe himself recounted that after the publication of the dining area in the magazine, they proposed him to present the Spanish architectonic panorama. From this proposal ensued the issue of June '62, for which Ortiz-Echagüe made a selection of works and wrote the text that explained the context in which this architecture was developing. Another example is the special issue of *Kokusai-Kentiku*, published as a result of the exhibition *Treinta años de arquitectura Española (1930-60)*, which was taken to Japan by students of the Escuela de Madrid in 1962. Carlos de Miguel actively collaborated in this issue (11).

It is worth pointing out that another source of help to write some monographs was the bibliography on recent Spanish architecture. We have an example in the book by Carlos Flores, *Arquitectura Española contemporánea*, which at least two magazines used as source to elaborate two instalments they published about Spain. The first one is the Norwegian *Tijdschrift voor architectuur en beeldende kunsten. Katholiek bouwblad*, specialising in sacred art. In 1963 this publication dedicated issue fifteen to Spanish religious architecture, where several works appeared by architects like Fisac or García de Paredes. Besides the works it included an extensive article, titled «Spaanse architecten zoeken een eigen vormgeving» (12) («Spanish architects find their own design»), written by R. Blijstra, which presented to the reader a synthesis of the development of recent Spanish architecture, under the guide of Flores' book (Fig. 4). The author made constant allusions to the Spanish historian and the buildings and architects who he mentioned in his book, describing it as «a work of reference» (13), an «excellent job» (14) that showed the «renovation of Spanish architecture» (15).

The other magazine is *Baumeister*. In the mentioned '67 monograph Dieter v. Schwarze (16) also took as reference the book by Flores for his review of Spanish architecture from Gaudí onwards. These episodes brought to light the reach of Carlos Flores' work, with which he provided, perhaps without intending to, a deeper knowledge of Spanish architecture to foreign characters,



[Fig. 4] Several pages of the monograph of the magazine *Tijdschrift voor architectuur en beeldende kunsten*. *Katholiek bouwblad*. 1963, n. 15.

[Fig. 5] First pages of the articles by Juan Daniel Fullaondo, «Les contradictions de l'école de Madrid» and by Lluís Clotet, «A Barcelone: pour une architecture de l'évocation», *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* magazine, 1970, n. 149, pp. 92-94 and 106-109.

in a moment when texts about recent architectonic history of the country were scarce.

Also, the Spaniards expressly wrote many of the texts collected in the special issues. In the issue of *Zodiac*, Gregotti's will to show «what is the reality of the profession in Spain, how teaching is carried out, what the level of professional culture is, the evolution of thought and the planning operations in relation to history» (17) was accomplished with the writings of Flores, Bohigas, Bofill, Correa or Fernández Alba amongst others. The monograph of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* also included several Spanish collaborations. The issue

started with an article by Fernández Alba, «Des voix du silence aux agents de l'exécutif» (18), in which he was in charge of giving a vision of Spanish contemporary architecture as a whole. Besides him, others approached the characteristics of each one of the two main architectonic focuses of the issue. «Les contradictions de l'école de Madrid» by J.D. Fullaondo, and «A Barcelone: Pour une architecture de l'évocation» by Lluís Clotet (19) (Fig. 5).

Correspondents of several foreign magazines

As we have indicated, along with collaborations of a punctual character, some architects also developed more regular collaborations with some magazines. Their names appeared as part of the editorial team, normally as collaborators or foreign correspondents. More than a dozen Spanish professionals had this occupation at some moments in the period of study (Fig. 6).

Especially relevant is the work carried out by Oriol Bohigas. In his intense and fertile professional trajectory, he developed in parallel with the exercise of the profession his work of diffusion and critique of architecture, not only in the local sphere, but also abroad. It was emphasised by Vittorio Gregotti, for whom one of Bohigas' most fecund efforts «has been his work of connection and interchange with the architectonic culture of other countries». The Italian architect remembers how Oriol Bohigas right from a young age frequently travelled to Italy, and later to England and the rest of Europe, USA, and South America, and how through «cultural visits, conferences, contests, juries or professional commissions, has kept alive the Spanish presence abroad» (20).

The spectrum of activities and interests developed by the Catalan architect is therefore very wide. I would like to stress here his facet as habitual collaborator in some foreign magazines, a work in which, in view of the obtained data, he was the architect who made the greatest effort. Bohigas was the author of a great number of individual articles in different foreign publications, in the sphere of monographic issues about Spain as well as beyond

it, but he was also the correspondent for the German magazine *Moebel Interior Design* and was member of the editorial team of the Italian magazine *Lotus International*.

In *Moebel Interior Design*, a magazine focused on design and with a marked international character —it is even published in three languages—, Bohigas started to collaborate in January 1961 and his activity lasted until 1970. In this case, he signed the articles along with two members of his study, Martorell and Mackay (21). Their collaboration is presented in a section dedicated to architecture, with interior spaces having special importance.

According to the memories of Lluís Domènech i Girbau (22), Bogihas' contact with *Moebel Interior Design* happened through de Mañá (23). This character was a Catalanian interior designer who had worked with Bohigas and Martorell in the housing in Pallars Street and had some contacts in the magazine. Thus, it seems it was him who recommended the Catalanian architects to collaborate in the architecture section. From then on, the articles

Revista	Arquitecto	Cargo	Periodo
<i>Binario</i>	C. Ortiz-Echagüe	Miembro del Consejo de Redacción	1960-64
<i>Binario</i>	A. Cagigal Gutierrez	Colaborador	1960-64
<i>Moebel Interior Design</i>	Bohigas-Martorell-Mackay	Corresponsal	1961-70
<i>Werk</i>	C. Ortiz-Echagüe	Corresponsal	1962-75 (sigue)
<i>Architecture, Formes et Fonctions</i>	X. Busquets	Corresponsal	1962-66
<i>Architectural Design</i>	C. Flores	Corresponsal	1965-70
<i>Architecture, Formes et Fonctions</i>	C. de Miguel	Corresponsal	1967-70
<i>The Architect's Journal</i>	J.L. Gil del Palacio	Colaborador	1969-74
<i>Cree</i>	M. C. Sánchez Larraburu	Corresponsal	1974-75 (sigue)
<i>Techniques et Architecture</i>	J.M.R. García	Corresponsal	1974
<i>Lotus Internacional</i>	O. Bohigas	Colaborador y miembro del Comité de Dirección	1974-75 (sigue)
<i>Spazio e società</i>	J.M. García de Paredes	Consultor	1975 (sigue)

[Fig. 6] Table that collects the regular collaborations of Spanish authors in different foreign magazines. Elaborated by the author.

about Spanish constructions were frequent in the German publication. In total, in the period of a decade, twenty-eight have been counted under his authorship. They are articles of two or three pages, which normally present a single work through abundant graphic material and a brief explicative text.

Of the almost thirty buildings published, more than half are houses. Amongst these we can find some works by Coderch and Valls, Javier Carvajal, Federico Correa and Alfonso Milá, or Antonio Lamela, to mention a few. At the same time, MBM also included some projects of their studio like the house in Palau de



[Fig. 7] First pages of the article by Oriol Bohigas, Josep Martorell, David Mackay, «Building for the architects of Catalonia, Barcelona», *Moebel interior design* magazine, 1963, n. 6, pp. 269-275.

[Fig. 8] César Ortiz-Echagüe, «Brief aus Spanien», *Werk* magazine. 1966, n. 9, pp. 207-209.

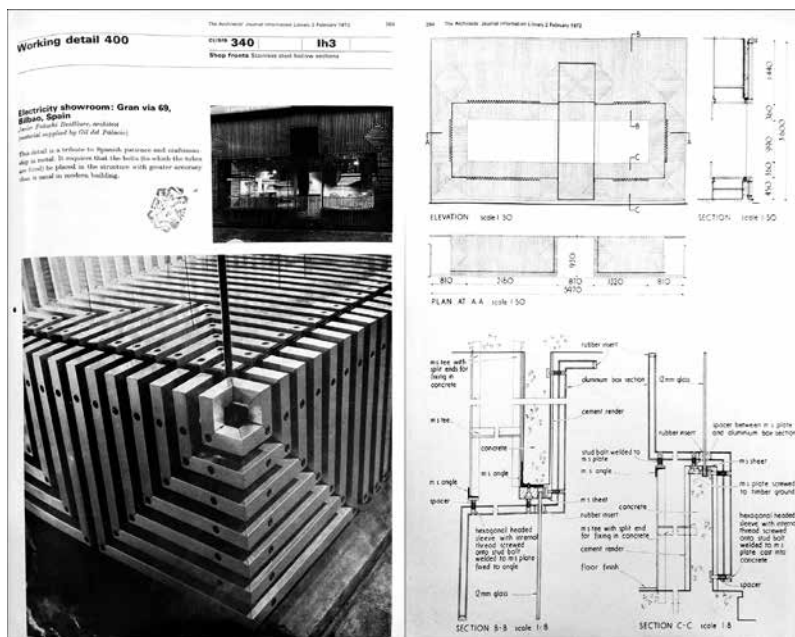
Plegamans, the house in Figaro or the housing in Pallars Street in Barcelona. Besides this prominence of habitational space, we have other examples outside this field. Perhaps the most noted is the Architects Association building in Barcelona, to which it dedicated the longest article (24) (Fig. 7).

After his work in *Moebel Interior Design*, Bohigas joined (25) the editorial team of *Lotus International* in 1974. He remained as collaborator until 1976, the year in which he joined the Management Committee along with Gae Aulenti, Christian Norberg-Schulz, Lionello Puppi, Joseph Rykwert and Vittorio Gregotti, the latter was probably the person who invited him to be part of the Italian publication (26). Although the collaboration with *Lotus* would be very productive, within the period of study, the Catalanian architect wrote two articles about housing, proof of his concerns in the field of critique and the theory of architecture (27). It should be pointed out that several members of the *Lotus* editorial office attended the convention in Cadaqués, celebrated in September 1975.

On the other hand, alongside Bohigas, the work carried out by César Ortiz-Echagüe in *Binario*, also stands out, above all, in *Werk*. The architect from Madrid developed a constant concern for Spanish architecture to be known abroad since he was young, being one of the pioneers, as J.M Pozo points out, «in being concerned by the transmission and divulgation of good ideas» (28). This is something that is clear when analysing the role he played in the edition of the *Werk* monograph in 1962 (29) and which is confirmed with the work he contributed when he was appointed correspondent of the magazine in Madrid.

Within the group of correspondents, *Werk* counted on members in Amsterdam, Oslo, Cologne, Berlin and Munich. In this sense, the fact that Ortiz-Echagüe was proposed as correspondent in a Mediterranean country, of which there had been hardly any news until that moment, to some extent constitutes an exceptional fact.

For more than a decade, from 1962 to 1976, Ortiz-Echagüe had this post. Under the title «Brief aus Spanien» («Letter from Spain»), he wrote up to eleven articles, as a kind of report, with the aim of «giving a general vision of Spanish architecture» (30) (Fig.8).



[Fig. 9] One of the articles by Gil del Palacio in «Working Detail», presents details of a shop by Javier Feduchi in Bilbao: «Electricity showroom: Gran via 69, Bilbao, Spain». *The Architects' Journal*. February 1972, pp. 263-264.

In contrast to the rest of the correspondents, who reviewed one building in each article, Ortiz-Echagüe took the liberty of presenting in each piece «the architecturally most interesting buildings» (31) of the year, he also added some considerations about the context in which Spanish professionals carried out their job. Without trying to explain each project in detail, he presented to the reader a suggestive brush-stroke of the path followed by Spanish architects in the 60s. All in all, through his articles he published a high number of buildings: almost one hundred, by sixty architects or so, amongst which stand out Antonio Fernández Alba, who appeared in at least seven articles, Corrales y Molezún, in five, and Fisac, in four.

But, along with Bohigas and Ortiz-Echagüe, we must also mention other architects who made interesting contributions. For example, Carlos Flores collaborated in *Architectural Design* in the

second half of the 60s with several articles, amongst them two guide-maps which collected together the most outstanding buildings from the 18th century to the 20th in Madrid and Barcelona (32), or Carlos de Miguel, correspondent in *Architecture, Formes et Fonctions* between 1967 and 1970, where he edited, amongst others, a thorough report dedicated to the Girasol building by Coderch and Torres Blancas by Oíza (33), the latter is the most published building by foreign magazines.

José Luis Gil del Palacio deserves to be mentioned too. Perhaps a lesser known figure but who, between 1969 and 1974, while he was still studying architecture at the Architectural Association in London, was an active collaborator of *The Architect's Journal*. His work consisted of the contribution of graphic material of different Spanish works for a section of the magazine called *Working Detail*, in which, thanks to Gil del Palacio, were published up to ten Spanish buildings (Fig. 9).

From mutual interest

This panoramic tour through the diffusion work carried out by the Spaniards is definitely a sample of the existent concern in a good number of them that their architecture —or their knowledge, at least— would travel beyond the limits of the local context.

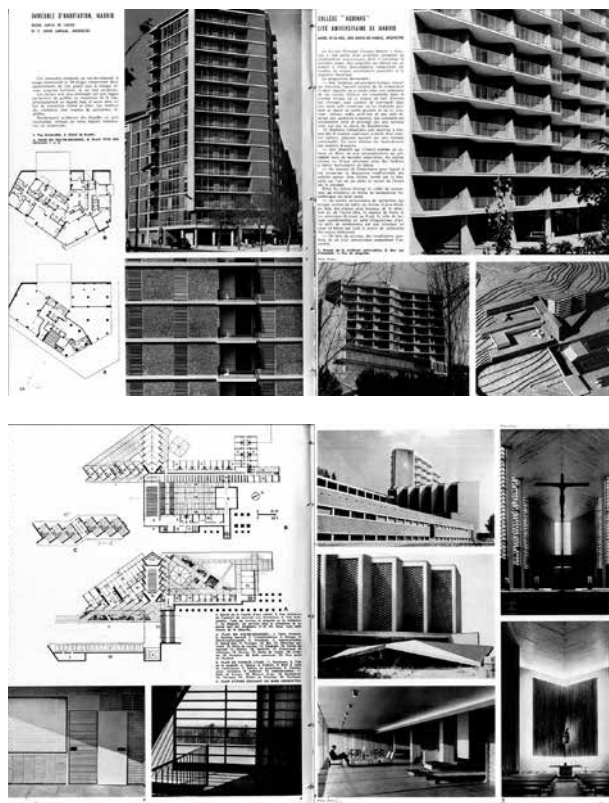
Such interest made them, in some cases, take the initiative with the magazines. Along this line, Ortiz-Echagüe tells that, after the Reynolds Prize was awarded to the SEAT dining area, seeing the silence of the magazine *Werk* —of which he was habitual reader and in which he had seen the announcement of the prize in March 1957—, he decided to write a letter to the management team accompanied with diverse photographs and texts about the prize-winning work (34). This material would be thoroughly published in August 1958. In a similar way, Fisac wrote a letter in 1959 to *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* manifesting his worry for the little attention given in its pages to Spanish architecture, to which the French publication answered re-

questing him to elaborate a text that disclosed the panorama of Spanish architectonic production in those years (35) (Fig. 10). Equally, Lluís Domènech I Girbau explained (36) the origin of an ample report about the Escuela de Barcelona, published in the issue of January 1970 in *L'Architettura Cronache e Storia*, as a Bohigas' initiative so the works of that group of professionals would be known abroad (37).

However, although in some cases the Spaniards had the initial impulse, the foreign editors were also an active part and with initiative. We see this in the gestation of the *Aujourd'hui Art et Architecture* monograph in 1966. To prepare the issue its editors, Patrice Goulet and Claude Parent, who had received the assignment from André Bloc, director of this magazine as well as of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, decided not to do «a chronological study of the evolution of contemporary Spanish architecture» but to show «a particular moment», the year 1965, and to pay attention to those architects who would assume in the immediate future «the responsibility of Spanish architecture» (38). Also, the edition of this installment allowed Parent to know better the work of Fullaondo and Fernández Alba.

From this moment both Spaniards started to have more prominence in the pages of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, which is, on the other hand, the magazine that dedicated most articles to Spanish architecture in the years of the period we study. We can also see the initiative of foreign editors in the monograph of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, from 1970. In this case, Jean Pierre Cousin and Yvette Pontoizeau took the decision to approach only the Spanish production of the last four years.

Without wanting to generalise, also in those episodes in which the Spaniards had more autonomy –as is the case of Ortiz-Echagüe in *Werk*– we grasp the need to adapt to the criteria and demands of the editorial team. Ortiz-Echagüe himself told that, for the '62 monograph, despite his desire to include the figure of Fisac, Lucius Burckhart –the magazine's editor– decided to do without it (39). In the same line, a letter from '67, shows Burckhardt's interest for Torres Blancas, to which Ortiz-Echagüe



[Fig. 10] Miguel Fisac, Fernando Genilloud, «Quelques réalisations recentes en Espagne», *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* magazine, 1959, n. 85, pp. 45-65.

answered indicating that «it is not finished yet and that is why I did not want to send information about that work to Werk. But I can do so, if you think it is interesting» (40).

Lastly, we can think that the diffusion work done by the Spaniards, and the interchanges derived from them, enriched the architectural culture of its protagonists, at the same time that they contributed to making Spanish architecture a little better known abroad and valued in the exterior context.

Hodgepodge: foreign architecture in Spanish magazines

Ana Esteban Maluenda

Spanish architects in the 50s and 60s were much more up-to-date on foreign modernity than the first histories of Spanish modern architecture, written more than three decades ago, would lead us to think, at least those who had interest in knowing what was happening around the world were. Those first tales, written from direct experience or personal contact with the protagonists, strived to highlight the «miracle» which occurred in Spanish architecture to manage to embrace modernity again after the isolation provoked by the victory of the nationalist side in the Civil War and the beginning of Franco's rule.

The new generation were living in the confined atmosphere of a country in forced isolation from those of their common culture, without possibilities of interchange. This is true, but who can stop the thrust of creativity where its own inspiration is unstoppable? The truth is that politics did not encourage it nor did society offer the favourable environment for its nurturing. But once again, the temperamental genius, the discerning lucidity of our artists made the fruits of their creations emerge (1).

The exclusion and distancing from other countries were real but mainly in the decade of the 40s. The abrupt rupture with the republican legacy of Europeanist liberal culture, orchestrated by the Francoist regime, meant the adoption of a rancid nationalism, complete with an authoritarian model in-

fluenced by fascism and an autarchic economic organization. During the Second World War this formula fitted perfectly in the Europe dominated by Hitler, but the defeat of the Axis resulted in a great hostility towards Francoist Spain. The United Nations (UN) was founded in June 1945 during a conference in San Francisco, from which Spain was excluded because, as Roosevelt had said to his ambassador in Madrid, «there is no place in the UN for a government founded on the principles of fascism» (2). The strict isolation lasted for a few years but at the end of the decade there were already many signs of rapprochement with several countries which, led by the USA, started lifting vetoes on Spain (3).

In relation to architecture, the end of the Civil War brought, in the first place, the voluntary or forced exile of some architects who had headed the ranks of our incipient pre-war modern movement, as well as the disqualification of others from exercising the profession. The winners took control of the professional field through the Dirección General de Arquitectura (DGA), which at the beginning dedicated its aims to reconstruction, refurbishing the capital and dignifying official buildings. Rationalist architecture, identified with the republican period, was rejected not only by politicians but also by the great majority of the people. Even the few specialised media which survived the war were subdued to the winner's dictates.

Thus, *Arquitectura*, the magazine of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid (COAM), reappeared in 1941 —renamed as *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura (RNA)*— in the framework of publications shielded by the DGA and with an orientation very different from the original. *Cortijos y Rascacielos*, directed by Casto Fernández-Shaw in the period previous to the war, abandoned its research and purposeful character to adapt to the situation he found on his return in 1944: a country far from the vanguard he was so interested in and basically limited to its own reconstruction. This was the only subject that seemed important at that moment, and would be topic of the homonymous magazine created to disseminate the governmental successes in this task (Fig. 1).

In 1944 the Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña y Baleares created *Cuadernos de Arquitectura (CA)*, a publication that was not so restrained by the Francoist government, but was centred on the Catalanian sphere and its particular interests. Quite the opposite of what *Informes de la Construcción (IC)* was looking for, the magazine created by the Instituto Técnico de la Construcción y del Cemento in 1948, which would make an effort to disseminate the last developments in the field of construction and architecture from the freedom bestowed by its membership of an independent organism. But, despite the amount of current architectural news included, it was a magazine less consulted than others due to its eminently technical character.

With this panorama, controlled by the government or far from the autochthonous or the readers themselves, it seemed impossible that an internationalization process could start or



[Fig. 1] The covers of Spanish publications in the first half of the 40s decade were very plain. Left: RNA, 1941, n. 1. Right: 1944, n. 1.

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modernity be reclaimed through contacts abroad. Perhaps it was that «temperamental genius» mentioned by José Luis Fernández del Amo (4) which drove a series of architects to decide to look abroad to be able to transform their closer reality. Although the ways of contact with the exterior were different (5), it seems that architectural magazines published in Spain played an essential role:

The magazines of this period had and still have a decisive influence on education, ways, methods and expressions not only in graphic language but also on the pedagogy with which architectural teachings are imparted (6).

If we talk about foreign presence in Spanish architectural magazines we must start in 1948, the year in which *Informes* came out and Carlos de Miguel became director of *RNA*. During the entire Francoist period both publications unceasingly rivalled each other in getting international information, in contrast to *Cuadernos*, a publication with very interesting contents but focused on the concerns of the organism it served as a public-address system. Apart from the supremacy of *Informes* and *RNA-Arquitectura* (7), it is important to point out that these three early magazines are the only ones that have survived until the present, in contrast to other new publications which started to come out from the mid-50s.

It is the case of *Hogar y Arquitectura* (*HyA*), which came out in 1955 as a means of dissemination of the Obra Sindical del Hogar y Arquitectura (OSH), an organism dependent on the DGA. The influence of OSH in its contents started to decrease when its most emblematic director, Carlos Flores, came onto the scene. He transformed it into a showcase of national and international current news. Three years later the first issue of *Temas de Arquitectura* would come out. Despite being the first of these publications not depending on any public or private organism, its acceptance amongst the professional collective did no go parallel to the novelty of its appearance in the mar-

ket. The multitalented character of its director, Miguel Durán-Loriga had possibly a lot to do with the making of a product for minorities which, however, notably tried to disseminate the dominant tendencies in the architectural panorama.

In contrast to the previous magazine, the venerated *Nueva Forma*, directed by Juan Daniel Fullaondo did make a mark on the readers of that time, who remember it, without exception, as «a very important platform of cultural education, a parallel tribune of knowledge with great meaning in our education in multiple aspects not just architecture» (8). Nevertheless, we must recognise that it was not a publication specially focused on external information, but rather the opposite: it produced some of the most interesting monographs of the time about both recent Spanish architecture as well as contemporary.

Arquitectura: chronicle of a time

As we have already commented, in 1948 Carlos de Miguel won the contest to be the director of *RNA* (9), a position he would hold until 1973 despite the changes the magazine went through. His «friendly and open» personality (10) would become «a channel that guarantied its own survival» (11).

I resolved two things: a great rigour in the punctuality of the magazine's release [...] and a [...] dispassionate selection of the material that is going to be published (12) (Fig. 2).

Precisely this «dispassionateness» was one of the greatest virtues of his work, because he managed, without paying much attention to tendencies, to keep adapting the contents to the reality and context of that moment. In any case, Carlos de Miguel was not a person who had more interest in the external than the internal, but rather in the general updating of Spanish architecture and, therefore, in its assessment in relation to international architecture.



[Fig. 2] The covers of *RNA* would develop much throughout the years after the arrival of Carlos de Miguel as director. Left: *RNA*, 1948, n. 78. Right: *RNA*, 1951, n. 119. © Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid.

[Fig. 3] Some of the covers that display the foreign SCA published in *RNA*. Left: *RNA*, 1951, n.º 109. Right: *RNA*, 1958, n.º 198. © Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid.

Carlos de Miguel was in charge of *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* during a very uneasy time. Over the rhetorical images of a neo-Herrerian nationalism, he made possible the infiltration of the first proposals which initiated their encounter with popular architectures, or the arising of the second rationalism, interrupted in its best moment. European currents appeared in its pages as an unusual panorama. In those times the dominant ideology did not allow many subterfuges, and thus we started our initiation in what Europe thought and built, through the notes brought by renowned travellers (13).

One of the most interesting experiences created by the magazine was the organization of the *Sesiones de Crítica de Arquitectura* (SCA), meetings amongst architects that took place regularly to discuss topics of common interest. Often they focused on the analysis of the Spanish production, but some of these meetings were dedicated to foreign production. As it happens, the meeting that inaugurated the 1950 cycle talked about the UN headquarters in New York (14). Other foreign buildings or those built abroad that were discussed in those meetings were Termini Station in Rome, the USA embassy in Madrid and the Spanish pavilion in the World Exposition in Brussels (15). There were also a couple of them dedicated to both Alvar Aalto's figure and work and Le Corbusier's (16). In any case, the meetings dedicated to foreign production were always centred on the latest events or topics, as is the case of those dedicated to the new architecture in Brazil or the 1957 Interbau (17). When we review their distribution through time, it attracted our attention that the foreign SCAs were concentrated in the decade of the 50s and were conspicuous by their absence in the following decade. It seems as if the need to discuss and understand foreign tendencies was disappearing inasmuch as Spanish architects started to feel that they were part of the world panorama (Fig. 3).

What is also remarkable is the absence of a clear line of thought in relation to the topics they selected, which appear

only as simple foreign echoes. It is not something exclusive to the SCA meetings; it is something that happened throughout Carlos de Miguel's direction.

In relation to what is published in *Arquitectura*, I do not think that it was the result of a deliberate process; it was rather a trail of things that came from abroad (18).

In general, the tendency for publication about foreign architecture in *RNA* and *Arquitectura* increased with time, although not in a very noticeable way. During the period as *RNA*, there was a slight concentration of foreign articles in the first years of the 50s, caused by the preparation of three monographs dedicated to foreign theatres, French architecture and Dutch architecture (19). Surely seeing the difficulties involved in getting enough information to put together this type of issue, Carlos de Miguel soon gave up this practice and decided to concentrate on the miscellaneous. During the 60s, the tendency for foreign topics presented two marked peaks in 1961-1962 and 1964-1966. Both came out due to the elaboration of new monographs, one about Mexican architecture in 1962 and the other about architecture and tourism in 1964 (20). But a good amount of information from abroad also came hand in hand with the publication of international contests, in which Spanish teams participated or were organised by Spain with foreign participation, like the Peugeot building in Buenos Aires in 1962 or the Kursaal in San Sebastian in 1965 (21).

Without doubt, one of the greatest sources of foreign information in *Arquitectura* was the section «30da» (Thirty days of architecture), created by Carlos de Miguel in 1964 as a kind of general news bulletin, but which would soon be taken over by a very young Mariano Bayón, still a student at the School of Architecture then. At first, Bayón planned the section as a platform for foreign production gathered in foreign magazines sent to the COAM. But later he transformed it into a showcase of the newest currents in world architecture. Effectively, «30da» was the best contact with

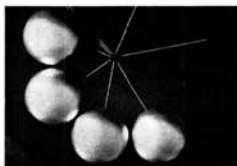
30 da

Hacia una tecnología integral

MARIANO BAYON ALVAREZ

Publicamos en este resumen la noticia de varios ejemplos de trabajos cuyo denominador común es el de reunirse en torno a la búsqueda de una tecnología integral. De una tecnología que parte de la base de que la cantidad de energía resistente de la materia edificable necesita de formas de trabajo diferentes a la de la arquitectura adintelada, mediante un gasto mínimo que la dote de sentido, es decir, mediante la utilización máxima de las propiedades mecánicas de los materiales. Una arquitectura para la que el principio de la forma sea sustancial desde el punto de vista de la distribución tensional y no desde el punto de vista de la transmisión de una cierta carga ideológica, o de valores sentimentales, estilísticos o simplemente estéticos.

La consideración de estos principios deja en condiciones de inferioridad sarcástica a la gran mayoría de las producciones de la actual cultura arquitectónica. Desde este cruel panorama, tanto los últimos estereotipos del post-wrightianismo, con sus desenfundados recursos pintorescos o sus sutilísimas y agotadas inconsistencias rítmicas, como los romanticismos sentimentales de la llamada "tercera generación", e incluso visiones aparentemente más evolucionadas como las procedentes de un brutalismo desencadenado de móviles cartellitas, aparecen todos ellos definidos en su justo término, como digresiones incongruentes de actividades que nada tienen que ver con lo puro y constructivamente arquitectónico, más cerca de la reacción, aunque el resultado, la obra arquitectónica, sea visitable e incluso físicamente habitable.



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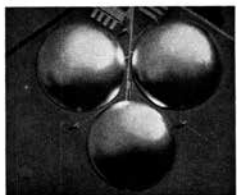
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[Fig. 4] First page of the section «30da» titled «Hacia una tecnología integral». RNA, 1967, n. 102. © Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid.

the exterior for architects who read *Arquitectura*. Not only because the amount and frequency, but also for the quality of the examples and ideas displayed (22) (Fig. 4).

In «30da», Mariano Bayón put in the debate some of the great subjects in the 60s decade: the open city, the lineal growth, mobility, ecology, technology, communication or propaganda (23). He also showed the work of less known architects in the Spanish sphere at the time: Jørn Utzon, Cedric Price, Kenzo Tange, Frei Otto, Richard Buckminster Fuller, Christopher Alexander, Alison and Peter Smithson, Jean Prouvé or Arne Jacobsen (24). He explained it in one of the issues:

We propose to disseminate [...] the personality of architects whose activity is being reflected with increasing significance in humanity's constructive panorama, after the anticipations, already a little distant, of the masters of the first modern generation. Their works should take us to the understanding of their theories, valid for the majority of the cases, and not to a consideration of personal values, which would deform the meaning of their research (25).

The importance of this section has to be understood not only in relation to its contents, but also to its periodic character, which helped to balance the foreign contents —a bit erratic— that the magazine had. If it was not for this section and some others, these articles would have been reduced to disperse examples subjected to the taste of the editors or the occasional arrival of external news. However, the periodicity of the sections compelled the constant search for foreign references which enriched the panorama of the COAM's magazine.

Informes de la Construcción: the acritical news

The other great broadcaster of foreign information was the magazine *Informes de la Construcción* which, despite dedicating only a few pages to current architectural news and many to the

building process, stored in them the biggest quantity of contemporary foreign buildings published in Spain. However, the magazine did not make any type of critical comment about the cases, although it gave relatively extensive information which was also reworked and improved in case it did not reach the minimum standards. According to what Antonio Fernández Alba remembered, «the architectural topics, apart from relevant episodes, were treated as information» (26). And from the magazine itself they made clear that they only wanted to show the reality of that moment.

It would be difficult to give a critical judgement or establish a theory about a subject which we have so close to our view. [...] Critics and history would take care of that. Because of this, we have preferred the personal opinion of representative figures of today's architecture, the main characters of these concerns and makers, in their own way, of the new Architecture (27) (Fig. 5).



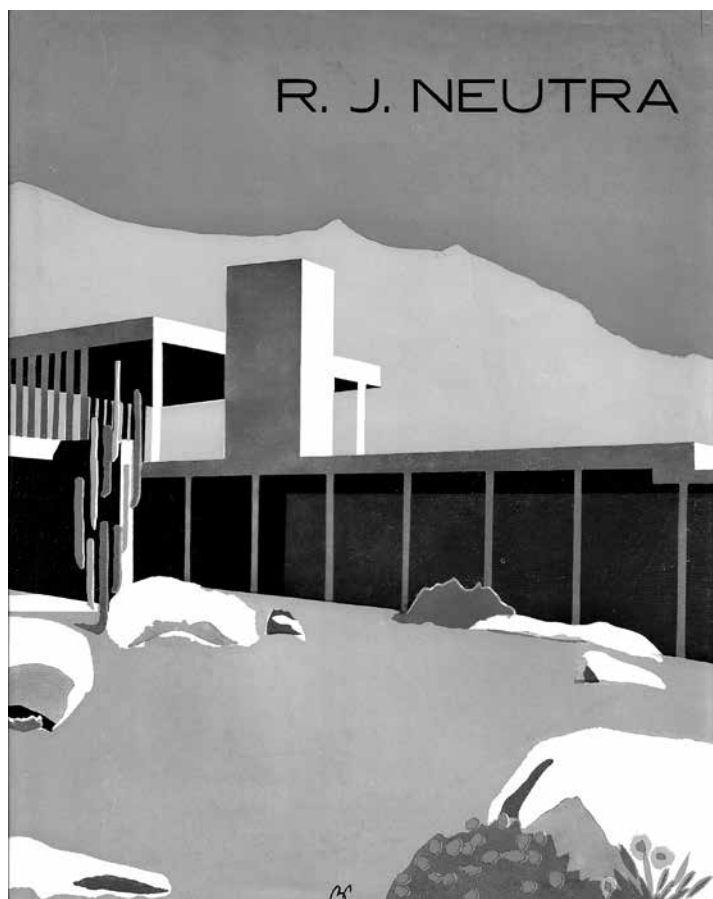
[Fig. 5] Pages of the dossier «Los arquitectos opinan de arquitectura», which included the opinions of Brazilian, Spanish, Americans, French, Italian and Mexican architects. © CSIC.

Fernando Casinello presented with these words an interesting questionnaire of ten questions through which *IC* asked architects about their «personal credo», and which were published under the title: «Architects give their opinion about architecture». All the opinions are interesting, but excessively individual. It is neither a study case in relation to foreign names that figure in its dossier, because as it clarified in its introduction, «the presented architects are not a selection on our part. Many questionnaires were sent» (28).

Amongst those who answered the questions was Richard Neutra, the most published author amid the foreigners. Apart from showing several of his projects, *Informes* included, between 1959 and 1962, more than a dozen texts in which the Austrian reflected on topics of his interest (29). The effort Neutra put in to spreading his work throughout his career is well known. According to Fernando Casinello's account, during his period as the magazine's director, Dione Neutra offered to send him the documents the architect was generating.

The reason I am writing to you is to ask if you would consider the project of lending your archives to keep in them all the ideas that Mr. Neutra has written during his lifelong experience and which he is still writing. Perhaps this personal effort could later, even «post-mortem»; give you satisfaction or revenue if you publish it in your country (30) (Fig. 6).

Besides Neutra's significance, it is relevant to point out the special attention given to American buildings, which mount up to thirty per cent of the total of those published and double, even treble, those built in countries like Germany, France, England and Italy. Equally remarkable is the curiosity aroused by Swiss buildings, which come close to Germany and overtake Italy, England and France in number. One of the *IC* characteristics is that many times they confirmed from where they got the information that was later published, that is, the magazines from which they reproduced or reworked much of the contents. This made



[Fig. 6] Dust jacket of the book about Neutra published by the Instituto Torroja in 1968 with the collection of the Austrian's articles published in *IC*. © CSIC.

us think that what they published did not follow an excessively noticeable criterion and that, for their selection, the type of magazine received at the Institute or the personal relationships of their editors had an influence.

Above the rest, stands out the production of the three USA offices, those of Marcel Breuer, Richard Neutra and, above all, the studio of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, which dominated a panorama in which names as renowned as Le Corbusier, Pier Luigi Nervi, Eero Saarinen and Frank Lloyd Wright (31) mixed with others like Welton Becket, Friedrich F. Haindl, Albert C. Martin, William Pereira, Charles Luckman or Philip Powell (32), who, despite being well known, did not reach the same critical acclaim over the years.

Other publications: disseminated information

Apart from these two magazines, the role played by *Hogar y Arquitectura* stands out, which is something we must exclusively give thanks to Carlos Flores, who, at the beginning of 1958, started as contributor and ended up becoming director in less than four years.

The reason for my arrival at *Hogar y Arquitectura* was the publication of my 1961 book *Arquitectura española contemporánea* [...]. Cabrero called me to substitute the, until then, director Mariano García Benito, who did not have the necessary time to dedicate to the magazine (33).

Chosen for the position because of his expertise in Spanish architecture, Flores made sure that foreign architecture had a notable presence amongst the work of the OSH. The progressive incorporation of foreign information ran parallel to that of Flores. From the beginning his purpose was that «the magazine kept as its own Flores's personal criteria. Thus, it was about making a 'trend' magazine trying to avoid, in any case, exclusive or closed positions» (34).

So, after the first few articles dedicated to the OSH labour, came the topics that really interested the readers of the magazine. Amongst the articles, we can point out some with rather interesting contents like the English new towns, the city of the future or the urban renewal (35). In addition, Flores specialised in recuperating important documents published in foreign media, mainly from the USA and England, amongst which stand out the series «Un curso sobre arquitectura norteamericana» and «A prueba». The first one was a course directed by Henry-Russell Hitchcock that had been transmitted by the radio station The Voice of America, imparted by characters like Louis I. Kahn, Vincent Scully, Richard Buckminster Fuller, Paul Rudolph, Philip Johnson or Minoru Yamasaki (36). The series «A prueba» was a literal translation of the articles «On trial» written by Banham in 1962 for *The Architectural Review* (37). The most impressive thing of all this is the speed with which Carlos Flores translated them in *HyA*, just a few months after the originals (38).

Flores also discovered rising figures unknown up to that moment in the country like Álvaro Siza Viera, to whom he dedicated a special issue at the beginning of 1967 (39). The elaboration of a «daring» article about the group Archigram (40) deserves a separate mention, something that cost him the criticism of colleagues like Carlos de Miguel, who could understand how Flores had mixed in the same issue the information about the «unusual» British group with the «balanced» Polígono Elviña by José Antonio Corrales (41). Although they were trying to convince him, the truth is that de Miguel did not enjoy either Reyner Banham, or the brutalism, or Team X (42).

Much commented was also the article dedicated to «Architecture and Architect» (43), in which Flores questioned many professional colleagues —most of them Spanish, but also many foreigners— about the role which both parts —architecture and architects— should play in the bosom of a society that was starting to show important symptoms of transformation. Flores designed a very «acid» cover, in colour as well as in content, which he was banned from publishing. On a yellow background a

rather hard paragraph, taken from Candilis' article with which the issue began, stood out:

The architect is of no use in the present conditions. Even worse, he becomes the conscious or unconscious instrument of the degradation of his profession (44).

Obviously, they also published foreign contents in the rest of the magazines, although in less quantity and for different reasons. As we have said, the interests of *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* were, above all, in the Catalanian sphere, something that is confirmed when we verify that the foreign work they published more times in those years was that of Josep Lluís Sert and Antonio Bonet, two Catalanian architects exiled in the Americas. Not even Italian architects like Alberto Sartoris, close to Barcelona in distance and personal contact, came to the fore in front of native critics, like Josep Francesc Rafols or Juan Eduardo Cirlot. And talking about curiosities, Italy was not the country they looked to most, but Great Britain, although in a vague and intermittent way.

Temas de Arquitectura and *Nueva Forma* are different in relation to the quantity of information, but they share the fact that the strong tendency marked by their directors was what prevented them from a more balanced distribution of foreign works. Judging by what was published, Miguel Durán-Loriga admired the modern masters because, after himself, the authors that signed more pages in his magazine were Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier. They dedicated more space to Le Corbusier's work, followed by Frank Lloyd Wright (45) and Alvar Aalto (46), with Moshe Safdie placed between them exclusively due to Habitat 67 (47).

The only foreign work that Juan Daniel Fullaondo was interested in was by Claude Parent and Paul Virilio, to whom he dedicated three long articles in successive issues during 1968 (48). Information about Mies van der Rohe, Alvar Aalto and Frank Lloyd Wright was much less, although more than about

Le Corbusier, of whom he just mentioned the completion of the works of the pavilion Maison d'Homme in Zurich, once the Swiss master had died (49). In short, despite his knowledge and his contacts, his publishing interests were not foreign works.

Conclusions

There are several questions that have been clarified by now. From Spain, they did not look for particular information about foreign architects, architectures or tendencies, but what was published was basically the things they learnt thanks to the foreign magazines coming in or through personal contacts. On the other hand, the only magazines that showed a noticeable interest in foreign architecture and maintained it through time were *Arquitectura* and *IC*, but the assessment and, therefore, the coverage of both were very uneven within the profession. «*Arquitectura* was the most read» (50), as José Antonio Corrales remembered without showing the slightest doubt. Oriol Bohigas also recalled:

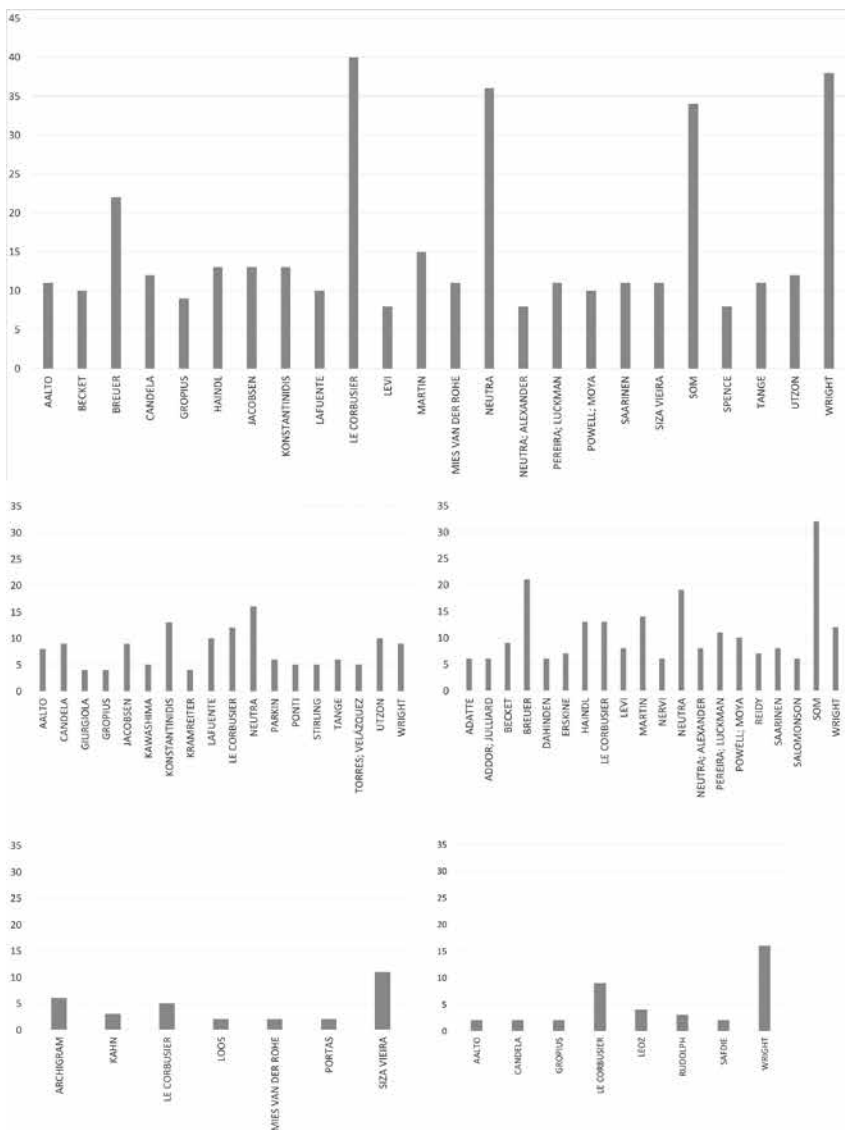
I think that one of the most influential, although not the best, by any means, was the magazine *Arquitectura*, from Madrid. Not because of the magazine, but because [sic] of this amazing character that Carlos de Miguel was, he was a centre point of the whole of Madrid architectural cultural life (51).

It is true that *Arquitectura* was not the best magazine, but, in terms of spreading foreign architecture, Carlos de Miguel's hodgepodge turns out to be the most balanced. The critics who wrote more about foreign production were also Spanish. Apart from Bayón, Antonio Fernández Alba was one of the best informed, judging by the quantity of articles he dedicated to the topic. But here, Alberto Sartoris, Gio Ponti or Reyner Banham stand out amongst the authors that signed around 10-15 pages. Like *IC*, *Arquitectura* published more pages about Richard Neu-

tra's work than any other architect, possibly because they got the information from the Austrian's studio. After him, also Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright and Alvar Aalto are highlighted. Mariano Bayón's section, «30da», put Arne Jacobsen, Moshe Safdie, Kenzo Tange and Jørn Utzon at the same levels, in some cases even higher than the modern «masters». Carlos de Miguel's support to Spanish architects and their works abroad also included two figures we had not mentioned until now: Félix Candela and Julio Lafuente (Fig. 7).

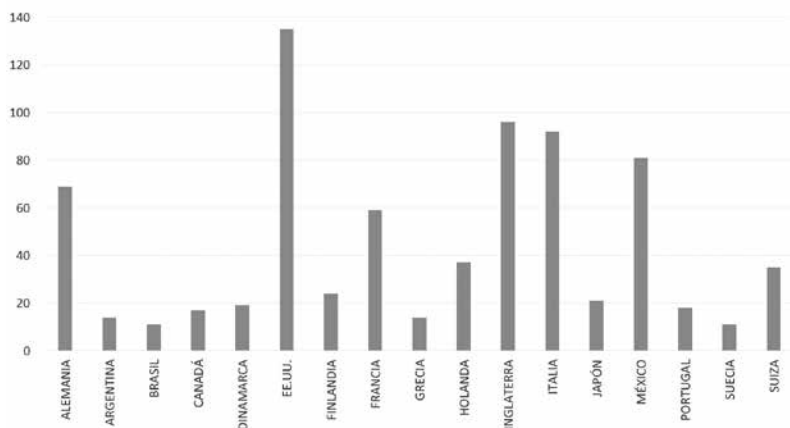
If we add *Arquitectura* to what was published in *IC*, all this apparent balance becomes distorted. American offices appeared dominating a panorama that, judging by the comments of architects of that time, was not real. «The truth is that, in my student times, the most handled magazines from Madrid were *Arquitectura y Hogar* y *Arquitectura*» (52), Rafael Moneo clearly recalled. In fact, up till the appearance of *Nueva Forma*, both had a portion —more like they shared— this precise publishing market. But this was so not only because the main characters remember it: the exhaustive analysis of all of these magazines indicates that the idea that *Arquitectura* and *HyA* were the most followed media by the profession materialized, precisely, because of the balance in their contents. If we put together the foreign articles of both of them, the situation is practically the same: Neutra still dominates above Le Corbusier, Wright and Aalto. We can even discern a greater open-mindedness for the incorporation of Adolf Loos and Mies van der Rohe, as well as new figures like Archigram or Álvaro Siza.

«*Temas de Arquitectura* was a lot less seen» (53), —Moneo also recalled—, because apart from responding to Miguel Durán-Loriga's particular and resolute journalistic vocation, as years went by, he would direct it towards design. Again, the data supports Moneo's good memory, which somehow sensed the diversion incorporated by *TA* when presenting Le Corbusier as the most prominent figure in front of Richard Neutra, who appears a lot lower than Frank Lloyd Wright, who shoots up due to two monographs dedicated to him. The truth is that,



[Fig. 7] Graphics with the number of articles released in Spanish magazines dedicated to foreign architects. Above: graphic of all the magazines (RNA-Arquitectura, IC, HyA, TA and NF). In smaller size: from left to right, graphics of RNA-Arquitectura, Informes de la Construcción, Hogar y Arquitectura and Temas de Arquitectura.

Notice that Richard Neutra's publications sometimes appear divided into two columns, those written by him and those co-authored with Christopher Alexander. © Ana Esteban Maluenda.



[Fig. 8] Interesting graphic of countries taking into account the information published in *RNA-Arquitectura y Hogar y Arquitectura*. © Ana Esteban Maluenda.

apart from these rather noticeable changes, it did not even present great contributions regarding the list of architects or authors (Fig. 8).

For all these reasons, it seems more accurate to only look towards *Arquitectura* and *HyA* when asking about which countries they looked to, thus avoiding the distortions which *IC* and *TA* would introduce, the first one clearly focused on US architecture and the second spoilt by an the Wrightian excess. Thus, what we see is a bigger presence of the USA, but not much above England, Italy, Germany, France, Switzerland and Holland. The only thing remarkable thing is the presence of Mexico at the same level as England and Italy, caused by the special attention that Carlos de Miguel dedicated it based on two monographs which he prepared about his colleague and friend Félix Candela, one about the 1968 Olympic Games and the other about contemporary Mexican architecture, which had fascinated him after a couple of trips he made to Aztec lands (54).

In any case, all together and despite their differences, all these magazines released a lot more information than one might realise. Above all, the variety in topics stands out, which

supports the idea that those interested in foreign architecture were able to get informed in a more or less balanced way through their own magazines, which, in this way, are presented to us like the easiest, cheapest and, therefore, more accessible tool on which Spanish architects counted to be up to date with international architecture.

Provoke debate.

Architecture, theory and critique in Editorial Gustavo Gili¹

Magalí Franchino

Towards the end of the 60s, Gustau Gili Torra, grandson of the founder Gustau Gili Roig, started a policy of editorial specialization orientated to the translation into Spanish of a heterodox collection of critical writings with canonical discourses of architectural modernity through the creation of the collections «Arquitectura y Crítica» (AyC, 1969), «Ciencia Urbanística» (CU, 1970), «Biblioteca de Arquitectura» (BdA, 1974) amongst others that were founded in the succeeding years (2).

The purpose of this work is to explore the role the editorial house GG had in the renovation of the architectural, urban and visual culture from the end of the 60s through the edition and distribution of books in the Spanish language. GG constituted an intellectual and cultural space in which a set of personal and intellectual networks emerged and converged, networks of travels, exhibitions and congresses that allowed the reconstruction of a dense episode of Spanish architectural culture, whose epicentre was Barcelona but, given the international nature of GG Publishers, expanded through Latin America.

Compared to the role played by books in the construction and diffusion of architecture, it is remarkable the little attention the study of the publishing field received. The analysis of specialised press and exhibitions has been privileged in detriment of the pro-

duction conditions that books hide behind their pages. In Spain, this condition is part of the lethargy which the studies on publishing, books and reading, in the general framework of cultural studies, have started to make up for at the beginning of this century (3).

The lack of research on this subject and the multiplicity of possible approaches in this field of study encourages us to explore the early years of the collection AyC along with its director, Ignasi de Solà-Morales, a key figure in this specialization. The documents of the Fons Gustavo Gili-Biblioteca de Catalunya (BC, Fons GG), as well as the archive I. de Solà-Morales (AISM), make possible an exploration of their production conditions «from within». The purpose will be, on one hand, to reconstruct the historic conditions of publishing practices as intellectual, technical and economic operations that transformed a set of texts into printed objects and, on the other, to take back such practices into the architectural cultural debate, essential to make possible any *translation* through books.

Internationalization and specialization as publishing policy

«Arquitectura y Crítica» wants [to offer] works that, around the architectural fact, tend to elaborate their Theoretical and Critical bases. The rereading of significant moments of architecture's historical past, its reinterpretation from problems in the present, and the publication of classical texts of Criticism, would be one of the first theme lines of this collection. Design methodology, interdisciplinary problematic and every attempt to clarify the bases of the architectonic Theory, would also constitute a field we would try to contribute to.

To provoke the debate, enrich its level, expand the bases of our architectonic culture, are our objectives here (4).

With this statement of intent, the new AyC collection was announced in December 1969. Written by its director, Ignasi

de Solà-Morales, this text accompanied the presentation of each book in numerous newspapers and magazines specialised in architecture in Spain as well as in different countries of Latin America.

This collection started to develop the year before, in November 1968, at the beginning of Gili Torra's management as editorial director. Jaume Freixa, recurrent collaborator of GG, suggested to him the translation of several books recently published: *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture 1750-1950* by Peter Collins (1965), *The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design* (1968) by Nikolaus Pevsner and *Origini dell'Urbanista moderna* by Leonardo Benévolo (1963) (5). Also, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* by Robert Venturi (1966) was part of this first set of chosen works.

Gili Torra commissioned Juan Eduardo Cirlot, another frequent collaborator of GG, for the translation of Pevsner's book, whereas for the translation of *Changing Ideals...*, Freixa suggested contacting Solà-Morales (6). Classmates at the Escuela de Arquitectura de Barcelona, Freixa introduced him as a *cap de brot* a double degree in Architecture (1966) and Philosophy and Literature (1968) which would be a key aspect of the symbolic capital that Gili Torra looked for. The other aspect was given by the belonging to local institutional and professional circles: from his grandfather, but especially on his part, Manuel de Solà-Morales i Roselló, director of the ETSAB (1966-1968) and president of the Architects Association of Catalonia (1954-1964) (Fig. 1).

The beginning of AyC reveals the virulence of the 60s. Ignasi de Solà-Morales had been punished to two years of imprisonment for his participation in the students' uprising dels *Caputxins* in Sarrià between the 9th and 11th March 1966. Intellectuals, students and university professors gathered at the convent with the aim of approving the foundational statutes of the Sindicato Democrático de Estudiantes of the University of Barcelona. While several professors and students of the ETSAB were given a warning, others were expelled, detained or imprisoned. Locked up in Girona, unable to work and with limited permissions to leave, in March 1969 Solà-Morales ac-



[Fig. 1] Gustau Gili Torra around 1990. In: J. M. Montaner, «Gustau Gili Torra, editor de arquitectura», *El País*, 27th September 2008; Ignasi de Solà-Morales around 1980, courtesy of Eulàlia Serra.

cepted Gili Torra's commission to translate Collins' book. Once freed, Gili Torra proposed to him not only to write the prologue but also to be director of AyC (7).

This connection between Solà-Morales and Gili Torra was the beginning of a long professional and friendship relationship that would mark the direction of the new collections of GG. Recommended by Solà-Morales, Gili Torra made contact with his brother Manuel de Solà-Morales and started the CU collection with the aim of bringing together international contributions to urban planning, urban theory and of urban design (8). The thirty books published in AyC hide the diversity of works that its director examined during the time of the collection between 1969 and 1981 (9) (Fig. 2). AyC was the impulse for the creation of other collections in which the Catalan architect would act as director, counsellor or Gili Torras' personal adviser. To the BdA collection, created to reunite «the contributions to modern architectural criticism from the history of the discipline» (10),

followed in the 70s by «Arquitecturas / Perspectivas», «Punto y Línea» and «GG Arte», the last two were crossed by the experience of *Comunicación Visual* (CV). Created in 1973 on Yves Zimmermann's initiative to spread texts of Theory and Criticism of visual communication, CV functioned with an interdisciplinary executive committee integrated by Zimmermann himself, Ignasi Solà-Morales, Albert Ràfols-Casamada, Roman Gubern and Tomás Llorens.

The choice of young figures connected to the cultural and disciplinary circles of renovation would allow Gili Torra to identify potential subjects, authors and books, as well as spread them through the networks to which they belonged. At the beginning of the 70s, Solà-Morales was teacher of Composition II at the ET-SAB and of Aesthetic at the UB. The same year he became direc-

Título	Autores / compiladores	Año
1 Los orígenes de la arquitectura moderna y el diseño	N. Pevsner	1969
2 Los ideales de la arquitectura moderna; su evolución (1750-1950)	P. Collins	1969
3 Cuba. Arquitectura de la revolución	R. Segre	1970
4 1929. La reconstrucción de la arquitectura en la U.R.S.S.	El Lissitzky	1970
5 Metodología del diseño arquitectónico	G. Broadbent y A. Ward	1971
6 La arquitectura de la ciudad	A. Rossi	1971
7 La coordinación modular	V. Caporioni, L. Garlatti, N.Tenca Montini	1971
8 Teoría de la proyectación arquitectónica	G. Canella, M. Coppa, V. Gregotti, A. Rossi, A. Samonà, G. Scimemi, L. Semerani, M.Tafari	1971
9 De la vanguardia a la metrópoli. Crítica radical a la arquitectura	M. Tafuri, F. Dal Co, M. Cacciari	1972
10 Complejidad y contradicción en la arquitectura	R. Venturi	1972
11 El territorio de la arquitectura	V. Gregotti	1972
12 El arquitecto en la lucha de clases y otros escritos	H. Meyer / F. Dal Co (comp.)	1972
13 Adolf Loos: ornamento y delito y otros escritos	A. Loos / R. Schachel (comp.)	1972
14 Por las cuatro rutas	Le Corbusier	1972
15 Vivienda y cultura	A. Rapoport	1972
16 La vivienda racional. Ponencias de los congresos CIAM 1929-1930	C. Aymonino	1973
17 Sociedad y arquitectura colonial sudamericana. Una lectura polémica	D. Bayón	1974
18 El lenguaje clásico de la arquitectura. De J. B. Alberti a Le Corbusier	J. Summerson	1974
19 La arquitectura como lugar. Aspectos preliminares de una epistemología de la arquitectura	J. Muntafola Thornberg	1974
20 La percepción del hábitat	J. Ekambi-Schmidt	1974
21 La casa de Adán en el Paraíso	J. Rykwert	1974
22 Renovación de la vivienda: Objetivos y estrategia	S. Pepper	1975
23 ¿De qué tiempo es este lugar? Para una nueva definición del ambiente	K. Lynch	1975
24 Sistemas de significación en arquitectura	J. P. Bonta	1978
25 Morfología y ciudad. Urbanismo y arquitectura durante el Antiguo Régimen en España	A. Bonet Correa	1978
26 Manierismo y arquitectura moderna y otros ensayos	C. Rowe	1978
27 Dimensiones de la arquitectura. Espacio, forma y escala	Ch. Moore y G. Allen	1978
28 Arquitectura moderna y cambio histórico. Ensayos: 1962-1976	A. Colquhoun	1978
29 La arquitectura como oficio y otros escritos	G. Grassi	1980
30 Eclecticismo y vanguardia. El caso de la Arquitectura Moderna en Catalunya	I. de Solà-Morales	1980
31 Philip Johnson. Escritos	Ph. Johnson	1981
32 El proyecto clásico en arquitectura	J. I. Linazasoro	1981
33 Ciudad collage	C. Rowe y F. Koetter	1981

[Fig. 2] Books published in the collection «Arquitectura y Crítica» between 1969 and 1981. Magalí Franchino (own elaboration).

tor of *Arxiu Històric* of the Architects Association of Catalonia. He also started writing for the newspaper *Tele / eXprés* and was part of the Executive Committee of the publishing company La Gaya Ciencia. Manuel Solà-Morales, for his part, was appointed professor of *Urbanisme* at the ETSAB, year in which he created the *Laboratori d'Urbanisme*, the group with which he would publish the CU books. Likewise, Zimmerman, Ràfols-Casamada and Gubern would become connected to the design circles at the EINA and ELISAVA Schools.

In this context, Freixa's initial suggestions were shifted by the selection of books written by Manfredo Tafuri, Massimo Cacciari and Francesco Dal Co, Aldo Rossi, Vittorio Gregotti, Giorgio Grassi and Carlo Aymonino, as well as Geoffrey Broadbent, Juan Pablo Bonta and Charles Jencks. The authors' thematic and methods differ from the canonical readings of modernity and its protagonists and promoters. It also involved a divergence of the profile of several publishing houses on both sides of the Atlantic (Fig. 3).

Between the 40s and the 60s, Buenos Aires was the epicentre of publishing production. While the houses Victor Lerú, Poseidón and Emecé started to translate works by Le Corbusier and Bruno Zevi, it was *Infinito* (1954) and *Nueva Visión* (1955) which approached subjects from the architectural, urban and visual fields. As Federico Deambrosis has demonstrated, these editorial projects, connected to the magazine *nv nueva vision* (1951-1957) and to the figures, amongst others, of Tomás Maldonado, Carlos Méndez Mosquera and Jorge Grisetti, reveal an episode of the architectural and visual modern culture in Argentina that articulated the architecture schools in Buenos Aires, Rosario and Tucumán with the Italian debate through Zevi, Ernesto Rogers, Enrico Tedeschi and Giulio Argán (11). *Infinito* started its activity with the translation of the collection «Architetti del Movimento Moderno» by the Milan publishing house *Il Balcone*, headed by the group BBPR, which later would extend towards design, visual arts and urban planning. The interest of *Nueva Visión* for the Italian production derived from the themes of *nv* magazine but

it took a more open and inclusive position which incorporated a variety of voices to the debate (12).

The cultural and socialization of reading that started in Spain in the 60s generated several editorial projects based in Barcelona. GG's specialization in the translation of technical-scientific books orientated towards construction (13) was the impetus to incorporate in the catalogue dozens of titles about tendencies of contemporary architecture, of informational character and profusely illustrated (14). In a similar way, in 1968 the Editorial Blume published a set of books about «New Directions» in architecture. Translated from George and Marsha Braziller's US publishing house, they presented the architectural production of different countries of the already constituted modern canon, as well as *other* regions or continents (15) (Fig. 4).

Additionally, a group of Catalanian publishing houses tacitly or openly dissident with the Francoist regime began to publish books on architecture as part of collections of left-wing writings for dissemination and cultural agitation in Spanish and Catalonia. Estela —Laia afterwards—, Edicions 62, Seix Barral, Tusquets, La Gaya Ciencia, had Carlos Barral, Alfons Carles Comín, Oriol Bohigas, Rosa Regàs, Oscar Tusquets and Beatriz de Moura as protagonists (16). Works like *Barcelona, entre el plà Cerdà i el barraquisme* (1963), *Contra una arquitectura adjetivada* (Seix Barral, 1969) by Bohigas, *Aprendiendo de todas las cosas* (Tusquets, 1971) by Venturi and Denise Scott Brown and *Teorías e Historia de la arquitectura* (Laia, 1972) by Tafuri were part of a long list of architecture books that appeared amongst works by Umberto Eco, Levi-Strauss, Karl Marx and Antonio Gramsci.

However, during the 60s GG had a great advantage. The internationalization strategy initiated in the 30s had achieved the creation of a distribution network in the main cities in Latin America with headquarters in Buenos Aires (1950), Ciudad de México (1953), Bogotá (1958), São Paulo (1961) and Santiago de Chile (1966) (17). Their works were collected in a carefully elaborated catalogue and spread through professional institutions and associations, of booksellers and mass media. Publishing in times



[Fig. 4] From left to right, top to bottom: cover by Bruno Zevi, *Saber ver la arquitectura*. Buenos Aires: Poseidón, 1951; cover by Bruno Zevi, *Frank Lloyd Wright*. Buenos Aires, Infinito, 1956; cover by Giulio Carlo Argan, *El concepto del espacio arquitectónico desde el Barroco a nuestros días*. Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 1961; cover by Vittorio Gregotti, *Nuevos caminos de la Arquitectura Italiana*. Barcelona: Blume, 1969; cover by Oriol Bohigas, *Contra una arquitectura adjetivada*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1969; cover by U. Kulterman, *Nueva arquitectura japonesa*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1967.

of censorship meant playing the *game of influences* to avoid the obstacles of the regime's publishing blockade. In contrast to most publishing houses dissident with the dictatorship that appeared in the conflictive list drawn up by state agencies, GG seems to have largely avoided blocking and censorship (18).

If two decades before the Spanish-language publishing industry in was concentrated in Argentina –to a great extent encouraged by the role of Spanish publishers exiled from the beginning of the civil war– (19), the progressive *conquest* of the publishing market by Spanish publishing houses, promoted by funding credit and the relative openings that Francoism promoted thanks to the economic profitability provided by the publishing sector exports to Latin America, was *in crescendo* along with political-economic conflicts that impacted on the publishing industry in Latin America.

Architecture and Criticism

As director of AyC collection, Solà-Morales had to recommend and report about books related to the collection, look for suitable translators and personally revise the process (20). To the reports of examined books, Gili Torra added those titles or authors recommended at the Frankfurt Book Fair, the publishing event par excellence to know the novelties of catalogues from publishing houses and start contract negotiations.

Under Solà-Morales' leadership, the initial impulse of AyC given by Freixa with the publication of books by Pevsner, Collins and Venturi later –result of a difficult negotiation of rights–, changed its orientation: «In the confused situation in which it seems to gain prestige [...] the need for architectural activity to have an ample critical basis, or that from it emerges or is constituted as critical activity within the general frame of culture [...]» (21). Solà-Morales started with these words an article called precisely «Architecture and Criticism» for issue 7 of *CAU* magazine in 1971 where he described the «recessive,

confused, disorientated» moment of the architectural culture of his time.

Enunciating the ambiguity that the pair criticism/architecture meant he pointed out: «[...] architectural criticism [...] has been [...] formulated from historical analysis [...] as well as from ideological proposals made [from] architecture's language [...]». And he added: «what has been characteristic of the *strong* [...] moments in the history of architecture is the fusion without solution of continuity of these levels, so that historiography is used as a tool to reinforce certain architectonic images» (22).

