

TO AND FRO: MODERNISM AND VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

Joana Cunha Leal
Maria Helena Maia
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TO AND FRO:
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VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

INTRODUCTION

JOANA CUNHA LEAL,
MARIA HELENA MAIA
AND ALEXANDRA CARDOSO

Translated from Portuguese by Begoña Farré

The book now being published results from a research project entitled *The Popular Architecture in Portugal. A Critical Look*, which began in April 2010 under the leadership of Pedro Vieira de Almeida with FCT/COMPETE funding. The aim of the project was to undertake a re-reading of the book *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (Popular Architecture in Portugal) as a clearly delimited reference basis in order to put to the test two expressive variables in architecture: *transition-space* and *thickness*, the latter understood to give rise to a *poetics of thick walls* and a *poetics of thin walls*. These two variables were characterized by Pedro Vieira de Almeida in 2010 as *mezzo voce* architectural parameters, a term which we used as an overall title for a series of four volumes published between 2010 and 2013 with the results of our research.

The project just described, however, ended up generating a second line of work. Published in 1961, the book *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* - which recorded the results of the Survey on Regional Architecture carried out between 1955 and 1960 - had a significant impact on Portuguese architectural culture.

Thus two distinct yet complementary focuses were encompassed by this project: (1) the Survey used as a pretext for theoretical reflection and (2) the Survey taken as object of study in itself.

This second line of enquiry is what brought this book into being.

Acknowledging how important the Survey had been to Portuguese architectural culture, we decided to undertake a more thorough study than anticipated on available historiography on the subject. It soon became apparent that the actual work, though often quoted, had been scarcely studied in itself.

We also realised that the Survey appeared isolated, rarely being considered in a wider international setting. We sought to overcome this by inviting the international community to discuss the background, conditions, methodologies, published results, effects and significance of such kind of surveys on 20th century architecture and architectural thought, with a view to understand the Portuguese case in the light of an international cultural context.

As part of this endeavour, an international conference entitled *Surveys on Vernacular Architecture. Their significance in the 20th century architectural culture*, took place in May 2012. The conference had a much higher attendance than expected, proving the relevance of the subject both at national and international level.

This confirmed the original tenet of our project, that the *Survey on Regional Architecture* “constitutes an important point in the history of Portuguese architectural culture as a historical testament of its time representing a serious challenge to our current critical conscience” (FCT Project application, February 2009).

To and Fro: Modernism and Vernacular Architecture brings together 12 texts by Rubén Alcolea and Aitor Acilu, Ricardo Agarez, Tiago Lopes Dias, Concepción Díez-Pastor, Teresa Ferreira, Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia and Alexandra Cardoso, Victor Mestre, Antoni Remesar and Salvador García Fortes, Michelangelo Sabatino, Mariann Simon, Ana Tostões, and Luís Urbano. As implied in the title, their writings reflect on the relationship between Modernism and vernacular architecture, an older and stronger relationship that might at first seem the case.

In *Alfredo de Andrade's (1838-1915) surveys on vernacular architecture across Italy and Portugal*, Teresa Ferreira links these surveys to one of the fundamental issues

of the 19th century: the construction of nations. It is this historical context that explains the drive to identify, study and preserve buildings that might represent a national identity, while simultaneously contributing as a source of inspiration for the architectural production of the time. But it is also a time in which both countries develop an interest in vernacular architecture. Ferreira's text draws attention to the importance of this background on 20th century culture.

Antoni Remesar and Salvador Garcia Fortes focus their *Building the new Barcelona. The importance of the "survey" on common architecture in the Cerda's project*, on some of Ildefons Cerdà's methodological processes. They look at how these were key to the remodelling and expansion plan for Barcelona, and at the same time underpinned his own theoretical thinking, while illustrating the extent to which vernacular construction was a part of the whole process.

For her part, Ana Tostões points to the 1950s as a critical reflection point; the decade saw a wealth of operative contributions to Portuguese architectural culture, such as a new critical regionalism linked to the discovery of popular architecture. Tostões' text draws attention to the interactions between building tradition, modernity and regionalism, while also highlighting the role played by Pedro Vieira de Almeida and Nuno Portas, from the late 1950s, in the field of architectural theory and critique. *The survey as a knowledge process, research as a critical tool* also focuses on the continuation of the Survey in the 1980s when it was enlarged to encompass the Madeira and Azores archipelagos. In the latter's case, the author was part of the team which undertook a double-pronged survey; it discussed the principles of George Kubler's *Portuguese Plain Architecture* as a key concept to understand architectural production in times of scarcity and, at the same time, it pioneered a connection between research on historical dwellings on one side, and erudite and popular architecture on the other.

As the author of the Madeira survey and member of the Azores survey team, Victor Mestre tells his experience in *The decline and contaminations of post-survey architecture in architecture without architects (1955-1985)*. Mestre's text discusses vernacular architecture not only of the Madeira and Azores archipelagos but

also of the Canary Islands and Cape Verde by framing them in a Mediterranean context. The Indian territories of Portuguese culture and influence – Goa, Damão and Diu – as well as Macau and Timor, were also the subject of surveys with the common goal of understanding the local architecture with a view to safeguard its values and cultural traditions. These surveys aim at recording how vernacular architecture is being transformed or disappearing, while looking at the territory, the landscape and ways of life as key factors to understand these traditional cultures.

Vernacular, conservative, modernist: the uncomfortable 'zone 6' (Algarve) of the Portuguese folk architecture survey (1955-1961) is Ricardo Agarez's title for a text that argues that part of the 'aura' of the late 1950s Portuguese Survey stems from the 'resistance' narrative built around it. According to this narrative, its authors had challenged official stereotypes for regional architecture and proved that "folk architecture was, like all 'true architecture', functionality". In effect, the Survey took up the post-war modernist agenda by not only aiming to prove the diversity of Portuguese vernacular architecture, but also bringing modern architecture into the lineage of traditional architecture. In this setting, the Algarve region raised issues that were specific to its idiosyncrasy but also embarrassing due to the decorative emphasis of its architecture. The Algarve also provided examples dramatically illustrative of diversity which enabled the necessary contrast to prove the variety of national architecture.

For his part, Tiago Lopes Dias seeks to understand how the Regional Architecture Survey was interpreted by the generation of young architects that, from the early 1960s, focused their work on architectural theory and critique. *A critical interpretation of the Portuguese survey in the early sixties: Nuno Portas and Pedro Vieira de Almeida* discusses how two main representatives of that generation of theoretical and critical architects related to a Survey that they had not taken part in, but the results of which had filtered into their respective works.

As for ourselves, Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia and Alexandra Cardoso, in *Architectural theory and the vernacular in Pedro Vieira de Almeida's writing*, we

seek not only to register the presence of the Survey in this author's work, but also to trace the development of the critical concepts he proposed based on the Survey, from his *Ensaio sobre algumas características do espaço em arquitectura e elementos que o informam* (1963), to *Dois parâmetros de arquitectura postos em surdina* (2009-2011) which he was working on at the time of his death.

The turn of the 1950s to the 1960s provides the backdrop for Luís Urbano's contribution. *Between here and there. Rural and urban spaces as national identity in 1960s Portugal* tells us of how the disappearing rural world caught the imagination of both architects and filmmakers, who found in the hidden reality of the vernacular a solution for the crisis of modernity. At a time of complete dissonance between the reality of the country and its idealized portrayal by the propaganda of the Estado Novo regime, Portugal saw its land increasingly urbanized and its countryside gradually abandoned. This state of affairs, the author argues, helps understand the interest raised by a rural world in the process of disappearing at a time when its value was being acknowledged. Conversely, it explains the increasing interest in urban issues, a key to understand both the architecture produced after the Survey and the first films of the Cinema Novo filmmaking movement in Portugal.

Spanish parallelisms of the Survey are provided in *Architectural Koinè: architectural culture and the vernacular in 20th century Spain* which describes the country's growing relationship with vernacular architecture. Concepción Díez-Pastor traces a line of rapprochement to vernacular architecture which begins with Leopoldo Torres Balbás. She draws attention to his role at the helm of the *Arquitectura* journal, which published articles devoted to the subject, but also to the part he played as the author of works such as *La vivienda popular en España* (1934). He was followed by a second generation which included García Mercadal and Josep Lluís Sert, as well as Chueca Goitia, whose work is highlighted in particular through *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española* (1981). Díez-Pastor also draws attention to the Survey in 5 volumes carried out by Feduchi with ETSAM students (1973) and Carlos Flores' monumental

work *La Arquitectura Popular en España* (1978), so similar, in our view, to its Portuguese counterpart.

Rusticus versus Rural: the vernacular architecture exhibition as survey of the many faces of Italian modernism uses the case of Italy to illustrate how Exhibitions can foster debate and open up new paths for professional practice. Recalling that both during the times of Fascism and after the Second World War the architectural discourse was challenged by publications and exhibitions on vernacular architecture, Michelangelo Sabatino examines four exhibitions (1911, 1921, 1936 and 1951) which brought forth as many interpretations of Italian vernacular architecture. Revolving around issues associated with Italian identity, these exhibitions “advocated a synthesis of regionalist and modernist ideals with the potential to challenge the dominant tendency toward classicizing schemes typically endorsed by the Fascist regime and at the same time functioned as an antidote to generic functionalism during the postwar period”.

In Hungary, after the 1956 revolution, a new plan was drawn up for the Lake Balaton area which featured a survey of monuments and included vernacular architecture. The chapter entitled *Specific Architecture rooted in the country. Survey on vernacular architecture and tourism development* deals with the findings of this survey and compares them with the constructions planned or built at the time. Mariann Simon records how years later architects recall that as the time when ‘*the spirit of the vernacular was in the air*’, when in fact the actual buildings tell a slightly different story. According to the author “the duality of place-form and product-form, that is of tradition and technology – or vernacular and modern – was interpreted by the majority of architects as an either/or problem”, with tradition having lost the battle by the middle of the following decade.

Diverse approaches, multiple examples, one single constant: the persistence of vernacular forms as a resource of modernity.

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FROM SEA TO STONE: CRADLE OF AVANT-GARDE

RUBÉN ALCOLEA AND AITOR ACILU

Man's physical freedom manifests itself no doubt in his ability to choose the place on earth where he wants to live. Whereas immature reflection tends to judge by usefulness alone, a discriminating mind may ask its share of beauty. Neither privations nor danger will deter man from selecting a spot that provides him with the exhilaration generated by superb landscape.

(Rudofsky, 1964: 32)

Traditionally, both history and theory of architecture have focused on studying the work of the outstanding. Seldom have these fields of research have been the regular and non-relevant. In effect, a significant part of the history of architecture has been overshadowed by the work of designers, which represents only a small, sometimes ridiculously insignificant, part of the building activity in any epoch (Rapoport, 1972: 11).

If we consider the complete view of terrestrial space it is evident that the physical environment, especially that which is built, has been controlled by designers and architects only to a small degree. Thus, whilst buildings and works of architecture whose source is vernacular or folk are numerous, these have largely been omitted from the history and theory of art and architecture.

There are only a few exceptions, like the Greek ancient works close to the Acropolis, old Roman dwellings, the buildings around the Pyramids, the medieval cathedrals, and some others. These have been considered because of their direct relationship to more unique pieces of architecture. Usually, historians have selected for their research the more exceptional solutions or special types, like temples, palaces, graves and theatres, but common dwellings or small constructions have simply been erased from their studies. Nevertheless, these works are precisely the symbol of culture and tradition, and the space where the human being experiences life most intimately.

In the first instance, we should consider as relevant buildings which are outstanding by their uniqueness. Cottages, huts and many other minor constructions therefore always come second place. But modernity has always considered, in one way or another, the value of all second-class architecture, owing to social changes and the rise of new technological innovations and philosophical approaches; they are outstanding for having, in themselves, in their materiality and configuration, the identity and cultural essence of different societies and cultures. This is pure and clean architecture, free of indulgent design. Buildings that respond to technical necessities and whose last mean is to serve and to become function. It is here, in this ordinary architecture, that modernity found a real source of inspiration.

But, the everlasting question is, what is vernacular architecture? What is its real interest in the world of architectural form and composition? What are its main characteristics, which might serve to define it as an archetype in the 20th century? From a general point of view, we should consider that we could classify buildings into two main groups: the ones that consider tradition as design and those that consider tradition as folk. The first group, which assumes tradition as design, includes all architectural works that have their origin in impressing the population. Conversely, folk traditional buildings are a direct and unconscious translation of cultural formalisations and, by extension, their cultural values and necessities, as desires or dreams of the epoch. It is here, in this last group, that we

shall distinguish between primitives and vernacular (Rapoport, 1972).

In considering vernacular architecture we should focus on the construction and design process (Redfield, 1965). Every vernacular design process is based on models, which are adapted and transformed according to different necessities, generating different solutions of a single type. 'When a professional builds a barn for a farmer, they both know the type, the form and the materials to be used. Only the specifics remain, as dictated by the personal needs of the client the prevailing circumstances: size, relationship to the environment, and climate' (Rapoport, 1972: 14).

This is a pattern which is adapted throughout the process. It begins with the first sketches, the general features, and then come the details, which are adjusted as construction progresses. So, vernacular architecture can fit, at the same time, in many different situations, and re-create a new place for any of them. Also, one of its main characteristics is the capacity and even necessity of addition. Its open nature, as opposed to the closed system of design, allows changes and additions that could destroy the original image of the work but would generate a new and second conception of it. Considering the context, Mediterranean architecture is just the addition of very simple volumes, the more rational the better. First might come the addition of one or two bedrooms, then a porch, then the refurbishment of a barn... (La arquitectura ..., 1935: 15).

This is why the relationship among different elements is so important. The model is the result of the co-operation of many different people through many generations – the co-operation between the builders and the users of buildings – which gives rise to what is known as tradition. Without style, nor school, it is practised by agents that have no any other master than constructive tradition (La arquitectura ..., 1935).

This architecture has the strength of being created by collective consensus. Its approach will work as long as tradition is alive. If tradition dies, the context will radically change. Without tradition there is no confidence in the accepted forms and types, and we would have to accept architectural, temporary and



Figure 1. Houses typical of Mediterranean Area, (Rudofsky, 1964: 1)

institutional styles.

Mediterranean: Source of Civilisations

The Mediterranean area, origin of many civilisations, is the geographical context where African, Asian and European cultures have come together, and it has been a basic reference for the origin and growth of modernity. Through their terrestrial limits, and promoted by the cultures that settle in its margins, it is possible to find a great spectrum of architectural works that inspired the forerunning architects of the early 20th century. These are architectural examples that, far from trying to become brilliant, hide in their thick brick and stone walls the weight of history and tradition.

The singularity of the Mediterranean and its context is essential for understanding the evolution and history of all countries which surround it, including many who geographically do not even touch its waters. This is why it is necessary to understand its role as an essential departure point for later developments of western civilisation and modernity in general. Its purpose,

first as a transportation path (until the arrival of railways and the aeroplane), allowed the communication of cultures of very different origins and nature. This geographical context has inherited a very strong cultural and heterodox character, which reflects the interaction among very different societies who, free to choose their own identity, share some of their features. This is why it is not at all strange that one of the main spotlights of modernity was the great context of the Mediterranean.

Vernacular as Avant-Garde

It seems important to think about how and why avant-garde architecture was born, in the early 20th century, just at the same place where tradition was strongest. Until the 1900s, man built his environment with local materials, in a very easy, unsophisticated and natural way. The human being was constantly relating its architecture to the sun, wind, rain and land, essentially trying to solve the inconveniences of daily life. Society had developed techniques to protect itself from discomfort. Pioneers and forerunners of avant-garde stated that research on the most essential, the root, of antique communitarian architecture could bring many clues to formulating new modern postulates. They assimilated the shape and formalisation of the vernacular Mediterranean, allowing more rationalist proposals to directly link to tradition, as the white constructions developed in the Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart in 1927. This was a perception that would be settled even more deeply just a decade later, when it was criticised by Nazi propaganda and caricatured as an Arab setting.

In these first steps in understanding of human work, there were many who tried to rescue and re-use antique classicisms. But, by contrast, the avant-garde was able to bring references that alternated from unimaginable unimagined future utopias with to the essential grounded view of the past and the origin of humanity.

This bidirectional strategy configured a return trip that allowed the free co-existence of the modernist visual art with the more sophisticated technical

advances. Different intellectual positions merged in a common ground, allowing architecture to be considered the pure discipline where both art and technique lived together. It was a field of real experimentation that would originate the most revolutionary statements of modernity.

From this point of view, we dare say that historians have focused on modern architecture from a purposeful point of view, not one of considered reflection. We can find research about construction in places with very basic scientific or technological development, especially in many specialised magazines from the 1920s and 1930s. For example, the 1927 issue of *The Western Architect* published articles as 'Aboriginal American Architectural Types' that analysed pre-Columbian culture as the only source of the pure, original American. That issue included many drawings showing skyscrapers also as the symbolic myth of new and emerging American culture. It presents a sort of contradictory relationship, very similar to that demonstrated in the pages of the magazine *Cortijos and Rascacielos* in Spain.

On the other hand, the proposals of Gio Ponti and Bernard Rudofsky for a hostel in Capri were published in the Italian magazine *Architettura* in 1940. A year later, in 1941, the magazine would reclaim the topic about the popular focus on research by Italian troops after the invasion of some of the islands in the Aegean Sea. In both cases, architecture related to tradition was presented as an argument of pure modernity.

In the Iberian peninsula, given its main role in the Mediterranean world, these topics were very popular among architects and their magazines. The aim of the first modernist architects was to revalue the concepts of form and space, removing any kind of superfluous decoration, and departing from new materials and architectural techniques. Some decided to break from the past, focusing exclusively on these new statements, but many others decided to take part in the battle to fuse tradition and modernity. There were several groups of young architects that included these paradigms in their creed. Of all them, we should name the well known group GATEPAC, which was even close to the influence

of the central-European and Corbuserian postulates, for creating very interesting interpretations of what new architecture should be in terms of its relationship to the past.

Their magazine, entitled *AC, Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, published a special issue in 1935, n°18, which focused on Mediterranean architecture, and some months later, in the 21st issue published in 1936, in a very special article, they focused on the island of Ibiza, and started the recovery of the vernacular references as a key to configuring the new modern principles.

Also, in the first of them, *AC* published minimum patios in Tarifa, cortijos in Cadiz, roofs in Almeria and, of course, they wrote at length about Ibiza. The magazine showed pictures of buildings that had been built in high density, looking for the sun and community dwellings that shared entrances and corridors. They highlighted the pure and primary volumes that were built on both sides of very narrow streets, protected from direct sunlight. Also, in the issue specialising on Mediterranean architecture, the editors wrote:

Popular Mediterranean architecture has some commonalities that are constantly repeated in all these countries. Egypt, the Greek Islands, Italy, north coast of Africa, Spain, Mallorca, Ibiza, etc... All of them show popular constructions that follow very similar types, founded in rationalism. From these similar ways of life, civilisations, and weather conditions, it was obvious that the results should necessarily be similar through the ages. All of them are a result of pure forms, and derive from human necessities. (La arquitectura ..., 1935)

Examples like this contributed to the creation of the myth of the Mediterranean, referring to buildings located in ideal spaces, where the sun is brighter and shadows deeper. It was supposed to be an essential of architecture, and original and humble at the same time. Historians launched explorations that crossed the sea and went through Africa, studying the structure type of popular buildings,

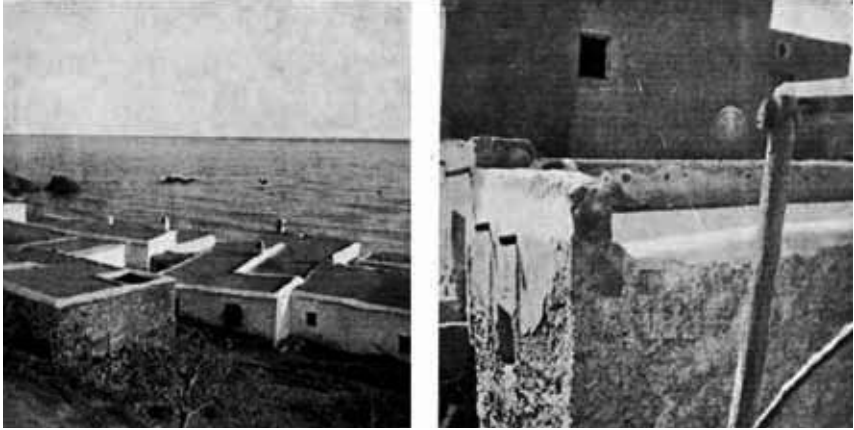


Figure 2. Pictures of Mediterranean dwellings (Spain), (*AC: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, nº 18, 1935: 25)

surprisingly similar to the ones that the master Le Corbusier was proclaiming to the western world (Goldfinger, 1992: 18).

For this reason we should consider again the definition of modernity, as it usually has denied the influence of the popular and the traditional. The relationship between new and old was seen by modernists as a point of departure that had to be overcome but whose development should necessarily deal with more than thousands of years of history and welfare. Modern historians have discounted the influence of the old in the avant-garde. A brief view of the more modern magazines of the early 20th century shows that architects were impressed to re-discover the traditional and also happy to be able to look at the traditional through modern eyes.

From Mediterranean to Mediterranean

The interest in vernacular architecture was demonstrated by publications and by the travelling of architects throughout the world, and the more essential and anonymous architectures which were visited and studied. These visits were documented in photographic albums and sketch notebooks; they were a sort of

magic box full of personal experiences that would define the way of working of every architect.

In this context, there are two architects who were essential to understanding the approach of modernity to the vernacular: Josep Lluís Sert and Bernard Rudofsky. Sert was a key architect in the Spanish scene owing to his membership of the GATEPAC group, a pre-eminent centre of modernity in Europe. On the other hand, Rudofsky, an Austrian born architect, became involved with Spanish architecture because of his many trips to the country and his intriguing works in the Iberian country. Both architects are shown as the synthesis of Mediterranean culture with modernity.

Sert lived for many years in Barcelona, just leaving the Mediterranean for setting up in the United States. On the other hand, Rudofsky travelled first from Austria and then from the United States to establish himself finally in the Mediterranean, as a result of a personal and even spiritual search. These are two different approaches to and from the Mediterranean that would contribute to support and secure the vernacular origins of modernism.

Both the work and writings of Josep Lluís Sert define a clear manifesto that comprehends its own legacy and, by extension, the legacy of modernists more interested in the popular and vernacular. We may consider the houses he built in El Garraf, in collaboration with his partner, J. Torres Clave, and published in the 19th issue of AC magazine, as a standard from which to extract essential references to his approach to vernacular (Rovira, 2000: 231-232). The houses in El Garraf are only weekend dwellings with very clear formal links to the popular Mediterranean. The architectural project has as a very ultimate reference the architecture from Ibiza, especially its sustained tradition with construction through the ages. He defined this work in these terms:

These minimal dwellings are a response to the very spread types in central Europe and the United States. The modern way of life promotes the desire to leave the city, even for just a few hours, to rest and relax. This study considered



Figure 3. “Weekend” Houses in El Garraf – Barcelona. Background view of B and C Type. J. Luis Sert and J. Torres Clavé, architects. (*AC: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, nº 19, 1935: 39)

many claims that seek to push forward a new and universal extended way of life, eased by technological advances as the automobile. (Little “Weekend” Dwellings, 1935: 33)

This kind of architecture could be seen as a good example of integrating architecture into a natural landscape. The project was conceived as small volumes that were randomly spread, looking for the best orientation, but allowing the natural surroundings to qualify the space in-between.