Theory of architecture or semiology as architectural criticism as well as theory and history as operative critique, appear as the three levels of the activity of criticism that Solà-Morales recognised. Reviewing the more than 150 books he examined between 1969 and 1973 (23), these levels were presented as the thematic arch of discussions to be introduced in the Spanish-speaking world through GG's editorial output (Fig. 5).

Critique as combat and denunciation action to reveal the contradictions of the pre-established: the interest for Tafurian production is recognised in the first lists that Solà-Morales began elaborating in October 1969. *Teoria della progettazione architettonica* (Dedalo, 1968), a summary of eight master classes given at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia (IUAV), meant «a presentation to the Spanish speaking public of [...] the 'Young generation' of Italian architects known a little for their works, but very little for the high degree of reflection and criticism [...] of architectural problems». A «different tendency [...] from the methodological English and [North] Americans» with supplementary approaches: «historical (Tafari, Coppa), architectural (Rossi, Canel-la, Gregotti), and urban (Samonà, Scimemi)» (24).

The same list included *Teorie e storie dell'architettura* (Laterza, 1968). The profuse correspondence kept between Gili Torra and the Italian house reveals the sustained interest in obtaining publishing rights. The contract was signed up first with Estela publishers, but the editorial silence made Laterza give the rights to GG. Shortly afterwards it became known that the chief editor Alfonso



[Fig. 5] CAU. *Construcción Arquitectura Urbanismo* magazine, 7, May-June 1971, index and pp. 42 and 45.

Comin had been imprisoned accused of illegal propaganda and communist agitation (25). With a misleading title, *Teorías e historia de la arquitectura* was published in 1972 by Laia, the new publishing company that Comin and Josep Verdura founded the same year. *L'architettura dell'umanesimo* (Laterza, 1969) was also examined, but as it was a book of history its historical character did not adjust to the initial purposes of AyC (26).

In this scenario, on the 17th November 1971 Solà-Morales wrote to Tafuri with the intention of reuniting a series of texts about «radical critique of architecture». He suggested including a translation of his article «Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica» published in the issue n. 1 of the magazine *Contropiano* in 1969, along with other authors to be agreed (27). On the 27th December 1971 Tafuri proposed:

[...] le tesi che il nostro gruppo porta avanti si rifanno ad un marxismo rigoroso, che tende a ben distinguersi da ogni elaborazione «gauchiste».

Qualora voi voleste rendere noto in Spagna il nostro pensiero, ritengo che l'unica soluzione possibile è di comporre un libro del tutto omogeneo, che contenesse, per esempio: a) il mio articolo «critica dell'ideologia architettonica» su «CONTROPIANO»;

- b) il saggio di MASSIMO CACCIARI, su «Simmel e la dialettica del negativo nell'epoca della Metropolis» (su: «Angelus Novus» 1971, n. 21)
- c) il saggio di FRANCESCO DAL CO sul: «non-problema della città socialista», in «Contropiano, 1970, n.3» (28) (Fig.6).

The diffusion of the «rigorous Marxism» to which Tafuri appealed and in which he had been working for *Teorie e storie dell'architettura* had started to circulate through the mentioned issues of *Contropiano*, along with other texts written by him like «Lavoro intellettuale e sviluppo capitalistico» published in issue n. 2 in 1970 (29). To suspect architecture as an institution, to question the statute of the modern architect and to elaborate a rigorous examination of the history of architecture «corrupted to the core»; such was Tafuri's calling in pursuit of breaking the «enchanted castle» of the vanguard discourse (30).

Roma 27/12/1971

Caro Ignazio,

ho ricevuto due giorni fa una tua lettera datata 27 novembre, in spedizione dell'editore Gili e risposto a Barcellona perché inviata al mio vecchio indirizzo (senza sempre a piano da Caprettari 70 - Roma).

Non so se la proposta che mi faceva e ancora valida, dato che non mi abbiamo parlato a Barcellona. Comunque ti dirò come vanno le cose.

Non sarebbe possibile pubblicare il mio saggio su «Contropiano» insieme agli scritti del gruppo Utopico e ad altri suoi "quaderni". Come avrei forse potuto pensare nel corso della discussione fatta insieme, la tesi che il nostro gruppo porta avanti si riferisce ad un insieme di ipotesi che tende a una distruzione di ogni "distinzione" "gerarchica". Qualcosa di simile sembra nato in "Gruppo di lavoro per la ricerca, sviluppo e costruzione" nel campo.

a) Il mio articolo "Sulla dialettica dell'architettura" in "Contropiano".

b) Il saggio di MASSIMO CACCIARI su "Simmel e la dialettica del negativo" in "Angelus Novus" (n. 1971, n. 21).

c) Il saggio di FRANCESCO DAL CO sul: "non-problema della città socialista" in "Contropiano" n. 1970, n. 3.

Ai tre saggi dovrebbero seguire alcune note aggiuntive, e candidati di illustrazioni. Sarebbe una parte dell'idea.

Intanto ti ho fatto spedire dell'editore Gili (l'editore) il nostro volume. Sarebbe una buona occasione per il 1971, che apre il nuovo anno. Tieni a te più completa della nostra ricerca e potresti avere la tua "Traduzione".

Altre cose tue restano. Per ora ti ringrazio e, nell'aspettativa di una tua risposta, ti saluto: più cose salutari.

Manfredo Tafuri

PIAZZA CAPRETTARI 70
ROMA

[Fig. 6] Letter from Manfredo Tafuri to Ignasi de Solà-Morales, 27th December 1971. Ignasi de Solà-Morales Archive.

While *Teorías e historia...* was being published and this new project was being developed with GG, Solà-Morales organised a conference on the 26th November 1971 at the Architects Association of Catalonia titled «La funzione attuale dell'architetto». One month later Gili Torra, Solà-Morales, Tafuri and Dal Co started the revision of the book that would be titled *De la vanguardia a la metrópoli. Crítica radical a la arquitectura* (1972). Its introduction read: «To confront the hypothesis proposed by the modern movement in architecture and by socialist experiences, with the new problems posed by the capitalist development: such is the basic objective that characterises the Venetian group» (31).

Thus, the fortune of the radical critique would start its own path —not only— in Spain (32). The contact with Tafuri was the beginning of a series of publishing projects of the IUAV circle in the collection BdA like *La ciudad americana. De la Guerra Civil al New Deal* (1975) and *La Esfera y el Laberinto. Vanguardias y arquitectura de Piranesi a los años sesenta* (1984). But it was also linked to the interest of the extensive catalogue and city that the Marsilio house had. For AyC, amongst others, *Arquitectura y Revolución* (1970) by Roberto Segre, *Hannes Meyer. El arquitecto y la lucha de clases* (1972) coordinated by Dal Co; *La torre de Babel* (1970) by Ludovico Quaroni and *La construcción de la ciudad soviética* (1971) Paolo Ceccarelli for CU (Fig. 7).

However, AyC was far from the «rigorous Marxism» which Tafuri appealed for, just as the collection incorporated divergent positions in relation to the exploitation of history in architecture. As Solà-Morales asserted, the collection «consciously had slightly eclectic intentions» in which «perhaps we have given preference to the need for information and knowledge of the problems of contemporary architecture and its history over the formation of a closed ideological line» (33). An ideological lock would be incompatible with GG's publishing *policy*. It would also be so with the profile of the chief editor: implicated in the architectonic production of his time, the position that Tafuri established for the exercise of critique and the historian's craft would be, from these coordinates, inconceivable.



[Fig. 7] From left to right, top to bottom: *Contropiano* magazine 1, January-April 1969; M. Tafuri, M. Cacciari, F. Dal Co, *De la vanguardia a la metrópoli. Crítica radical a la arquitectura*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1972; H. Meyer, *El arquitecto en la lucha de clases y otros escritos*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1972; H. Meyer, *Architettura o rivoluzione. Scritti 1921-1942*. Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1969; G. Canella, et al., *Teoría de la proyectación arquitectónica*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1971; G. Canella, et al., *Teoria della progettazione architettonica*. Bari: Dedalo, 1968; R. Segre, *Cuba. L'architettura della rivoluzione*. Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1970; R. Segre, *Cuba. Arquitectura de la revolución*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1970.

«Architecture as elaboration of a critical form». Criticism as «control activity; of reference from particular cases to general theorems» of architecture. But also «criticism as instrument of analysis», of «analytical previous to [the] project» (34). The interest of GG for the *Tendenza* has its origin in the figure of Rossi. Not only for the intention of translating *L'architettura della città* (1966), but also for the close relationship started with Marsilio Printing House through the interest for various titles of the collection «Polis-Quaderni di Architettura Urbanistica» directed by Rossi himself.

L'architettura della città was also one of the first books examined by Solà-Morales in 1969. The report assessed its resonance, «the most mature of a line of research and study in Italy» from two aspects: the notion of *urban science* before than that of *urban development*, for the study of the city conceived as architecture and the problem of formulating a theory of architecture as an autonomous field (35). Rossi's relationship with Spain, especially with Barcelona, had started in the early 60s through several trips and academic exchanges between Milan and Barcelona where he met Salvador Tarragó. The latter and particularly Bohigas were the main figures of the Catalan sphere in contact with Gregotti, Aymonino and Grassi (36). However, his work had not been published in Spanish.

In 1969 Gili Torra would start the long negotiation of acquiring the rights of *L'architettura della città*. In December 1966 Marsilio had ceded them to the publishing house Labor. Protracted negotiations took place between the publishers and Rossi before the contract was finally cancelled and a new one was signed specifically with GG Publisher. Tarragó was key in this process: «As you may know by now the book will finally be published by Gili [...] It would be better if [GG] did it as they already have a collection on urban planning and architecture which has a lot of prestige and at the same time a guaranteed public from the beginning. Moreover, the presentation would be much nicer» (37).

Not long before its release in April 1971, Tarragó commented to him: «[...] the Architects Association and the Archi-

tecture School as well as Gili House would be interested if you could come and give some conferences here in Barcelona [...]». And he added: «Gili is interested in doing a presentation of your book at his House through a round table» (38). *La arquitectura de la ciudad* was finally published in June and included an extensive prologue that Tarragó had written in 1968. Perhaps the traffic accident he suffered in April might have brought this presentation to a halt. On the 11th January 1972 Rossi gave a conference at the Architects Association of Catalonia titled «Teoria dell'Architettura e critica ideologica». The same year the magazine *2C Construcción de la Ciudad* would be created, its first issue included an interview that Tarragó made during that visit (39). Another editorial orientation would begin: the production of *Tendenza* would be published in several collections of GG, including titles by Gregotti, Grassi and Aymonino under AyC, along with others by Rossi that would extend his relation with GG beyond the 80s (Fig. 8).

The possibility of questioning architecture from semiology also appears as one of the main interests of AyC. The initial impulse was the translation into Spanish of *Metodología del Diseño arquitectónico* (1971) by Broadbent, a compilation of the symposium celebrated in 1967 at the School of Architecture Portsmouth College of Technology, which would present a panorama of theoretical approaches in the methodology of design unpublished in the Spanish language. At the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1969 the firm Lund Humphries recommended Bonta's writing «Expressive System in Architecture and Design» to Gili Torra, which the Argentinian architect planned to publish as a book in 1972. Professor of architectonic Design and History of architecture at the School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of Buenos Aires, Bonta worked as research fellow in Portsmouth under Broadbent's guide.

Meanwhile, the relationship between architecture and semiology was also taking shape through the organization of the Symposium «Arquitectura, Historia y Teoría de los signos» celebrated in Castelldefels from the 4th to the 18th March 1972. Solà-



[Fig. 8] From left to right, top to bottom: difusion brochure for the book *La arquitectura de la ciudad* by A. Rossi, Editorial Gustavo Gili. Ignasi de Solà-Morales Archive; A. Rossi, *La arquitectura de la ciudad*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1971; A. Rossi, *L'architettura della città*. Venecia: Marsilio Editori, 1966; V. Gregotti, *Il territorio dell'architettura*. Milan: Feltrinelli, 1966; V. Gregotti, *El territorio de la arquitectura*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1972.



[Fig. 9] From left to right, top to bottom: H. Piñón, «Crónica del Simposio de Castelldefels: Arquitectura, Historia y Teoría de los signos», *Cuadernos de arquitectura y urbanismo*, n° 87, 1972, Barcelona, p.105; G. Broadbent, A. Ward, *Design Methods in Architecture*. London: Lund Humphries, 1969; G. Broadbent, *Diseño arquitectónico. Arquitectura y Ciencias Humanas*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1976; G. Broadbent, *Metodología del diseño arquitectónico*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1971; J. P. Bonta, *Sistemas de significación en arquitectura*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977.

Morales and Helio Piñón entrusted its organization to Tomás Llorens at the Architects Association of Catalonia. What could be the contribution of semiology to architectural theory? This was the question that Broadbent, Llorens and Bonta along with Bohigas, Scalvini, Jencks, Alexandre Cirici, Alan Colquhoun, Peter Eisenman, Françoise Choay, David Canter, Martin Krampen, Nuno Portas and Xavier Rubert de Ventós intended to clarify. Two positions emerged: semiology as theory and design tool and semiology as an instrument of criticism and history; but also, «ingenuous applications» and «false theoretical evasions», as Solà-Morales pointed out in his chronicle for *Tele /eXpres* that he summarized in issue n. 2 of *Arquitecturas Bis* (40).

«The crisis of architecture also appears in the theoretical dispersion that occurs when it comes to formulating its founding principles», he stated in his chronicle (41). Dispersion understood as separation or escape but also as diffusion and expansion. GG's diverse collections contributed to the spread of this discussion. In parallel to the organization of the symposium, Piñón and Solà-Morales competed for the manuscripts by Bonta and Scalvini. *Para una teoría de la arquitectura* (1972) by Scalvini was published by the Architects Association of Catalonia, whereas Bonta's fortune, between his dismissal from the University of Buenos Aires in 1973 followed by the exile in the United States in the revulsive years leading up to the Argentinian civic-military dictatorship in 1976, meant that 1972 draft was transformed into *Mies van der Rohe- Barcelona 1929. Anatomía de la interpretación en arquitectura* (1975) and in *Sistemas de significación en arquitectura* (1977) (Fig. 9).

Individual trajectories

Modern icons of the «calculated risk»: Candela and Torroja in international key (1936-1973)

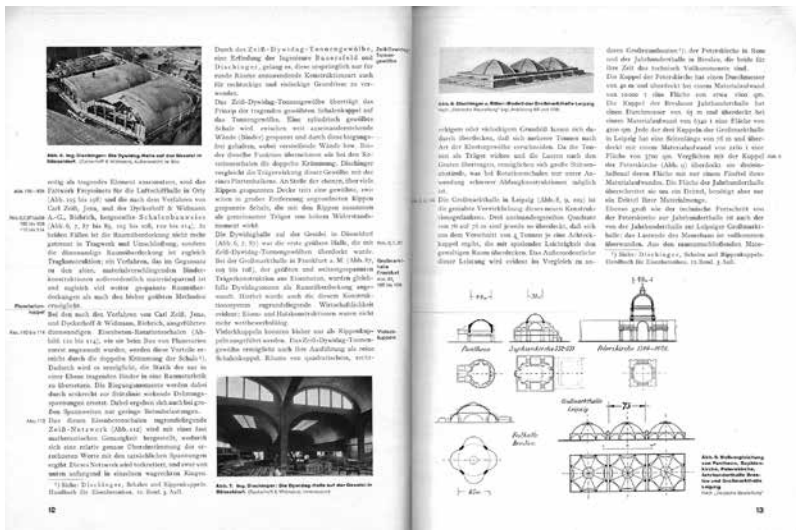
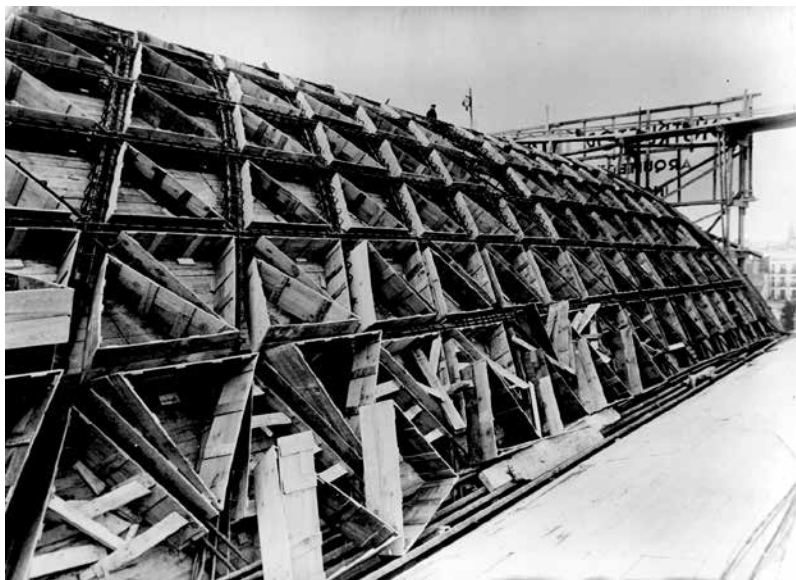
Ramon Graus, Teresa Navas-Ferrer

1936. Madrid, before the flood

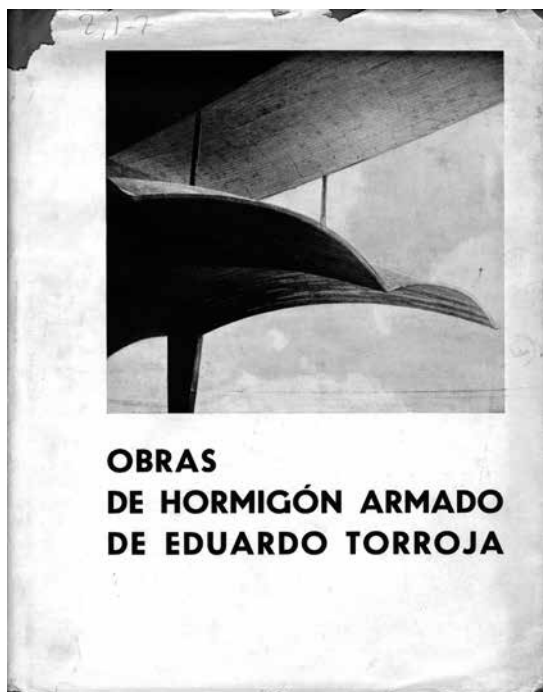
When I was finishing my studies Torroja was building his Frontón and his Hipódromo; I had a small part to play in the Hipódromo project. When it was being finished and before it was presented, they called upon a few of the students in the School to draw perspectives and such like. Obviously, I was interested in the subject! Journals were publishing certain things of this type so I began to gather information together (1).

I found Torroja on top of the formwork and asked him to explain in general terms how the enormous barrel vault would function. He did not answer me very affably, which hurt my feelings. Later he gave a conference in which he described with a grand array of equations the calculations he had made, but like most of the audience, I could understand practically nothing (2).

Félix Candela (1910-1997) thus described his initial contacts with the work of Eduardo Torroja Miret (1899-1961): first at the studio of Arniches and Domínguez, at the end of 1934, when they were preparing the contest for La Zarzuela Racecourse with



[Fig. 1] The Recoletos Pelota Court in Madrid during the assembly process of the formwork of the skylight (Eduardo Torroja Miret Archive, ES.28079.CEHOPU/1.02, I-ETM-125-01_01). [Fig. 2] Double page of *Beton als Gestalter* (1928) on which are shown two buildings by Franz Dischinger, the Dywidag-Halle in Dusseldorf (1926) and the Grossmarkthalle in Leipzig (1927-29).



[Fig. 3] Dust jacket of Eduardo Torroja's book in 1936 with the photograph by Sibylle von Kaskel of La Zarzuela Racecourse. (Biblioteca de la Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona).

Torroja, and later in his failed attempt to establish conversation with the engineer on a visit to the roof of the Recoletos Pelota Court, still under construction. (Fig. 1)

In the inter-war Europe the construction of thin shell concrete structures was becoming popular and the German functionalism praised and appropriated the power of reinforced concrete as creator of forms. Thus, in *Beton als Gestalter* the pioneer work of the engineer Franz Dischinger was exalted and the vaults of the Dywidag-Halle at the GeSoLei Fair in Dusseldorf (1926) were shown, while the Grossmarkthalle in Leipzig (1927-29) was compared to the great classics of architecture: the Pantheon in Rome, the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and Saint Peter's basilica in the Vatican. (3) (Fig. 2)

This favourable atmosphere encouraged Torroja and Candela to take decisive steps in that direction. Torroja self-published a monograph about his most recent work at the beginning of 1936 (4) (Fig. 3). The book was profusely illustrated with photographs by Sibylle von Kaskel (1905-2005) which glorified her three best collaborations with architects: the Algeciras Market Hall with Manuel Sánchez Arcas, the Recoletos Pelota Court with Secundino Zuazo and the La Zarzuela Racecourse with Carlos Arniches and Martín Domínguez. Besides, Candela, eleven years younger than Torroja, won the Conde de Cartagena grant of the San Fernando Academy to carry out studies in Germany with the best specialists in the construction of thin shells. (5) But the coup d'état in 1936 left Torroja's book in a closet and Candela had to cancel his travel at the last minute.

1939. Madrid, year zero

Once the Spanish civil war was over, in 1939, Torroja was appointed professor of the School of Civil Engineering of Madrid and in November 1940, director of the Central Laboratory for Testing Construction Materials (6). This appointment was essential for his international projection. When the Second World War had finished Robert L'Hermite, director of Laboratoires du Bâtiment et des Travaux Publics in Paris, made contact with him to participate in the foundational event of the RILEM in June 1947 (7). There the doors of European engineering started to open for him. Shortly after, in March 1948, Torroja was invited to the preparatory meeting in Zurich for the Liège IABSE Congress. Surely with his 1936 book under his arm, Torroja presented in Switzerland and Liège his trio of works from the period of the Republic (8). It would take forever to describe one by one the numerous conferences and articles that the engineering world dedicated to him from that moment. However, we must highlight, as seminal, the inclusion of his works in a text by Jacques Fougerolle in 1949 (9), which we could consider an early historization of the reinforced concrete technique.

Rediscovering La Zarzuela Racecourse

Several visitors who came to Spain at the end of the 40s suddenly noticed La Zarzuela Racecourse; to their minds it seemed the only modern building in the country. Stephen Wilkinson, professor of the Liverpool University School of Architecture at the time, outlined a description of the Main Square and the New and Old cathedrals of Salamanca, the cathedral of Valladolid, the Ciudad Universitaria in Madrid and of La Zarzuela Racecourse during a trip to Castile in September 1948.

I found that Spanish reinforced concrete engineering was in a more advanced stage than in England, especially in the field of pre-stressing concrete. [...] Shell concrete had been used for roofing many of the stands at the New Hippodrome, Madrid. The form-work, however, must have been extremely poorly erected, since many of the shell forms were not perfectly true (10).

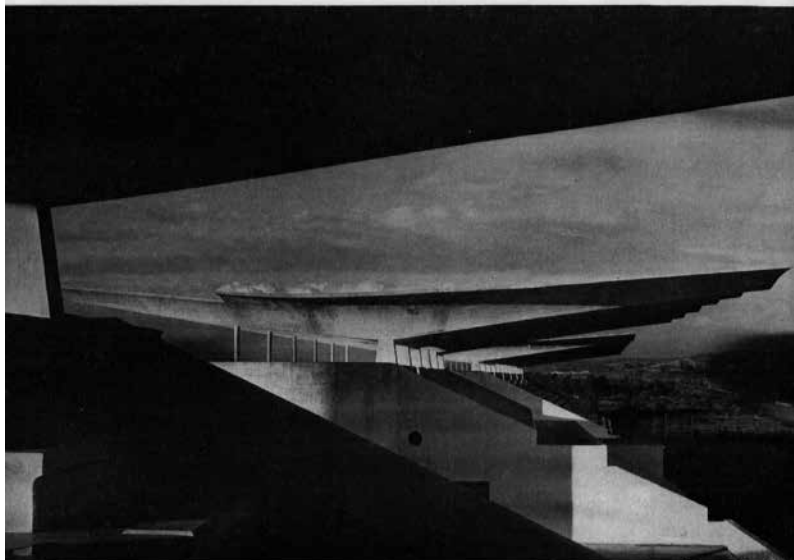
So, for Wilkinson the only modern thing to be highlighted of what he had visited was the racecourse, despite its more or less poor finishing in relation to British standards. During the spring of 1949 Hans Hauri, assistant professor in the ETH Zürich, made a trip with twelve students around the Peninsula and on his return he commented:

Professor Torroja personally welcomed us in Madrid, and under his excellent guiding we had the pleasure to know some of its most prominent buildings, some of which are fantastic. The stands in La Zarzuela Racecourse, with extraordinarily daring structures, are an impressive example of modern thin shells (11).

Even more explicit was the American photographer G. E. Kidder, who visited Madrid between the end of 1949 and the beginning of 1950 and wrote in *Architectural Forum* and in *The Architectural Review*: «With one brilliant exception, which will be discussed later, the architectural visitor to the Iberian Peninsula

SOARING CONCRETE CANOPIES shelter the Madrid Hippodrome

EDUARDO TORROJA, Engineer



Photos: G. E. Kidder Smith

It is difficult to look at the reinforced concrete canopies of the Madrid Hippodrome and still remember that they are static structures. The shells, their repeated barrel forms rippling the length of each shelter and their great cantilevers reaching out 42 ft. to shade remarkably large areas without support, are more like birds which have lighted on the top of the grandstand in that instant before they fold their wings.

The strength of these beautiful cantilevers is an inspired application of the principles of shell concrete design. Each long scallop of concrete can be thought of as an independent projecting beam. The stresses are tension at the crown and compression at the lower edge, connected by shear in the barrel of the shell.

Designer Eduardo Torroja is the man who has been called the greatest living engineer by no less an architect than Frank Lloyd Wright. His Madrid Hippodrome is good evidence. For a further discussion of Engineer Torroja's work, see "Report from Spain and Portugal," by G. E. Kidder Smith, page 72.

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[Fig. 4] Page of *Architectural Forum* (1950) dedicated to La Zarzuela Racecourse, with two photographs by G.E. Kidder Smith.

is not apt to find much modern work of interest» (12). Naturally, the brilliant exception was the racecourse, of which he took excellent photographs. The most stunning photograph published in *Architectural Forum* had been taken so that the stands' profile could be seen frontally and the fragile balance which the great canopy bathed by the western light created (13) (Fig. 4).

Gio Ponti, director of *Domus*, who had established bonds with Spanish architects after 1949 and had personally met Torroja through the engineer Arturo Danusso (14), published the building in the April issue in 1952 with the expressive title: «Forme vere in architettura». Ponti wrote: «I wish, above all, to highlight the stands of La Zarzuela Racecourse in Madrid, by Torroja, Dominguez and Arniches, because they represent true shapes defined by reinforced concrete, really, the true shapes of reinforced concrete» (15).

This is nothing but an indication of the disconnection of autarchic Spain that a building designed in 1934, and practically completed in 1936, became hot news in the 50s.

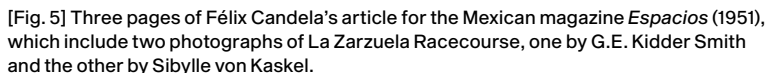
1950. México, D.F., exile

Félix Candela had been part of the group of Spanish republicans accepted by Lázaro Cardenas' Mexico. There, he started to work as an architect and, approximately at the end of the 40s, he revived his attraction for thin shells. It is possible to reconstruct this renewed interest through different sources. Colin Faber noted that Candela had read an article about folded plate shells in the *American Concrete Institute Journal* (16) which «rekindled his youthful interest in construction» (17). Candela himself remembered how he belatedly discovered Robert Maillart's work: «I discovered him in Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture*; and then I got Max Bill's book with its invaluable collection of Maillart's essays. I devoured his articles [...]» (18). Also Maria Garlock and David P. Billington have described how Candela took advantage of the chance that Mexi-

co would house UNESCO's Scientific and Technical Documentation Centre from 1950; here Candela was able to research in depth the current knowledge of thin shell structures (19). In this process of self-learning, in a developing country, Candela ventured to build a first experimental vault in San Bartolo during the summer of 1949, inspired by the Ctesiphon vault tested in the United Kingdom and its colonies by J.H. De W. Waller and Kurt Billig (20). Waller had patented a construction system of light double curvature shells that used hessian as formwork, set between centrings in the shape of catenary arches, easily usable in a war economy (21). Shortly after, in 1950, Félix Candela founded the company Cubiertas Ala S.A. with his brother, Antonio Candela, and the brothers Fernando and Raúl Fernández Rangel, both of them architects (22). From that moment Candela would start an intense advertising campaign for the company in Mexico and beyond. With this objective he gave his first conference on the 23rd November 1950 in the Mexican Architects Society. Soon after he wrote to his old study fellow Alejandro Herrero, who at the time was municipal architect in Huelva, to tell him about his new projects:

The conference was part of the advertising plan for the company «Cubiertas Ala» which Antonio and I have founded along with three Mexican architects [...]. As I have begun the path of writing, I have written an article for a national magazine called *Espacios* [...]. Combining both things and giving it a more technical tone I have written the article for the American Concrete Institute, which I am sending today and I hope will cause some stir if it is published. Of course, it can be very important because it has great international circulation; there are 5,000 members in all the countries around the world (23).

The article published in the magazine *Espacios*, titled «Las cubiertas laminares en la arquitectura industrial», disclosed the sources of his architectonic proposal (24) (Fig. 5). It is a text published in English and Spanish and profusely illustrated with im-



ages that sought to qualify his constructive and project design. In its pages were photographs taken from *Space, Time and Architecture*, from Max Bill's monograph about Maillart and works by Wright, Ove Arup or Pier Luigi Nervi. Amongst them is included a photograph of La Zarzuela Racecourse by Kidder Smith published a few months before in *Architectural Forum*. And this was not a coincidence, Candela had tried to take advantage of the open forum which gave name to the magazine to publish his opinion as president of Cubiertas Ala, in the October issue in 1951, claiming that «The architect must regain his lost role of master builder» (25), one of the leitmotifs of his theoretical position about structural design.

Discovering the Cosmic Rays Pavilion

The construction of the Cosmic Rays Pavilion at the campus of the Ciudad Universitaria de Mexico was the leverage for Candela's international reputation. The strict determinants of permeability to radiation required a solution of an extremely thin roof. The architects Jorge González Reyna and Rafael Arozarena had initially designed the building's roof with a barrel vault. Candela worked with them to successfully reduce the thickness of the shell through a shape of double curvature. Finally three parabolic arches would support two hyperbolic paraboloids.

At the same time, from September 1951, the American architectural critic Esther McCoy (1904-1989) had settled in Mexico as correspondent of the magazine *Arts & Architecture* (26). One of her tasks was to document the architecture of the Ciudad Universitaria along with the photographer Erwin G. Lang (a.k.a. Ed Lange). Not all the works were finished but she discovered there the small Cosmic Rays Pavilion. In her preparatory correspondence with John Entenza she already indicated her surprise:

I'm working up on the use of concrete: Mexico has made a virtue of this necessity, and has turned this contractor's material into

something delicate and flexible. They use extremely thin slabs of it in a surprising variety of places (27).

In her op-ed article of the monograph about the Ciudad Universitaria, McCoy carefully described the building and published some of Candela's words that come from his article in *Espacios*, about which we have commented:

The designer, Felix Candela, architect and engineer, says that the general objection to shell structures «is based on the common confusion between massiveness and strength. Massive structures are not necessarily stronger than the lighter ones. On the contrary, the former are more subject to deformation and failure».

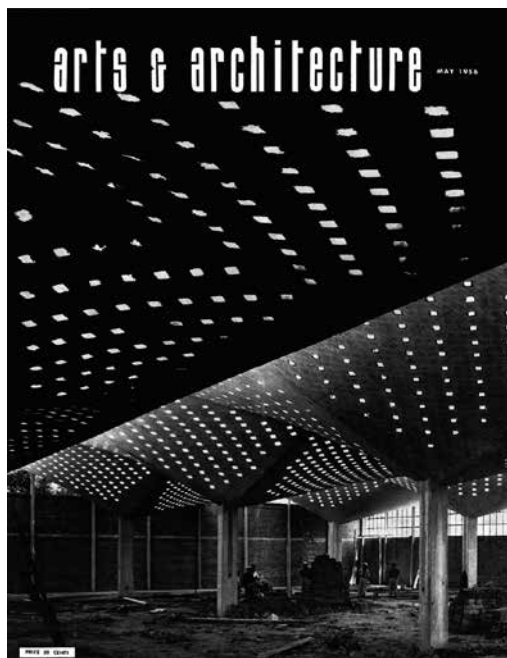
The dignity which characterizes the work of the Mexican architect does not prejudice him against new forms. Although he is limited by the concrete frame of his building, he has been able to push out its limits and endow with greater plasticity the material that is his to use (28).

Lang's photographs reinforced the lightness of the roof (Fig. 6). The first frontal photograph pairs the parabola formed by the inclined *pilotis* and the parabola outlined by the very thin roof in cantilever, the second photograph displayed the back façade with a slight foreshortening, enough to show the double saddle which is configured by the two hyperbolic paraboloids. These were not the first photographs of the pavilion that American readers might have seen. We have already understood Candela's interest in publishing in the American Concrete Institute's magazine from the letter to Herrero, if his first article had been rejected in April 1951, (29), Candela insisted and managed to publish another article in the December issue which already included two photographs of the pavilion under construction (30).

We must dwell on this article because it showed the referential world by which Candela legitimised his design proposals. In the text he argued that the difficulty of calculating these types of



[Fig. 6] Page of *Arts & Architecture* (1952) dedicated to the Cosmic Rays Pavilion of the Ciudad Universitaria in México, with three photographs by Erwin G. Lang.



[Fig. 7] Cover of *Arts & Architecture* (1956) dedicated to the textile factory High Life in Coyoacán, with a photo by Erwin G. Lang.

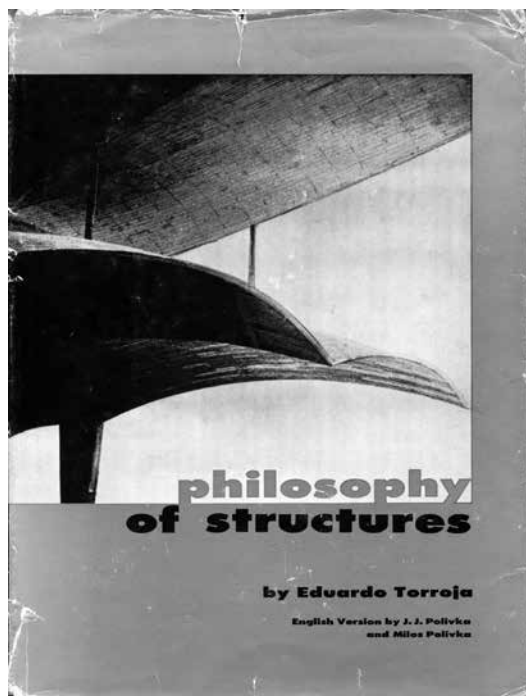
shells used to limit their use in big structures but he was referring to the use of brick in the traditional Mediterranean tile vaulting as a reality that was still in practice in Spain after the Civil War—he published an opinion extracted from Luis Moya’s book and mentioned Rafael Guastavino’s work in the USA which the same author had also analysed— (31) and he suggested that the substitution of brick with reinforced concrete seemed to him the most adequate way to improve it technically. It was, in the first place, a gesture to ascribe himself within a tradition. The text finished by presenting the Cosmic Rays Pavilion and gave account of the study by Fernand Aimond into hyperbolic paraboloids through which he had supported his ideas (32). In this case, it was an approximation gesture of scientific methods, necessary for acceptance in the ACI.

This article, and the one published in 1953 (33), also in ACI, caught Reynier Banham's attention and he dedicated an article to his first works in *The Architectural Review* (34) which was devoted to Candela's argumentations: establishing the roots of the technique in the old tradition of tile vaulting, now improved and the use of simplified calculations to design the structures. Banham reproduced Candela's words in his articles for ACI: «It is better, he says, to use simpler procedures which, in most cases, are sufficient when the designer is a constructor» (35).

With this strategy, Candela continued with his company during the 60s, while his position also allowed him to intensify his compromise for a democratic Spain (36). Esther McCoy kept making known Candela's works through the pages of *Arts & Architecture* (37), especially in a monographic exhibition held at the University of Southern California in 1957 (38), and opened the way for Colin Faber –soon to be Candela's biographer– with a captivating photograph by Erwin G. Lang of the hypar twinkling parasols of the High Life textile factory (39) (Fig. 7). However, he left the company in 1969, when orders had already dwindled. In 1971 he moved to the USA, and in 1973 Cubiertas Ala, then headed by his brother, would definitively go bankrupt (40).

1950. Taliesin West

Eduardo Torroja would also be quickly known in the USA in the same years. Diego Martín-Sáiz (41) was the first to demonstrate that the Czech Jaroslav J. Polívka (1886-1960), a member of Frank Lloyd Wright's team in his late period (42), knew about Torroja's 1936 book, and that he had shown it to Wright. He recorded in some autobiographical texts how the «amply illustrated book on Torroja's work impressed Frank Lloyd Wright very much and he became interested to meet Professor Torroja» (43). The impact was sufficiently important so that in a conference in front of architecture students at the Carnegie Institute



[Fig. 8] Dust jacket of *Philosophy of structures* (1958) by Eduardo Torroja with the 1936 photograph by Sibylle von Kaskel of La Zarzuela Racecourse.

of Technology, Wright stated that Eduardo Torroja «has expressed the principles of organic construction better than any engineer I know» (44). Shortly after, Polívka contacted Torroja and prepared a visit to Wright in Taliesin West for the 21st April 1950. Polívka, proud of the meeting, published in *Architectural Forum* an already very well-known photograph of Wright and Torroja walking through the streets in Phoenix (45). Naturally, without this meeting Torroja's success in the USA cannot be understood, making regular visits to give conferences (46) or to participate in congresses and, even more importantly, publishing the American edition of two of his main books: *The structures of Eduardo Torroja* (47) and *Philosophy of structures* (48) (Fig. 8). The latter was the translation of *Razón y ser de los tipos estructurales*,

published in Spain only the year before, done by Polívka himself, and with Kaskel's photograph that he had already used for his book in 1936. However, Torroja had no more time as he died in 1961. Zevi would remember him in an article about the Valley of the Fallen with the confrontational title: «Franco mostruoso malgrado Torroja» (49).

Modern icons of the «calculated risk»

Here we are only interested in outlining the professional trajectories that made possible the initial international acknowledgement of Torroja and Candela from the 50s. It is paradoxical that, despite their disagreement about the roof of the Recoletos Pelota Court in 1936, both were internationally recognised at the same time in the 50s. We will not continue listing their work but we thought a global assessment of their circumstances was necessary. Without doubt it was the peak moment of thin shells, as the numerous monographs dedicated to them corroborate. We thought of the educational articles by Mario Salvadori (50), Jürgen Joedicke's careful approximations (51), the monograph by Manuel Sánchez Arcas written in exile (52) (Fig. 9) or David P. Billington's interest in studying these type of structures in depth (53).

Therefore, their recognition was not a coincidence. Their talent and creativity were in harmony with the debate for «organic» architecture, the architecture that wished to overcome functionalism, from Wright to Aalto, and with the neo-expressionist «fashion» of covering large-span buildings with thin shells concrete structures, from Saarinen to Utzon.

Nevertheless, that search for forms, more and more impregnated with the logic of spectacle, entailed a mistrustful look by critical history towards them. Let us remember how Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, when reviewing the international panorama in the 50s and 60s, referred to them with a touch of distrust:



[Fig. 9] Dust jacket and two inside pages of the book *Form und Bauweise der Schalen* (1961) by Manuel Sánchez Arcas, with the Recoletos Pelota Court and the Palmira Chapel in Cuernavaca.

The structuralist current includes others [...] who are committed to making technological experimentation the occasion for formal audacities, for modern icons of the calculated risk; for example, the slablike structures with umbrella and membrane by Felix Candela in Mexico, the shelters of the Madrid hippodrome by Eduardo Torroja, and the experiments by Joseph Polivka collaborator with Frank Lloyd Wright on some projects or Frei Otto (54).

Modern icons of the «calculated risk» they were called. Perhaps even Félix Candela himself was aware of it when he wrote his uncompromising article about Sydney Opera House (55), the two sides of the genealogy we have outlined.

From *Paris avec amour*: Corrales and Molezún in three French publications (1958-1970)

Nicolás Martín Domínguez

Between 1958 and 1970 three Parisian magazines featured the work of Jose Antonio Corrales and Ramon Vazquez Molezún. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, *Aujourd'hui art et architecture* and *Techniques et Architecture*. Three publications which shared events and maintained links with each other. The first two had the same director, Andre Bloc (1). The first and the last shared a parallel history (2).

The first of the projects by which Corrales and Molezún began to be known in French cultural circles, was the Spanish Pavilion at the Brussels expo, published in 1958 (3). The last of these projects mentioned was a project for community housing which Corrales did in La Coruña on his own (4), both were published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*.

This foreign media would be the one that gave most publicity to the works of both architects. Although others also paid attention to them, they would do so only on isolated occasions and with long time intervals.

L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui would also be the only international medium which focussed on two projects Jose Antonio Corrales did alone: as well as the housing in Elviña, the yacht club in San Juan. Its publication revealed a real sensitivity on the part of this magazine for the work of both architects (5). This vision would

be completed, both in projects and approaches, by the other two Parisian magazines.

In Madrid the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura -Arquitectura, Hogar y Arquitectura, Nueva Forma e Informes de la Construcción* published the projects of Corrales and Molezún profusely (6). The architects themselves were frequently given the opportunity to explain their work in the magazines, making the magazines the reference point for making their works known.

This essay aims to identify the extent of the knowledge of the works of Corrales and Molezún through these three French publications which, in ten articles, described their most representative projects until 1970. Madrid publications which preceded the first publication in the French magazines are analysed, to detect failings, mistakes, influences and different ways of presenting the same work, but without taking account of later publications, because this is not a bibliographic revision of each project. The works appear in the chronological order according to the date of their French publication.

Consulting the archives of Jose Antonio Corrales and Ramon Vazquez Molezún, responsibility for the publication of the documents in these media has been traced. An analysis of the articles from their most formal aspect produces various codes and approaches.

The question posed is very simple, «How do they see us from outside?» Compared to the generalised belief of ignorance or looking down on Spanish architecture in the specialised foreign press, we shall see here that that was not very accurate, given that on many occasions it was truly a view from *Paris avec amour*.

The Spanish Pavilion at the Brussels Exposition, 1957 (7)

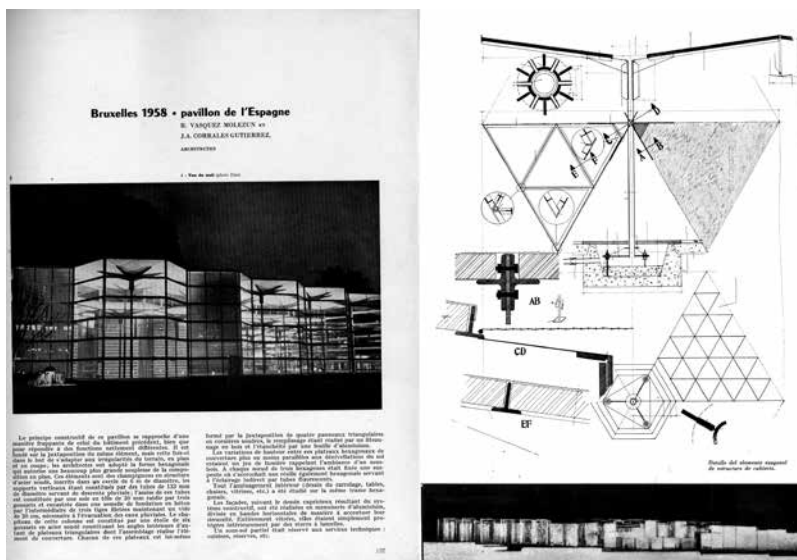
L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui published in 1958 a report on the *Exposition Universelle et Internationale* subtitled «Les techniques au service de l'homme» (8). With the work still in progress, the magazine paid special attention to the Canadian Pavilion,



[Fig. 1] From left to right: «Bruxelles 1958. Exposition Universelle et Internationale. Les techniques au service de l'homme». *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1958, n. 76; «Pavillon de l'Espagne». *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1958, n. 78.

the Transport Pavilion, and that of France. The chosen theme would be «l'homme face au prodigieux développement technique de notre époque [...] l'absence totale d'une architecture folklorique ou romantique ainsi que la volonté de construire 'vrai', de penser 'structure'» (9), giving descriptions of the pavilions from all these aspects. The Spanish Pavilion would be photographed partially from the interior of other pavilions, standing out for its essential nature (Fig. 1).

In their June issue (10), with the Exposition already in progress, the magazine dedicated one of its reports to the Pavilion, illustrated by its «parasols hexagonaux» (11) at different moments during the day and highlighting the steep slope of the land, inspiring the interior on different levels and the adaptation of the parasols which «meublent [...] l'espace» (12).



[Fig. 2] From left to right: «Bruxelles 1958. Pavillon de l'Espagne». *Techniques et Architecture*. 1959, n. 5 (serie 19); «Exposición Universal e Internacional de Bruselas, 1958». *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. 1957, n. 188.

Le problème n'a pas été ici de montrer, [...] le plus de choses possibles, mais, au contraire, de suggérer par des photographies, de la musique et des danses, l'ambiance et l'esprit d'un pays (13).

The pavilion itself was the true exhibit, it became a paradigm of the Exposition and its slogan, produced with a technology adapted to the Spanish reality and capable of transmitting its true «esprit».

Techniques et Architecture in 1959 (14), would open its report with a night-time photo where the facade disappeared, showing the interior as a statement of its lightness. The clearly technical article explained its «principe constructif [...] dans le but de s'adapter aux irrégularités du terrain» (15). They would go as far as to indicate the diameter of pieces and pipes or their connections and weldings, the lighting system or interior furnishing, which could even be measured on the scale plans (16) (Fig. 2).

The *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* in July 1956 (17) announced the Competition for Ideas organised by the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, and the decision of the Jury (18). The participants' panels (19), on a full page, permitted the analysis of the different proposals. The project by Corrales and Molezún was shown on a double page spread: the ground floor and the roofs, three sections and constructive details.

A year later, it would again publish on the Pavilion including the Competition for the Interior Installation (20). Even if the grids and the negatives emphasised the most plastic effect, the intention was to inform on the technical aspects: the general plan and its distribution, the study of the auditorium with its variations, diagrams and acoustic reverberation tables, lighting, enlarged constructive details and furnishings. The second part of the report, dedicated to the interior installation, showed photomontages and abstract plans for the proposal.

It would again get published in June 1958 (21) as a recapitulation of its history through a generic memory prepared for that purpose (22), completed with night-time images of the Pavilion, some taken in the day, and some details of the sunshades.

Informes de la Construcción (23), six months later, published a brief article on the building. An undated report gave a superficial treatment to the subjects of the project, including the ones of a technical nature. It would, however, provide some unpublished colour photographs as its most interesting documentation.

The Parisian media published this project in a detailed way. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and *Techniques et Architecture* were capable, firstly, of understanding the project and later making it known. The former presented the Pavilion as an exhibited object from an invented technology, a reflection of the architectonic aspirations of Corrales and Molezún in those years. The second did so as an object perceived from its construction. The same would occur with the Madrid publications: the project, described from its most architectonic aspects, is presented as a masterpiece. Any description that distanced from these parameters seemed insignificant.

School facilities in Herrera de Pisuergra, 1954 (24)

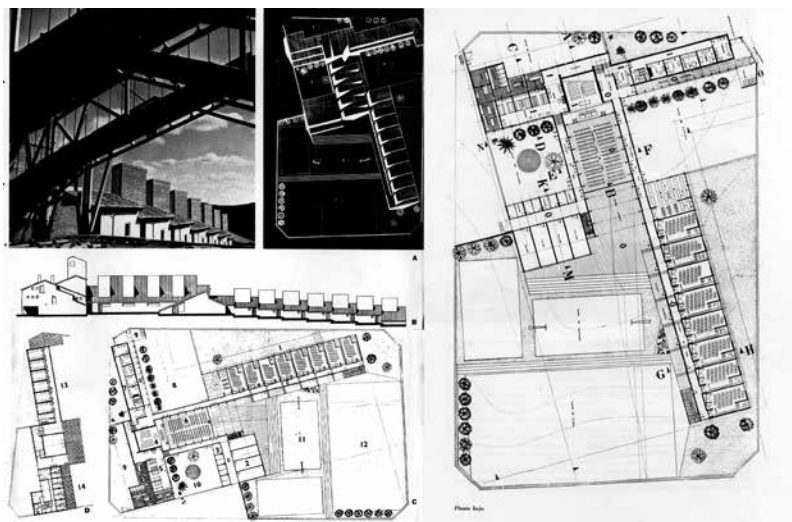
L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui published the projects for the Centre for Secondary and professional in Herrera de Pisuergra (25) and the Holiday Colony for Infants in Miraflores de la Sierra (26) in 1959.

The former ran to three pages in length and included seven photographs, two general plans and one upper plan, a longitudinal elevation and a section through the chapel, reporting on some of the materials employed. The text, almost hidden away between the photographs, began its narrative with the necessity for the boarding facilities so that «accueillir des élèves venant d'assez loin» (27). It continued: «Les nécessités de ce programme, la forme du terrain, large rectangle orienté Nord-Sud, comportant des dénivellations, le climat très rigoureux en hiver, demandant donc au maximum une orientation au Sud, ont dicté le parti adopté» (28). Although all the project decisions would be a consequence of this, this went virtually unnoticed, as it then went into describing the programme. It concluded: «La construction a été aussi simple et économique que possible: bois, ciment et briques pour les murs, tuiles pour les couvertures» (29).

There is redundancy in some of the photographs and the inclusion of two general plans, —one negated and rotated in relation to the other and duplicating the information, could be justified for aesthetic and layout reasons (Fig. 3).

This was a very different treatment from that published in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* one year before (30) in the issue dedicated to education centres, which on its cover carried a photo of the plan of the building's roofs, making it the main feature of the example (31). The text, written by the architects themselves (32), allowed us to understand the building from the aspects of orientation, topographics, materials and the economic aspect. Nine photographs were included, emphasising the piece of the chapel, including some unusual ones, like those that show its connection with the local village constructions (33).

It also stood out for the profusion and precision of the planimetric documentation. The general plans, always set out with a north-south orientation (34), in contrast to the French example, oc-



[Fig. 3] From left to right: «Centre d'enseignement secondaire et professionnel. Herrera de Pisuergra». *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1959, n. 85; «Grupo escolar en Herrera del Pisuergra». *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. 1958, n. 203.

cupied a whole page and were to the same scale, allowing in parallel the reading of all of the published documentation (35). Sections and construction details likewise allowed it to be understood from the perspective of construction, fundamental for architects, as is recognised in these lines, and which we know to be a characteristic of their architecture (36). In this case, the climatology also justified the geometry: «Considering how frequently it snows in winter in this region, the roofs and coverings have been projected in such a way as to ensure there are no dips which might cause dampness» (37).

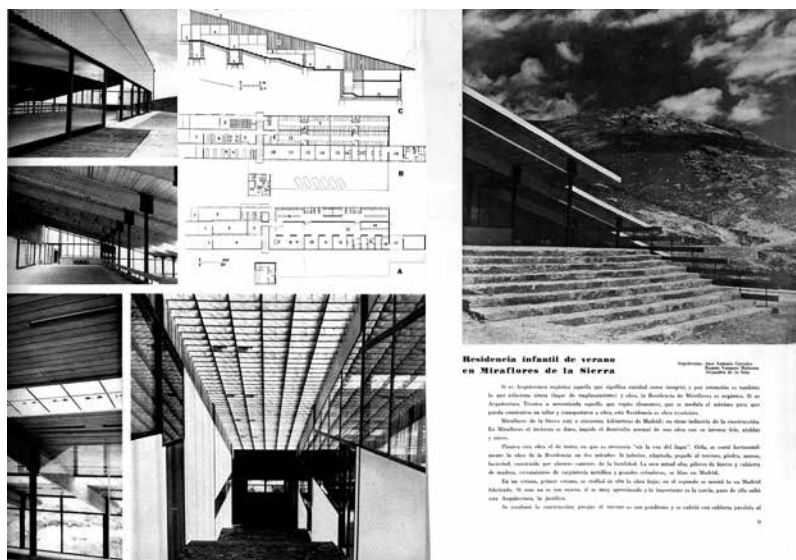
The French magazine was more superficial: «La structure du gymnase est formée de portiques en charpente de bois triangulée avec pentes des rampants alternativement inversées, créant ainsi un jeu de volumes fort intéressants» (38).

An interpretation of the building and a less rigorous presentation of the information, totally omitting the true reasons for the project, are details that make us doubt whether they really understood the building, which is why it would be very difficult to disseminate it in an adequate way.

The summer residence for Infants in Miraflores de la Sierra, 1957 (39)

It was published in the magazine *Arquitectura* in July 1959 (40), two months later it would be summarised in one page in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (41), with its two plans, the longitudinal section and eight photographs: one of them unpublished, which shows a framing near the access facade which helps to understand the materials and construction employed; some were enlarged compared to the norm in Spain and divided to present them as independent; and finally the section, increased in scale, which complicates the reading in relation to the plans (Fig. 4).

The summary begins with some notes on the site: «Les architectes ont cherché à créer, avec cette colonie de vacances, un ensemble qui s'accroche parfaitement au terrain à forte dénivellation et fasse corps avec le paysage» (42). It then describes the pro-



[Fig. 4] From left to right: «Colonie de vacances pour enfants, Miraflores de la Sierra». *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1959, n. 85; «Residencia infantil de verano en Miraflores de la Sierra». *Arquitectura*. 1959, n. 7.

ject in a succinct manner. The captions with the plans and photographs reflect the effort taken in the description of the building: «Détail de la couverture. Plafond en lames de pin et poutres en bois s'appuyant sur une ossature métallique» (43).

Arquitectura would publish the project as a manifesto of the thought of the three architects in those years. Written by Alejandro de la Sota (44), it begins thus:

If organic architecture is that which means «entity as integral», and by extension is also what relates land (where it is positioned) to project, then the Miraflores Residence is organic. If technical, or mechanised, architecture is that which repeats elements, and is modulated to the maximum so that it can be constructed in a workshop, and transported to the site, then the residence is a technicist work (45).

He also spoke about «hearing the voice of the place» and its solution in the project. A work in two phases because of the adverse climatology and the workshop construction of the roof, which was transported and assembled on site. A «hidromadre» roof, a large protected area, which the children, like little chicks, would have to and did come out of, it expanded from the inside to the out, to the sun, to the air» (46).

The rest of the seven page article would be mainly visual, with nineteen photographs without explanations. There were two fold out pages, with the planimetric documentation: the three plans, the four elevations and three transverse sections. It did not go into detail over the programme of the plans and sections, as the Paris media had, with an excuse that followed from the editor (47).

The two publications tackled the project from diametrically opposite positions. If *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* tried to analyse the building coldly from its programme, with some illustrations and justifying some of the decisions. The magazine *Arquitectura*, would also provide the most sensitive reasons of the work, explained by one of their architects, thus opening up the project for the reader's understanding, not just of this work, but also of the work being carried out by its architects at that time.

Sailing Club at the San Juan Reservoir, 1959 (48)

L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui published the Sailing Club at the San Juan Reservoir in early 1963 (49). A work which Jose Antonio Corrales did on his own, of which only the first phase could be carried out. The magazine dedicated it half a page, in which they concentrated photographs, plans, and a summary (Fig. 5). All of the documents came from the architect's studio. The three photographs of the recently completed building: one taken from the Cerro de San Esteban where it is sited, and the other two from a vessel. The four plans, three plans and one elevation, correspond to the projected second phase.

The unsigned text took literal expressions from the record of the project. It clarified the two phases and their corresponding programmes. It described the changes in the water level which justified siting it on rock, and the need for a crane to lift the boats in and out of the water. It described the chosen site, and its views thanks to «la forme en L du barrage» (50). Finally there was a constructive description based on «quatre portiques en B.A. reposant sur des poteaux du côté de l'eau et, à l'opposé, sur un appui ancré au sol» (51).

The profusion and detail of the illustration captions covered almost the whole of the text explaining the project, they attended to the minutest details, explaining «la première tranche de travaux» (52). The numerical legend limited itself to explaining the use of each of the plans.

Almost two years before, the project had been published in *Arquitectura* (53) showing the same illustrations and plans as the French publication, and including the mock up and a closer shot of the building taken from the water.

The text repeats some of the expressions cited in the previous publication word for word. There are only a few differences between the two articles, surely motivated by the passing of time. In the early sixties the recently completed project motivated the inclusion of photographs of the mock up and a constructive description of the second phase. The process was

recent, as Corrales explained giving details of materials and forms in the Madrid publication: «The unbuilt second phase was, in contrast, projected in the form of a sloping light metal roof of zinc or copper» (54). None of this was explained in the French version, perhaps assuming that it would not actually be built, although it did clarify certain aspects that were contemplated in the genesis of the project, such as its modularity and the possibility of its growth.

However, through its greater conciseness it was capable of explaining the project in a precise way, as the Madrid article had done in its day. The passage of time and the fact that the second amplified phase, with its disparity of materials and forms, was never built not only improved the definitive project, but also its description in conception, precision and essence.

Competition for the National Opera House in Madrid, 1964 (55)

In September 1964, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* published the result of the Competition for the Opera House in Madrid (56) (Fig. 6), while one year later *Nueva Forma* would do likewise (57). The Parisian magazine threw more light on this:

Le Concours international pour l'Opéra de Madrid ouvre des perspectives inquiétantes sur evolution de l'architecture contemporaine. Peu de concours ont donné des résultats aussi décevants. Il nous est impossible, dans l'espace qui nous a été dévolu, de commenter en détail des projets qui, pour la plupart, ne mériteraient pas. Le jury, placé devant de telles médiocrités aussi extravagantes, a eu une tâche difficile; il accordé le premier prix à un projet d'une grande platitude, mais extrêmement calme [...] Nos lecteurs se feront une opinion en examant en revue les projets primés (58).

In the Competition, organised by the Foundation of the recently deceased Juan March, there were around a hundred competitors. (59) According to the publication, the Jury, composed of national and international architects of contrasting reputation, made a mistake in their chosen winning proposal (60). It was critical of the final result without indicating any preferred proposal, leaving the choice to its readers.

The third prize went to the team that included Jose Antonio Corrales and Ramon Vazquez Molezún (61). The magazine published the mock-up of their project and the ground floor plan. There were also photographs of other projects, both prize-winners and unrewarded ones. The project by the Corrales-Molezún team was sculptural, modulated, blind, one in which each part of the programme was resolved episodically without affecting the whole of the volumetry.

Three years later Daniel Fullaondo published the third part of the revision of the Corrales-Molezún work in the magazine *Nueva Forma*. In its pages appeared the proposal for the Opera House with

Compared to the lament of the Parisian magazine, Fullaondo gushed with enthusiasm for the architecture of this pair of architects. A discursive emphasis was trained on a great number of architectonic, artistic and philosophical references which would point to new routes to interpret the work of Corrales and Molezún for the readers.

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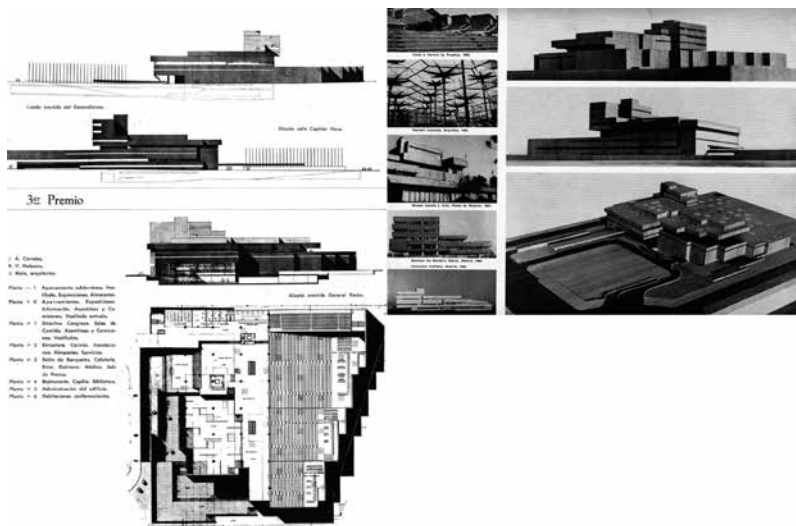


[Fig. 6] From left to right: «Concours pour l'Opéra National de Madrid». *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1964, n. 116; «Corrales y Molezún III». *Nueva Forma*. 1967, n. 22.

Competition for the Congress and Exposition Palace in Madrid, 1964 (62)

In November 1964 *Arquitectura* published the results for the Competition held that year for the Congress and Exposition Palace in Madrid (63) (Fig. 7). The project by Corrales Molezún and de la Mata finished third (64). It published the documentation of the prize-winners without commentaries and in some cases even without the explanations by their architects (65). The publication would dedicate the same amount of space to each project irrespective of its result (66). The project by Corrales, Molezún and de la Mata showed only the planimetric documentation with their captions: four plans, three sections and two elevations. The precision of the plans, the size and scale of the sketches used and the basic model, would make the proposal equally understandable as those of the other prize-winning participants.

Aujourd'hui art et architecture published a summary of the competition two years later with a diametrically opposed focus (67). The authors of the article, Claude Parent and Patrice Goulet, would



[Fig. 7] From left to right: «Concurso de Palacio de Exposiciones en Madrid: tercer premio». *Arquitectura*. 1964, n. 71; «Palais des Expositions et des Congrès: Madrid 1964». *Aujourd'hui Art et Architecture*. 1966, n. 52.

be rather critical of the result of the competition. In four horizontal pages it presented the mock-up of the winning proposal in reduced size. The second proposal, by Fernández Alba and Fernández del Amo, which for them should have been the winner, was shown occupying most of the first page with two illustrations of the mock-up. The introductory comment to the report was as follows:

Pour ce concours, nous présentons, plus loin, les projets de Higuera et de Fullaondo qui, une fois encore, proposent les solutions les plus intéressantes et les plus originales. Le projet de l'architecte Alba retient également l'attention. Refermée, massive, son architecture caractéristique méritera, pour d'autres réalisations également, d'être mentionnée. Lors qu'on la compare à celle du projet primé, tout commentaire devient inutile (68).

It would also show the proposals by the teams of Fernando Higuera and Daniel Fullaondo. What was notable was the attention given to the proposal of Corrales, Molezún and de la Mata and the retrospective look at their previous work, such attention was not given to any of the other published proposals. With greater exposure even than the second prize winner, it showed three whole page illustrations of the mock up for their proposal, and accompanied it with others from five previous works (69). They would comment:

... ont représenté à l'étranger la manifestation d'un renouveau architectural en Espagne. Rendus célèbre par le pavillon espagnol à l'exposition de Bruxelles en 1958, ces architectes ont élaboré un style personnel dont ce projet est caractéristique. C'est pour permettre de mieux les situer que nous, montrons en accompagnement quelquesunes de leurs principales réalisations (70).

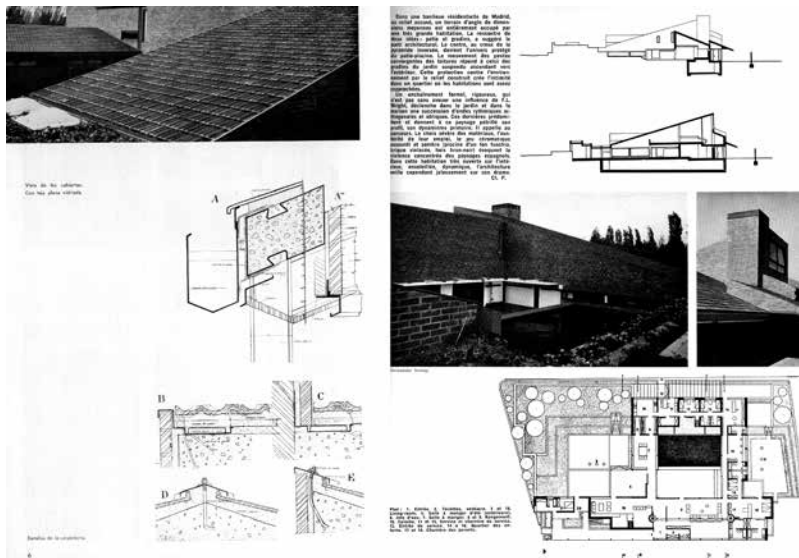
If the Madrid publication commented on the Competition in a more professional way, it was surprising that it was the French publication which looked at it from a more critical angle, strongly condemning the winning proposal, and that this should come from Paris not from Madrid. One would have thought it would be the reverse.