The thick walls were erected on local stone foundations. The windows of the different spaces and bedrooms were small, but a really big window opening was allowed as the only luxury. The entry was made by sculpting some steps on the ground, as if they had been there for centuries. The construction was supposed to be just a direct translation of the weather and location needs, whilst local materials were selected and optimised by more modern technologies. The inner spaces were designed with austerity, contributing to the enhancement of

the small and domestic spaces, with naive but very polyvalent furniture. Five different types were designed, in accordance with those rules, which directly manifest the vernacular origin: selecting a type that has to be adapted concerns the needs of function and life (Borràs, 1974: 22-24).

On the other hand, Bernard Rudofsky defined a new way of looking to tradition, including some of the principles, which he had studied all his life, of modernity. The mediterranean was Rudofsky's first great love. Its warmth, and the truth of its way of life attracted him when, as a student, he began the ceaseless and curious travels that furthered his exploration of the art of living. (Bocco Guarneri, 2003: 9)

In 1923, just before becoming an architect, Rudofsky visited the Bauhaus exhibition, and travelled down the Donau to Istanbul and then to Asia. In 1926 he went to France and in 1927 travelled through the whole of Italy. All of these roundtrips made him a lover of history and tradition but, at the same time, a visionary, who searched for modernity in every stone he sketched. In 1929, Rudofsky went to Greece, spending his summer-time in Santorini, where he studied and photographed in-depth popular architecture. As a matter of fact, in his doctoral thesis he analysed the logic and its technical application to the use of concrete in popular Greek buildings, and compared it with more modern advances. His interest in vernacular, especially that architecture strongly marked by its suitability to climate and site, was highlighted in one of the most famous architecture exhibitions of its time: *Architecture without Architects*.

The exhibition toured for several years, and was a mixture of non-specific buildings, all with the commonality of being erected by non-architects from around the world. Of course, all the works in the exhibition were anonymous but, at the same time, claimed a universal authorship.

Concerning his own work, it is interesting to cite his Casa Oro in Napoli, designed in 1935 in collaboration with Luigi Cosenza, who had invited Rudofsky to co-operate in the design of the Palazzo del Littorio in Rome. One



Figure 4. Bernard Rudofsky. Preliminary perspective sketch of Oro house, 1935. (Bocco Guarneri, 2003: 34)

year later they both designed Villa Campanella in Salerno. And even later, in collaboration with Gio Ponti, Rudofsky designed his famous hostel in Capri, published in *Architettura* magazine.

We may consider Casa Oro – one of his first works – as a precedent, which perfectly adapts to the difficulty of inserting a building into the urban plot. The building is located in a very pronounced slope, and Rudofsky re-covered it to locate gardens and terraces, some of them hidden, despite the urban context and the exposure of intervention to the environment. The outdoor areas enjoy privacy, and the house holds very compact and very nice composition, which is enhanced in the Mediterranean sunshine. At the same time, each bedroom is unique, a characteristic informed by the study of vernacular dwellings.

The final formalisation is a very audacious composition of volumes which, in its construction, was built in tune with the techniques of more orthodox modernity. Pure and white cubes, without any cornices. Columns, light boxes and folding screens are made in iron, reducing its materiality to the minimum.



Figure 5. Bernard Rudofsky and Luigi Cosenza, Casa Oro, 1935-37. View of the house. (*Lessons from Bernard Rudofsky: life as a voyage*, 2007: 166)

The structure is made of concrete with stone foundations.
Some years later, Gio Ponti commented on that house:

The plan is interesting from the conceptual point of view, in its structure and also in its way of living. And it is so also because of the perfection of the public spaces, despite of the non-existing corridors. The clarity and beauty of its construction principles and the great election of the site are lovely and ostensible attributes. Probably, it is the more beautiful of our modern houses.
(*Lessons ...*, 2007: 266)

In a similar way as Sert, Rudofsky would continue with the incorporation and development of his ideas around the vernacular in many of his designs till the end of his life. He played such a very important and influencing role throughout the entire 20th century. The direct contact of the masterpieces with the vernacular and tradition in this geographical context allowed the recovery of the values and

principles more directly linked to human necessities. Also, they all understood that the more essential constructions are made not only of stone, but of the aesthetical relationship of the human being with its environment through site and climate.

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VERNACULAR, CONSERVATIVE, MODERNIST: THE UNCOMFORTABLE 'ZONE 6' (ALGARVE) OF THE PORTUGUESE FOLK ARCHITECTURE SURVEY (1955-1961)

RICARDO AGAREZ

Introduction

When Artur Pires Martins (1914-2000), Celestino de Castro (1920-2007) and Fernando Torres (1922-2010) set out in 1955 to record the folk buildings of Algarve for the nationwide survey 'Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa,' including it in 'Zone 6' along with parts of the neighbouring Alentejo region, they faced a delicate task. In its stated general purposes, the project included redressing Portugal's reputedly false regional stereotypes. The turn-of-the-century 'Casa Portuguesa' program, which sought an antidote to Beaux Arts eclecticism in original traits of *Portugueseness*, had been popularised by both architects and non-architects in formulas that came to embody, in the 1940s, a key axis of Portuguese national identity: regional diversity (Branco, 1999; Leal, 2000; Melo, 2001). The southernmost province of Portugal, with extant traces (real and imagined) of a remote, exotic Moorish past and markedly Mediterranean physical and cultural characteristics, had an essential part to play in this kaleidoscopic construct of Portuguese diversity/unity. As such, it had been duly typified in public and private building initiatives throughout the first half of the last century, before being taken by the tourism phenomenon to a wider scope and scale. The Zone 6 team scooted (literally) through Algarve

imbued with a clear impression of the region's stereotype, and their part in the survey was devoted to dismantling it.

However, Algarve had not been a straightforward case of built identity construct, simply based on stereotypes issued from metropolitan centres towards peripheral contexts, but rather an intricate process of negotiation and exchange, in which local and regional agency actively took part, and whose strength underlay other, more transient trends. Among other reasons for Algarve's specificity – which I have recently detailed in my study “Regionalism, modernism and vernacular tradition in the architecture of Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965” – one emerges as paramount for my argument here: the region's extant built environment, the basis for this built identity construct, had engaged both the modernist sensibility towards Mediterranean vernacular rationality, *and* the conservative, pastoral interest in the picturesque, in a manner unique within the Portuguese context. In fact, the Algarve case is one where the boundaries between the modernist and conservative stances, often seen as opposed, most visibly collapsed. When the Zone 6 team attempted to dismantle Algarve's stereotype, they eventually found themselves enmeshed in some of its original misgivings and had to deal with features that, other than part of the stereotype, were part of the reality around them. To their modernist eyes, and within a project aimed at exposing superficial regionalism, dealing with the Algarvian vernacular was an unexpected challenge.

Debunking stereotypes, or the value of diversity

Portugal lacks unity in what concerns Architecture. There is not, absolutely not, one 'Portuguese Architecture' or one 'casa portuguesa'. (...) Between the houses of Fuseta and those of Lamas de Olo, there are barely any links...
 ([Amaral], 1988 [1961])

For the authors of *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* (1961) and of the 'Inquérito'

that supported it, the country's folk architecture was essentially diverse, as varied as the many different geographic, climatic, topographic, material, technical, social and economic circumstances that had produced it; an architecture 'that was no longer properly Portuguese but existed, in multiple and diverse expressions, in Portugal.' (Leal, 2000: 176) Survey and book should, furthermore, allow the authors to demonstrate that folk architecture was in fact modern. This, a key point for post-war architects who claimed the right to follow their time with a contemporary stance and against perceived official conservatism, was patent since the project's inception. As one of its proponents wrote, folk dwellings were 'the most functional and less subject to fantasy' and those 'which best suit the new intentions.' (Távora, 1947 [1945]: 11) With the benefit of hindsight, in fact, participants later admitted to being 'necessarily tendentious' by merely looking to confirm what they had set out to demonstrate: a cause-and-effect link with the environment, the rationality of building techniques and the 'authenticity' of materials – to prove, in short, that 'folk architecture was, like all "true architecture," functionality.' (Pereira, 1984: 29) The surveyors' view of vernacular architecture was therefore filtered through their specific agendas, leaving aside a number of other aspects, from variation and distortion to anthropological matters (see Leal, 2011). They focused on regional diversity and the vernacular lineage of modernism as two essential arguments against superficial stereotypes.

Algarve suited both arguments perfectly. In my opening quote, a village in the north of Portugal (Lamas de Olo) is presented as virtually incomparable to the Algarvian village of Fuseta, suggesting (as often before) that Algarve played an instrumental role in reinforcing the diversity of Portugal's folk architecture, by enabling a clearer contrast between extremes. In addition, it was not only different from the rest of the country but also internally heterogeneous. The Zone 6 team referred to recent Human Geography scholarship (Lautensach, 1932-1937; Gouveia, 1938; Ribeiro, 1945) to support their account of the coincidence between Algarve's diverse geographic sub-regions (the mountains or

Serra, the hilly midland Barrocal and the seaside) and the economic background, the types of settlement, and the house-types of each of those areas.

In the discussion of the ‘urban structure’ of Algarve, Martins’s team introduced one point that emerged consistently thereafter: to stress how the fishing centres of Olhão and Fuseta were non-representative of the region as a whole, and how the houses there were ‘exceptions in the entire Algarvian coast.’ (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 146) The two ‘unique’ settlements with their predominantly flat-roofed houses were briefly described using well-known sources (e.g. Sérgio, 1941), from which the architects’ team borrowed existing explanations for the flat-roof solution and shared in long-lasting perplexities at the fact that other villages in similar conditions had different roofing devices.

They made their point clear shortly after. The section on ‘Climate’ showed how all over the region, locals ingeniously looked for the best orientation for their settlement, opening windows according to the sun and winds, using elements like porches, terraces, yards and vine pergolas to control sunlight and achieve ‘perfect conditions of dwelling’ in winter and summer. The impact of climate on traditional building solutions prompted them to address the subject of the terrace roof (locally called açoteia) as representative of Algarve:

Widely popularised conceptions on the defining features of a regional Architecture, anxiously sought and light-heartedly understood, do not always correspond exactly to what one can find in a careful, judicious observation. The role of the terrace roof in ‘Algarvian Architecture’ has been much invoked; however, to the exception of the rural area geographically defined as ‘Limestone Algarve’ (...) and of the settlements of Olhão and Fuseta, it is fair to say that the terrace roof is not frequent in most of the province. (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 166)

The authors associated the composite roofing solutions (part terrace, part tiled) of ‘Limestone Algarve’ to climate and local economy requirements; and again

stressed how special the 'cases' of Olhão and Fuseta were, where 'frequent contact with North African people and traditions, as well as climate affinities,' would explain the assimilation of both the terrace-roof house type and the corresponding organic urban fabric.

However, they noted, in the region as a whole the tiled roof solution had more currency than the terrace roof: in one village 'no flat roofs may be seen, and the tiled roof is widespread,' and in other, 'there is no roofing type other than the tiled one.' (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 138-41) In the 'Construction materials and techniques' section, they gathered further evidence: within the range of roofing techniques used, the double- or single-pitch tiled roof dominated. At the same time, another building feature related to climate, the *pátio* – not the Andalusian courtyard but the front (or side) yard – was noted as being as common as the mythical *açoteia*, and as rationally justified: 'Nothing is improvised, nothing is arbitrary, and on the contrary, everything is properly justified and verified through experience.' (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 171)

As it happens, the terrace roof issue was central to one of the declared purposes of the 'Inquérito' – to dismantle the myths regarding Portuguese regional architecture – since it was an essential part of the strongest-held stereotype of Algarve architecture in the first half of the century. This feature had been adopted by conservative spheres as typical and used to symbolise the entire region, while simultaneously exerting a clear fascination over modernist designers for its proximity to rationalist forms. Olhão, in particular (Fig. 1), underwent a process of 'discovery' by scholars, writers, journalists and architects that mirrored contemporary developments in Spain (Balearics), Italy (Capri) or Greece.

Portuguese authors hailed its 'dices of lime' (Barreira, 1909), the box-like buildings that, as if 'projected from Picasso's canvas, (...) intertwine, overlap, cover each other, dismember themselves, the laws of perspective and volume annulled by whiteness and mirage.' (Ribeiro, 1927: 75) English travellers raved about Olhão, whose architecture 'could give points to many a modern young architect priding himself on the functional use of materials.' (Gordon, 1934:212)



Figure 1. Backside of the houses on Rua Capitão Nobre, Olhão, 2009
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

The town was in fact systematically associated with modernism, not least by metropolitan Portuguese architects such as Segurado (1926), Ramos (1931) and Cortinelli Telmo (1933). Concurrently, national and foreign scholars debated the terrace-roof house's origin and evolution, and Olhão became a favourite topic of Human Geography studies (Giese, 1932-1935; Girão, 1935; Feio, 1949; Ferro, 1956; Stanislavsky, 1960; Ribeiro, 1961) that interpreted its special 'pyramidal' growth pattern closely following local, non-scholar views (Machado, 1934; Lopes, 1948). The pictorial analogy of Olhão as the country's 'Cubist' town (Ferro, 1922) was soon well established across all fields of knowledge and, despite the general agreement on its specificity, this particular townscape was later popularised as a surrogate for Algarve as a whole, namely in representations of the region in national and international expositions (Paris 1937, New York and San Francisco 1939, Lisbon 1940) and in tourism propaganda (Agarez, 2013).

Olhão's 'Cubist' feature – its flat roofs – became inextricable from a well-defined

stereotype of Algarve, which served precise official purposes in the 1940s but has since become engrained in the region's image within architectural culture (Caldas, 2010). Therefore, by confining the terrace roof to a precise geography the 'Inquérito' authors meant to expose what they saw as a fallacy, embraced by both conservatives and modernists, and to replace it with a new, 'scientific' approach to vernacular tradition.

Unsurprisingly, in the 'Housing Types' section the architects could not identify one single Algarvian house type, but rather referred to the 'diverse aspects of housing in Algarve', illustrated with cottages from the inland hills, the plains and the villages. The general features of the Algarvian house – which the authors wanted to avoid pinpointing – were limited to its external simplicity, 'very pure in forms and surfaces,' and some layout idiosyncrasies such as the 'importance and significance' of reception spaces over private and service areas.

The discussion of the central or 'Limestone Algarve' type, essential in demonstrating the variety of Algarvian house types, was again clearly inspired by previous descriptions made by geographers (Feio, 1949; Ferro, 1956). In this as in other respects, the architects' work seems to have been closely influenced by the approach of their non-architect predecessors. Intentionally or not, in many points the 'Inquérito' seemed content to complete and illustrate those sources for the benefit of an architectural audience, highlighting whichever points could help reinforce its very specific message.

The ambivalent Algarvian vernacular

For the Zone 6 team, the house-type of Olhão and Fuseta was first and foremost a case of its own, 'different and unmatched in the Algarve province.' Yet the choice of examples to characterise this type as specifically local and not regional suggests the difficulties that its study posed to architects who, as they themselves admitted, were driven both by a precise agenda and by the 'plastic quality' of what they found (cf. interview with Artur Pires Martins, 1999, cit. in Neves, 2001).



Figure 2. Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa.
'Housing ensemble; north façade,' Fuseta (Olhão), 1955
(© Arquivo Ordem dos Arquitectos – IARP/OAPIX)

The description of a set of terraced houses in Fuseta (Fig. 2) invoked a case that would perhaps not qualify as the best instance of vernacular. The exact repetition of the same design and the standardised construction and decoration elements configured a set that did not seem to have grown spontaneously or organically, or to have been built by its inhabitants; rather, it had all the features of a multifamily housing unit, designed and built in one stretch to form one whole street front.

Plans and photographs depicted an example of proto-industrial low-budget housing, serially produced, possibly designed and built by professionals for the fishermen or the canning industry workers. Studying the building practice in Algarve in the early decades of the century, I identified a moment when vernacular building customs were codified into bureaucracy for planning permission purposes and integrated with the sphere of formal design. In the



Figure 3. Viegas Pires house, Rua Sacadura Cabral 6 (Cerca do Júdice), Olhão, 2009. Unidentified designer. Planning permission obtained 21st May 1917
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

1910s and 1920s, a number of examples comparable to those presented by the Zone 6 team were built in both Olhão (Fig. 3) and Fuseta to approved designs, configuring an intermediate layer between the vernacular tradition proper, spontaneous and informal, and the rules and requirements of the construction industry, by which learned architects operate. Designed, standardised and regulated, this invisible layer misled everyone – geographers and ethnographers, picturesque-driven authors, pre- and post-war modernist architects, and the Zone 6 team – into encompassing object of very different extraction under the same category of ‘folk architecture’. If these houses proved that vernacular was modern and rational, it was because they *were* modern and rational. This was part of a wider issue raised, albeit occasionally, by the study and appropriation of so-called ‘folk’ buildings by architects in the first half of the century: the issue of ‘fetishisation’ of vernacular features. In Italy, a discussion

on the origins of the Tuscan *casa colonica* raised concerns that the anonymous builders were being fetishised, and that many of the examples celebrated as spontaneous by the architect Giuseppe Pagano (1896-1945) in his studies of Italian rural architecture, for instance, were actually ‘designed’ by architects (Soffici, 1943 in Sabatino, 2010a: 59). In Spain, it went by unnoticed that the famous 1931 opening issue of *A.C.*, the journal initiated by the GATEPAC group of Mercadal and Sert, featured an example of folk architecture as unclear as the Fuseta one: the row of houses in a coastal village near Barcelona that epitomised a vernacular precursor of the modern ‘standard’ – of which ‘all aesthetic concern’ was absent – was chosen by its rationality and seriality, but its origins cannot be said to be clearly spontaneous.

Yet in Algarve as in Italy and in Spain, this doubt was seldom raised. The Portuguese authors-architects appeared to be in awe at the formal and functional qualities of the Fuseta set: the elaborate layout, the cooking area underneath the arched stairway, and the elevated backyard as a terrace over a basement storage room. The back prospect was singled-out and described in enthusiastic terms:

The advantage taken from the existing slope and the movement of building masses give the ensemble's back elevation, facing south, a very special character.
(Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 205)

These terms, similar to those commonly employed in the 1950s to describe a piece of formal architecture (namely in many project statements written by architects and included in planning applications), were applied here to a work of reputedly vernacular building practice. The team's fascination with the houses of Olhão led it even to set aside characteristic modernist concerns with domestic salubriousness: the interior, windowless bedrooms had ‘a very pleasant atmosphere by way of their natural light, which they get from a minute skylight, a squared glass inset in the vault.’ As in Fuseta, the Olhão backyards (Fig. 4) with their arched stairways leading to the açoteias and the characteristic ‘balloon’



Figure 4. Stairways and chimneys in Olhão, 2009
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

chimneys in full view, were considered much more interesting than the street fronts: these did not ‘stand out from the banality of the neighbouring buildings, and lack the plastic quality of their back sides.’ (Ibid., 207)

The plastic interest of some vernacular features was thus highlighted against the general ‘banality’ of street fronts. This was a selective view of extant building traditions, deformed by the authors’ starting point: they wanted to find seriality and repetition (as they did in Fusetta) and richly contrasted juxtapositions of pure volumes (as in Olhão), because these were features that architects with modernist backgrounds were looking for as a means to associate vernacular traditions and modern architecture – to enable them to say that there was modernity in vernacular, and not conservative, bucolic, retrograde picturesque. All the descriptions and illustrations were of the more recent part of Olhão (of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries); the original, reportedly spontaneous settlement of fishermen’s huts perpetuated in masonry in the eighteenth century was not shown or described. Even the pyramidal growth

pattern of house extension through consecutive turrets (mirante and contra-mirante) was described only in the modern grid, not in the older fabric of Olhão. The Olhão and Fuseta house-type was one of the few cases in Zone 6 whose examples were not unequivocally vernacular, but instead blended features of engrained building tradition with clear signs of formal building practices. With this choice, the team fell, to some extent, in the trap of an 'aesthetic view' on vernacular, the very same mistake it criticised the romantic, early-twentieth-century Casa Portuguesa-school approach for having fomented. Although diverging in the focus (picturesque settings for a romantic sensibility, pure volumes for a modernist one), both approaches were, to a lesser or greater extent, aesthetically driven and superficial.

The uncomfortable decoration

The *offence* of giving in to the aesthetic appeal of traditional features was conscious and problematic for the Algarve surveyors. Introducing a section entitled 'Improvement Elements' ('Elementos de Valorização'), the team's words expressed the discomfort of having to present, under a euphemistic title, features that were essentially Algarvian *and* decorative, and did not quite fit the functionalist grid according to which many other features were selected:

It was not without doubts as to the valid contribution of these loose elements to the study of Algarvian regional Architecture, that we have decided to include them in this chapter (...) Considering that vernacular buildings deliberately convey practical concerns (...) or that, at least, aesthetical attitudes do not exist openly, we nevertheless find that very high plastic levels are reached, by employing as formulas nothing but a precise knowledge of materials and a simple and intuitive technique. It seems, therefore, that emotional factors are present naturally (...). (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 229. My italics)

This confusing disclaimer seems to suggest a previous understanding of vernacular

building practice as purely functional, modified through the survey process by a broader comprehension of this human activity. The ornament in folk buildings was, in fact, a catch in the post-war modernist appropriation of vernacular, an operation aimed at looking for the primary sources of modern architecture in vernacular buildings while highlighting their 'human' qualities (scale, material, technique, site-sensitiveness) as antidotes to the perceived excesses of modernism's mechanical analogies. This *critique within a defence*, of modernism through vernacular traditions, originated a few paradoxical arguments, and the inescapable use of ornament and decoration was among them; it was common to the Portuguese 'Inquérito' and to its Mediterranean predecessors.