Huarte House, Puerta de Hierro, Madrid, 1965 (71)

When in March 1968 the Huarte House was published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (72), it had already appeared in two Madrid publications: *Arquitectura* (73) in October 1966 and *Hogar y Arquitectura* (74) in April 1967. In the professional association magazine, Corrales and Molezún stated the basic lines of the house: the criteria of distribution, its defences against noise, the use of patios and the adjustment to the regulations. The elasticity of the plan and its orientation towards the south. It would finish with material aspects, carpentry and gardens in relation to sun exposure and the local climate, in a report with a large number of illustrations: a ground floor on a full page, the reduced plan of the roofs and two sections, as well as constructive details and a sketch (Fig. 8).

Hogar y Arquitectura repeated it with similar text and graphic documentation in a four and a half page article (75). Some of the photographs were in colour, allowing an appreciation of the colours of the materials of the roofs, faces, carpentry and surrounding vegetation which the architects explained in their text.

For the magazine *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* the text signed by CLP, Claude Parent, indicated the generating ideas of the house: its patios, the protection against the weather and the stepped gardens. But the tone was a long way from being neutral, showing how impressed he was with the work. Expressions such as «parti architectural» (76) or «L'architecture veille ... jalousement sur son drame» (77) tilted the balance of the review towards a deep admiration for the house. Parent produced an enthusiastic manifesto for organic architecture, indicating Wright as a formal reference, and the popular in the material, was a reflection of the «violence concentrée des paysages espagnols» (78). The badly orientated plan, rotated through 180° and with no indication of north, makes one doubt the understanding of the orientation as a fundamental part of the house, neither is this mentioned anywhere in the text (79). The sections appear to have been redrawn for the occasion, the cleanliness of the lines, grids and geometries is far from the original plans, which were present in the Madrid magazines.



[Fig. 8] From left to right: «Casa Huarte en Madrid». *Arquitectura*. Madrid, 1966, n. 94; «Maison Huarte Près de Madrid». *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1968, n. 136.

Compared to the enthusiastic French manifesto, the descriptions by Corrales and Molezún themselves in the Madrid magazines, described the building giving operative reasons. This along with the originally published drawings, sketches and constructive details allow the project, far from being an architectonic manifesto, to be disseminated in a really effective way.

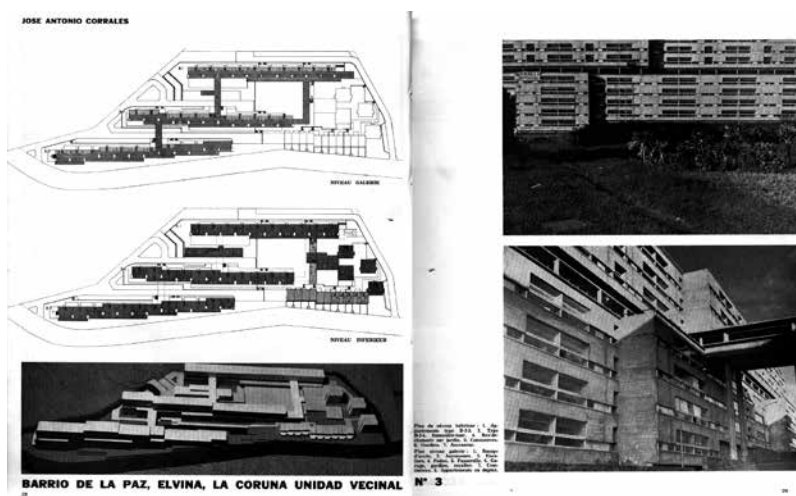
Neighbourhood Unit. Elviña Estate, La Coruña, 1964-65 (80)

Issue 149 of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* in 1970 was an issue dedicated to Spanish architecture, centred on Madrid and Barcelona, and with articles by Fernández Alba and Fullaondo, it limited itself to only presenting works from the previous four years (81).

The housing at Elviña by Corrales appeared among the architects summarised (82). There were two pages with two general plans, a

photograph of the mock up and eleven photographs of the neighbourhood taken from between the buildings. With no explanatory text and only with some captions to the illustrations, the article was looking for the visual impact of the proposal, from its brutalist aesthetic in the use of cement, its appearance of carving, the density of the buildings, and its circulation by way of walkways between the blocks (Fig. 9).

Hogar y Arquitectura in its July-August issue of 1965 (83), would be the first Spanish publication to pay attention to it: done by the Obra Sindical del Hogar y Arquitectura, this institution was responsible for publicising the work through its own means. It still did not include photographs of the buildings, although it did present detailed original documentation: photographs of the mock up and project plans. The text was taken from the construction record (84) but adapted for its publication: a functional and programmatic description of the proposal, its distribution and orientation, the types of housing and surfaces, commercial units, circulation routes and communal spaces. In an issue from 1967 (85) it compensated for the absence of photographs in the previous issue with sixteen exterior and detail photographs of the complex. *Nueva Forma* (86) provided exterior

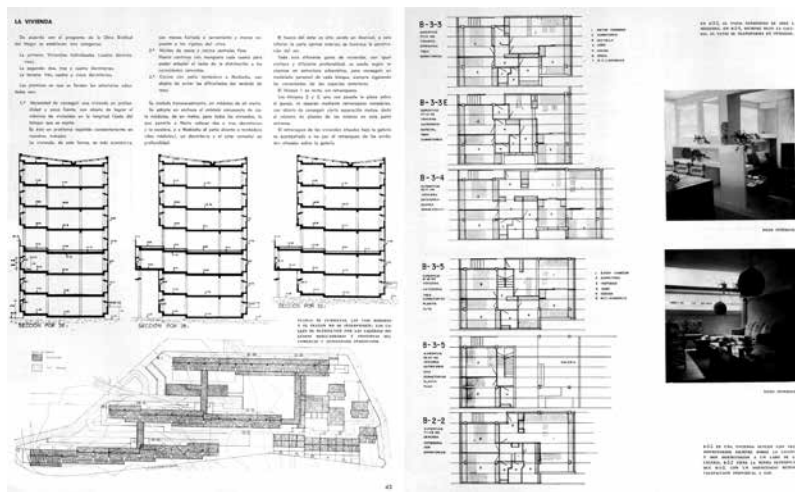


[Fig. 9] «Barrio de la Paz, Elviña, La Coruña. Unidad Vecinal n.º 3». *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1970, n. 149.

illustrations of the construction and some plans in the format they habitually used (87). In contrast number 25 of the same magazine published some previously unseen photographs of the interiors (88).

In September 1968 the magazine *Arquitectura* (89) published the project in a more comprehensive way before it was published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. The planimetric documentation would also be better presented. It constituted a recompilation of what had been published by the Madrid media until then. Corrales himself kept the photocopies of this issue filed in the project file. It stated the urban situation of the complex in relation to the peripheral grid of La Coruña. It also contained the distribution plan of the new neighbourhood with its five neighbourhood units, going into detail on what was developed by Corrales: the four general plans, unpublished plans of the different types of housing in the blocks to a greater scale to allow their analysis, the three transversal sections of the blocks, and detailed information about the types of housing (Fig. 10).

L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui followed the model of *Nueva Forma*, that is to say, a publication without text, just exterior photographs, showing the project through the aesthetics of the language em-



[Fig. 10] «Unidad vecinal num.3. Barrio de Las Flores. Polígono de Elviña. La Coruña». *Arquitectura*. 1968, n. 117.

ployed without going any deeper, as the Madrid publications would do (90). It would have been enough to include the transversal sections of the blocks and the variety of types of housing to describe the project adequately, allowing it to take its place in the international panorama of the day (91).

Conclusions

L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, *Aujourd'hui art et architecture* and *Techniques et Architecture* were in no way behind the quality of diffusion of the Madrid media which published the works of Corrales and Molezún in the years between the Fifties and the Seventies. It all depended on the project published and the way it was understood. Badly understood projects would be badly published. An apparent triviality which is actually fundamental to our study: the selection of plans and photographs, their layout on the pages of the magazine, the emphasis of the text on one or other aspects, are all key and they indicate the degree of understanding of the project. Neither is it a question of length. On occasions short articles in these French media are capable of discovering and making public the essence of the projects of Corrales and Molezún with greater precision than some of the Madrid publications.

L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui was capable of disseminating the Pavilion in Brussels as an object which through its crafted technology is the exhibit itself rather than the products it contained. Its interior space was the protagonist, with its hexagonal parasols which «meublent [...] l'espace» (92). No Spanish publication reached this conclusion. *Techniques et Architecture* would provide a technical description of the *technological object* of such precision that *Informes de la Construcción* could not compare to the French publication with which it shared a name.

The magazine *Arquitectura* published the Sailing Club in Madrid in an adequate way. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* in a shorter article was capable of explaining it with greater precision. Time passed between one article and the other, and Corrales included

the necessary corrections, eliminating what was superfluous: the second phase of the building which was never constructed, improving the French article and the project itself.

Herrera de Pisuergra was badly interpreted by *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. In the magazine *Arquitectura* it was explained by the architects as a product that was the result of their architectonic interests. The Parisian magazine stressed the visual aspect, this showed that they had not understood it at all. For Miraflores, the French reference would be discreet and sufficient. In *Arquitectura* it would be Alejandro de la Sota who with his moving words summed up the whole article: «If organic architecture is that which means 'entity as integral', [...]».

From Paris came strong criticism of the results of both competitions for the National Opera House and the Congress Palace. The first from *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* appeared indifferent to the proposals. Also to that of Corrales and Molezún. *Nueva Forma* produced a passionate defence of their project. As for the second competition it was *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* which strongly favoured one of the losing projects. It became a homage to the architecture of Corrales and Molezún, but not to the other participants. *Arquitectura*, in a surprising way, published an uninspired article, without reflections or commitment to the defence of the true architecture.

The Huarte House had already been published in *Arquitectura* and in *Hogar y Arquitectura* before it was published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. The French magazine, not far behind, tried to distance itself from the Madrid articles by way of a passionate defence of the project presenting it as «parti architectural» (93).

Finally, Elviña. Jose Antonio Corrales kept the photocopies of the article published by *Arquitectura* in his studio. No further comment is really needed.

The known history of these projects has been written on numerous occasions. Although another history exists. An intra-history referring to the publications of architecture, the means of diffusion, channels, networks, exhibitions and their protagonists, which opens up a complementary understanding of this known history, and without which, it would continue to be incomplete.

Bofill, heterodoxy and mass media. From utopia to history (1960-1975)

Marisa García-Vergara and Julio Garnica

The first works of the architect Ricardo Bofill during the 60s and the multidisciplinary experience of the Taller de Arquitectura (Architecture Workshop) roused the early interest of international media. The main foreign publications would amply collect a work that proposed a synthesis, unexpected in the Spain of that time, between architectonic tradition and urban utopia. As Ricardo Bofill's long professional trajectory—he is still active—demonstrates few architects have been able to dominate the media scene with such ability, enjoying a constant and noted presence in mass media (1). His personal communication skills and his multiform activity have been deliberately put on display in the media, using different formats of diffusion and expression, from self-publishing and film-making to performance and happening.

His education itself already manifested a marked international imprint. Ricardo Bofill started his studies at the School of Barcelona in 1956, which he interrupted the following year to continue his degree in Switzerland, at the Architecture School of Geneva, between 1958 and 1960. In 1979 he confirmed his qualification in France and finally in Spain, in 1988, after having built a prolific architectonic work and participated intensely in architectural debates and cultural activities in the national sphere (2).

Despite the initial difficulties and his apparent marginal situation, Bofill revealed himself to be precocious: during the ear-

ly 60s, while he continued his studies of architecture abroad, he started to project his first works in Barcelona. Under his father's professional supervision (3), the young Bofill designed three housing buildings: 28 Compositor Bach St. (1960-63), Nicaragua St. (1962-65) and 4 Compositor Bach St. (1962-63), opposite San Gregorio Taumaturgo Square. Bofill applied with ability the *realist* code developed by his local colleagues (reinforced concrete structure, exposed bricks façade, wood millwork and ceramic and iron in the details) but he also tried new typologies and proposals for spatial additions unknown in the local panorama of that time.

Dissatisfied with architectural limitations and the country's political, economic and social reality, in 1963 Bofill founded the Taller de Arquitectura (from now on TA), a multidisciplinary and international team whose objective was, in the first place, to analyse the problems of the contemporary city and the relationship with and between its inhabitants, and secondly, to project a new alternative architecture for it. Bofill gathered around him a group of architects, but also engineers, mathematicians, sculptors, painters, sociologists, writers, philosophers, musicians and film makers (4). Workshop, brotherhood or commune; Bofill's charisma led a heterodox group, which also included the artist Daniel Argimón, the photographer Joaquín Montaner, the sociologist Mario Gaviria or the actress Serena Vergano. A group which Bofill would personally describe years later as: «a reunion of artists from all horizons and disciplines», a kind of community which «surpasses the realization of isolated objects to undertake whole new city neighbourhoods» (5).

1965. Come into play: *Zodiac* 15

In December 1965 the Italian magazine *Zodiac* dedicated a monographic issue to contemporary Spanish architecture (Fig. 1). This famous edition displayed the production of a new generation of Spanish architects (6). Together with the critical texts (7) more than one hundred works were published, establishing the inter-



[Fig. 1] R. Bofill, «Sobre la situación actual de la arquitectura en España», *Zodiac*, 1965, n. 15.

national canon of Spanish architectonic production (8). Ricardo Bofill presented three recent projects: housing at 28 Compositor Bach St in Barcelona, an apartment building in Castelldefels (1962-64), finished the year before, and the preliminary planning design for «Barrio Gaudí», an ambitious proposal of urban planning and social housing for the locality of Reus, in Tarragona. With this selection of works Bofill became —along with Fernando Higueras, six of his works were also published— one of the most renowned protagonists of the local panorama in this foundational presentation of Spanish architecture abroad.

Bofill also signed the article «About the current situation of architecture in Spain» (9). A text that, as a kind of manifesto, opened with a reflection on the recent history of Spanish architecture —especially Catalanian— in which he highlighted the importance of *modernisme* in contrast to the 30s rationalist architecture, clearly pointing out his preferences: «Gaudí and Sert are

not at the same level» (10). After expressing his scepticism with the label «realist» given to local architecture to reinforce the popularity Madrid-Barcelona. Bofill criticised the excessive «common sense» of Catalanian architects and their mimicry with Italian and Finnish architecture which, having come through magazines, produced a modest architecture, excessively centred on the detail and barely creative (11). Bofill did not limit himself to the architectural panorama, rather —probably with the help of the interdisciplinary team of the recently founded TA— he analysed the political, economic and social situation of Spain and its relation with exercising the profession. In any case, in his international debut his commitment to Gaudí and Coderch followed a personal genealogy that, from his father's figure, would go back to the gothic master builders (12).

Outstanding «outsider», Bofill automatically became —annoyingly or not, or both at the same time— a member of the «Escuela de Barcelona», a name suggested by Óscar Tusquets in 1967 (13) and consolidated by Oriol Bohigas from the pages of the Madrid magazine *Arquitectura* in 1968 (14), to describe Catalanian architecture, which, according to Bohigas' words, in its «voluntary, conscious and cultured adaption to modest realities» or «the very firm following of the most demanding rationalist diction», probably did not satisfy Bofill. In fact, Rafael Moneo's answer to Bohigas in the pages of the same *Arquitectura* (15), underlined, amongst other observations, the «wide horizon adventure» on which Bofill had embarked, who with the eccentric and rupturing character of his architectonic experimentation, exceeded the marked context of rooted realism and clear formal contention that singularised the Escuela de Barcelona. The city —and the «School»— of Barcelona would be Bofill's strategic starting point to overcome the obsessive local liking for architectonic detail and reach a new urban scale. From 1965, the works by Bofill and the TA are already amply referenced in the main foreign magazines: from the Italian ones, like the already mentioned *Zodiac* or *Domus*, to publications in the English-speaking sphere like *Architectural Design*, *The Architectural Forum*, *The Architectural Re-*

view, *A+U: Architecture and Urbanism*; through German magazines like *Architektur und Wohnform*, *Baumeister* or *Bauen + Wohnen*, to in particular some publications from neighbouring France like *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, *Techniques et Architecture* y *Architecture Mouvement Continuité*, a country in which Bofill would gain more prominence, especially from the decade of the 80s.

Utopia, reality and polemic

A great part of Ricardo Bofill and the TA media impact in the international media lay in their capacity to project an unusual image of Spain at that time. Indeed, their inaugural presentation in the Italian media —the same which had followed with attention Spanish architecture since the post-war to endorse the otherness of the Mediterranean way to modernity— (16) already highlighted the *singularity* of the proposal for the *Domus* editorial office (17), the Mediterraneanism of Bofill's project for the apartments in Castelldefels with «i muri rossi» is: «In piena contradizione con il bianco che la tradizione, o la routine, sembrano aver assegnato alle architetture mediterranee» (18). The opportune use of colour in the complex —each volume with a different hue, in explicit rejection of «geographical colours»—, juxtaposing the rotund volumetric compactness to the apparent compositive freedom of the plan, as well as the materiality of the prefabricated structures used to contrast with ornamental handmade elements, like the gargoyles or the ceramic lattices (19). A proposal that already showed the urban planning, technological and formal experimentation which would characterise the works by TA (20), with a position very far from the canon inspired by Gio Ponti, a circumstance that might explain the absence of the works designed by Bofill, on the shores of the Mediterranean itself, but ignored in the pages of the Italian magazine in the following years.

Three years after its Italian debut, in 1968, Bofill's work was reviewed in the French magazine *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, included in a long article about Spanish architecture for which

the architect Juan Daniel Fullaondo was responsible (21). Along with work by Fullaondo himself, Chillida, Fisac, Higuera and Miró, and Cordech, were also included, with brief mentions of the building at 4 Compositor Bach St, the phytochemistry laboratory in Granollers (1967), as well as the Xanadú apartment building in Calpe (1968-71) (22).

Precisely, the Xanadú building would have a leading role in the international reception of Bofill's work in 1968. The tourist apartment tower, located in the town of Calpe, Alicante, replicates the silhouette of the Peñón de Ifach that stands at the end of the bay, with its slanting roof volumes and vernacular details or allusions to Gaudian shapes. The complex was published in the international specialized press (*Architectural Design*, *The Architectural Forum*) (23), with two articles by Peter Hodgkinson, partner of the TA and one of the main people in charge, which goes with the images of the building with poetic and critic texts, amongst references to Jimi Hendrix, Hugh Thomas, Georges Orwell, Marshall McLuhan or Geoff Emerrick. The strong visual analogy and its evocative name, support a communication as potent as unusual, capable of ending the need for any ulterior explanation of objective or rational character.

One surprising proposal that did not go unnoticed. The Italian historian Bruno Zevi wrote, in the pages of *L'Espresso* newspaper, a demolishing article titled «Le furbiere del falso Gaudí» (24) (Fig. 2). In the face of the media attention caused by the «Polemiche per un castello di Bofill vicino ad Alicante», Zevi brands as «farce» the «capriccio anarcoide» that, according to him, could only be understood in the convulsive context of Barcelona, where the legacy of Gaudí's genius degenerates in works where «sogno e magia son meramente epidermici». Together with photographs with framings that very little become them (the Peñón de Ifach does not appear and the limits of the building are slightly cut out), the hard article however places the building and its authors in the international media focus. Bruno Zevi, as Italian and Jewish like Bofill's own mother, as academic as a factotum of the international critic *intelligentsia*, had paid attention –although only to judge him severely as a Dante in this case– to a controversial building



[Fig. 2] Xanadú building, Calpe (1968-1971). Article «Le furberie del falso Gaudí», by Bruno Zevi, published in *L'Espresso*, 8th September 1968.

[Fig. 3] Castillo Kafka, Sitges (1966-1968). Article «Kafka's castle», published in *The Architectural Forum*, November 1969, vol. 131, n. 4, p. 35.

whose authors could not have even imagined, during its design and construction, that it would end up occupying the pages, not only of the specialised press, but also of generalist communication media, with much larger circulation and diffusion.

Also in the English-speaking sphere the Castillo Kafka building is depicted (1966-68), projected on the outskirts of Sitges, another tourist town south of Barcelona (Fig. 3). In 1969 there was an article in *The Architectural Forum* (25), signed by Hodgkinson as well—for many years a liaison with the English language press—that described the complex: more than one hundred apartments in units of cubic forms twinning in helical movement, which generate sophisticated interior spaces. The published photographs underline the volumetric game with intense shadows and the aspect of «citadel» does not hide the influence of the group Archigram, which Hodgkinson had worked with. However, as Zevi suspected, the similarity was superficial: without trace of «plug-in», the cells do not plug into a structure but are organised around the masonry stairs. Some brief reviews appear in the «Cosmorama» of *Architectural Design* (26), as well as in the German publications *Baumeister* (27), *Architektur und wohnform* (28) y *Bauen + Wohnen* (29).

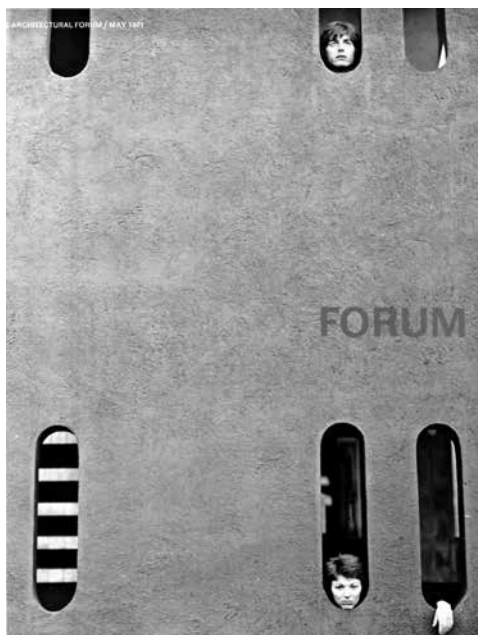
From 1968, two architectonic works burst into the late-Francoist Spain. Two utopian projects which aspired to become a reality in the gloomy Spanish horizon would occupy, between the complacent self-review or the rabid polemic, a prominent place in international media.

The urban proposal

In 1971 a work by the TA occupied for the first time the cover of an international magazine (Fig. 4). It was the so called Barrio Gaudí, a development of social housing on the outskirts of the town of Reus, projected between 1964 y 1968. The cover of the May issue of *The Architectural Forum* shows a suggestive fragment of the blue façade of a building, through its gaps the heads of two inhabitants of the complex theatrically lean out (30). it is one of the first of-

ficial commissions for TA and the most important up till that moment; the long-awaited leap of scale (31) to which Bofill aspired, to leave behind the Escuela de Barcelona. The title of the article «Barrio Gaudí: Poetry, variety and fantasy abound in a revolutionary version of a Spanish suburb» leaves no doubt, either the signature of the text that goes with the images and plans, responsibility of the Catalan journalist José María Carandell (32) (Fig. 5).

Barrio Gaudí constitutes the first attempt to bring up alternatives to the rationalist block, with its difficult integration in the urban context, and to look for economic solutions for mass housing, adapted to the growth of cities, under strong migratory pressure at the time, product of the so called «developmentalism», as well as to the new ways of life and communal living. More than a neighbourhood, the project was proposed as a «city within the city», where the borders between the collective and the individual blur, like the limits



[Fig. 4] Barrio Gaudí, Reus (1964-1968) Image of the cover of the magazine *The Architectural Forum*, May de 1971, vol. 134, n. 4.

of the complex, redefining them in relation to the needs of growth and its expansion. At least theoretically, as the project set out a system of spatial cells which are freely combined, but according to a hierarchical compositive order, which groups together the homes in towers connected between them by terraces and pedestrian routes. The complexity of the urban fabric is recreated from differentiating road connections and the richness and variety of the fabric is replicated in the geometrical complexity of the different typologies. A systemic conception of the project which is also applied to the whole city. Reflection on the city, urban growth and the question of social housing were the centre of TA works during those years (33).

In 1970, *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* dedicated its April-May issue to Spanish architecture. Contradicting the title, *Espagne Madrid Barcelone*, the published projects came from several regions and cities of the peninsula, although two of the articles included —signed by Clotet and Fullaondo— respectively reviewed the schools of Barcelona and Madrid (34). Despite the amplitude and variety both programmatic and formal, of the selected architectures, in consonance with the theoretical problems approached in the articles, again, as had happened with the monograph dedicated to Spain by *Zodiac* five years before, the presence of Bofill and the TA stand out particularly, for the length as well as for the content of the 10 pages it occupies: «Vers la Ville dans l'Espace» (Fig. 6) presents the studies carried out since 1968, illustrated with models, plans and abundant photographs of the first constructive example materialised in Barrio Gaudí, «en voie d'achèvement, où une partie du capital expérimental des travaux d'analyse de l'atelier Bofill se trouve exploité» (35).

Despite the modest scale of the work done by the TA up till that moment, the media resonance gained gives testimony to the interest awakened by its analysis and experimentation with new formal structures. As the presentation states:

Leurs travaux les plus connus par le biais de la presse architecturale internationale, anglaise, américaine, allemand, sont de petits ensembles résidentiels (et une usine) qui ont essentiellement servi à l'analyse et à l'essai des nouvelles structures formelles. Ici,

par contre, sont présentés des plans et des photos de maquette de projets de la Ville de l'Espace, ensembles dont l'un doit prochainement être mis en chantier à Madrid (36).

The objective of the text written by TA, from fragments already published and despite some angry declarations (37), is orientated to demonstrating the viability of the proposals, economically as well as politically, as the construction of the complex in Reus would confirm and, above all, the ambitious project announced for the periphery of Madrid:

La concrétisation et conformation finale de la ville dans l'espace seront donc réalisées à partir des nécessités du marché et, par conséquent, du problème de la forme de la demeure (38).

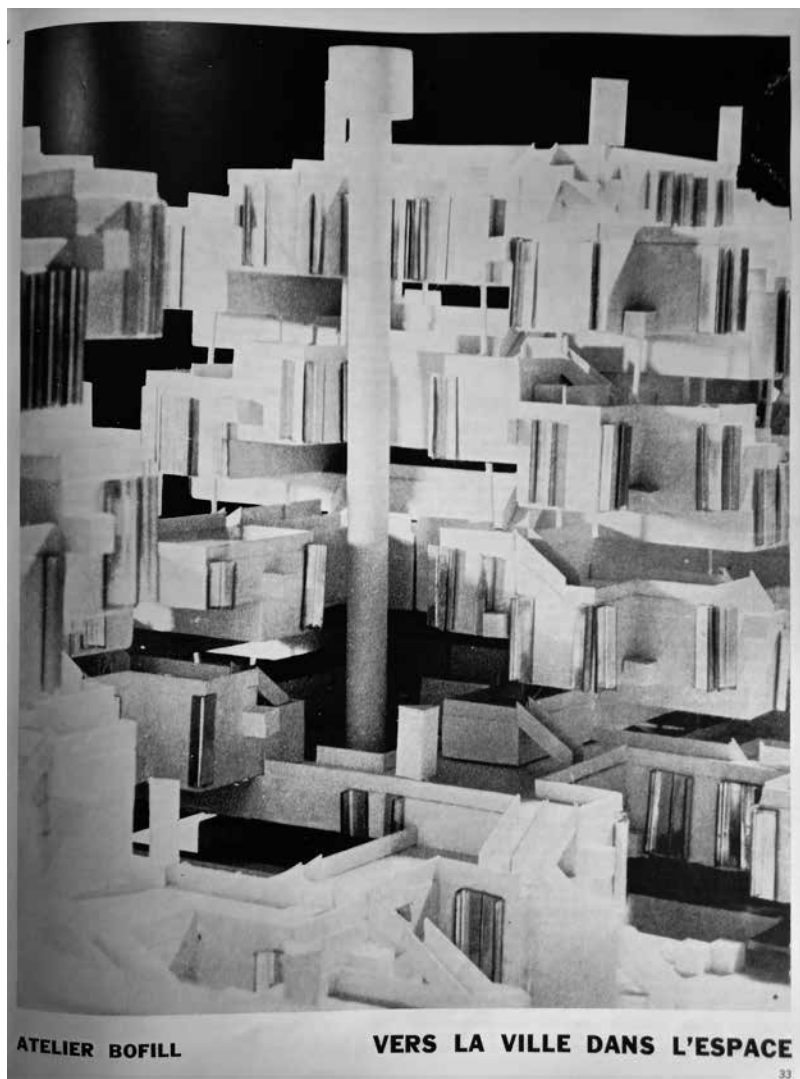
In this sense, the previous experiences of the TA in the field of housing would guarantee how «Certains mécanismes qui peuvent être valides pour transformer l'utopie en réalité, pour passer de faits précis dans la pratique ont déjà été cernés par l'Atelier». These mechanisms are basically reduced to «la connaissance profonde la forme», but without forgetting that that formal experimentation is inevitably connected to structural change, the only change capable of collectively producing «the development of new types of urban life» (39).

The TA formal experimentation would not be more than an escape forwards. Only to provoke a «'guerrilla' intellectuelle», as only «la rupture du trio propriété-famille-logis conventionnel modifiera totalement les formes de la ville. L'intuition collective développera de nouvelles structures sociales et des mécanismes nouveaux de traduction formelle» (40). It is, then, about prefiguring a future in which the proposals of *La Ciudad en el Espacio* would be specified (41), and preparing a method of projecting, an autonomous architectonic methodology, based on the development of aggregative systems (42).

While that «changement de structures de la société actuelle» comes, «on ne peut pas sérieusement penser au développement



[Fig. 5] Photographic report made in Barrio Gaudí in Reus, 1970, with the members of the Taller de Arquitectura.



[Fig. 6] La Ciudad en el Espacio, model. Article «Vers la Ville dans l'espace Quartier Gaudi a Reus», published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, «Espagne, Madrid, Barcelone», April-May 1970, year LV, n. 149.

général de nouveaux genres de vie urbaine si on ne liquide pas préalablement la propriété privée des terrains dans les villes et la spéculation qu'elle implique» (43).

Specifically, the announced project that would concretise the construction of *La Ciudad del Espacio* in Moratalaz, Madrid, would have to deal with urban speculation, after a long process of political and economic negotiation that would end up failing completely.

Five years later, in 1975, the same *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* published again the TA works, now consolidated in France after becoming the winner of the Les Halles contest, with a controversial project. As the magazine proclaimed: «Le Taller de Arquitectura s'est préparé à inventer des villes qui soient possibles, pleines de rêves, réalisables et imparfaits» (44).

However, the reception of the work —and his character— was not always so indulgent: amongst the participants summoned up by the publishing house to analyse the «Bofill phenomenon» (45), not all shared the enthusiasm for the «homme venu du sud, un nouveau Bernini qui vienne faire une ellipse en brique au centre de Paris» (46). Even Claude Parent, whose relations with Spain were long, expressed his reticence:

C'est là que l'introduction en France du Taller m'a gêne, devant cette exportation culturelle folklorique doublée d'une prise de conscience du phénomène culturel français. Je demeure maintenant en position d'expectative, en ce qui concerne, non pas les idées générales du Taller, mais son action en France. J'attends des réalisations pour éclaircir une situation que je trouve extrêmement complexe, ambiguë et dangereuse (47).

However, the younger architects like Grumbach, pinned their hopes there: «Lorsque le Taller construit à Paris, il peut faire des erreurs, mais en même temps il apporte un éclaircissement de la matière dont est faite la ville» (48). Nevertheless this *coté enfant terrible, mal élève*, who comes to propose in the refined and cultured France *le retour à la barbarie, le pensée sauvage*, with a *naïveté*

déconcertante, this *provocateur* role is rejected outright by Parent, who warns: «Je ne crois pas, qu'on puisse avoir le droit de faire de la provocation architecturale bâtie. Je dis non!» (49) The monumental drift and the classicalising symbolism of the great French projects were certainly not a show to everyone's tastes.

1975, end and beginning

From the 70s Bofill's work appeared more in specialised international media, which sketched out the myth of the revolutionary, unexpected and subversive character of the TA. In a black and white Spain, where police were known with the nickname «los grises» (policemen wore grey uniforms), the TA architectural proposal full of colour crossed easily through any frontier.

In 1972 the French magazine *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* published the building La Muralla Roja (1971-73), a complex of apartments located in the town of Calpe, Alicante (next to the Xanadú building), whose aspect of vernacular fortress seems to explode into a thousand colours under the vibrant Mediterranean light. Red, blue, pink and violet, each colour used in up to four different hues, a craziness that surpasses the experience of Barrio Gaudí and characterises the façades, circulation and resting spaces and even the interior of the homes. The addition of modules arranged in a cruciform shape, vaguely *Beauxartian*, recreated the formal complexity of a spatial labyrinth, with clear references to North-African popular architecture, much closer to the *kasbah* or the «architecture without architects» than to the megastructural proposals disseminated during those years in the international panorama. Together with plans and photographs of the complex, the article included a text by the writer Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, one of the best Catalanian columnists of that time, who with his usual irony still recognised the value of the TA proposal, whose newness and freedom burst right into the urban development frenzy of Spanish tourist architecture (50). The presentation is completed with a poem by Goytisolo —member of the TA from

its foundation— where we can read, amongst other fragments: «c'était un labyrinthe / un tableau plein de couleurs / rouges, comme la sang, / rouges comme le frayeur / qui fait trembler les pieds» (51). Critical prose and lucid poetry join in the literary tale that accompanied Bofill's work from the beginning.

If up to that moment the TA work had appeared in reviews or articles dedicated to specific works, from mid 70s they started publishing increasingly longer articles that gathered several projects and collected their work jointly, at the same time outlining their own voice in a resolute way. And no less important in media terms, several times Bofill's work occupied the cover of prestigious international magazines.

In the international diffusion of the TA work during that decade it was decisive the role of the British architect and critic Geoffrey Broadbent, director from 1967 of the Architecture School of the Portsmouth Polytechnic and renowned specialist in the theory of architecture, who published, in 1973, the influential book *Design in Architecture. Architecture and the Human Sciences* (52), for whose cover he chose precisely an image of the La Muralla Roja.

In November of the same year, Broadbent presented in *The architectural review* (53) the first compiled article of the built and projected work by the TA up to that moment, in which he demonstrated a deep knowledge of the biography and personality of Bofill and his main partners. From the critical point of view, not without admiration, Broadbent celebrated TA's entrance onto the architectural scene, whose architectonic proposal showed with words and facts —with manifestos, but also with built works— the limits of functionalism in architecture. With rigour he underlined how the economic character of many of the works (of which he detailed the relation of cost per square metre) does not exclude creating a feeling of identity and how the use of colour vitalises the big residential complexes, so that under an informal and utopian appearance the TA work «functions» better than the most orthodox architectonic functionalism. Broadbent addressed, in precise chronological order, the first works by Bofill in Barcelona, linked to local *realism*, to

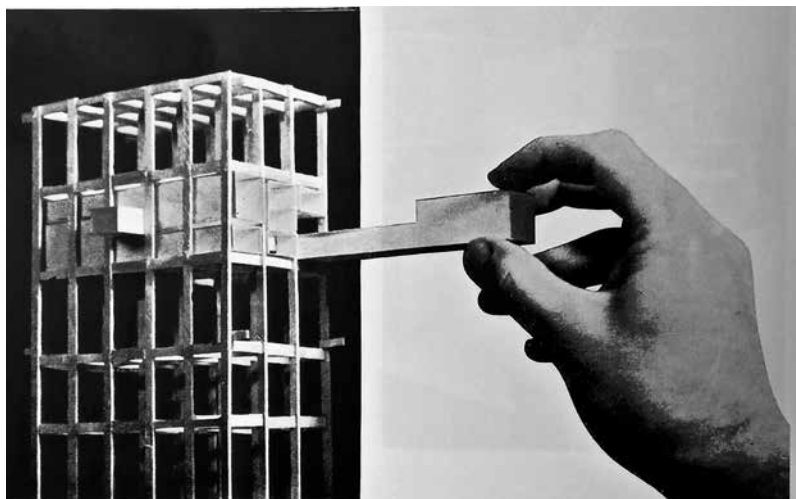


[Fig. 7] Walden 7, St. Just Desvern (1970-1975) Image of the cover of the magazine *Architectural Design*, July de 1975, vol. XLV.

analyse next the Barrio Gaudí, the projects of La Manzanera, the Xanadú block, La Muralla Roja, as well as the first international experiences: Le Cheval in Monaco or La Petite Cathédrale. Also mentioning with regret the failed utopia of La Ciudad en el Espacio projected for Madrid, whose spirit, however, was transferred to the complex of Walden 7, being built at that moment.

Two years later Broadbent published another article in *Architectural Design* (54), the cover of which displays a stunning image of the Walden 7 building: from the white mass of the bottom part of the illustration emerge the ascending volumes, coloured by a hand that paints the complex in red (Fig. 7). A visual paraphrase of that hand that inserted the three-dimensional modules inside the structure of the Unité d'habitation by Le Corbusier (Fig. 8), thus contrasting an architecture of big structures but one committed to the improvement of living conditions of the inhabitants of the new residential complexes.

It is not casual that in the preceding pages of the magazine, the architect and critic Reyner Banham would publish «Megastructure» (55), a brief article —first indication of the



[Fig. 8] *Unité d'Habitation*, Marsella (1947-1952). Photograph of the model.
Fondation Le Corbusier.

book (56) that he would publish the following year— that questions the «cynical tribute» of *La Petite Cathédrale*, «the world's first Gothic revival megastructure» which, unlike other examples, such as the Beauborg Centre by Piano and Rogers, «offers megastructure as a giant artistic plaything».

«Cynical tribute», another derogatory expression to add to the list started by Zevi in 1968—which in this case preceded the 15 pages of the article that Broadbent dedicated to «Bofill». The critic extended the work published two years before and delimited with precision the otherness that guarantees, to a great extent, the international success of the TA (57). Broadbent pointed out, in the first place, the urban ambition of the proposals by the TA:

They think of themselves as urban strategists, constantly preoccupied with the city, its building forms and the life which goes on in them, working back to first principles as to how cities came into being, how they developed as they did, what is wrong with them, what can be put right, what must be altered fundamentally and so on (58).

Next he insisted on the work atmospheres, which the team transformed into favourable fields for experimentation:

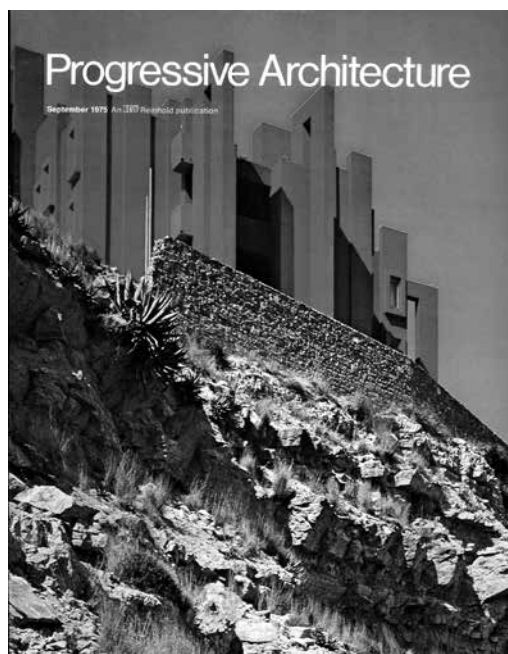
The Barrio Gaudí, with its minimal costs, left little room for experiment, nor did the Taller think it moral to experiment on the poor. Holiday apartments are a different matter. The Taller have developed many of their architectural and planning ideas, on buildings of this kind (59).

Broadbent highlighted the projects for tourist areas —La Manzanera, Castillo Kafka or «Casa Verde» in Ivory Coast—, exemplary proposals of that experimental will, clearly different from Moshe Safdie's international referents, as well as from Archigram and the versions of the megastructuralists or the Japanese metabolists. On one hand, for the use of low cost technology, of reduced development due to the conditions of local industry, but also for an explicit posture that, as Bofill himself remembered years later, proposed other objectives:

[...] how another type of society, of community, of legality and of space division could build a community. The technology had to be invented according to other parameters that were just the fundamental, the team work, the possibilities of modularity in space that each technology involve. But it is not technology that provokes the changes but the opposite, it is a new social and economic system (60).

In September 1975 there was a third article by Broadbent in *Progressive Architecture* (61), where the TA work occupied the cover again: in this case an intentioned low angle of the complex of La Muralla Roja, which emerges from the formless mass of the topography of the site with its particular volumetry (Fig. 9). Under the significant title of «Taller de Arquitectura: the road to Xanadu and beyond», Broadbent presented the same ideas from his previous essays, but with more intention and precision. He praised again the TA work as overcoming the lack of symbolic meaning

and the deficient functioning in environmental terms of the Modern Movement functional architecture. He details the team's internal organization and the role of the main members of the TA in the different phases of the project and construction of the work. An open system whose anarchic methodology was controlled —although it seems a contradiction— by Bofill's leadership, motivation and confidence in his team. A long article that also included the ongoing projects at that time, some in the initial phase, like the Puente de Meritxell in Andorra or the first commissions in France, L'avenue de la Grande Arme, the Fort St. Cyr, the Maison de Abraxas or Les Halles, which would not be built though —despite the good relationship at that moment of Bofill and the French President Giscard d'Estaing. In short, an anthology that compiles the early works, the residential and urban experience



[Fig. 9] La Muralla Roja, Calpe (1971-1973) Image of the cover of the magazine *Progressive Architecture*, September 1975, vol. 56.

and the promising panorama that the TA had in front of them. With a certain apologetic tone, Broadbent praised the interdisciplinary character of the TA and the fresh ingenuity that allowed them to question the established conventions in architecture. The final point summarises:

There is no doubt either that in offering identity, a sense of place in the environments they design, the TA are showing once again that cities need not be the bleak, sterile, and hostile places which International Style design has made of them. And that, on its own, would be enough to justify the Taller's existence (62).

Precisely in the French sphere —Bofill's immediate horizon, professionally as well as personally— a text was published in 1975 signed by the architect himself in *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* where he extolled the figure of Coderch, «the last and solitary great master of Spanish architecture» (63). A legacy to which Bofill had aspired since the foundational article in *Zodiac* 1965. The same legacy he seemed to reclaim when he wrote the prologue of the catalogue for the exhibition dedicated to Gaudí at the Musée d'Arts Decoratifs in Paris in 1971 (64), a brief text in which he pointed out how the «delirious inner world», «the strange cosmology of shapes» and his «fantastic, expressive and visionary qualities» conform the «grandeur de Gaudí», according to Bofill: «le plus grand des architectes» (65). Coderch and Gaudí; Gaudí and Coderch... credentials for the embassy of a conquest?

In the same *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* and the same year of 1975, a drawing of the Citadelle Abraxas occupied the cover of the December issue (Fig. 10) in which, in a generous way (37 pages), the TA work was collected. The long article started with the composition of the team and its main protagonists —portraits included, and is articulated from the intense dialogue between Claude Parent, Paul Chemetov and Antoine Grumbach (66).

After more than 250 published pages, as we have been able to see up till now, along with one single decade in the international



[Fig. 10] La Citadelle, Abraxas. St. Quentin-en-Yvelines (1973) Image of the cover of the magazine *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, November-December de 1975, n. 182.

magazines (67), in 1975, in an article published in *Techniques et Architecture*, the members of the TA team asked themselves about the possibilities de «realiser l'utopie» (68). How many more times are we going to mention 1975? Only once more: in 1975 Francisco Franco died and the Spanish *Transición* started. Perhaps it was also the moment for Ricardo Bofill and the TA to begin the transit from utopia to reality.

Interchanges

Spanish pavilions at international fairs (1951-1965)

Enrique Granell

In a study about the impact of Spanish architecture in the international sphere it is necessary to refer to the Spanish pavilions at international contests.

In the 19th century international fairs, from London to Paris, passing through Vienna or Philadelphia, the different countries presented in their pavilions idealised versions of their national architectures. In Spain's case we have a series of buildings that remind one of a Moorish, Mudejar, neo-medieval or plateresque past. This panorama, which was repeated since 1851, changed after the First World War with the exhibition of Paris in 1925 and, above all, with the 1937 fair, also celebrated in the French capital. Since then the centre of the international representation of each of the countries would be art and technique. From then on it would be about being modern and all the countries would compete on the same ground (1).

In our period of study we will find two short series of Spanish pavilions at international contests. The first series is composed by the three Spanish pavilions in the Triennales di Milano in the years 1951, 1954, and 1957. The second series of pavilions corresponds to buildings built in huge enclosures. They are the pavilions of the international expositions of Brussels in 1958 and New York in 1964.

All these pavilions deserved comment in the foreign architectural literature due more to their easy access, their presence at contests treated as set groups, than to a particular interest for each of the works. It was not about discoveries but rather appearances. In some cases the comments are no more than a obliged courtesy to what comes from abroad and is remarkable.

It is not possible to analyse these buildings by merely focusing on the comments aroused in the international media. Moreover, all of them were the result of internal discourses and all have their own little history as well.

The friendship established between Gio Ponti and José Antonio Coderch after meeting in Barcelona in 1949, apart from having personal and professional consequences, which are treated in another chapter of this book, would facilitate the presence of Spain, for the first time after the civil war, at an international contest.

On the 4th of May 1950 Ponti wrote a letter to Coderch, «Questa lettera é personale e non ufficiale», in which he announced that the Triennale de Milano wanted to invite Spain. Although the Italian institution could not have influence on the decisions of the participating countries, Ponti believed that Coderch should be the coordinator, or otherwise Victor D'Ors. He was also interested in the adequate channel so the proposal would not be disregarded. He asked if the official invitation should be sent to Francisco Prieto Moreno or Gonzalo de Cárdenas. This letter shows that the Spanish presence in the triennial was fostered by Ponti and by his relation with Coderch.

But the most interesting thing about this letter is that Ponti already sent him at such an early date a knowledgeable outline of what he believed the Spanish pavilion could be like, asking him if he thought it was feasible:

Io vedo possibile una presentazione straordinaria della Spagna sotto tre aspetti:

a) La presentazione di architettura (Ibiza, Benicarlò etc.) la cui purezza coincide con il gusto promosso dalla cultura moderna.

- b) La presentazione di produzioni d'arte sceltissime.
- c) La presentazione di una scelta eccezionale (fatta come una «ricoperta») di cose e di tecniche spagnole anche antichissime che coincidano, in un clima elevatissimo di gusto e di cultura, col gusto moderno, allo stesso modo che —per fare un esempio— l'arte negra é stata un episodio coincidente con il cubismo.
- d) Una mostra temporanea di 20 giorni di Gaudí, presentato sotto l'aspetto di precursore di espressioni plastiche attuali (i suoi ferri, la struttura tensile del baldacchino della Cattedrale di Palma di Maiorca, le vetrate della stessa, le «composizioni di oggetti» del giardino fatto da Gaudí in Barcellona, etc.
- e) Una mostra supplementare temporanea di 20 giorni delle cose straordinarie del vostro museo romanico.
- f) Una mostra supplementare temporanea di 20 giorni delle cose straordinarie della Spagna (certe cose primitive fenomenali).
- g) Una mostra di elementi di costruzione normalizzati, di mobili normalizzati, di case prefabbricate. Ma ne avete?

On the 31st of May Coderch answered the letter telling him that the contact person had to be Prieto Moreno and that he did not believe he would put any impediment to his appointment as coordinator of the exhibition: Coderch, furthermore, accepted the outline received from Milan:

Je suis tout à fait d'accord avec votre idée sur la participation de l'Espagne. Seulement nous n'avons rien (que je sache) sur construction et meubles normalisées ni des maisons prefabriquées.

The letter finished with a postscript in which Coderch told him about the release of a book about Gaudí and its quick delivery by plane. Naturally it was the book published at the time written by Juan Eduardo Cirlot.

After many difficulties and trips to Madrid, Coderch convinced the Spanish Council of Ministers to accept the invitation to participate in the Triennale, which he communicated to its president by telegram on the 14th May 1951.

In the architectural sphere in Barcelona some transcendental visits had taken place between both dates. One was the visit of Bruno Zevi (May 1950) and the other was Alvar Aalto (April 1951). Both were accompanied by the architects that had founded Grupo R in August 1951, amongst whom was José Antonio Coderch, to visit Gaudí's works, which they did not know back then. Zevi, on his return to Italy, published in *Metron* the second article about Gaudí issued in that country. The first one had been published in August in the magazine *Spazio* which, having learnt about the release of Ciriot's book (perhaps Moretti, its director, had been informed by Ponti, who had received the book sent by Coderch at the beginning of June), asked the Spanish poet for a text for his magazine. Coderch had also contacted Rafael Santos Torroella who, between 1949 and 1950, had published three issues of the magazine *Cobalto 49* and books dedicated to Miró and Dalí. When it came to designing the pavilion Coderch and Santos were responsible for its form as well as its contents. They had to assemble diverse elements in an appropriate atmosphere, some of which had been suggested by Ponti, to show the relation of Spanish popular tradition with contemporary art pieces.

In the end, on the left wall there was a mixture of the three series of architectural photographs which Ponti had suggested displaying separately. Mediterranean popular architecture, Coderch's own architecture and Gaudí's architecture followed one another along the interior of fixed slatted window shutters that the architect usually used in his buildings. It is important to highlight this mixture: at that moment Coderch started to design Casa Ugalde where he mixed the popular with the organic and also in the long retaining walls the Mironian gestures.

On the opposite wall there were modern artistic elements, one piece by Miró, which was extremely difficult to get as the painter had at first declined to collaborate; mobile sculptures by Ángel Ferrant and ceramics by Llorens Artigas which dialogued with pieces of popular culture, pots, *xiulets*, pitch-



[Fig. 1] J. A. Coderch. Spanish pavilion in the IX Triennale di Milano. 1951.

ers and other glass pieces. All of it displayed on glass shelves against a wall background of raffia with loose ends. The lighting was from bottom to top.

On the frontal wall, covered with red fabric, a Romanesque panel painting and a Gothic virgin were placed, as well as some ceramic plates and on the upper part the name of Spain. On the lower part there was a plinth with sinuous contours (reminiscent of fragments of the plans for the future Casa Ugalde) on which blankets and fabric were displayed along with a sculpture by Ferrant and the set of engravings that the young Josep Guinovart had drawn for a luxury edition in big format of Federico García Lorca's *Romancero gitano* (Gypsy Ballads) (Fig. 1).

That was the synthesis presented to the spectators of the Triennale. The specialised Italian magazines dedicated their attention to it and talked about the surprise they had finding an unexpected Spain. From *Domus*' pages, Ponti said:

La Spagna ha un modo suo proprio di essere presente nell'arte e nella cultura moderna: niente scuole, niente teorie, niente polemiche, niente movimenti, ma Picasso, Miró, Dalí, Juan Gris, García Lorca sono Spagnoli.

Nella architettura moderna niente programma, niente avanguardia teorica, ma la più moderna essenziale purezza architettonica è già nelle secolari anonime costruzioni popolari di Ibiza; e Gaudí il più straordinario architetto dell'ultimo secolo, è spagnolo.

La Spagna, potremmo dire, nell'arte è aristocratica e popolare, non democratica; la sua è una aristocrazia di temperamenti, non educati ma sorti come miracolo direttamente da un terreno popolare anonimo, prodigiosamente potente di inventiva e di poesia.

And from the pages of *Edilizia Moderna*, Marco Valsecchi wrote:

Un'altra gradevole sorpresa viene dal padiglione spagnolo. Molti luoghi comuni circolano sulla Spagna, troppa letteratura fa peso e velo su quell'interessante paese; sicchè si finisce per credere di conoscerlo mentre non se ne possiede che un fantasma.

The presence of Mediterranean architecture in the pavilion caused Luigi Moretti to make a trip to Ibiza of which he gave news through a long article published in *Spazio*. In the same issue of the magazine the only coloured photograph of the pavilion was published (2).

The pavilion won the contest's gold medal as did Ángel Ferrant as individual artist. In Coderch's archive a document written by the architect himself is preserved which says in its heading: CONFIDENTIAL, Do not publish. In it there are reviews of visits to the pavilion of some colleagues from other countries' pavilions, authorities and journalists. Amongst the most prominent it is convenient to mention Max Bill and Aldo Van Eyck.

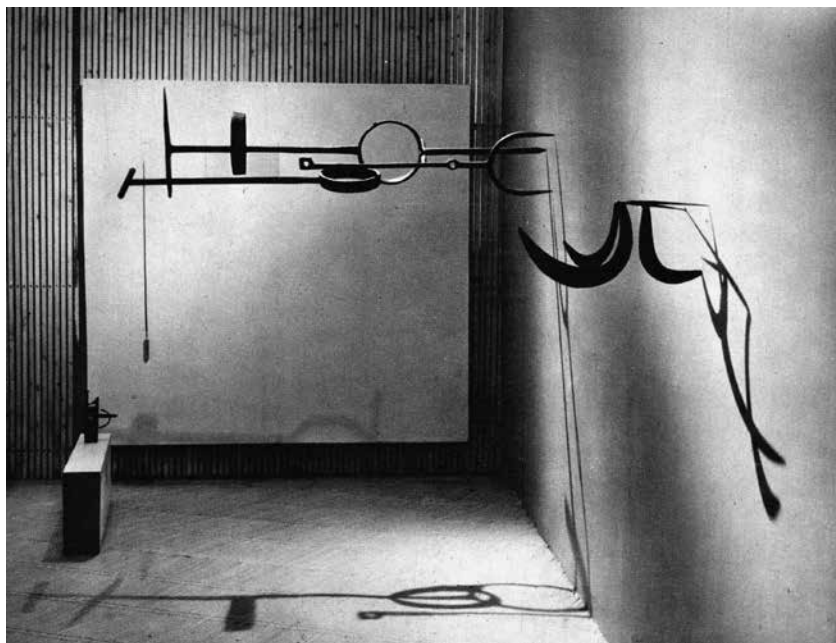
Spain was invited to the 1954 Triennale thanks to what was presented in 1951. In charge of designing the pavilion and defining its contents was the architect Ramón Vázquez Molezún, who had had a grant at the Spanish Academy in Rome in 1951 and who had surely visited Coderch's pavilion. He was part of the group Mogamo, formed by –apart from himself– the sculptor Amadeo Gabino and the painter Manuel Suarez Molezún who also worked on the design of the pavilion.

The core of the pavilion was constituted by a display of the works by Eduardo Chillida, as well as some jewels by Salvador Dalí. The arrangement was a great success. The assembly operators managed to create a monumental luminous emptiness around the forged irons of the Basque sculptor. The appearance of twisted shadows in that noiseless space gave the Combs of the Wind an ancestral dramatism (Fig. 2).

Gio Ponti commented in *Domus*:

La Spagna ha risolto con grande eleganza la sua sezione alla Triennale. Non ha dato una immagine delle arti applicate spagnole, ma ha dato una immagine della Spagna.

In un ambiente a pareti e pavimento di paglia, grande e vuoto, i gioielli preziosi di Dalí, una piccola cardiaca orologeria mostruosa, e le sculture di Chillida ferri sottili, appuntiti e arcuati, intrecciati come chiodi e spine, creano una atmosfera da elegante inquisizione.



[Fig. 2] Ramon Vázquez Molezún. Spanish pavilion in the X Triennale di Milano. 1954.

But we owe to Gillo Dorfles the most important article about the subject of this Triennale. Its title: «Le sintesi delle 'arti maggiori'». According to Dorfles modern architecture, after a time in which to define itself, had to focus on structure and plan problems, now came the need for synthesis with the other arts:

Così l'architettura sentiva l'urgenza di ricorrere nuovamente alle arti per integrarsi e completarsi. Non si trattava però più del quadretto appeso alla parete del salottino borghese, nè della statuetta posta in bilico sopra la colonna d'ebano nell'angolo polveroso del boudoir; ma dell'opera pittorica e scultorea che s'inseriva nell'ambiente architettonico con una sua necessità precisa: era la scultura ambientata nella casa, nel giardino, nel parco (Moore, Kiesler, Bill), che creava il mosaico parietali (Miro), che si trasformava in elemento strutturale d'un giardino (Burle-Marx). Ed era anche (ma qui non più come pittura o scultura, ma come vera e propria plastica e cromatica architettonica) l'uso del colore e della plastica direttamente applicati alla struttura dell'edificio.

After going through some of the Italian pavilions of the Triennale, Dorfles paid attention to those presented by foreign countries, recognising the Spanish and Finnish installations as the most accomplished in relation to the synthesis of the arts:

Anche per le sezioni estere, del resto, gli appunti che abbiamo sollevato per l'Italia, sono validi. Di queste, solo poche hanno saputo dare un esempio di allestimento architettonico autonomo integrato con la presentazione di selezionati elementi plastici: e, tra le poche, la Spagna, dove il sobrio e pur efficace allestimento del pittore M. Suarez Molezun e dell'arch. R. Vasquez Molezun, e i «ferri» dello scultore Chillida (ma non certo i gioielli di Dali nella loro magmatica e pornografica abiezione), valgono a darci un'atmosfera ambientale autentica e autonoma (3).

Again, on this occasion, the Spanish pavilion was awarded the gold medal and Eduardo Chillida also won it as individual artist.

In 1957 Spain was again invited to participate in the Triennale. In charge of the pavilion assembly were Javier Carvajal and García de Paredes, who had also been boarding at the Spanish Academy in Rome. The space was organised as a bull ring, limited by a metallic mesh where ceramics by Cumella and Antonio Fernández Alba were displayed, as well as wall hangings by Jesús de la Sota. In the centre, and on a circular base, there were some popular glass pieces and chairs by Coderch, Federico Correa, Miguel Fisac and Milá. A stand similar to its predecessors which did not reach the heights of 1951 and 1954 (Fig. 3).

In *Casabella* and *Domus* photographs were shown of the pavilion and in the latter the comment was succinct, limited to authors and materials:

La sezione è stata allestita dagli architetti Francisco Javier Carvajal Ferrer e José Maria Garcia de Paredes. Il pavimento è di «azulejos», le pareti bianche. L'arredamento si sviluppa sul motivo circolare (l'«arena»); una parete di rete di ferro, curva, circonda la zona di esposizione, in cui gli oggetti —ceramiche, metalli, mobili, lampade, cuoi— sono disposti su piani circolari (4).

After this frustrating experience Spain did not participate in the Triennales, perhaps because the fair in Brussels was already under way and a greater propagandistic success was expected and perhaps also because Spanish artists started to be internationally in demand thanks to their participation, funded by the state, in the biennials of that time.

The invitation to participate in the international exposition of Brussels in 1958 meant for Spain a change of scale in its presentation to the world. If the Triennales of Milano were contests for knowledgeable limited groups, international fairs were directed to the general public. In the Triennials the Spanish representation did not occupy a large space within the general building of the exhibition. In the three Triennales we have mentioned the Spanish architects tried to define a Spanish atmosphere, an interior.



[Fig. 3] J. Carvajal and J. M. García de Paredes. Spanish pavilion in the XI Triennale di Milano, 1957.

Now, however, it was about constructing a new building only and exclusively for Spain.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs created an inter-ministry commission that started to work in March 1956 to organise a contest whose bases already established one of the conditions which would define the project. «The pavilion should be removable, so that when the exposition is over the greatest amount of materials could be recovered, and with that compensate the initial outlay». Of the nine projects presented on the 9th May, the prize was given to the project presented by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez Molezún. Those projects were published together in an issue of *RNA*. In its presentation it said: «The coincidence of criteria must be highlighted, the contestants' equal point of view» (5).

But the most remarkable note was the one accompanying the presentation. Although the text had no signature it was probably written by the publication's director, Carlos de Miguel. In it there was a historical lament. Without saying anything about the political circumstances which the country was under, it prepared the public for a possible disregard for Spanish architecture that, according to the text, had been happening since the beginning of the civil war. The same text appeared again on several occasions in posterior *RNA* issues.

Due to the circumstances known by all, our current architecture is deliberately unknown in the world, apart from some decent and moving exceptions. For example, an International Exposition took place in Paris during our civil war and the Spanish Republic presented a pavilion –certainly an excellent project– which was reproduced ostentatiously in a book dedicated to Fairs. The same book published some of the installations at the Triennale de Milano, in which Spain participated for the first time, and whose pavilion, designed by Coderch and Valls, was awarded the Grand Prize.

An elemental, most elemental spirit of justice compelled the editors to advertise this display of «national» architecture. However, this pavilion was ignored in the book mentioned above.

The work had to be done quickly. The final project would be finished in October and, after several trips by the architects to Brussels, the works started in January 1957, without having defined the contents of the pavilion yet. To this effect, a second contest was organised in April 1957 which was won by Corrales and Molezún, assisted by a group of architects and artists from different disciplines. In its memoir it said:

The Spanish pavilion in the World Exposition of Brussels in 1958 must visually present the Spanish answer within the general subject: «For a more human world: man and technique in the face of the current moment of the evolution of Humanity». We understand that this answer, expressed in the generic form obliged by the character of the Exposition, could be enunciated as follow: «Spain defends unique values of spirit that can give value to the work and the technical progress of the future world». In its plastic realisation this thesis is to be presented through a progressive development of «objects-motives», always treated under the continuous totality of light, as a more proper symbol of the spirit (even in its religious scope).

But light, in visual artistic fields, is only evident by contrast with shadow: thus, there will be a continuous and strong alternation of brightness and darkness in the treatment of the phases of the pavilion, which for the visitor finishes in a projection and performances area, point of maximum intensity in the light contrast, and the final and decisive phase in the pavilion's dialectic.

The fair was finally inaugurated in April 1958 and, against the prejudices and precautions about its possible failure, the Spanish pavilion was an international success. This was because the building was in harmony with the work of many international architects.

The Brussels' pavilion by Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez Molezún developed a trendy subject at the time; light structure and cellular composition. The terrain on which it was built was not flat and the definition of just one supporting ele-

ment and of the same height –the parasol-cell– made the roof reproduce the topography of the terrain allowing, in turn, the access of light in a deep building. The architecture built an interior weightless metallic forest limited by a skin of aluminium and glass. The diaphanousness of the space achieved dissolved in its interior activities and contents.

While Molezún was grant-holding in Rome, he visited Wright's exhibition in Florence, at the Palazzo Strozzi in 1951. There is an illustrated review of his visit with Wright's works from the meshes of hexagons on plan, which systematically started in Hanna House in 1937 (6). But the American master had not been the only one, although perhaps he was the first. With the arrival of organic architecture in the international panorama the hexagon appeared as primary cell, as in every living organism, and buildings should have no reason to be different. We can find it in the works by Aalto, Kahn, Scarpa, Zanusso, Nervi or Breuer. I think the latter provided our architects with a clear precedent for the project in Brussels. In 1953, he started to work on the project for De Bijenkorf stores in Rotterdam. Surely prompted by the store's name itself, the hexagon appeared in the project, even becoming the shape adopted by the stone pieces that sheeted some of the building's façades. But the first thing Breuer did was to build the construction office, consisting of three palm-tree hexagons' structure on pillars placed at the centre of the geometrical figures (Fig. 4). Shortly after the completed building would also be echoed in Tarragona's civil administration building, the work of a friend, studio neighbour and sometimes partner of Corrales and Molezún, Alejandro de la Sota.

The insistence on using the hexagon also brought him closer to mathematic scientific research linked to organic chemistry and its formulation and also to certain aspects of formalism. A building constructed with cells had no façades, as these were nothing but the aggregation of cells that could be changed or disappear at any given moment (Fig. 5).

There are countless foreign publications in which the Spanish pavilion appeared (7). Almost all the mentions are in joint ar-



[Fig. 4] M. Breuer. Structure of the works office for De Bijenkorf stores. Rotterdam, 1953.