In his pioneering studies of Spanish rural dwellings, the architect Fernando García Mercadal (1896-1985) introduced a distinction that allowed him to elude the paradox: one of the lessons in the vernacular Mediterranean house, for contemporary architects, was that its decoration was based not on stylistic knowledge but on spontaneous taste – stemming from the structure, not juxtaposed to it. In his description of the traditional houses of Menorca (Balearics), he appeared to steer away from the functionalist condemnation of ornament when he regretted they had 'exceedingly uniform lines, lacking in expression, deprived of all decoration (...). They are something dead or too strange.' (Mercadal, 1930: 54) For Mercadal, decoration expressed the villagers' 'naturally inventive fantasy' and was part and parcel of Mediterranean folk traditions. As such, it was likely to prompt contradictions in strictly modernist readings, and called for more elaborate interpretations: it should be accepted, and encouraged, as 'derived from construction', visible expression of its underlying 'rational basis'. In an issue of *A.C.* entirely dedicated to Mediterranean folk architecture, Mercadal presented a number of Andalusian villages that supported this alternative reading. The buildings and their simple patios 'without style' were shown as inspiration for urban architecture *because* they were decorated. City life had killed 'all dwelling spiritualisation' and deprived the individual of the 'prime-necessity elements of life,' while the villages' measured, 'rational'



Figure 5. Chimney top in Santa Luzia,
Tavira, 2010
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

ornamentation evinced the resistance of individuals to let go of their dwellings' 'lyric elements', and was an example to follow. By showing examples of simple, structural decoration, Mercadal seemed to seek a compromise between the anti-decoration modernist tenets and the allegedly false experiments of academic regionalism; that is, to illustrate a *middle ground* between the two extremes, where there was place for individual, 'lyric' elements as natural components of the human habitat.

Decoration appeared 'naturally' in the Portuguese survey, as it had in Mercadal's (or Pagano's) work, and needed to be somehow framed without undermining the project's aims. The Zone 6 team called those elements 'the links of close kinship': the systematic use of whitewash over a variety of materials as a 'way to model and provide continuity of surfaces,' and 'a certain taste and concern for exterior ornament and ostentation in house building' that transpired in the 'exquisite treatment' of parapets, chimneys (Fig. 5) and patios. In elaborate posts supporting a pergola, they saw 'a tradition grounded on erudite architecture,'



Figure 6. Parapet detail in Cerca do Ferro, Olhão, 2009
(© Ricardo Agarez 2013)

finding connections between the two spheres. Parapets and chimneys were illustrated and considered ‘true motifs of folk art’: strongly marked frames brought ‘an important play of chiaroscuro’ and their decoration was attributed to ‘the ostentation that the Algarvian dweller expresses in his house.’ (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 230) It should be noted how the structural quality and essentiality of these instances of restrained ostentation were effectively conveyed in the black-and-white photographs included in the book; in reality (Fig. 6), the reputed Algarvian decorative instinct was much more exuberant, and fully explored colours and textures (namely in the parapet, the building’s ‘forefront’, cf. Dias & Brissos, 1994), in a way that the survey did not communicate.

Another motif of ‘captivating expressiveness’ was shown in a house in the inland hills (Alcoutim, Fig. 7): with a roof-terrace parapet decorated with a ceramic zigzagging grid, it was considered ‘a curious example,’ albeit not typical, in which ‘common elements of the Algarvian buildings are grouped in an original way.’ The combination provided a synthetic image of ‘architectural unity’ and



Figure 7. Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa.
 'House with açoteia,' Corte da Seda (Alcoutim), 1955
 (© Arquivo Ordem dos Arquitectos – IARP/OAPIX)

'almost scenographic plastic interest' (Martins et al, 1988 [1961]: 233).

Architects such as Raul Lino (1879-1974) and other Casa Portuguesa supporters used this same motif and its elements (namely the zigzagging grid) in their syntheses of the Algarve type, and would have described it in strikingly similar terms (e.g. in 'House in the South,' Lino, 1933). Here, the team's discourse was dangerously close to the very stereotype they were set to dismantle, giving sense to the disclaimers with which they fenced this problematic section of the text. In comparison the lace-like chimney top, the quintessential Algarvian stereotypical element (also included in that 'curious example') was more cautiously described as an adulteration of the pure, 'balloon' chimney (Fig. 5), and scantily illustrated. Finally, the team suggested that the wood-lattice shutters, a failing tradition that could be found but occasionally in Algarve, should be developed and applied in new ways; in this point, they concurred not only with their conservative predecessors, who employed such shutters extensively, but also and most importantly with their Brazilian contemporaries, who were then giving this

Moorish-Portuguese inheritance, patent in their own folk architecture, a most exciting overhaul.

The 'Inquérito' has been signalled as the 'birth of a "modern view" of vernacular architecture' in Portugal (Leal, 2003: 185). Yet in the Algarve section, this 'modern view' had some points in common with other, previous views. Determined to dismantle the stereotype of the Algarve house, this section's authors seem nevertheless to have fallen for that model's aesthetic appeal and to have lost some of their intended objectivity. The Algarvian traditions of building decoration, seen as an embarrassment in a modernist's mind set, were provided with an alternative frame, not without its problems. Such difficulties exposed the tensions and challenges presented specifically by the Algarve built environment: pared-down, elemental and whitewashed for modernists, intricate, exuberant and picturesque for conservatives, but equally seductive for all. More than merely reinforcing the survey's claim of offering covert resistance to state conservatism, and despite those tensions, I see the Algarve section as evidence of the wider attempt to reconcile modernist values with an appreciation of *picturesqueness* – in other words, to explore the *middle ground* that Spanish and Italian were pointing to: the possibility of an understanding, in Portugal, between the pressure of tradition and the eagerness for contemporaneity.

The risks posed by this proposition were many, for metropolitan architects, and sensed even before the book's publication: as one of the survey's authors put it in 1959, 'we may find ourselves enmeshed in an era of neoprovincialism in architecture, retrograde and sickening, comparable to other neoprovincialisms.' (Freitas, 1959: 37) The ghost of a fetishisation of vernacular forms hovered over the 'Inquérito', and was later proved by its lasting popularity with generations of architects. It was their perceived interest, and the new uncontrolled possibilities offered by this showcase of regional and local diversity, endorsed by the country's architectural avant-garde, that raised the critics' concern of 'a re-enactment of recent absurdities, this time by the respectable hands of modern architects.'

(Duarte, 1959: 40) This fear, and the responses it provoked, has dominated Portuguese architectural culture in the past fifty years. The Algarve section of *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* illustrates the inception of such a persistent trope in particularly clear terms.

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A CRITICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE PORTUGUESE SURVEY IN THE EARLY SIXTIES: NUNO PORTAS AND PEDRO VIEIRA DE ALMEIDA

TIAGO LOPES DIAS

I.

In the late fifties, the renewed magazine *Arquitectura* was run by a young generation of architects committed to disquiet their peaceful, apathetic and uncritical professional milieu. By the time the Survey on Popular Architecture in Portugal was published, in 1961, *Arquitectura* had already made the call for debate on the results of its fieldwork, concluded some years earlier. In 1959, the magazine published two extensive articles, signed by António Freitas, member of one of the six teams that went through the continental territory, and Carlos Duarte, from the editorial board. Both articles, illustrated with photographs taken during the fieldwork, shared a similar concern: the time spent since the beginning of the works (1955) was postponing a necessary discussion, which a responsible professional class could not avoid.

The more openly positive spirit set out in a previous editorial, which considered the Survey one of the three most important events of the post-1948 congress¹, gave place to a deeper and calmer argumentation. The main guidelines from “Traditionalism and evolution” and “Notes on spontaneous architecture”

¹ I refer to the First National Congress of Architecture held in Lisbon between May 28 and June 4, 1948.

stressed a contradiction: could all the information gathered in the fieldwork be presented as an opportunity to overcome the impasse with which Portuguese architects were struggling during the fifties, beyond aesthetic questions? Could all the attention directed to spontaneous forms of territorial organization be valued without compromising the development of a largely rural country that had barely begun its industrialization?

By 1959, Nuno Portas and Pedro Vieira de Almeida were finishing their degree in architecture. Both were working, along with António Freitas, in the same studio in Lisbon led by Nuno Teotónio Pereira, an experienced architect who was Freitas' team leader in the Survey. The *Rua da Alegria's* studio would prove to be, by then, a particularly active center of debate (which was something absent from Beaux-Arts universities) concerned with the real possibilities of a modern architecture in Portugal. Portas and Vieira de Almeida would deepen some questions introduced in the above-mentioned texts, being clear that the awareness of an implicit dilemma explains why both refer to the Survey as extremely useful yet extremely dangerous material.

II.

Nuno Portas, one of the chief contributors in the early years of the magazine *Arquitectura*, would be the first to deepen the questions advanced by his colleagues in non-specialized press, which meant opening the debate to a broader public. In 1963, he published two important essays in cultural magazines such as *O Tempo e o Modo*, headed by an anti-regime group of catholic intellectuals, or *Jornal de Letras e Artes*, a higher print run publication for which he had been writing the chronicles about the pioneers of Portuguese modernism. Even though these texts cannot be read as a specific critique to the Survey, we can trace in both a clear and pragmatic position on some of its key points.

The first of the articles, "Tradition, progress and reaction in regional urbanism", focuses on the problematic relations between traditional culture and the increasingly changing demands of progress. Taking as case study Alentejo, a land



Figure 1. Yards and terraces of a southern village in Algarve. (cover of magazine *Arquitectura*, nº66, 1959)

stuck for centuries where large-scale operations related with industries, real state or tourism have not taken place so far (avoiding either massive destruction of the vernacular or its scenographic preservation) Portas claims for the urgency of accurate planning, beyond speculative pressures.

New ways of life were, by then, asking for new spaces and new forms of territorial organization, adapted to new forms of mobility, leisure, tourism, and other kind of social phenomena. The nearby region of Algarve was already suffering the disastrous consequences of economic greed, with irreversible transformations of the natural landscape. On the other hand, and not very different from the rest of the Portuguese territory, the south was mostly agrarian and poor. One of the most difficult challenges for the architect or the urban planner was to face '*apathetic, inert population*' or, even worse, a '*conservative deep nostalgia*' atmosphere, hostile to any notion of progress. Facing such dilemma, Portas points out a third way:

Take also in consideration the growing interest for a possible cultural

continuity –generated within post-war modern architecture movement– willing to understand and absorb the content of tradition into a methodology clearly facing social and technical widespread progress for modern society. Willingness that stands on the basis, for example, of the Survey on Popular Architecture in Portugal (...). (Portas, 1963: 2)

A realistic approach (pondering the real needs of a specific community, using pragmatic working principles) is, notwithstanding, a greater responsibility for the planner, considering that he has to intervene patiently and pedagogically, through dialogue. To be realist, therefore, does not mean to be conformist: a realistic point of view would be required *‘whether for necessary transformations or possible permanences’* (1963: 2). It’s not enough to understand how a particular population lives, and to respond to its occasional requests. The architect or the urban planner must work with *‘the evolving needs of the population that will emerge’* (1963: 5), must foresee possibilities for a better society without utopian pretensions.

Even if Alentejo is rich in good examples of popular architecture, Portas considers important to distinguish between forms of spontaneous life and certain stereotypes, often nourished by the population itself. Stereotypes that, sometimes, have the illusory power to freeze the natural flow of time, when shaped in forms repeated ad *infinitum*; forms devoid of meaning, i.e., representing ways of life that don’t exist anymore (or never did or could exist in such context, and were “imported” by trends, envy, provincialism...).

One of the stereotypes most vulnerable to misunderstandings refers to the term “tradition”. Portas assumes that *‘the values of traditional culture are already affected in its stability’* (1963: 4). Mobility, popular culture – spread by newspapers, magazines, cinema or television – as well as new construction materials define an intermediate phase, *‘still unable to be marked by new perspectives’* (1963: 4). However, what seems to be important in his reasoning is the very sense of the word “stability”:

It must be stressed that spaces (from landscape to urban environment, from architecture to decoration objects) are the result of an accumulation of secular contributions: from the popular effort to adapt to environment and its needs, on one hand; to the higher-level cultures successively imported through exceptional works also known as scholarly contributions, on the other. (Portas, 1963: 3)

So, all this knowledge, transmitted from generation to generation, is not a set of pre-established conventions to follow, but a collective, complex and open-ended contribution that not only accepts but needs change. Tradition is not something immutable. That's why Portas sees no alarm in the present situation and recalls the example of the past that advises us to '*trust in the continuity of local architecture, capable of coexisting and dialoguing with local or foreign erudite artists*' (1963: 4). A capacity of dialogue that was clearly out of modern architecture's agenda, specially in the period between World Wars.

These ideas will be summarized in a complementary article published only a month later. The title, itself a question – '*integrated architecture?*' – anticipates the first lines, where Portas asks: if tradition is an intertwined relationship between the popular and the erudite; if it is also the acculturation or adaptation of scholarly contributions; if after all, '*the sources or reference points, could be different in their historical roots, but find themselves spatially juxtaposed*' (2005: 25) – how to distinguish the valid references to be taken into consideration from those that should be called into question?

This doubt is raised by Portas' concerns with a superficial recovery of a "regional" expression in recent works by a younger generation of architects – a trend that he had also observed some months earlier in an exhibition of student's work held at Porto's College of Fine Arts (ESBAP). Immediately recalls that the interest for "integration" started first as a way out for the exhaustion caused by the international style limiting and imposing vocabulary. Nevertheless, the interesting work that was being developed in the postwar, mainly in Italy or the

Nordic countries, less intellectual and closer from common experience, could be useful to the Portuguese context only as methodological approach.

When the Survey is published in 1961, coinciding with a general interest in those experiences, Portas understands the risk underlying its data, profusely and skillfully illustrated with hundreds of photographs. His apprehension goes to superficial interpretations that might convert the Survey's *'remarkable database'* into a *'dangerous "catalogue" full of recipes ready to be used, empowering 'a mistaken and regressive notion of tradition'* (2004: 26) – in which, due to the incantatory power of images belonging to an epoch irrevocably gone, the natural open process of accumulation and acculturation of contributions would be lost. A few years later, these issues would be explicit in a Portas' critique to a recent building for an automobile stand and garage in Coimbra, by José Pulido Valente and Luis Álvares Ribeiro. The noncritical use of references to popular architecture, mixed with an unfulfilled technological expression, has produced, in his opinion, a lack of overall coherence that couldn't be irresponsibly justified as a collage. One of the fundamental ideas implied in the concept of "integration" is the liberation of any preconceived formal system. In his opinion, this building was juxtaposing two different languages in a confusing eclecticism: in the main elevation, facing a major road, prevailed the scale, proportions and materials (roof tile) of an almost artisan architecture; in the opposite, with a much larger presence due to the natural slope of the site, an almost brutalist use of concrete and glass.

Considering the specificity of the program, Portas found awkward that a building designed for the automobile industry did not involve any research of technological innovation for the Portuguese context. Besides, the quintessential product of industrial design, conceived for the masses, was to be presented in a small, almost domestic scale – at least taking into account that, from the highway, it would be legible mostly at speed. This is what he defines as contradiction between signifier and signified.

This case-study might illustrate Portas' distrust about the meaning of the word

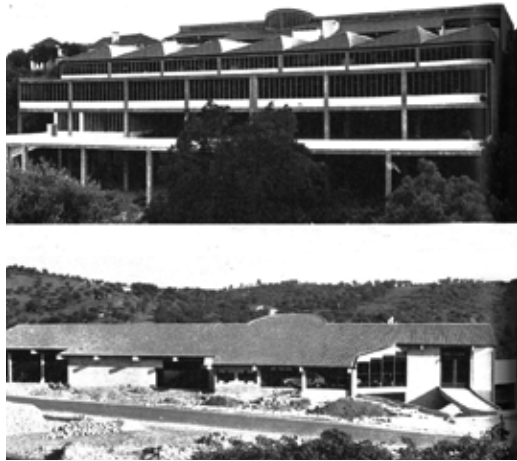


Figure 2. José Pulido Valente and Luis Álvares Ribeiro building in Coimbra, as presented in the magazine *Arquitectura*. (in *Arquitectura*, nº98, 1967, p.160)

“integration”: it tends to be understood as mimicry, and not as a dialectic process; unless if it is critically adopted, it is only an illusion. A new, modern (and democratic?) architecture must call into question the preexisting sociocultural data, above all in the presence of undeveloped environments or immobilist social structures. But maybe it was something that in Portugal, in the early sixties, architecture could not do by itself:

(...) We miss a program of civic adventure, a culture arisen from a popular democratic intervention. Therefore, capable of fully characterize an architecture in Portugal. (Portas, 2005: 30)

III.

Pedro Vieira de Almeida was writing his degree thesis by the time the Survey was published. In July 1963, the magazine *Arquitectura*, by Portas' own initiative, launched the first part of a set of three articles reproducing it almost entirely,

with a shorter title: “Essay on architectural space”. The interest in this text goes far beyond the debate on the Survey – the very author declares that its reasoned critique won’t possible take place in an academic thesis. However, considering that one of the symptoms of the deep crisis related with architectural practise in the late fifties was the deterioration of the word “space”, and following the attempt of clarification already intuited by Bruno Zevi, Vieira de Almeida proposes to study the processes of determining space regardless the particular or circumstantial spaces that might result from it. This is the key point that we should have in mind for these brief notes.

Thinking how the crisis of modern architecture – considered a cultural crisis, reflected in the gap between a mature formal language and its forgotten social premises – echoes in Portugal, writes:

It seems to me, in our particular case and taking in consideration previous experiments, that we run two diametrically opposed risks: to follow with mediocre servility trends that do not matter to us; or to restrict our attitude to a isolationist provincial culture. (Almeida, 1962: 21)

Exemplifying the latter, he refers a ‘*certain tendency to think in terms of “Portuguese contemporary space”*’ (Almeida, 1962: 22). This is a direct reference to Fernando Távora, namely to one of the chapters included in his 1962 dissertation for a teaching position in ESBAF. Following a general introduction about organized space, and a more specific chapter about its importance for contemporary man, Távora focuses on the disharmony and the disequilibrium of Portuguese space noticing, however, that ‘*it would be whimsy to consider such spatial crisis specific of the Portuguese context*’ (Távora, 1962: 48). Nonetheless, Vieira de Almeida considers that a lack of conceptual distinction between Portuguese space and *architectural-space* might lead to misunderstandings or to architectonic folklorisms.

By a time when interdisciplinary practises and new critical positions were

beginning to be considered in Portugal, and the *'splendid yet extremely dangerous Survey'* (Almeida, 1962: 24) was published, Vieira de Almeida founds necessary an accurate analysis of basic concepts related to an architectural formal structure. Firstly, he distinguishes scientific, cultural and common-sense aspects related to the perception of space, having in mind doubtful notions as space-time (taken directly from other fields of knowledge and of greater influence, particularly after Siegfried Giedion's study "Space, Time, and Architecture") or circumstance, as referred by Távora.

Differentiating other notions of space (in painting, in music, in theater, in cinema or in sculpture) from *architectural-space*, he verifies that its commonly accepted characterization – the interior/exterior binomial – is unsatisfying as a critical method, as Zevi seemed to noticed in "Architecture as space. How to look at architecture" (1948). Vieira de Almeida proposes to introduce, amongst those primary categories, an intermediate one: the *transition-space*, to which is related the problem of continuity between inside and outside. The concept, probably theorized in Portugal for the first time, is related to a certain experimental tension, considered by Giancarlo de Carlo *'a basic condition for a renewal of architecture in crisis'* (Almeida, 1962: 96).

Besides, he also feels the necessity of clarifying that both internal and external spaces are divided in two secondary categories: nuclear space and complementary space, considering also a non-modeled space for the later. If the *transition-space* intends to overcome the misinterpretation of space as negative or mold of visible forms, as opposition between form and background, it proposes furthermore an open-ended use, unlike the nuclear space, which is naturally destined to accommodate specific functions:

Admitting the existence and the need for nucleus defining areas of action, is exactly where this action results undefined, where it is not oriented that automatically emerges a sense of ambiguity; this would be necessarily and fundamentally an ambiguity of action. (Almeida, 1962: 106)

To the nucleus would be, therefore, destined a feeling of comfort, shelter, intimacy or ease. An interior space without nucleus would define a transitory environment, an architecture of movement, like Mies van der Rohe pavilion for the Barcelona 1929 World Fair.

Finally, Vieira de Almeida emphasizes: *‘for an organic development of space is fundamental the existence of nucleus-spaces, without which makes no sense to discuss about continuity’* (1962: 89). If a correct definition of nuclei, skillful interconnected, defines an internal spatial continuity; how to define a continuity towards the exterior, towards that social category of external and modeled space – the urbanistic space? The answer seems by now evident: *‘Fluidity and spatial continuity in the relations between architecture and urbanism are rooted exactly in the transition-space’* (1962: 96). Thus, relating the inner and the outer is about providing a significant space which may have characteristics of both, and not to eliminate the influence zone between them by introducing an element of minimum thickness (the all-glass screen). It is about providing a lasting experience, not an immediate experience.

As previously said, the “Essay on architectural space” was not meant to be presented as a critic interpretation on the results of the Survey, nor its purpose or methodology. In fact, only in the last two pages some documentation is referred, even though in a supposedly key-chapter, shortened due to time constraints. Despite that, the conception of a new category of space inherited from organic concerns, the *transition-space*, explains Vieira de Almeida’s suspicions about a genuine Portuguese space. He is interested in the determination of some spatial characteristics related not only with a national way of inhabiting, but also with wider cultural aspects: a Mediterranean way of living.

Referring Rex Martiensen’s study about Greek architecture, observes the long tradition of the peristyle in the Mediterranean countries, and its relation with the tradition of living in the open space – both in a domestic and in an urban scale, through the *patios* and the *stoae*. Martiensen qualifies the peristyle as a transitional volume, an essential contribution to the continuity within the



Figure 3. Courtyard in Vila Viçosa: photograph taken during the Survey's fieldwork. (in *Popular Architecture in Portugal*, third edition: 1988, vol.3, p.83)

temenos due to its capacity of grading the space. Moreover, he sees the Greek city as a coherent whole, with the same spatial characteristics regardless the scale of its components: the unity stands in the permanence of *'the house with its peristyle, the city with its agora, the temple with its interpenetrating pattern of colonnades in the temenos'* (Martienssen, 1977: 146).

Thinking on these forms of spatial, social and political organization, characterized by a daily life occurring in the open space, and noting, in accordance with Martienssen, that some ideals of life in ancient Greece are still close to us, Vieira de Almeida clarifies:

(...) It is not about outdoor life, but living in a space that is neither exterior nor interior: it is a transition-space, and this way of inhabiting is still today entirely valid. (Almeida, 1962: 127)

The prevalence of everyday life spent at the *semi-open* air is exactly what he observes in some of the Survey's documents. Considering Portugal's central zone, Beiras, it is for him evident that the elemental, almost rudimentary interior of this spontaneous architecture is counterbalanced by a much more careful semi-open spaces: patios or enclosures attached to the house like balconies, loggias or arcades. These outdoor rooms are often built with perennial materials like stone, and its adequacy as social meeting places is for him unquestionable.

In the south, where the climate is milder, the predominance of spaces without clearly defined bounds between interior and exterior, with a harmonious balance of light and shadow, recall the Italian culture. Vieira de Almeida quotes Eglo Benincasa, in his chronicle "The art of inhabiting in the South", on the importance of preserving, in these transition-spaces, the maximum of privacy. There are many examples of it in the Survey, like a photograph – by him considered '*a marvellous document*' – of a patio in Vila Viçosa (Alentejo) with a group of tools and household objects occupying different niches at different levels.

Despite an area of greater Mediterranean influence and another of greater Atlantic influence – a duality that seems to be understood in the line of Pequita Rebelo and Orlando Ribeiro studies: "Mediterranean by nature, Atlantic by location" – what seems clear to Vieira de Almeida, and generalizable to the whole Portuguese territory, is '*the permanence and richness of life proposals at the semi-open*' (1962: 128). We may even say, based in following texts, that his idea of "Mediterranean" was in fact closer to the sense we now ascribe to Fernand Braudel: a thousand things at once. In an undated text, he distinguishes traces of Celtic cultural tradition in the north; Lusitanian-Romanized in the center; and Moorish in the south. But, no matter how much complex would be this mosaic, the *transition-space*, a conceptual device studied in his degree thesis, would represent the possibility to analyse the *permanence* rather than the *diversity*.

IV.

By mid-twenties, a sudden interest on the Mediterranean aroused. An interest that grew over the next decade, judging by the number of publications devoted to it. We should have in mind that some Mediterranean islands became by then a haven for many European artists or intellectuals considered “degenerated” by the Nazis, as well as Anglo-Saxon writers who were looking for their personal paradise. Raoul Hausman, André Breton, Raymond Queneau, Walter Benjamin, Jean Selz, or Lawrence Durrell and Henry Miller are only the best known examples. On the other hand, in 1933 was held perhaps the most celebrated C.I.A.M.², aboard on a cruise which sailed the Mediterranean Sea towards Athens.

However, as Bruno Zevi said introducing Eglo Benincasa’s extensive study about Mediterranean life, published in six parts in the first issues of his new magazine *L’Architettura. Croniche e Storia*:

[The essay on the Mezzogiorno highlights] a psychological and historical situation of ancient genesis which modern architects start only now discovering and yet, they don’t know how to embrace it without artificiality.
(Zevi, 1955: 4)

With honorable exceptions, as evidenced by Martiensen’s book (which started with a visit to the ruins of Delfos in 1933) Zevi was probably right. Most likely, he had in mind the manipulation of the Mediterranean tradition carried out by A.C.– *Documentos de Actividad Contemporanea*, a magazine run by some G.A.T.E.P.A.C.³ architects as Josep Lluís Sert, Torres Clavé or Garcia Mercadal, between 1931 and 1937.

² *Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne*. The international congresses of modern architecture were held between 1928 and 1959.

³ *Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles Para la Arquitectura Contemporánea* (Group of Spanish artists and technicians for contemporary architecture): founded in 1930, and subsequently divided in three subgroups (Madrid, Barcelona and S. Sebastian).

Throughout many of its twenty-five issues, spontaneous or popular architecture from the Spanish coasts and the islands (like Ibiza) was valued, mostly in its formal aspects, by its simplicity: white, pure, cubic volumes, without “style”, represented the most straightforward answer to decadent academies. Besides, analyzed under the lens of modern slogans, any humble set of constructions was transformed into a “masterly, correct and magnificent play of masses brought together in light”. Eventually, the idea of “tradition” implied in some of *A.C.* documents, was more a strategy to settle the roots of modern architecture in the Mediterranean than a real desire to understand the ways of life of a millenary people, and to contribute for their progress.

In the opposite pole, we may find a series of texts written by Walter Benjamin after several sojourns in Capri, Marseille, Ibiza or Naples (some previous, some contemporary from *A.C.* publications). In all we can detect a watchful eye searching beyond appearances, surprised with the complexity of everyday life bursting from everywhere and with the impossibility of separating private and collective realms. The text about Naples is full of excerpts where the rich urban microcosm is masterfully described:

As porous as this stone is architecture. Building and action interpenetrate in the courtyards, arcades and stairways. In everything they preserve the scope to become a theater of new unforeseen constellations. The stamp of the definitive is avoided. No situation appears intended forever (...). This is how architecture, the most binding part of communal rhythm, comes into being here. (Benjamin, 1978: 165-166)

We may now venture to say that the interest of Nuno Portas and Pedro Vieira de Almeida on spontaneous architecture was focused – and maybe the reference to Benjamin might seem less gratuitous – in what we could summarize as the vitality of communal life and its ability to constantly reinvent itself without compromising individual needs.



Figure 4. Eglo Benincasa's chronicle. The second part of "The art of inhabiting in the South": *vita all'aperto*, or outdoor life at Puglia. (in *L'Architettura. Cronache e Storia* n°2, 1955, p.242)

When Nuno Portas presented, in the beginning of the seventies, a study about "evolutive housing", headed to solve the most urgent needs of peri-urban population, it was clear that the lesson on popular architecture was learned. On the basis of the plan was a strict definition of what should be built by the authorities (all the infrastructures) and what was left to be done by each family (changing or enlarging the standardized one-storey built core within a specific plot, according to different needs or economic possibilities). The capacity of self-regulation and self-construction, as observed by Maurice Aymard, was common in the Mediterranean: the house, very simple, almost elementary, often constituted by a single division, is a basic cell; but when necessary, it *'grows, multiplies, attaches a closed space - the Arab Zariba, develops around an interior courtyard.(...) All in surface, rather than in height.'* (1987: 144). The valorization of the yard as space of great vitality have been considered, in the sixties, as an



Figure 5. A traditional glazed balcony at Prova, interior Beira: photograph taken during the Survey's fieldwork. (in *Popular Architecture in Portugal*, third edition: 1988, vol.2, p.44)

alternative to big-scale modern ensembles in some research of French sociologists like Henri Lefebvre. Portas understood that it could also be a generative element, a possibility of introducing a margin of flexibility in highly controlled programs such as affordable housing.

This idea was foreseen by Pedro Vieira de Almeida, in a broader sense, for the *transition-space*. Not only the exterior yard or court, but also semi-open spaces within the house, should provide a margin of flexibility for the users. In the last paragraph of his thesis, and observing Beiras' traditional glazed balconies – where the sun (but not the wind) enters – he points out how close these '*living spaces of multiple and rich usage*' (1962: 129) are to the popular urban "marquises". These often misunderstood outdoor balconies (spontaneously closed by the inhabitants and used as an extension of the living room or the kitchen, or just as laundry) could be, then, critically revalued as spaces of liberty.

It is clear that, both for Portas and Vieira de Almeida, the issues on spontaneous architecture could only become relevant if reconsidered in an urban context; never as a romantic evasion.

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ARCHITECTURAL KOINÈ: ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE AND THE VERNACULAR IN 20th CENTURY SPAIN

CONCEPCIÓN DIEZ-PASTOR

Architectural language

Hauser's (1951) description of the artistic expression as a language, stating that popular language was different from the language of modern artists gave a turn to art studies. Coexistence of these languages explained people's lack of comprehension of modern art. Hauser's statement originated in language being the earliest materialisation of any culture. The fact that architecture is an expression of culture makes Hauser's argument valid for it, which has a language of its own within which different discourses cohabit.

A distinctive language of such kind has characterised Spanish architecture for over one century within its 'architectural *koinè*' (Diez-Pastor, 2012). This concept refers to the corpus of principles culturally characteristic of modern and classical societies. Despite the similarities between it and *critical regionalism* (Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1986), both concepts differ. First, in Spanish *koinè* (from Greek, κοινή) refers to *culture* – which explicitly holds criticism within its meaning. Second, it is timeless, having dominated Spanish architectural practice for over 130 years. Third, *koinè*'s recall of culture bears concepts like place, region or environment, and even individual personalities and social features are implicit. Fourth, it deals with architecture and architectural thought. And last of all, *koinè* assembles

each particular element or emotion conveyed by language that originate and represent culture. Therefore architecture constitutes a language in its own right. These ideas were first collected (Diez-Pastor, 2008) as an attempt to express openness and flexibility. However, they relate to Leopoldo Torres Balbás' (1918a) writings and theory, despite their continued practice since the 1800's. Having remained for more than one century denotes the coherence between practice and the principles of architectural thought those ideas represented. In fact, they fuelled reactions to general impositions through quiet, peaceful, undismayed understanding of local and social events, over which cultures and civilizations stand (Bourdieu, 1972). So they did until they blended with the innermost purposes of architecture.

However, 'architectural *koinè*' focuses the cultural component of identity as an architectural challenge (Storm, 2003) with roots in a common shared culture and civilization which cannot be renounced unless human condition is also despised (Hauser, 1951).

The origins of architectural language, thus of 'architectural *koinè*', are necessarily linked with, and influenced by the local and vernacular traditions. Social theorists (Rapoport, 1969; Lefebvre, 1974) have long speculated with this idea, often claiming that they had discovered it for the world. Rapoport (1969) went as far as to say: '*In architecture...such an interest [towards the vernacular] is only now starting, and it has not yet gone very far nor beyond the purely visual. It is therefore a topic which has been rather neglected*' (1969: 1). Interesting and revealing as his studies might appear, his statements despise timeless practice and theory of architecture, for which, however, he is not to blame. Moreover, these are in fact little known outside the architectural sphere, if known at all, and even too often misunderstood by specialists (Vieira de Almeida, 2005).¹

¹ Pedro Vieira de Almeida, as practicing architect and expert in Architectural Theory, was for the defence of Architectural Theory distinctiveness. It was not the same, and did not require help from Philosophy, Sociology and other subjects with which self-claimed theorists – namely, those lacking a full specialism in Architecture, thus forbid to practice it – confuse it. Pedro Vieira de Almeida was a leading architectural thinker, and like he said Architectural Theory is the defining subject of Architecture.

What is actually most interesting from Rapoport's ideas is his implicit request for a greater social sensibility from the architects. His was a claim similar in spirit to that of Lefebvre's (1974), though differently expressed. In his study about the origins of space, Lefebvre explained how space is a social product from which meanings derive, based upon values, therefore central to the evolution of societies and their structures. Interestingly, these ideas had integrated the sphere of Spanish architecture – and thus its discourse – long before Lefebvre and Rapoport formulated their theories.

Architectural discourse in Spain: respect for the vernacular

In the late 1800's – when Spain's last colonies were lost – architecture seemed to split paralleling other aspects of life and thought. One end materialized in a modern, cultivated and dynamic trend, context-dependent, trying to preserve the little optimism left. The other one, of an uncritical *folklo-regionalist* kind, based upon topics (Zavala, 1941), looked backwards towards the Paradise lost. While the former was dynamic, future-oriented, critical and selective, the latter remained blind, unmoved, keen to accept uncritical thinking, if any. These ideas let in *fellow* foreign movements and even past trends, blindly adopted by the current, uncritical paradoxically coexisting, with the current, represented by a much richer, selective and critical attitude.

Inspired by Krause's (1883) theory of beauty,² the critical trend promoted, since 1875, the environmental and natural values of an architecture connected with its context, proud of the peculiarities of the culture to which it belonged, yet not prone to renounce its time. For those who defended it, architecture was a compound of disciplines, beyond mere, simple *design*. It included the environment, whether built or not, of which the social and cultural aspects were

² Karl C.F. Krause's work (1811) was translated into Spanish in 1883 by Francisco Giner, founder of the *Spanish Krausist School* and the ILE in 1875. In spite of being of little relevance in Germany, Krause's ideas were to completely change thought and education in Spain. The new concept of aesthetics affecting every order of sensitiveness and understanding, had a natural reflection in architecture (Diez-Pastor, 2005: 33-39).

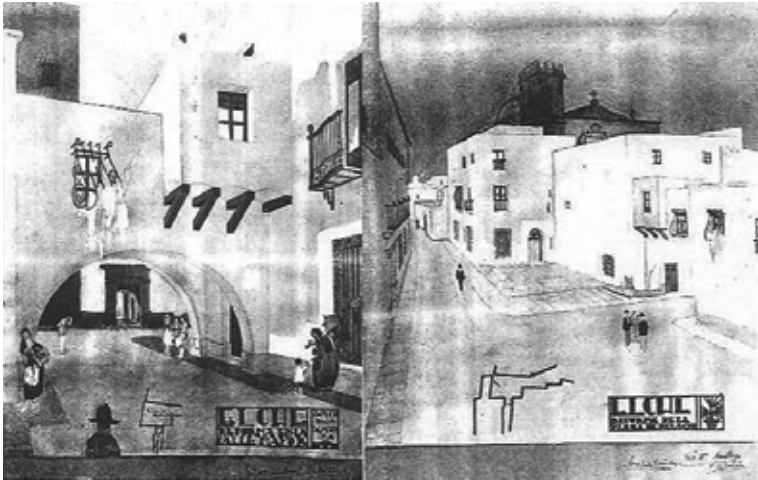


Figure 1. Class project for the Urban Planning course (1922), by Carlos Arniches and his mates, published in *Arquitectura*. Copyrights of public domain

a central part, as much as nature and landscape and anything dealing with, or affecting human life. Such interest originated the great respect ever since demonstrated by Spanish architects towards the essence of our culture and the vernacular, shown in all relevant Spanish architecture throughout the 20th century (Salvador, 1929).

Foremost promoters of such line of thought were the masters to Spain architectural avant-garde, some of whom started academic life at Madrid School of Architecture by 1900. Within a decade, by the late 1910's, a new generation emerged, who were to master the 20th century figures. Leading those new academics, Leopoldo Torres Balbás was a young modern, not yet thirty years old, fond of history and heritage who did not take long to start the biggest revolt ever in Spanish architecture. His father, a revolutionary geographer, had travelled the country with him as a child. As his most advanced pupil, young professor, and co-founder in 1918 of the first architectural journal in Spain, *Arquitectura*, Leopoldo Torres Balbás toured Spain with his students, following

the method into which he had been bred. His prospect was to give on-site lessons of History and Architecture to his students directly from our vast, and then little known and despised, heritage. The buildings, he explained to them, were relevant indeed, but not less were the historic, natural and social contexts from which a whole cultural scenario had to be inferred.

Experience was to change those future architects' view and perspectives, providing the biggest lessons through personal ties built on-site with a past otherwise left unknown. Students were to experience sites and people as much as heritage, walk the streets of towns and villages and visit the peasants' homes to talk with them. All those lessons proved effective in their school works, some of which were published in *Arquitectura* – i.e. Carlos Arniches and his group's project for the Urban Planning course (Fig. 1), where some of his architecture principles were stated in the planning of new dwellings in Elche, near Alicante. Later, those same features reflected on his avant-garde '1925 Generation'³ mates' architecture, hence building bridges between the sign of their times, the past and their culture. Examples of such sensitive practice can be found in the works of all of them – i.e. Arniches and Dominguez's 1927 'Albergues de Carretera' (Diez-Pastor, 2010) and 1935 "La Zarzuela" Racecourse' (Diez-Pastor, 2005); or García Mercadal's "Los Remedios" Social Dwellings' in Seville (1931). In his article on the latter, García Mercadal (1931) made an interesting remark:

"Los Remedios, S.A." has started the construction of a low-cost dwelling, trying to preserve in them the traditional character of the popular houses of Triana, modernizing them and displaying the latest hygienic conditions in them so that they meet the minimum conditions required today for the working classes. (García Mercadal, 1931: 154)

³ From now on, called the G25. This group appeared within the intense and dynamic Madrid of those days.

Torres Balbás' studies on the relations between history and the future of architecture materialized in one of the widest corporuses ever, focused towards the protection of Spanish heritage under any sensible perspective that existed slavishness implicitly excluded.⁴ As a visionary, he was aware that heritage preservation only made sense if the whole environment was sensitively preserved (Torres Balbás, 1996). His inclination for whatever kind of knowledge useful to future-oriented architectural perspectives, which he encouraged enthusiastically, started to be evident in his call to his former students for their contributions to the journal.⁵ Under his direction of *Arquitectura*, García Mercadal, Arniches, Lacasa and other G25⁶ members published a first series of articles on Spanish vernacular architecture.⁷ Still Torres Balbás' idea trespassed the purely architectural vision, searching for a wider intellectual view. Leading intellectuals of his times, among which Elías Tormo (1930), José Moreno Villa (1931a; 1931b; 1932), Manuel Gómez Moreno (1928), José Ortega y Gasset (1920; 1923), 'Azorín' (1922), or Ramón Pérez de Ayala (1920), were often read in the journal where they published more than fifty articles until the outbreak of the Civil War (1936). Whichever the focuses might be, these were taken as opportunities to study them from wider perspectives. Topics touched ranged from historical and

⁴ Unfortunately, his work is too vast to be referred here, and his complete works have never been published as a whole. A compendium of selected articles appeared a few years ago, edited by the COAM (1996), the Madrilénian Association of Architects.

⁵ After his opening with the strong words of the article 'Mientras labran los sillares' [While the stones are cut] in the first issue of *Arquitectura* (Torres Balbás, 1918a), which clearly put his criticality towards any kind of architectural practice - past, present and future - Torres Balbás explicitly stated his critical position in his 'Las nuevas formas de la arquitectura' [The new forms in architecture] (Torres Balbás, 1919). His critical intensity never decayed.

⁶ Diez-Pastor (2005: 33-60). From now on, G25. Its members were: Fernando García Mercadal, Juan de Zavala, Manuel Sánchez Arcas, Luis Lacasa, Rafael Bergamín, Luis Blanco Soler, Miguel de los Santos, and Agustín Aguirre, Casto Fernández Shaw, Eduardo Figueroa, Carlos Arniches Martín Domínguez. Carlos Flores compiled a longer list in 1967.

⁷ As an example, García Mercadal's first was published in 1920. The author signed it 'F. García Mercadal. Student of the School of Architecture' (García Mercadal, 1920). From then on, and throughout the coming years, he contributed two articles on Mediterranean architecture (García Mercadal, 1926; and García Mercadal, 1927) among many others in which he touched these topics – i.e. García Mercadal, 1931; and García Mercadal, 1998. Lacasa, who was a promising practitioner and critic before 1936, contributed his extremely critical article 'Unpopular Architecture' (1930).

compositional facts to constructive and topographical aspects. Sketches and drawings often mixed with photographs and plans. Thorough descriptions of every aspect, including anthropological and ethnographic perspectives among them, constituted the essence of those writings. Subjects blended within taking literary pieces, all of which were understood as constituents of a world of interests that all architects share: architecture. However, architecture not being the beginning and the end of the world was a deeply rooted idea within this generation; rather it belonged to the wider, richer world of social activity, and only within it did their practice make sense.

Such a work was therefore not restricted to the architectural world and its agents, nor could it be considered the sole responsibility of one single person, even an architect. On the contrary, it was thought of as a collective job where different instances were involved. Pioneer institutions like the Tourism Board, the Royal Academy of Geography or the sports and excursions societies then arising, and several older ones like the agricultural colonization, became clearly involved. They often promoted studies on anthropology, the vernacular, and social and cultural uses for the benefit of their own strategies (Diez-Pastor, 2010). In fact, the Tourism Board organised a whole series of lectures by relevant figures and intellectuals on the topic 'Spain's Beauties' (Diez-Pastor, 2010: 2-4), where the essence of our art was explained region by region, always starting from the vernacular. Social uses and traditions, anthropological manifestations of every kind, 'natural beauties' and landscapes were all accounted for with the ethnographer's eye. After decades of intensive work, all kinds of selections from that fabulous field-work were made in order to plan new modern strategies – from the National Highway Plan to the tourism strategy and the heritage catalogues.

While the critical architectural current showed its eagerness to study the data collected for the sake of a better future, the uncritical trend proved not to have understood it nor its purpose. It thus remained unable to do anything else than, at best, copying or appropriating ways, falling into absurd topical practices nearing

the ‘aboriginal’ (Mumford, 1924). Another one of Torres Balbás’ modernist pupils, Juan de Zavala (1941) termed them ‘folkloric’ for the first time in Spain. Lefavre and Tzonis (2003: 18) also use the term borrowed from Mumford (1924), in a refined version. However, in Spain ‘folklorism’ opposed *Volkegeist* in that by no means did it represent individualistic purposes, excluding novelties or any other such principles, nor did it criticize refinement and high-class culture. The process in Spain was top-down, and therefore it did not compare to *Heimat* either. Hence the Spanish avant-garde, no matter how ‘Germanophile’ it might appear in some aspects, marked its territory with respect to Ditt’s definition of ‘avant-garde culture’ (Storm, 2003: 254). It was rather architectural than ideological. The architectural avant-garde in Spain was more of an experiment or an intellectual rebellion of the cultivated against the preceding generations than an popular rebellion against the powerful – as was the case in central Europe. Therefore, all it bore from the vernacular tradition was not aimed at producing a division between ‘high style architecture’ producing ‘buildings of the grand design tradition’, and ‘vernacular (or folk, or popular) architecture’ responsible of ‘unimportant buildings’ - using Rapoport’s (1969: 2) terms. On the contrary, the Spanish critical concept of architecture was integrative and inclusive rather than exclusive and slavish. It defended that everything had its place and deserved great respect, while architects needed to learn big lessons from tradition.

Respect for the vernacular not only showed in those architects’ writings, but also in their works and the way they regarded modernist trends. As part of their own culture, the vernacular ran through the veins of the Spanish G25 avant-garde architects as had occurred to all the preceding critical generations, constituting the ‘architectural *koinè*’. The works of their predecessors materialized in its foundations, where Salvador, Zuazo, Anasagasti and Fernández Balbuena were the most influential.

However, despite some sounding attempts, the vernacular was never studied in a systematic way. Those 1920’s and 1930’s architects seemed to think that their thorough knowledge of every feature and aspect of it, their interest for all it

represented and its materializations should suffice. Unfortunately, as they did in many other relevant aspects they never attempted a thorough study. Hence they failed to materialize their true consideration for the vernacular in its own merits. Later generations of architects along the 20th century, particularly those of the least critical, pro-modern trends bred during the Francoist period (1939-1975) – often eager to start a revolt against the Spanish topics imposed from ‘above’ – read the G25 masters’ attitude distinctively often misinterpreting as much their works as their intentions. Reactions were varied. A few, courageous group openly defended their elders’ fight and conquests whereas those more eager to take a notorious lead would unfairly condemn them as ‘folklorists’ - which they were not - in an attitude lacking criticism, as Zavala (1941) masterly explained. Again, the truly critical branch continued enlarging the principles on which the best of Spanish practice stood, with an eye on the vernacular as the representation of their culture and society. The whole concept could be neatly summarized in the anecdote Fernando Chueca Goitia explained about one of his masters, and great friend of the G25 preceding him. On Carlos Arcinichés’ concept of architecture, he said:

‘Once we were taking a walk up the hill in El Escorial when, all of the sudden, Carlos saw a little house between the trees. It looked like a refined version of a cottage of the kind country men build to keep their tools, or for temporary shelter. Looking at it he exclaimed: “Look, Fernando, take a look up there! Do you see that little house? It is marvellous, isn’t it? It does not look as if planned by an architect!” And he said it with such an air of satisfaction!’⁸

The architectural concept and the study of the vernacular

Torres Balbás’ work produced numberless articles and books on the origins of urban planning and architecture, and the particular characteristics they took

⁸ Anecdote explained by Fernando Chueca Goitia to the author. Interview of 9th May, 2000.