[Fig. 5] Publicity postcard of the Spanish pavilion in Brussels. 1958.

ticles about the contest. We will refer to only some of those comments. The American magazine *Architectural Forum* dedicated its cover to it with a drawing in its interior in June 1958. In the interior pages the critic Ogden Tanner commented in the general article on the originality of our pavilion: «Still fresher architectural ideas are Spain's forest of hexagonal parasols», subsequently dedicating a whole page to it with the following text:

Spain: exercise in pure shape. Unlike the symbolic displays of Finland, the Netherlands and others, Spain is represented at the fair by an advanced exercise in pure form. Following the contours of a hilly site and carefully avoiding mature trees, Architects Ramon Molezun and José Antonio Corrales set up an irregular honeycomb of cellular units: high and low hexagonal roof parasols of acoustical board on Steel latticework, supported by steel drain-pipe columns. The hexagons of the floor plan echo the roof exactly, rising and falling in many levels for exhibits, restaurant and bar, and a raised platform for folk dances. The pattern even extends to dining tables, display cases, and floor tiles, in a remarkably unified design lightly enclosed in glass. Prefabricated, it may be re-erected as a park pavilion in Madrid.

J.M. Richards wrote five pages about our pavilion in the August issue of *Architectural review*:

This is a cleverly worked-out building based on a hexagonal plan-unit, each of which is supported by a central Steel column. This forest of columns, and layers of clerestory lighting formed by stepping up the height of the units towards the centre, create an intriguing interior, which is almost empty. The display amounts to no more than a few enlarged photographs, and only when the raised stage is in use for an exhibition of Spanish dancing does the stepped interior (part of which is a bar and restaurant) come into its own as an auditorium. The hexagonal motif is repeated throughout the interior—in the café— tables, the horizontally displayed photographs and even the floor-tiles. Externally, the faceted walls are either of

brick or of superimposed horizontal aluminium window-units. This Spanish pavilion, unexpectedly distinguished considering the conservative nature of most contemporary Spanish architecture, is also among those picked out for fuller illustration later (Fig. 6).

French magazines also echoed the Spanish pavilion. *Architecture d'aujourd'hui* as well as *Techniques et architecture* dedicated some pages to it, the latter emphasising its technical characteristics.

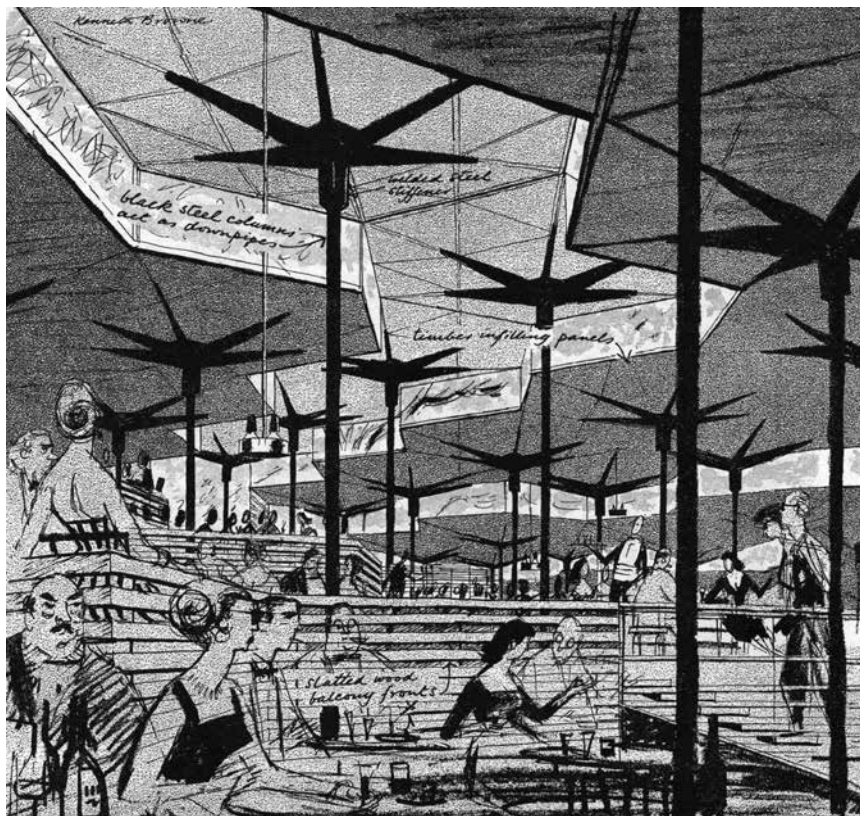
The pavilion promptly came to be part of the not very extensive canon of modern Spanish architecture. Thus, in a brief retrospective text about Spain published five years later in *Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, the pavilion is together in a series that starts with Gaudí, going through Gatepac and Torroja and finishing with the SEAT dining area in Barcelona.

The visualization of American political protection towards Spain received its definitive recognition with the visit of the USA president Eisenhower in 1959. The invitation to build our own pavilion for the Exposition in New York in 1964-1965 was surely due to the consolidation of bilateral treaties.

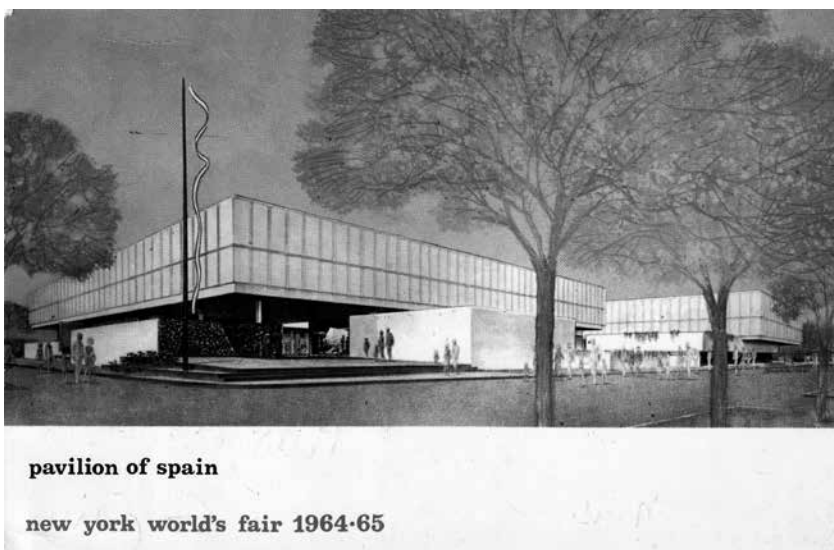
A competition was announced to that effect, and 15 proposals were presented. Javier Carvajal's proposal won (8). Many of the submitted projects belonged to what Carlos Flores called «romantic expressionism» and today we call Madrilenian organicism. Carvajal's project did not belong to that series; it was really the late concretion of a building of the ideas that Fernando had explained in his book *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura Española* in 1947, reformulated in 1953 in the writing of the *El manifiesto de la Alhambra*. Carvajal, who had obtained his architecture degree that year, had been a student of Leopoldo Torres Balbás and Fernando Chueca, drawing for them the Mosque of Córdoba (9).

If we read the memoir of the building, we can find these ideas reflected.

For those who approach the angle of the United Nations and Herbert Hoover Avenues, Spain's pavilion will appear as a serene construction, horizontal and simple [...] The upper body



[Fig. 6] Drawing of the interior of the Spanish pavilion in Brussels shown in AR, 1964.



[Fig. 7] Publicity postcard of the Spanish pavilion in New York's Fair, 1964.

is reminiscent of the blind walls of our castles, the sober facades of our palaces [...] Its texture is rough in comparison to so many glass or aluminium walls, almost stony, as the concrete, lightened of its matter, reminds one of the golden stone of Salamanca or Granada.

All its extension is blind, insisting on that essential characteristic of traditional Spanish Architecture, which is not open to the street or the landscape, with a sense of weight that makes our Architecture different from all others (10).

In relation to the construction, the pavilion had to face an important difficulty. Spain had belatedly been invited and the building should be built in the briefest time. Carvajal's proposal was the only one that introduced pre-fabrication as a solution to this need for haste.

The Fair of New York was going to be very different from the one in Brussels. Almost 150 pavilions were going to try to draw the attention of the bewildered visitors. The constructions would not only represent different countries, but also the different states of the Union and, of course, big companies. This contest for image identity motivated many of the designers to conceive buildings, which on circular plans, erected showy structures. Well known are the pavilions of General Electric, Johnson Wax, Ford Motor Company, Westinghouse or Walt Disney. The Spanish pavilion acted against this gestural exhibitionism. It started being called the Jewel of the Fair from the beginning, not only for the quality recognised in it but also for the need to open the jewel case in which was hiding what Carvajal described as «Spain will be what is within [...] The whole pavilion is locked in its mystery» (Fig. 7).

In the interior architecture and applied arts would connect. Ceramic lattices, wooden coffered ceilings in the style of white Mudejar carpentry, but modernised. Carefully designed display cabinets and bases showed fabrics and historical pieces like El Cid's sword. Everything using illumination, natural light that came from the inner patios, sometimes screened by stained glass-lattices, as

well as electrical light arranged at the walls' limits and in spotlights that concentrated the luminous beams over the Spanish products. Works of art included ancient and modern pieces. Amongst the former were El Greco, Velázquez or Goya, and amongst the latter Picasso, Miró, Dalí, Tapies or Feito, amongst others. There was also an auditorium to perform the Golden Age classics as well as flamenco dancing shows like, for example, Antonio Gades' show. Several of its restaurants which were famous received from Spain fresh meat and seafood daily to delight the visitors.

From the exhibition's inauguration in April 1964 the media threw itself into the pavilion. The verdict was unanimous amongst the general media as well as the professionals. Let see some examples:

Against this consistent second-rateness, the Spanish exhibition stands out like a lonely star. Behind a slightly oppressive, not overly distinguished façade, which is intended to be a blank, unrevealing Wall deliberately concealing the delights inside, Spain has put together a superbly integrated, beautifully selected, absolutely topnotch show. It might be better to stop right there, because everything else suffers by comparison with Spain's stylish sweep and size.

If this was what could be read in the New York Times on the 10th May, what follows was published in the weekly Time on the 5th June:

Spain's incredibly beautiful pavilion could probably ride the meadow for a thousand years if it were permitted to, and it should at least be moved somewhere in 1965. It was designed by Architect Javier Carvajal, and somehow suggests the courtyards of Castile and the filigreed palaces of Andalusia in its unending surprises of space and light.

In this comment the possibility of retrieving the pavilion once the fair had finished was already considered. At first its de-

velopers thought about moving it to Valencia but it was finally reconstructed in Saint Louis.

The pavilion was also well received in the professional magazines. *Architectural Record* was the first to dedicate some pages to the Spanish pavilion titled: «Spanish pavilion: surprise hit of the fair». The text, published without signature, abounded in the same ideas:

The pavilion's exterior gives little hint of what all the excitement is about. Handsome but severe, it rests the eye wearied from the confusion of colors and shapes on all sides. The walls are very nearly blank, with rough-stuccoed concrete on the lower level and deeply scored and textured precast panels above.

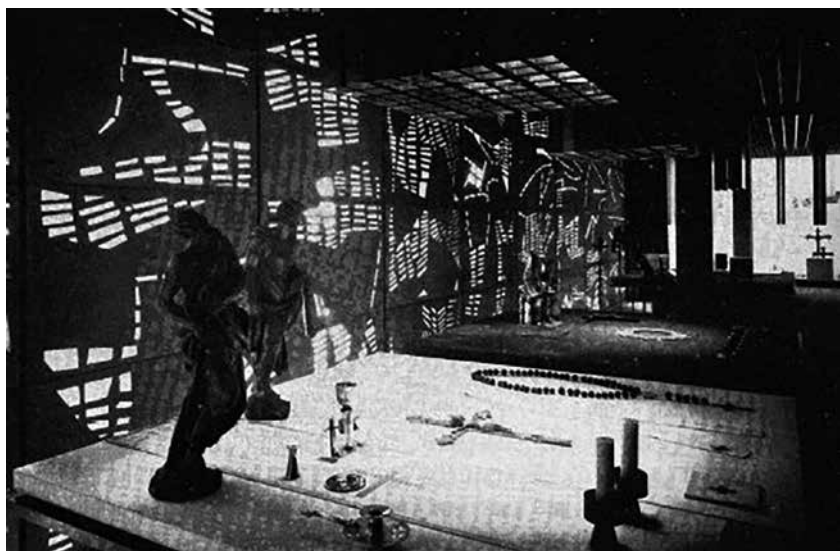
It is, in fact, like an inner-directed Spanish home, turning its back to the streets and focusing instead on a handsome series of courtyards. The architect uses the smile of the granada —the pomegranate— harsh and rough on the outside, with a rich, lush interior.

The pavilion's interior richness is compounded of both space and light. Despite the seeming regularity of the building's form, inside it is broken into a variety of dramatically changing volumes. Some open off the courts, and others have perimeter walls of white stucco washed by light from cold cathode tubes at their tops and bottoms.

Except for these bright walls and the court-facing openings, there is virtually no general illumination in the display spaces. The pavilion's inner reaches are pools of darkness, their surfaces and fixtures predominantly dark brown. Exhibits and artifacts are brilliantly spotlighted so that they gleam like jewels in their serene and stately setting.

The following month it was the turn of *Architectural Forum*. Mildred F. Schmertz dedicated some words to the pavilion in her article *Architecture at the New York World's Fair*:

The Spanish pavilion is considered by many to be the finest building and exhibition at the fair. [...] To the surprised and pleased visi-



[Fig. 8] Interior of the Spanish pavilion in New York's Fair, 1964.

tor the pavilion seems authentically Spanish in all its details, from the handsome tile detail floor set in earth to the studied carelessness of the whitewashed plaster walls. The simple exterior does not prepare one for the dark, rich spaces inside which are punctuated by sun filled courtyards and skillfully lit displays.

The longest review was published in the December issue of *Progressive Architecture*. The relation between the new and the old is highlighted in it, referring first to the materials on the exterior and then in the interior. In the lower parts popular materials, in the upper parts modern materials, symbol of the transition of an old Spain to a new one.

The exterior of the pavilion, surrounded by the frivolous honky-tonk of the Fair, stands with handsome refinement and unfestive serenity, aptly exemplifying Spanish pride and dignity. Neither wildly avant-garde nor flimsily historical, it appears discreetly real and matter-of-factly permanent.

Part of the appearance of solidity and permanence is due to the building's being virtually windowless, like a Spanish house that faces inward to shield itself from the blazing sun and the heat outside. This is not to say, however, that the exterior is plain. Two components with considerable visual interest comprise the exterior Wall: at the base, low walls of White-painted, rough stuccoed concrete that seem to enclose irregular, peripheral patios, and second, rising above this base, a superstructure of more regular order, faced with precast concrete panels in a waffle pattern. Analogously, perhaps, the vertical organization of materials depicts the growth from the old to the new Spain.

Similarly, the interior is composed of two principal elements that are monochromatic but different in texture: the first, a rich floor of Deep terra cotta tiles of a Moorish design; the second, a strong, dark Brown ceiling of suspended Wood blocks. The vertical organization, like that of the exterior also has the old at the base, the new above (11).

The Spanish pavilion won the Fair's gold medal and the distinction of the American Institute of Architects (Fig. 8).

Having gone over two series of pavilions should be useful to certify that artistic modernism and political progressivism are not things that in Franco's Spain went hand in hand. In Coderch's confidential document quoted before a dinner is mentioned:

We were invited for dinner by the Italian painter Rossi and with the French architect Henry Prouvé. All of them with extremist tendencies. The painter Rossi said that he was glad to deal with Spaniards despite knowing we were «Francoists».

However, what was not spoken of, the political scenario in Spain, was there and outside the American's umbrella there was a huge desert. Spain was not invited either to the fair in Montreal in 1967 or to Osaka in 1970.

Fantasy, technology and consumption. Spanish architecture in Germany

Joaquín Medina Warmburg

Anybody who disinterestedly leafs through the main German architecture magazines of the period after the Second World War – *Baukunst und Werkform*, *Bauen + Wohnen*, *Bauwelt* y *Der Baumeister* – will quickly understand that during this period the references to architects and works from the United States, France, Switzerland, Italy, Japan, Scandinavia and Latin-America were very frequent and predominated. Germany had gone from being the hegemonic focal point, the broadcaster of modernity in the first third of the 20th century, to assuming a subordinate role after the material and moral devastation suffered under National-Socialism and the subsequent division of the country. In the west, editorial departments searched diligently for new directions which would reflect new architectonic tendencies, and equally for aspirations of a political, economic or social nature. Their view was directed above all at those latitudes which *a priori* shared systemic premises, that is to say, those countries belonging to the bloc of liberal, capitalist democracies committed to the model of a consumer society, and a welfare state. This partially explains the scarcity of information relative to the evolution of architecture and urban planning in Francoist Spain. At the same time, we are obliged to contextualise the numerous exceptions that confirm the rule so we can evaluate them correctly. In contrast to what one might think, news from

Spain did not just represent isolated cases lacking in context, but rather it could be grouped around three great recurring themes. These reflect the interest they aroused from the German point of view. The first theme is the critical reception to the works of Antoni Gaudí, which wanted to be understood as a modern alternative architecture, bordering on the fantastic and completely distanced from the functionalist productivism that dominated the German reconstruction (which would come to be known as *Bauwirtschaftsfunktionalismus*). A second nucleus was the unexpected discovery by the techno-constructive vanguard of laminar structures in a country which in a generic way was supposed to be submerged in an atavistic backwardness. Thirdly, the architecture of the economic opening and the social modernisation which came with the boom in tourism in Spain awakened a particular interest. In its condition as a cultural industry, it also represented, as it still does today, a new joint reality for Germans and Spanish. The following pages are dedicated to illustrating, with no pretensions of exhaustiveness, these three themes.

Gaudí: fantasy and constructive rigor

The first much talked about Spanish contribution to the architectonic debate in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, created in 1949) did not involve an architect but rather a philosopher: the participation of José Ortega y Gasset in the Colloquium of Darmstadt in 1951, dedicated to the theme «Man and Space» (*Mensch und Raum*) (Fig. 1). The invitation came because of the prestige and popularity which Ortega enjoyed amongst German architects after publishing numerous articles of cultural critiques in literary reviews such as *Der Querschnitt* in the years between the two World Wars. As a philosopher and Spanish he was a doubly strange figure to find at the Darmstadt conference, an event conceived by Otto Bartning as the first great reunion of German architects, including those who had emigrated to Turkey or the United States. That's how it was reported by the Berlin magazine *Bauwelt*, which

announced the presence of Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe, who in the end did not attend the event. However, such figures as varied and even contrasting as the traditionalist Paul Bonatz and the organicist Hans Scharoun did make an appearance (Fig. 2). Between these two one of the most intense debates arose, in which Ortega sided with Scharoun. Curiously, Martin Heidegger remembered this episode as a «Gentlemanly gesture» on Ortega's part towards his person (1). This misunderstanding implied equally the identification of Heidegger with Scharoun's arguments, and the recognition of an intellectual rivalry with Ortega. Today the lecture given by Heidegger in Darmstadt, his celebrated «Bauen Wohnen Denken» («Build, inhabit, think»), in which he dealt with revealing how inhabiting the land constituted an ontological imperative, continues to be obligatory reading for those defending existentialist, phenomenological and ecological

DARMSTÄDTER GESPRÄCH

MENSCH UND RAUM

HERAUSGEGEBEN
IM AUFTRAG
DES MAGISTRATS DER STADT DARMSTADT
UND DES KOMITEES
DARMSTÄDTER GESPRÄCH 1951
VON
OTTO BARTNING

DARMSTADT

NEUE DARMSTÄDTER VERLAGSANSTALT GMBH



[Fig. 1] Cover for the Minutes Book from the Colloquium of Darmstadt in 1951.

Otto Bartning (ed.), *Mensch und Raum*, Darmstadt: Neue Darmstädter Verlagsanstalt, 1952.

[Fig. 2] Colloquium of Darmstadt in 1951: photograph of the session of 6th August in the Stadthalle Darmstadt, with Ortega and Bonatz in the centre of the photo.

approaches in architecture. In contrast, the lecture «The myth of man beyond technology» by Ortega has been forgotten. This does not mean that the questions dealt with by the Spaniard were less important, nor that they were undervalued by the architects present at the conference, as would the words of Bartning, who closed the colloquium, lead us to believe:

Following the master Ortega, I can only express what I feel deep inside, the only reliable thing, I love what is free, what is light, what is open, and I desire to place all men where it is free and light; that is what I love. And I should pursue that love free from prejudices, and I believe that is the only path (2).

Egon Eiermann expressed similar ideas, in contrast to the *Heimatlosigkeit* put forward by Heidegger, that is to say, the consubstantial neglect of humans, Eiermann expressed his confidence in the possibility of a new, open, cosmopolitan world thanks to technological advances. In this way, Eiermann made his own some of the arguments employed by Ortega, who had defended the utopian drive of technology as a fabulous orthopaedic apparatus, creator of artificial worlds which would make inhabitable to man any region of the planet irrespective of how hostile it might be (3).

Against this backdrop of philosophical treatises the question of how to undertake the reconstruction of cities and the pressing need to construct more than 6 million homes was settled in Darmstadt. They were not dealing with pointless debates but rather with laying the groundwork to enable them to face up to some colossal tasks. The concept of the reunion on Bartning's part included the need to claim back and resume certain cultural traditions which had been abandoned with the arrival of the National Socialists. Additionally it was the fiftieth anniversary of the inauguration of the Mathildenhöhe of Darmstadt, commemorated in an exhibition as one of the historic achievements which had led to the establishment of the Deutscher Werkbund association in 1907. The genealogy of modernism in Germany presented in that exhibition included a selection of protagonists and works

which had constituted «notable contributions to architecture in Germany between 1901 and 1951» (4). That is how *Neue Bauwelt* described it, highlighting the inclusion of a select group of foreign protagonists which collected together Antoni Gaudí, —the first named, as well as Frank Lloyd Wright, Auguste Perret, Le Corbusier and Alvar Aalto (5).

It should be remembered that the presence of Gaudí in the heroic tales of modern architecture was not yet commonplace: he was still absent from the expanded eighth edition of *Space, Time and Architecture* by Sigfried Giedion, and it was not until 1960 that Nikolaus Pevsner included him in the revised version of his *Pioneers of Modern Movement*. The incorporation of Gaudí into the genealogy presented in Darmstadt was related to a German particularity, which interpreted the figure of the Catalan in expressionist key. Bartning himself, who had been one of the main figures of German expressionism in the years between the wars, had been able to travel to Spain for the first time in 1941 and 1942 to carry out the work on the Church of the German Evangelical Community in Barcelona, which gave him the opportunity to see at first hand the work of Gaudí. This same expressionist setting was what made Hermann Finsterlin and Bruno Taut so interested in Gaudí, leading to the publishing of some of his works in *Frühlicht*. Even in the first Bauhaus with Walter Gropius an admiration for the works of the Catalan master had been cultivated, their formal exuberance appeared to respond to a similar symbolic and religious sense of architecture. One has to wonder, however, if these promises of collective redemption could be transferred from the first post-war age to the second one. To start with, we can verify that it was not until the end of the 1950s that German magazines started to collect together with a certain regularity information and opinions on Gaudí, to the point where he became the obligatory starting point for any discussion of contemporary Spanish architecture (6).

In 1961 the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* published a review collection of five monographs by a young Udo Kultermann, in which he set out the evolution of the reception and growing interna-



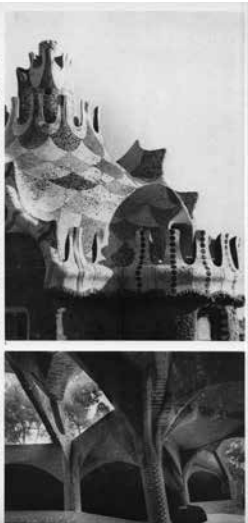
Ulrich Conrads
Willkür und Bindung im Werk von Antonio Gaudí
Lektüre in Zusammenhang mit dem Vortrag von Antonio Gaudí

Einleitung
Die Architektur ist ein Bereich, der seit jeher in der Mitte der menschlichen Existenz steht. Sie ist ein Bereich, der die Verbindung zwischen der Natur und der Kultur herstellt. Sie ist ein Bereich, der die menschliche Existenz in der Welt verankert. Sie ist ein Bereich, der die menschliche Existenz in der Welt verankert.

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Niemals wird Erik Menckel nicht als einer der besten für die Entwicklung der Architektur und Wagnisse in der Architektur angesehen. Dennoch hat Erik Menckel immer noch ein Bild von 1900, das allgemein als das modernste Gebäude der Welt angesehen wird. Dieses Bild ist ein Bild von 1900, das allgemein als das modernste Gebäude der Welt angesehen wird.



Erik Menckel, Eisenstein in Paderborn
Oben: Haus der 1900-er Jahre
Unten: Haus der 1900-er Jahre



Hermann Finsterlin, Eisenstein, um 1900

Hier die 'Wille in Wille, um 1900'



Antoni Gaudí, Casa Milà in Barcelona, 1900-1910

[Fig. 3] Roof of the Joan Miró from the book by James Johnson Sweeney & Josep Lluís Sert, *Gaudi*, Stuttgart: Hatje, 1960.

[Fig. 4] The Casa Milà by Gaudí and the Einstein Tower by Mendelsohn. Ulrich Conrads & Hans Sperl, *Phantastische Architektur*, Stuttgart: Hatje, 1960.

[Fig. 5] The Casa Milà by Gaudí and a watercolour by Hermann Finsterlin. Ulrich Conrads & Hans Sperl, *Phantastische Architektur*, Stuttgart: Hatje, 1960.

[Fig. 6] J. Joedicke, «Randomness and Determinism in the works of Antonio Gaudí», *Bauen+Wohnen* magazine, May 1960.

tional interest for the figure of Gaudí. He commented on the books of Juan Eduardo Cirlot (1954), Henry-Russel Hitchcock (1957), Joaquim Gomis and Le Corbusier (1958), George Collins (1960) and finally the German edition of the monograph by José Luis Sert and James John Sweeney (1960) (Fig. 3). To Kultermann, who also made reference to the publications by César Martinell and José Rafols, it was clear that Gaudí was no longer considered a mere curiosity (7). It was exceedingly revealing that the German version of the monograph on Gaudí by Sert and Sweeney was the responsibility of the same publishing house, Hatje of Stuttgart, that in the same year published the book *Phantastische Architektur* (1960) by Ulrich Conrads and Hans Sperlich. There we will also encounter the Casa Milá or the Colonia Güell, along with the works by Erich Mendelsohn, Hermann Finsterlin or Bruno Taut (Fig. 4-5). But certain outstanding protagonists of the experimental constructive practices of those times also appeared, such as Konrad Wachsmann, Frei Otto, or Bruce Goff. In short, the book postulated that the fantastic constituted an architectonic tradition that was both alive and relevant, in which social utopia, plastic experimentation and constructive innovation went hand in hand. The fantastic offered an alternative to the reconstruction of German cities, with its dogmatic application of the precepts of the Athens Charter and the pragmatism of a sector of the construction industry for whom profit outweighed other factors such as social interaction and the quality of urban spaces. Certainly, the contrast between the new reality of cities and the *Phantastische Architektur* could not have been greater.

The references to Gaudí in West German architectural magazines multiplied through the Sixties fuelled by the growing insatisfaction with the reconstruction, this led to a qualitative leap in the articles about the Catalan architect. Highly notable was the role of the sophisticated trilingual journal (German, English and French) *Bauen+Wohnen* of Munich, and the informative efforts of its editor Jürgen Joedicke, who was Professor of the history of modern architecture in the Techni-

cal University (TH) of Stuttgart. It was also in 1960, responding to the aforementioned Sert-Sweeney work, but above all to Conrads-Sperlich, that Joedicke published a key article in *Bauen + Wohnen* titled «Willkür und Bindung im Werk von Antonio Gaudí», meaning «Randomness and determinism in the works of Antonio Gaudí» (8) (Fig. 6). In this he undertook the task of specifying the relationship between the fantastic and the rational in Gaudí's architecture with the objective of postulating its relevance for contemporary architecture. An introductory note from the editorial department invited readers to understand the article not just as a contribution to the historiographic research on Gaudí, but as a critique of those current tendencies which, from the ideal of the fantastic, appeared to want to invalidate the objective laws and the material premises. This comment, which avoided explicitly mentioning the book by Conrads and Sperlich, was coherent with the then recently published *Geschichte der Modernen Architektur* (History of modern architecture) (1958) by Joedicke, the historical sense of which was set out in teleological terms as the search for a «synthesis of form, function, and construction» (9). Indeed, the objective of the article in *Bauen + Wohnen* was to reveal the constructive rationality of certain forms inspired by nature and its laws, something which did not fall on deaf ears in the TH in Stuttgart. Otto Frei took up the challenge at his Institute of Light Structures (ILE) where he would end up, decades later, reconstructing the stereo-static model of the Chapel of the Colonia Güell. But the Spanish-German affinity around formal creativity, constructive experimentation and structural rationality did not restrict itself to the reception of Gaudí's works around 1960. In various books and many articles by Joedicke we find during these years recurring references to Eduardo Torroja and his Technical Institute for Construction and Cement (ITC) (10). Strictly speaking, the attention paid in Germany to the works, research and theories of Torroja preceded the rediscovery of Gaudí and it would not be ridiculous to think that it conditioned their interpretation in constructive rationality key.

Laminar structures: practice, research and theoretical debate

In September 1961, three months after the early death of Torroja, the Munich magazine *Der Baumeister* reviewed, in an extensive obituary, his life and works, highlighting his exemplary sense of unity of form and content, that is to say, of formal beauty unified to a no less notable constructive audacity (11). Curiously, he was branded as an inspired *Baumeister*, a term with which they avoided the professional distinction between architects and engineers. The article also listed the multiple official posts that Torroja held, finally affirming that his ITC was a research centre of the vanguard without equal in Europe.

The habitual presence of Torroja in German architectural magazines went back to 1954, when the Berlin-based *Bauwelt* reported on the new installations of the ITC in Madrid, a work by Gonzalo Echegaray and Manuel Barbero under the direction of Torroja, who was surprisingly omitted from mention in the article, including at the moment of affirming that the publications of ITC were known to German readers, in particular the *Informes de la Construcción* (12). In contrast the editing department verified the general lack of knowledge of Spanish architecture in Germany: the knowledge of which was limited to historic cases and would go as far as, in the best of cases, Gaudí. Apart from that, the lack of direction of Spanish architecture magazines was underlined, where a few works that are unmistakably contemporary would appear side by side with others born of regionalist sentiments or badly understood classicisms. The new headquarters of the ITC, in contrast, confirmed that Spanish architectonic production responded to the same formal desires and the ruling material factors as anywhere else in the Western cultural sphere, even in an authoritarian regime like Spain.

Equally, in 1954, the prestigious magazine *Baukunst und Werkform*, the most ambitious of the German magazines in terms of cultural debate since its creation in 1948, to the point where all the contributors recruited by Bartning for the Darmstadt Colloquium, in 1951, were without exception habitual contributors,

began to include regular articles on laminar structures and shallow vaults, a product of the interest for the subject on the part of one of its editors: Ulrich Conrads, the subsequent ideologue of the fantastic. It was probably because of him that the publication of the grandstands at the Zarzuela Hippodrome racetrack should be juxtaposed with the interplay of balance of a mobile by Alexander Calder (13). The text by Schmidt van Stenvert underlined the fact that Torroja was an engineer to explain his apparent indifference to the importance of Spanish architectonic styles. The article finished by affirming that what were promises in Torroja, had become realities in Latin America. Indeed *Baukunst und Werkform* illustrated how the boom in architecture in Latin America at the end of the Fifties and early Sixties maintained a close connection with the interest for laminar structures, which went from being an experimental practice to being a profitable activity in the construction industry. The best example of this was the Spanish-Mexican Felix Candela with his company Cubiertas Ala. This did not mean that Candela's theoretical focusses would pass unnoticed, as was reflected in an article, published in two parts in 1959, on the «ways towards a new concept of structures» (14). With his writings, which included quotes of a philosophical nature such as the motto of Ortega «only the fantastic can be exact», Candela participated in the international theoretical debate on the forms which Torroja had been promoting for some time with his *Informes de la Construcción*. These were again referred to in *Baukunst und Werkform* when they reviewed two books on Torroja published in the United States in 1958, one of which was the North American edition of his *Razon y ser de los tipos estructurales* (15). An extract from it was published as advance publicity for the German edition by the publishing house of Georg Callwey in Munich, titled *Logik der Form* (1961) (16) (Fig. 7). The presence of numerous buildings by German architects in the pages of this long theoretical essay might surprise readers, buildings like the late-expressionist churches of Dominikus Böhm or the cantilever roofs of Erich Schelling. Torroja was aware of previous German experiences, in particular in the sphere of laminar structures, and we know that he was influ-



[Fig. 7] Book cover for E. Torroja, *Logik der Form*, München: Verlag Georg Callwey, 1961.

enced by them, as was Felix Candela even before he emigrated to Mexico. Perhaps it would have been an even greater surprise for many German readers to find handcrafted versions of laminar structures in Torroja's book, like the partitioned vaults. Even if these were gaining popularity due to Gaudí or Le Corbusier's interpretations, only in a very few cases had these been applied in Germany –as in the case of the constructor Rank Brothers, who introduced partitioned vaults to Munich in 1947 (17).

The debate over structural forms takes us back once again to TH Stuttgart, where in 1960 Curt Siegel launched from his Professorship of Structures the volume *Strukturformen der modernen Architektur*, which included various references to the laminar structures of Candela and Torroja (18). As we have already seen, Joedicke took on the theme simultaneously from the pages of *Bauen+Wohnen*, adopting a historical point of view by dealing with Gaudí, and that of architecture critic by writing about Torroja (19). In 1960 he dedicated to the latter a personal



[Fig. 8] Book cover for M. Sánchez Arcas, *Form und Bauweise der Schalen*, East Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1961.

chronicle in which he emphasised his combination of intuitive capacity and empirical work with models and prototypes. The following year he published some experimental works by ITC (20). These articles were preliminary works destined to be included in the large volume on laminar structures which Joedicke finally published in 1962 under the title *Schalenbau. Konstruktion und Gestaltung*. Like the book by the exiled Republican Manuel Sanchez Arcas, *Form und Bauweise der Schalen*, published the year before in East Berlin, it was an edition that was profusely illustrated with examples from countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain, set in different climates and destined for different functions (Fig. 8). Originally conceived as multipurpose structures, the laminates would cover not only industrial warehouses but also architecture whose symbolic value would be reinforced by the plastic values of the roofs. In this sense laminar structures transcended the mere constructive rationality to become new monuments, modern and light, capable of

expressing collective desires, above all when they served as cultural, social, sporting or recreational facilities. Examples of all of these types can be found in Germany.

Tourism: architecture for consumption in the society of well-being

As is known, in the reconstruction of German cities destroyed in the Second World War the model of city developed by the avant-garde in the interwar years predominated, particularly in the sphere of the CIAM: a low density city, green and «spongy», with open spaces, functionally segregated and conceived for the private car. In addition, the politicians responsible for the German *Wirtschaftswunder*, the prodigious economic recovery of West Germany in the 1950s, promoted the construction of houses on the outskirts of cities. The economic model of «social capitalism» placed the promise of domestic happiness, clearly inspired by the United States, within reach of the middle class. In short, the new consumer and welfare society of West Germany found a motor for progress in the production of the city, which was in agreement with its system of values.

The spread of this model contributed decisively to certain exemplary constructions such as the Berlin neighbourhood of Hansaviertel, which had been destroyed in the bombing in 1943, and was reconstructed in 1957 under the ambit of the Interbau exhibition, which under the direction of the omnipresent Bartning, gathered together the international elite of architects from the sphere of the CIAM, among them Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, Alvar Aalto, Jacob Bakema, Pierre Vago and Oscar Niemeyer. Of the 53 architects invited, not one came from Spain. A note published in the magazine *Bauwelt* clarified the absence was because of a report in the section of Interbau in which the constructions of the Obra Sindical de la Vivienda were presented, which were celebrated by *Bauwelt* as a «discovery». It highlighted not only the number of housing units constructed since 1955, but also the ar-

chitectonic quality of the works despite the simplicity of the social housing, the new neighbourhood of Fuencarral was cited as an example, and finally underlined that they were like palaces for their occupants, who had previously survived in caves (21). In this way it was emphasised that in Spain architecture and urbanism contributed to social progress, but starting from a point that was unimaginable in Germany.

The coexistence of the modern and the archaic would become a recurring argument in the articles, while German magazines began to feature Spanish architecture with greater frequency, above all in the photographic discourse of the articles. Additionally the decisive articles by César Ortiz-Echagüe exploited this rhetorical resource, for example, in the layout of images of the traditional popular village architecture and the new neighbourhoods of social housing such as Caño Roto, which brought back the memory of the interest aroused in Germany by the photographs by his father, José Ortiz-Echagüe (22). The Spanish troglodytic forms traditionally stirred a fascination, and this was renewed with the anthropological perspective of the Sixties (23). But, above all, it was with the nascent mass tourism that the convergence of the modern and the popular acquired a new cultural meaning and an enormous economic relevance, which also was reflected in the German publications. *Bauwelt*, for example, dedicated attention to the existence of a modern architecture with popular Mediterranean touches like that of José Luis Sert, who was regularly featured as the leader of the CIAM, with its particular model of the city, and at the same time as the author of the workshop-house of Joan Miro in Majorca. In its most noticeable element, the eaves of the roof, the structural vanguard is superimposed on craft traditions. The images of dry stone walls and sunshades invoked the attachment to the land and the heat of the south. Significantly, this example of modern Mediterranean architecture served as the opening to a monographic issue dedicated to the family house with garden: a subject which, as the editorial explained, transcended the models of Interbau and the official credits to directly appeal to the intimate desire to inhabit nature (24).

The Interbau model of urban development and the urban reconstruction of West Germany quickly entered into crisis. In this change of direction it was the book *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte* (The inhospitality of our cities, 1965) by the neurologist and psychoanalyst Alexander Mitscherlich, who complained about the second destruction of cities, at the hands of architects, urban planners and politicians who had encouraged an inhospitable model of the city, whose low-density centres and suburbs of family houses impeded the indispensable experience of contrast between the urban and the natural spheres, which had led to a dramatic increase in psychopathologies. An indirect consequence was the transfer of that experience of contrast to the holiday periods. The growing purchasing power of the German middle class brought about the development of a new tourist industry, which was able to combine mass consumption with the exploitation of the cultural myths of the Mediterranean. In German architecture magazines this process broadened the variety of subjects related to Italy, Greece or Spain, which with increasing frequency were in the news for their new tourist developments. The ideal of the southern good life became codified in a common architectonic collective imagination, inspired by popular architecture, without negating modern standards of comfort. The nostalgia for the natural and the hedonism of consumption combined in an architecture that was programmatically ambivalent. An example of this is the cover and article that *Bauwelt* dedicated to the «Bar in Majorca» by Emilio Chinarro in 1962 (Fig. 9). In the text it was explained that the white volumes of the resorts were the result of a study trip dedicated to the «typical» popular architecture, but displayed on an ultramodern hexagonal grid (25). The same issue included an ironic note in which the editorial department expressed, resorting to the celebrated turn of *Egmont* by Goethe, which identified things Spanish with the strange, its astonishment at the similarity of the Majorcan resort with the Spanish pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Brussels in 1958, which in turn appeared to have been plagiarised by the architects Kahn and Jacobs for the project for a restaurant in

35

Bauwelt

A 190 C - Berlin, 27. August 1962

Urlaubsarchitektur am Meer



Das aber
kommt
uns
„spanisch“
vor



Wie die fahrbaren Bühnenpodeste aus Werner Rahnau's
Gelsenkirchener Theaterprojekt (Bauwelt 1961, Heft 24)
nutzen die sechseckigen Elemente des Restaurants „Ostia“
der „Weltausstellung des XXI. Jahrhunderts“ in Seattle
an (Bild oben, Architekten: Scha und Jencel) – aber auch
schon anderswärts ist die Verwandtschaft mit dem Spa-
nischen. Pavillon in Brüßel 1958 (Bild links) entdeckt
worden. Die Addition sechseckiger Elemente, die den Vor-
teil bietet, daß an den Eckpunkten nur drei Wände zu-
sammenstoßen, ist oft schon als Gestaltungsprinzip ver-
wendet worden, vom Möbelbau bis zur Stadtplanung.
Leidet auch die „Urlaubsarchitektur am Meer“ (Umschau-
bild) ihre äußere Form von den Kirchen auf Ibiza her,
ist doch die „Friede der Seiligen Ruinen (Apollon)“ nicht
in Frage zu stellen. Die bauen schon länger sechseckig.

[Fig. 9] Cover with photograph of the resort and bar of Emilio Chinarro in Majorca. «Holiday architecture by the sea», *Bauwelt*, August 1962.

[Fig. 10] «Das aber kommt uns 'spanisch' vor», *Bauwelt*, August 1962. (Trans: «This, in contrast, seems Spanish to us»).

Seattle (26). In a humorous tone, the editors stated that the hexagons of the «hardworking» bees seemed to serve for any situation whatsoever, including for summer architecture inspired by the churches of Ibiza (Fig. 10).

With the passing of time the proverbial strangeness of things Spanish became proximity, in part thanks to German publications of tourist complexes of great architectonic quality, projected by architects of growing international repute like José Antonio Coderch, Javier Saenz de Oiza, Oriol Bohigas, Ricardo Bofill and Fernando Higueras (27). However this new proximity was also due to tourist complexes that were the result of foreign investments in Spain, including some projected by architects from Germany, Switzerland and Austria (28). Once we get to that point, it becomes difficult to discern whether we are talking about Spanish architecture or merely architecture in Spain. What there can be no doubt about is that in the final years of Francoism tourism was an important factor in the modernisation of Spanish society and that the economic and cultural interferences from this process between Spain and Germany transcended the strictly disciplinary limits of architecture and urban planning.

Multiple dialogues between Italy and Spain during the Sixties

Antonio Pizza

When Bruno Zevi opened the editorial office of *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*, in Rome in 1955, he brought along the experience developed in his previous position as editor of the magazine *Metron* (1), he proposed an editorial program in which a very close connection between architecture, urban planning, design and disciplinary past would be practised, without pre-constituted models but with the clear intention of being able to influence the actual project, also through the recuperation of the vanguard's legacies. Keeping, on the other hand, as an interpretative milestone, the concept of «space», matured within Wright's paradigmatic teaching, just as he had been consecrated for his basic *Saper vedere l'architettura*, in 1948 (2).

In relation to his interventions during the decade of the 50s, Zevi kept therefore his compromise with the international diffusion of Spanish architecture, in its double facet of emerging assets values, emphasising Antoni Gaudí's work, and the contemporary architectonic reformism to which the contemporary local production was subjected.

So, in 1959, a significant and ample presentation of the architecture in Catalonia would appear in the pages of the magazine, framed in a «continuist» interpretative line, as is reflected in an explicit way in the title of the article itself: *Barcellona dopo*

Antoni Gaudí e il GATCPAC, where an unambiguous and lineal version of history is offered (of course close to the reading that Bohigas was consolidating and spreading, even internationally, in the same years), in which the «positive» moments of *Modernisme* and GATCPAC would be abruptly interrupted by the Francoist obscurantism. There was, however, a timid hint of recuperation in the progressive architecture in the 50s:

La riscossa è del 1950. La Spagna si riapre ai contatti internazionali; gli architetti migliori intendono rompere l'isolamento. Barcellona è di nuovo in testa, dando vita al «Gruppo R» [...]. La documentazione che segue illustra le realizzazioni dei migliori architetti del Gruppo R. [...] I nipoti di Antoni Gaudí non hanno tradito il genio della loro terra. [...] una popolarizzazione del linguaggio moderno in Spagna. [...] un rivolgimento del costume architettonico [...]; uno spirito di rottura che rilancia di colpo la Spagna all'evoluzione culturale europea. Non si dica che è tardi per questo rilancio e per questa rottura. Tardi non è mai... (3) (Fig. 1)

In the meantime, in 1958, one of the few magazines available at the time, in the world of Spanish architectural publications —*Cuadernos de Arquitectura*—, significantly titled the editorial of issue 32 with the question *Crisis or continuity?* (4) studying elements of reflection suggested by the most prestigious Italian magazine at the time (*Casabella*) which, under the new direction of Ernesto Nathan Rogers, had precisely added to its historical title the programmatic term of «continuity» (5). Regarding this, Oriol Bohigas would recognise:

No cal dir que aquest text –i les seves derivacions en comentaris boca a boca– fou com la nostra biblia durant molt temps. Es tractava d'esuperar la pretesa rigidesa formal del Moviment Modern, però no predre'n ni el mètode ni el substract ètic i no caure en involucions absurdes. Un camí eficaç era el del realisme social, el del relanisme constructiu i el de la reconsideració substancial de certes tradicions (6).

▼ Modern architecture in Spain has a history which is full of ups and downs. It begins with a hero and prophet, Antoni Gaudí (1852-1926) and continues with the Catalan rationalist group, GATCPAC, around which gathered Spain's best architects from 1928 to 1936. Then followed a long period of silence, characterized by cultural isolation and stylistic monumentalism. The recovery begins in 1950, again marked in Barcelona with the «R Group», which shows cultural and artistic reintegration. It presents the works of the leading architects of this group. They reflect a picture of highly qualified and talented as to create a certainty that never again will modern architecture in Spain suffer setbacks.

▼ L'architecture moderne en Espagne a une histoire qui précède par sa complexité. Elle commence avec un héros et un prophète, Antoni Gaudí (1852-1926), se développe avec le groupe rationaliste catalan GATCPAC, autour duquel se réunissent tous les architectes les plus intelligents du pays de 1928 à 1936. Suit une longue période de silence qui se distingue par l'isolement culturel et stylistique monumental. Le réveil a lieu en 1950 et son centre moteur est encore une fois Barcelone où se forme le «Groupe R», qui doit être une réintégration culturelle et artistique. Nous présentons ici les œuvres des principaux architectes de ce groupe. On y voit un panorama tellement qualifié et qualifié que l'on acquiert la certitude qu'en Espagne l'architecture moderne ne subira plus de déclin.

▼ Die Geschichte der modernen Architektur Spaniens hat einen «sprunghaften Verlauf». Sie beginnt mit einem Helden und Propheten, Antoni Gaudí (1852-1926), entwickelt sich mit der rationalistischen katalanischen GATCPAC-Gruppe, die von 1928-36 besten Architekten des Landes umfasst, und ist dann von einem langen Schweigen in kultureller Isolation und stilistischem Monumentalismus gekennzeichnet. 1950 erfolgt ein neuer Aufbruch, wiederum aus Barcelona aus, indem sich die «Gruppe R» mit dem Ziel der kulturellen und künstlerischen Reintegration bildet. Wir stellen hier die Werke der wichtigsten Architekten dieser Gruppe vor. Sie sprechen von einem so qualifizierten und qualifizierten Schaffen, das man die Sicherheit gewinnt, dass die moderne spanische Architektur keine Niederlage mehr erleiden wird.

▼ La arquitectura moderna en España tiene una historia que se desarrolla a saltos. Se inicia con un héroe y profeta, Antoni Gaudí (1852-1926), evoluciona con el grupo racionalista catalán GATCPAC, en torno al cual se agrupan los arquitectos más inteligentes del país entre los años 1928 y 1936. Sigue un largo período de silencio, caracterizado por el aislamiento cultural y por el monumentalismo estilístico. La recuperación se efectúa en 1950 y el centro motor es una vez más Barcelona, donde se forma el «Grupo R», que propugna una reintegración cultural y artística. Presentamos aquí las obras de los principales arquitectos de este grupo. Las mismas constituyen un panorama tan culto y calificado, al punto de darnos la certeza de que la arquitectura moderna en España no podrá ya sufrir setbacks.



Barcellona dopo Gaudí e il GATCPAC

presentazione di Marianna Gallotti Minola

Dall'alto in basso: motivo finale di una delle torri del Tempio della Sagrada Família; decorazione plastica nel soffitto di un ambiente della Casa Milà; ingresso nell'appartamento dell'ultimo piano e scala nella Casa Batlló; particolari decorativi del Tempio della Sagrada Família.

La più recente pubblicazione sulle opere di Antoni Gaudí, della quale sono tratte queste fotografie, è edita dal Museum of Modern Art di New York, contiene una prefazione di Arthur Drexler e un saggio di Henry-Russell Hitchcock. Per una più vasta documentazione, oltre ai due articoli pubblicati negli nn. 9 e 31 di L'Espresso, vedi il saggio «Un genio catalano» in Metron, n. 38, 1950. Una breve caratterizzazione di Gaudí si trova anche nella «Storia dell'architettura moderna» edita da Einaudi, pp. 37-39, Tav. 2, fig. 24 b.



La vicenda dell'architettura moderna in Spagna, non diversamente da quella italiana, procede a singhiozzi. Inizia con un eroe o un profeta, Antoni Gaudí (1852-1926), di cui più volte questa rivista ha rimediato la grandezza (L'Espresso, II, 194-95, 625; L'Espresso, IV, 32-45); si svolge dal 1928 al 1936 nel movimento razionalista diretto da José Luis Sert; riprende, dopo la crisi monumentalistica che ha dilagato anche in Germania e in Italia, intorno al 1950.

Al centro di questa vicenda, città inquieta e matrice di cultura, è Barcellona. Tutte le opere realizzate da Gaudí sono qui. Il movimento razionalista spagnolo esordì nel 1928 con l'associazione GATCPAC (Grup d'Artistes i Tècnics Catalans pel Progrés de l'Arquitectura Contemporània) che, dopo un congresso tenutosi a Saragozza nel 1930 e la conseguente unione con gli architetti di Bilbao, San Sebastián, Madrid, convertì la sua sigla in GATEPAC (Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles para el Progreso de la Arquitectura Contemporánea). La rivista «AC» (Actividades Contemporáneas) e la partecipazione alle iniziative culturali europee di architettura furono, in larga misura, dovute al gruppo barcelonense. L'ultima realizzazione del movimento cade nel 1936, è il Dispensario Antitubercolare di Barcellona, costruito da J.L. Sert, Torres e Subirana. Poi, con la guerra civile e gli sconvolgimenti europei, scende il silenzio. A Madrid si copiano le forme dell'Escorial; a Barcellona sorgono monasteri in un vieto stile neorinascimentale.

La riscossa è del 1950. La Spagna si riapre ai contatti internazionali; gli architetti migliori intendono rompere l'isolamento. Barcellona è di nuovo in testa, dando vita al «Gruppo R» (Reintegración cultural y arquitectural) cui partecipano Oriol Bohigas e José M. Martorell, José A. Coderch e Manuel Valls, Joaquín Gili, Antonio de Moragas, José Pratmará, José M. Sostres. Nel 1952, nelle sale delle Galerías Layetanas, s'inaugura la prima esposizione del gruppo. Nel 1954, in occasione della seconda esposizione, numerosi architetti di Madrid aderiscono al Gruppo R, e le attività si estendono dal campo strettamente edilizio all'industrial design. L'anno dopo, la terza esposizione proclama il rinnovamento didattico, bandisce concorsi e istituisce premi.

Nel 1957 il Gruppo è invitato alla IV Biennale di San Paolo del Brasile. Lo scorso anno sono stati affrontati i problemi dell'urbanistica, specialmente in relazione alla programmazione economica. Con questa serie di coerenti azioni, la Spagna è tornata nell'alveo della cultura europea.

La documentazione che segue illustra le realizzazioni dei migliori architetti del Gruppo R. Inizia con le opere di Antonio de Moragas e con le smaglianti ville di José M. Sostres, continua con le realizzazioni di Oriol Bohigas, José M. Martorell, Joaquín Gili e Francisco Bascó, conclude con la recentissima Facoltà di Diritto dell'Università di Barcellona, di Pedro López Iñigo, Guillermo Giráldez Davila e Javier Subías Fages. Si tratta di un mirabile panorama in cui è bruciato ogni residuo provinciale. I nipoti di Antoni Gaudí non hanno tradito il genio della loro terra.

L'Espresso 247

[Fig. 1] M. Gallotti Minola (presentazione di), «Barcellona dopo Gaudí e il GATCPAC», magazine L'architettura: Cronache e Storia, 1959, n. 46.

Thus, if during the 50s the reference to the international panorama had already privileged contacts with neighbouring Italy (7), in which the close professional and personal relationship between José Antonio Coderch (8) and Gio Ponti would take on the main role absolutely, we will see how in the following decade these connections with the Italians would be reinforced, specifically establishing a beneficial interchange of ideas between the worlds of Catalonia and Milan. Taking into account that, after Coderch, who played the role of the main interlocutor with the Italian post-war world, it was Federico Correa, from 1952, who had —amongst other things— an optimal knowledge of the Italian language, and in fact would act as intermediary and active connection between the two worlds; as Bohigas himself openly recognised: «A Correa li hem d'agrair [...] el primer enllaç amb l'arquitectura i els arquitectes europeus» (9).

Bohigas, nevertheless, facing the mannerist temptations he perceived in the cenacle of *Casabella*, maintains that it should be the actual reality, with all its prevailing dramas, which constitutes the starting point of any new and «authentic» architectonic research. From the point of view of becoming aware of the political implications of the professional activity, the author specifies his polemic and defends, paradoxically, the social positivity that can be experimented in the shacks (*Elogio de la barraca*, 1957) in contrast with the alienation innate to the speculative periphery edification; vindicating, at the same time, the value of traditional materials (*Elogio del ladrillo*, 1960) (10), seen as the only operative solution in a country totally stunted in technological development.

In 1959 the *Primer Pequeño Congreso* (First Small Congress) took place in Madrid (11), opening an unprecedented field of contact and confrontation between the professional world of the capital —launched by the tireless organizing activity of Carlos de Miguel— and the world of Barcelona, in which O. Bohigas gradually took on his role of cultural agitator, and in which —in the successive editions— representatives of the international architectonic culture like Nuno Portas, George

Candilis, Giancarlo De Carlo (12), Aldo Rossi, Vittorio Gregotti (13) and Peter Eisenman.

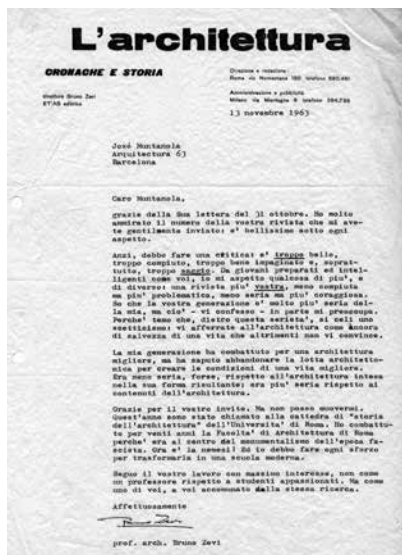
Towards the end of 1962, the Italian magazine *Abitare*, wanting to disseminate in its pages the latest Spanish productions, centered on the subject of the «modern house», made contact with Oriol Bohigas:

Comme Vous verrez, ABITARE n'est pas une revue pour spécialistes: c'est notre intention, au contraire, de rejoindre un public le plus large possible; habiter, en effecte, c'est un problème de tout le monde. [...] Avec l'Espagne nous n'avions encore réussi à établir aucun contact; [...] José Maria Castellet a suggéré Votre nom, et c'est pour ça nous nous adressons à Vous, en Vous priant de prendre en considération notre proposition (14).

In 1963 the VIII International Conference of Students of Architecture; *Arquitecture 63* (Fig. 2), was held in Barcelona, the publication prepared by the ETSAB, became an important place of international confrontation: while Nikolaus Pevsner condemned the different modalities of anti-rationalism that —according to him— were hidden in the bosom of contemporary architecture, Sigfried Giedion identified dangerous formalist tendencies in the current moment, at the same time that Reyner Banham suggested the intervention of psychology, invoking the «deep environmental wisdom, which is often hidden in the inarticulate traditional practices of local builders» (15) (Fig. 3).

The regular contacts between a dense representation of international architects (many of them Italian) and the local professional sphere would even inspire an editorial project of O. Bohigas, around 1965, titled *Arquitectes estrangers en Barcelona* (Fig. 4) which should have been published in Tusquets Editores, proposing a «vision from outside» the city and its architecture:

As a commission for a Catalan publisher, I am writing, in collaboration with David Mackay, a book that will be, more or less, titled «Foreign architects and critics in Barcelona», [...] in which the impres-



[Fig. 3] Letter from Zevi to Muntañola, 13th November 1963. Josep Muntañola Archive, Barcelona.
 [Fig. 4] Letter from Rogers to Bohigas, 31st January 1966. Epistolary, Oriol Bohigas Archive, Barcelona.
 [Fig. 5] Letter from De Carlo to Bohigas, 20th July 1964. Epistolary, Oriol Bohigas Archive, Barcelona.
 [Fig. 6] Typed letter from Bohigas to De Carlo, 30th June 1965. Archivio Giancarlo De Carlo, Archivio Progetti, Università IUAV, Venice.

I am following all your work in the direction of *L'Architettura*, which, definitely, is the only magazine of interest at the disposal of the modern movement in the whole world. What is going on with this sort of world crisis of architecture magazines? (18)

Meanwhile, in 1965, the important issue number 15 of *Zodiac* (19) (Fig. 7-9) was published –totally dedicated to Spain and the Spanish language–, directed by Vittorio Gregotti. In fact, this monograph had been prepared by Gregotti himself to be published in the magazine *Edilizia Moderna*. In the end, after a refusal from the latter, which Bohigas described as «reactionary», they opted to publish in *Zodiac* (20). Gregotti, in the presentation, would outline with precision the editorial line of the issue, in which he emphasised «una storia di straordinaria qualità per molta parte ancora da scoprire».

(individuare). ...gli elementi per costruire un giudizio sintetico, un quadro di riferimento in cui collocare le opere pur notevoli che qua e là abbiamo visto segnalate nelle pubblicazioni specialistiche internazionali [...]. Quando insieme abbiamo progettato, circa un anno fa, questo numero, ci siamo posti l'obiettivo di andare al di là della nostra opposizione a quel regime [...]. Abbiamo scoperto una cultura assai più intricata [...]. Tre tipi di problematiche: [...] le alternative intorno alla organizzazione della professione [...]; il dibattito intorno al senso del luogo, ossia intorno al valore da attribuire alla storia ed alla tradizione; il discorso sulla dimensione di intervento che comprende quello intorno al senso antimonumentale del dettaglio [...]. In certo qual modo, man mano che l'architettura spagnola sprovvincializzandosi si allinea al livello di elaborazione internazionale della disciplina, man mano essa si avvicina al suo vero punto di crisi [...]. (Si tratta di) dover affrontare, in prima persona, fuori da ogni riparo e giustificazione, il problema di fornire di senso la materia architettonica (21) (Fig.8).

In the text, with the signatures of Carlos Flores and Oriol Bohigas (22), the progressive genealogy of Spanish architecture

was reaffirmed, which –as Gregotti underlined in the editorial– interpreted history from a dimension which was primarily «political», standing in radical opposition to the architecture customarily produced during the dictatorial regime in course.

Ricardo Bofill associated with these reflections, but from programmatically dissonant opinions: manifesting, in fact, perplexity about the importance that the concept of «realism» might come to have in the profession; on the other hand, he praises popular architecture, unfortunately destroyed by tourist speculation, considering *Modernisme* as the last valid moment of Catalanian history, in its role of artistic manifestation of a rich and educated industrial bourgeoisie; at the same time, he would belittle, in some aspects, the work of the rationalist group in the 30s.

Their small postulates were only the collection and vulgarization of some ideas which are more or less trendy abroad [...]. Gaudí and Sert were not really at the same level and when judging it we will have to make up great distances of quality (23).

Bofill, still consolidating the binuclear interpretative scheme (Madrid / Barcelona), introduced a critical vein in relation to the excessive common sense existing in the positions from Barcelona, denouncing the excessive present dependence on the international models spread in the «fashionable» publications.

The architects from Barcelona are influenced and many times copy not from the realization but from specialised magazines and books that come from Italy, Finland and countries with some characteristics more similar to Catalonia [...] In Spain there have never been schools. [...] The Spanish architect is more mystic and creative than intelligent and critic... [see note 23]

The absence of a pronounced «critic» nature, in the local context, is also highlighted by Beatriz de Moura and Juan Antonio Solans:

[illegible]

	Frontera	1	Vicentino Gregotti
◀ Sobre la situación actual de la arquitectura en España		6	Carlos Frías, Oriol Belaguer
Fuerzas motrices de la arquitectura moderna española		14	Ricardo Ballús
Obras de los arquitectos: Almayer, Buffel, Kuskopff, Boeri, Calveras, Carrascón, Colchoca, Corralva Guzmán, Corvín, Góngui, Gómez Riquelme, Horta, Pala, Fernández Añia, Giráldez Busto, Higueras, Jirganev de Oroz, López Hija, Paskov, Marmorek, Reuter, Puigdomènech, Wells, Herra, Martínez Peña, Paragall, José Tourné, Ribera, Rueda de Oza, Sierra Mesa, Sureda Pages, Tena Cortés, Vinyals, Ruiz de Ocaña, Viqueira Meléndez, Winkler		49	
Situación actual y problemas actuales de la arquitectura		121	Fernández Añia
Estructura profesional		128	Eduardo Minguela
La prensa y la crítica		137	Borja de Mesa, Joaquín Antonio Salazar
La planificación urbanística en España		146	Manuel Ribera
La utilización de la vivienda en España		157	Ricardo González
La enseñanza de arquitectura en España		167	Néstor Correa

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[Fig. 7] *Zodiac*, 1965, n. 15.
[Fig. 8] V. Gregotti, 'Premisa', *Zodiac*, 1965, n. 15.
[Fig. 9] Index of the magazine *Zodiac*, 1965, n. 15.

[The publications are] devoid, in most cases, of any coherent critical judgment and reduced to a simple informative task. [...] Truly, there is no critique of architecture, perhaps precisely because there is a lack of coherent and conscious architecture. And without critique, the sense of participation and responsibility of individuals in the configuration of a democratic society is totally annulled (24).

In February 1967, the new school of design EINA, convened a clandestine meeting with a group of Italian intellectuals, the *Gruppo 63* (25), formed by twenty five authors, mainly of literary background, among whom were Umberto Eco, Gillo Dorfles and Vittorio Gregotti; however, in the local representation, much more heterogeneous, were – amongst architecture professionals, Ricardo Bofill, Oscar Tusquets, Federico Correa, Lluís Domènech and Oriol Bohigas. In the program, «Presentations about Literature, about Art and Architecture» were planned, as well as cinematographic screenings (*Circles* by R. Bofill (26) and *La caza* by C. Saura). In relation to Art and Architecture, the speeches were organised in the following way: A. Cirici Pellicer, «El arte en la situación actual en España»; O. Bohigas, «Breve resumen histórico desde el Modernismo hasta hoy»; followed by an open debate between U. Eco and G. Dorfles and a presentation by V. Gregotti: «Problemática arquitectónica y urbanística en la situación italiana» (27).

On the part of the Catalonians, there was great curiosity and expectation for the multi-disciplinary experiences, presented by the Italians and developed in a definitely more favourable climate in comparison to the Francoist obscurantism. In this respect, it is necessary to point out that whereas the clandestineness of the meeting in Barcelona prevented, of course, any public reflection of what happened. It would only be in the Italian press where some reviews appeared, more inclined to highlight the disconformities between the Italian and the Catalan cultural circles (28).

A few years later, Beatriz de Moura, who had also been the main promoter of the meeting with *Gruppo 63*, proposed to Bohi-

gas to keep practising the experience gained in the *Pequeños Congresos* and other types of «informal» meetings, not academic, with the aim of organising new occasions for meetings and looking more deeply into the current issues of the debate:

[I can disclose]...a work proposal for a limited meeting of architects from Barcelona, Madrid, San Sebastian, Portugal and Milan. During this meeting they would talk about the *specific experience of the personal work of an architect*, of the possibilities that each one has discovered in the use of *architectonic language* in relation to favouring a change in the order of established values. [...] We put a special emphasis on the fact that the analysis of the possibilities of favouring a change is limited to the architectonic language, precisely because it is where those possibilities are hardly seen (29).

Indeed, some essays by Umberto Eco, mainly *Obra Abierta* (in Spanish in 1965) and *Apocalípticos e integrados ante la cultura de masas* (1968) (30), seems to have been assimilated by the context of Barcelona. In the first book, the epistemological field of contemporary culture is described in its role of constitutionally multi-form territory and inhibitor of any interpretative unilaterality; the second, details the field of a semiological interpretation that sees cultural phenomenon expressed by languages that belong for their nature to the world of communication, therefore being subjected to a process of inevitable codification. Also architecture, in consequence, despite its prevailing *functional* quality, would be analysed as a communicative act as well, as a phenomenon that is articulated according to the double valences of «significant» and «significate», with the named connoting functions destined to cover an importance of the first order in the media transmissions of projectual language (31).