Figure 2. Left to right, Fernández del Amo's *Vegaviana* (1954); Sota's *Esquivel* (1952); Coderch's *Casa Mañet* (1946); and Vázquez Molezún's *Casa en La Roiba* (1969). Copyrights of the originals, the architects; of this composition, the author

in the different regions of the country. Not just history, but also building techniques, materials used, compositional evolution and types were subject to his scrutiny. It was hence of little surprise that those studies were followed by his first authored pioneer studies on the Spanish vernacular. The first of these was *La vivienda popular en España* (1934), though amongst his most sounding ones were the posthumous *Ciudades hispano-musulmanas* (1971a) and the compilations *Crónica de la España musulmana* (1981) and *Obra dispersa – Al-Andalus* (1971b). All of these contain exhaustive descriptions and analyses of the heritage found, but also the reasons why cities, dwellings, houses and constructions of every kind materialized as they did in Spain, and even throughout the Iberian peninsula. As he often said (Torres Balbás, 1918b), things are the way we see them for reasons we architects must be able to know and explain (Torres Balbás, 1971b).

His influence gave way to articles and studies by his G25 pupils, who focused on certain aspects of the vernacular and connected it with their modern times – Torres Balbás's most remarkable and sounding disciple being García Mercadal. Both master and pupil proved central to explain Spain's modernist derive through their interesting debate, which notwithstanding its depth was never made explicit. In fact, Torres Balbás fiercely criticised as 'alien' the modern trends and writings of some architects later to become 'modernist masters', while García Mercadal opened those figures' curiosity for our vernacular with tours across Spain – the most sounding example being Le Corbusier's.⁹ García

⁹ Diez-Pastor (2012). A forthcoming book will be published on this topic.

Mercadal's feelings towards 'architectural *koinè*', particularly for its social and cultural connections with the new times, became evident even in his studies and writings on the European trends (García Mercadal, 1998). In spite of the natural differences, his opinions were representative of the majority of his colleagues. García Mercadal becoming a sort of speaker of the G25, his comments on foreign architecture were punctually reported to *Arquitectura* during his four years' grant at the Academy of Spain in Rome. Some years later Josep Lluís Sert joined him from a less critical stance,¹⁰ though much more argumentative and revolutionary, strictly focused towards the Catalan vernacular. Both García Mercadal and Sert had dissented from Torres Balbás' critical positions. However, in spite of their opposition, their master's view determined the evolution of Spanish critical modernist architecture. Sert adopted an almost uncritical attitude of submission as defined by Lefaivre and Tzonis (2003: 18-20) when he slaved to the slogans launched by the modernist gurus. His articles on the vernacular published in *A.C.*, the journal founded by him and his Catalan modernist mates, so indicate.

Chueca Goitia, a student of the next generation of Torres Balbás' school continued the mastery studying the origins of Spanish architecture throughout the 1950's and 60's, in succession to the chair. He did not accomplish the study of the vernacular, yet his studies on Spanish heritage set the frame for later systematic catalogues of the vernacular. As his master had done before, Chueca toured Spain with his students, who were entrusted to study one historic building each. Their work included descriptions and drawings that were to constitute relevant parts of Chueca's *History of Spanish Architecture* (I, 1964). However, it was his critical study of Spanish architectural peculiarities, *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española* (1947) that earned him a place within the critical researchers and theorists. For the first time Torres Balbás'

¹⁰ Lefaivre and Tzonis (2003: 18-20) term uncritical not just the purest regionalist and folkloric trends of architecture which generally oppose modernisation of any kind, but also the blind acceptance of modernist rules disregarding implicit impositions.

theoretical schemes were continued in a critical study of Spain's architectural evolution throughout history – from the vernacular to the classical, within the Western context. Chueca's single volume's main task was to place architecture in context within the whole 'architectural *koinè*'. Other disciples of Torres Balbás, like Carlos de Miguel and José Luis Fernández del Amo became remarkably critic, yet promoting and respecting the vernacular in Torres Balbás' terms. Their works for the National Office for Colonization, to which most of their sounding colleagues contributed (Monclús and Oyón, 1988) provided clear examples of the vernacular concept borne by their modernist generation – first bred after the war (Fig.2). Meanwhile Francoist *folklorism* adopted the most topical (Zavala, 1941) vernacular for its identity, massively imposing it through censorship. The times of uncritical trends had returned for those who had remained on the border of the G25.

Impositions produced mixed feelings towards the vernacular, rejection being the strongest. While the youngest ones opposed it even defying the system as serious criticism went along with it, the pre-war uncritical architects used the vernacular to shield against criticism trying to recover their undeserved post-war momentous leadership (Diez-Pastor, 2005). The reconstruction of the country, the lack of means and the professional deactivation of the most brilliant professionals for ideological reasons had cleared the way after 1939 to the second and third line of architects, promoters of fundamentalist uncritical folklorist trends.¹¹ These same reasons were generally understood as justifying the imposition of *folklorism*.

In spite of the benefits reported by their uncriticism, those architects never thought of carrying a systematic or intensive study of the vernacular. They were sufficed using it for their own purposes, as a creative source. A complete catalogue, thus, did not appear until 1974, when lack of better orientations in the theoretical field proved the impossibility of bringing other focuses forward.

¹¹ The purge process is known as 'Professional Depuration' (Diez-Pastor, 2005).



Figure 3. Garganta La Olla. Three of the eleven pages devoted to the village, from Chanes and Vicente's research on 'La Vera'. Copyrights of the originals, R. Chanes and X. Vicente; of this composition, the author

Luis Martínez-Feduchi's *Itinerarios de arquitectura popular española* then appeared as the first volume of a series of five. It was the first general survey, however lacking intensity, exhaustiveness and system. Truly enough, it produced plans and drawings of the buildings and villages. However, not of all of them were included, nor was inclusion made under consistent criteria and purposes. Evenmore, drawings were often arbitrarily substituted by photographs. Methods of selection and exclusion of villages and buildings were never made explicit. Only a poor justification, that to report all of them would have been too much, seemed to justify the procedure: criteria were diffuse. Even the general explanations at the beginning of each chapter were too little to clarify purposes and focus. Although the study resented big influence from Torres Balbás' (1934) work and even praised it (Feduchi, 1974), and acknowledged Chueca Goitia's (1947) critical study, Feduchi's five volumes lacked a method as clear as theirs, always systematic and explicit with the criteria adopted. Feduchi's was the study of certain Spanish places, a compendium of construction methods, techniques and materials nowadays almost completely lost.

Yet, Torres Balbás' and Chueca Goitia's were not his only influences, nor probably the biggest. Feduchi's five volumes borrowed structure and organisation from a much more concentrated, yet more complete study by two young and almost unknown architects, Rafael Chanes and Ximena Vicente – *Arquitectura popular de 'La Vera' de Cáceres* (1973). Their exhaustive survey (Fig. 3) resulted from a serious, two-year research on the villages of 'La Vera', a picturesque area within

Cáceres, one of Spain's poorest provinces. The authors' aims could be summarized in their intention to carry out scientific research on the vernacular, avoiding any considerations of architecture as isolated from the world. The book divided the survey into three parts. The first one explained the theoretical frame, history and evolution of the area selected. The second part focused ethnographic aspects and social structures. And the third part was entirely devoted to architectural data collection and analysis. The whole structure of the survey is of scientific nature, with focus, aims and objectives profusely explained, an explicit method, serious and methodological analysis, and data clearly explained and masterly drawn by the authors – with no photographs (Fig. 3). The conclusions spoke for the process, its evolution, the true findings and lack of previous assumptions by the authors. Finally, a series of annexes explained the peculiarities of climatic conditions, nature and environment, masterly closing a survey sensibly focused and carried out. One by one, they drew plans of villages and houses, showing not just certain curious features, but also how organizing squares and streets were assembled. The drawings systematically illustrated social, cultural, topographical or climatic explanations given in the text with the annexes completing their work. On-site drawings were presented combined with urban plans and other data. The survey's later influence showed in the fact that 'La Vera' started to be known, thereafter undergoing a sensible preservation strategy with great benefit for an area that revived as a result, turning into the richest area in Extremadura. However, several aspects require further attention, as undeniable keys to the sudden interest towards the vernacular in Spain. The authors clearly explain, when it comes to establish their theoretical frame, that they had started with Rudofsky's 1964 MoMA exhibition on vernacular architecture. They do not cite Rapoport (1964) at any point in spite that most of his concepts can be read through Chanes and Vicente's (1973) survey. Rapoport's (1964: 2) ideas of 'cultivated architecture' as opposed to 'illiterate architecture'; the world having turned its back on architecture produced by non-architects; or the connection between vernacular architecture and the social need to express



Figure 4. Garganta La Olla. The only two pages in Feduchi's fifth volume dedicated to this village. The display is almost always the same. Copyrights, L. M-Feduchi; of this composition, the author

collective feelings are all features borrowed from Rapoport. Interestingly, among the few references given they do cite a survey much more influential in Spain than has been admitted: '*Arquitectura Popular en Portugal*, edición del Sindicato Nacional de Arquitectos' (Chanes and Vicente, 1973: 267) – that is, the book *Popular Architecture in Portugal* (1961) derived from the *Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa* promoted by the Architects' Union in Portugal. Among other relevant influences were García Mercadal's (1930) *La casa popular en España*, and as could be expected from a sensitive research, Torres Balbás' (1934) *La vivienda popular en España*. Among the then young architects, they referred several articles by José Luis Fernández del Amo and works by theorists like Zevi, Rasmussen and Lynch.

Feduchi, then director of the ETSAM, followed their structure and pace in his books. However, the commercial presentation with each volume in a different colour, and the profusion of photographs (Fig. 4) sold well and gained much greater repercussion. As Torres Balbás and Chueca Goitia had done, Feduchi

travelled with his students from whose work he profited to build his five volume publication. Distinctly from the former, however, Feduchi only acknowledged succinctly his students' exhaustive contributions and drawings published. A general note at the beginning of each volume was all. The list of references, on the other hand kept growing volume after volume, and having started with only eight in the first book, by the penultimate it had grown to eighty. However, as the first volume issued established the frame for the whole work, we will centre our comments in this one, particularly the theoretical background. Having stated that Torres Balbás' (1934) would be his guide, Feduchi then clearly shifted towards Rudofsky (1964) and Rapoport (1969). But what is most surprising of these references used by one almost the age of the G25 is his acceptance of their theses. Feduchi (1973, I: 8-12) states that there is in fact a division between a 'high style architecture' and an architecture of 'folk tradition'; he believes the vernacular has long been neglected; and evenmore, he explains how architects have disregarded 'the desires, dreams and passions of a people' (Rapoport, 1969: 2) turning their back on the environment.

After Franco's death, in 1978 another relevant five volume work appeared by Carlos Flores, *Arquitectura popular en España*. Flores, founder of the critical journal *Hogar y Arquitectura*, rivalled with Feduchi as the most intensive and extensive surveys on vernacular architecture. Feduchi's maturity gave great contrast to Flores' youth, which undoubtedly connected better with the times. While the former was sought to represent the 'old' line, the latter aimed to be taken for the freer, open one of Franco's aftermath. However, both surveys were qualitatively different. Feduchi's (1973) was technically oriented. It aimed to explain constructive habits, region by region, through arbitrary selection of the data, whereas his rival's (Flores, 1978) focused just on certain features explained within his theoretical discourse. While Feduchi's (1973) included drawings, hundreds of photographs and a certain analysis of the constructive systems, Flores' (1978) was theoretically oriented, analytic, mainly criticising and at times photographing the broad areas studied in a series of volumes 'to read'.



Figure 5. Display of pages in Flores' five volume work. Diagrams, drawings and photographs are bigger and have an explanatory purpose. Copyrights of the originals, Carlos Flores; of this composition, the author

(Fig. 5) While the former was a technical study, the latter was ethnographically focused, thus open to a wider audience which made it more popular.

Interestingly, Flores' (1978) study aimed at concentrating most of the previous sounding studies on the matter – Torres Balbás' (1934) and García Mercadal's (1930) included. However, the weight of Chanes and Vicente's (1973) survey, and their having stated their knowledge of the Portuguese *Inquérito...* were too big and relevant a clue to let them escape. Apparently, Flores' (1978) work looked similar to Feduchi's (1973) with the difference that the former mostly provided colour photographs combined with drawings in a bigger format, accompanied by explanatory texts. (Fig. 5) Flores' scheme was to explain the reasons for the existence of the vernacular, its meanings and techniques, and its differences with other kinds of architecture. These should bring back the value that vernacular architecture should have never lost. In the end, the vernacular was valuable per se, regardless of the value conferred to it by 'high style' architects – paraphrasing Rapoport's (1969: 2). No other was the spirit of the *Inquérito...* (1961). Flores was not very explicit on his sources, though this one is evident.¹² Moreover,

¹² As Pedro Vieira de Almeida first pointed out in a conversation held in Fribourg (Switzerland) on 16th October, 2010.

the time and effort taken in building a scheme against Rapoport's (1969) and Rudofky's (1964) theories is precisely the main interest of his work.

Flores' followers were, however, contradictorily familiar with Rapoport's theories, so that governmental actions concerning the vernacular were highly conditioned by them. Under Manuel Casas' office as General Director of Architecture and Urban Planning a special issue of the journal *MOPU* appeared which was entirely devoted to the vernacular, in the form of a guide. In his foreword Casas (1986) made a bit of a manifesto in Rapoport's terms rather than stating what his actions were. Carlos Flores took charge of the main study with an article evokingly entitled 'The way we used to be'. It was 1986, and the decline of the Spanish vernacular had gathered full speed by then.

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ALFREDO DE ANDRADE'S (1838-1915) SURVEYS ON VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE ACROSS ITALY AND PORTUGAL¹

TERESA FERREIRA

Although surveys on vernacular architecture enjoyed a particular significance in 20th century architectural culture, an interesting background can nonetheless be found in the 19th century, involving such different fields as architecture, archaeology and ethnography².

Hence, in the 'century of the nations', several surveys were conducted in each country with the aim of identifying the characters of national art and architecture³ (focusing on the construction of an emerging national identity), as well as of providing sources of inspiration for new architectural design.

Since the beginning of the century, the following question had been posed: "In

¹ Alfredo de Andrade was born in Lisbon in 1839 into a wealthy Portuguese family. He went to Italy at the age of 14 to study business and languages, but soon became deeply involved in artistic studies and never again returned to live in his native country on a definitive basis. Andrade studied at the Academy of Genoa and engaged in prolific artistic and cultural activity in Italy as a painter, teacher, archaeologist, restorer and architect, also undertaking several public duties, such as working as an Inspector of Monuments and a Commissioner for Artistic and Industrial Education. The reflections presented in this paper derive from a broader PhD research. See FERREIRA, 2009.

² In the Portuguese context, see, among others, the studies of Henrique das Neves (1841-1915), Joaquim de Vanconcelos (1849-1936), Rocha Peixoto (1866-1909), João Barreira (1866-1971), Ricardo Severo (1869-1940) and Raul Lino (1879-1974). An interesting interpretation on this subject is quoted in LEAL, 2009.

³ There was also the desire to 'make history' by filling in the gaps in the historiography, namely in regard to the medieval period. An interesting critical interpretation of this subject is also provided in ZUCCONI, 1997.

what style shall we build?” (Hübsch, 1828). Thus, in each nation, architects and scholars were searching for the answer: for Viollet-le-Duc, it was to be found in medieval France (11-16th century); for Pugin and Gilbert Scott, in the English 13th century Gothic; for Goethe, in political-literary German Gothicism; for Camillo Boito, in the Romanesque style of Lombardy. Curiously, it was a Portuguese origin architect, Alfredo de Andrade, the spokesman for the ex-Savoyard kingdoms of northern Italy (Piedmont and Liguria), with its late medieval architecture: for some of his contemporaries, a language that could express the new identity of the young unified Italy.

1. Surveys in northern Italy: the *Borgo Medioevale*

A paradigmatic example is to be found in the surveys for the *Borgo Medioevale*⁴ in Turin, conceived by Alfredo de Andrade to host the first Italian National Exhibition in 1884.

This was meant to be a manifesto against ‘Eclecticism’ – in the words of his close friend Camillo Boito (1836-1914) – and to the meaningless associative stylistic *pastiche* displayed in exhibitions and in architectural production throughout the 19th century (Boito, 1884). Instead, the *Borgo* stood for stylistic and artistic unity (major and minor arts), defending philological and archaeological surveys, recovery of artistic craftsmanship, sincerity in the use of materials and a more ‘rational’ architecture. Therefore, it symbolized the material realisation of a medievalist revival, which was then established as the best expression (artistic, cultural, ideological and political) for new architectural design. In addition, according to its mentors, it had a strong pedagogical mission as an open-air museum.

Furthermore, the medieval village in Turin was a masterpiece of synthesis of twenty years of Andrade’s studies and surveys on the characters of late medieval

⁴ Concerning the *Borgo Medioevale* in Turin, see: GIACOSA, D’ANDRADE and VAYRA, 1997 (1884); BARTOLOZZI and DAPRÀ, s. d. ; SERRA, 1985.

local architecture, a *Dictionnaire Raisonné dell'Architecture Piemontese* written on fabric instead of words (Zucconi, 1997: 204). The surveys for the *Borgo* are particularly interesting because they embrace minor architectures, such as common houses – an unusual subject in this kind of research in the period, which was generally centred on civil or religious monuments with national-political or historical relevance. Hence, Andrade was a pioneer in carrying out a systematic survey of vernacular medieval current housing and other typologies in the regions of Piedmont and Vale d'Aosta (Dondi, 1981: 259), which has continued to represent a valuable and almost exclusive source of information on this heritage, right up to the present days (Prola & Orlandoni, 1981: 358). These surveys consisted of collections of drawings – plans, elevations, sections, details – completed with photographs, notes in the margins and comparative analyses⁵.

Moreover, for the first time, the exhibition building was organized in an urban system, with a 'unity of style', including common houses, churches and a castle, aimed at recreating the historic image of a region (Serra, 1981). Hence, the *Borgo Medioevale* in Turin was also a pioneering model for the presentation of a typical and unified image of one region (Gubler, 1975: 30), which was followed by many other 'nationalist' villages spread across Europe: *Oudhollanosch Marktplein*, *Village Suisses*, and later on, albeit in a different cultural context, *Vieux Anvers*, *Vieux Bruxelles*, *Vieux Paris*....

Nevertheless, the *Borgo* had a paradoxical destiny: the stance taken against eclecticism became the maximum expression of an epoch fascinated by disguises, as it was also the motor for a more superficial appropriation, namely of enriched bourgeois medieval castle-style *villini* spread across the northern Italy (Zucconi, 1997: 60). Furthermore, the later 'regionalist' villages in national exhibitions, ironically became a driving force for nostalgic and populist mass seduction and consumption (sometimes with political-ideological scopes), which was largely

⁵ Most of these drawings are housed at the Galleria di Arte Moderna di Torino (GAM).

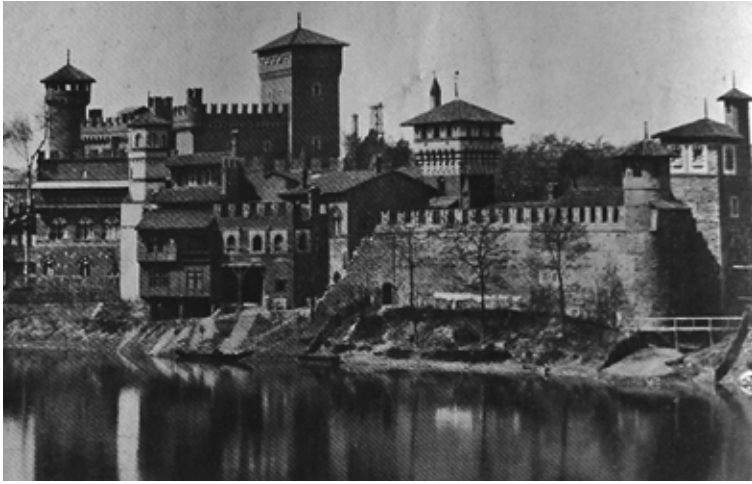


Figure 1. *Borgo medieval* in Turin, epoch photograph (in L. Pinto, *A obra Arquitectonica de Alfredo D'Andrade*, in "Ilustração Portuguesa", 170, Lisboa: Livraria Ferreira, 1909)

distanced from the original meaning and intention of the mentors of the *Borgo*. The success of the *Borgo* and his previous work experience consecrated Alfredo de Andrade's reputation in Italy as an expert on heritage safeguard, as he was subsequently nominated 'Chief Inspector of Monuments' (*Direttore Regionale dell'Ufficio per la Conservazione*) in the regions of Liguria and Piedmont, becoming then responsible for the supervision of hundreds of sites and the coordination of interventions. Moreover, he was appointed 'Commissioner for Artistic and Industrial Education' (*Commissario per l'insegnamento artistico e industriale*), highlighting the link between studies and surveys, artistic education, the rehabilitation of the minor arts and the safeguard practices adopted in this period. This evidences a circularity between past and present, considering that inherited art and architecture can provide a source of inspiration - scientifically backed by a rigorous archaeological surveys - for 'modern' artistic and architectural production.

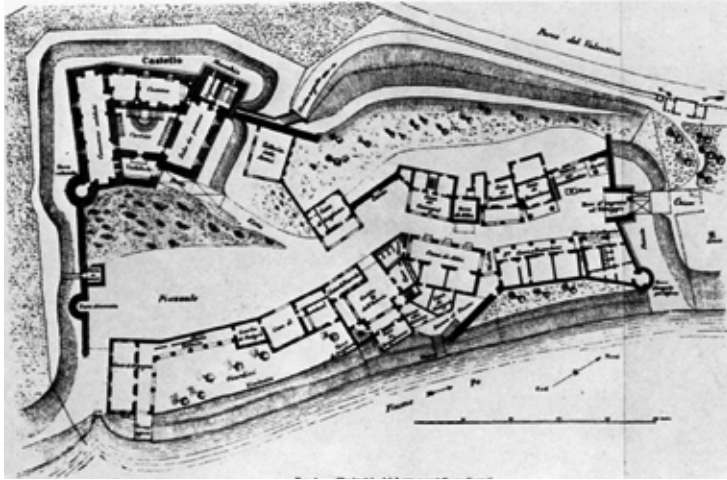


Figure 2. *Borgo medievale* in Turin, general plan, 1884 (in M. G. Cerri, D. B. Fea, L. Pittarello (coord.) *Alfredo d' Andrade: tutela e restauro*, Firenze, Vallecchi, 1981)

2. 'Artistic visits' in Portugal

Curiously, a few years before his work on the *Borgo Medioevale* in Turin, Alfredo de Andrade was deeply involved in 'artistic visits' (1880-81) across his birth country (Portugal), drawing and studying buildings and objects that were to be integrated into a future National Museum. Travelling around Portugal at the request of the Lisbon Academy of Fine Arts (*Academia de Bellas Artes de Lisboa*)⁶, he visited numerous monuments in the regions of Coimbra, Trás-os-Montes, Minho, Alto Douro, Estremadura and the Beiras and produced several surveys (drawings, notes and reports)⁷.

Many of these buildings were either in ruins or threatened with decay, abandonment and vandalism, resulting from the law dictating the suppression of the religious orders and the expropriation of their property in 1834. For this

⁶ In the absence of any specific structures, the safeguarding of the artistic and monumental heritage was still the responsibility of the Academy of Fine Arts.

⁷ Most of these drawings are housed at the Galleria di Arte Moderna di Torino (GAM).

reason, and also due to the political instability experienced in the first half of the 19th century, Portuguese monuments were in a state of great devastation and vandalism, despite the recalls of scholars such as Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877), who defined monuments as the *'documents of the history of a nation'* (Herculano, 1840), which were generally medieval buildings.

Nevertheless, with a long background in surveys and studies, Andrade did not pay attention only to the great monuments of his birth country, but also to its artistic handicrafts, urban conglomerates, minor architecture and the vast autochthonous rural heritage, from different epochs, scattered through the national territory.

On his first journey to the region of Coimbra (February, 1880), accompanied by the journalist Rangel de Lima (1839-1909) and the photographer Carlos Relvas (1838-1894), Alfredo de Andrade visited the monasteries of Lorvão, São Marcos and Ceiça. His great knowledge and his particular working method were noticed by his partners, who addressed him as *'Master'* (Lima, 1880: s.p.), impressed by his artistic erudition, his method of drawing, and the capacity for identifying, evaluating and classifying the artistic and architectural heritage. His method of drawing through observation, acquired in his previous career as an outdoor landscape painter, was aided by the use of a collapsible bench and table, a white camera and several sheets of paper and drawing instruments carefully arranged in a transportable bag (*idem*). His drawings were completed with details or schemes (plans, elevations, sections, axonometries) with metric annotations and interpretive notes. Alfredo de Andrade's background and experience are also evident in the composition of the inventories and reports, which contain detailed remarks on the studied monuments and objects: artistic, chronological, stylistic and comparative comments, as well as notes on decay and restoration. Regarding to the selection of objects to be included in the National Museum, not only were the major arts considered, but also the *'objects of the industrial arts'* (Andrade & Lima, 1880: s.p.) - textiles, embroidery and laces, religious vestments, furniture, ceramics and glass, among others (*idem*). In this way, a

precise concept of museum was expressed, with original pieces and copies, with a didactic function, associated with the rehabilitation of minor and ornamental arts and crafts, which are considered to be also essential for the study of an artistic period.

As far as the monuments are concerned, special attention was paid on this first trip to the proto-Renaissance programmes conceived in the region of Coimbra by French masters originating from Normandy and the Loire Valley, known as the '*school of the 16th-century French Renaissance*' (Andrade & Lima, 1880: s.p.). Alfredo de Andrade would later compare these studies with other carried out on another visit, in the same year, with the Director of the Academy, António Tomás da Fonseca (1823-1894), to the Convent of Santo António da Castanheira, noticing similar features in the 16th-century architectural decorations, in a state of accelerated decay (Andrade, Fonseca, Lima, 1880: s.p.). The graphic and written material produced confirms his favourite periods of study, both in Italy and in Portugal, from medieval epoch to the first Renaissance.

On a second journey, carried out in the same year to the remote northern regions of Trás-os-Montes, Minho and Douro Litoral (therefore more challenging in the research into the origins of national art), the followed itinerary included several objects that he considered relevant for a rigorous comparative study by periods: the Monastery of Castro de Avelãs, the Castle and the *Domus Municipalis* of Bragança, the Church of São Facundo de Vinhais, the Monastery of Leça do Balio and the Church of Cedofeita in Porto.

Among the more extensive graphic and written material produced by Andrade in this journey, it is important to notice (because of the novelty of the themes) the surveys around a common house in the city of Bragança from the 13th or 14th century, namely studying its elevation and the wooden constructive details. Hence, the attention that he paid to the minor architecture was unusual in terms of the surveys and studies made during that period –generally centred on historically emblematic civil or religious monuments – in which Andrade was a pioneer, both in Italy and Portugal. Curiously these drawings were reproduced

thirty years later in a text about the evolution of the house in Portugal (Barreira, 1908: 164), when the debate on the ‘Portuguese house’⁸ was gaining more expression, as a national reaction to international models such as the *chalet*, the *cottage* and the *chateaux*.

Another innovative contribution of his surveys consisted in the representation of the ‘old villages’ (to quote Andrade’s captions) of Bragança and Vinhais, considered as a whole with monumental value in itself. This idea also goes against the most common tendency in the period, which was to represent individual and highlighted monuments, without their surrounding context.

Regarding Alfredo de Andrade’s surveys and researches in Portugal, it is also important to mention the journey to the central inland region of the Beiras (1881) in the company of two other Portuguese archaeologists, Augusto Filipe Simões (1835-1884) and Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849-1936). This was the first group of scholars to visit the pre-Romanesque chapel of São Pedro de Balsemão (Pessanha, 1927: 26), a hallmark of the period in Portugal. Other monuments included in these surveys and studies were a prehistoric monument in Peromóço, the castles of Guarda, Trancoso and Celorico, as well as the cathedrals of Guarda and Lamego and several Romanesque churches and chapels scattered throughout this region.

This unusual itinerary points to a profound study of ‘medieval archaeology’, as highlighted in Andrade’s drawings, geared towards the complete survey, decoding, comparative analysis and classification of constructions from this period. Hence, we can observe in these studies the influence of the methods of French medieval archaeology, namely those used by A. De Caumont (1831),

⁸ The ‘Portuguese house’ was part of an ideological movement that centred on the study of vernacular and native domestic architecture, as a national response to the imported international eclectic models, such as the *chalet*, *cottage*, *villa* and *chateau*, among others. This debate started in around 1890 with an interesting contribution being made by ethnographers, engineers and architects, although in later decades it would progressively become a catalogue of stereotyped architectural elements appropriated by the dictatorial regime. There is a vast bibliography on this subject: see, among others: LINO, 1933; TÁVORA, 1947; MAIA, 2010.

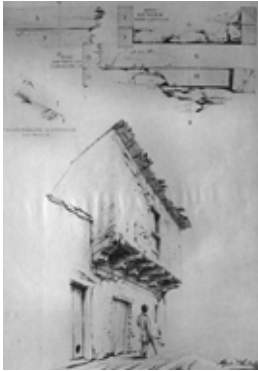


Figure 3. House in Bragança (in J. Barreira *A habitação em Portugal*, in *Notas sobre Portugal*, 2 vols., Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1908)

Figure 4. Old village of Vinhais (in M. Bernardi & V. Vittorio, *Alfredo D'Andrade: la vita, l'opera e l'arte*, Torino: Società piemontese d'archeologia e di belle arti, 1957)

E. E. Viollet-le-Duc (1857-68) and F. De Dartein (1865-1882), whose books Andrade possessed in his personal library. The analytical methodology was based on the direct observation of constructions on which he was to become an expert: systematic surveys with plans and rebated elevations, perspectives and details, including metric indication (stone stereotomy, ornamental elements, details, etc), constructive systems or signs of material culture, comparative studies with other monuments, as well as the notes in the margins relating to the author's analyses or to bibliographical sources⁹.

This broader graphic material is very interesting, both because it related to surveys of some monuments which had not yet been studied or drawn (therefore an important contribution to Portuguese architectural historiography) and because of the novelty in the methodology of analysis and interpretation. Moreover, it is important to notice the variety and quality of the drawing – from the sketch

⁹ As far as Andrade's studies on Portuguese art are concerned, the most frequently quoted authors are, besides E. E. Viollet-le-Duc *Dictionnaire* (used for comparative analyses): Alexandre Herculano (*História de Portugal, 1846-1853*), Ferdinand Denis (*Portugal, 1846*), Athanasius Raczyński (*Les arts en Portugal, 1846, Dictionnaire Historico-Artistique du Portugal, 1847*) and Emilio Hübner (*Noticias Archeológicas de Portugal, 1861*).

to the ink outlines or detailed representations – which was his preferential (and almost exclusive) means of representation and communication.

Hence, the spirit underlying the trips around Portugal was the research into the origins of national art and architecture, through a methodology based on direct contact with the artefacts, using exemplary drawing as an instrument of research and representation. These journeys are also an interesting testimony of the passion for history and archaeology that motivated the scholars of his time. This ‘spirit’ may also explain the fact that, unlike other contemporary researchers, Alfredo de Andrade did not study the greater ‘national monuments’ (Leal, 1868). Effectively, no drawings have been found, for instance, relating to the monasteries of Jerónimos, Batalha and Alcobaça, or other monuments pointed by the *Real Associação dos Architectos Civis e Archeologos Portuguezes* as first class monuments (RAACAP, 1881). Moreover, the surveyed artefacts, buildings and objects, isolated monuments and urban settlements, major and minor architectures, covered a broad chronological span and pointed to a wide concept of ‘monument’.

After these journeys, Alfredo de Andrade would carry out very few surveys on Portuguese architecture, with the exception of a systematic survey of the Castle of Óbidos (1888), complementing his vast knowledge on fortified architecture. This was one of his favourite subjects, both in Portugal and Italy, where he identified a ‘network of castles’ in the regions of Piedmont and Vale d’Aosta, precociously understanding the value of this heritage and the importance of safeguarding it as an economic and tourist resource (Della Piana 2007: 367).

It is difficult to draw conclusions on the precise impact of Andrade’s surveys and reports on the Portuguese architectural culture and on its safeguarding¹⁰. Nonetheless, through his journeys, surveys and reports, he actively participated

¹⁰ Andrade also made a relevant contribution to the Portuguese participation at the *Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese Ornamental Art* at the South Kensington Museum in 1881 and to the creation of the first National Museum in 1882. For further information about his contribution to the study and safeguarding of Portuguese art and architecture, see FERREIRA, 2009.

in the late 19th century process of discovering national architectural characters, which was an important feature in the culture of the period, since they provided sources for new architectural production. Hence, in Andrade's surveys in Portugal, there is a predominant attention paid to the Romanesque period, which, by the end of the century, would effectively become a source of inspiration for new buildings, moving towards more rational architecture¹¹ (Tostões, 1995: 508).

3. A background for 20th Century architectural culture

Alfredo de Andrade's surveys across Italy and Portugal were part of a broader cultural project of writing illustrated 'Archaeological Memories of the Arts' (Andrade, 1867). He started collecting these 'memories' around the 1860s, when, following a period of neoclassical learning, his activity reflected a profound change in its artistic orientation, being marked by the 'discovery' of neo-medieval culture. This transition was influenced by his contact with Italian *verista* painting, which gave rise to anti-academic discussions, such as the rehabilitation of the decorative arts, the defence of realism on art and the search for a 'modern' language that could express the new identity of the unified Italy. With a strong autobiographical character, these incomplete 'memories' report more than forty years of surveys between his two nations, Italy and Portugal. They are based on the analysis and description of concrete examples, also including personal observations, bibliographical notes, comparative analyses, drawings, photographs and newspaper cuttings¹².

The time span covered by Andrade's memories is a broad one: even if the

¹¹ Romanesque architecture was a privileged source of inspiration at the turn of the century, as it responded simultaneously to national identity (the period of the foundation of the Portuguese nation) and to more structural, formal and functional essentialism. See, for instance, the works of Marques da Silva (1869-1974) and Ventura Terra (1866-1909).

¹² Most of the bibliographical references can be found in his extensive private library, which stands as a testimony to the persistence of an encyclopaedic and positivist culture, with texts in different languages, such as English, French, German, Italian and Portuguese. Furthermore, it includes a vast number of subjects, such as history, customs, architecture, archaeology, politics, agriculture, music and religion, among others.

medieval era is the predominant one, the ‘time-nation’ is expanded to other periods that were representative of artistic identity, according to each region: Roman antiquities in Italy and Portugal, considered decisive for characterising the origins of places, the *manierismo* and *rinascimento* of Liguria, the Portuguese *manuelino* and the proto-Renaissance, among others.

The subjects contained in Andrade’s memories and surveys also confirm the scope of his researches, searching for the origins and national characters of art and architecture (which could also provide for models for new architectural production): most of the entries relate to sites and constructive characters in his two nations, as well as to minor or industrial arts, materials and techniques, architectural typologies, and particularly military architecture; the typology which expressed structural sincerity and authenticity in the use of materials and more constructive and functional ‘rationalism’ (Bordone, 1993).

Nevertheless, we can also perceive the contradictions emerging in the attempt to conjugate regional variants with the research of one national architectural expression. According to some of his contemporaries¹³ (Boito, 1880), the key seemed to lie in the application of a ‘modern style’, with a ‘national character’, but based on ‘regional traditions’ (Patetta, 2000).

Therefore, in Andrade’s surveys there is a strong effort in applying a rigorous and systematic methodology of surveying (in the construction of the ‘nation’), which would also provide for models for artistic and architectural production in his both nations, Italy and Portugal.

The prevalence of geographical and constructive issues in Andrade’s surveys and memories confirms how the search for references for ‘modern’ architecture was related to autochthonous vernacular characters based on logic, climate, economics and the pragmatic and intelligent craftsmen production. Hence,

¹³ In reference to the Italian context, it’s important to notice the pioneer researches by Pietro Selvatico into medieval architecture, followed by his disciple Camillo Boito. Boito was a close friend of Andrade and a central figure in the late 19th century cultural and artistic debate in Italy, focused on the search for a national style, as he makes clear in *Architettura del Medio Evo in Italia* (1880), with an introduction on the ‘Future Style for Italian Architecture’.

surveys were used as methodological 'tools' for achieving a more profound and rigorous understanding of the constructive characters of each context, as well as a trustworthy source (not to be applied directly¹⁴) for the architecture of the present.

This is certainly an important background for the following 20th century architectural culture: history as a methodological tool for understanding and responding to the problems of the present, the progressive construction of an idea of *genius loci* (based on geographical and constructive characters), the rejection of universalist and stereotyped solutions, the definition of a systematic and operative methodology for surveys, which could inform new architectural production in continuity with tradition.

Hence, Andrade's contribution (among others), represents a necessary mediation between revivalist historicism and the new challenges of the modernism, which were being announced by the beginning of the 20th century.

Surveys of vernacular architecture would still be a common feature in the 20th century. For instance, in the Portuguese context, the reaction against stereotyped national architecture was sustained in a survey on vernacular architecture, defending its constructive rationality, functionalism, economy, essentialism, logic and coherence (Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, 1961), "born from the People and Earth with the spontaneity and the life of a flower" (Távora, 1947). Vernacular constructions were then proposed as a source for new architectural production, which should be simultaneously 'modern' and engaged with tradition.

More recently, in a different context, broader theorisation on 'critical regionalism' (Frampton, 1983; Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1990) has once again called for a position of 'resistance' to be adopted against the universalist homogenisation of architecture, the kaleidoscope of images from post-modern culture, and its

¹⁴ The inspiration drawn from the past was not a direct one and should also consider adaptations to 'modern' living standards and requirements (comfort, technology, etc).

more superficial or scenographic appropriation; instead, a regionalist approach defends the material culture of each place and its tectonic characters, providing for a more authentic, contextual and sustainable architecture.

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ARCHITECTURAL THEORY AND THE VERNACULAR IN PEDRO VIEIRA DE ALMEIDA'S WRITING

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Pedro Vieira de Almeida left his main interrogations, motivations, and concerns about the Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa [Portuguese Regional Architecture Survey] clearly formulated in the research project entitled *The "Popular Architecture in Portugal". A critical look* presented to the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology in 2009.¹ Vieira de Almeida's theoretical and critical approach to the Survey undertaken in the late 1950s by the Portuguese Architects' Union, and published in 1961 under the title *Popular Architecture in Portugal*² was backed by his longstanding and prolific work as a

¹ Project application Almeida, Maia, Cardoso & Leal (2009). Project presentation was published by Almeida (2010) and final results were published in Almeida (2012 [2011]), Almeida (2013 [2011]) and Maia, Cardoso and Leal (2013).

² Between 1955 and 1960 a Survey on Regional Architecture was undertaken in Portugal. A systematic register of vernacular building in the countryside resulted from it, underlining the particular interest of its authors in rural dwelling structures. This work was promoted by the Portuguese Architects' Union, who sought to demonstrate the diversity of popular housing solutions, as well as to provide to "students and professionals of construction [...] the basis for an honest, active and healthy regionalism", as the architect Keil do Amaral stated in the text that launched the idea. The Survey received financial support from the government and was carried out by six teams of architects, each team being responsible for one of the six regions in which the country had been divided for this purpose. Each team gathered three architects who covered the territory by car, scooter, on horseback or on foot, drawing and photographing remaining examples of "living" vernacular architecture. The collected material - about 20.000 photographs and drawings - was later treated and selected to join the book in which the results were presented. Entitled *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* [Popular Architecture in Portugal], this book was published in 1961 and reprinted in 1979, 1988 and 2004.

theorizer, as a critic, as a historian and as an architect. The very work that makes Vieira de Almeida one of the main references in Portuguese architectural culture from the early 1960s up to the present day.

Pondering over the relation between different interests, problems, orientations, and critical and theoretical positions, Vieira de Almeida planned this project, and defined its core goals way above intentions of highlighting both the tacit motivations that brought the survey forward, or the prospective impact it had in Portuguese architectural culture of late 20th century. Those issues were taken into consideration, but only “as long as one can take from them some general conclusions of critical nature” (Almeida, 2010: 16). This happens because Vieira de Almeida was not looking for an “‘internal criticism’ [of the Survey], specifically focused in what may seem the greater or lesser coherence of its formulations and conclusions, nor (...) an ‘external criticism’, committed to the analysis and interpretation of cultural and political conditions of the undertaking.” (Almeida, 2010: 16)

In fact, Vieira de Almeida’s proposal was far more ambitious. He was not exactly seeking to “establish any plan in order to gauge the Survey in itself, but consciously trying to continue the work that prestigiously had the Survey as one of its first steps.” (Almeida, 2010: 16) In other words, Vieira de Almeida engaged himself in carrying on the inquiry and the analysis prompted by the Survey for it established the basis that allowed him to acknowledge, think about and thoroughly develop three assumptions (closely interconnected) he believed essential: (1) the recognition of vernacular architecture’s crucial value, (2) the major theoretical and critical potential of “wall thickness” and “transition-space” expressive values in architecture, and (3) the much expected overcoming of the center-periphery unbalanced modernist divide.

Vieira de Almeida’s in-depth analysis on these subjects became a decisive contribution to the history of the 20th century architectural theory produced in



Figure 1. Thin walls. Escaroupim (Salvaterra de Magos)
© Alexandra Cardoso, 2011

Portugal in terms that this article tries to elucidate in the following pages³. As we shall see, Vieira de Almeida's critical analysis goes far beyond any simplistic notion Modernism, while also distressing the common cut line established for its overcoming. In so doing, the complexity of Modernism is acknowledged in a rather productive way.

The potential of “wall thickness” and “transition-space” expressive values

Recognizing the theoretical and critical potential of expressive values such as “wall thickness” and “transition-space” is a core question in Vieira de Almeida's thought, and it must be singled out first as the subsequent premises depend on it. Acknowledging this potential lead Vieira de Almeida to a thorough reconsideration of architecture, and by extension of its historical accounts

³ After Vieira de Almeida's death in 2011, his contribution to architectural theory and criticism became a paramount focus of the ongoing project.

(particularly Modern Movement's history, as well as that of its overcoming). Portuguese architecture was the necessary and legitimate basis for that reconsideration. But the fact that Vieira de Almeida defined these expressive values, and assessed them on a local basis, does not mean that they are confined to national borders. Quite the opposite, he insisted on affirming their scope and consequences as generally valid.

In addition, "wall thickness" and "transition-space" can never be taken as some kind of fixed premises for qualitative assessment. Instead, they must be heuristically considered. In so doing, Vieira de Almeida writes, they will lead to the "encouragement of new strategies, of new typological investigations, showing us from the outset the need of a new definition of 'type'" (Almeida, 2010: 19). Put differently, Vieira de Almeida aimed this research to contribute to a redefinition of "type" (Almeida, 2005). And this redefinition should consider not only formal or programmatic aspects, but also shared expressive elements. These values must, thus, be keenly acknowledged and studied.

We will begin by looking at the hypothesis of "wall thickness" being a central expressive element of architecture, a hypothesis on the grounds of which Vieira de Almeida distinguished a "poetics of thick walls" and a "poetics of the thin walls". Vieira de Almeida envisioned this possibility as he was reading through a suggestion made by the Portuguese architect Raul Lino (Almeida, 2010: 19). As it happens, research on this premise started in one of Vieira de Almeida's early works – the Raul Lino exhibition and the in depth study made for its catalog (Almeida, 1970) –, and is therefore very much intertwined with his acclaim of an idea of architecture (Lino's) that praised tradition. Such an acclaim was paramount because it overcame hegemonic assumptions considered in almost every account of the Modern Movement. Here lies the idea that Raul Lino's sensitivity towards "thickness values may have had unexpected repercussions in his work, since it (...) may have contributed to his misunderstanding of modernist language which [Vieira de Almeida clarifies] was definitely exploring a radical vision of a poetic of thin walls." (Almeida, 2010: 19)



Figure 2. Thick walls. Malpica do Tejo (Castelo Branco). Image from *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses, Lisboa, 3ª edição: 1988 (3vol.), vol. 2, p. 24

Concurrently, Lino's final attempt to approach the expressive values of thin walls might explain the decreased effectiveness of his later architecture, so Vieira de Almeida sought. In both cases, Lino's position towards this variable conforms an important case-study. It shows us a structural ill-suitableness to the poetic of thin walls modernism was upholding. In the beginning, such ill-suitableness matched a dynamics of resistance supported by Lino's praise of tradition, and his sensitivity to the poetics of thick walls.

Lino's case study gave a decisive contribution to critically ponder over the flow of such expressive values in an international scale. In fact, the background of Vieira de Almeida's study on the expressive values of thickness embraces not only Gropius' Bauhaus and Le Corbusier proposals, but also what he considered as "opportunistic and commercial languages in architecture" that would later blossom. Vieira de Almeida (2010: 21) writes: "the success of thin walls, even now enduring, come to accept all experiences, presenting itself as a privileged

field for all internationalisms, particularly those structured outside any critical conscious and more than suspicious contours”.

Symmetrically, Vieira de Almeida insists in elucidating Adolf Loos’ brilliant conception of the Modern. He recalls us that for Loos Modern was “inextricably linked to its own historical consciousness and traditional values through a creative sense of time,” which for Vieira de Almeida conformed the “only cultured way of understanding the values of modernity” (Almeida, 2010:14).