In 1969 Bohigas would publish *Contra una arquitectura ad-jetivada*, a central contribution for the undeniable identification of current parameters; a text in which can be highlighted —amongst others— the influence exercised by the theoretical re-

flection of Vittorio Gregotti, who had previously published, in 1966, his important study: *Il Territorio dell'architettura*, where we find apodictic statements of the type: «We will never revolutionise society through architecture, but we can revolutionise architecture; and this, precisely, is what we must do» (32). Definitely –as Bohigas would confirm in his text– it would be about outlining a «reformed» architecture in relation to the dogmatic functionalism of the past, in search of a renovated and more operative identity (33).

When in 1968 the first historiographic synthesis of the architectonic production of the time was also published, produced from Barcelona (Lluís Domènech, *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*), in the prologue Bohigas, after the inevitable awareness of being immersed in a national condition of underdevelopment, wished an emancipation only possible from a position of «committed vanguard», significant for its explicitly ant-establishment postures in relation to the *status quo*.

In the text written by the only foreigner invited –Vittorio Gregotti– a peculiar condition of the Spanish architecture is reaffirmed, mainly focused on a notably «realist» conduct:

Overall, the Spanish architectural culture shows little impulse towards utopia, towards the unachievable study, towards theoretical exercising. It is not like in other nations where the most interesting lies, above all, in the projects (34).

Gregotti, moreover, wants to limit the easy comparisons with Italian architecture; emphasising that, in any case, temporary discrepancies are present in the respective events, so that any analogy should be limited to purely superficial aspects. Perhaps the only aspect that might allow an association between the two countries would just be their intrinsic «incapacity» to play an active role in the international architecture of the time:

Perhaps the similarity is born from the shared fact of not resigning oneself to perform a provincial role in the international culture and in the common incapacity of really performing it (35).

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[Fig. 11] Index of the magazine *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*, 1970, n. 171.



[Fig. 12] Double page of the article by B. de Moura, «Eretici di Barcellona e loro eresie», rivista *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*, 1970, n. 171.

[Fig. 13] O. Bohigas, «Una posible "Escuela de Barcelona"», rivista *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*, 1970, n. 171.



Barcelona' non significa che si debba insegnare qualcosa, anzi il contrario: significa allargare i campi, le conoscenze ed i contatti; significa ricerca e studio (39) (Fig. 12).

The author underlined the common priorities of this group of *eretici*, which Bohigas had already thought of giving the name of Escuela de Barcelona, as she exhaustively described in the present article in the same issue of the magazine (Fig. 13). In fact, towards the end of the 60s the appearance of a presumed Escuela de Barcelona was commented from several spheres – opposed to the less stimulant climate of Madrid – which had amongst its main parameters the literary community, as well as the contemporary cinematographic Escuela de Barcelona, formalised between 1967 and 1968 (40).

According to Xavier Sust everything was forged on the occasion of a trip to Amsterdam made by Bohigas, Clotet and Tusquets, during one of their journeys abroad:

The consideration of the works of the School of Amsterdam and of contemporary Dutch architects (Van Eyck, Bakema, and so on) made the group conclude the validity and profile of their own work along with the need to institutionalise somehow their own group. They chose the denomination Escuela de Barcelona in resemblance to the one in Amsterdam and the cinematographic one that existed with the same name in Barcelona. Beatriz de Moura, Tusquets' wife, was in charge of taking care of the promotion that had as its main objective the publication of works in magazines and bringing to Barcelona architects and theorists of architecture (41).

In any case, an authentic foundational contribution on the theme would be the text «A possible Escuela de Barcelona», published in the issue 118 (1968) of the magazine *Arquitectura*, in which Bohigas enumerated in detail the characteristics which could be hypothesized of the group (42). Significantly, when Bohigas published the text «A possible Escuela de Barcelona in

Italian», in the cited issue, and which serves as theoretical premise and identity for the works presented here, he adopted some slight modifications in the text referenced earlier; it opens with a paragraph dedicated to *L'architettura catalana oggi* and closes with the following considerations, trying to endorse a supposed unity of style in the *escuela*:

Va detto che in questo caso, l'unità di stile è stata raggiunta, sia perché le vie metodologiche sono le stesse o simili, sia, semplicemente, grazie a rapporti personali e professionali fra gli elementi del gruppo. [...] La coerenza quindi, è messa in rilievo tanto da quei risultato formali, che dal fatto che questi architetti si stanno autoformando in stretta convivenza (43).

The truth is that, despite some ambiguity in the definition of the strictly architectural questions, the proclamation tends more towards the acknowledgement of ways of life, shared and heterodox, radically anti-establishment when facing the regime and conventional behaviours, rather than towards the connection with particular disciplinary options (44); this synthetic vision and interpretation of the architectural production in Barcelona being more the presentation of a concluded cycle than a perspective of future, as Bohigas himself would admit:

Vint i sis pàgines molt denses que resumien molt bè el punt dolç de l'Escola de Barcelona, el qual es podia veure globalment perquè ja s'hi iniciava la dispersió cap a noves i diverses tendències. L'Escola era un episodi recent però ja gairebé històric. [...] L'any 70, per tant, l'any de la publicació del número de *L'Architettura*, la revisió del moviment modern començava a obrir-se amb camins nous i, per tant, el que s'hi resenyava era ja un cicle complet i entenedor (45).

Nuno Portas and the Spanish influence on housing policies during the democratic transition

Paulo Tormenta Pinto, with Ana Brandão and Sara Silva Lopes

After the outbreak of the Carnation Revolution of 25th of April 1974, the democratic transition in Portugal corresponded to an intensive period of architectural debate, associated to the international dissemination of the Portuguese production (1). Housing programs were the main issue addressed by a new generation of architects committed to the ideals of the Revolution, being an important argument to mobilize people to the revolutionary process.

Nuno Portas (1934) became part of the first three Provisional Governments after the Revolution, as Secretary of State for Housing and Urban Planning, developing policies to encourage the active participation of citizens in the construction of their own habitats, seeking to overcome the gaps that existed at the time in the field of housing. In this context he fostered the creation of housing cooperatives and local support offices (GAT) (2). His greatest contribution in this governmental position was the creation of Local Ambulatory Support Service (SAAL) (3), a unique initiative that has indelibly marked the course of Portuguese architecture and public housing policies.

The program, which was available between 1974 and 1976, aimed at the constitution of neighborhood associations to work with the architects to build new houses in the same areas as they

were living at the time. Architects were involved with communities assuming a social meaning in their practice, which at the time configured the theoretical bases of architecture as a discipline. The SAAL Program catalyzed 169 operations, distributed from the north to the south of Portugal, which resulted in about 8.000 dwellings (4).

Nuno Portas' political activity was an opportunity to experiment on the ground with the ideas and the research he had been doing since his final thesis, presented at the Porto School of Fine Arts, in 1959. The document entitled *Social Housing: Proposal for its Architecture Methodology* (5) had been supervised by Adérito Sedas Nunes (1928-1991), a prominent sociologist, who had provided him with the interest in social issues and a particular reading about the role of architects, when confronted with the problems of cities, in an epoch of new challenges resulting from the world economic shift, in the aftermath of the Second World War. The document, derived from the survey of different housing typologies produced by the architects of the modern movement, expanded the capacity of housing organizations to adapt to different family patterns. Social analysis was highlighted as broadening the disciplinary field of architecture, on the part of social sciences.

Portas's sense of renovation in architecture was anchored by his interest in the culture of southern Europe and by his fascination for the neorealism movement in cinema, which had inspired his position as editor of the *Arquitectura* magazine, since 1957. It is on this basis that he built a critical judgment on the orthodoxy of the modern movement, which he opposed, at first from a neo-realistic position, founded on the passion for cinema by Roberto Rossellini, Vittorio De Sica and Luchino Visconti and later through hermeneutics which, incorporating the conviction of the open work, relativizes the abstract protagonist of forms, privileging concrete responses to the needs of society.

From 1962 until 1974, when he assumed government functions, Nuno Portas coordinated the Research Centre for

Architecture, Housing and Urban Planning at the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering (LNEC) (6). At the Laboratory, he researched into the organizational structures of spaces, family aggregates constitution and its variation according to different life typologies. Those sociological studies, bordering on the discipline of architecture, incorporated computer resources, available at the time, allowing the definition of patterns, and the creation of matrix understood logics previously perceived at the empirical level. In this period, he expanded his international network, sharing experiences, namely in Brazil with Carlos Nelson dos Santos (1943-1989), in Peru with John Turner (1927) and in England with Leslie Martin. His participation and involvement, from 1967, in the Small Congresses of Architecture (7) would be a decisive moment, which allowed him to strengthen relations namely with Oriol Bohigas (1925).

Two months after his taking office as Secretary of State for Housing and Urban Planning, Nuno Portas met in Lisbon a set of figures linked to housing and city issues. The meeting was held on the 22nd and 23rd of June 1974. During that weekend Bernardo Secchi (1934-2014), Jordi Borja (1941), Manuel de Solà-Morales (1939-2012), Manuel Castells (1942), Marcial Echenique (8) (1943) and Paolo Ceccarelli (1934), debated strategies and policies to tackle the shortage of housing in a complex context that included both the announced avalanche of popular actions claiming better housing conditions, as well as the real estate crisis resulting from the financial instability of the country (9).

Despite the pressure resulting from the revolutionary events, that had led to the illegal occupation of public neighbourhoods, particularly those that belong to the Lisbon and Oporto municipality, Portas felt the understandable need to ponder rigorously and with distance the general lines of the policy to be followed. Between the 25th of Abril and 1st of May, right after the *coup d'état*, almost one thousand houses in Lisbon were taken over by families that lived in slums, re-rented rooms, or similar situations. If some of those events resulted from a spontaneous process,

there were others that resulted from an organized process conducted by political parties (10). Nevertheless, Portas considered the illegal occupation as 'a drop in the ocean' once the real housing needs in the capital were estimated at almost one hundred and thirty thousand houses.

For Portas and his multidisciplinary circle, constituted by architects, urban planners, economists, geographers and sociologists (11), Portugal's situation was seen as the right opportunity to implement and test the ideas they had been debating both from the ideological and technical point of view. From the ideological side, it was a perfect occasion to involve and empower common people in the process of change, taking advantage of the communities' association capacity and the know-how of the construction workers that in the many cases integrated the family nuclei being rehoused. From the technical side, it should be seen as a scientific issue, following the research work produced in the several urban laboratories to which they were connected.

Bernardo Secchi belonged to the Istituto Lombardo di Studi Economici e Sociali (ILSES) and at the time was professor of Economy of the Territory at the Ancona Faculty of Economics, working in the relationship between urban planning and economic planning. Paolo Ceccarelli had been working as researcher in urban studies at the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, in the 1960s, before starting his activity as professor of urban planning at Venice University.

Marcial Echenique had done his Ph.D in Barcelona, producing a thesis about the barracks at Montjuic (12), where he developed a systemic survey on the precarious housing that spread over the topography of the hillside of Montjuic, in Barcelona at the end of the 1950s, where people lived in precarious conditions, without electricity and water supply. The survey included an analytical study of some of these homes based on the design of examples, as well as a detailed sociological study of the families who lived there. In 1968, he had been integrated into the Centre for

Land Use and Built Form Studies in Cambridge (LUBFS), where he was in charge of the «Urban Systems Study» project, between 1967 and 1973 (13). The study aimed at providing a computer aid to evaluate urban structure plans and a context for action area proposals in medium-sized towns.

Manuel de Solà-Morales studied architecture and economics in Harvard, in the Masters in City Planning, coordinated by Josep Lluís Sert. He founded the Laboratory of Urbanism of Barcelona (LUB) (14), as a unit of the Department of Urbanism of the School of Barcelona, in 1968, following the inspiration of LUBFS Studies, which he had visited together with Nuno Portas. The initial work of LUB was based on the studies of the form of urban growth interpreting the specific processes of the city's physical production and the way the various agents intervene in it. Special attention is given to the analysis of informal and self-built areas. Similar studies, uniting architects and social scientists, will be conducted in Portugal relating to the large urban areas around Lisbon and Oporto cities.

Manuel Castells, as a sociologist, opened the field to social sciences. He had been a researcher of the Laboratory of Industrial Sociology in Paris, from 1965 to 1967. At the time he was the director of the Seminar for Urban Sociology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales of Paris.

Finally, Jordi Borja had studied law, geography, and sociology. In 1972, he had also founded the Centro de Estudios Urbanos, Municipales y Territoriales (CEUMT), a collective that resulted from a close collaboration between the cities of Madrid and Barcelona. Very active in the debate around urban social movements, Jordi Borja (together with Ricard Boix) authored an article about the Portuguese case, in an issue of the Spanish magazine *Jano Arquitectura* dedicated to that topic (15), gathering experiences from France, United Kingdom, Italy and Portugal. Titled «Urban movements in Portugal», it described the revolutionary and post-revolutionary political process, the housing crisis and demands and social movements for housing (16).

Nuno Portas as vehicle to promote exchange between Portugal and Spain

From the aftermath of the World War II, until the 1960s, the relationship between Portugal and Spain, in terms of architecture was almost non-existent. However, despite the different realities of the two countries at the time, there were some common points. On one hand both dictatorships of Oliveira Salazar and Francisco Franco had resisted anachronistically in the scenario of the new world order. On the other hand, the conviction that nationalism produced a superficial representation of each country's identity was considered a limitation on the cultural sectors, including the architects.

This second aspect had motivated Portuguese architects to produce the survey on Popular Architecture (17), between 1955 and 1961 as scientific research about the vernacular buildings' characterization and its relationship with the territory. This initiative, led by Francisco Keil do Amaral, involving teams spread around the regions from north to the south of the country, was in a certain sense parallel to the enchantment of the «Mediterraneanism» discussed in the neighboring country. The pavilion of Spain, commissioned by Gio Ponti to José Antonio Coderch for the Triennale of Milan, in 1951, can be mentioned as a result of this, revealing the potentialities of the «uncontaminated» and resilient environment structured by the singularity of stripped architectures produced through the empirical knowledge of people.

In the 1960s the exchange between the two countries was resumed, being intensified until the democratic transition, occurring in 1974 and 1975, respectively in Portugal and Spain. Architects had an important role in this process, debating paths to solve what was lacking, namely, in terms of housing access.

The Portuguese *Binário* magazine published articles, in October 1960 and April 1961, respectively by Cesar Ortiz-Echagüe and Rafael Echaide, revealing in the western Iberian Peninsula the debate that was happening in Spain at the time.

The lengthy article by Ortiz-Echagüe entitled «40 years of Spanish Architecture» (18), was written in the sequence of the first Small Congress of Architecture, held in Madrid one year before, on the 14th to 16th of November. The article disclosed the production of an «orphan new generation», challenged to overcome misconceptions of nationalism and to recover the interrupted experiences of the GATEPAC (19). Six months after, Rafael Echaide would continue the subject, in the 31st issue of the same magazine, publishing a set of recently built projects by Ortiz-Echagüe, Barbero and Joya; Lopes Inígo, Gerales and Subias; Martorel and Bohigas; Coderch and Valls; Peña Gancequi; and Miguel Fisac (20).

Following those articles, Spanish architecture started to feature, more recurrently, also in the *Arquitetura* magazine. From 1957 to 1974, Nuno Portas would participate in the directive commissions for the 3rd series of that magazine (21). He would use the magazine, not only to reveal the Spanish «orphan new generation» in Portugal, but also as a vehicle to promote exchange between both countries.

From the side of Spain this period also corresponds to a reciprocal interest about what was happening in Portugal. The *Hogar y Arquitectura* (22), a magazine from Madrid directed by Carlos Flores, dedicated the issue of January/February 1967 to Álvaro Siza's first projects. The issue included also a critical review about Siza's production by Pedro Vieira de Almeida (1933-2011), and a reflection about the young generation of Portuguese architects, which, in a certain sense, could also be considered as the Iberian neighbor's «orphan generation».

Under Nuno Portas's editorial influence, the *Arquitetura* magazine dedicated the 73rd issue of December 1961, almost entirely to Coderch and Valls (23). Coderch and Valls' work represented the sense of realism that Portas was looking for in his own architecture, as in the houses in Vila Viçosa, Praia das Maças and Sesimbra. A sort of third way, which recognized the sense of place, the inspiration of popular knowledge but rejected both historicisms and the modern movement orthodoxy.

The unexplored Mediterranean environment, that hosted Coderch and Valls' architecture, in the end, had the same characteristics that Portas had found both in the landscape integrity of Alentejo's interior, or in the proximity to the Atlantic coast. Those experiences contained the ethical bases that he would later adapt in his policies to face housing scarcity. According to his strategy, the housing urgency could be solved with communities' resources, through the production of an anonymous architecture, in line with Coderch's thought, expressed in the text «It's not geniuses we need now» (24), also published together with the work of the Catalan pair, in 1961 (25). The Coderch and Valls team would be published again in the May/June 1966 issue, with the presentation of a hotel in Palma de Mallorca.

In April 1967, Oriol Bohigas invited Nuno Portas to participate in the 8th edition of Small Congresses of Architecture, scheduled for May of the same year in Tarragona. Bohigas and Carlos de Miguel were trying to extend the network to Portugal (26), as they had since 1961. The subject of congress, organized by the group from Barcelona, was called «The grouping of the dwelling: Study of the border territory between urbanism and architecture». The congress was opened with a conference by Aldo Rossi, who had recently launched his book, titled *L'Architettura della Città* (27), in 1966 (28).

Portas left Tarragona in charge of organizing the 9th edition of the Congress in Portugal, which would take place in Tomar in December 1967. The congress followed the same organization as the previous one, under the theme of «Residential Zones: Common Territory of Architecture and Urbanism». Despite the mobilization of Iberian architects to the initiative of Small Congresses of Architecture, only one more edition would happen, in Vitoria, in October of 1968 (29).

After the venture of Small Congresses of Architecture, the issue 107 of *Arquitectura* magazine of January/February 1969 (30), opened with an editorial written by Nuno Portas and Rafael Moñeno about the so-called «Escuela de Barcelona». Although Barcelona and Catalonia had prominence in *Arquitectura* magazine, oth-

er characters and territories were also addressed. In May/June 1965, two proposals for the Euro-Kursaal competition in San Sebastian were published, in the issue 88. Sainz Oiza was also published in January/February 1967. In March/April 1968 it was the turn of Arancil, Suarez-Inclan and Vitoria Garcia. In May/June of the same year, the square of Sanfermino and the Diester Factory in Zaragoza, by Rafael Moneo were also published (31).

Despite the *Arquitectura* magazine's 3rd series extending to 1974 the last issue dedicated to Spain would occur in May/June of 1970, marking a turning point in the critical approach regarding the neighboring country. A somber tone marked the pages of the issue, filled with photographs of gloomy low-cost housing blocks. Articles by Ramon Maria Puig and Lluís Domènech and Cristian Cirici addressed a general pessimistic feeling, followed by Oriol Bohigas. Three articles were dedicated to the new Barcelona airport, illustrated in cartoonish style, combining images of modern discomfort with words such as «completely depressing» and «liberal». Oscar Tusquets concluded the issue, reflecting about the relations between «imagination» and «power», featuring the economic liberalization of Spain in the last period of the Francoist regime (32).

The situation in Spain mirrored what was happening in Portugal in the same period, particularly in the cycle led by Marcelo Caetano as Salazar's successor. Between 1968 and 1974, the colonial war economy and an openness to foreign investment created a suitable environment for a sudden increase in the building industry in Portugal, namely in the areas of housing, tourism development, and infrastructure (33).

Joan Antonio Solans and the role of architects on urban change during the revolutionary process

Joan Antonio Solans' interest about Portugal had begun in his pre-university course, before starting his degree as architect at the School of Architecture of Barcelona. At the time the course

included subjects related to Sociology and Portugal. This experience had dictated his later path in urban planning at the municipality of Barcelona and also at the Catalanian government.

In his undergraduate experience, Solans devoted himself to drawing up the census of barracks of Montjuic. The contact to a similar scenario in Portugal had consequences. Right after his graduation, he was invited to participate in the Review of the Master Plan for the Lisbon Region, between 1972 and 1974, until the Carnation Revolution, analyzing the dynamics of soil transformation in the metropolitan area (34). The plan, coordinated by the Directorate-General for Urbanization Services, defined, in 1961 (35), the concept of Lisbon Metropolis, as a territorial entity, socially diversified, and functionally dependent on the city of Lisbon. Completed in 1964, it sought to counter Lisbon's centralism by implementing a regionalist strategy that could correct the «urban effects of the disorderly expansion of the capital's suburbs» (36). Never fully implemented, the plan entered a revision process.

In Solan's study, land use changes were characterized and quantified throughout the 1960s, from rural land to prospect land and land with urban use. It was clear that an extensive and rapid transformation was taking place, far beyond the real needs of demographic growth, without urban structuring and without any planning and land management framework. The growth resulted from the migratory movements of rural population to the urban centers. At the time, the population increase extrapolated to the Lisbon Region, implied the necessity to build «125,000 new dwellings» (37). This study also showcased the importance for Solans of the diagnosis and urban analysis, also shared by Portas at the LNEC research. In an interview conducted by Portas in 1982, Solans highlighted the importance of these analyses for understanding the «urban reality» (Fig. 1), decomposing and analyzing its several components and, only then, setting actions and regulations to manage future transformation.

In 1974, Solans greeted the arrival of Portas to government in an article published in issue 2 of *Arquitecturas Bis* magazine,

from July, titled «Portugal and its Future» (38) (Fig. 2). The article was followed by an interview with Portas himself, entitled *Portas to Power* (39), republished from the Portuguese *O Século* newspaper, from 12th of June 1974.

The title of Solans' editorial was retired because of the inconvenient book written by António de Spínola (*Portugal e o Futuro*) (40), published on 22nd of February 1974 (two months before the Revolution). Spínola was the former governor of the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau and would lead the National Salvation Board (41), right after the Revolution (42). In that book, he defended a political solution, and not a military one, as the only way out after 13 years of the Overseas War. Spínola's inspiration was also used by Manuel de Solà-Morales in an article published



[Fig. 1] Lisboa 1972-1974. Choropleth map. Density distribution of the Lisbon Region. «Nuno Portas interviews Joan Antoni Solans». *Quaderns d'arquitectura i urbanisme*. 1982, n. 154.



[Fig. 2] Page of *Arquitecturas Bis* issue featuring the articles «Portugal and its Future» y «Portas to Power». *Arquitecturas Bis*. 1974.

in the same issue of *Arquitecturas Bis*, addressing the approval of the Barcelona County Plan, which he entitled as «Spinola in Barcelona?» (43), comparing the process to the new political situation in Portugal.

Solans started his article, mentioning the new perspectives that were opened up by the political change in Portugal to produce new architecture and building the city. After the «popular party» of the Revolution, it was necessary to consider a new social balance and a new social pact to overcome unpredicted issues related with decolonization and with the inevitable economic crisis. The definition of a political matrix to be followed was dependent on the new constitutional text that was not written yet. Nevertheless, it should be considered that the peculiar urban structure of Portugal, integrating middle classes and military, required pon-

dered decisions, especially in the capital, where important changes could come.

Solans argued that «the influence of certain people, who were on the ‘dead side’ with previous regime, in terms of physical building planning» could be more determinant, than the action of political parties, or even exiled politicians concerned to avoid «counter-reactions» (44).

Personalities such as the architect Nuno Teotónio Pereira and the economist Pereira Moura (1925-1998) were highlighted in the article, due to their involvement in «preparation of urgent measures to structure the bases of the new government» (45).

Teotónio Pereira (1922-2016) led a young generation of architects (46), including Portas who had initiated his practice supervised by him, in 1957. His office in Lisbon, at *Alegria* street (47), was a kind of school, where opposition ideological principles were debated. At the moment of the Revolution, Teotónio Pereira was arrested in Caxias accused of conspiracy, and then released, with the other political prisoners, on the second day after the event (Fig. 3). In the transition period, Teotónio Pereira maintained his political activity, namely as militating in the Left Socialist Movement (MES) (48), although without any governmental position. Pereira Moura, for his part, would become minister in the first and fifth provisional governments for social affairs.

Demographic aspects and urban sprawl were for Solans the most important issues to be reversed in terms of planning. On one side, there was the emigration and low rates of natality (49), on the other, there was urban speculation and the waste of urban land under clandestine buildings and second residences. The situation in Lisbon was complex, the need for accessible and qualified houses, the lack of employment, generating emigration fluxes to the center of Europe, the growth of slums, and co-housing, or over-occupation. The impact of emigration had such magnitude that it shattered the demographic balance. Lisbon had lost 1.400.000 inhabitants in one decade, which had broken the balance in the ratio of sex-



[Fig. 3] Caxias, 1974. Release of N. T. Pereira, political prisoner.
Noticiário Nacional 1974. Arquivo RTP – Rádio Televisão Portuguesa.

es (50). The economy was stagnating, enhancing deep social deprivation.

In the last years of the regime, under the Marcelo Caetano presidency, there had been a certain increase in the acquisitive power of the population resulting from «development» measures, which had been translated in the demand for second residences and the remittance payments from emigrants seeking stability and forecast for a hypothetical return, which had generated the growth of suburban areas by the replication of indistinctive housing blocks, so called «land bottlers».

Facing the situation, Solans considered that the resolution of the problems «will be delicate, because it should affect necessarily the high bourgeoisie and the grand capital that was supporting real estate operations». According to himself, «there were no other possibilities to drive the capital to productive development», with the role of the architects relevant, because they had to answer to the demand for social well-being, under conditions of the insolvency of a large part of this population.

Solan's expectations, in the end, were convergent with Portas and his circle. That is, «the events in Portugal would make it possible to promote an interesting process, and maybe the first examples of 'architecture' in self-construction in Europe», with innovative solutions, beyond the resource limitations, and the opposition of some economic sectors. Concluding with a mention of a time of novelty and beauty, related to an «evolution that was not in continuity».

Manuel Castells and expectations about the new society

When the Revolution happened in Portugal, Manuel Castells had previously published, in 1972, his book *The Urban Question* (51), where he contrasted Lefebvrian concepts of space production, to the idea of an urban system that can be divided in its three facets: economic, political and ideological. The city as the space for the reproduction of work power, should provide through the public services (schools, hospitals, housing) the conditions to reach the development of communities, taking into account their symbolic expectations.

In this sense, the empowerment of Portuguese population, and their participation in the reconstruction of their own «urban system», was something that generated Manuel Castells' enthusiasm. The exclusive interview with Nuno Portas that he did, in late 1974, was a sort of «manifesto» mirroring the expectations he had about the new social organization, promoted by the housing measures, defined by the provisional government under the orientation of its Secretary of State for Housing and Urban Planning.

Castells directed the interview to the political aspect stating that the challenge should not be only to solve housing crisis, but the articulation of housing policies towards the economic situation of the country, and the available assets to face the problems. According to Portas about 70% of the population did not have access to the private real estate market and was the reason why they

depended on a public housing policy. A high fraction of the Portuguese population was in insolvency, due to the real estate speculation pursued by the banking sector.

The lack of State resources made it difficult to solve the problem, through intervention. According to Portas, namely in social sectors, such as public health, education and social security, it would be necessary, to carry out a fiscal reform to increase public resources. In parallel, rising rental prices, should be frozen, to avoid contracts inaccessible to tenants and also to «block» the interest of capital in real estate, seen as a privileged area of profitability —«homes should be seen as an essential good, non-commercial» (52).

On the other hand, it was necessary to control the economic measures' impact on the small and medium construction companies, due to their fragile situation, maybe they could not support the policies, the intention of the government being to bring all its forces to act essentially on the monopolist corporations. Referring to the SAAL program, Portas mentioned that a political and technical operation was under preparation, involving the subproletariat that was available in the urban areas. People were able to pay rents adjusted to their income, the lowest category corresponding to 25% of the minimum wage. The Cooperative sector should also be expanded, taking advantage of the revolutionary popular mobilization.

Ten years later in, 1984, Manuel Castells commented on the Portuguese Housing Policies from the democratic transition period, in the book *The Scope of Social Architecture*, edited by Richard C. Hatch. Castells tackled three main issues —Participation, Politics and Spatial Innovation. The SAAL program in Portugal, together with interventions in Bologna and Madrid, were used as main examples, and as the most innovative cases of urban participation in Europe. Castells reinforced the importance of social strength to balance capital and the State, this being decisive to generate architectonic creativity on a big scale. The edition also included an article by Nuno Portas recounting the *SAAL and the Urban Revolution in Portugal*, illustrat-

ed with images of the interventions in Lisbon—in the neighborhood of Curraleira—and Oporto—in the neighborhoods of São Vítor, Antas and Leal. Portas explained the program and the housing policy followed by himself, as Secretary of State for Housing and Urban Planning, between 1974 and 1976, focusing on the active role of architects, and the multidisciplinary so called SAAL Brigades, that integrated engineers, sociologists and students. The participative role the communities was also mentioned, as well as the solutions adopted, and the financing strategy.

The Curraleira intervention (Fig. 4), designed by José António Paradela and Luis Gravata Filipe, was highlighted and dissected as a case study, demonstrating the success of the SAAL program, coming from user's involvement. Following Manuel Castells, «only if people control the city, will cities actually be built by people».



[Fig. 4] Page of the chapter «SAAL/Currleira Lisbon, Portugal», from the book *The Scope of Social Architecture*. HATCH, Richard. (ed.). *The social scope of architecture*. United Kingdom: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1984.

Conclusion

The interest of Spanish architects and social scientists in the Portuguese revolution and urban movements, is deeply expressed in the issue 30 of *CAU: Construcción, Arquitectura, Urbanismo* magazine, titled «Portugal, Año Cero» (53) (Fig. 5), entirely dedicated to the description of the urban and housing problems in the democratic transition period, as well as the main aspects of the policies being implemented.

The presentation of the issue signals the novelty and the exceptionality of the Portuguese revolution, explaining the interest in the neighboring country that until then had been mostly ignored, as the Spanish themselves hoped for a democratic transition. Likewise, the conflicts that emerged in the subsequent period were also seen as possible in that hypothetical future. However, the publication does not intend to establish similarities, not to make generic assumptions or inferences for one country based on the experiences of the other, but to learn (and learn by doing) from Portuguese case: «[...] the experiences of others not only help us to get to know them, but also to have points of reference in our own activity» (54). Therefore, the tone of the publication is set around the description of the main revolutionary and post-revolutionary events, but mainly portraying a country where the dictatorship left complex problems to solve: the lowest per capita income in Europe, low labor productivity, high emigration and alarming deficits in education, health, welfare, housing and infrastructure, and so on. Questioning how to address these issues and to overcome the many shortfalls in the process of (re)construction of a new society, the Portuguese revolution, is seen as a «kind of laboratory where many things are put to the test» (55).

In this showcase about the Portuguese case, several articles are authored by Portuguese architects, geographers, sociologists, mainly describing the socio-economic and urban context of the country, while others present the Spanish architects' viewpoint on the housing policies in place. This collaboration



[Fig. 5] Cover of CAU: *Construcción, Arquitectura, Urbanismo*. March/April 1975, n. 30.

and exchange of viewpoints is presented as fruitful and provides an exceptional opportunity to reflect on the ongoing Portuguese transformation from both sides.

Studies about Spanish heritage

A global history: the interpretations of Rosenthal and Kubler about Spanish heritage (1948-1957)

Carolina B. García-Estévez

Since the history of Spanish architecture started being a subject of study during the mid-18th century, it has been characterised by the choral attempts of its narrators, either to articulate a unitary account or to reconstruct the national identity from the idea of a past in constant process of reinvention. The first news about architects, appearing in the chronicles of Eugenio Llaguno or Ceán Bermúdez, constitute the first foundational stone of an artistic literature where Gothic, Mudejar or Plateresque acquire traces of identity under the newly-arisen attack of European nationalism. Similarly, the commission of the first thorough architectural journey to all the provinces of Spain in 1846 should be interpreted not only as a pioneer attempt to make public the monument heritage in Spain but also as an attempt to transform the experience of the traveller into knowledge. On the request of the Comisión Central de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos, José Caveda, José de Madrazo and Anibal Álvarez —a historian, a painter and an architect— started a task that would be collected in the *Ensayo histórico sobre los diversos géneros de Arquitectura empleados en España desde la dominación romana hasta nuestros días* (1848), whose narrative ambition has not been exceeded up to date.

The efforts of a whole generation of historians, amongst them the figures of Juan Facundo Riaño or Ramón Menéndez Pidal

stand out, along with the creation of the *Centro de Estudios Históricos* in 1910, would mark the course for the elaboration of the first Catalogue of Monuments in the provinces of Spain, endorsing Caveda's thesis about the existence of a unity of style, or chronological knots, that occur through time as principle of a multiple and disparate geography. Books like *Iglesias mozárabes: arte español de los siglos IX a XI* (1919) by Manuel Gómez-Moreno, or *Los grandes monasterios españoles* (1920) by Vicente Lampérez, followed this reasoning. A tendency that had its zenith in the policies of heritage diffusion defended by the dictatorship, with publishing companies like that headed by Pablo Gutiérrez and his magazine *Arquitectura Española / Spanish Architecture* (1923-1928), or the celebration of the great exhibition *El Arte en España* (1929) with the occasion of the Barcelona International Exhibition. Thanks to the latter, the first comprehensive international monographs would follow, like *History of Spanish Architecture* (1938) by Bernard Bevan, or the monographic studies by Harold E. Wethey about the figure of Diego de Siloe, which joined the long list of contributions that annotated medieval architecture since the text by George Weise, *Spanische Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten* (1925).

Paradoxically, the intervention guidelines of the Francoist cultural policy were aligned with the continuist dynamics of the II Republic. This was highlighted by the intervention of the Cultural Relations Section from 1940, when it had a budget which allowed some capacity for manoeuvre (1). A clear intervention axis was already defined by its initial interest in Latin America, as well as the change that occurred in the first years of Francoism from natural interlocutors in Germany and Italy to strategic alliances with Britain and the USA from 1945. In the new bloc politics, the diffusion of Spanish architectural heritage played a major role in a whole new generation of Hispanists established in the USA, amongst whom stand out Earl E. Rosenthal (1921-2007) and George Kubler (1912-1996). Both of them constitute a diptych of special interest for our research, not only for the line of continuity created between their two study journeys to Spain, between 1948 and 1953, but also for their alleged specialization in two periods of history of Spanish architecture which are presented in correlation for the first time.

Geographies of the Renaissance in Rosenthal's journey to Spain

Earl E. Rosenthal showed from a very early age an unusual interest for Hispanic culture. Member of the Spanish Club of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee since 1942, he would graduate in the Art section of this university only a year later. After doing military service, he completed his studies in History of Art at the New York University under the supervision of Professor Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968), specialist in Catalonian mural paintings, a great friend of the historian Josep Gudiol (1904-1985), and founder of the Institute of Fine Arts in New York in 1932.

Finally, thanks to a grant from the Junta de Relaciones Culturales de Madrid—an organism under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rosenthal started a study journey to Spain in 1948. He would attend the Human Studies Section in the summer course at the Menéndez Pelayo International University in Santander, dedicated to Spanish Baroque, as was commented in the academic memoir of that year:

This Section, which follows the line marked by Menéndez Pelayo when he praised «the sublime usefulness of useless science», drew attention to the study of Spanish Baroque. The most varied and suggestive aspects of this period of our history were described and analysed for maximum excellence by a competent faculty, in which prominent humanists are included (2).

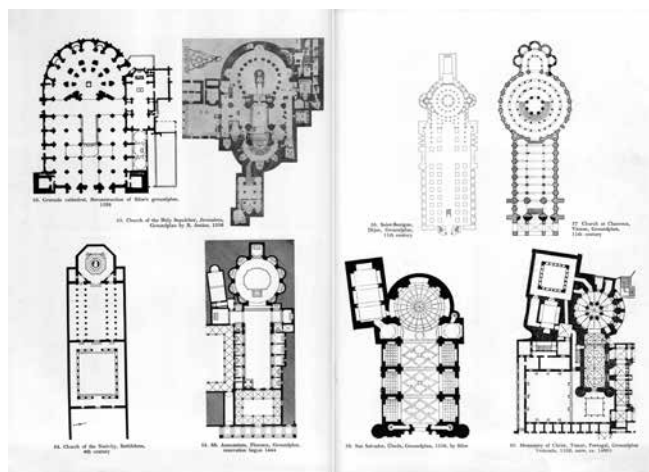
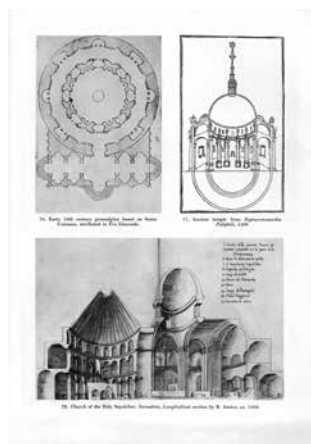
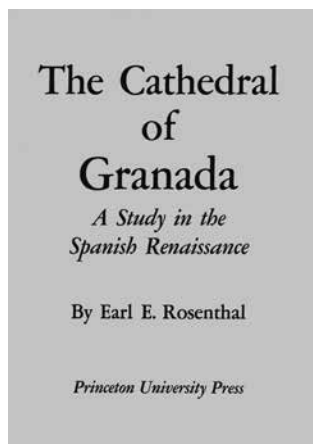
In the long list of professors, the master lectures of the Art historian Enrique Lafuente Ferraro or the philologist Ángel Valbuena Prat stand out. Besides Rosenthal, there were 13 students from USA and up to a total of 272 students from Austria, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, Denmark, Scotland, France, Holland, England, Italy, Portugal, Rumania, Sweden and Switzerland (Fig. 1). At the closing ceremony of the course, the students would receive a Diploma in Hispanic Studies. But Rosenthal's education did not finish there. On the 31st of August in the same year the historian

started a journey through the peninsula to know first-hand the architectural geography of a first Renaissance as transitional emblematic style with its high-medieval stonemason predecessors. The itinerary of the journey has been recently detailed through a concise list of the cities that define a choral geography which became knowledge, from Oviedo to Seville (3). During the same sojourn to the south, he would visit for the first time the Archive of the Cathedral of Granada. Getting a grant from the Fulbright Scholarship program (1949-50) allowed him to broaden his knowledge, visiting Italy and the enclaves that defined its interchange policy with Spain in those years, amongst which Naples and his visit to the Caracciolo Chapel in San Giovanni a Carbonara stand out, surely with a copy of the book written by Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Las águilas del Renacimiento español* (1941), under his arm. Rome, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Lecce, Paestum, Syracuse, Agrigento or Palermo, defined an itinerary which completed his knowledge of the Baroque from the summer course in 1948 (4).

All of this ended up constituting the base material on which Rosenthal built his doctoral thesis, dedicated to the Ca-



[Fig. 1] The visiting students of the summer course 1948 of the Menéndez Pelayo University in Santander. Earl E. Rosenthal appears in the photograph together with his fellows of the Humanities Section (sixth from the right).



[Fig. 2] Earl E. Rosenthal, *The Cathedral of Granada. A Study in the Spanish Renaissance*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961.

[Fig. 3] Interior page of the graphic annexe of Rosenthal's doctoral thesis, in which a genealogy of international referents of centralised plans in Christian culture is reconstructed: the mausoleum of Santa Constanza, circa. 340-345 B.C., in a drawing attributed to Fra Giocondo; the model of circular temple illustrated in *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1499; and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in a representation by B. Amico, circa. 1596.

[Fig. 4] Interior pages of the graphic annexe of Rosenthal's doctoral thesis, in which the articulation model between the body and the «head» of the Cathedral of Granada and the Sacred Chapel of El Salvador in Úbeda constitute an ample family of international referents: the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem; the Church of the Nativity, 4th century A.D.; Saint-Benigne in Dijon, 11th century A.D.; The Church in Charroux, Vienna, 11th century A.D.; the Santissima Annunziata of Florence, 1444; and the Convent of Christ in Tomar, Portugal, 1162-1490.

thedral of Granada, concocting a new scheme to understand this work for the first time from a global discourse. Directed by Cook at the NYU and defended in 1953, it would be published in 1961 by Princeton University Press with a few important documentary additions between the original manuscript and the final version (5) (Fig. 2). Rosenthal's contribution to the construction of this landscape of elective affinities transits between the linguist's philological rigour and the history of symbolism of images. In an effort by the American to understand the local tradition, the study notebooks of his doctoral thesis, dated between 1949 and 1950, reconstruct a common itinerary: Granada, Málaga, Guadix, Almería, Úbeda, Baeza, Jaén or Sevilla. From these antecedents, the structure of the thesis resolves the complexity of Diego de Siloe's project through a triptych well known at the time: 1) the 1528 project and its preceding Gothic design; 2) the «Roman style» and the assimilation of the roundabout, triumphal arch and basilica models; 3) and its iconographic program as migration of forms through time, whose origin would go back to the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem and the figure of the Anastasis (Resurrection) (Fig. 3–4).

Thanks to Rosenthal's study, the cathedral of Granada would appear in a series of international magazines specialising in heritage. In the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (JSAH), Rosenthal published for the first time his main work thesis in 1958 under an eloquent title: «A Renaissance 'Copy' of the Holy Sepulchre» (6). It would be followed by the text in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* the same year, where the author constellated a whole universe of symbolic images and their prevalence through different local contexts as carriers of a universal message (7). The temple is the tomb. An imperial architecture whose iconography would also be studied in the decade of the 70s within the pages of the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (8). At the same time, he would dictate conferences that would bring him back to our country, like the one given at the University of Granada on the 28th of March 1964, with a constant interest for the architecture of that city, getting to publish

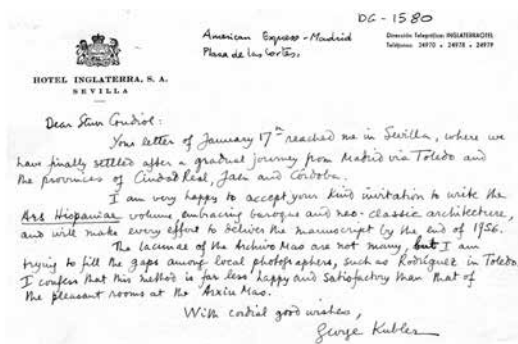
in the 80s his renowned, and not uncontroversial, monograph about the Palace of Charles V in the Alhambra (9).

The historian George Kubler would also contribute to this polemic, his review of Rosenthal's book in the JSAH questioned the unilaterality of the American's thesis:

The impression left by the book is as if Siloe had little connection with Spain; as if Granada cathedral were only incidentally related to other Spanish edifices, having its true relation more with Roman imperial and Italian buildings than with anything in Spain; and as if Siloe's other works were of little or no interest, other than to furnish an occasional support to the thesis in progress (10).

Kubler and shape of 17th and 18th centuries

It was Kubler himself who, in parallel to the writing of Rosenthal's doctoral thesis, visited Spain between 1952 and 1953 as Guggenheim Fellow. His journey pursued the US policy of cultural diffusion towards the southern latitudes, whether Latin America or the Iberian Peninsula, geographies on which to convey global frameworks of interpretation of culture and local heritage. As direct disciple of the historian Henri Focillon, Kubler's idea of medievalism and popular art were presented as a model of otherness towards modernity. In fact, the marginal character of the cultures in question —South America in relation to North America, and the Iberian Peninsula in relation to the North of Europe— would lead the historian to direct his attention towards the peripheral and incidental. Additionally, against Rosenthal's thesis, Kubler would understand architecture not as an artefact that belongs to a certain time, but rather as a series of elements which define the features of a particular family. This idea would allow him to look at history from a timeless perspective, like a network of extensive dynamics, instead of a stylistic sequence, something already out of date since Henrich Wölfflin's studies and the school of Vienna from the end of the 19th century.



[Fig. 5] G. Kubler, *Arquitectura de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, *Ars Hispaniae. Historia Universal del Arte Hispánico*, Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, vol. XIV, 1957.

[Fig. 6] Letter from George Kubler to Josep Gudiol from Hotel Inglaterra in Seville, in which he thanks the Catalanian for the commission of Volume XIV of the series *Ars Hispaniae*. Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic (IAAH): 5, 1957-1962: DG-1580, without date.

His numerous stays in Spain after 1953 would form the basis of the monograph *Arquitectura de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, published in 1957 as the XIV volume of the supreme collection *Ars Hispaniae*, from a translation by the poet Juan-Eduardo Cirlot (11) (Fig. 5). Thanks to the extensive documentation preserved at the Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic (IAAH), we can know the nature of Josep Gudiol's commission, as well as the interlocutors of the whole process of writing and editing which extended through the years 1956 and 1957 (12) (Fig. 6).

Guidol's relationship with the American culture of the time has recently been a subject of study, making evident the Catalanian's contacts with the director of Rosenthal's thesis, Walter W. S. Cook, on a pioneering trip to New York in 1930, in which he discovered the great photographic collections of the Frick and the Metropolitan. Both would become a motive of inspiration for some of his posterior catalogues, like the archive of Catalanian archeology (ADAC) or the ordering system of the glass sheets and negatives of the Arxiu Mas (IAAH) (13). Adolfo Mas had coincided with Cook before, in the summer of 1929, on the occasion of the celebration of the exhibition *El Arte en España* (1929), confirming the importance the exhibition achieved as recruiter of an inter-

national public (14). While in Gudiol's personal network Audrey McMahon, director of itinerant exhibitions of the College Art Association, stands out: a relationship that would open the doors of many exhibitions in the USA for him, as well as the path to a second stay in the American city in 1940 (15).

Gudiol's commission to Kubler had a double strategy. In the first place, to take as starting point the iconographic repertoire of the Arxiu Mas, a fund that the American would soon verify as insufficient to cover most of the architectures collected in his monograph: «I am trying to fill the gaps among local photographers, such as Rodríguez in Toledo. I confess that this method is far less happy and satisfactory than that of the pleasant rooms at the Arxiu Mas» (16). The photographers he referred to had illustrated the monographs and articles that went with him through his many stays for study. As an example, the book *Arquitectura barroca sevillana del siglo XVIII*, by Antonio Sancho Corbacho, published by the Instituto Diego Velázquez of the CSIC in 1952. As well as the texts by José Guerrero Lovillo about Sevilla published in Barcelona the same year (17).

The second strategy intended to overcome the local and fragmentary contributions of Spanish historians to offering another new global history. Taking as state of the art the international contributions of Otto Schubert in *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien* (1908), Oskar Jürgens in *Spanische Städte* (1926), and Georg Nie-meier in *Siedlung-geographische Untersuchungen in Niederandalusien* (1935), Kubler made a synthesis of a panoramic vision that encouraged the understanding of a period whose complexity resides in the polyphony of his microhistoric studies: Vicente Lampérez, Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Fernando Chueca Goitia, José Camón Aznar, José María de Azcárate or Manuel Chamoso Lamas are some of the voices that illuminated a new interpretation for travelers in those years (18). As an example, the renovated influence exercised by Chamoso Lamas and Azcárate in the discovery of Galician baroque architecture by the architect Aldo Rossi in his numerous travels to Spain in the decades of the 60s and 70s (19). To see from the outside, with new eyes. A common practice as can be deduced by

the frequent correspondence between Mas and Cook in the 30s, in which the American was informed of the new titles published by local historians like Gómez-Moreno or Lampérez (20).

In contrast to the interpretations offered by the official historiography from voices like Eugenio Llaguno's—who saw in the architecture of this period a sign of weakness—Kubler's thesis understands a history of forms as a correspondence between the economic development of the empire and its stylistic display, through four phases: the plateresque climax (1530-1560), the national adoption of post-Herrerian principles (1660-1680), the development of the «churrigueresque» style (around 1710-1750) and the appearance of neoclassicism.

The book would be printed on the 10th October 1957. The keys to interpret it are offered in the conclusions of the book, in one of the latest attempts to globalise the whole of Spanish architecture of a period. Taking as point of reference the manifest of Fernando Chueca, *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española* (1947), Kubler analysed the limitations of the «invariant» mathematical expression which confers unity to the chronological succession of Visigoth, Islamic, Romanesque and subsequent architectures: multiple space, crystalline mass and plain ornament far from any structural expression. Visual attributes that are too similar, as Kubler remembered, to the principles enunciated a decade before by Oscar Hagen, in his book *Patterns and Principles of Spanish Art* (1936). Against this thesis, Kubler defended the difference of an architecture which is recognised as half way between the French and Italian models:

Between Italy and France developed the forms of architectonic realization, but Spain seems to design in its trajectory the reaction to an ability of architectonic conception fundamentally different to the Italian and French. This «different ability» has been the subject of our book (21).

A difference which, as a diptych, the reader sees in the first pages of the introduction as a result of the disagreement of

the rhythms between the evolution curves of the Spanish economy from the end of the 16th century, and those which visualised the evolution of styles, whose quick pulse could only obey, in Kubler's words, the «autonomous conditions of the history of forms» (22). A thesis that wished to discredit the simplistic historiographic outlines dominated by the national interests of France, Germany and Italy which, taking as starting point an economy in recession, only saw in Spanish architecture the result of the crisis of what would be the first state in Europe based on a centralised and unitary administration.

Kubler's monograph was the first of a whole series of publications that would follow after the 1957 edition. Amongst them stands out *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800* (1959), along with Martín Soria, where that global attempt challenged Rosenthal's 16th century. The latter's review of Kubler's book we have reviewed completed in 1959 a correspondence of affinities and disagreements, whose value resides in the capability of putting together a new image from a puzzle, whose 285 pieces, detailed in the final index of the book, give account of the historian's efforts. Thus, Rosenthal's words about Kubler seem to close a circle, offering a first global and international interpretation of Spanish architectural heritage in contrast to the fragmentary, peripheral and local character that had characterised the studies of that period from Spain (23). One whose validity still is a cornerstone of the present historiography of that moment.

On Gaudí's double fortune: impostures and misunderstandings*

Juan José Lahuerta

When Gaudí died on the 10th of June 1926, fifteen days before his 74th birthday, three days after he was run over by a tram, his posterity, or his fortune, was projected towards the future on two diverging paths. One came from the local context and had to do with the enormous popularity which Gaudí, perfectly acquiescent, had always enjoyed in the city of Barcelona, first as one of its great eccentrics —and that is saying something in a world mandatorily full of eccentrics in the bohemia at the end of the century, they were rather indispensable for a super-consumerist bourgeoisie—, then as solitary genius, unsociable and misunderstood and, finally, as «God's architect», although eccentricity, genius and divinity are three consecutive categories that, from the perspective of the end of the century, which was dominated by the religion of art —that we are already in 1926 does not constitute the only anachronism at all, as we shall see—, they can only be linked in the form of a *crescendo* as inevitable, it seems, as it is necessary. The outline of the other path, however, is beginning at that moment and its character, which does not have Gaudí's own character at all —in any case with his impossible acquiescence—,

* This text is only a part of a much more extensive research that will be published in the catalogues of the exhibitions about Gaudí that will take place at the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, and at the Musée d'Orsay, Paris, in 2021-2022.



[Fig. 1] Bookshop and Lithograph Herederos de la Viuda Pla, Album of postcards of the Sagrada Familia, Barcelona, c. 1900.

is going to be definitely universal: it will consist in fitting Gaudí's work—or, at least, a part of his work, which will be called to cancel the rest—, first in the formal and ideological mechanisms of the avant-garde—from Paris in particular and, more particularly yet, surrealists— and secondly, in short, in the general economy of the so called Modern Movement.

Let's start with the first. The thousands of postcards with his works already published from the end of the 19th Century are testimony to Gaudí's extraordinary popularity, mainly those of Park Güell and, even more so, of the Sagrada Família, by far the most depicted monument in Barcelona even when its architect was alive (1) (Fig. 1). Its monumental, or memorial, condition was precisely what the postcard confirmed with as much accuracy as banality. But, paradoxically, the main characteristic of this «monument» was that it was going to be «definitively unfinished» for ever. The medium of the postcard—collotype, production and massive diffusion, popular consumption— were suddenly put at the service of what seemed to be the most elevated of the myths—the «new cathedral», the «cathedral of the poor», etc.—, so that the constant growth of the Sagrada Família towards a final form as fabulous as impenetrable, displayed in the evidently unfinished

time, as the subject of its caricatures, his constant presence in this type of «enemy» press, of cheap paper, massive, popular, will do nothing but increase his own popularity, in a circularity where the highest and the lowest feed each other, in an interchange capable of going through all the stratum of society that will end up making Gaudí a symbol of its own contradictions, and even of its irredeemable violence.

Thus, these are the two extremes between which Gaudí's extraordinary fame moves and is constituted: on one hand the elitism of the salons of the bourgeoisie in which everything has or had to be distinguished, unique, exasperatedly private, and, on the other, the multitudes, which take those designs so supposedly refined, so necessarily eccentric, to an exterior that mechanical production expands infinitely, to transform them into one of the great shows of the merchandise city.

The «latest tendencies» of architecture in Barcelona, its «new style» or its «modern constructions» —using expressions of the commentators of that time—, seem to demand, on one hand, an amazing quality understood as originality at all cost, and, on the other, its multiplication, diffusion and consumption in the form of quantity and even excess, through the media offered by the «technical reproducibility». *This* specific quality and *this* quantity delimit the extremes between which the cycles of fashion are formed, but also those which define the *transitus* —if fashion is *vanitas*— of the modern architect, which in Barcelona was called, precisely, «modernist»: a character who, belatedly formed in the bohemian ideology, *goes up* to bourgeois palaces, which he designed and, without transition, *goes down* to the postcard, to the bibelot, to the caricature and vaudeville.

Gaudí represents, without a doubt, the epitome of this phenomenon, common to all Europe. His works converted into cause of rivalry between bourgeois families as well as into subject of popular opinion —that *opinion publique*, which, in some Offenbach operetta, substitutes the civic conscience that is represented by the classical chorus— (2), why is that *crescendo* I mentioned before so strange? From the eccentric architect of his first works for the

patriarch Eusebi Güell, to the aloof genius disputed by his clients, bourgeois or ecclesiastical, with whom he always ended up litigating, to the chosen visionary who, transcending all of the above, can only work for a sole client, God, and for the only and definitive building, the most peremptorily popular, the temple that «always awaits its altars» (3) that is how Gaudí's mythical personality takes shape, confirmed, as both the ending and the beginning at the same time, in his multitudinous funeral.

One of the conditions of the bohemian artist is that it is him who imposes his taste onto his clients, and not the other way round: the subjectivity with which the artist interprets the world, whose foundational origin goes back to the Renaissance, reaches in the ideology of art for the sake of art at the end of the century a tenaciously pathological conclusion. The fact that during the first decade of the 20th Century, right at his most successful moment, when he had a good number of commissions, Gaudí ended up being expelled from his main works —the Cathedral of Mallorca, Casa Batlló, Casa Milà— is a sign of what I am saying. Members of the chapter of the Cathedral of Mallorca accused Gaudí —and Jujol— of the sin of pride, and his arrogance with his clients was so well known that it even became the subject of some satirical poems with considerable success (4). Genius, in the light of bohemism, is exactly that, thus around 1910, Gaudí, who had run out of clients, decided to dedicate all his efforts to the Sagrada Família. For more than fifteen years it became his only work and he had been living and sleeping in it for more than six months when he died in 1926. Thus, it is not surprising at all that that intensification of Gaudí's mythical personality I have commented, from eccentric, to genius, to «God's architect», results in the Sagrada Família, or simply «the Temple», projecting its shadow retroactively over the rest of his work.

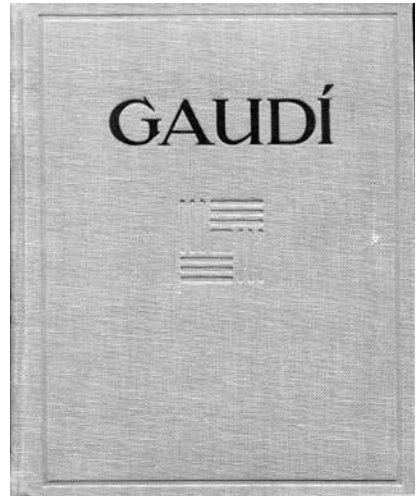
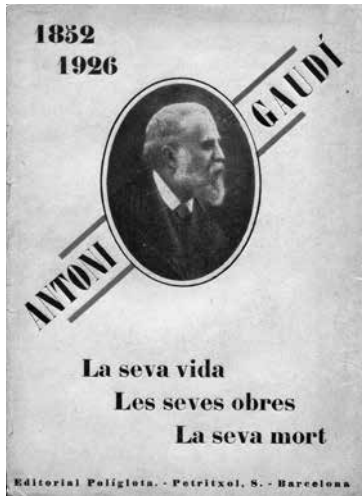
The dozens of obituaries written after Gaudí's death succinctly produced confusion between the character and the Temple. The genius who had already sued all his clients and had lost his patron years before —Güell had died in 1918—, can only talk to himself and to God, as a mystic would: this is the adjective that,

in his last years, Gaudí had gained little by little, as if his work resulted, indeed, from an experience of the divine, and we shall see that in the political, social and ideological contexts in which the Sagrada Familia rises, this mystification —let me twist the words— is not at all casual.

Almost all those obituaries, not to say all, in fact present Gaudí as a mystic, but, even more, as a saint: his life, his work and his death, after three days of agony —which is described in many of those articles with morbid interest, minute by minute—, are exemplary and they mutually reflect each other. Some of them, written by those closest to the architect, were collected in a book published only a few weeks after the funeral, titled, precisely, *Antoni Gaudí. La seva vida, les seves obres, la seva mort* (5). The death, thus, cannot be separated from his life and work, because, without a doubt, as this book wants to demonstrate, it illuminates and redeems them (Fig. 3).

In the texts of this miscellany, which constitute *strictu sensu* the first monograph about the architect —arising from, I insist, the occasion of his death—, Gaudí's life and work are thus contemplated backwards, not retrospectively but retroactively, that is to say, not looking to the past to recount it as it was, but to intervene in it or, more correctly, to reconstruct it: to tell it as it should have been. Gaudí's life, in short, was not history but poetry. The prologue, dated on the 15th June, defined the authors of the book as «devotees of the architect of the Sagrada Familia», and the adjectives of original, genius, mystic, saint..., fill each of its pages, the titles of the articles announce, without hesitation, the «originality of Gaudí», his «architectonic genius», his condition of «God's architect» or his «passionate death».

Under the sign of the «passionate» —that is, pathetic— death, the priest Carles Cardó proclaims, less unexpectedly than it might seem, the «opportunity» of that death, as if the fact that at the moment of his accident Gaudí was mistaken for a beggar, and neglected because of it, constituted a categorical announcement —expressed, in brief, in the agony of three days—, of his triple lesson: that of «poverty, chastity, modesty». His well-known pride,



[Fig. 3] Cover of the book *Antoni Gaudí. Les seves obres, la seva vida, la seva mort*. Barcelona: Editorial Poliglota, 1926.

[Fig. 4] Cover of the book by J. F. Ràfols; F. Folguera. *Gaudí*. Barcelona: Editorial Canosa, 1928.

his arrogance, his proverbial irascibility —all the characteristics of the bohemian genius, always intrinsic and necessarily misunderstood—, are thus left operatively inverted in *other* exceptional nature, «eulogised by the double prestige of saintliness and of death». Briefly, another one of the articles, written by Joan Llongueras, is simply titled «El geni i el Sant» (The Genius and the Saint). On these premises and on this rhetoric, what else can his «devotees» do but continue with Gaudí's work, the only one, the single one that this retroactivity already recognises, «the Temple»? What else, in short, but to finish, to complete «the Temple»? Thus, it is about combining the architect's death, his physical disappearance, with the implausible metaphysical presence that comes from his work, as excessive as it is incomplete, bequeathed to posterity in the form of sentimental religiosity and collective obligation.

But if this miscellany of obituaries constitute *strictu sensu*, as I said, the first book about Gaudí, the first monograph conceived as such came out two years later, in January 1929, signed by J.F. Ràfols and Francesc Folguera, two architects who had

worked for Gaudí in the workshop at the Sagrada Família and who, at that moment, were starting their careers on their own (6) (Fig. 4). Notwithstanding, the miscellaneous impression of the first book, somehow, also remains in this one: Folguera and Ràfols, in fact, wrote two totally independent essays, the first one about constructive and technical aspects of Gaudí's architecture, and the second one, in which we are interested, about what in perfectly foundational terms should be understood as his biography. Should we think, then, that the 225 pages of this first biography, written from the closeness to Gaudí and from the direct use of his own archive—which, it is worth remembering, became ashes only seven years later—, constitute a repository of reliable and objective data? Quite the opposite, because the truth is that Ràfols built his story with the same retroactive spirit we have mentioned, although this time attenuating, to some extent, his rhetorical excesses and his most textually hagiographic tangents. What it does, definitively, is to order an already known collection of stories, present in the folklore that had accompanied the character for a long while and which had been taken to paroxysm in his necrological literature, according to a perfectly recognisable outline: that of the «artist's life» as it was, from the reinvention of the classical *topoi*, established by Vasari himself—cited by Ràfols here and there, who, by the way, was an admirer of the Florentine Renaissance. Thus, his text, based on a more or less chronological linearity, reorders those anecdotes and finds for each of them their equivalent in a mythical account that, in those years, some art historians properly identified as «artist's legend» (7). Each and every one of the ingredients of this legend is present, in fact, in the biography by Ràfols: the geniality already manifested in childhood; the signs that accompanied the birth; the signs of fate or Fortune; the premonitory physical marks; the distrust when face to face with tradition and academia; the fall on the «Road to Damascus»; the self-education; the lack of understanding of his tutors and teachers; the following of the school of nature; the social ascent; the superiority continuously displayed before his colleagues, clients and public, manifested

through the constant use of sarcasm without replica; the familiar manner with princes and nobles; the inspiration as inner voice; the free imagination; the public's rejection and the solitary and heroic fight for his work, transformed into authentic religion; the ecstasy, the divine fury or enthusiasm, and finally, to cut short, the exemplary death, the three day agony included, precisely like the one described by Vasari in his *vita* of Michelangelo. Beside —not far but, literally, in parallel— these obituary praises, this biography, established on the authority given by the tradition of the «artist's lives» —in essence not different from hagiographies—, sets up the way in which Gaudí's «life and work» has to be explained. His popularity, filling the «timely» void of his absence, will materialise through the impressive presence of the great landmark: «the Temple».

Simultaneous absence and presence, thus, of a work that grows and petrifies at the same time, becoming an operative symbol of a power whose policy is no other than one which comes from sentimental religiosity: from the religion of «the genius and the saint», from art and from God.



[Fig. 5] P. Picasso, *Hambre*, fountain pen on paper, 14 x 22 cm. Barcelona, 1902. Museu Picasso de Barcelona.



[Fig. 6] Picarol, «¡Caritat per una Família...!», caricature with members of the Lliga in front of the Sagrada Família, alluding to the petitionary campaigns for the Temple. *L'Esquella de la Torratxa*, Barcelona, 24th November 1905.

Many years before Gaudí's death, in 1902, Picasso had already explained clearly the meaning of the combinations that come from this sentimental religiosity, from this ghastly popularity so in need of anachronism and from this conversion of the «definitely unfinished» to collective burden. In a caricature no doubt prepared for publication in the press in Barcelona, but which never saw the light (Fig. 5), depicts how a family of beggars is being lectured by a character who, surrounded by sculptural fragments scattered at his feet, stands on a small elevation that seems like a pedestal: «I am telling you very important things, about God, about art...», exclaims the character. «Yes, yes... —answer the beggars—, but my children are hungry». Who is this bearded and hunched character who, although he can preach from the elevation of his tribune, is shabbily

dressed, thus trying to blend in with the beggars themselves, and who, moreover, extends his hand in the gesture of begging? It is Gaudí evidently, as the caricatures of the time depicted him during the campaigns in which the architect himself went out in the streets of Barcelona demanding «a gift for charity» (8) for the construction of the Sagrada Família (Fig. 6). Dressing like a poor man instead of the poor; begging like the poor, instead of them begging; rocking the hunger of the beggars in the cradle of art and God; promising redemption in the work without end of the temple, as Maragall said, and we have already recalled, «always awaits its altars»: the petrification of a Barcelona whose streets were «grazed with blood» —using again one of Maragall's expressions— (9) is, no doubt, the objective of the enormous popularity that comes from excessive mixture of bohemia and saintliness, one for the other, and although it goes back a long way, as we see, it is infinitely amplified in the «opportunity» provided by Gaudí's «passionate death»: the great void is, in reality, what has to be exceeded with the formidable work, overflowing with time and matter, of the Temple.