Vieira de Almeida’s early research – this time his pioneering study on space in architecture (Almeida, 1961-63), where both a thorough analysis of the notion of space, and a debate on Zevi’s and Bachelard’s approaches to the subject were developed – would also back the conclusion on thickness’ expressive values having very different consequences in terms of limiting space: “whereas ‘thin walls’ just enclose space, cutting it from general space, ‘thick walls’ structured themselves generating space.” (Almeida, 2010: 22) This conclusion added the focus of analysis that would later allow him to move the question on the relation between mass and volume out of its normal equation, and to argue: “it is not the notion of volume that will allow the treatment of space, but the very notion of mass that will generate it.” (Almeida, 2010: 22)

The study on transition-space’s expressive value also benefits from a longstanding affiliation in Vieira de Almeida’s thought. As a matter of fact, Vieira de Almeida raised the critical notion of transition-space in the early 1960s in order to define “a space untied to any specific role, playing as a particularly qualified additional space” (Almeida, 2010: 24). The author was bearing Rex Martiensseni’s (1958) characterization of the Greek patio-colonnade and *stoa* qualities in mind, as well as Eglo Benincasa’s idea on how in southern Europe’s life took place in *semi-open* spaces, meaning spaces “maintaining maximum potential of intimacy even though they provided open ambiances”, and on how this is a crucial question of this area’s architecture (Benincasa *apud* Almeida, 1963: 127). Those *semi-open* spaces parallel the idea of transition-space, i.e. a space that is neither interior, nor exterior, a space that embodies an everlasting way of living (Almeida, 1963:



Figure 3. Transition-space. House of the Cypress, Sintra. Raul Lino architect
© Pedro Vieira de Almeida

127), and grounds the “fluidity and special continuity in the relation between architecture and urbanism” (Almeida, 1963: 96).

This *transition-space*, which can only be defined in a “somewhat ambiguous way”, is opened to a variety of use-values, seriously implying the user “in completing a project.” (Almeida, 1965) Both from the point of view of its expressive value – able to distress the “crystal clear evidence of formal choices” – and from the point of view of its creative openness to various social modes of appropriation – as with an “all purpose room”, or with the functional plasticity that Vieira de Almeida also attempts to define by way of the notion of “lost space” –, the awareness on transition-space sets an outlandish idea of architecture if one considers Modernist basic assumptions. In Pedro Vieira de Almeida’s own words: “To Modernist logic, with its challenging but hard social perspective, though fully justified at the time, (...) ‘transition-space’ inherent freedom seemed naturally inappropriate for it was non-economic. Within that logic preference was given, and indeed in a brilliant way, to promoting flexibility of the internal structure of

the plan, the ‘free-plan’ that in 1929 Le Corbusier referred to as being one of the five fundamental principles of architecture.” (Almeida, 2010: 24)

These were the propositions Vieira de Almeida believed we should analyze in some examples collected from the Survey, for they would allow us “to structure a proper typological reasoning.” (Almeida, 2010: 19) But why did Vieira de Almeida thought that vernacular architecture configured the appropriate territory to this kind of research. In other words, why should typological reasoning be achieved through the in depth study of Portuguese Regional Architecture and through the Survey undertaken in the late 1950s?

As we shall see, the answer to this question bears on a political standpoint – i.e. it corresponds to a matured stance on the paradoxical relation between the architecture and its social vocation or “responsibility”, which Vieira de Almeida supported without concessions.

Vernacular architecture’s key importance

A question like N. Leach’s “can there ever be a Democratic architecture?” (2004), could never have passed unnoticed to Vieira de Almeida. The query matches some of his main concerns, and was considered essential from the outset. Nevertheless, as far as Pedro Vieira de Almeida is concern, it is an ill-formulated question, since its overall ambition – taking architecture as a whole – prevents a possible answer: “It is certainly not architecture globally considered that may capture values of democracy” (Almeida, 2013 [2011]).

Vieira de Almeida fully supported Leach’s position while stating that architecture is not by itself liberating or repressive. Nevertheless, “architecture can contain *efficient causes* of repression or liberation” and it is possible to investigate them: what really matters is to know “which elements of the architectural language might take one or other of these tendencies” (Almeida, 2013 [2011]).

Furthermore, Vieira de Almeida sought that this kind of research was not only possible, but was also urgent, given the fact that “these are some of the factors that can determine the so-called ‘social responsibility of architecture’” (Almeida,



Figure 4. Transition-space. Glazed balcony in Pedrógão Pequeno
© Nuno Cardoso, 2010

2013 [2011]). Thus, adding to straightforward equations of the problem based on the recognition and assessment of the social significance of architectural programs, a second degree question must be considered: that which brings us back to “sectors of architectural language, which by themselves lead to what might be called a true ‘encouragement to freedom’ of appropriation, and therefore have major and specific social responsibility.” (Almeida, 2013 [2011]) *Transition-space* is a key example of such encouragement.

It was also on the grounds of these queries that Vieira de Almeida’s attention to vernacular architecture was strengthened. To begin with, vernacular architecture escapes the guidelines and constraints of erudite architecture⁴. It generates a territory – or reservoir – of freedom while playing with expressive and use values of vital importance in Vieira de Almeida’s thought and research.

⁴ “The notion of ‘vernacular’ supposes a reality where expressive maturation was not deviated by any excess of information” (Almeida, 2010: 12)

Thus, it is not surprising that we find his definition of the vernacular detached from the hypertrophy and growing trivialization of the term. On the contrary, Vieira de Almeida is committed to the recovery of a “primitive”, authentic value for the concept, one able to move it from the muddy connotations that the cultural industry had been bestowing it. Engaging in a dialogue with Eduard Said (2004) and Neil Leach (2005), Vincent Canizaro (2007) and Panayotis Tournikiotis (2001), Vieira de Almeida advocates:

“I suppose the idea of ‘vernacular’ in architecture has always meant a holder of an expression stratified over time, of regional nature, spontaneous, popular, genuine, meaning culturally candid, not dominated by scholarly ideas (...). Thus, contrary to what Vincent Canizaro [2007:20] seems to vindicate, I suppose the vernacular cannot be seen as a simple answer out of sheer necessity, adapted to the conditions of each site. The vernacular also implies cultural choices, even though they do not address to a predetermined cultural aim.” (Almeida, 2010: 12)

Taking vernacular architecture as a core area of research is, Vieira de Almeida believes, the necessary condition to deepen and assess the premises launched on the grounds of his observation of erudite architecture. In other words, vernacular is the territory in which “the analysis of the importance of thickness in architectural expression will become clearer.” This is exactly why “the collection of vernacular architecture corresponding to the so called ‘Survey of the Union’ is precious.” (Almeida, 2013 [2011])

Overcoming the center-periphery divide

In addition to re-balancing and debate specific Portuguese architectural trends and constraints – the Survey focuses Portuguese popular architecture and therefore opens the equation of a specific situation that draw us back both to the specificity of national architectural culture, and to the registration of a proper Portuguese heritage sentenced to perish –, we are now in better conditions to grasp the overall implications Vieira de Almeida ascribed to the research

project *Popular Architecture in Portugal. A critical look*. As he makes clear: “if the explanatory potential of the hypotheses risen at the outset of this research project proves worthy, as I expect, one might also try to address from there questions brought about by some modern architecture as a generic paradigm, and by modernism as a professional movement giving them more structured answers. By the same token, one might also try to give partial answers to questions on what we currently see built and released in the world (...)” (Almeida, 2010: 25-26).

Finally, it is possible to claim that the radical interdependence between critical regionalism and critical internationalism highlighted by Vieira de Almeida has to be assimilated and encourage new critical approaches to architecture. What Vieira de Almeida view as the potential of this “homemade” attempt, was its ability to disquiet and eventually overwhelm the common tendency for parroting conclusions imported from foreign cultural centers, while paving the way for new premises to enter international debates. In other words, Vieira de Almeida strived to make us mistrust any straightforward interpretation of the architectural values associated with the Modern Movement, as well as to look for an enhanced critical meaning of Post-Modernity. Pedro Vieira de Almeida committed himself to these tasks with the greatest enthusiasm ever, leaving a tremendous legacy to architectural thought.

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THE DECLINE AND CONTAMINATIONS OF POST-SURVEY ARCHITECTURE IN ARCHITECTURE WITHOUT ARCHITECTS (1955-1985)

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1. Introduction

The research under way that we will partly divulge, aims to demonstrate the decline in the theoretical and practical bases produced by the Portuguese architectural “current” that emerged as a (con)sequence of the *Survey of Popular Architecture* (1961) with the promoters/authors of an “architecture” without architects at a time of the collapse of traditional culture.

In order to place ourselves in time and space, we would like to point out that this research corresponds to a period from about the middle of the 1950s to the mid-1980s and covers mainland Portugal and the autonomous regions, concentrating on the outskirts and suburbs of cities, areas in a phase of transition, clandestine lots and seasonal rural areas of holiday and weekend houses. The research includes free-standing houses and buildings of vernacular architecture and popular pre-existing constructions that have been transformed or renovated and the construction of new buildings in the same areas.

The actors studied were different and were mainly disconnected from their ancestral artisanal line, but still maintain autonomous professions or are grouped in small local or regional enterprises working in direct or indirect interdependence with the local authority.

There is no direct connection with the so-called emigrant's house (Villanova *et al.*, 1994), as we started from an analysis of the typological matrix and the respective expressions of unequivocal origin in traditional architecture. In certain cases, however, we do not deny this possibility. The buildings and the houses observed are the result of "sensitive readings" of the owners who are attentive to the cultural and architectural cycle with a greater or lesser degree of depth in the quality of those that commission the project for these houses, but decide not to use the work of an architect, preferring to speak to technical drawers and/or "builders". The owners and builders seek inspiration in recently constructed "models" designed by architects (Frampton, 1998; Tostões, 1997), observed at times even while the builders of these houses, in a perspective of reinterpretation through a means of selective simplification of determined technical aspects and forms, transform them into the "tools of their creative labour" so as to be different through the "typification" of their work as a project and as a construction.

2. Decline and contaminations

The diffused and fragmented frontiers of erudite and vernacular, traditional and popular architectures are experimental territories within the scope of local theory and practice, inclusively generating both programmed and spontaneous originalities. Some give rise to bases for new studies that, for those that objectively and continuously follow the activity of a building drawer, or observe it from the outside while commissioning houses, take advantage of those territories by interpreting and reinventing them in new experiences and in new places.

On the other hand, we can add the experimental practice of the professionals untrained in architecture, to which we have alluded, to the association of these practices to the fundamentals of theoretical currents or, at least, to the formation of an aesthetic and scientific awareness among architects to the technological questions inherent in the materialization of a set of emerging ideas based on the conceptualization of the potential genesis of "new" cultural identities,

irrespective of their scope or dimension. In short, we refer to the possibility of mutual and potential exchange of ideas between academics and construction professionals and vice-versa.

Generically diffuse territories have “tradesmen” from different places with their own organizational models of a traditional line, which emerge as “spontaneous undertakings”, being moved by a compulsive will to innovate, invent and reinvent with the aim of making their work outstanding as an exception, creating parallel realities to the current process of the project and work that is the exclusive responsibility of architects. Free of academic concepts and “cultural prejudices”, they exercise their unlimited creative imagination, protecting themselves, however, in the safety of the common knowledge and technological practice that odd pieces of theoretical and practical teaching have provided. But even in this area, they tend to be “chained” to practices, which were once autonomous and subject to codes, through the use of distinct materials and technologies, thus enriching and widening their possibilities but also being subject to eventual incompatibilities at the time of construction, or later, with the appearance of different degrees of pathologies.

Cities, and mainly peripheral cities and/or the transition between a growing city and an established city with plans and regulations, which generally have their prohibitions, and the parts of a city in “spontaneous formation” and/or unstable due to their condition of “expectant”, are generally experimental territory where all types of knowledge connected to construction, architecture and technology are fused. In most cases, scientific knowledge is acceptable, being exercised empirically and also being superficial at a cultural level. These actors are moved and are motivated in conceptual processes of fragmented collage or copy, with no intellectual structure or process. They are disconnected and decontextualized from ancestral procedures within the ambit of practices and professional codes. Consequently, they are then subject to a vulnerability that rarely produces exceptional results. Similar to a long laboratorial process, they persistently experiment in the hope of achieving something innovative or unusual.



Figure 1. Agricultural construction; Herdade S. Braz, Moura(1952) in *Ver Pelo Desenho*—Frederico George, Livros Horizonte, Lisboa (1993)

Vernacular architecture, more precisely that which is designated as urban, or peri-urban associated to current housing, is what comes closest to this description, comfortably living in harmony with the “models” of the erudite city, mainly on the frontier of the established city and stands out due to the “simplified” architectures that tend to be in rupture with conservative canons. The examples that are seen to be truly exceptional, although they are rare, show truly refined syntheses within the spatial/functional perspective, as well as presenting a suppression of “excesses” of architectonic mannerisms and artistic composition and often introducing a type of neo-classism whose metrics, proportions, rhythms and scales result in the permanence of the original matrix that is of an erudite conception, that is uncorrupted in its essence. These models are thus reconfigured, cited and/or copied as reinterpretations that are almost always “forced” by a lack of resources, with the planned aim of financial returns.

Popular architectures, inherent of a construction tradition of a certain region based on the materials, techniques and the repetition of ancestral cultural procedures by masters who have followed in their ancestor’s footsteps, is known for its conservatism and is certainly the style that has incorporated the fewest innovations during its existence.

This stability can be compared with that which determines the appearance,

identification, recognition and persistence of a style, of an identity and/or a historical period, identified as erudite architecture of its time. This also becomes conservative within an aesthetic ideal, normally associated to a particular technology which, above all, is a conditioner of innovations/alterations, as it regulates itself in a finite pattern in order to safeguard its identity.

The closed models are those that most clearly denounce the time of their corruption, which normally happens due to factors that lead to the termination of their use, the cultural fashions of an influential elite and/or their technological and infrastructural sustainability due to their natural aging and the evolution of the demands of society.

This circumstance happens in both popular and erudite architecture. They both deal with great difficulties in being imperceptibly renovated and/or assimilating indispensable innovations for their permanence, as valid, positive and influential buildings in the daily life of their users.

On the contrary, it can be seen that diffuse architectures are those that are more easily adapted due to their conceptual, technological and functional versatility to a reuse and/or even a physical reconstitution. These “transformations” acquire an aura or simply an affirmative driving force of “contagions” in the urban geography where they are built or serve as an influence in other contexts, with special incidence in the building of houses in the “rurality of the urban soul”. Consequently, they promote a return to the countryside of the city’s inhabitants. It must be noted here that the “contaminations”, or the effect in the “collage” of certain plastic inducements, as well as empirically resorting to certain technologies associated to a spatial and functional ideal that appear in “hybrid” architectures that rarely have an erudite author (which does not only mean an academic degree) tend to reflect the fragmentation of the models observed and “cited” as approximations in the search for its optimum reproduction. The result will certainly be a certain hybridism that is the fruit of the manipulation of diverse identities, most of them difficult decodification cases, which will mean something totally disconnected, i.e., incoherent. It could also lead to new paths,



Figure 2. Spontaneous architecture (years 1950/1960) - Costa Caparica

voluntarily or involuntarily, depending on the motivation and the capacity of the observers involved.

Of the many surveys in the area of popular architecture and the architectural heritage in several territories (Popular Architecture in Portugal, 1961; in the islands of Azores, 2000 and Madeira, 2002; Traditional Mediterranean Architecture, 2002; Survey of 20th Century Architecture in Portugal, 2006; Vernacular Architecture from Goa, Damão e Diu, 2007, and from Cabo Verde, 2009, and from Timor-Leste, 2010)¹, we have intentionally observed the “possibilities” of these occurrences as keys for the understanding of some aesthetic realities of a historic time that endure in these territories.

The last 100 years are without doubt those that most clearly express this analysis,

¹ Participation of the author in collective Surveys on Azores Traditional Architecture (1982-2000), on the international Traditional Mediterranean Architecture (2000-2002), and on the national IAPXX-Survey of 20th Century Architecture (2003-2005). Individual Surveys conducted on Madeira’s Traditional Architecture (1982-2002), on the Survey of Vernacular Architecture in Cape Verde (2009), Survey of Vernacular Architecture in East-Timor (2010) and on the Survey of Vernacular Architecture from Goa, Damão and Diu, undergoing since 2007 under Coimbra’s University doctoral programme.

even though in Portugal and the territories where significant antecedents of socio-cultural influence of the past can be considered, depending above all on intense economic, cultural and political movements, the reflection of which became more intense with strong migratory contingents. These realities were confirmed mainly from the second half of the 19th century, firstly in our small towns and cities that underwent a pioneering “modern eruption of growth”, associated to the *Fontistas’* policies, mainly due to the effect of the train and the building and planning of new roads. The second eruption, associated to the *Estado Novo*, completely revolutionized the country and the overseas provinces by creating a global network of communications, infrastructure and amenities and implementing a policy of rural and urban housing, with special relevance for the work carried out by the architects and engineers of the Internal Colonization Board. The third Diaspora was the most complex and led to the implosion of rurality on the traditional culture, around the 1950s and 60s, plus the conjugation of legislation promoted by the state with the aim of promoting mass civil construction in the mainland, with some examples in the islands and in the overseas territories, through the work developed by architects and other technicians working for the state Overseas General Agency and other economic institutions from the central government. It was precisely in this period until the end of the 20th century that we carried out a significant part of our research, where we emphasize the experience of having been a member of one of the teams of the Survey of Twentieth Century Portuguese Architecture – IAPXX (2006). We turn now to a deeper analysis as a result of continuous fieldwork that we have conducted on our own initiative over the last thirty years all over the country, the autonomous regions and in some countries and territories where Portuguese influence is to be found. However, because this presentation is focusing on Portugal, we’ll attempt to suggest some conclusions of eventual effects of the post-Survey and post-publication of the book *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, within the popular culture, or architecture without architects. We start from the assumption that the architecture projected by architects resulting



Figure 3. Pilgrims Headquarters, Santuário Santa Rita, Ponte da Barca; Edgar Duvivier House, Rio Janeiro (1985) in Wisnik, G. (2001) *Lúcio Costa*, São Paulo: Cosac Naify

from this widely divulged work and discussed in the professional association publications, with special emphasis for the magazine *Arquitetura Portuguesa*, is an unequivocal reality in terms of its own identity as a cultural movement aggregating architecture, anthropology, art and science.

As far as analysis is concerned, we have searched, as has always been our methodology in other research, to verify *in loco* the eventual reflux of this architecture reinvented by erudites, and meanwhile built in different contexts, the architecture built by non-erudites, some “enlightened architects”, others that have followed the lines of the traditional master builders that are spontaneous but more sensible to the new visions on tradition, and also some urban builders who participate in projecting houses closely related to local authorities and “culturally sustained” by a series of assumptions of a fantasy idea of rural tradition. This reality, which emerged in the 1960s, was probably shaped through a non-existent rustic ideal that was strongly mythicized and backed up by a yearning of a false return to the countryside through the construction of weekend houses. Its authors were probably drawing technicians from recent technical courses of design, some with a rudimentary knowledge of engineering. There is a belief in this practice that building is the equivalent of architecture, which was one of the consequences of the courses of civil engineering. This idea has passed on and was legally safeguarded by the unspeakable Decree Law 73/73, which allowed any

citizen to present projects for buildings up to three storeys high for construction approval by the local authorities.

The Survey of 1961 is related to the way erudite architecture, which appeared after its publication, although it had already been tried by some architects, among them the authors of the research themselves, validated and assimilated the most significant aspects of traditional architecture, reinventing them or overvaluing them due to their plasticity, materials, textures, colours, volumes, spatial and functional articulations and landscape integration among other factors. In some cases that we observed, namely in the so-called architecture without architects, it was these same aspects, mainly “simplified” plastic elements, in an apparently epidemic and stereotyped re-assimilation, as they had already been presented as “corrupted” in their original essence and had generally received a negative appreciation by the commissioning owners and/or builders, probably in their expression and their materials as they had not reached, according to them, the limit of their possibilities. Relevant examples are roofs not closed along the ridge, buildings with simple roofs at different heights articulating with open spaces, verandas and interior roofs, as well as the integration of volumes that in architects’ architecture articulate with sheltered patios and take on secondary functions such as wardrobes, garage, various cupboards that are interpreted and assimilated as the “rusticity” of the house, from the chimney where food is smoked to the wine cellar and the outside kitchen or the space where the daily meals are taken, generally associated to a porch.

The number of specimens that confirm this interpretation are today submerged by a new reality, promoted at the turn of the century in the reductive assumption of this becoming as an “alternative to the emigrant house”, becoming a new paradigm of a new historical and aesthetic era. Meanwhile, this reality gave rise to new, emerging identities that in turn gave rise to the return of the so-called “Portuguese house” in a neo-conservative perspective. They try to attain the essential of the materiality and the spatiality/functionality of the essential premises of the idea of popular architecture according to the inconsistent



Figure 4. Spontaneous architecture (years 1950/1960) - Costa Caparica

interpretation of Raúl Lino's perspective, as opposed to the former, described above, imposing a critical and alternative discourse, among architects and non-architects. As a consequence, and in the face of this change in historical and aesthetic time, it seems that we may begin a period of critical analysis, even though the temporal distance is short. What spurs us on now, however, is the observation and systematic identification of these eventual transfers in the period prior to the publication of the Survey in detriment to a "moral judgement" of that time that we consider completely and ethically unacceptable. We have integrated our analysis into these diffuse areas of architectures of contagion, "out of focus", and free of critical elitist prejudices, which produce interpretations and revindicate preconceived models, in a series of architectonic currents that are representative of a dominant culture. We also considered the possibility that they had been diffusers of other experiences, like those in the field of anthropology (Leal, 2006), sometimes being transcended in form and content with great benefits for their most direct usufructors.

The anonymous architecture that we have referred to will continue to be included

in the continuity of the centuries-old vernacular architecture with special cultural connections and project methodology in relation to the architecture constructed at the end of the 19th century in identical contexts, i.e., in the case of urban and peri-urban geography, where many creative sources and technological manipulation are mixed, as in the historical period dealt with here. “Return to the countryside” architecture will also be included in this historic period, located in vast areas of land or in uninteresting family building plots, as well as in small agglomerates, replicating models, materials and/or expressions of an ill-defined antiquity, almost always of an urban and/or “manor house” characteristics still being reflected in local tradition, experimenting an integration of new signs and/or expressions of architecture “related” to the Survey of influential architects, at times merely in the form of a “magazine”.

3. Conclusions

Although not yet complete, this analysis, limited to a specific territory, permit us to develop some conclusions that confirm these “transfers” between the architecture resulting from the Survey (accepting certain criteria that supposedly frame the definition and identification of this architecture) and the popular and vernacular architectures in a state of denying their lineage and supposedly involved now in a new process of evolution and being renovated due to the “refluence” of the Survey. They both cite works constructed between the end of the 1950s and the 1980s from the same origin, although they received them from different sources. They also claim with certainty the sensibility of their “influence” or even assimilation in the same period, in a new code of spontaneous architectures built by and for themselves or for others, both produced by non-architects, thus making it an indisputable reality. Which leads us to question if popular or vernacular architecture still exists, as seen by past generations, or if there are new identities whose time of appearance and permanence does not yet permit us to form an opinion on them as a possible new type.