But let's leave for later the new nuances that pertain to these questions and pay attention to something else now. In 1927, right between the publication of the miscellany of obituaries and the biography by Ràfols which we have just mentioned, a booklet titled *La visió artística i religiosa d'en Gaudí* written by Francesc Pujols came out (10). Amongst the almost 450 titles collected by Ràfols in Gaudí's biography that are included in the appendix of his book, only one deserves a brief, as well as damning, comment: this text by Pujols, precisely. «The absolutely catholic convictions of the authors of this book —Ràfols and Folguera wrote in third person— would not allow them to even mention this opuscle [...] if they did not censor it for the open heterodoxy of the main thesis which it proclaims». But what is this thesis? The truth is that Pujols' style, superb and intricate, which enjoys getting lost in the infinite bends of an excessive verbosity, makes difficult or simply hinders, the deduction of a «main thesis». In any case, based on the scandalised reaction of Folguera and Ràfols, let's say that one of the possible theses would be the one that supports that Catalo-

nia has a mission, to finish off Catholicism to substitute it for what Pujols calls, without going into details, the «true religion». In this mission, the Sagrada Familia, Gaudí's temple, «confusing, baroque and wicked», is called to play a fundamental role, and not just a symbolic one: «Catalonia —Pujols wrote—, destined to sacrifice the catholic religion dedicating basically the most artistic cathedral in the world, gives us the impression of those who rear pigs to slaughter them, feed them all they can to make them gain the proper weight they must have at the time of their death» (11).

It is obvious that the «fundamentally artistic» has nothing to do, for Pujols, with any type of elevated aesthetical judgment: quite the opposite, his metaphor, in which Gaudí's temple has the role of sacrificial offering, pushes us towards the most brutal animality and, shaking against the «good taste» that accompanies those judgments, proposes we descend to the caverns not of the «bad taste», which was argued against Gaudí's work and the *art nouveau* in general, but of physiological taste and even of the sense of smell, in short the lowest of the senses, according to the scatology of humanism. Thus, Gaudí's temple is not related here with the adoration of the divine, but with the *devouring* of the dying, Catholicism. Through the brutality of the images used by Pujols, he reveals the lost meaning of every architecture, always sacrificial as for always sacred, and therefore, in short, always edible. But, haven't we already seen that in Gaudí's architecture, in fact, everything is devoured? Sacrificial delicacy: the temple is destined to that —I remember it— «confusing, baroque, monstrous».

Pujols' booklet could have gone unnoticed amid the gigantic hagiographic bibliography of Gaudí, but it had a reader as precocious and attentive as he was capable of interpreting it in directions even more unexpected: Salvador Dalí, who precisely in 1927, at the age of 23, left behind his initial admiration for *L'Esprit Nouveau*, purism and Le Corbusier, and had an exhibition in Barcelona with his first surrealist works. Without going much into details, it will not be necessary to read with too much attention the articles that Dalí published in Paris just at the beginning of the 30s to notice how his sudden interest for *art nouveau* and the tran-

scendental invention of the paranoiac-critical method, go hand in hand. Already in «L'âne pourri», the first of these articles, the *modern' style* architecture is praised by Dalí as the absolute paradigm of his idea of simulation, of that which is effectively built to «discredit reality», and in the following years, this architecture will become the real means that will allow him to affirm his active «method» in front of the «passive states» of surrealism (12).

Also, in 1930, in the *prière d'insérer* written by André Breton and Paul Éluard for *La femme visible*, Dalí's first book, they described its author as «discoverer» of the *modern' style*, in which was revealed «not only the spirit of our birth... but the even more captivating ghost of future» (13). This enchanted look towards the past, towards the birth or, properly, to childhood, is essential to understand the Dalinian operation. From the productivist laconicism of the constructive avant-garde, or from the «virtuous» sobriety of the *lyrisme contemporain* or, simply, from the «good taste» used by the vulgarisers of *art déco*, the *fin-de-siècle* style —the style of «our grandparents»— was loathed as the quintessential example of the most unredeemed vulgarity, the worst of tastes, the most offensive *kitsch*. Christian Zervos, for instance, reviewing from the pages of *Cahiers d'Art* the Gaudí of Rafols and Folguera, was merciless not only with the book and its authors, but also with the architect himself —with the character and the work—, shocked by the fact that it was possible «to write and publish a book dedicated to the work of an eccentric with ridiculous taste», to the «architect who has dishonoured the city of Barcelona» (14).

Thus, faced with the utopias of redemption contained in the productivist allegations of the avant-gardes, whose formulas demand and impose a dis-ornamentation literally understood as total mobilization, and faced with all the formulas through which that dis-ornamentation is commercialised, Dalí's choice, defending the *art nouveau* ornamental excess not only as exhibition of super-consumerism but as simulation of the collective, has a profoundly political sense. Dalí knows well that what makes *modern' style* a stone of scandal, or, even more, what makes it so sinisterly disturbing, is its profoundly anachronistic essence, its

démodé condition: the style of «our birth» constitutes a presence both very distant and very close at the same time, a fossil still palpitating, loaded with sentimentalism, forgotten but latent, an erased memory and a petrified nightmare, a past-future in which the ghosts of «children's neurosis» and all the petrification circulate. Dalí was, without a doubt, a good reader of *Le paysan de Paris*, and it is clear that many of these ideas come from the concept of «modern mythology» which goes through that book (15), but also, and moreover, from the entries of the «Dictionnaire critique» which Georges Bataille had published only a few months before in *Documents*, and particularly from «Architecture», «Abattoir» and «Cheminée d'usine» (16).

In these articles full of rage Bataille tells us about architecture as the great metaphor of social order, loved and praised by the contemporary «miserable aesthetes». It is, he says, «the face of power», and man nothing more than a mere link in «the evolution from monkey to architecture», so there is only one way of escaping the «architectonic rabble»: the «brutal monstrosity». Its monuments, he ironically carries on, inspire not only the «popular wisdom», but «often, even true terror», and the terror is disclosed in these texts, precisely, as the sign under which architecture is suffered. If on one hand, for example, the curse of the abattoirs «terrorises [...] those who pronounce it», on the other, the «gloomy filth» of the factory chimney comes from the memories of «the first childhood» as the form par excellence of a «terrifying architecture», even more than church bell towers, «even the more monstrous».

If we already know that the Sagrada Familia was, according to Pujols, «confusing, baroque, monstrous», would it be out of place to remember here also that the satirical press of the time in Barcelona mocked the look of its four tall bell towers, comparing them with industrial chimneys and describing them, with lucid shrewdness, as «chimneys of spirituality»? (17) But what would happen if, taking into account the almost unbearable wittiness with which Dalí is capable of interpreting these texts, we shuffled again Aragon's fabulous fossils with Bataille's brutal monstros-

ity and, of course, with Pujols' fattened temple and turned it into sacrificial delicacy? What could result from all this but a necessarily hyper-ornamented architecture, directly arising from the sentimental residues of bohemia and religion, anachronistic persistence of a fossil yesterday but embedded in eternity, a brutal overcoming of any idea of beauty or ugliness, of any possibility of aesthetical or taste judgment, simulation elaborated in the abyss of fetishism that hypnotises and repels at the same time? What, in short, but a «terrifying and edible architecture»?

«De la beauté terrifiante et comestible de l'architecture modern' style» is the title of the 1933 (Fig. 7) famous article in which Dalí culminates all the questions we have been commenting on, published in a magazine which, although it was considered surrealist, was not exactly that, or at least, not totally, but rather particularly luxurious: *Minotaure* (18). Illustrated with some photographs of *art nouveau* sculptures, with close-up details of Paris underground entrances, made by Brassai, and works by Gaudí, taken by Man Ray, in this article Dalí's sway between soft and hard, flesh and bone, rotten and scum, excrement and stone, is defined in all its extremes. But there is even more. If André Breton finished *Nadja* with the conspicuous proclamation that «beauty will be convulsive or it will not be» (19), Dalí, instead, and very consciously, finished his text with an integral correction of such words: «beauty —he wrote— will be edible or it will not be». The «convulsive beauty», derived from the *fin-de-siècle* neurosis and, specially, from decadentist symbolism, means —in the poet, in the artist, in the «sensitive being»— a permanent state of «power», whereas the «edible beauty», however, epitome of anti-dialectic materialism practised by Dalí —what he called «symbolic-psychic-materialistic functioning»—, being a brutal call to possession as it is, entrusts everything to the «act». The *beautiful* object of desire and the *voracious* desiring body will have to meet violently in the *devouring*, mix in the digestion, blend in without waste the excrement. Every trace of idealism, thus, has disappeared from this new Dalinian definition, which, closing his text, gives the ultimate reason for its title.

It is in this context, nothing less, in which Gaudí's architecture makes its definite entrance in the theatre of the international avant-gardes. In opposition to the four photographs of very specific details and in extreme close-up of the Paris underground, by Hector Guimard, whose name is not mentioned, the seven works by Gaudí, whose authorship is stated indeed, show a much more ample panorama: general views of Park Güell, the façade of La Pedrera or the tribune of Casa Batlló, are useful to condensate, in specific examples, the paradoxical mechanisms of the text, and, in fact, to corroborate the importance that Gaudí's work had in its genesis, it will be enough to remember that, as we see in his manuscript, Dalí had contemplated the possibility of titling this article «la pâtisserie Barcelone». It would seem as if in Gaudí's architecture it were not necessary to force details to obtain those images of softening and petrification, of vicious circularity, of neurasthenia of the shapes and metamorphosis of the materials, of endless inertia. Man Ray's photographs do not even have to insist on the subjects the buildings already offer, but, simply, take advantage of their own impulse: helping to see. Through these beautiful photographs, however, if something becomes evident it is the equivalence that exists between the fetishism of a «terrifying and edible» architecture and the fetishism of the merchandise. The edible beauty revealed in them, for its part, is a strategy: the advert that Breton himself dreamt to find at the gates of hell (20), already realised, and which Dalí now —and Man Ray and Gaudí— serves on a platter, so evidently that he will not be able to do anything but, offended in his condition of poet and priest, reject it. So Dalí is a problem for orthodox surrealists who had been his mentors, Breton firstly, but a blessing for a world in which avant-garde art is going to be summarised as a new golden age of history of art. Dalí's article about «terrifying and edible» architecture, which implicitly consecrated Gaudí as epitome of the excesses of a society of masses whose equation is no other than art = gold = shit —that is: the photographs by Man Ray, the glossy paper of *Minotaure*, Dalí's perverse torrentiality—, opens up the way to the assimilation of Gaudí in that history or, strictly speaking, to its digestion.



Fig. 7. La Pedrera, Barcelone, vers 1925.

Je crois avoir été le premier en 1925 et au début de *La Femme cubiste*, à considérer, sous l'ombre d'honneur, l'architecture dérivée du Modern' Style comme le phanasma le plus original et le plus extraordinaire de l'histoire de l'art.

J'ajoute ici sur le caractère essentiellement *extra-plastique* du Modern' Style. Toute utilisation de celui-ci à des fins proprement « plastiques » se perdrait au moment où elle perdrait pour moi la trajectoire la plus flagrante des aspirations formalistes et essentiellement « littéraires » de ce mouvement. Le « remplissage » (ou « décharge ») de la forme à angle droit et « section d'ore » par la forme convexe enrobant un point à la ligne qui donne naissance à un soléisme aussi triste que le précédent — mais encastré monumentalement à cause du changement. C'est tout. Les surfaces se relient de cette forme la ligne courbe paraît redevenir aujourd'hui le plus court chemin d'un point à un autre, le plus vertigineux — mais tout cela n'est que la « machine dérivée du platonisme ». Dicoïnisme antithétique, contraire au décoratifisme psychique du Modern' Style.

APPARITION DE L'INDIVIDUALITÉ CATALANE DE MONTSENY. Les causes « matérielles » de production du Modern' Style nous apparaissent encore trop confuses, trop contradictoires et trop vagues pour qu'il soit possible d'en tracer dans l'actualité. On pourrait en dire autant de ses causes « littéraires » bien que le lecteur intelligent puisse être amené à douter de ce qu'il va lire dit que le mouvement qui nous occupe a eu surtout pour but de veiller nos sorts de grande « main originale ».

Luis de Sant

De même que la détermination de ses causes « phénoménologiques » tendent à être de plus en plus, l'histoire de ce qu'il



Fig. 8. Casa Batlló, Barcelone, vers 1925.

le comence se heurte à son plus grand défi, et est surtout un signe de ce caractère et une *sentiment d'individualité* (ce qui caractérise sa grande personnalité) dans à connaître, en fait, le « fait » de l'apparition brusque, de l'éruption violente du Modern' Style, témoignant d'une révolution sans précédent du sentiment d'originalité. Le Modern' Style se présente en effet comme un bond, avec tout ce que celui-ci peut entraîner de plus cruels transformations pour l'art.

L. Sant.

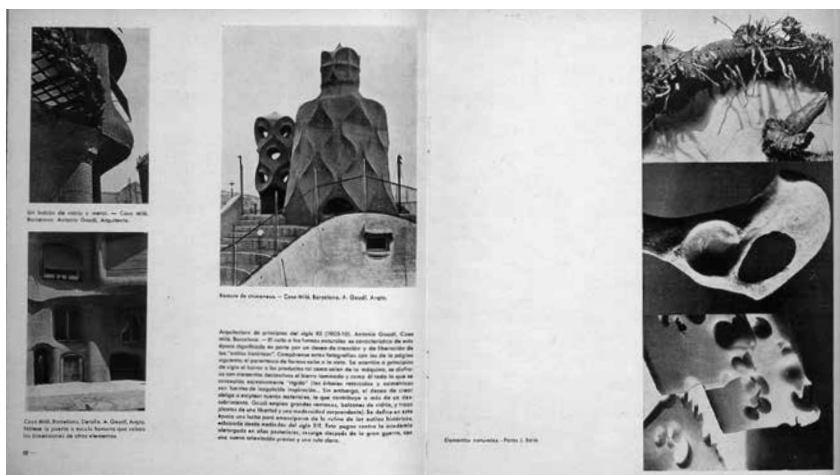


C'est dans l'architecture que nous allons pouvoir admettre l'abandonment personnel, dans son essence, la plus remarquable, le plus fonctionnel, de tout élément « fini » le plus complexe.

le plus littéraire du point. Avec le Modern' Style les éléments architecturaux de point, entre qu'ils vont être soumis à la fréquence, à la totale trinité convulsive-formelle qui va donner naissance à une nouvelle architecture, seront appelés à servir, à servir consciemment sous leur véritable aspect original, de sorte qu'en se combinant les uns avec les autres, on se forme les uns dans les autres les dépit de leurs antagonismes intellectuellement les plus irréconciliables, les plus irréconciliables ils vont atteindre au plus haut degré de dépression esthétique, manifestée dans leurs rapports cette attitude imposée qui n'a d'équivalente et d'égale que la pensée humaine de l'entraînement total.

Dans un bâtiment modern' style, le gothique se métamorphose en hellénique, en extrême-oriental, et, pour peu que cela passe par la tête — par une certaine attitude intellectuelle — en transition qui peut à son tour devenir modern' style pur, dynamique-symétrique (!) tout cela dans le temps et dans l'espace, dans l'espace, c'est à dire dans ce temps et cet espace pur, comme et véritablement vertigineux qui, comme nous venons de l'indiquer, ne veulent autre que ceux de l'art. Tout ce qui a été le plus naturellement stabilisé et

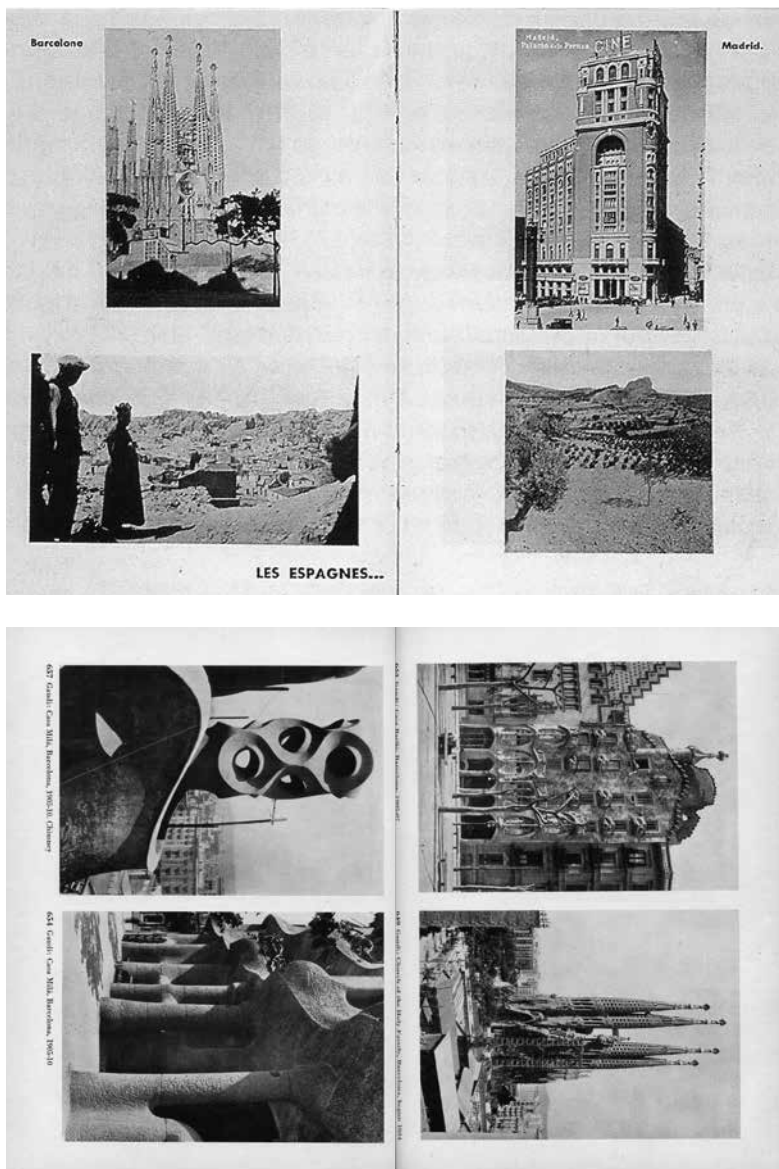
[Fig. 7] Page with photos by Man Ray of La Pedrera and Casa Batlló in the article by DALÍ, «De la beauté terrifiante et comestible de l'architecture Modern' Style», *Minotaure*, n. 3/4, Paris, 1933.



It is not strange that not long after, in 1935, in the issue 17 of *AC* (Fig. 8) —the magazine for avant-garde architects in Barcelona— some works by Gaudí are shown, and in a very specific way, spread out on a double page and following a photo-typographic strategy characteristic of the magazine: the dialectic montage (21). On the left page there are some fragments of La Pedrera, carefully cut: plastic masses, curves, holes; on the right one, a series of close-ups of organic elements: some roots, a polished bone, a *gruyère* cheese. To start with, it would be good to remember that on the first page of Dalí's article in *Minotaure* two photographs were also compared, one of a stone perforated by erosion —example, Dalí said, of «geological *modern style*, faulty like everything that comes from nature, deprived of imagination»— and the wrought-iron framework of a gate in Park Güell. Josep Lluís Sert, the most probable author of the *AC* montage and the text that goes with it, followed Dalí's example, obviously, but only formally, and thus, instead of referring to the «delirious concreteness» contained in Dalí's formula, talks about, in perfectly conventional terms —those of the «contemporary aesthete pigs» which Dalí despised—, the «desire for creation» that becomes visible in this architecture, the «liberation of historical styles» that is manifested in it, or how all of that is produced through the «cult of natural forms». Dalí's interpretation, thus, *illuminates* Sert, but to take it to another very different sphere. In Sert's «dialectic montage», first it was necessary to liberate Gaudí's work from itself, dividing it into fragments, shall we say, interesting, and then those fragments had to be put alongside images of organic waste which, thanks to the photographic close-up, fills up with formal and textural values. In this way, Gaudí's work, reduced to some dispersed members so carefully selected like those relics —the root, the bone, the holey cheese—, dramatically photographed like them, can be interpreted in essentially modern terms, although this essence is only found in the resemblance, in the form. In this half of the 30s, in a time in which modernity had become nostalgic —it would not be necessary to remember how Europe was becoming at that moment the scene of terror and dispossession—, artists like Léger, Arp or Miró,

amongst many, proclaimed the return to the inspiration of nature, but a nature of polished bones, eroded stones, tree barks, tattered shells, dry leaves, cacti, walnuts or *gruyère*.

Just two issues after, number 19, *AC*, published a photograph of Gaudí's work again, the interior of the main hall of Casa Batlló (Fig. 9), all undulations and vortexes, this time compared, in the page beside, with Le Corbusier's bedroom in the attic of *Porte Molitor*, with vaulted ceilings and rounded angles and corners —plumbing objects, especially the bidet, displayed in a privileged place, like an authentic *objet trouvé*, insist on this roundness—, and where form and texture mutually replicate in the wicker armchair, in the carpets or in the polished stones of the shelves, or resound like an echo in the dead nature we see in Léger's painting (22). The texts that come with these photos, done also by Sert no doubt, insist again on the «creative spirit» of Gaudí's interior, «in rivalry with the dominant academic norms», as happens in Le Corbusier's interior, equally confronted to the «too functional» forms, «rigidly rational» of «modern academicism». When Le Corbusier first visited Barcelona in 1928, invited precisely by Josep Lluís Sert, he considered the *Sagrada Família* «a drama», and in 1931, in *Plans*, he used a photograph of Gaudí's work as an example of pompous and artful architecture, opposed to the «pure» virtue of the landscape and the Spanish «popular types» that appeared in other photographs that illustrated the same article (23) (Fig. 10); now, instead, Sert suddenly put him besides Gaudí as if each one is looking into the mirror of the other: both fighting in the same way against academia and the conventions of their time, both getting inspired by the laws of nature, both sincere, without artifice. The history of architecture that derives from this encounter between the pioneer and the master —Sert carefully put the date at the foot of the photographs of Gaudí and Le Corbusier: 1904, 1934—, comes from, as we see, a formalist comparison: two images —I insist that is about the images, not the works— which, having nothing to do with each other or, moreover, meaning exactly the opposite, are placed together as a result of forcing the most superficial similarity along with



[Fig. 10] Double page with the Sagrada Família. Le Corbusier, «Les Espagnes...», *Plans*, n. 8, Paris, 1931.

[Fig. 11] Double page with works by Gaudi. *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, MoMA, Nueva York, 1936.

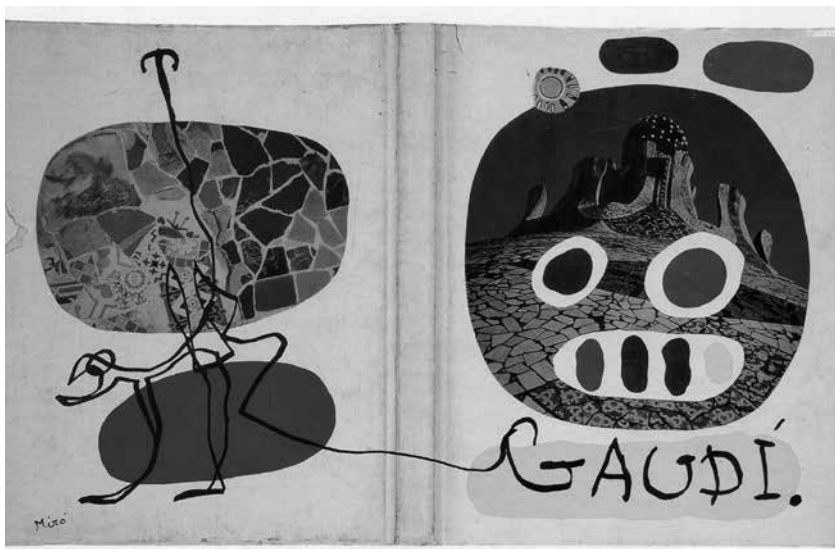
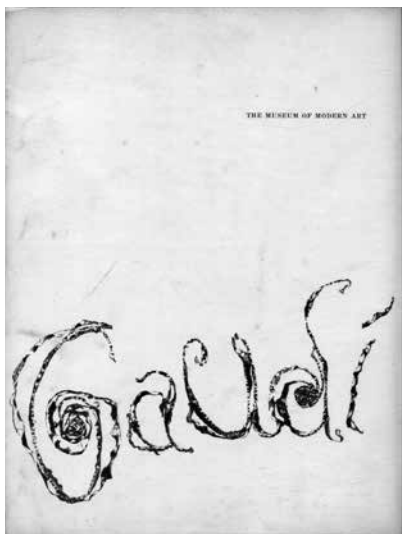
an earnest will of form; a kind of homomorphism that ends up being interpreted in heroic and moral terms. Thus, moralism and formalism come together to make good one architecture, Gaudí's, which, although alienated from its own principles, is justified, again and in any case, retroactively.

A Gaudí resurrected in *another* world for the most brutal surrealism, but photographed by Man Ray and published in the glossy pages of a luxurious magazine directed to the most select of publics, is dismembered in a chosen series of details —the *dissecta membra* of his work—, and, thus, formally and morally domesticated, takes his place beside the modern masters. Everything is ready so that in 1936, less than three years after the publication of Dalí's article in *Minotaure*, Gaudí reached the MoMA, in the section «Fantastic Architecture» of the exhibition *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* (24) (Fig. 11). But, was not the MoMA precisely the institution that, in those years, through its acquisitions, its exhibitions and its catalogues, was summarising the avant-garde art as something less offensive and perfectly reliable, that is, as «modern art»? In the MoMA syncretic terms were promoted and invented, like «modern movement» or «international style», and, under what not long before could have been considered the most paradoxical of the statements —«museum of modern art»—, writing the history of a vague «modernity» without factions nor contradictions, in which art, ceasing to proclaim its birth ex-novo, renouncing to the clean slate, is presented as culmination of history and even, as I said, as a new golden age. Time would have to pass, but not long, for that architect of the worst taste who had «dishonoured the city of Barcelona» to become, in these international spheres, a precursor of all the vanguard techniques —*collage, objets trouvés, assemblage*...— and in the horizon in which to compare artists who, as we have seen, already in the 30s better condensed the institutional desires of a summarised modern art, beyond avant-gardes: Miró, Arp, Calder...

Let us recapitulate as well. 1952 marked the centenary of Gaudí's birth. Around this date they had started to publish some articles and books in Barcelona that vindicated a «modern»

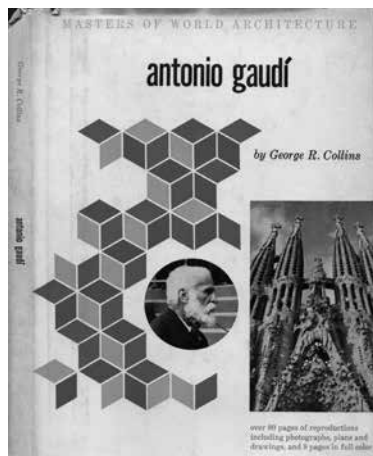
Gaudí, exactly in the same formalist terms, of surrealist roots, that we have commented (25). For the big exhibition that took place in that moment in the Tinell Hall, one of most impressive gothic spaces in Barcelona, a very complex scenography was designed in which models, plasters and huge photographic panels showed, of course, enlarged fragments of Gaudí's work (Fig. 12), making them into abstract and organic sculptures at the same time (26). With this occasion, Dalí gave in Park Güell, in front of a great crowd gathered in the esplanade of the Greek theatre, a kind of conference-happening in which after giving a brief speech praising the figure of Gaudí, he painted on the ground, with a broom and tar, on a huge canvas which had to be lifted with a crane, a shape that recalled the silhouette of the Sagrada Família (Fig. 13). Also at that time, Le Corbusier wrote a prologue for the photobook about Gaudí that Joan Prats and Josep Gomis published in the collection *Fotoscop* (27) (Fig. 14). In the meantime, Gaudí's work, which was not even mentioned in the manuals which had invented the Modern Movement —to be precise, Nikolaus Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*, 1936— (28) would be exhibited again in the MoMA in 1957, this time in a monographic exhibition (29) (Fig. 15). Also in New York, Josep Lluís Sert and James Sweeney, no doubt decisive in the organization of the MoMA's exhibition, were preparing a book that would see the light in 1960, with a cover illustrated by Miró (Fig. 16), which collected his characteristic shapes with photographs of Gaudian fragments in the form of collage (30). Without leaving New York, the same year George R. Collins published his *Antonio Gaudí* in the collection *Masters of World Architecture* (Fig. 17), the first international monograph dedicated to his work, in which the «modern» interpretation of Gaudí reached its most complete form, moreover, capable of placing him along with Le Corbusier, Wright, Mies or Aalto, no less (31).

«The genius and the saint», with all the fanaticism those words entail in the context of social violence in the Barcelona of his time, had to be rather nuanced so that Gaudí could be reborn in this *new life*, the same way his hyper-ornamented, super-



[Fig. 15] Cover, designed by Herbert Migdoll, from the catalogue H. R. Hitchcock. *Gaudí*. Nueva York: MoMA, 1957.

[Fig. 16] Dust jacket, illustrated by Joan Miró, from the book J. L. Sert; J. J. Sweeney. *Gaudí*. Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje; Nueva York, 1960.



[Fig. 17] Dust jacket by William and Caroline Harris from the book J. R. Collins. *Gaudí*, en «Masters of World Architecture». Nueva York: George Braziller Inc., 1960.

[Fig. 18] The outline of Hotel Attraction, invented by Joan Matamala, c. 1956, made into an indubitable work of Gaudí in R. Koolhaas. *Delirious New York*. Nueva York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

consumerist architecture, had to suffer a considerable *nettoyage* and a dismemberment into dispersed forms, no more eccentric but perfectly equivalent according to the principles of modern art. Gaudí's popularity, initiated with his death and internationalised through the diverse metamorphosis and successive resurrections, finds its definite sign in this kind of «American connection», which happened, of course, in the context of the Cold War and the particular situation of Franco's regime, which in 1953 had signed the agreements with the USA for the installation of military bases in Spain that opened the doors of the UN in 1955. Do not be surprised by this coincidence of dates or that precisely in that moment some of Gaudí's projects, never mentioned before, were «discovered», like the Attraction Hotel (Fig. 18), a skyscraper that was to have been built —oh, surprise!— in New York. What is more modern —and symbolic— than a hotel and what more eloquent than the chosen name taking into account the meaning of many synonyms: fascination, desirability, seduction, enchantment, all of them epitomes of the «American dream»? Homologation for homologation, interchange of accounts: none of the routes that Gaudí's popularity has followed —that of sentimental religion, eccentric genius, *kitsch*, surrealism, modern mystification— was going to get lost in the following years. But that is another story.

Recovery of the popular and historization of Gaudí in Italian publications (1949-1958)

Antonio Pizza and Marisa García-Vergara

Starting in 1949, coinciding with the visits of some renowned Italian architects to Barcelona, the revaluation of popular architecture and a new consideration of Gaudí's architecture was raised by the critics Gio Ponti, Alberto Sartoris, Luigi Moretti or Bruno Zevi, amongst others. The critical revision of this heterogeneous legacy would intertwine with the debates and polemics about the new orientations of post-war architecture.

Gio Ponti and Alberto Sartoris visited Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca and Valencia, on the occasion of the V National Convention of Architecture, celebrated between the 10th and 18th of May 1949. During this visit both saw Gaudian works live, arousing in them an interest that, mediated by Mediterraneanism, would converge with the appreciation of popular architecture in Ibiza and the local vernacular constructive traditions (1).

In fact, in the interweaving of these motifs is one of the essential keys underlying the critical revaluation of Gaudian architecture, which would fuse with the topics of Mediterraneanism as ancestral sources of a distinctive modernity (2). During the conference given in the framework of the V Convention, Ponti stated:

The primitive popular house [...] buds from fruit of spirituality of the biggest and most sacred importance. [...] Our world is getting

too mechanised and this is dangerous. We are going to have faith in the Latin spirit. You, Spanish architects, can bring a noble contribution to modern architecture without the need to follow the style that prevails in the world (3).

At the end of his public intervention, the local architects asked Ponti for his opinion on Antoni Gaudí. He stated:

I must confess that, when I came to Spain, twenty years ago, I did not understand anything about Gaudí [...]. Today, after twenty years of work and experience, not only architectural but also cultural [...], today I say, Gaudí's architecture is illuminated with an extraordinary artistic and poetic importance (4).

Ponti's interventions during the different acts of the V Convention had great repercussion in the local media. His visit also allowed him to establish, from that moment on, friendly relationships and professional collaborations with some Spanish architects (5), in particular, with the architect José Antonio Coderch, for whom the interchanges with Ponti would play a decisive role in his professional biography (6). Coderch, in fact, had already been a reader of *Domus* (7) since 1937; however, the new friendship with the director of the magazine would strengthen a communion of interests and intellectual affinities. This bond would have determining consequences in the orientation of post-war Spanish architecture.

Just after the V Convention, Ponti, enthusiastic over architecture in Ibiza as well as the architectural works carried out by the studio Coderch-Valls, published in the pages of *Domus* an long article titled «Dalla Spagna»:

A volte, ripensando ad Ibiza e Benicarlò, considero con afflizione come riesce difficoltoso a noi architetti, con tutto il nostro bagaglio teorico, polemico, ecc., un risultato di purezza pari a quello di queste «architettture senza architetto», che contadini e marinai hanno con felice inconsapevolezza edificato. Ma Ibiza

Dalla Spagna



Fui di recente in Spagna, e la gentilissima ospitalità degli architetti spagnoli con i quali ho avuto il piacere di incontrarmi, mi impone il dovere di ricambiare le loro attenzioni esprimendo le mie impressioni fuori da ogni «complimento».

Mentre nelle architetture recenti (visti solo Barcellona, Valencia e le Baleari) quasi niente ritrovo di concettualmente moderno, ritrovo invece nell'architettura antica delle sorprendenti suggestioni di purezza per il nostro lavoro, e delle sorprendenti coincidenze con il gusto moderno. Basti considerare questa chiesa di Ibiza (anch'essa delle Baleari) per capirli. Sorprendenti esempi del genere si è capitato di incontrare qua e là (Biscarrot) ed in architetture monumentali (ad esempio il Castello di Belver a Palma di Maiorca) di una unità essenziale, geometrica e volumetrica, tale da costituire una lezione. A volte, ripensando ad Ibiza e Benicarló, considero con afflizione come riesce difficilissimo a noi architetti, con tutto il nostro bagaglio teorico, polemico, ecc., un risultato di purezza pari a quella di queste «architetture senza architettura», che contadini e marinai hanno con felice inconsapevolezza edificato. Ma Ibiza è una affascinante lezione per tutti ed un conforto per quei giovani architetti spagnoli che anelano ad una espressione pura della nostra architettura, e la cui opera mi è apparsa ancora un po' isolata fra troppe costruzioni recenti di puro carattere commerciale corrente. Il che in una città dal tracciato magnifico ed esemplare come Barcellona (astronomico pensando a Milano «che non riesce») è un vero peccato.

Ma sulla Spagna conviene ritornare in discorso: dalla potente unità architettonica dei suoi castelli, all'interno ed all'esterno delle case di Maiorca, alle bellezze sorprendenti delle chiese di Valencia e della Catalogna del Nord, all'opera infine sconcertante ed affascinante di un artista sorprendente, un genio, Gaudí. Questa è soltanto una primizia su Ibiza, di cui verrà riportato più ampiamente in seguito.

Gio Ponti

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[Fig. 1] Gio Ponti, «Dalla Spagna», *Domus* magazine, Milán, n. 240, 1949.

è una affascinante lezione per tutti ed un conforto per quei giovani architetti spagnoli che anelano ad una espressione pura della nostra architettura, e la cui opera mi è apparsa ancora un po' isolata fra troppe costruzioni recenti di puro carattere commerciale corrente (8) (Fig. 1).

Coderch tuned in to these premises immediately, favoured by interest shared through the «Mediterraneanism» (9), becoming an active collaborator of the magazine directed by Ponti, granting *Domus* the «exclusive» publication of his works abroad. In fact, thanks to Coderch's mediation, in the pages of *Domus*, beside the projects of his own studio, would be published the works of other Spanish architects of the 50s and 60s such as José M. García de Paredes, Carlos de Miguel, Correa & Milà, Harnden & Bombelli, Martorell & Bohigas.

The aforementioned issue of *Domus*, inaugurated this new channel of divulgation of Spanish architecture, presenting two contemporary projects by Coderch and Valls (Casa Garriga Nogués and the project of the complex of Las Forcas). In this article, Ponti finally specified some operative principles in the terrain of the domestic. His statements would generate proselitisms in a country in search of its architectural «redemption». Ponti wrote:

Ho già avuto occasione di far notare come gli spagnoli designino la casa con una bella parola: «vivienda», «da vivere». [...] ... vivere è altra cosa che abitare soltanto. È un complesso di abitare, oziare, contemplare, godere, soffrire, ripararsi, isolarsi, amare, immaginare fra muri, fra muri e cielo, fra muri e sole. È la dimora non solo dell'uomo, d'un uomo generico e nemmeno d'un uomo ideale, ma d'un uomo vero e intero. [...] Personalmente io sono attratto dalla esistenza di un patio che partecipi più alla vita che non al servizio degli abitanti. Non considero con ciò la casa «all'antica»; dico che la nostra vita ora si proietta fuori casa in modo così collettivo ed esteriore che la esigenza del senso «privato» nella casa, del poterla chiudere per la estrema nostra libertà individuale, corrisponde ad una condizione tutta di oggi (10).



[Fig. 2] J. A. Coderch, Exhibiting section «Spagna». IX Triennale de Milano, 1951. Wooden structure, with exhibition of photographs featuring Works by Antoni Gaudí and traditional architectures. Photographs: Aragozzini. Archivio Storico, La Triennale di Milano.

The relation of personal friendship and professional understanding between Ponti and Coderch made possible the commissioning to the latter of the curatorship and assembly of the Spanish pavilion in the IX Triennale de Milano, celebrated between May and September 1951 (Fig. 2). Significantly, Gio Ponti himself set the guidelines that should frame the international presentation of Spanish modernity. In a personal letter to Coderch, dated spring 1950, Ponti drew up the exhibition program:

Io vedo possibile una presentazione straordinaria della Spagna sotto tre aspetti:

- a) la presentazione di architettura (Ibiza, Benicarló, etc.), la cui purezza coincide col gusto promosso dalla cultura moderna;
- b) la presentazione di produzione d'arte sceltissime;

- c) la presentazione di una scelta eccezionale, fatta come una «riscoperta» di cose e tecniche spagnole anche antichissime, che coincidano, in un clima elevatissimo di gusto e di cultura, col gusto moderno, allo stesso modo che —per fare un esempio— l'arte negra è stata un episodio coincidente con il cubismo;
- d) una mostra temporanea di 20 giorni di Gaudí, presentato sotto l'aspetto di precursore di espressioni plastiche attuali, i suoi ferri, le strutture tensili del baldacchino della cattedrale di Palma di Maiorca, le vetrate della stessa, le «composizioni di oggetti» del giardino fatto da Gaudí in Barcellona, etc (11) (Fig. 3).

In fact, the Triennale was a decisive episode in the interrelations between Spain and the international context. For the first time, Spanish art —in an interdisciplinary acceptance— was officially shown to the exterior, and achieved remarkable success (12).

The small pavilion designed by Coderch, measuring approximately 70 square meters, was an authentic evocative trial: a kind of synthetic exercise destined to exhibit the quintessence of Spanish «modernity». In the centre, an amoeboid shaped table with diverse objects and handicrafts collected by Rafael Santos Torroella, curator of the exhibition alongside Coderch. Along the wall on the left, a structure of Llambi blinds, as a surrealist synecdoche, displaying a daring montage of photographs of minor Ibiza architecture along with images with details of Gaudian works, done by Joaquín Gomis and Leopoldo Plasencia (13).

Ponti, for his part, would not miss any chance to praise the installation by Coderch and Santos Torroella, pointing out the specific parameters of Spanish modernity:

La Spagna ha un modo suo proprio di essere presente nell'arte e nella cultura moderna: niente scuole, niente teorie, niente polemiche, niente movimenti, ma Picasso, Miró, Dalí, Juan Gris, García Lorca sono spagnoli. Nell'architettura moderna, niente programmi, niente avanguardia teorica, ma la più moderna essenziale purezza architettonica è già nelle secolari anonime costruzioni popolari di Ibiza; e Gaudí il più straordinario architetto

dell'ultimo secolo, è spagnolo. [...] Questa è la Spagna che l'arch. Coderch ha inteso presentare alla Triennale con una serie di stupende fotografie di Gaudí e di Ibiza, i due estremi stilistici dell'architettura spagnola (noi aggiungiamo qui un paragone fra la moderna architettura di Coderch e l'architettura anonima di Ibiza) e con una raccolta disparata e d'eccezione, da due pannelli di Mirò agli inimitabili picassiani «xiulets»: cavalli, tori, uomini, uccelli di gesso, in cui si fischia soffiando (14).

Finally, in the same magazine (*Domus* 1961) Coderch would publish his most intentional theoretical text: «It is not genius that we need now».

Something of live tradition is still in our reach. [...] We need to take advantage of the scarce constructive tradition, and above all moral tradition. [...] We need thousands and thousands of architects [...] to work with a rope around their feet, so they cannot go too far from the land where they have roots, and from the men they know best. [...] Our old cities are being destroyed and houses and villages are built like film props along our beautiful Mediterranean shores. [...] It is naïve to think as we do that the ideal and the practice of our profession can be condensed in slogans like the sun, light, air, greenery, the social life and many others. A formalist and dogmatic base, more so if it is partial, is bad in itself. [August 1961] (15) (Fig. 4).

Days before the celebration of the V Convention, the Architects Association of Barcelona programmed a cycle of preparatory conferences. Alfred Ledent, Gabriel Alomar and Alberto Sartoris were invited as speakers. Sartoris visited Spain for the first time on that occasion, beginning a long and fruitful relationship with the country's architectural circles. He later remembered:

Sono stato invitato dall'Ordine Ufficiale degli Architetti della Catalogna e delle Baleari a tenere un ciclo di conferenze all'Ateneo di Barcellona [...]. Ho anche assistito, quale invitato,

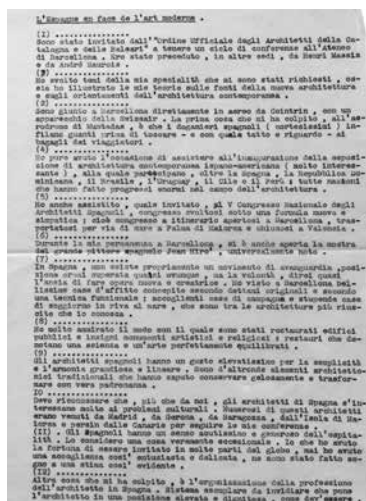
al V Congresso Nazionale degli Architetti Spagnoli. [...] Ho visto a Barcelona [...] accoglienti case di campagna e stupende case di soggiorno in riva al mare, che sono tra le architetture più riuscite che io conosca. [...] (16) (Fig. 5).

Sartoris gave two relevant conferences at the Association of Architects (17) titled: «Le fonti della nuova architettura» and «Orientamenti dell'architettura contemporanea» (18). Both were decisive for the evolution of Spanish modern architecture, as Sartoris proposed a substantial revision of the paradigms of international architecture in the 30s —of which he had been the most fervent propagandist—, divesting the concept of modernity of any contextual connotation:

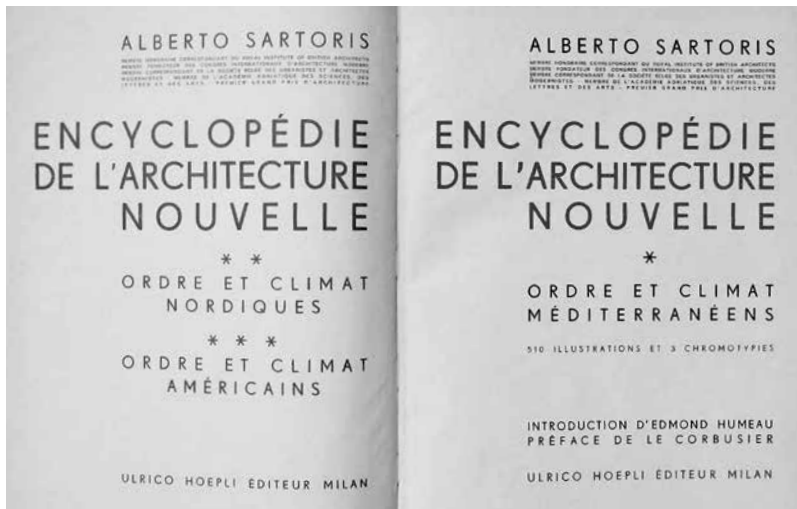
[...] modern architecture has always existed [...] It is very easy to prove that the rational and functional concept of the art of con-



[Fig. 4] J. A. Coderch, «No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora», *Domus* magazine, Milán, November 1961, n. 384.



[Fig. 5] A. Sartoris, «L'Espagne en face de l'art moderne», draft of the conference in Barcelona, undated; Sartoris Fund, Archives de la construction moderne (ACM), École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL), Swiss Federal [from now on, FAS-ACM, EPFL] EPFL_021-00, 0172.01.0079 (GA/05). Documents Voyage Espagne.



[Fig. 6] A. Sartoris, *Encyclopédie de l'Architecture Nouvelle: Ordre et Climat Méditerranéens*. Deuxième édition revue et augmentée, Milán: Hoepli, 1957.

struction is as old as the world and appeared on the shores of the Mediterranean (19).

Indeed, in an article published in 1949, reviewing Spanish contemporary works (by Antonio de Moragas, Carlos de Miguel, studio Coderch-Valls) (20), Sartoris offered operative indications for an indispensable modernization of the legacy of building traditions. He pointed out:

[...] rejection of the old ideas and adoption, also on the part of rural architecture, of the most noble and modern building methods; [...] Rationalism offers, for modern rural architecture, a mainly organic variety of constructive buildings (21).

In his reassessment of the interwar principles, the environmental qualities of the *genius loci*, the defence of a balanced regionalism, gained importance (22). Finally, he was counting on a cautious normalization of building components, and not to the cult of prefabrication that, in the standardised mechanism of production, would

nullify any individual contribution. In fact, Sartoris went so far as to propose an «organic regionalism» —as opposed to any «modernised folklore»—, capable of synthesising the achievements of a *rational* and *organic* architecture, at the same time (23). In conclusion, a culture integrally *post-functional*, in which —as Sartoris wrote— also Spain could find an appropriate positioning alongside other countries:

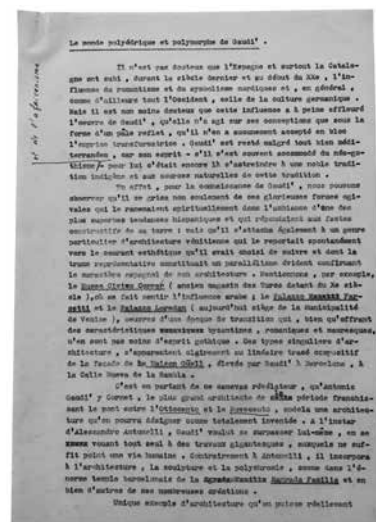
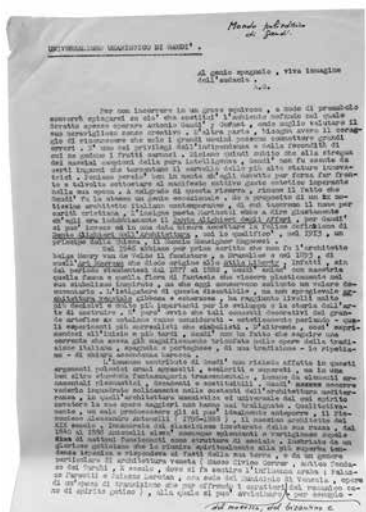
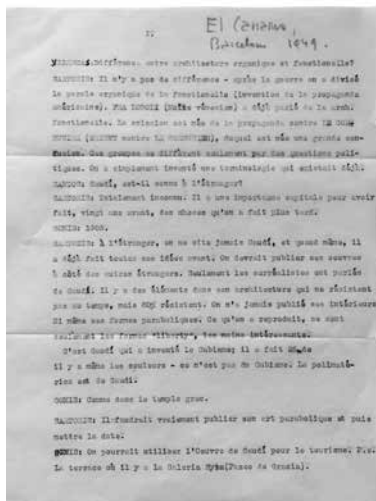
Now that the concept of functionalism has spread the principles of an architecture no longer based on set rules but on reason, it seems that the wind has veered to sectors where intelligence and logic are in control. Thanks to modern theories, Spanish architecture of today is embarking on an objective course of development, such as it has not known for a long time (24).

Indeed, the diffusion of modern Spanish architecture owes much to Sartoris. In his famous *Encyclopedie de l'Architecture Nouvelle: Ordre et Climat Méditerranées* published in 1948, Sartoris only cited as «modern Spanish examples» the Casa Bloc (GATEPAC, 1933), the houses in Roselló Street and Muntaner Street (J.Ll. Sert, 1929) and Casa Vilarò (S. Illescas, 1929). In return, in the 1957 edition of the book, after successive visits by the author to Spain, the list of modern Spanish works grew significantly, occupying 93 profusely illustrated pages (25) (Fig. 6).

Moreover, the stay in Spain for twenty days allowed Sartoris to visit the patrimonial work of Antoni Gaudí, an architect still unknown at international level, or at least little considered (26).

In Catalonia, Josep M. Sostres had been one of the few architects —during the subsequent years of Franco's uprising— to single out Gaudí's contribution to the history of architecture. In 1948 he had already given a conference in Brussels titled «Gaudí et son temps» (27). In a letter addressed to Sartoris, Sostres promised to send him the text of his lecture on Gaudí. This essay would be shortly published in the American magazine *Proyectos y Materiales*, to which Sostres was correspondent (28).

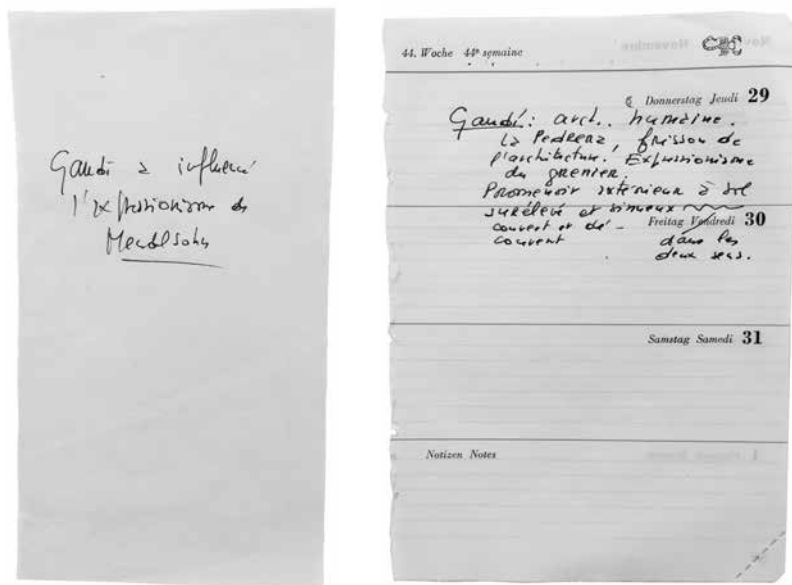
Sartoris, for his part, would be one of the first exponents of the international architectural culture in highlighting Gaudí's



[Fig. 7] Typed text of the interview with Sartoris, by Yllescas, Gomis and Santos Torroella; heading in red pencil: «El Canario», Barcelona, 1949. FAS-ACM, EPFL [EPFL_020_00] 0121.01.0079 (GA/05). Documents Voyage Espagne.

[Fig. 8] A. Sartoris, «Universalismo umanistico di Gaudí». Typed text, with signed notes. FAS-ACM, EPFL: 0172.05.0008 / 1 «Universalismo umanistico di Gaudí»; 7 sheets, p. 1.

[Fig. 9] A. Sartoris, «Le monde polyédrique et polymorphe de Gaudí». FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.05.0008.



[Fig. 10] Handwritten transcripts and notes by Alberto Sartoris about Gaudí's architecture. FAS-ACM, EPFL0172.05.0008 / 1 Gaudí/ 1 Presse et Notes/.

modernity. In 1949, in an interview carried out by Yllescas, Gomis and Santos Torroella in Barcelona, for the magazine *El Canario*, when asked «Gaudí, est-il connu à l'étranger?», Sartoris answered «Totalment inconnu», and added: «Seulement les surréalistes ont parlé de Gaudí [...]».

Referring to what he called Gaudí's «poly-matter» and «parabolic» art, Sartoris said: «Il a une importance capitale pour avoir fait, vingt ans avant, des choses qu'on fait plus tard»; and taking things to the extreme, the author stated: «C'est Gaudí qui a inventé le Cubisme» (29) (Fig. 7). After pointing out the guidelines for the revaluation of Gaudí's, Sartoris asserted that Rudolph Steiner had been the only one who had seriously studied Gaudí's work, even going so far as to copy his forms in the complex of Dornach (30); but, having built them in concrete ended up «transforming Gaudí into a caricature». Sartoris thus dismissed any «symbolic» character of Gaudian architecture, in favour, however, of a «constructive architecture» (31).

In fact, Sartoris immediately began writing a monographic study about the Catalan architect (32). He sent the draft to Santos Torroella, who on the 22nd of March 1950 acknowledged «[...] the provision of his magnificent composition on Gaudí» (33). At the beginning of 1950, Sartoris wrote several texts, in Italian and French: «Universalismo umanístico di Gaudí», «Mondo poliédrico di Gaudí», «Gaudí poliforme», «Sur la cathédrale inachevée de Gaudí», «Le monde polyédrique et polymorphe de Gaudí» (34) (Fig. 8-9). In all of them the thesis was articulated around recurrent interpretative milestones:

Nel 1946 abbiamo per primo scritto che non fu l'architetto belga Henry van de Velde il fondatore dell'Art Nouveau, a Bruxelles, nel 1893 [...]; infatti fin dal periodo precedente, Gaudí animò con maestria quella fauna e quella flora di fantasia che vissero plasticamente [...]... tali concetti decorativi del grande artefice catalano vanno considerati —esteticamente parlando— quali esperimenti più surrealisti che simbolisti. ...una tradizione —lo ripetiamo di chiara ascendenza barocca. [...] Quella di Gaudí è quindi architettura spaziale di volumi nuovi e di forme nuove; architettura spaziale e proiettata di ombre, luci e colori (35).

Sartoris inevitably referred to Gaudí's «innovazioni edilizie e costruttive», in order to highlight unequivocally Gaudí's place in the history of international modern architecture:

[...] nelle sue opere si scorgono, in modo palese, quelle forme che daranno nascita, nell'architettura moderna, all'espressionismo germanico di Walter Gropius e di Erich Mendelsohn e ai concetti antroposofici espressi nel Goetheanum di Rudolf Steiner a Dornach (Svizzera), e, nella cinematografia d'avanguardia, ai dettami estetici espressionistici che hanno presieduto al film tedesco «Il gabinetto del dottor Caligari» di Robert Wiene (1919). [...] Nel mondo intero si è parlato troppo di Picasso e non abbastanza di Gaudí. Studiamo quindi più profondamente questo pugnace e grande sconosciuto (36) (Fig. 10).



[Fig. 11] Photographic dossier and notes about Gaudí's work written by Zevi on the occasion of his visit to Barcelona. Archivio Zevi, Fondazione Bruno Zevi, Rome.

A year after the V Convention, in May 1950, the historian Bruno Zevi (37) (Fig. 11) also arrived in Barcelona to participate in different acts promoted by the Association of Architects of Barcelona.

His stay coincided with the presentation of Juan Eduardo Cirlot's *El arte de Gaudí* (38). This volume also supposed the international launch of the photographs of Gaudí's work, taken by Joaquim Gomis and Joan Prats: 25 of them were used a little later in the article that Zevi published in *Metron* (magazine codirected by Zevi since its foundation in 1945); and one of them –the image of the polychromatic bench in Park Güell– (39) (Fig. 12) will appear later on the dust cover jacket of the first edition of the *Storia dell'architettura moderna* (40) (Fig. 13).

In the long article published in issue 38 of *Metron*, titled «Un genio catalano: Antonio Gaudí» (41) (Fig. 14), Zevi denounced the silence around this «master», and suggested as starting point the «historization» of his work:

Manca un apprezzamento storico, la capacità di inserire l'opera di Gaudí nel contesto della cultura figurativa europea. [...] La conoscenza dell'opera di Gaudí, oltre alla sua intrinseca magnificenza, serve a rivedere alcuni aspetti del movimento moderno e particolarmente la funzione positiva dell'espressionismo architettonico (42).

Significantly, Zevi's essay claimed the urgent need to restore Gaudí's work in the history of European architecture: «restituirlo all'Europa». In consequence, his work as historian would focus on providing some interpretative keys: «la passione neogotica»; «l'esperienza artigiana»; «l'impegno strutturalistico»; «l'espressionismo; il simbolismo e surrealismo».

Faced with the alternative of placing Gaudí's work between *Art Nouveau* and Expressionism, Zevi defended his radical distance from the *fin-de-siècle* premises; according to Zevi, Gaudí cannot usefully be included in the *Art Nouveau* experience, but it does not make any sense to reduce his work to an *expressionist* mood either.

Zevi saw in German expressionism a fundamentally «intellectual» purpose, a program that clearly distances itself from rationalism: «costituisce un programma, non evolve dall'origine». In Gaudí, however, the inextricable creative connection between psychology and formalization constitutes its own uniqueness.

Finally, in the interpretative section of his essay, under the heading «Symbolism and surrealism», Zevi points out Gaudí's authentic «Spanity», the quintessence of his singularity. As he said:

Qui veramente Gaudí rientra in un quadro spagnolo, anzi in larga misura lo promuove. Picasso, Dalí e Miró sono suoi compagni e suoi figli. [...] Questi indici permettono di demarcare la storicità di Gaudí, di riscattare il suo genio da quell'amara clausura in cui la vita e il lavoro e finora anche la morte lo hanno costretto: di restituirlo all'Europa (43).

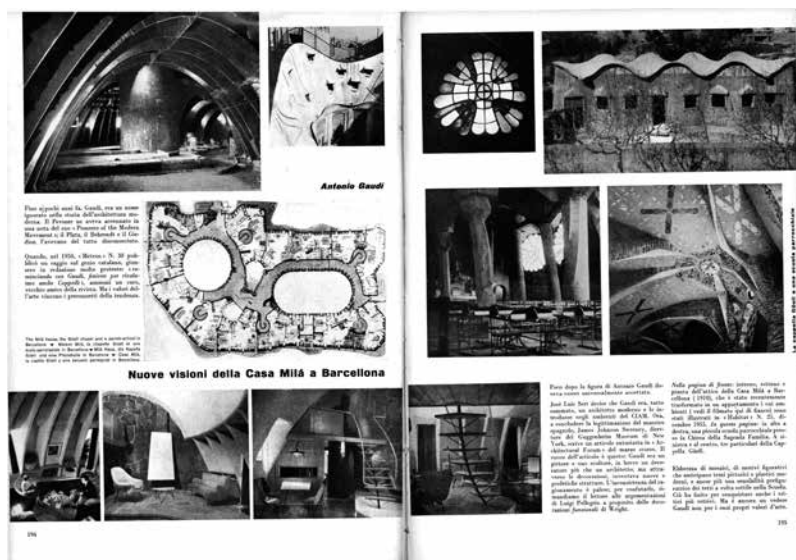
For the sake of historicity Zevi related Gaudí's work with Umberto Boccioni's plastic dynamism, who, as he said: «egli credeva veramente che ogni forma esteriore dovesse essere sprigionata da un moto».... However, Boccioni was a sculptor whereas Gaudí was an architect and therefore: «(per Gaudí) la plastica è solo il mezzo per reintegrare non tanto la scatola muraria dei suoi edifici, quanto la loro realtà spaziale» (44). So, Gaudí's research on «space» would be essential; something that—in Zevi's interpretation— makes us connect him directly with Frank Lloyd Wright:

L'espressionismo di Gaudí trae invece, scava la sua forza e la sua validità da un impegno strutturalistico che sarà eguagliato per altre strade e più tardi da Wright, ma non superato da alcuno (45).

Referring to Park Güell—a sublime synthesis, according to Zevi, of the Gaudian work—he defined the famous hypostyle hall as «un dramma barocco in un tempio greco, o un tempio greco esploso e rappresentato da Kandinsky». This character of baroque

Gaudí é una vittima, come lo è stato Wright per lunghi periodi, di una schematizzazione storica che ha individuato nelle ricerche volumetriche del 1910 l'unica base di partenza legittima del movimento moderno (46).

The international «relaunch» of a Gaudí completely revised was also recorded in the pages of the new magazine, founded by Zevi in 1955: *L'Architettura. Cronache e Storia*. In the 1956 article,



[Fig. 15] B. Zevi, «Antonio Gaudí. Nuove visioni della casa Milá a Barcellona», rivista *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*, 1956, n. 9.

«Nuove visioni della casa Milá a Barcellona» (Fig.15), Zevi persevered in his thesis, despite the criticism received, in turn rejecting the interpretation of Gaudí given by other authors, like José Luis Sert, for example:

Quando nel 1950, *Metron* n.38 pubblicò un saggio sul genio catalano, giunsero in redazione molte proteste [...]. Ma i valori dell'arte vincono i preconcetti della tendenza. [...] José Luis Sert decise che Gaudí era, tutto sommato, un architetto moderno e lo introdusse negli ambienti del CIAM. [...] Ma è ancora un vedere Gaudí non per i suoi propri valori d'arte (47).

Also, in the same magazine an article appeared in 1958 signed by Mario Brunati, Sandro Mendini and Ferruccio Villa, entitled: «Eredità dell'Ottocento: Spazio e sintesi plastica nel genio di Barcellona, Antoni Gaudí». The authors underlined the «anticipation» in Gaudí of contemporary artistic languages (Miró, Moore, Bill), emphasising how «il suo attualissimo insegnamento si impernia sulle concezioni spaziali e su una geniale sintesi di tutte le arti figurative» (48).

This article was actually a review of an informal exhibition displayed at their home-studio by three young students of the Polytechnic di Milano. For this occasion they even published a small catalogue (the first of a series that would only have a second issue —«Disegni di Erich Mendelsohn», 1960)—, illustrated with backlit graphics and photographs with details of Gaudí's «sculptural» work. In the preface Mendini interpreted the «precursor» work of Gaudí, stating:

Egli capta, dopo averle svolte e superate in sé, le esperienze del razionalismo e dell'organicismo, il nocciolo dell'attuale architettura organica-razionale. [...] Gaudí anticipa il «totemismo» della pittura e sculture contemporanee. Le sue visioni ciclopiche oltre che all'arte primitiva fanno pensare alle fantastiche montagne del Montserrat, ai colori del Mediterraneo, al movimento e ai riflessi subacquei di giganteschi polipi (49) (Fig. 16).



[Fig. 16] *Gaudí. Un precursore*. Milan: Brunati Mendini Villa, Studio di architettura, undated. [March 1958], n. 1.

Other prominent Italian architects, like Luigi Moretti —director and editor of the magazine *Spazio*— and Luigi Figini —ex member of the Gruppo 7 and founder of MIAR— also turned their attention to an operative recuperation of the Mediterranean popular architecture and a revaluation of Gaudí's works.

Although Moretti's connections with Spain (50) were less intense than those of his Italian colleagues (51), he soon became interested in Gaudí, as well. This interest was reflected, although not solely, in the numerous references to the Catalan architect that appeared in the issues published by *Spazio* between 1950 and 1957. Also Moretti's theoretical texts, always closely related to his architectural practice, frequently mentioned Gaudí as his predecessor.

Indeed, Moretti already cited Gaudí in the editorial of the first issue of *Spazio*, mentioning him amongst the crucial figures of modern art, and publishing an image of Casa Milá in Barcelona. It is no coincidence that Moretti began this editorial project (52) with a reflection about the need to rediscover a *unitary* artistic language to overcome the contemporary crisis. With the aim of getting over the cultural crisis of modernity, he pointed out a continuity of values between ancient and modern architecture, identifying a precursor thread that connects the great classic tradition with the work of some modern architects.

In August 1950, *Spazio* published the article signed by Cirlot, «Arte de Gaudí» (53), and the following year, the essay by Moretti titled «Tradición muraria en Ibiza» (54) (Fig. 17-18), where he established a genetic sequence between the Spanish pavilion of the Triennale de Milano designed by Coderch, the minor Ibizan architecture and the work of Antoni Gaudí.

Moretti highlighted the «consanguineous» correspondence between popular Ibizan architecture and Gaudian architecture, stating:

Le due architetture sono i poli estremi [...] di una stessa spinta al distacco e alla rinuncia, delle cose non bene possedute; rinuncia

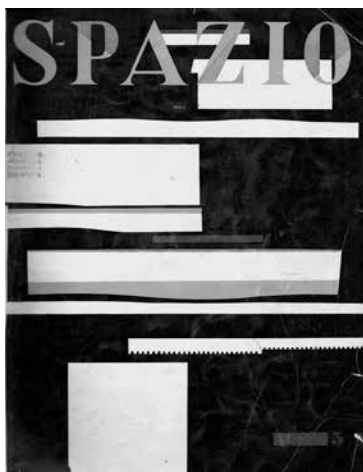
nel Gaudí alla mobile casistica della natura e suo rifugio nei pos-seduti andamenti dello spirito, nell'altra architettura abbandono della casistica intellettuale e spirituale ridotta pertanto a pochi el-ementi divenuti, per ribaditure tradizionali, solidi come oggetti del mondo naturale (55).

Although references to Gaudí's architecture are recurrent in Moretti's articles (56), his interest in Gaudian work was evident above all in his studies on parametric architecture, indebted to the complex geometries of the Catalan master (57).

Very different is the critical interpretation of Gaudí that Luigi Figini would formulate after his immersion in the «earthly paradises» of the Mediterranean islands to corroborate that in the ancestral wisdom of its spontaneous traditions lays the «natural» origin of the new architecture (58).

In September 1949, Figini set out on a journey that would take him from Genoa to Barcelona and from there to Palma de Mallorca and Ibiza. During his stay on the island, he made a detailed photographic report accompanying his notes about popular architecture, which would be published in two long ar-ticles in the Italian magazines *Comunità* («Architettura natural a Ibiza», 1950) and *Domus* («Diario illustrato di Ibiza Isla Blanca», 1951) (59) (Fig. 19).

Later, he would also dedicate a long article to the work of Antoni Gaudí, published in the magazine *Chiesa e quartiere*. The cover of this issue shows one of Gaudí's autograph studies for the sacristy of the Sagrada Familia. Along with the incisive ar-ticle by Figini, «Premessa all'opera religiosa di Antonio Gaudí» (60) (Fig. 20), there also appears an essay signed by Mario Brunati, Sandro Mendini and Ferruccio Villa (61), in addition to a compilation of quotes from various authors such as B. Zevi, Alberto Moravia, E. N. Rogers and H. R. Hitchcock, who to-gether with Sert, Martinelli, Cirlot and Batalla expressed their «Guidizio sobre Gaudí» (62). Indeed, as Figini affirms, «Much has been written during this phase of rediscovery of the 'Gaudí phenomenon'» (63).



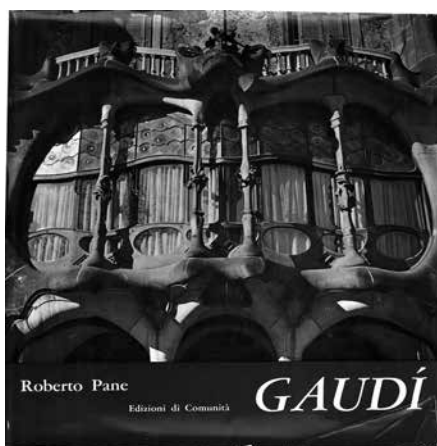
[Fig. 17] Cover of the magazine *Spazio*, July-August de 1950, n. 5.

[Fig. 18] L. Moretti, «Tradizione muraria a Ibiza», revista *Spazio*, July-August de 1950, n. 5.

[Fig. 19] L. Figini, Trip to Ibiza, September 1949: sheet of contacts with positives, handwritten notes and graphic diagrams, more images taken by Juan Castellò, Ibiza y Formentera, Index for the Traveller, 1948. In: O. Selvafolta, «El viaje de Luigi Figini a Ibiza en 1949», *Imaginando la casa mediterránea. Italia y España en los años 50*. Madrid: Ediciones Asimétricas, 2019.



[Fig. 20] Cover of the magazine *Chiesa e quartiere*, March 1958, n. 5.



[Fig. 21] Cover of the book: R. Pane. *Antoni Gaudí*. Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1964.

In any case, Figini —who explicitly distanced himself from the «neo-liberty rebellion» in vogue— was more interested in the religious works by Gaudí, whom he placed alongside Perret, Moser and Le Corbusier, although pointing at him as the forerunner, the original creator of a very limited «modern tradition of the sacred» (64). Amongst other sharp observations Figini noted that «la palinodia in corso» clouded the critical interpretation of Gaudí. He not only rejected the interpretations that try to turn Gaudí into a modern *avant-la-lettre* or a precursor of modern art (not very concealed allusions to the essays by Zevi or Sartoris), but also accused the manipulation of criticism of obscuring and distorting the meaning and reception of Gaudian works.

As he denounced, we must add to the interpretative deformations and distortions of an interested criticism, the difficulties that Gaudí's work itself contains; due to the contradictory co-existence of «l'arte con il mal gusto», the «stile con l'incoerenza» (65), that make his work «un inimmaginabile paradiso ed inferno dell'arte». And to all this, in addition, the misgivings of an «anachronistic neo-Gaudism» (66).

Oggi già si può parlare di una palinodia in corso del «genio catalano». Oggi l'arte del vecchio e «ignorato» Gaudí è più giovane e viva che mai (al punto da diventare in questi ultimi tempi, o purtroppo, di moda). Gli studi, le pubblicazioni, le mostre di Gaudí si sono moltiplicate. Si guarda a gaudí oggi da molte parti; ma se a lui si può guardare con ammirazione e con amore, è anche misura di prudenza guardare con «disinteresse». Perché Gaudí è e rimane inimitabile! Gaudí quasi costantemente sul filo di un rasoio, su di una fune tesa. Spesso il suo è il procedere di un acrobata, in equilibrio instabile sopra il vuoto di mille tentazioni, suggestioni, richiami, influssi, parvenze. Così il suo esempio, il volgersi a lui d'istinto non può oggi essere scevro di pericoli: pericolosità di Gaudí! (67)

Finally, in 1964 the first Italian monograph dedicated to Gaudí was published, signed by Roberto Pane (68) (Fig. 21): a noted contribution that summarizes two decades of unusual interest and intense debates in the Italian media —not only professional—, about the reconsideration of architectonic traditions and a major international historization of the work of Antoni Gaudí.

ARCHITECTURES IN THE MEDIA

Spanish architects in foreign magazines (1949-1975)

(1) FRAMPTON, Kenneth. *Historia crítica de la arquitectura moderna*. 3rd ed. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1996, p. 7.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 340.

(3) CAPITEL, Antón. *Arquitectura española: años 50 – años 80*. MOPU: Madrid, 1986, p. 13.

(4) If between 1949 and 1960 we find 231 references that make a total of 1112 pages, between 1961 and 1975 we have 587, which equate to 3298 pages.

(5) Within the period of study (1949-75) 818 references to Spain have been found in 136 different articles in foreign architectural magazines. A great part of the documental revision was carried out at the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, institution to which I give thanks for its welcome. Even being conscious of the fact that we might have missed some references involuntarily, the collection of revised magazines and the number of found references is a sufficiently big volume to make an analysis with guarantees.

(6) The correspondence that the Catalanian architect had with Gio Ponti and which is preserved in his archive certifies this work.

(7) Spaniards signed 143 and foreigners 158.

(8) In this comparison we start in 1954 because that was when the first article signed by a Spanish author was found: SERT, Josep Lluís. 'Introduzione a Gaudí'. *Casabella*. 1954, n. 202, pp. 13-16.

(9) SCHWARZE, von Dieter. 'Spanische Architektur seit Gaudí'. *Baumeister*. 1967, n. 6, p. 701.

(10) GREGOTTI, Vittorio. 'Premisa'. *Zodiac*. 1965, n. 15, p. 3.

(11) The architect commissioned two articles from Victor D'Ors and Antonio Fernández Alba for the issue.

(12) BLIJSTRA, Rein. 'Spaanse architecten zoeken een eigen vormgeving'. *Tijdschrift voor architectuur en beeldende kunsten. Katholiek bouwblad*. 1963, n. 15, pp. 337-345.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 342.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 338. The magazine also mentioned the Spanish magazine *Hogar y Arquitectura*, which Flores directed between 1963 and 1974.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) SCHWARZE, von Dieter. 1967. *Op. cit.*, pp. 701-702 and 778-780.

(17) GREGOTTI, Vittorio. 1965. *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

(18) FERNÁNDEZ ALBA, Antonio. 'Des voix du silence aux agents de l'exécutif. Introduction à une histoire de l'architecture de l'Espagne contemporaine'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1970, n. 149, pp. 1-12.

(19) FULLAONDO, Juan Daniel. 'Les contradictions de l'école de Madrid'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1970, n. 149, pp. 92-94.

CLOTET, Lluís. 'A Barcelone: pour une architecture de l'évocation'. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-109.

(20) GREGOTTI, Vittorio. *Oriol Bohigas. Pasión por la ciudad*. Barcelona: Electa, 1999, p. 46.

(21) David Mackay appears from 1963. In the text we refer to the three of them using the acronym MBM.

- (22) Lluís Domènech i Girbau, personal communication, 21st September 2015.
- (23) We do not know his name because Lluís Domènech only mentioned his surname, without giving more information than that which follows.
- (24) BOHIGAS, Oriol; MARTORELL, Josep; MACKAY, David. 'Building for the architects of Catalonia, Barcelona'. *Moebel interior design*. 1963, n. 6, pp. 269-275.
- (25) In the same year he also started his activity in Arquitectura Bis, from where he would do an intense critical and theoretical work.
- (26) The friendship between Vittorio Gregotti and Oriol Bohigas started through Federico Correa, who introduced them during a trip that the former made to Barcelona at the beginning of the 60s. Correa spoke English, and apart from his passion for architecture, he was fond of relating with characters from the profession, both national and international. He met Gregotti at the CIAM Congress, celebrated in Venice in 1952, where he also made contact with figures like Le Corbusier or Gardella. For more information about the relationship Bohigas-Correa-Gregotti, I recommend reading: 'Federico Correa y los italianos' and 'Gae Aulenti y Vittorio Gregotti'. In: BOHIGAS, Oriol. *Entusiasmos compartidos y batallas sin cuartel*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1992, pp. 149-156 and 185-189.
- (27) BOHIGAS, Oriol. 'Abitazione e avanguardia architettonica'. *Lotus International*. 1975, n. 9, pp. 60-61. BOHIGAS, Oriol. 'Barcellona, area residenziale'. *Lotus International*. 1975, n. 10, pp. 146-159.
- (28) POZO, José Manuel. *Werk 6/62. Un retrato de España*. Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2012, p. 27.
- (29) The preparation of this issue is explained with detail in the publication mentioned in the previous note.
- (30) ORTIZ-ECHAGÜE, César. 'Brief aus Spanien'. *Werk*. 1966, n. 9, p. 207.
- (31) ORTIZ-ECHAGÜE, César. 'Brief aus Spanien'. *Werk*. 1969, n. 3, p. 205.
- (32) FLORES, Carlos. 'Map-guide to architecture of Madrid'. *Architectural Design*. 1969, n. 7, p. 401. FLORES, Carlos. 'Map-guide to architecture of Barcelona'. *Architectural Design*. 1969, n. 8, p. 458.
- (33) DE MIGUEL, Carlos. 'Espagne. Torres Blancas. Edificio Girasol'. *Architecture, formes et fonctions*. 1969, n. 8, pp. 184-191.
- (34) POZO, José Manuel. 2012. *Op. cit.*, pp. 9-19.
- (35) FISAC, Miguel; GENILLOU, Fernando. 'Quelques realisations recentes en Espagne'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1959, n. 85, pp. 45-65.
- (36) Lluís Domènech i Girbau, personal communication, 21st September 2015.
- (37) The article, apart from showing a selection of works by different authors, included three texts. In *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*. 1970, n. 171: DE MOURA, Beatriz. 'Eretici di Barcellona e loro eresia'. pp. 577-578; DOMÈNECH, Lluís. 'Architettura civile e logica costruttiva', pp. 580-581; BOHIGAS, Oriol. 'Una possibile Escuela de Barcelona'. pp. 582-591.
- (38) PARENT, Claude; GOULET, Patrice. 'Architecture en Espagne'. *Aujourd'hui, Art et Architecture*. 1966, n. 52, p. 10.
- (39) ORTIZ-ECHAGÜE, César. 'Historia de la génesis del número 6/62 de *Werk*'. In: POZO, José Manuel (ed.). 2012. *Op. cit.*, p. 14.
- (40) ORTIZ-ECHAGÜE, César. Letter from the 12th July 1967 to Lucius Burckhardt. 'Legado Ortiz-Echagüe'. General Archive of the Universidad de Navarra.

Hodgepodge: foreign architecture in Spanish magazines

- (1) FERNÁNDEZ DEL AMO, José Luis. 'Las artes plásticas en España 1950-60'. In: *Palabra y obra. Escritos reunidos*. Madrid: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1985, pp. 195-196.
- (2) SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis. *Los años decisivos. 1931-1945*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2011, p. 286.
- (3) For more information, see: RODRIGUEZ BARREIRA, Óscar. 'La dictadura franquista: 1939-1975'. In: ÁLVAREZ JUNCO, José; SHUBERT, Adrian (ed.). *Nueva historia de la España contemporánea (1808-2018)*. Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2018, pp. 183-209.
- (4) [See note (1)].
- (5) On the importance of Spanish architecture magazines in the diffusion of foreign architecture in Spain during the Francoist period, see: ESTEBAN MALUENDA, Ana. *La modernidad importada. Madrid 1949-1968: cauces de difusión de la arquitectura extranjera. Doctoral Thesis in open access. Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2008*. Available at: <http://oa.upm.es/45735/>
- (6) FERNÁNDEZ ALBA, Antonio. 'La crónica detallada'. In: ESTEBAN MALUENDA, Ana (ed.). *España importa. La difusión de la arquitectura moderna extranjera (1949-1968)*. Madrid: Mairera, 2011, p. 57.
- (7) In 1959 *RNA* returned to the definitive control of COAM and regained its original title: *Arquitectura*.
- (8) HUMANES, Alberto. 'Nueva Forma: arte, arquitectura y todo lo demás'. In: AA.VV. *Nueva Forma. Arquitectura, arte y cultura 1966-1975*. Madrid: Opponax, 1996, p. 36.
- (9) When Carlos de Miguel became the editor of the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, he was already directing two other DGA publications: the *Boletín de Información de la Dirección General de Arquitectura*, —which in 1946 resumed the work of the *Boletín de Información* that had been interrupted two years earlier, and *Gran Madrid*, an informative bulletin of the Comisaría General para la Ordenación Urbana de Madrid y sus Alrededores which he had taken charge of just a few months before, in January 1948.
- (10) MONEO, Rafael. 'La modernidad idealizada'. In: ESTEBAN MALUENDA, Ana (ed.). 2011. *Op. cit.*, p. 72.
- (11) *Idem*.
- (12) BOHIGAS, Oriol. 'Tres revistas'. *Arquitecturas Bis*. Barcelona: La Gaya Ciencia, July-October 1978, n. 23-24, p. 63.
- (13) FULLAONDO, Juan Daniel. 'Reconocimiento sin retórica'. *Nueva Forma*. Madrid: Huarte, junio 1970, n. 53, p. 3.
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(45) *Temas de Arquitectura* dedicated two monographic issues to Frank Lloyd Wright, in January 1959, n. 4, and in February 1959 n.5. It appears that the death of the North American architect, on 9th April 1959, caught them by surprise while preparing the first monograph, which was extended to two issues, due to the coincidence of events.

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(7) Interview to Eulàlia Serra, 21-1-2021. Correspondence between I. de Solà-Morales and Gili Torra (BC, Fons GG, box 258, Ms. 9500/7, file Solà-Morales, I.)

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INDIVIDUAL TRAJECTORIES

Modern icons of the «calculated risk»: Candela and Torroja in international key (1936-1973)

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- (44) '[People] Frank Lloyd Wright covered...'. *Architectural Forum*. July de 1949, vol. 91, n. 1, p. 14.
- (45) POLÍVKA, Jaroslav J. '[Letters] Torroja's concrete'. *Architectural Forum*. May de 1955, vol. 102, n. 5, pp. 78, 86, 93.
- (46) LARRIPA, Victor; LARUMBE, Teresa. 'Torroja y Wright: Una mirada común'. In: POZO, José Manuel (ed.). *Arquitectura importada y exportada en España y Portugal (1925-1975): Actas del X Congreso Nacional de Arquitectura Moderna Española 2016*. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, T6 Ediciones, 2016, pp. 315-330.
- (47) TORROJA, Eduardo. *The structures of Eduardo Torroja: An autobiography of engineering accomplishment*. New York: F.W. Dodge Corporation, 1958.
- (48) TORROJA, Eduardo. *Philosophy of structures*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1958.
- (49) ZEVI, Bruno. 'Franco mostruoso malgrado Torroja'. *L'Espresso*. 21st January 1962, vol. VIII, n. 3.
- (50) SALVADORI, Mario. 'Thin shells: article 3: Examples here and abroad'. *Architectural Record*. November 1954, vol. 116, n. 5, p. 217-223.
- (51) JOEDICKE, Jürgen. 'Systematik der Schalenkonstruktionen'. *Bauen und Wohnen*. August de 1959, vol. 13, n. 8, pp. 262-266. JOEDICKE, Jürgen. *Schalenbau: Konstruktion und Gestaltung*. Stuttgart: Karl Krämer, 1962.
- (52) SÁNCHEZ ARCAS, Manuel. *Form und Bauweise der Schalen*. Berlin: VEB Verlag für Bauwesen, 1961. We owe the news about this book to Salvador Guerrero.
- (53) BILLINGTON, David P. *Thin shell concrete structures*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.
- (54) TAFURI, Manfredo; DAL CO, Francesco. *Arquitectura contemporánea*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1980, p. 419.

(55) CANDELA, Félix. 'El escándalo de la Ópera de Sidney'. *Arquitectura México*. 1967, n. 98, pp. 103-110. CANDELA, Félix. 'El escándalo de la Ópera de Sidney'. *Arquitectura*. December de 1967, n. 108, pp. 29-34. CANDELA, Félix. 'Het schandaal van de opera van Sydney'. *BOUW*. September de 1968, n. 36, pp. 1272-1276. On the answer to Candela: MONEO, Rafael. 'Sobre el escándalo de Sidney'. *Arquitectura*. January de 1968, n. 109, pp. 52-54.

From *Paris avec amour*: Corrales and Molezún in three French publications (1958-1970)

(1) ARZA, Pablo. '*L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, testigo del desarrollo moderno español (1950-1986)'. *Bitácora arquitectura*. 2019, n. 43, pp. 12-25.

(2) «La Seconde Guerre mondiale affecte considérablement *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* : les membres de la rédaction se dispersent en zone libre, certains sont déportés. André Bloc se réfugie à Clermont-Ferrand et cède la revue en 1940 à Georges Massé, architecte parisien, qui la rebaptise *Techniques et Architecture*, titre proposé par Auguste Perret. À la fin de la guerre, André Bloc reprend la publication d'AA, ainsi que la maison d'édition du même nom. Les deux revues coexistent désormais, malgré un conflit de propriété entre les deux hommes, qui durera jusqu'en 1947. Pierre Vago prend la direction du comité éditorial, qu'il dirigera jusqu'en 1975». «En la Segunda Guerra Mundial, los miembros del equipo editorial de *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* se dispersaron en la zona libre, algunos fueron deportados. André Bloc, fundador de la revista en 1930 -con la ayuda de Marcel Eugène Cahen- vende la revista en 1940 a

Georges Massé, arquitecto parisino que la renombra como *Techniques et Architecture*, título propuesto por Auguste Perret. Tras la guerra, André Bloc se hizo cargo de la publicación de *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, así como de la editorial del mismo nombre. Las dos revistas convivirían, a pesar de un conflicto de propiedad entre los dos hombres que duró hasta 1947. Pierre Vago asumió la dirección del comité editorial, que dirigió hasta 1975». See: '80 ans d'Architecture avec AA'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* [en línea]. [fecha de consulta 01/04/21]. Available at: <https://www.larchitecturedaujourdhui.fr/histoire/>.

(3) 'Pavillon de l'Espagne'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1958, n. 78, pp. 20-21.

(4) 'Elviña. Unidad Vecinal número 3. Barrio de la Paz'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1970, n. 149, pp. 28-31.

(5) Possibly because of the presence of their correspondent in Spain or for their contacts with architects and editors of Spanish publications, these projects came to the notice of the magazine. See: ARZA, Pablo. '*L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, testigo del desarrollo moderno español (1950-1986)'. *Bitácora arquitectura*. 2019, n. 43, pp. 12-25.

(6) The study focusses specifically on four publications: *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura-Revista Arquitectura, Hogar y Arquitectura y Nueva Forma*, as the most representative in Madrid circles in those years.

(7) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Pabellón español en la Exposición Universal de Bruselas '58'. *Archivo José Antonio Corrales*. 1957, 027.

(8) See: 'Bruxelles 1958. Exposition Universelle et Internationale. Les techniques au service de l'homme'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1958, n. 76, pp. 97-103.

(9) *Ibidem*.

- (10) 'Pavillon de l'Espagne'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1958, n. 78, pp. 20-21.
- (11) *Ibidem*.
- (12) *Ibidem*.
- (13) *Ibidem*.
- (14) 'Bruxelles 1958. Pavillon de l'Espagne'. *Techniques et Architecture*. 1959, vol. 19, n. 5, pp. 137-139.
- (15) *Ibidem*.
- (16) Especially the section, as it is reproduced in a greater size. The plans however are still in reduced form.
- (17) 'Pabellón Español en Bruselas'. *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. 1956, n. 175, pp. 13-22.
- (18) «The jury was composed by a delegated Interministerial Commission. Among the experts featured the architects Miguel Fisac and Luis Fedichi». See: CORRALES, José Antonio. *Pabellón de Bruselas '58: Corrales y Molezún*. Madrid: Ministerio de la Vivienda, E.T.S. de Arquitectura-Departamento de Proyectos, 2005.
- (19) Apart from the team Corrales-Molezún the participants were: Pablo Pintado, Carlos de Miguel, R. León with Iniguez de Onzoño, Hervás and Vázquez de Castro, Beltrán and del Corral, Barbero Rebolledo with Pérez Enciso, de la Joya and Echevarria, Rafael Aburto, Sobrini with Castro and Fernández Plaza. *Ibidem*.
- (20) 'Exposición Universal e Internacional de Bruselas, 1958'. *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. 1957, n. 188, pp. 5-13.
- (21) 'El pabellón de España en la Exposición de Bruselas'. *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. 1958, n. 198, pp. 1-10.
- (22) See: CORRALES, José Antonio. 2005. *Op. cit*.
- (23) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón.
- 'Bruselas-Expo, 1958. Pabellón de España'. *Informes de la Construcción*. 1958, vol. 106, n. 11, pp. 7-18.
- (24) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Proyecto de Centro de 2ª Enseñanza y Enseñanza Profesional en Herrera de Pisuerga'. *Archivo José Antonio Corrales*. 1954, 005bis.
- (25) In: 'Centre d'enseignement secondaire et professionnel. Herrera de Pisuerga'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1959, n. 85, pp. 52-54.
- (26) «Campamento de verano para niños». In: 'Colonie de vacances pour enfants, Miraflores de la Sierra. Madrid'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1959, n. 85, pp. 58-59.
- (27) 'Centre d'enseignement...'. 1959. *Op. cit*.
- (28) *Ibidem*.
- (29) *Ibidem*.
- (30) CORRALES, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Grupo escolar en Herrera del Pisuerga'. *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. 1958, n. 203, pp. 11-22.
- (31) Curiously it would be badly orientated in relation the plans which appear in the interior of the example.
- (32) The text presented in the French example is without signature, by an unidentified author, it could have been submitted by the architects themselves, or it could have been simplified for the magazine.
- (33) On page 20 there is an illustration of the entrance and its closure by way of a large wooden door. We can also see the connection to some of the village houses, not just focussing on the building in isolation from its surroundings
- (34) With a slight turn towards the west, it would coincide with the area plan of the original project.

- (35) The lower general plan and that of the roofs on a whole page. The first floor dormitories on half a page, all to the same scale.
- (36) One of the sections, a shot taken of the Gymnasium Chapel, the same one published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. The greater scale of its publication and the group of sections presented and the details help it to be truly understood.
- (37) CORRALES, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Grupo escolar en Herrera del Pisuerga'. *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. 1958, n. 203, pp. 11-22.
- (38) 'Centre d'enseignement...'. 1959. *Op. cit.*
- (39) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Residencia infantil veraniega para Cristalería Española. Miraflores de la Sierra. Madrid'. *Archivo José Antonio Corrales*. 1957b, 026.
- (40) CORRALES, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón; SOTA, Alejandro de la. 'Residencia infantil de verano en Miraflores de la Sierra'. *Arquitectura*. 1959, n. 7, pp. 9-17.
- (41) In the same issue as the project for Herrera de Pisuerga. 'Colonie de vacances pour enfants, Miraflores de la Sierra. Madrid'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1959, n. 85, pp. 58 and 59.
- (42) *Ibidem*.
- (43) *Ibidem*.
- (44) The original record of the project differs greatly from what is written here. Jose Antonio Corrales, in the ceremony in tribute to Alejandro de la Sota held in the Colegio de Arquitectos de Barcelona, 3rd March 2007, spoke about the project and defended it thus: See: LÓPEZ COTELO, Victor; LLINÁS CARMONA, Josep; GALLEGU JORRETO, José Manuel; ÁBALOS VÁZQUEZ, Iñaki, et al. *Alejandro de la Sota: seis testimonios*. Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2007.
- (45) CORRALES, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón; SOTA, Alejandro de la. 1959. *Op. cit.*
- (46) *Ibidem*.
- (47) Faced with this lack of clarity, the editor excused himself: «The plans chosen are the most representative, given that the drawing of building is confusing. The plans repeat some parts of the building, with plans and projection mixed together. We plead that any possible lack of clarity justifiably comes from the selection made». *Ibidem*.
- (48) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio. 'Club náutico. Pantano de San Juan. Madrid. Proyecto de edificio'. *Archivo José Antonio Corrales*. 1959, 031.
- (49) 'Club nautique aux environs de Madrid'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1963, n. 105, p. 23.
- (50) *Ibidem*.
- (51) *Ibidem*.
- (52) *Ibidem*.
- (53) CORRALES, José Antonio. 'Club náutico de Madrid'. *Arquitectura*. 1961, n. 28, pp. 15-18.
- (54) *Ibidem*.
- (55) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Concurso de ideas para el Teatro Nacional de la Ópera en Madrid. Fundación March'. *Archivo José Antonio Corrales*. 1964, 066 bis.
- (56) 'Concours pour l'Opéra National de Madrid'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1964, n. 116, p. 15.
- (57) FULLAONDO, Juan Daniel. 'Corrales y Molezún (III)'. *Nueva Forma*. 1967, n. 22, pp. 39-41.
- (58) 'Concours pour...'. 1964. *Op. cit.*

(59) *Ibidem*.

(60) As *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, explained, the team led by the Polish architect Jan Boguslawski came first. The Second Prize went to the team of Fernando Moreno Barbera. The Jury was made up of MM. Gratiniano Nieto, Spain; Miguel Ángel, García Lomas, Spain; Jose Finat and Escrivá de Romani, Spain; Juan del Corro Gutiérrez, architect; Federico Moreno Torraza, architect, Spain; Erich Boltensstern, architect, Austria; Egon Eiermann, architect, Federal Republic of Germany; Gio Ponti, architect, Italy; Pierre Vago, architect, France.

(61) This team was completed by José Luis Aranguren, José María García de Paredes and Alejandro de la Sota.

(62) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Concurso de ideas Palacio de Congresos y Exposiciones de Madrid'. *Archivo José Antonio Corrales*. 1965a, 073 bis.

(63) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón; MATA GOROSTIZA, José de la. 'Concurso de Palacio de Exposiciones en Madrid: tercer premio'. *Arquitectura*. 1964, n. 71, pp. 9-11.

(64) The First Prize went to the architects Pintado and Faure, and the Second was for Fernandez Alba and Fernandez del Amo.

(65) The result of the Competition was as follows: First Prize: Pablo Pintado Riba and Ignacio Faure Rodrigo. Second Prize: Antonio Fernández Alba, José Luis Fernández del Amo Moreno, Ignacio Gárate, Leopoldo Uría Iglesias, A. Colomina, A. Donaire and J.L. Izquierdo (students). Third Prize: José Antonio Corrales Gutiérrez, Ramón Vázquez Molezún and José de la Mata Gorostiza.

First Consolation Prize: José Luis García Fernández, Fernando Higuera Díaz, Antonio Miró. Second Consolation Prize: Juan Daniel Fullaondo Errazu, Javier Manterola Armisen (Eng.), Máximo Arnáiz, Javier Azofra, Mariano Bayón Álvarez, Jesús Carana (students) First Mention: Antonio Muñoz Salvador, Federico Cabrillo Rodríguez, Miguel Muñoz Monsalve, Manuel Zayas Arancibia (students). Second Mention: Manuel Muñoz Monasterio.

(66) Done as one and a half pages for the first three, and one side for the Consolation Prizes and the mentions.

(67) PARENT, Claude; GOULET, Patrice. 'Palais des Expositions et des Congrès: Madrid 1964'. *Aujourd'hui Art et Architecture*. 1966, n. 52.

(68) *Ibidem*.

(69) The School in Herrera de Pisuerga-1955, the Spanish Pavilion in Brussels-1958, Camilo José Cela House in Palma de Mallorca-1964, The headquarters of Reader Digest in Madrid-1964, and the Profidén Building-1965.

(70) PARENT, Claude; GOULET, Patrice. 1966. *Op. cit*.

(71) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Residencia particular en Puerta de Hierro. Madrid. (Casa Huarte). Prop. D. María Luisa Jiménez Altolaquirre'. *Archivo José Antonio Corrales*. 1965b, 068 bis.

(72) 'Maison Huarte Près de Madrid'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1968, n. 136, pp. 76-78.

(73) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Casa Huarte en Madrid'. *Arquitectura*. 1966, n. 94, pp. 1-10.

(74) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio;

VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Casa Huarte en «Ciudad Puerta de Hierro». Madrid'. *Hogar y arquitectura*. 1967, n. 69, pp. 56-60.

(75) The two texts coincide in many expressions and in their general structure. They also coincide with what was published in their monographs. See: CORRALES, José Antonio; VÁZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. *Corrales y Molezún: arquitectura*. Madrid: Xarait, 1983. Also see: CORRALES, José Antonio; TORRES, Elías; PEREA, Andrés. *José Antonio Corrales: Premio Nacional de Arquitectura, 2001*. Madrid: Ministerio de la Vivienda, Secretaría General Técnica, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2007.

(76) 'Maison Huarte...'. 1968. *Op. cit.*

(77) *Ibidem*.

(78) *Ibidem*.

(79) In *Arquitectura*, the plan was rotated through 90° to occupy a whole page. The same did not happen here, because the plan could have occupied the same space with the correct orientation. In *Hogar y Arquitectura*, despite being rotated through 180°, north is clearly identifiable.

(80) CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio. 'Grupo de viviendas en el Polígono de Elviña. La Coruña. Barrio de Las Flores. Prop. Obra Sindical del Hogar y Arquitectura'. *Archivo José Antonio Corrales*. 1964-65, 067.

(81) See: ARZA, Pablo. '*L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, testigo del desarrollo moderno español (1950-1986)'. *Bitácora arquitectura*. 2019, n. 43, pp. 12-25.

(82) 'Elviña. Unidad Vecinal número 3. Barrio de la Paz'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1970, n. 149, pp. 28-31.

(83) 'Polígono de Elviña. La Coruña. Unidad Vecinal num.3 (400 viviendas)'. *Hogar y arquitectura*. 1965, n. 59, pp. 8-17.

(84) The project record reflects this with literal phrases and others adapted from the article, so linking the different themes mentioned. CORRALES GUTIÉRREZ, José Antonio. 'Grupo de viviendas en el Polígono de Elviña. La Coruña. Barrio de Las Flores. Prop. Obra Sindical del Hogar y Arquitectura'. *Archivo José Antonio Corrales*. 1964-65, 067.

(85) 'Barrio de La Paz. Elviña, La Coruña. Unidad vecinal num.3'. *Hogar y arquitectura*. 1967, n. 72, pp. 2-15.

(86) FULLAONDO, Juan Daniel. 'Corrales y Molezún (4): situación histórica'. *Nueva Forma*. 1967-1968, n. 23-24, pp. 78-82.

(87) Along with other projects by these architects and Fullaondo's general reflections on the whole work.

(88) FULLAONDO, Juan Daniel. 'Corrales y Molezún (5)'. *Nueva Forma*. 1968, n. 25, p. 61.

(89) 'Unidad vecinal num.3 Barrio de Las Flores. Polígono de Elviña. La Coruña'. *Arquitectura*. 1968, n. 117, pp. 38-52.

(90) Perhaps as Pablo Arza indicated, because of the relationship between Claude Parent, member of the magazine's editorial committee, and Juan Daniel Fullaondo editor of *Nueva Forma*, and how «these contacts had a repercussion in the way national architecture was dealt with by the magazine» See: ARZA, Pablo. '*L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, testigo del desarrollo moderno español (1950-1986)'. *Bitácora arquitectura*. 2019, n. 43, pp. 12-25.

(91) Alison and Peter Smithson projected the housing building in Robin Hood Gardens in London two years later using some similar solutions.

(92) 'Pavillon de l'Espagne'. 1958. *Op. cit.*

(93) 'Maison Huarte'. 1968. *Op. cit.*

Bofill, heterodoxy and mass media. De la utopía a la historia (1960-1975)

(1) BOFILL, Ricardo. 'Yo fui el principio del *star system*'. *El País Semanal*. 30th January 2017. Interview by Anatxu Zabalbeascoa.

(2) Ricardo Bofill Levi was born in Barcelona in 1939, the year in which the Spanish civil war ended, in the bosom of a middle-class and erudite family, son of the architect and respected developer Emilio Bofill (member of the rationalist group GATCPAC during the 30s) and Maria Levi, who belonged to an influential Jewish family from Venice. After studying at the prestigious French Lyceum in Barcelona, Ricardo Bofill started his studies at the Architecture School of Barcelona in 1956, from where he was expelled a year later because of his political activities. He continued his studies in Switzerland, where he graduated in urban planning and architecture in 1962 at the Haute École du Paysage, d'Ingenièrerie et d'Architecture in Geneva. Bofill's academic education is another one of his polemic facets, recently amended by being proclaimed doctor honoris causa by the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, more than fifty years after being expelled from it.

(3) Emilio Bofill officially signed the commissions built by his own company.

(4) Amongst the main members of the TA are included Ana Bofill (architect and musical composer, Bofill's sister); Peter Hodgkinson (architect educated at the Architectural Association of London also a musician); Salvador Clotas (writer, essayist and literary critic); Julio Romea (economist); José Agustín Goytisolo (one of the most prestigious Spanish poets of his generation); Manuel Núñez (architect) and Ramón Collado (architect).

(5) BOFILL, Ricardo; ANDRÉ, Jean-Luis. *Espacio y vida*. Barcelona: Tusquets Editores, 1990, p. 37

(6) In the previous issue of the magazine, Siegfried Giedion established, in a long article dedicated to the work of Jørn Utzon, the term 'third generation', under which Spanish architecture is therefore placed. See: GIEDION, S. 'Jørn Utzon and the third generation'. *Zodiac*. April 1965, n. 14, pp. 36-93.

(7) After Gregotti's presentation, the articles written by the Spanish Flores and Bohigas, Bofill, A. Fernández Alba, Mangada, de Moura and Solans, Ribas, Gonzalo and Correa appeared.

(8) It is a long list made up of more than thirty architects and teams: Alemany, Bofill, Bohigas, Bonet, Cabrera, Carvajal, Coderch, Corrales-Molezún, Gutiérrez, Correa-Milà, Crespi, Donato, Fargas-Tous, Fernández Alba, Giráldez-Lopez Iñigo-Subías, Higuera, Martorell-Bohigas-Mackay, Masieu, Mendizábal, Miró, Mitjans, Peña, Perpiñá, Puig Torné, Ribas, Saénz de Oiza, Sierra, Subías, Vázquez de Castro, Weber. In general one work of each author or team is published, except in the cases of Higuera —with six works— and Bofill —with three works.

(9) BOFILL, Ricardo. 'Sobre la situación actual de la arquitectura en España'. *Zodiac*. 1965, n. 15, pp. 34-43.

(10) *Ibidem*, p.35.

(11) With the exception of Coderch, according to Bofill, «the architect of greater national repute of that moment» and with greater influence amongst the younger generations. *Ibidem*, p. 43.

(12) «My father is a developer and took me to the sites as a child. From him I learnt brick craftsmanship, the construction of Catalanian stairs and vault, the use of

- ceramics as building element. Also at that time they told me about the clan's ancestor, whose name and surname I carry, and who built the Cathedral in Gerona». BOFILL, Ricardo; ANDRÉ, Jean-Luis. 1990. *Op. cit.*, p.16.
- (13) TUSQUETS, Oscar. 'Sobre els premis FAD 1966'. *Serra d'Or*. August 1967, year IX, n. 8, pp.65-67.
- (14) BOHIGAS, Oriol. 'Una posible «Escuela de Barcelona»'. *Arquitectura*. 1968, n. 118, pp. 24-30.
- (15) MONEO, Rafael. 'La llamada «Escuela de Barcelona»'. *Arquitectura*. 1969, n. 121, pp. 1-6.
- (16) See in this book: PIZZA, Antonio; GARCÍA-VERGARA, Marisa. 'Reconsideración de lo popular e historización de Gaudí en las publicaciones italianas (1949-1958)'. pp. 258-283.
- (17) 'I muri rossi di Castelldefels, Barcellona: Ricardo Bofill, architetto, 1962-1964'. *Domus*. August 1965, n. 429, pp. 6-9.
- (18) *Ibidem*, p. 7.
- (19) 'Apartment building «Los Sargazos». Castelldefels, Barcelona, architect: E. Bofill Benessat. *Taller de Arquitectura y Construcción. Cuadernos de arquitectura*. 1964, n. 58, p. 24-27.
- (20) The authors themselves explain their work as «the explicit and deliberate attempt to go beyond the limits of rationalism and to have a bearing on something we could call, rather inappropriately and without excessive precision, neo-rationalism. Something that takes advantage of its advantages (economy of the construction, functionalism and so on) and overcomes its disadvantages (rigidity of masses and volumes, feeling of coldness and monotony and so on)». *Ibidem*, pp.24 and 26.
- (21) FULLAONDO, Juan Daniel. 'Espagne 68. Epigones et novateurs'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. September 1968, n. 139, pp. 93-108.

- (22) All these articles are published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. September 1968, n. 139. BAQUÉ, Xavier; NUÑEZ, Manolo. 'Immeuble d'habitation, Plaza San Gregorio, Barcelone', p. XV; 'Xanadú', pp. 98-99; 'Granollers Laboratoires', p. 100.
- (23) HODGKINSON, P. 'Xanadú'. *Architectural Design*. July 1968, vol. 38, n. 7, pp. 327-329; 'Xanadú in Spain'. *The Architectural Forum*. June 1968, vol. 128, n. 5, pp. 52-59. The building also appears in a monograph of the same year in: 'Xanadú, ein turm mit 17 appartments'. *Baumeister*. June 1965, pp. 672-676.
- (24) ZEVI, Bruno. 'Le furberie del falso Gaudí'. *L'Espresso*. 8th September de 1968.
- (25) HODKINGSON, P. 'Kafka's castle' *The Architectural Forum*. November 1969, vol. 131, n. 4, pp. 35-41.
- (26) 'Kafka's castle'. *Architectural Design*. March 1970, pp.116-117.
- (27) 'Kafkaeske Burg'. *Baumeister*, n.10, October 1969, pp. 1293-1300.
- (28) 'El Castillo'. *Architektur und Wohnform*. November 1971, n.7, pp. 300-302.
- (29) 'Castell tres coronas in Stiges/Spain'. *Bauen + Wohnen*. 1971, vol. 25, n. 6, pp. 264-265.
- (30) In fact, the portraits of the TA members who participated in the staged photographic feature done in the complex of Barrio Gaudí in Reus in 1970.
- (31) In Barrio Gaudí in Reus a total of 2.000 social homes were planned, with three, four and five bedrooms, in eight different typologies, of 65, 80 and 90 square meters respectively. It would also count on services like restaurants, crèche and communal spaces. Only a third of the project was built 500 homes— between 1966-68, and 1970-72.

(32) CARANDELL, J.M. 'Barrio Gaudí'. *The Architectural Forum*. May 1971, vol. 134, n. 4, pp.22-27. Renowned German journalist, philosopher and writer Carandell was regular columnist of the newspaper *Tele/Expres* of Barcelona, the first private newspaper published in Catalonia since the civil war.

(33) The urban planning problems also occupied local publications like *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, which dedicated two monographs to subjects like «The Suburbs» (n. 60 and 61, 1965), «Housing buildings» (n. 62, 1965), el «Tourism on the coast» (n. 64 and 65, 1966) and the «Free spaces in Barcelona» (n. 83, 1971). The TA worked in precisely the same fields, in fact, their works appear in some magazines, although with proposals hardly assimilable for local architectonic paradigms. See: 'Edificio de Apartamentos «Los Sargazos» en Castelldefels'. *Op. cit.* pp.24-27.

(34) FULLAONDO, Juan Daniel. 'Les contradictions de l'Ecole de Madrid'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. «Espagne, Madrid, Barcelone». April-May 1970, year LV, n. 149, pp.89-91; CLOTET, L. 'A Barcelone: Pour une architecture de l'évocation'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. «Espagne, Madrid, Barcelone». April-May de 1970, year LV, n. 149, pp.102-105.

(35) ATELIER BOFILL. 'Vers la Ville dans l'espace. Quartier Gaudi a Reus'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. «Espagne, Madrid, Barcelone». April-May de 1970, year LV, n. 149, pp. 32-41.

(36) *Ibidem*, p. 32.

(37) In the text there are many references to the Vietnam war, revolution in the third world, urban guerrillas, the collectivization of urban private property, the overcoming of patriarchal family, the historical development of humanity towards communal forms; a radical rhetoric which integrates the

contributions of H. Lefebvre's Marxist sociology, collaborator of the Taller, with the French revolutionary theoretical production of R. Debray or of G. Debord.

(38) The emphasis on the «market» is surely strategic, as Bofill already wanted to move his activity to France by 1970, participating in several contests like La Petite Cathédrale (Cergy-Pontoise, 1971), L'Arc de la Défense, (Paris, 1973), La Maison d'Abraxas (Versailles, 1973) and Les Halles (Paris, 1975). As Chemetov stated: «[...] l'analyse que Bofill a faite de la place de l'artiste dans la société bourgeoise et qu'il a pu faire très clairement en Espagne (il n'aurait pas pu le faire en France où le fantôme de la démocratie parlementaire tend à gouverner les rapports de classe dans la société) lui a beaucoup servi pour son implantation sur le marché français». 'Propos de table'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1975, n. 182, p. 58.

(39) «Nous proposons donc une structure des formes qui permette un mélange continu, dans un tissu urbain continu, de fonctions, de classes sociales, d'usagers, etc.». ATELIER BOFILL. 1970. *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

(40) *Ibidem*, p. 34.

(41) In 1968 this research was published in the book BOFILL, Ricardo; Taller de Arquitectura. *Hacia una formalización de la ciudad en el espacio*. Barcelona: Ed. Blume, 1968.

(42) A methodology that takes care of explaining: «[...] L'étude du système de combinaison des alvéoles dans l'espace offre la possibilité d'intégrer différents types de demeure à l'intérieur d'une même structure». ATELIER BOFILL. 1970. *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

(43) *Ibidem*, p. 34.

(44) 'Taller de Arquitectura'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. November-December de 1975, n. 182, p. 57.

- (45) «Trois architectes, Claude Parent, Paul Chemetov, Antoine Grumbach, représentant des générations et attitudes différentes face à l'architecture, se sont rencontrés pour parler avec nous du Taller, et d'autre chose...». 'Propos de table'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. November-December 1975, n. 182, pp. 58-60.
- (46) A. Grumbach comments Bofill's project for Les Halles: «Le premier projet qu'ils ont fait pour les Halles, l'ellipse, a été pour tout le monde un choc qui traumatisera longtemps beaucoup d'architectes. [...] il faut que ce soit un homme venu du sud, un nouveau Bernini qui vienne faire une ellipse en brique au centre de Paris ; cela, il fallait le faire, merci au Taller!». GRUMBACH, Antoine. 'Propos de table'. 1975. *Op. cit.*, p. 59.
- (47) PARENT, Claude. 1975. *Op. cit.*, p. 58.
- (48) GRUMBACH, Antoine. 1975. *Op. cit.*, p. 59.
- (49) PARENT, Claude. 1975. *Op. cit.*, p. 59.
- (50) VÁZQUEZ MONTALBÁN, Manuel; GOYTISOLO, José Agustín. 'La muralla roige. Atelier Bofill, Barcelone'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. June 1972, vol. 44, n. 162, pp.41-44.
- (51) It is the poem «La muralla roja», which would be included in the collection in: GOYTISOLO, José Agustín. *Taller de Arquitectura*. Barcelona: Ed. Lumen, 1977.
- (52) BROADBENT, Geoffrey. *Design in Architecture. Architecture and the Human Sciences*. Londres: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.
- (53) BROADBENT, Geoffrey. 'The Taller of Bofill'. *The Architectural Review*. November 1973, vol. CLIV, n. 921, pp. 289-297.
- (54) BROADBENT, Geoffrey. 'Bofill'. *Architectural Design*. July 1975, vol. XLV, n. 7, pp. 402-417.
- (55) BANHAM, Reyner. 'Megastructure'. *Architectural Design*. July 1975, vol. XLIV, n. 7, pp. 401. Text of a conference presented at the UIA Congress in 1974.
- (56) BANHAM, Reyner. *Megastructure: urban futures of the recent past*. Londres: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
- (57) The media resonance of the Taller in the international panorama is in part reinforced by their unexpected origin: a country immersed in difficulties because of its isolation and its political and economic singularity in the European context.
- (58) *Ibidem*, p. 402.
- (59) «Las Tres Coronas at Sitges, (Bofill calls it Kafka's Castle) is an example of this kind; [...] Having designed this basic dwelling form, the Taller experimented with various way of clustering about a central access tower. They then clustered the towers to make the overall building for which, in spite of its superficial resemblance to Safdie's Habitat, is a fundamentally different concept. The Taller themselves were surprised at how impressive the cathedral-like interior spaces of Kafka's Castle proved to be». *Ibidem*, p. 403.
- (60) BOFILL, Ricardo. 'Bofill. *Taller de Arquitectura*'. Conference given at the Architectural Association School of Architecture, London, 5th March 2015.
- (61) BROADBENT, Geoffrey. '*Taller de Arquitectura: the road to Xanadu and beyond*'. *Progressive Architecture*. September 1975, vol. 56, pp. 68-83. Broadbent would continue dedicating essays to the trajectory of the Taller, but beyond 1975.
- (62) *Ibidem*, p. 83.
- (63) BOFILL, Ricardo. 'J. A. Coderch y de Sentmenat: dernier grand maître solitaire de l'architecture espagnole'. *L'Architecture*

d'Aujourd'hui. January-February de 1975, n. 177, pp.67-73.

(64) BOFILL, Ricardo. 'L'imagination fantastique d'Antoni Gaudí'. In: TARRAGÓ, Salvador; BRUNHAMMER, Yvonne. *Pionniers du xxe siècle 2: Gaudí*. Paris : Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1971, pp. 34-35.

(65) *Ibidem*, p. 35.

(66) CHEMETOV, Paul; PARENT, Claude; GRUMBACH, Antoine. 'Taller de Arquitectura. Propos de table'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. 1975. *Op. cit.*, pp.57-95.

(67) Other articles dedicated to specific works: HODGKINSON, P. 'La Petite cathédrale'. *Architecture Mouvement Continuité*. 1970, n. 32, pp. 30-36; TALLER DE ARQUITECTURA. 'Walden 7'. *Ga Houses*. 1976, n. 1, pp. 18-35. As well as other compilation works: TANGE, Toshiaky; YOSHIDA, Shingo. 'Ricardo Bofill'. *a+u: architecture and urbanism*. December 1976, n. 72, pp. 23-46.

(68) TALLER DE ARQUITECTURA. 'Realiser l'utopie'. *Techniques et Architecture*. October 1975, n. 306, pp. 88-97.

INTERCHANGES

Spanish pavilions at international fairs (1951-1965)

(1) About Spanish pavilions of the 19th century: BUENO FIDEL, M. José. *Arquitectura y nacionalismo (Pabellones españoles en las exposiciones universales del siglo XIX)*. Málaga: University of Malaga and Architects Association, 1987. VIERA, Manuel. *El imaginario español en las exposiciones universales del siglo XIX*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2010.

(2) Letter from Gio Ponti to José Antonio Coderch. May 4th, 1950. The documents

in the Coderch archive were, before belonging to the collection of the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, deposited at the Higher Technical School of Architecture of Valles, where I consulted them in 1998.

(3) *Ibidem*.

(4) Letter from Coderch to Gio Ponti. May 31st, 1950. I owe the letters of Coderch and Gio Ponti deposited in the archives of the Triennale di Milano (ASTM) to the kindness of Antonio Pizza.

(5) Telegram from Coderch to Pietro Gorgerino. March 14th, 1951. (ASTM).

(6) ZEVÍ, Bruno. 'Un genio catalano: Antonio Gaudí'. *Metron*. September-October 1950, n. 38, pp. 27-53.

(7) CIRLOT, Juan Eduardo. 'Arte di Gaudí'. *Spazio*. August 1950, n. 2, pp. 29-39. It is curious that Moretti agreed to Cirlot's request to publish the text in Spanish, in addition to its Italian translation.

(8) Conversations of the author with Rafael Santos Torroella. 1990-2002.

(9) PONTI, Gio. 'Spagna'. *Domus*. July-August de 1951, n. 260, p. 22.

(10) VALSECCHI, Marco. 'Giro d'orizzonte alla T9'. *Edilizia moderna*. December 1951, n. 47, p. 58.

(11) *Spazio*. July-August 1951, n. 5, p. 33. The pavilion was also published in the national magazines: *RNA*. December 1951, n. 120; *Cuadernos de arquitectura*. 1953, n. 15-16.

(12) *Ibidem*, note 2.

(13) PONTI, Gio. 'La Spagna alla Triennale'. *Domus*. November 1954, n. 300, pp. 46-48.

(14) DORFLES, Gillo. 'La sintesi delle arti maggiori'. *Casabella*. November-December 1954, n. 203, pp. 44-48.

- (15) *Ibidem*. The Spanish pavilion was also published in: *Casabella*. August-September 1954, n. 202; and in: *Edilizia moderna*. December 1954, n. 53.
As in: *RNA*. December 1954, n. 156, pp. 25-27.
- (16) *Domus*. November 1957, n. 336, p. 15. The Spanish pavilion was also graphically published in: *Casabella*. September-October 1957, n. 216; *Casabella*. November-December 1957, n. 217. *Edilizia moderna*. December 1957, n. 62. As well as in: *RNA*. November 1957, n. 191. There is a joint article on the three pavilions in: PIBERNAT, Oriol (ed). *Diseño y Franquismo. Dificultades y paradojas de la modernización en España*. Barcelona: Museu del Disseny, 2020, pp. 121-138.
- (17) The competition phase and the first news about the winning project of the 1958 pavilion in: 'Spanish Pavilion in Brussels (competition. Belgium)'. *RNA*. June 1956, n. 175, pp. 13-22.
- (18) "Universal and International Exhibition of Brussels 1958 (Belgium)". *RNA*. August 1957, n. 188, p. 7.
- (19) 'Installation competition'. *RNA*. August 1957, n. 188, p. 11.
- (20) VAZQUEZ MOLEZÚN, Ramón. 'Frank Lloyd Wright'. *Boletín de información de la dirección general de arquitectura*. Fourth quarter 1951, pp. 14-16.
- (21) TANNER, Ogden. 'Spain: exercise in pure shape'. *Architectural Forum*. June 1958, p. 84.
- (22) RICHARDS, J.M. 'The foreign pavilions. Spain'. *Architectural Review*. August 1958, n. 739, pp. 112-115.
- (23) *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. June 1958, pp. 20-21, and *Techniques et Architecture*. September 1958, pp. 137-139.
- (24) 'Espagne'. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. April-May 1964, p. 173.
- (25) The competition for the 1964 pavilion, reproducing the 15 projects presented, was published in: *Hogar y arquitectura*. March-April 1963, n. 45, pp. 10-12; *Arquitectura*. April 1963, n. 52, pp. 46-50.
- (26) CHUECA GOITIA, Fernando. *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española*. Madrid: Editorial Dossat. 1947. *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*. Madrid: Dirección general de arquitectura. 1953. Although this last text did not appear signed by Chueca in the first edition, it was in successive ones.
- (27) Javier Carvajal's drawings of the Cordoba mosque are published in: TORRES BALBÁS, Leopoldo. *Arte Califal (Historia de España dirigida por Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Tomo V, España musulmana)*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. 1957, pp. 350-351; and in: CHUECA, Fernando. *Historia de la arquitectura española. Edad Antigua, Edad Media*. Madrid: Dossat, 1965, p. 84.
- (28) The memory and plans of Javier Carvajal's project were published in: *Temas de Arquitectura*. 1963, n. 50, pp. 8-19.
- (29) *Ibidem*, p.12.
- (30) In: *New York Times*, May 10th, 1964.
- (31) In: *Time*, June 5th, 1964.
- (32) SCHMERTZ, Mildred F. 'Architecture at the New York world's fair'. *Architectural Record*. July 1964, p. 147.
- (33) 'Spanish pavilion: surprise hit of the fair'. *Architectural Forum*. June 1964, pp. 16-17.
- (34) 'Queen of the fair'. *Progressive Architecture*. December 1964, pp. 160-167.
- (35) *Ibidem*, note 2.

Fantasy, technology and consumption. Spanish architecture in Germany

(1) HEIDEGGER, Martin. 'Begegnungen mit Ortega y Gasset'. In: HEIDEGGER, Martin. *Denkerfahrten, 1910-1976*. Frankfurt, 1984, pp. 77-79.

(2) BARTNING, Otto (ed.). *Mensch und Raum. Das Darmstädter Gespräch 1951*. Darmstadt: Neue Darmstädter Verlagsanstalt, 1952, p. 168.

(3) ORTEGA Y GASSET, José. 'Der Mythos des Menschen hinter der Technik'. In: BARTNING, Otto (ed.). 1952. *Op. cit.*, pp. 132-139.

(4) '... und auf der Darmstädter Mathildenhöhe'. *Neue Bauwelt*. March 1951, n. 12, p. 189.

(5) 'Mensch und Raum'. *Neue Bauwelt*. June 1951, n. 18, p. 400.

(6) See, for example: ORTIZ-ECHAGÜE, César. 'Moderne Architektur in Spanien'. *Bauen+Wohnen*. 1965, n. 8, pp. 321-327; 'Ohne rechte Winkel in Barcelona'. *Bauwelt*. 1965, n. 16-17, p. 414; SCHWARZE, Dieter. 'Spanische Architektur seit Gaudí'. *Der Baumeister*. 1967, n. 6, pp. 701-702, 778-780; 'Barcelona. Gaudí im Auge' *Bauwelt*. 1967, n. 1, pp. 26-32.

(7) KULTERMANN, Udo. 'Bücher über Antoni Gaudí'. *Deutsche Bauzeitung*. 1961, n. 24, p. 580.

(8) JOEDICKE, Jürgen. 'Willkür und Bindung im Werk von Antonio Gaudí'. *Bauen+Wohnen*. 1960, n. 5, pp. 181-187. Joedicke avoided connecting Gaudí with «fantastic» expressionism and he presented him in the context of Jugendstil. This did not imply that he would deny the existence of individual contacts, like in the case of Finsterlin: cfr. JOEDICKE, J. 'Die frühen Zwanziger Jahre: Hermann Finsterlin in seiner Zeit'. *Bauen+Wohnen*. 1974, n. 1, p. 32.

(9) JOEDICKE, J. *Geschichte der modernen Architektur. Synthese aus Form, Funktion und Konstruktion*. Stuttgart, 1958.

Symptomatically, in the book he deals with Gaudí, Torroja and Candela as pioneers, but he did not name Sert and in the final chapter, dedicated to 'the contributions of nations, nor did Spain feature in the extended group composed of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Brazil and the United States.

(10) See, for example the references to Gaudí and Torroja in: JOEDICKE, J. 'Strömungen in der Architektur der Gegenwart'. *Bauen+Wohnen*. 1959, n. 9, pp. 326-332.

(11) 'Persönliches: Eduardo Torroja, zu seinem Tode am 15. Juni 1961'. *Der Baumeister*. 1961, n. 9, pp. 904-905.

(12) 'Das neue spanische Bauforschungsinstitut in Madrid'. *Bauwelt*. 1954, n. 7, pp. 126-129.

(13) SCHMIDT VAN STENVERT, A. 'Tribüne der Rennbahn in Zarzuela (Spanien) - Architekt Eduardo Torroja, Madrid'. *Baukunst und Werkform*. 1954, n. 7, pp. 474-475.

(14) CANDELA, Félix. 'Weg zu einer neuen Strukturauffassung'. *Baukunst und Werkform*. 1959, n. 8, pp. 412-414, 443-444; CANDELA, Félix. 'Weg zu einer neuen Strukturauffassung'. *Baukunst und Werkform*. 1959, n. 9, pp. 468-470.

(15) 'Ein Klassiker des Beton: Neue Torroja Literatur'. *Baukunst und Werkform*. 1959, n. 1, p. 52.

(16) TORROJA, Eduardo. 'Von Originalität und künftiger Reife'. *Baukunst und Werkform*. 1959, n. 2, p. 59.

(17) BÜHLER, Dirk. 'La constructora Hermanos Rank y la introducción de las bóvedas tabicadas en Múnich a partir de

1947'. *Actas del Décimo Congreso Nacional y Segundo Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Construcción*. Madrid, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 215-224.

(18) The book by Curt Siegel was translated into Spanish in 1966 under the title of *Formas estructurales de la arquitectura moderna*. México: Compañía Editorial Continental, 1966.

(19) In this complementary reading of Torroja, Candela and Gaudí he coincided with other authors, like Franz Füg: cfr. FÜG, F. 'Grenzen und Stufen der Architektur'. *Bauen+Wohnen*. 1960, n. 9, pp. 306-312. OESTREICH, Hans Dieter. 'Zur Phänomenologie moderner Formen'. *Bauwelt*. 1957, n. 36, pp. 944-955.

(20) JOEDICKE, J. 'Chronik: Eduardo Torroja Miret'. *Bauen+Wohnen*. 1960, n. 3, p. 1-6. 'Versuchsbau auf dem Gelände des ITC und del Cemento in Costillares'. *Bauen+Wohnen*. 1961, n. 11, pp. 407-408. JOEDICKE, J. 'Systematik der Schalenkonstruktionen'. *Bauen+Wohnen*. 1959, n. 8, p. 263.

(21) 'Arbeitersiedlungen in Spanien. Entdeckt in Halle 6 der Interbau'. *Bauwelt*. 1957, n. 1, pp. 788-789.

(22) 'Hofhausskizzen'. *Bauwelt*. 1962, n. 35, p. 975.

(23) LANDER, Helmut. 'Höhlenwohnungen in Cuevas de Almanzora und Guadix, Spanien'. *Bauwelt*. 1968, n. 4, pp. 84-85.

(24) 'Wohnen' y 'Das Miró-Haus in Palma'. *Bauwelt*. 1958, n. 11, pp. 243-244.

(25) 'Bar auf Mallorca'. *Bauwelt*. 1962, n. 35, pp. 966, 981-983.

(26) 'Das aber kommt uns «spanisch» vor'. *Bauwelt*. 1962, n. 35, p. 991.

(27) Worthy examples in some publications in *Der Baumeister*: [Oiza] 'Ciudad Blanca. Terrassenwohnungen in Alcudia, Mallorca'.

Der Baumeister. 1966, n. 12, p. 1482. [Coderch] 'Hotel del Mar, Palma de Mallorca'. *Der Baumeister*. 1966, n. 7, p. 797. [Bohigas] 'Ferienhäuser an der Costa de la Calma auf Mallorca'. *Der Baumeister*. 1967, n. 6, pp. 728-29. [Bofill] 'Do-serve-yourself-Hotel in Sitges'. *Der Baumeister*. 1969, n. 10, p. 1294. [Higuera] 'Dromedario Hotel in Lanzarote'. *Der Baumeister*. 1973, n. 6, p. 753.

(28) See, for example: 'Ferienstadt Porto Christo Novo auf Mallorca'. *Bauen+Wohnen*. 1965, n. 6, pp. 233-235; 'Playamar – größtes Bauprojekt an der Costa del Sol'. *Bau*. 1968, n. 1-2, pp. X-XII.

Multiple dialogues between Italy and Spain during the Sixties

(1) On Zevi's role in the international divulgation of Spanish architecture during the 50s, see the article, present in this volume: PIZZA, Antonio; GARCÍA-VERGARA, Marisa. 'Recovery of the popular and historization of Gaudí in Italian publications (1949-1958)'. pp. 258-283.

(2) ZEVI, Bruno. *Saper vedere l'architettura. Saggio sull'interpretazione spaziale dell'architettura*. Torino: Einaudi, 1948. (Sp. tr.: *Saber ver la arquitectura. Ensayo sobre la interpretación espacial de la arquitectura*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Poseidon, 1951).

Other Zevian texts which would be primary references for the international architectural culture of the time, and which would be translated into Spanish, were: ZEVI, Bruno. *Frank Lloyd Wright*. Milano: Il Balcone, 1947, 1954. (Sp. tr.: *Frank Lloyd Wright*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Infinito, 1956). ZEVI, Bruno. *Architettura e Storiografia*. Milano: Libreria Editrice Politecnica Tamburini, 1950. (Sp. tr.: *Arquitectura e Historiografia*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Victor Lerú, 1958). ZEVI, Bruno. *Storia dell'architettura moderna*. Torino: Einaudi, 1950. (Sp. tr.: *Historia*

de la arquitectura moderna. Buenos Aires: Emecé editores, 1954). ZEVI, Bruno. *Poetica dell'architettura neoplasticista*. Milano: Libreria Editrice Politecnica Tamburini, 1953. (Sp. tr.: *Poética de la arquitectura neoplástica*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Victor Lerú, 1960).

(3) GALLOTTI MINOLA, Marianna (presentation of). 'Barcellona dopo Antoni Gaudí e il GATCPAC'. *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*. August 1959, n. 46, pp. 247, 259, 265. In the issue works are presented by the architects Antonio de Moragas Gallissá, José M. Sostres Maluquer, Oriol Bohigas and José M. Martorell, Joaquín Gili Moros, Francisco Bassó Birulés, Pedro López Inigo, Guillermo Giráldez Dávila, Javier Subías Fagas. Although the articles of *L'architettura...* sometimes are not signed directly by Zevi «[...] i numeri del periodico sono messi a punto con la collaborazione di altri redattori, ma sotto l'occhio vigile di Zevi, che si riserva il ruolo di regista incontrastato di ogni testo o immagine pubblicata». DULIO, Roberto. *Introduzione a Bruno Zevi*. Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza, 2008, p. 110.

(4) '¿Crisis o continuidad?'. *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*. Barcelona, 1958, n. 32, p. 4.

(5) ROGERS, Ernesto Nathan. 'Continuità o crisi'. *Casabella*. Milán, 1957, n. 215, p. 7.

(6) BOHIGAS, Oriol. *Dit o Fet. Dietari de records II*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1992, pp. 219-220.

(7) See: PIZZA, Antonio (ed.). *Imaginando la casa mediterránea. Italia y España en los años 50*. Madrid: Ediciones Asimétricas, 2019.

(8) At the beginning of the 60s, instead, Cordech seemed ready to open up towards a more international and heterogeneous context, joining the platform of the recently formed Team X. In fact, he would write his famous text⁷ to participate in the first steps of this new-born organism: «[...] I am

sending you the complete Spanish text of the article that I had to send to the Secretary of Team X, after the advice Walter Gropius gave me at the dinner meeting in Barcelona. He told me I had the obligation, if I did not agree, to write and send my point of view to Team X. These are the 'unforeseeable circumstances' which made me write it. A gruelling experience I will not repeat». Letter from Coderech to Martorell and Bohigas, 19th December 1961. Epistolary, Bohigas Archive, Barcelona.

(9) In this respect, the testimony of Correa himself is clarifying, in the chapter: 'Federico Correa i els italians'. In: BOHIGAS, Oriol. 1992. *Op. cit.*, pp. 133-140. It is the transcription of a conversation between Correa and Bohigas: «(Correa) The year after the IX Triennial, in 1952, the CIAM organised a summer course in Venice. Alfonso (Milà) and I were accepted onto this course through Josep L. Sert, then president of the CIAM. [...] A very outstanding student and with whom we became close friends was Vittorio Gregotti. [...] above all the immediate closeness between people of Barcelona and people of Milan was surprising. [...] (Bohigas) "Em sembla que durant bastants anys tu vas ser l'únic subscriptor de *Casabella* a Espanya. Potser en Martorell i jo en vam ser els segons, i per influència teva. Tinc la col·lecció completa des de l'any 56». BOHIGAS, Oriol. 1992. *Op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135, 137.

(10) Both texts were published –after their release in the press– in BOHIGAS, Oriol. *Barcelona entre el pla Cerdà i el barraquism*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1963.

(11) In the *Pequeños Congresos* (Small Congresses), celebrated regularly during the following decade and initially formed by groups in Madrid and Barcelona –to which representatives of the Basque Country, Andalusia and Portugal, plus some foreign

guests were added—, the discussions were often about monographic subjects: in the fifth congress the current topic would be urban planning for tourism, with the presence—in Tarragona (1963)—of George Candilis; in Segovia (1965), however, they would talk about the evolution of historical cities, with the presence of Giancarlo De Carlo, while in the eighth (Tarragona, 1967) Aldo Rossi was present; in the ninth (Vitoria, 1968), dedicated to subjects related to technology and the language in architecture, Vittorio Gregotti and Peter Eisenman also participated.

(12) Giancarlo De Carlo had previously been invited to give a conference about pedagogical issues at the Architects Association in Barcelona, in March 1964, in an act organised by the *Ponencia de Enseñanza*, in collaboration with the College of Architecture. In April 1964, De Carlo y Coderch coincided in Delft as invited professors at the International Week of Design.; as a student, Oscar Tusquets would participate.

(13) «[...] the Small Congress was celebrated that brought together architects from Spain and Portugal to talk about a subject we are passionate about: technology and the language in Architecture [...] The Italian Vittorio Gregotti and the American Peter Eisenman were especially invited». *Destino*. Barcelona, 2nd November 1968, n. 1622. In a letter from Correa to De Carlo, in preparation for the Small Congress in Tarragona, the author mentions a series of contacts with other speakers from the Italian architectural panorama, which Correa considered convenient to invite: Aldo Rossi, Paolo Portoghesi, Carlo Aymonino, Paolo Ceccarelli. Handwritten letter from Federico Correa to Giancarlo De Carlo, 7th March 1967. Giancarlo De Carlo Archive, Progetti Archive, University IUAV, Venice.

(14) Letter from Piera Pieroni (Director) to Oriol Bohigas, 29th October 1962. Epistolary, Bohigas Archive, Barcelona.

(15) Several authors. *Arquitectura* 63. Barcelona: ETSAB, 1963, pp. 9, 178, 159. In the end, Bruno Zevi did not participate but he sent a letter to the student organization, full of praise for the publication and the initiative, but also with severe admonishments: «Ho molto ammirato il numero della vostra rivista: è bellissimo sotto ogni aspetto. Anzi, debbo fare una critica: [...] (da voi, io mi aspetto) una rivista più vostra, meno compiuta, ma più problematica, meno seria ma più coraggiosa». Josep Muntanola Archive. Barcelona. The underlined is from the original [see fig. 3].

(16) Typed letter from Bohigas to De Carlo, 30th June 1965. Giancarlo De Carlo Archive, Progetti Archive, University IUAV, Venice. —In the same letter— the names of the other Italian architects involved appear handwritten: Rogers, Zevi and Gregotti. Before, De Carlo had commented in a letter to Bohigas: «Io credo che tu faccia un magnifico e coraggioso lavoro a Barcellona e vorrei sapere di più sulle tue opere e sui risultati che ne ricavate [...]. Si fatica molto in Italia, in questo momento, per fare diventare questo strano paese più moderno di quanto non creda di essere. Siamo in fondo impegnati nello stesso sforzo, perciò cerchiamo di tenerci al corrente». (Fig. 6) Letter from De Carlo to Bohigas, 20th July 1964. Epistolary, Oriol Bohigas Archive, Barcelona.

(17) «[...] we talk at length of how much we were hurt by the disappearance of *Casabella* in the form and spirit you gave it and which has done so many services for the architecture panorama around the world, and especially, in our country, where it

counted with passionate admirers. [...] To tell you how much we owe, our generation, to the fabulous labour of architectonic orientation you have carried out during these years, with the direction of *Casabella*». Letter from Bohigas to Rogers from the 7th October 1965. Epistolary, Bohigas Archive. See also: BOHIGAS, Oriol. 'La 'mort' de *Casabella*'. *Serra d'Or*. Barcelona, October 1965.

(18) Letter from Bohigas to Zevi from the 30th May 1969. Epistolary, Oriol Bohigas Archive, Barcelona.

(19) The magazine *Zodiac*, was first published in 1957; funded by Adriano Olivetti, utopian industrialist sponsor of other initiatives in the world of architecture and urban planning —like *Metron* (1950-1954), *Urbanistica* (from 1949) and the *Edizioni di Comunità*—, would keep a strongly international character, publishing articles in the original language.

(20) «What hurts me more is that all your work, so intense and selfless, has been, in part, lost. I do know that the publication in *Zodiac* will also be high-quality and, culturally, very effective; but we were all very eager to be seen, in the worlds abroad, under your shield. [...] Anyway, do not worry. The solution for *Zodiac* is very good and we are very grateful to you. We are also grateful for the huge effort you made to study, understand and divulge our architecture, in our circumstances so particular and characteristic». Letter from Bohigas to Gregotti, 22nd June 1965, Epistolary, Oriol Bohigas Archive. Barcelona.

(21) GREGOTTI, Vittorio. 'Premisa'. *Zodiac*, 1965, n. 15, p. 3. To Gregotti's editorial premise the following articles followed: FLORES, Carlos; BOHIGAS, Oriol. 'Sobre la situación actual de la arquitectura en España', pp. 4-33; BOFILL, Ricardo. 'Panorama histórico de la arquitectura moderna española', pp. 35-43; 'Obras de los arquitectos

[...]' (and a long list follows, which —however— caused the protest of Carlos de Miguel; see his letter below), p. 44-129; FERNÁNDEZ ALBA, Antonio. 'Situación actual y problemas culturales del arquitecto', pp. 131-135; MANGADA, Eduardo. 'Estructura profesional', pp.136-138; DE MOURA, Beatriz; SOLANS, Joan Antoni. 'La prensa y la crítica', pp. 139-142; RIBAS, Manuel. 'La planificación urbanística en España', pp. 144-165; GONZALO, Ricardo. 'La situación de la vivienda en España', pp. 167-178; CORREA, Federico. 'La enseñanza de arquitectura en España', pp. 179-183; 'Traducciones al italiano', pp. 185-229. After the publication of the monographic issue, Carlos de Miguel wrote a letter to Bohigas, complaining about the partiality of the selection from Barcelona and about the treatment reserved for the architects from Madrid: «I find it mistaken. There are many important people missing. I do not know the panorama in Barcelona very well, but I think some works by Sostres and Moragas should be included. Missing from Madrid are la Hoz, Fisac, Sota, Leoz and Molezún with his most important work, the Brussels pavilion, of which there is only a very small photograph published». Letter from de Miguel to Bohigas, 2nd March 1966, Epistolary, Oriol Bohigas Archive. Barcelona.

(22) FLORES, Carlos; BOHIGAS, Oriol. 1965. *Op. cit.*, p. 4-33. Carlos Flores had already published, in 1961, the first history of modern architecture in Spain: FLORES, Carlos. *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1961.

(23) BOFILL, Ricardo. 1965. *Op. cit.*, pp. 35, 43.

(24) DE MOURA, Beatriz; SOLANS, Joan Antoni. 1965. *Op. cit.*, p. 139, 141.

(25) *Gruppo 63*, in an Italian context strongly influenced by Marxist culture, dominated by suffocating interpretative automatisms,

wanted to protect the *avant-garde* spirit of the beginning of the century.

(26) The screening of Boffill's film, in reality, deserved a caustic comment in the press: «Circles. Se ne parla come di un'opera d'avanguardia. Dalla sua visione, si deduce in realtà che della avanguardia il suo giovane autore coltiva un'idea tutto sommato totalmente futile: si tratta di una gelida quintessenza dell'Antonioni più statico e sdrammatizzato». BARBATI, C. (a cura di). 'L'avanguardia tra i separatisti'. *La Fiera Letteraria*. 2nd March de 1967, p. 6.

(27) From a note of the initiative deposited in the personal archive of Beatriz de Moura. Beyond the general questions, it is necessary to point out that the majority of the discussions revolved around pertinent questions about a «linguistic» interpretation of the work; the group from Barcelona was quite receptive towards the semiotic and the information theory, or towards the application of the theories of structuralism in the field of aesthetics, art, and human projectivity.

(28) BARBATI, C. (a cura di). 1967. *Op. cit.*, p. 5. Beatriz de Moura Archive, Barcelona. In another Italian journalistic intervention they insisted on the main aspect of the pointed «divergences»: «S. Clotas ha fatto notare che en una situacione come la spagnola dove 'oggetto della letteratura é tutto tranne la letteratura', una ricerca sperimentale presuppone una fase precedente di costruzione di un tessuto linguistico; solamente a partire da ciò sarà possibile la sperimentazione». SPINELLA, M. 'Spagna e Italia: convergenze e divergenze'. *Rinascita*. 24th February 1967, n. 8, p. 34.

(29) Letter from de Moura to Bohigas, 25th January 1970. Epistolary, Oriol Bohigas Archive. Barcelona. The underlined parts are from the original. The Italian architect invited (La Garriga, 1970) would be Vittorio Gregotti,

to talk about: «Recent experiences in Italy of Vittorio Gregotti and other young architects from Milan».

(30) ECO, Umberto. *Opera aperta. Forma e indeterminazione nelle poetiche contemporanee*. Milan: Bompiani, 1962. (Sp. tr.: *Obra abierta*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1965). ECO, Umberto. *Apocalittici e integrati: comunicazioni di massa e teorie della cultura di massa*. Milano: Bompiani, 1964. (Sp. tr.: *Apocalípticos e integrados ante la cultura de masas*. Barcelona: Lumen, 1968). Also, a conference by Umberto Eco is mentioned, at the Colegio de Arquitectos de Barcelona, dated on the 1st of February 1969, titled: 'Semiotologia dell'Architettura'.

(31) It would be Renato de Fusco who would develop, in the specific of the discipline, such considerations: DE FUSCO, Renato. *Architettura come mass-medium. Note per una semiologia architettonica*. Bari: Dedalo, 1967. (Sp. tr.: *Arquitectura como mass media, notas para una semiología arquitectónica*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1970). In March 1972 the Symposium 'Comunicació i Arquitectura', p took place in Castelldefels, published in AA.VV. *Arquitectura. Historia y Teoría de los Signos*. Barcelona: La Gaya Ciencia, 1974.

(32) GREGOTTI, Vittorio. *Il territorio dell'architettura*. Milán: Feltrinelli, 1966, p. 25. (Sp. tr.: *El territorio de la arquitectura*. Barcelona: G. Gili, 1972). Referring to phenomenology, structuralism, semiotics, the theory of perception or to the postulates of anthropology as well as to Heideggerian philosophy, the author tried to propose a renewed horizon, with more projective acuity, in which a rehearsed transversality is transformed into enough guarantee for the affirmation of a culture of transformation.

(33) «Really, it is about an excessive adjectivisation of architecture. Or it is

considered valid only when it comes defined by the imperative application of some adjectives —of technological, thematic, methodological, realist character, etc.— or it is transformed into a pure fact adjective of other substantive realities —of political, social, professional character, etc. That is, or it is conditioned to the adjectives, or it transformed into an adjective, without valid considerations about its own substantivity». BOHIGAS, Oriol. *Contra una arquitectura adjetivada*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1969, pp.7-8.

(34) GREGOTTI, Vittorio. 'España arquitectónica 1968'. In: DOMÈNECH, Lluís. *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*. Barcelona: Blume, 1968, p. 25.

(35) *Ibidem*, p. 27.

(36) «[...] faced with Mr Cordech's refusal to participate in the exhibition and the impossibility, for personal reasons, of Mr Bofill [...] After being exhibited in Rome, the set of works has been taken to several Italian cities». Brochure present within the archive documentation of the Vocalía de Cultura del COAC, Barcelona.

(37) In August 1968, in *L'Architettura...*, a long article appeared about the studio MBM: 'Testimonianze di José Maria Martorell, Oriol Bohigas e David Mackay. Presentazione di José Corredor Matheos'. *L'Architettura. Cronache e Storia*. August 1968, n. 154, pp. 317-327. Really, it is a proposal for publication that had come out from Bohigas' studio: «If we have ventured to send it, it is because we thought, through that conversation in Rome, that you might be interested in publishing some more or less recent news about Spanish architecture . [...] In this country things are more or less the same; the same university problems and the same efforts in secrecy». From a letter from Bohigas to Zevi, 20th February

1968. Epistolary, Oriol Bohigas Archive. Barcelona.

(38) Several authors. *L'architettura.*

Cronache e Storia. January 1970, n. 171.

Index of the issue: DE MOURA, Beatriz.

'Eretici di Barcellona e loro eresie';

DOMÈNECH, Lluís. 'Architettura civile e logica costruttiva'; BOHIGAS, Oriol.

'Una possibile 'Escuela de Barcelona'';

'Residenza per anziani a carretera

de Torraferri, Lerida. Architetti Luis

Doménech, Ramón Puig, Lauretano

Sabater, Jaime Sanmartí'; 'Rinnovo uffici

IBARS, Barcellona. Architetti Luis Clotet,

Oscar Tusquets (studio PER); 'Edificio

'Atalaya' di Barcellona. Architetti Alfonso

Milà, Federico Correa, José L.Sanz

Magallón'; 'Appartamenti 'Punta Brava' in

San Feliu de Guixols. Architect José Bonet

(studio PER); 'Casa editrice 'Destino' in

Badalona, Barcellona. Architects José

Martorell, Oriol Bohigas, David MacKay;

'Residenza 'Madre Guell' in Barcellona.

Architects Jaime Rodrigo and Luis

Cantallops. The collection of articles goes

from page 576 to 600; once the issue

was published, Bohigas sent a letter of

thanks to the magazine: «I think it is an extraordinary effort of careful attention.

It is the most serious and thorough

summary I have seen about this small local

phenomenon». From a letter from Bohigas

to Zevi, 17th March 1970. Epistolary, Oriol

Bohigas Archive, Barcelona.(39) DE

MOURA, Beatriz. 1970. *Op. cit.*, p. 577.

(40) See: RIERA, Carme. *La Escuela de*

Barcelona. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1988;

RIAMBAU, Esteve; TORREIRO, Casimiro. *La*

Escuela de Barcelona: el cine de la 'gauche divine'.

Barcelona: Anagrama, 1999.

(41) Typed text about studio PER, by Xavier

Sust, unpublished, undated; p. 10. Xavier

Sust Archive. Barcelona.

(42) «1) 'the nature and origin of the commission'; 2) 'the voluntary, conscious and cult adaptation of these modest realities'; 3) 'the very steady monitoring of the more demanding rationalist diction'; 4) 'the attempt to break to the maximum the established codes' (following – as the author himself declares – the theoretical indications of U. Eco); 5) 'the pessimism'; 6) 'a kind of liking for critical, ironic, basically insecure, ambiguous and, we dare to say, frankly cynical attitudes'; 7) 'the praise of scandal as revulsive and the so called frivolity as a critical and pessimistic attitude'; 8) 'a sort of cultural position'; 9) 'the coherence of formal style'.» BOHIGAS, Oriol. 'Una posible 'Escuela de Barcelona''. *Arquitectura*. Madrid, 1968, n. 118, pp. 24-30. It would also be published in *Cuadernos Summa – Nueva Visión*. Buenos Aires, 1969, n. 22.

(43) BOHIGAS, Oriol. 1970. *Op. cit.*, p. 591. The titles of the chapters, in this case, would be as follows (the numbers are before the title – which do not exist in the original – to make easier the comparison with the manifest already published by Bohigas in *Arquitectura*): 0) «L'architettura catalana oggi»; 1) «Natura delle commissioni»; 2) «Adeguazione a realtà modeste»; 3) «La tradizione razionalista»; 4) «Una posizione d'avanguardia»; 5) «Pessimismo»; 6) «Un modo di vita»; 7) «Posizione culturale e stile formale».

(44) To go deeper into the subject, see: PIZZA, Antonio. 'Ideas de arquitectura en una cultura de oposición'. In: PIZZA, Antonio (ed.); ROVIRA, Josep Maria (ed.). *Desde Barcelona. Arquitecturas y Ciudad. 1958-1975*. Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2002, pp.10-53.

(45) BOHIGAS, Oriol. 1992. *Op. cit.*, p. 221-222.

Nuno Portas and the Spanish influence on housing policies during the democratic transition

(1) Several authors. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. Dossier Portugal An II. May-June 1976, n. 185. GREGOTTI, Vittorio. 'Oporto. L'esperienza dei Saal, di Alexandre Alves Costa Interventi a S. Victor, Bouça, Lapa, Leal, Antas, Miragaia, Barredo, Lada Oporto'. *Lotus International. Architettura nella Città Storica*. 1978, n. 18. HATCH, Richard. *The Scope of Social Architecture*. New Jersey: New Jersey Institute of Technology, 1984. VIEIRA, Álvaro Siza; ROUSSELOT, Christine; BEAUDOIN, Laurent. 'Entretien avec Álvaro Siza'. *Architecture Mouvement Continuée*. 1978, n. 44.

(2) In Portuguese, *Gabinete de Apoio Técnico*.

(3) In Portuguese, *Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local*.

(4) BANDEIRINHA, José António. *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitetura n. 25 de Abril de 1974*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2011.

(5) In Portuguese *A Habitação Social: Proposta para a Metodologia da sua Arquitectura*.

(6) In Portuguese *Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil*.

(7) In Spanish, *Pequeños Congresos de Arquitectura*.

(8) Marcial Echenique is of Chilean origin.

(9) BANDEIRINHA, José António. 2011. *Op. cit.*, p.144.

(10) CASTELLS, Manuel. 'La question du logement au Portugal démocratique: Entretien exclusif avec Nuno Portas secrétaire d'état au logement du gouvernement provisoire portugais'. *Espaces et Sociétés*. October 1974 - January 1975, n. 13-14, pp. 199-207.

(11) PORTAS, Nuno. 'SAAL/Curruleira Lisbon, Portugal'. In: HATCH, Richard (ed.). *The Scope*

of *Social Architecture*. United Kingdom: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1984, p. 262.

(12) ECHENIQUE, Marcial. *El barraquismo de Montjuic*. Doctoral Thesis, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya. Escola Tècnica Superior d'Arquitectura de Barcelona, 1965.

(13) GIL, Bruno. *Culturas de Investigação em Arquitectura - Linhas de pensamento nos centros de investigação, 1945-1974*. Doctoral Thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 2016, p. 298.

(14) In Catalan, *Laboratori d'Urbanisme de Barcelona*.

(15) Manuel Castells reflections on these matters were also published on this issue.

(16) BORJA, Jordi, BOIX, Ricard. 'Movimientos urbanos en Portugal'. *Jano Arquitectura*. 1976, n. 39, p. 47-58.

(17) In Portuguese, *Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa*.

(18) ORTIZ-ECHAGÜE, César. '40 años de arquitectura española. Conclusión'. *Binário*. October 1960, n. 25, pp. 325-330.

(19) In Catalan, *Grup d'Arquitectes i Tècnics Catalans per al Progrés de l'Arquitectura Contemporània*.

(20) PINTO, Paulo Tormenta; DELGADO, João Paulo; SARAIVA, Alexandra. 'Spanish post-war architecture in Portuguese magazines (1946 - 1970)' —the cases of A *Arquitectura Portuguesa* & *Cerâmica e Edificação* (Reunidas) y *Arquitectura*. *Histories of Postwar Architecture*. Bolonia, 2020, pp. 116-130.

(21) The commission was led by Frederico Sant'Ana (1957-1960) and Rui Mendes Paula (1960-1969).

(22) FLORES, Carlos (Ed.). *Hogar y Arquitectura*. January-February 1967, n. 68.

(23) Publishing the dwelling buildings in Barceloneta and Calle Compositor Bach, as

well as the Ugalde House in Caldetas and the Camprodón in Girona.

(24) In Spanish, «No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora».

(25) Coderch's text «No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora» had been published for the first time in *Domus* magazine, in November 1961, just one month before *Arquitectura* magazine.

(26) The first contact had been made with José Aleixo da França Sommer Ribeiro (1924-2006).

(27) ROSSI, Aldo. *L'Architettura della Città*. Padova: Marsilio Ed., 1966.

(28) CORREIA, Nuno. 'O Nome dos Pequenos Congressos - A Primeira Geração de Encontros em Espanha 1959-1967 e o Pequeno Congresso de Portugal'. Master Thesis: Teoria e Historia de la Arquitectura. Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya: Departamento de Composición Arquitectónica ETSAB, 2010.

(29) Nuno. 2010. *Op. cit.*

(30) EMÍLIA, Cristina; FURTADO, Gonçalo. 'Ideias da Arquitectura Portuguesa em viagem'. *Joelho*. Coimbra, 2012, n. 3. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.14195/1647-8681_3_16.

(31) PINTO, Paulo Tormenta; DELGADO, João Paulo; SARAIVA, Alexandra. 2020. *Op. cit.*

(32) *Ibidem*.

(33) *Ibidem*.

(34) ARROYO, Francesc. 'Joan Antoni Solans, el centinela del urbanismo catalán'. *El País*, 15th January 2000.

(35) SOARES, Bruno. 'Ordenamento e Planeamento do território no contexto metropolitano'. *CCDLVT. Atlas da Área Metropolitana de Lisboa*. 2013, pp. 247.

(36) AZEVEDO, Mário. 'O Plano Diretor da Região de Lisboa'. *Binário - Revista mensal de*

arquitetura, construção e equipamento. Lisboa, September 1967, n. 108, pp. 118.

(37) ARROYO, Francesc. 2000. *Op. cit.*, pp.125.

(38) In Portuguese, *Portugal e o Seu Futuro*.

(39) In Portuguese, *Portas ao Poder*.

(40) SPINOLA, António. *Portugal e o Futuro*. Lisboa: Editora Arcádia, 1974.

(41) In Portuguese, *Junta de Salvação Nacional*.

(42) Receiving the surrender of President Marcello Caetano, as representative of the Armed Forces Movement in the *coup d'état*.

(43) SOLÀ-MORALES, Manuel de. '¿Spinola en Barcelona?'. *Arquitecturas Bis*. 1974, n. 2.

(44) AZEVEDO, Mário. 1967. *Op. cit.*

(45) *Ibidem*.

(46) Gonçalo Byrne (1941), João Paciência (1943), Pedro Vieira de Almeida (1933-2011), Pedro Viana Botelho (1948), Braula Reis (1927-1989) and Bartolomeu Costa Cabral (1929), among others, worked together with Nuno Teotónio Pereira.

(47) In Portuguese, *Rua da Alegria*.

(48) In Portuguese, *Movimento Esquerda Socialista*.

(49) Low fertility rates were also a problem, Lisbon Region had a demographic balance of natality, in the 1960s of only 100,000 inhabitants, which was similar to the growth that Madrid or Barcelona had in just one year.

(50) There were, at that moment, 87 men to 104 women, the normal being 100 men to 104 women.

(51) CASTELLS, Manuel. *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. Paris: Maspero, 1972, 1976. (Trans. by Alan Sheridan. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977; London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

(52) CASTELLS, Manuel. 1974-1975. *Op. cit.*, pp. 199-207.

(53) CORNET, Carles Oliver (coord.). *CAU: Construcción, Arquitectura, Urbanismo*. 'Portugal año cero'. March-April 1975, n. 30.

(54) *Ibidem*, p. 31.

(55) *Ibidem*, p. 35.

STUDIES ABOUT SPANISH HERITAGE

A global history: the interpretations of Rosenthal and Kubler about Spanish heritage (1948-1957)

(1) DELGADO GÓMEZ-ESCALONILLA, Lorenzo. 'Las relaciones culturales de España en tiempo de crisis: de la II República a la Guerra Mundial'. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*. Serie V, Hª Contemporánea. 1994, n. 7, p. 275.

(2) *Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo. Memoria del curso de 1948. Programa para el curso de 1949*. Santander: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948, no page number.

(3) LÓPEZ GUZMÁN, Rafael. 'La catedral de Granada (Earl E. Rosenthal). Estudio Preliminar'. In: *Earl E. Rosenthal. La Catedral de Granada. Un estudio sobre el Renacimiento español*. Granada: universidad de Granada, 2015, p. IV.

(4) There is a notable similarity with the itinerary made by Robert Venturi only five years later with the occasion of his stay at the American Academy in Rome, where he also discovered first-hand the Italian Baroque in Lecce.

(5) His evaluation tribunal was composed of professors Richard Krautheimer, Martin Weinberger and Guido Schönbner. The framework of his research grant in Spain was presented by Rafael López in the prologue of the Spanish edition of Rosenthal's

- thesis, in: LÓPEZ GUZMÁN, Rafael. 'La Catedral de Granada (Earl E. Rosenthal). Estudio preliminar'. In: ROSENTHAL, Earl E. *La Catedral de Granada: un estudio sobre el Renacimiento español*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1990, pp. III-VIII.
- (6) ROSENTHAL, Earl E. 'A Renaissance «Copy» of the Holy Sepulchre'. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 17. March 1958, n. 1, pp. 2-11. DOI: 10.2307/987831.
- (7) ROSENTHAL, Earl E. 'The image of Roman Architecture in Renaissance Spain'. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. 1958, LII, pp. 329-346.
- (8) ROSENTHAL, Earl E. 'Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. 1971, vol. XXXIV, pp. 204-228; ROSENTHAL, Earl E. 'Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. 1973, vol. XXXVII, pp. 198-230.
- (9) ROSENTHAL, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985. The Spanish edition would be published only a few years later in: ROSENTHAL, Earl E. *El Palacio de Carlos V en Granada*. Madrid: Alianza editorial, 1988. The controversy it awakened in Manfredo Tafuri was described in: GARCÍA-ESTÉVEZ, Carolina B. 'Polarizaciones ideológicas. Manfredo Tafuri y Barcelona, 1971-1994'. In: ROVIRA, Josep M.; Granell, Enrike; GARCÍA, Carolina B. (eds). *Destino Barcelona, 1911-1991. Arquitectos, viajes e intercambios*. Barcelona: Fundación Arquia, 2018, pp. 246-259.
- (10) KUBLER, George. 'Review: The Cathedral of Granada. A Study in the Spanish Renaissance by Earl E. Rosenthal'. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 20. October 1961, n. 3, pp. 146-147. DOI: 10.2307/988096.
- (11) KUBLER, George. *Arquitectura de los siglos XVII-XVIII. Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico*. Madrid: Plus-Ultra, vol. XIV, 1957.
- (12) Correspondence, Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic (IAAH): 5, 1957-1962. Kubler. DG-1577 / DG-1585.
- (13) SOCIAS BATET, Immaculada. 'Contribució al coneixement de l'etapa americana de Josep Gudiol Ricart i la seva relació amb Walter William Spencer Cook'. *Jornada Mercat de l'Art, Col·leccionisme i Museu*, directed by Bonaventura Bassegoda and Ignasi Domènech, 5th October 2012.
- (14) Letter from Adolfo Mas to Walter Cook, 29th May 1929: «[...] It would be very convenient if you saw the exhibition, one of the best celebrated by any nation, the section of retrospective art is a surprising thing as it has brought together the best jewels of all the cathedrals of Spain, we will try to get the permits to take photographs because they are not granted any more. The assessments sent by the Metropolitan Museum will be ready for you to examine before they are sent, we are looking forward to seeing you». Arxiu Mas, Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, Walter W. S. Cook Fund.
- (15) FONTBONA DE VALLESCAR, Francesc. 'La Exposición Internacional de la College Art Association, en Nueva York, 1933'. *Goya*. January-February 1998, n. 262, pp. 13-16. See also: CAÑAMERAS VALL, Guillem. *La trajectòria de Josep Gudiol Ricart entre 1930 i 1940. Contribucions i aportacions al seu estudi*. [Master's final work in Advanced Studies in History of Art]. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2013. Available in: <http://hdl.handle.net/2445/47645>.
- (16) Letter from George Kubler to Josep Pujol from Hotel Inglaterra in Seville, where he thanks the Catalanian for the commission of Volume XIV of the series *Ars Hispaniae*.

(DG-1580, without date). Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic (IAAH): 5, 1957-1962.

(17) Letter from Santiago Alcolea to George Kubler, residing in Hotel Inglaterra in Seville (DG-1583A, 16/03/1957). Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic (IAAH): 5, 1957-1962.

(18) LAMPÉREZ, Vicente. *Arquitectura civil española de los siglos I al XVIII*. Madrid: 1922; TORRES BALBÁS, Leopoldo.

Monasterios cistercienses de Galicia. Santiago de Compostela: Bibliófilos gallegos, 1955; CHAMOSO LAMAS, Manuel. *Arquitectura barroca en Galicia*. Madrid: 1955.

(19) [in press] GARCÍA-ESTÉVEZ, Carolina B. 'Dietro alle finestra nulla accadeva. Aldo Rossi and Spain, 1968-1976'. In: SHERER, Daniel (ed.). *Aldo Rossi: The Architecture and Art of the Analogous City*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2021. Catalogue of the namesake exhibition celebrated between the 5th February and the 30th March at the School of Architecture of Princeton University.

(20) Correspondence from Adolfo Mas to Walter Cook telling him about the latest publishing news, dated 15/07/1930 and 21/07/1934: «We are sending a list of the most recently purchased, in case you want us to buy some copies on your behalf». Arxiu Mas, Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, Walter W. S. Cook Fund.

(21) KUBLER, George. 1957. *Op. cit.*, p. 360.

(22) *Ibidem*, p. 8. The turning point on that accelerated curve corresponded to the succession of the plateresque style (1530-1550), the post-Herrerian principles (1600-1680), «churrigueresque» (1710-1750), and the return to classicism (1750-1780).

(23) ROSENTHAL, Earl E. 'Review. Arquitectura de los siglos XVII y XVIII'. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. December 1959, vol. 18, n. 4, p. 167. DOI: 10.2307/987913.

On Gaudí's double fortune: impostures and misunderstandings

(1) See LAHUERTA, J. J. *Gaudí. Àlbum científic*. Barcelona: Triangle Postals, 2004.

(2) Specifically *Orphée aux enfers*, performed for the first time in 1858.

(3) Said by MARAGALL, J. «El temple que nace», *Diario de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 20th December 1900. Now in LAHUERTA, J. J. (ed.) *Antoni Gaudí, 1852-1926. Antologia contemporànea*. Madrid: Alianza, 2002. p. 43.

(4) CARNER, J. «Auca d'una resposta del senyor Gaudí», in CARNER, J. *Auques i ventalls*. Barcelona: Can Marián Galve, 1914.

(5) Various authors, *Antoni Gaudí. Les seves obres, la seva vida, la seva mort*. Barcelona: Editorial Poliglota, 1926.

(6) RÀFOLS, J.F.; FOLGUERA, J. *Gaudí*. Barcelona: Editorial Canosa, 1928 (although the colophon says 18th January 1929).

(7) KRIS, E.; KURZ, O. *Die legende vom Künstler*. Viena: Krystall Verlag, 1934.

(8) MARAGALL, J. «¡Una gracia de caridad...!», *Diario de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 7th November 1905. Now in LAHUERTA, J.J. (ed.) 2002. *Op. cit.* pp. 44-47.

(9) MARAGALL, J. «Oda nova a Barcelona» (1909), *Seqüències*. Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1911.

(10) PUJOLS, F. *La visió artística i religiosa d'en Gaudí*. Barcelona: Llibreria Catalònia, 1927.

(11) *Ivi.* p. 28.

(12) DALÍ, S. «L'âne pourri», *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, n.1, Paris, 1930. pp.9-12.

(13) BRETON, A.; ELUARD, P. «Prière d'insérer», in DALÍ, S. *La femme visible*. Paris: Éditions Surréalistes, 1930.

- (14) [ZERVOS, C.] «Gaudí. Editorial Canosa. Barcelone», *Cahiers d'Art*, n. IV, Paris, 1929. sup. p. XVII.
- (15) ARAGON, L. *Le paysan de Paris*. Paris: Gallimard, 1926.
- (16) BATAILLE, G. «Architecture», *Documents*, n. 2, Paris, May 1929. p.117; BATAILLE, G. «Abattoir», «Cheminée d'usine», *Documents*, n. 6, Paris, November 1929. pp.328-332.
- (17) According to a caricature by Picarol in *La Esquella de la Torratxa*. Barcelona, 10th November, 1916.
- (18) DALÍ, S. «De la beauté terrifiante et comestible de l'architecture modern' style», *Minotaure*, n.3/4, Paris, December 1933. pp.69-77.
- (19) BRETON, A. *Nadja*. Paris: Gallimard, 1928.
- (20) In the *Manifeste du Surréalisme*. Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1924. Now in BRETON, A. *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. I. Paris: Gallimard, 1988. p. 324.
- (21) (SERT, J.L.) «Precursores de la arquitectura moderna», AC, n.17, Barcelona, 1935. pp.20-21.
- (22) (SERT, J.L.) «La evolución del interior», AC, n.19, Barcelona, 1935. pp.26-27.
- (23) LE CORBUSIER. «Retours... ou l'enseignement du voyage. Coupe en travers. Espagne. Maroc. Algérie. Territoires du sud», *Plans*, n.8, Paris, October 1931. pp.92-108.
- (24) BARR JR., A.-H. (ed.) *Dada, Surrealism, Fantastic Art*. Nueva York: The Museum of Modern Art. 1936.
- (25) The most significant is CIRLOT, J.E. *El arte de Gaudí*. Barcelona: Omega, 1950.
- (26) «La exposición Gaudí en el Tinell», *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, n. 26, Barcelona, 1956. pp.25-27, in an issue dedicated to Gaudí.
- (27) GOMIS, J.; PRATS, J. *Gaudí*, en «Fotoscop». Barcelona: Editorial RM, 1958. With a preface by Le Corbusier.
- (28) PEVSNER, N. *Pioneers of the Modern Movement. From William Morris to Walter Gropius*. Londres: Faber & Faber, 1936.
- (29) HITCHCOCK, H.-R. *Gaudí*. Nueva York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1957.
- (30) SERT, J.L.; SWEENEY, J.J.; *Antoni Gaudí*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1960.
- (31) COLLINS, G.R. *Antonio Gaudí*, in «Masters of World Architecture». New York: George Braziller, 1960.

Recovery of the popular and historization of Gaudí in Italian publications (1949-1958)

- (1) The National Conventions of Architecture initiated in 1939, counted on their publications, and are a significant testimony of the evolution of the architectonic ideas prevailing in the early years of the Francoist regime. The V Convention with Prieto-Moreno as General Director of Architecture, had special diffusion, as can be seen in the 'Discurso de apertura de Prieto Moreno'; 'Documentos de los temas tratados'; 'El Arquitecto Gio Ponti en la Asamblea'. *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 1949, n. 90, pp. 235-274. Also published by the magazine created by the Association of Architects of Cataluña and Baleares, 'La V Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectura: Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca, Valencia'. *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*. 1949, n. 10, pp. 2-5. And, of course, the *Boletín de Información de la Dirección General de Arquitectura*, which advanced the news (10th March, 1949, p.15) and expanded on it later (11th June, 1949, pp. 3-5, 25-25 and 27-34).

- (2) This filiation was established in the Spanish pavilion of the IX Triennale de Milano, where, on Ponti's advice, Coderch and Torroella displayed photographs of Gaudi's works along with images of popular architecture in Ibiza taken by Joaquim Gomis, Joan Prats and Leopoldo Plasencia.
- (3) 'El arquitecto Gio Ponti en la Asamblea'. *Op. cit.*, p. 260.
- (4) *Ibidem*, p. 269.
- (5) Gio Ponti was invited by Gonzalo de Cárdenas, from the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas and the President of the Convention and General Director of Architecture, Francisco Prieto Moreno. In a personal letter addressed to de Cárdenas, Ponti transmitted his impressions of the visits: «Caro Ángel Protector, [...] Dirò che mentre nelle case fatte oggi che ho visto in Barcelona non c'è (nella massa) nulla di moderno, ho visto invece una sorprendente modernità (per il nostro gusto) in certe vostre architetture antiche. Dirò che voi avete un'architettura antica meravigliosa per ispirare un'architettura moderna, ed un'architettura d'oggi che non è moderna». Letter from Ponti to de Cárdenas, 21st June 1949. Paolo Rosselli Archive, Milan.
- (6) In a letter from Coderch to Ponti dated 21st June 1949, we read: «Votre visite en Espagne, vos conférences et vos opinions nous ont fait, à tous les Architectes, une bien immense». National Museum Centre of Art Reina Sofia Archives, Madrid.
- (7) Ponti's cultural project had made a debut a long time before 1928, with the foundation of *Domus*. The first direction of this important international magazine would last until 1940. In 1941 Ponti opened a new magazine, *Stile* (which would be published until 1947), going back later to the direction of *Domus* (1948-1979), after a

brief parenthesis in which this magazine was directed by Ernesto Nathan Rogers.

- (8) PONTI, Gio. 'Dalla Spagna'. *Domus*. Milán, 1949, n. 240, p. 1. Once published in *Domus*, an international interest emerged for the work of Coderch and Valls. *Edilizia Moderna, L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, Wie Wonen Wij, Werk* showed their desire to publish the work of the Spaniards, often through the mediation of Ponti himself.

- (9) See: PIZZA, Antonio (ed.). *Imaginando la casa mediterránea. Italia y España en los años 50*. Madrid: Ediciones Asimétricas, 2019.

- (10) PONTI, Gio. 'Due ville a Sitges'. *Domus*. Milan, November 1949, n. 240, pp. 2-5. Manuel Valls Vergés, Coderch's partner, would react to the article writing to Ponti: «[...] magnifica presentazione con la quale voi ci avete gentilmente pubblicato le nostre due viviendas e i progetti di 'Las Forcas' a Sitges. [...] procureremo d'oggi innanzi convincere ai proprietari affinché facciano patios in loro viviendas». Letter from M. Valls to G. Ponti, 16th November 1949. Paolo Rosselli Archive, Milan; original in Italian.

- (11) Handwritten draft and typed personal letter from Ponti to Coderch, undated. (Spring 1950), Archivio Storico. La Triennale de Milano (ASTM) The first script of the Spanish participation, sketched out by Coderch in a letter to Francisco Prieto Moreno (General Director of Architecture at the Home Office), at the end of 1950, planning the following exhibition outline: «The Spanish participation would consist of handcraft and decoration objects concurrent with modern taste (ceramics, glass, fabrics, iron, carpets, furniture, etc.), decorative painting, sculpture and modern architecture, as well as some museum pieces and reproductions and photographs of the cave paintings in Altamira, of houses

in Extremadura, Ibiza, etc., of works by Gaudí, Romanesque paintings, etc.). Letter from Coderch, dated 6th November 1950. National Museum Centre of Art Reina Sofia Archives, Madrid.

(12) The truth is that the presentation of «this» Spain caused a pleasant surprise in the people attending, receiving countless compliments and prizes like the Great Prize to Coderch for the installation, Honorary Diploma for Gomis' photographs, Honorary Diploma to Oteiza and Miró, Gold Medal of Sculpture to Ferrant, Gold Medal of Ceramics to Cumella. Alos, for Coderch the Triennale di Milano was a decisive step to consolidate his political image as well as to strengthen his connections with European architecture; he had the chance of knowing proposals, situations and architects that would result central in his career, visiting –amongst other exhibitions– *Architettura misura dell'uomo* in the charge of Ernesto Nathan Rogers, Vittorio Gregotti and Giotto Stoppino and the *Mostra dell'architettura spontanea*, curated by Ezio Cerutti, Giancarlo de Carlo and Giuseppe Samonà.

(13) See: RODRÍGUEZ PEDRET, Carmen. 'Ibiza: Sueño y devoción de un paisaje intercambiable'. in: PIZZA, Antonio (ed.). 2019. *Opus. cit.*, pp. 108-123.

(14) «La Spagna ha un modo suo proprio di essere presente nell'arte e nella cultura moderna: niente scuole, niente teorie, niente polemiche, niente movimenti, ma Picasso, Miró, Dalí, Juan Gris, García Lorca sono spagnoli. Nell'architettura moderna, niente programmi, niente avanguardia teorica, ma la più moderna essenziale purezza architettonica è già nelle secolari anonime costruzioni popolari di Ibiza; e Gaudí il più

straordinario architetto dell'ultimo secolo, è spagnolo. [...] Questa è la Spagna che l'arch. Coderch ha inteso presentare alla Triennale con una serie di stupende fotografie di Gaudí e di Ibiza, i due estremi stilistici dell'architettura spagnola (noi aggiungiamo qui un paragone fra la moderna architettura di Coderch e l'architettura anonima di Ibiza) e con una raccolta disparata e d'eccezione, da due pannelli di Miró agli inimitabili picassiani «xiulets»: cavalli, tori, uomini, uccelli di gesso, in cui si fischia soffiando». PONTI, Gio. 'Spagna'. *Domus*. Milan, July-August 1951, n. 260, pp. 22-26. Similar flattering considerations, not exempt of «surprise» are found in other international headlines: see VALSECCHI, Marco. 'Giro d'orizzonte alla T9'. *Edilizia Moderna*. Milan, December 1951, n. 47, p. 58. In the local sphere, Oriol Bohigas would rebuke some curators for only having cited Gaudí amongst the architects: «It is serious that they have not found a single post-Gaudian architect capable of standing in the company of foreign representations». BOHIGAS, Oriol. '9 comentarios a la 9ª Triennale di Milano'. *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*. December 1952-January 1953, n. 15-16, p. 50.

(15) CODERCH, José Antonio. 'No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora'. *Domus*. Milan, November 1961, n. 384, (text published as the editorial of the issue, in two pages without numbering).

(16) SARTORIS, Alberto. 'L'Espagne en face a l'art moderne', draft of typed article about his presence in a cycle of conferences in Barcelona, undated, deposited in the Sartoris Fund, Archives de la construction moderne (ACM), École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL), Swiss Federal (from now on, FAS-ACM, EPFL) EPFL_021-

00, 0172.01.0079 (GA/05) Documents Voyage Espagne.

(17) The influence of Sartoris in the local sphere was unquestionable, like Gio Ponti's. De Moragas wrote to Sartoris on the 5th February 1955: «We continue with our labour for Architecture never forgetting that Sartoris gave the first wake-up call in this phase in Barcelona». Letter from Antoni de Moragas to Alberto Sartoris, FAS- ACM, EPFL 0172.03.0163 (CO/22, 8.1). Espagne: Correspondence. M // de Moragas. Coderch also wrote to Sartoris on the 13th February 1952: «De notre côté M. Valls et moi nous voudrions vous demander une photographie de vous avec dédicace afin de la mettre dans notre Studio où elle occuperait une place d'honneur et, en même temps ce serait un petit hommage de reconnaissance pour tout ce que nous vous devons, puisque ce fut vous spécialement et M. Ponti ceux qui nous ont tellement aidé à une époque où personne ne nous connaissait encore». FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.03.0163 (CO/22, 8.1). Espagne: Correspondence. C // Coderch. Finally, Sostres wrote to him in that respect: «le souvenir de votre présence et de vos conférences reste vivace. Souvent entre les confrères nous parlons de vous et de la bienfaisante influence que vous avez produit dans notre ambiance architectural». Letter from Sostres to Sartoris on the 12th July 1949; FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.03.0163 (CO/22, 8.1) Espagne: Correspondence. S // Sostres.

(18) The public interventions are collected in: SARTORIS, Alberto. 'Las fuentes de la nueva arquitectura' and 'Orientaciones de la arquitectura contemporánea'. *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*. 1950, n. 11-12, pp. 38-47; 48-55. In this publication appears the following conclusive note, signed by Sartoris: «I am totally convinced that the Spanish

contemporary architects are capable of elaborating a new national and functional architecture, connected to the logical terms of the eternal Mediterranean vigorous strength», p. 50.

(19) SARTORIS, Alberto. 1950. *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

(20) Sartoris' compromise with the diffusion of the —newly discovered by him— Catalanian architecture, counted on several international channels: SARTORIS, Alberto. 'Misura dell'architettura catalana'. *L'Illustrazione Ticinese*. Basilea, 24th September 1949; SARTORIS, Alberto. 'Spirito innovatore dell'architettura spagnola'. *Numero. Arte e letteratura*. Firenze, 1950, n. 3; SARTORIS, Alberto. 'Barcelone d'aujourd'hui'. *Architecture-Formes et Fonctions*. Lausanne, 1959.

(21) SARTORIS, Alberto. 'La nueva arquitectura rural'. *RNA*. December 1949, n. 96, pp. 515-516. See also: SARTORIS, Alberto. 'Ir y venir de la arquitectura moderna'. *RNA*. February 1954, n. 146, p. 11.

(22) SARTORIS, Alberto: «Gli architetti spagnoli hanno un gusto elevatissimo per la semplicità e l'armonia grandiosa e lineare. Sono d'altronde elementi architettonici tradizionali che hanno saputo conservare gelosamente e trasformare con vera padronanza». Typed by Sartoris, undated., deposited in FAS-ACM, EPFL_021, 0172.01.0079 (GA/05) Documents Voyage Espagne.

(23) SARTORIS, Alberto. '¿Arquitectura funcional o arquitectura orgánica?'. *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*. Madrid, 1951, n. 20, pp. 213-214; 228.

(24) SARTORIS, Alberto. 'Current Spanish architecture'. *Architectural Design*. London, 1958, n. 5, p. 204.

(25) SARTORIS, Alberto. *Encyclopedie de l'Architecture Nouvelle: Ordre et Climat*

Méditerranéens. Deuxième édition revue et augmentée. Milán: Hoepli, 1957, pp. 422-513.

(26) In relation to the gradual critical revaluation of Gaudí's works from the post-war period see: RODRÍGUEZ PEDRET, Carmen. 'The Resurrection of Antoni Gaudí in Post-War Media. A Critical Chronology: 1945-1965'. *Histories of Postwar Architecture (HPA)*. 2019, n. 4, pp. 131-162.

(27) SOSTRES, Josep Maria. 'Gaudí et son temps'. lecture given on the 28th July 1948, invited by the Union des Architectes Saint Luc in Brussels, of which Sostres was correspondent member.

(28) SOSTRES, Josep Maria: «Je vous enverrai le texte extracté [sic] d'une conférence que j'ai donnée récemment et publiée dans un revue et bientôt le numéro de P y M». Handwritten letter from Sostres to Sartoris, 12th July 1949; FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.03.0163 (CO/22, 8.1) Espagne: Correspondence. S // Sostres. See SOSTRES, Josep Maria. 'Sentimiento y simbolismo del espacio'. *Proyectos y Materiales. Revista Técnica de la Edificación*. «Antonio Gaudí: 1852-1926». New York, September-October 1949, n. 5, pp. 50-53, 59-60. As Rodriguez points out, «it was the first architecture media to devote a monograph to Gaudí in the international context of the post-war period, ahead of the Spanish and European ones». RODRÍGUEZ PEDRET, Carmen. 2019. *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

(29) Typed text of the interview done with Sartoris by Yllescas, Gomis and Santos Torroella, with the opening in pencil. «El Canario», Barcelona, 1949; FAS-ACM, EPFL [EPFL_020_00] 0172.01.0079 (GA/05). Documents Voyage Espagne.

(30) Sartoris refers to the second Goetheanum built by the Swiss philosopher between 1924 and 1928

in concrete to substitute the original wooden building, as well as all the auxiliary buildings, like the Glass House, built in Dornach and its surroundings, to accommodate the premises of the Anthroposophy Society.

(31) SARTORIS, Alberto. Typed text of the interview «El Canario», *Op. cit.*

(32) Sartoris worked intensely during the 50s on a project of a monograph about Gaudí, which also included iconographic material. A note deposited in the archive indicates: «Preparare studio su Gaudí per 1952», FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.01.0079 (GA/05). Documents Voyage Espagne.

(33) Typed letter from Sartoris to Santos Torroella, 22nd March 1950; FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.03.0187 (CO/22, 8.3) Espagne: Correspondence. Altamira School; homage.

(34) These texts, deposited in the archive (FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.05.0008), are complemented with a set of typed or handwritten transcripts and notes FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.05.0008 / 1 Presse et Notes. In reality, Sartoris' project of a book must have been frustrated by the lack of interlocutor, still in 1958, Bohigas wrote to him manifesting his ineffectiveness to direct him to a solvent publishing house: BOHIGAS, Oriol: «I think it is excellent news that you want to publish a book in Spanish about Gaudí. In relation to the editor, I do not know exactly what to advise you». Typed letter to Sartoris, 20th August 1958, FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.03.0163 (CO/22, 8.1) Espagne: Correspondence. B // Oriol Bohigas.

(35) SARTORIS, Alberto. 'Universalismo umanistico di Gaudí'. typed text, signed notes ('Mondo poliedrico di Gaudí'), signed «Alberto Sartoris della scuola di Altamira; Lutry, febbraio-marzo 1950». FAS-ACM,

EPFL: 0172.05.0008 / 1 «Universalismo umanistico di Gaudí»; 7 sheets, p. 1.

(36) *Ibidem*. p. 4. The thesis of the text was captured in SARTORIS, Alberto. 'Gaudí poliforme'. *Numero*. Florence, December 1952 n. 3, and in SARTORIS, Alberto. 'Gaudí poliforme'. *Papeles de son Armadans* 4. Madrid-Palma de Mallorca, December 1959, n. 15 bis, pp. 31-48.

(37) 'Bruno Zevi nos dice...'. *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, 1950, n. 13, p. 89.

(38) CIRLOT, Juan Eduardo. *El arte de Gaudí*. Barcelona: Omega, 1950. L The Roman magazine *Spazio*, directed by Luigi Moretti, echoed the event, publishing an article signed by CIRLOT, Juan Eduardo. 'Arte di Gaudí in Spagna'. *Spazio*. August 1950, n. 2, pp. 29-39.

(39) Sartoris also commented about the bench in Park Güell: «Dans le banc sinueux polychrome de la terrasse-esplanade, Gaudí a non seulement innové dans le domaine de l'ornementation (puisqu'il a créé l'art abstrait), mais il a appliqué le système de proportion de Michel-Ange.» FAS-ACM, EPFL 0172.05.0008 / 1 Presse et Notes/ Gaudí - Parco Güell, Barcelone.

(40) ZEVI, Bruno. *Storia dell'architettura moderna*. Torino: Einaudi, 1950.

See: GARNICA, Julio. 'Bruno Zevi en la España de 1950: una *Storia dell'architettura* cargada de futuro'. *ZARCH* 10th June de 2018, pp. 178-193. https://doi.org/10.26754/ojs_zarch/zarch.2018102940.

(41) ZEVI, Bruno. 'Un genio catalano: Antonio Gaudí'. *Metron*. September-October 1950, n. 38, pp. 27-53.

(42) *Ibidem*, p.27.

(43) *Ibidem*, pp. 30, 32.

(44) *Ibidem*, p. 39.

(45) *Ibidem*, p.48.

(46) *Ibidem*, p.53.

(47) ZEVI, Bruno. 'Antonio Gaudí. Nuove visioni della casa Milá a Barcellona'. *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*. July 1956, n. 9, pp. 194-195.

(48) BRUNATI, Mario; MENDINI, Sandro; VILLA, Ferruccio. 'Eredità dell'Ottocento: Spazio e sintesi plastica nel genio di Barcellona, Antoni Gaudí'. *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*. May 1958, n. 31, pp. 42-45.

(49) MENDINI, Sandro. 'Presentazione'. In: *Gaudí. Un precursore*. n. 1, Milan: Brunati Mendini Villa, Studio di architettura, undated. (March 1958). no page number. Despite its modesty, the exhibition provoked some polemic in the Italian media; the critic Borgese published a press note in which he replied: «Geniale e strano Gaudí: ma non è stato un precursore». 'Mostre di architetti a Milano'. *Il Corriere della sera*. Milan, 10th January 1958, no page number. The same title would be given later to an exhibition organised by the association Amigos de Gaudí, which was inaugurated in September 1961 at the Palazzo dell'Edilizia in Genoa, coordinated by the architect Giuliano Forno: FORNO, Giuliano. *Gaudí, un precursore*. Genova: Centro Italiano di Informazione e Divulgazione, Arti Grafiche G. Schenone, 1961.

(50) Luigi Moretti travelled to Spain in the 50s, in his archives there are several photographs he took of Gaudí's works –without date–, along with others by Centelles and Gomis, Luigi Moretti Fund, Archivio Central dello Stato, Roma; 037 and 038. See BELLI, Gemma. 'Luigi Moretti y la revista *Spazio*'. In: PIZZA, Antonio (ed.). 2019. *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

(51) Nevertheless, Moretti was well informed about the Spanish panorama; already in the

first issue of *Spazio* he reviewed publications by Editorial Omega: «Nel riprometterci di esaminare particolarmente i più importanti saggi, fra cui quello di indubbia importanza sul grande architetto spagnolo Gaudí...».

'Editorial Omega'. *Spazio*. 1950, n. 1, p. 71-72.

(52) MORETTI, Luigi. 'Eclettismo e unità di linguaggio'. *Spazio*. July 1950, n. 1, pp. 5-7.

(53) CIRLOT, Eduardo. 'Arte di Gaudí'. *Spazio*. August 1950, n. 2, pp. 29-39.

(54) MORETTI, Luigi. 'Tradizione muraria a Ibiza'. *Spazio*. July-August 1950, n. 5, pp. 35-42.

(55) *Ibidem*, pp. 35 and 37.

(56) MORETTI, Luigi. 'Trasfigurazione di strutture murarie'. *Spazio*. January-February 1951, n. 4, p. 5-16; MORETTI, Luigi. 'Le strutture ideali dell'architettura di Michelangelo e dei barocchi'. *Spazi astratti*. February 1953 and *Atti del Convegno di Studi Michelangioleschi*. Firenze-Roma: 1964. Roma: Ed. dell'Ateneo, 1966, pp. 444-454.

(57) In 1957, Moretti founded the Istituto per la Ricerca Matematica e Operativa applicata all'Urbanistica (IRMOU), with the purpose of going in depth into the study of parametric architecture, and in 1960 he organized the exhibition *Arquitectura Paramétrica y Operativa para el Urbanismo*, in the XII Triennale de Milano, where he showed his projects based on ruled surfaces. About parametric architecture see: MORETTI, Luigi. 'Ricerca Matematica in Architettura e Urbanistica'. *Moebius* 4. 1971, n. 1, pp. 30-53.

(58) See: SELVAFOLTA, Ornella. 'El viaje de Luigi Figini a Ibiza en 1949'. In: PIZZA, Antonio (ed.). 2019. *Op. cit.*, pp. 124-137.

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(60) FIGINI, Luigi. 'Premessa all'opera religiosa di Antonio Gaudí'. *Chiesa e quartiere*. March 1958, n. 5, pp. 39-46.

(61) BRUNATI, Mario; MENDINI, Alessandro; VILLA, Ferruccio. 'Gaudí architetto religioso'. *Chiesa e Quartiere*. March 1958, n. 5, pp. 47-60.

(62) 'Giudizio sobre Gaudí'. *Chiesa e Quartiere*. March 1958, n. 5, pp. 65-66.

(63) FIGINI, Luigi. 1958. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

(64) Figini included the Parisian works of Perret: N. Dame de Rancy (1923) and Santa Teresa de Montmagny (1926), S. Antonius Kirke de Moser in Basel (1926), the Chapel of Vence de Matisse (1952) and Ronchamp by Le Corbusier (1955) as the few examples of religious modern architecture, all of them preceded by the Crypt in Colonia Güell and Gaudí's Sagrada Família. FIGINI, Luigi. 1958. *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

(65) Alberto Moravia, in a long note about Gaudí published in the daily press, highlighted: «La coerenza di Gaudí ha qualche cosa di demente». MORAVIA, Alberto. 'Gaudí'. *Corriere della Sera*. 6th May de 1954, p. 3.

(66) The author makes an explicit reference to the 1950 article: ZEVİ, Bruno. 1950. *Op. cit.*

(67) FIGINI, Luigi. 1958. *Op. cit.*, p. 44. Italics in the original.

(68) PANE, R. *Antoni Gaudí*. Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1964. Previously published: SWEENEY, J.J. and SERT, J.L. *Antoni Gaudí*. London: Architectural Press, 1960; New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960; Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1960, and COLLINS, George R. *Antonio Gaudí*. New York: Brazillier, 1960.

Curriculum vitae

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Doctor in architecture (2017) with the thesis: *Arquitecturas exportadas. La difusión de la producción arquitectónica española en el panorama internacional a través de las publicaciones periódicas extranjeras (1949-1986)*. Since 2018 he has been lecturer at the Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de la Universidad de Navarra (ETSAUN), where he teaches on the undergraduate programs for Architecture and Design, and on the Masters program for Architectural Theory & Design. He is a member of the «European Architectural History Network», where he forms part of the «Latin America Interest Group» and the «Building Word Image Interest Group». He is also investigator of the research group «AS 20» and «ART T&H» (Universidad de Navarra).

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Architect and Doctor in Theory and History of Architecture from the UPC (2006). Serra Hunter Professor at the Universidad de Girona, teaching History of Art and Architecture and Architectural Composition. She has given conferences and postgraduate courses in Spanish universities (UPC, UAB, UZar, CIUMP) and foreign ones (UdelaR, UNSAM). Her research is centred on the relationships between art, aesthetics and history of architecture in the 19th and 20th centuries. Among her most recent publications: *Hyperspaces* (2021), *Habitación* (2018-19), *Pity and Terror. Picaso path to Guernica* (2017), *Le Corbusier. Arte y Diseño* (2017).

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Doctor in Architecture. Associate Professor of History of Architecture at ETSAB, where he has been deputy director of culture since 2017. Articulist and curator of exhibitions. His latest publication is an anthology of texts by Juan Eduardo Cirlot on informalism. (Juan Eduardo Cirlot. *Separa-rece el dolor a un gran espacio*. Madrid. Siruela. 2020). For the year 2023 he is preparing an exhibition on Lluís Domènech i Montaner and the European urban culture of historic centres.

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Architect and Senior Lecturer in History of Architecture and Construction at the UPC. His research has centred on the historical study of the interdependencies between technique and architecture in

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Associate professor of History of Art at the ETSAB, he teaches in such universities as the IAUV in Venice and New York University among others. Among his most recent books: *Religious Painting. Picasso and Max Von Moos* (2015); *Marginalia. Carl Einstein, Aby Warburg* (2015); *Photography or Life. Popular Mies* (2015); *On Loos, Ornament and Crime* (2015); *Antoni Gaudí. Ornament, Fire, and Ashes* (2016) and the catalogue *Picasso románico* (2016). Also *Facilis descensus Averni. Arte en la época del infierno* (in print).

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Doctor in architecture. Lecturer at the EAT-UCLM (Toledo), since 2015. He has published articles in *Reia*, *Zarfeh*, *Vlc*, *Constelaciones*, *Cuaderno de notas* and *Revista de arquitectura*. Also in international conferences like ISUF-H (Guadalajara, México, 2019), CIOT (Santander, 2019) or Ciudad Sostenible-UPV (Valencia, 2019). His research interests extend to Spanish and Portuguese architecture of the 20th century. He is part of the research team of the project CLAUSTRAT2, analysing from his line of research the proposals for the preservation and re-use of the religious buildings of the city of Toledo. During his research stay at the University of Evora, Portugal, he was able to analyse the figure of Álvaro Siza Vieira and his project for the Malagueira in Evora. His results have been published in the Congreso Internacional Grand Projects (Lisbon, 2021).

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Doctor in the theory of architecture from the Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen (RWTH) and professor of the history of architecture at the Karlsruher Institut für Technologie (KIT). Previously he has taught in various universities in Europe and the Americas, like la RWTH Aachen, the TU Kaiserslautern, the Universidad de Buenos Aires, the Universidad de Navarra and, Princeton University. From 2011 to 2015 he held the Walter Gropius Chair of the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) at the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella de Buenos Aires. His fields of research include architecture and urbanism in the 19th and 20th centuries. At present he is working on research projects centred on the notion of environmental design employed in the second half of the last century and its relevance for contemporary historical analysis.

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Professor of History of Art and of Architecture at the ETSAB-UPC and principal investigator of the research project «Spanish Architecture in International Communication media: Publications, Exhibitions, Congresses (First part:1940-1975)», funded by Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (HAR2017-85205P). He has been curator of exhibitions and editor of catalogues, among which the most recent are: *GATCPAC 1928-1939. Una nueva arquitectura para una nueva ciudad*, (Barcelona, 2006) [with Josep M.Rovira; premio FAD 2007]; *Las Ciudades del Futurismo Italiano. Vida y arte moderno: Milán, París, Berlín, Roma (1909-1915)*, (Barcelona, 2014) [selected for the premio FAD 2015]; *Habitantes del abismo. Literatura, arte y crítica en el París de Baudelaire* (Madrid, 2017) [Finalist at FAD 2018]; *Intersecciones. Cultura urbana, Arte y Arquitectura, en los siglos XIX y XX* (Madrid, 2019); *Imaginando la casa mediterránea. Italia y España en los años 50*, (Madrid 2019) [premio COAM difusión, 2020]; *El Mediterráneo inventado. Un archipiélago arquitectónico en la España del siglo XX* (Madrid, 2020) [Finalist at XV Bienal Española de Arquitectura y Urbanismo, 2021]. His main research focus is the interrelations between architecture and other visual arts throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

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was completed in Madrid
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The collection of the present essays in *Crossing frontiers* draws a picture of the presence of Spanish architectural culture abroad between 1939 and 1975, through the study of international periodical publications, exhibitions and congresses, unravelling the ideas that defined, from abroad, a kind of history of Spanish architecture in those decades.

Thus, cultural production and media transmission weave an original web which proposes an “archive” of modern Spanish architecture “seen from abroad”, revealing what had been hidden for years to achieve this. This approach has allowed the reassessment of figures, buildings, images and texts that were dismissed by conventional historiography, illuminating them with a new energy which has led us to highlight a highly expressive “periphery”, capable of interacting with wider contexts, gaining new and surprising meanings.

Therefore, we find ourselves on a complex and articulated terrain in which different people and circumstances interrelate and where the usual interpretative stereotypes – “modern movement”, “continuity” or “rupture” – are put in check by the historic-critical reading of events.

The texts collected in this anthological volume do not intend to exhaust the study of this period; there are still many untouched subjects which come up in connection with open discussions; more than to a synthesis they respond to a “way” of relating to history. When we close a door many others open.

TEXTS by Pablo Arza Garaloces, Ana Brandão, Ana Esteban Maluenda, Magalí Franchino, Carolina B. García-Estévez, Marisa García-Vergara, Enrique Granell, Julio Garnica, Ramon Graus, Juan José Lahuerta, Nicolás Martín Domínguez, Joaquín Medina Warmburg, Teresa Navas-Ferrer, Antonio Pizza, Sara Silva Lopes y Paulo Tormenta Pinto.