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BUILDING THE NEW BARCELONA. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "SURVEY" ON COMMON ARCHITECTURE IN THE CERDA'S PROJECT

ANTONI REMESAR AND
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For Cerdà¹, the object of “urbanization”², a new scientific field of study can be summarized in

To give an idea of the development in the field of science, we say that [i] its constituent elements are shelters (intervia), [ii] its object is reciprocity of services and [iii] its means, the common pathways (vías, street), ie common use” (Cerdà, 1867: vol I, 44-45).

“What matters now is to consign the characteristic forms of the house at the time we are speaking, because it is very shocking at first sight, we are interested to know, that what we find in some urban construction and in certain circumstances, is incompatible with civilization, culture and mores of our times. (Cerdà, 1867: 699)

¹ Although he has not received due attention in the international context, we can find a large literature concerning theories by Cerdà see Bohigas (1963), Rossi (1966), Choay (1980) for an overview and Puig i Cadafalch, J (1927); GATEPAC (1931; 1934; 1935; 1937); Sert, J. L.(1933); Estapé, F (1971); Solà-Morales, M- Busquets, J- Domingo, M- Font, A- Gómez, J. L. (1974); Fernández Ordoñez et al (1976); Bohigas (1985); Busquets, J- Corominas, M- Eizaguirre, X- Sabaté, J. Laboratori d'Urbanisme de Barcelona , Ed (1992), Corominas, M (2002); Sabaté (1999) and Magrinyà, F- Marzá, F (2009) for a more specific framework of his contributions.

² *The word urbanization is not in any dictionary, yet we find necessary to use it to express a new idea for which we do not find another word that best suits. To reduce an area to the conditions of a city, urbs, i.e. to turn into a city what it is not, cannot be expressed otherwise than in the way that allows the verb urbanize, that materially depending on the nature of our language means "to make urban ", i.e., to become city what it was not (Cerdà, 1861 TVU: §338).*

What circumstances referred Cerdà? Which are those incompatibilities? Where they come from?

Cerdà provides an analysis of the circumstances in the data used to substantiate the "*General Theory of Building Cities*", (Cerdà, 1859) and, of course, especially in the analytical part of his work. Before developing a series of statistical studies, Cerdà, develops a few pages on the "*demolition of the walls*" and the benefits that this operation produces for the expansion of the city³. In his work, Cerdà expressed their concerns about the asphyxiation of the city due to the walls and the living conditions of its residents. It is well known Cerdà's hygienist that guides all of his work on the Reformation and Extension of the cities and that will become a central issue in his urban theory.

The context

In their important work López and Grau point out some of the fundamental features of the building tradition in Barcelona, which Cerdà shall elaborate in his work.

The late medieval urban development has created some formulas that are still valid to the eyes of many men of the late eighteenth. We should note, first of all, the type of house, adapted to the needs of the artisan mesocracy predominant in those centuries: a building used as a family unit, and comprising the workshop in the ground floor, one or two stories for family housing, accessible from inside the workshop, and a lower ceiling loft. The building does not occupy the whole parcel, but it leaves room for an orchard

³ From the entrance of the Bourbon troops in Barcelona (1714) the city had been regarded as a stronghold and governed by the Captain General. Early the nineteenth century we find a major citizens' movement demanding the demolition of the walls to allow the expansion of the city. In 1838, the City announces a contest for its demolition. The competition was won by Monlau (1841) and his work will serve as a basis of a claim document, along with writings of various thinkers like Jaime Balmes (1843). After several comings and goings, finally in 1854, a Royal Order authorizes the demolition of the walls. Cerdà developed the topographic surveys on the plain of Barcelona as a previous work prior to the implementation of projects for the Extension.



Figure 1. In the historic centre of Barcelona we still can find some examples of this type of house, like the one in the picture located in the old Jewish quarter of the city

Figure 2. The recent reconstruction of the house-type in Barceloneta, clearly shows that the military engineers who designed this neighbourhood outside the walls organized the housing system in relation to the type of property derived from the guild organization

or garden in the back: the parcel is generally narrow - 4 or 5 meters of facade –and the elongated of edification depth is usually, in principle, about 10 meters. López and Grau (1971: 29)

However, late in the first third of the eighteenth century, partly due to demographic pressure resulting from the work opportunities offered by the manufactures of "indianas"⁴, the medieval house undergoes a huge transformation, parallel to the transformation in the structure of production relations and in the changes in family structure. As pointed out by J. M. Montaner (1985, 1990) it passes from the medieval artisan house to the tenement for hire building. The main physical traits of this transformation are: (1) The subdivision of the house, separated from the dwelling staircase; (2) Growth in height (3) Growth in depth of the parcel with the gradual disappearance of orchards and gardens (4) Appearance of the inner patio (5) Second rear façade and interior courtyard (6) The pitched roof becomes flat (roof terrace) and accessible (7) The use of brick⁵ and partitioned

⁴ Generic name for cotton fabrics or for cotton blend with other artificial or vegetable fibres, printed on one side in one or more colours. The "indianas" industry suppose the starting of the industrialization in Barcelona.

⁵ These changes in construction techniques fostered the development of a thriving "industry of mud" in Barcelona (García Fortes: 2001).



Figure 3. Interpretation of a project conducted by Josep Renau and Francesc Mestres (master builders) in 1787. (Rosell Colomina, 1996: 300) that reflects well the new type of building

Figure 4. Two buildings "d'escaleta" located facing the Church of St. Mary of the Sea

vaults⁶ (8) Social hierarchy by plants (9) Specialized differentiation of the various internal parts and (10) Creation of a model for the house with a regular shape, granting a façade⁷, the "*casa d'escaleta*".

If changes in housing were crucial, not least were those produced in the design of public space, with the emergence, eg of the artefact Public Promenade, the various provisions for the widening both the cities⁸, as the streets⁹, or incipient

⁶ Rosell Colomina (1996) indicates that this transformation is possible by technical changes (1) in the manufacture of tight roof, replacing planking for the vault; (2) in the use of brick instead of stone and mortar, making it easier to raise plants at a lower cost and (3) changes in the roof and (4) the standardization of the balcony.

⁷ Vid. Guardia (1986), García Espuche -Guardia, M (1986) and Guardia, M- Monclús, F. J.- Oyón, J. L (1994).

⁸ In Barcelona, as will happen in other cities, the first extensions are made outside the walls, with the creation of new towns designed by military engineers, as it was the project for the Barceloneta by Cermeño in 1753, conceived under the Albertian principles.

⁹ In the case of Spain the Royal Decree of 1787 mandates the installation of the cemeteries outside the cities and the Instruction to Mayors of May 5th, 1788 established the mandatory layout and alignment of streets, both delivered under the Government of Charles the 3rd.

disamortization started with the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767¹⁰. The regulatory capacity on urban issues, performed by the military authority during the eighteenth century, is gradually transferred to municipalities in the nineteenth century, what is reflected in a series of decrees enacted by municipalities.

The Barcelona constitutionalist City Council, adopted in 1823¹¹ the Edict for Buildings, followed in 1839, by the Edict of the Good Government and the Municipal Ordinances of the City of Barcelona in 1857.

These regulatory texts, compulsory for developers and builders, regulate all possible variables related to the construction or renovation of buildings. The competent authority must know, prior to granting the building permit, the project by submitting a request together with a drawing of the elevation of the building. With the edicts, the City Council seeks to control the type of planned construction, which must be governed by predetermined patterns. Ordinances act regulating the height of each building and its plants, the number of floors, the type of openings and their separation, the cantilever of the balconies, and even the range of colour of the façade. The ultimate goal is to achieve streets and squares with a type of building of similar external appearance. (García Fortes, 2005: 166)

In the second half of the nineteenth century the construction sector in Barcelona was based (a) on empirical knowledge and practice techniques of the master builders based on popular architecture -although, as pointed out by Arranz (1990), these master builders increasingly got higher academic qualifications -

¹⁰ The disamortization process consisted of to put on the market by forced expropriation and through a public auction, land and property that previously could not be alienate, held by so-called "dead hand", ie, the Catholic Church or religious orders. These properties have been accumulated as a regular beneficiary of donations, wills ... Also, the so-called vacant lands and municipal commons. In other countries, the phenomenon happened more or less the same. Its purpose was to increase national wealth and to create a bourgeoisie and middle class of farmers owners. In addition, the state obtained extra income with which it was intended to amortize the public debt.

¹¹ Previously, both the military and civil authority had issued other edicts in 1771 and in 1815.

and (b) a set of municipal rules that allowed, as pointed out by Sabater (1999), a “figurative control” of building and public space. As well summed up Bohigas (1963: 56-57)

We have said that the best examples, or at least the most important of our neoclassic romanticism, are multi-family homes that configure the facades of many streets of old Barcelona and, to a lesser extent in other Catalan cities. The basement of facades is always padded stone accented horizontally and pierced only by simple moulding arches. Above this basement starts a series of balconies, increasingly narrow. The first floor usually has a balcony railing with total sharper. Each floor is highlighted with a series of impostes. Among the balconies and trimming neutral spaces some vertical elements, usually stucco, sometimes authentic stone, representing Tuscan pilasters, and even Doric, Ionic and Corinthian, though almost always with no stria, very flat, that fail to cut real volumes, but simply draw in one plane schemes very worried, perfectly measured.

The cornices follow the same approach and tend to be quite high, thus compensating for the lack of relief. On the same cornice and on the balconies too, flat and high corbels that are very simple, almost always without mouldings, and naturally without sculptures. This apparent decorative poverty is a characteristic aspect serving an extremely delicate delineation

The construction system is always the same and it is just what comes to determining the modern building tradition in Catalonia. No matter the stone elements of the façade, the building is constructed entirely of brick and sometimes stone. The two layers of brick vaults over wooden beams; the Catalan vault for the stairs and a roof in the Catalan way, they find a just constructive expression that comes absolutely intact until today.



Figure 5. Façade of the Pla de Palau in which we can test the description given by Bohigas

Barcelona from the point of view of Cerdà

Barcelona was a close city, because of the walls, a city with an exponential population growth.¹²

...with a meagre public space, as we would say today, and with relatively few facilities...

...Very dense, especially in reference to other cities and with a built up stock that exceeded the “classic” requirements for the management of the street (1:1), resulting in poor ventilation and sun exposure...

...a city that shows a clear spatial segregation, both in land use as in the vertical section of what has been built...

...A city that constantly "re-writes" itself, generating new parcels for building,

¹² The difference in population between 1849 and 1854 is explainable because from 1850 to 1897 (Annexation of the towns of Plain of Barcelona) current Gràcia neighbourhood was an independent village.

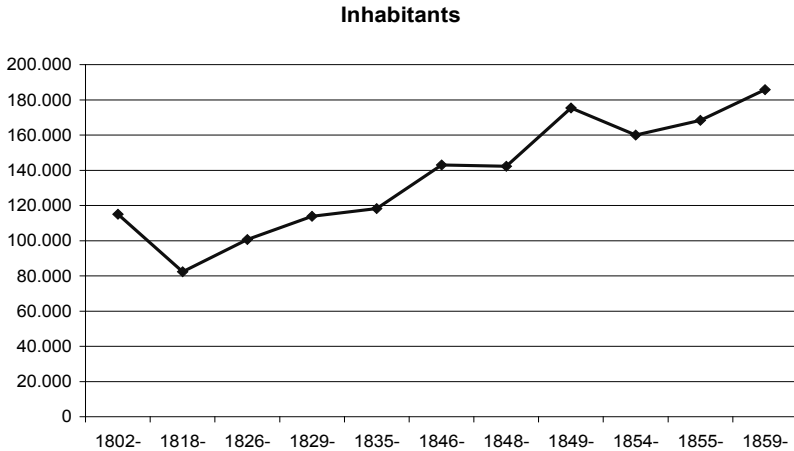


Tabela 1. Data source Ajuntament de Barcelona 2012

renovating the built stock¹³... but...exposed, as well as all European cities¹⁴ to the ravages of epidemics¹⁵...

The city's working population totalled over 70,000 people (about 42%)¹⁶; with a rate of child mortality almost seven times the rate of the bourgeoisie....

¹³ The struggle for the demolition of the walls, created some conflicts between citizens and the military authorities. In 1842, General Espartero ordered to bomb of the city from the fortress of Montjuïc destroying 462 buildings. If we also consider that in this period are being carried out works of alignment and widening of several streets, we can conclude that the shown rate of building was not able to replenish the stock destroyed in 1842.

¹⁴ "The repeated epidemics of cholera, typhus, smallpox and other diseases showed the British bourgeoisie the urgent need for the improvement of their cities, not to be, him and his family, victims of epidemics. So the most outrageous defects outlined in this book have either disappeared or do not jump to the eye. They have been made works channelling work or improved the already existing; wide avenues now cross many of the most sordid neighbourhoods" (Engels, 1845).

¹⁵ Compiled from Cerdà (1855) and Ajuntament de Barcelona (2012).

¹⁶ "I have considered, under the name of workers, all officers, apprentices, labourers and assistants of any kind and sex, with no company-owned and, therefore, working by the day or piece of work either at the workshops, factories or offices, either at home (Cerdà, 1859 "In relation to the working population census, it is noted that despite being raised to the figure of 54,272 souls, as appears in the corresponding state, there are not included in it none of the owners and sons of the facilities where they work; we have not included those workers who work in their own homes on behalf of a seller and whose number is estimated at ten percent the overall population of men of all classes, except those aimed at the manufacturing industry, for which we present the exact number. Likewise we have failed to include in the indicated census the worker's children under 8 years and that by their young age, we have assumed they are not engaged to work" (Cerdà, 1859 TCC: 273).

	Length of streets in m.	Width in meters			Area in sq. meters
		Max.	Min.	Average	
Streets	44.652,95	16,38	1,95	4,19	216.097,70
Squares	2.180,58	83,66	3,32	23,25	59.074,20
Interior Promenades	1.337,51	97,50	26,72	43,77	49.574,18
	48.171,04				324.746,09
Total area of the city without the fortress					2.023.742,56
Remaining area occupied by blocks					1.698.996,48

Tabela 2. Data from Cerdà (1855)

BARCELONA	
Density x Ha.	
1846	605,4
1855	746
<u>1857</u>	<u>771</u>

Density x Ha	
London	485
Paris	306
Madrid	419
Philadelphia	321
La Havana	347

Tabela 3. Compiled from the Ordinances of Barcelona (1814, 1823, 1839 and 1857)

Tabela 4. Data from Cerdà 1855

As the own Cerdà rightly points out, in Barcelona:

The same lack of method, order and plan, which we miss in the construction of lodges and minor populations, the same lack of plan and of urban police that is noticed in their special arrangement, it existed and actually exists in the creation and development of large cities. The laws and building codes

	Basement floor		Main floor		second floor		Third floor		Fourth Floor		The whole building		Surface of the lot in m2
	Families	Inhabitants	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	
Class 1 houses with four shops and as many homes at street level, a single home on the main floor and two in each of the remaining	4	20	1	9	2	14	2	14	2	14	1	7	302,25 Homes: from 302,25 to 151,12 m2
Class 2 houses for the middle class with two shops and two homes on the ground floor (idem)	2	10	1	9	2	12	2	12	2	12	9	55	226,7 Homes: from 226,7 to 113,35 m2
3rd class homes for the workers, with a shop and a home on the ground floor and two ... (idem)	1	6	2	10	2	10	2	10	2	10	9	46	113,35 Homes of 56,67 m2
4th class for homes of the poorest, with a home to street level and four in each of the other floors	1	6	4	16	4	16	4	16	4	16	17	70	113,35 Homes of 28,33 m2
Homes of only one class in the Barceloneta with two homes at street level and in each of the two remaining floors	2	12	2	12	2	12	-	-	-	-	6	36	70,56 Homes of 35,28 m2

Tabela 5. Data from Cerdà 1855 and 1859

have not only does not preceded it but, later on and progressively given as they felt their absence, have always been incomplete, and are still far from achieving the degree of perfection that should have (...) Hence, those streets whose cross section is of an irregular and formless narrowness, having a thousand crookedness and protrusions incoming and outgoing, those streets whose longitudinal profile displays all imaginable bankruptcies, with its slopes and ramps showing sometimes heavy problems for drainage and other for transit, hence their cross sections as soon have an inclination to the right

	1844- 1848	1849 - 1854	1844- 1854
houses built on new lots	99	56	1 5 5
houses built in old lots	61	48	109
restored old houses	87	86	264
	247	190	437

Tabela 6. Data from Cerdà 1859

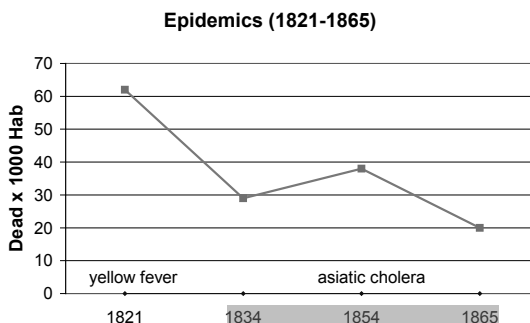


Tabela 7. Compiled from Cerdà (1855) and Ajuntament de Barcelona (2012)

or to the left or to the centre

*Summarizing we can say that in all ancient cities there are no **major coordinate health ways** in the direction of prevailing winds that offer better hygienic conditions.(...)*

*There are no **roads of convergence** facilitating relations of all the districts with the centre, or with the general centres of activity of the entire settlement such as: the port, railroads Gares, the stock market, markets, certain industrial facilities, other for public education, some churches, theatres, promenades and public gardens, (...)*

*There is not a **neighbourhood road system** facilitating relations with other*

neighbourhoods around (...)

No spaces or squares that give the space and health they need the points where the population or commercial interests are more condensed." (Cerdà, 1859: 1438-1443)

We are aware that Cerdà's ideas on the organization of the territory are based on a dual model¹⁷. On the one hand the hygienist (public health) model, on the other a systemic model based on mobility (vias, roads, railroads...). For Cerdà, circulation, movement, is the central subject: movement of goods, services and people; circulation of air and light.

Building and "viality" are two correlative and inseparable ideas, of which the one can not exist without the other, so you can not conceive of "viality" without building, as it is the starting and ending point, nor can conceive building without "viality" as a means of action, motion, manifestation of man's life. (...) The house is the beginning and the end of "viality", and if it [the viality] is so important in large cities, it is because in them there is an overgrown number of houses that multiply and complicate the directions of movement. (Cerdà, 1861: 842)

Regarding the "street" (vía), the results of the project by Cerdà for Barcelona are well known and we will not discuss here. Simply following the GATEPAC (AC nr. 13, 1934) assessing the lights and shadows of the Cerdà's project.

The defects pointed out to Cerdà's project, have worsened, notably, by the

¹⁷ Obviously Cerdà develops his thought from the knowledge that he has of the work of other thinkers, such as Léonce Reynaud [*it was necessary to learn all that was written in architecture from Vitruvius to Leoncio Renau (Reynaud)* Cerdà's Journal 1875]. The French architect, had at that time, through his *Traité d'Architecture* (1850) a major influence on architects in Barcelona. Suffice to recall that Rovira, author of the winning project in the competition for the Eixample, used the phrase "Le Treacé d'une Ville est Oeuvre du Temps Plutôt que d'Architecte" by Reynaud as the motto of his project.

Great qualities	Big misconceptions
"To build only two sides of the square of each block"	"The absolute lack of classification by zones"
"To leave gardens in the large open space between the two building blocks as well as pedestrian passages"	"The low priority given to industry, for which only provides very limited and scattered sites, mixing them with the residence."
"Also, to leave free spaces for collective buildings"	"The excessive depth of the buildable area for housing areas (28 meters perpendicular to the street), which forces air through internal courtyards"
"To have foreseen and rightly located a core axis of the city, parallel to the sea, Cortes Street" (<i>now Gran Vía</i>)	"The layout of roads over close understandable only for drawn vehicles"
"To provide public parks and parking spaces"	"The displacement of the normal axis to the sea towards the Besós river. Urban centres are rarely moved, so that this takes place, has to intervene any external cause".

Tabela 8. Compiled from GATEPAC, AC nr, 13, 1934

inexplicable and shameful capitulation of public bodies to private interests. They have been struggling gradually by all means to impose municipal ordinances that provide further income to the landlords whose representatives have a voice in municipal commissions and exerting a constant pressure on other members of these committees. (GATEPAC, AC, nr 13, 1934:15)

Cerdà examines the corridor street, characteristic of Barcelona in this time, making sure that this community of walls easily allows (a) the transmission of noise from one to another house, and (b) to make common the disasters that may occur in any of the houses. *"The joint ownership, or the community of the partition wall in side by side houses, brings important prejudices, which also affect to the inhabitants of the houses, reaching too to the owners"*. (Cerdà, 1867: vol. I, 606) Further on, he notes that in the back are formed courts *"that contains all the drawbacks of the community, growing in inverse proportion to their width, which never reach to neutralize the inconvenient"* (Cerdà, 1867: vol. I, 607). That is the

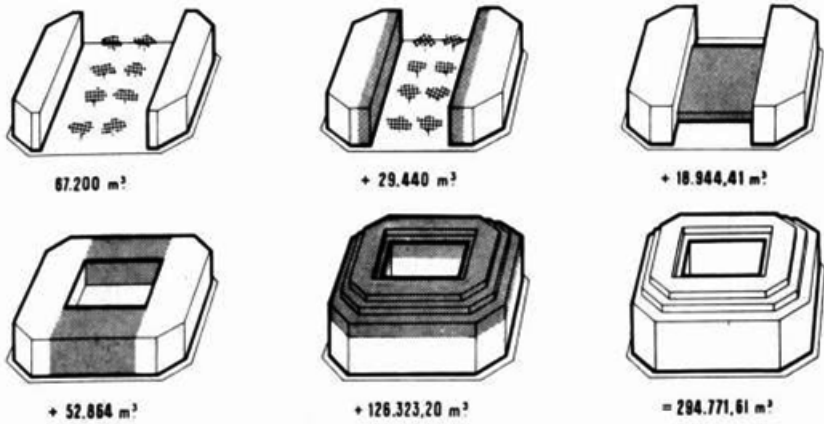


Figure 6. Densification of the Cerdà's blocks resulting from the various building regulations of the City of Barcelona from 1859 until 1975. The permitted building volume has grown by over 438% (Image from the book Fernández Ordoñez, J. A.; Tarragó, S.; Soria Puig, A., 1976: 141)

reason of the existence of the many dark rooms with no ventilation, which are in all the side by side houses. *“The action of, if we may call, the courtyards is not enough to diffuse the light and the air to every corner of the building, when it is wrapped in two or three sides by solid walls”* (Cerdà, 1867: vol. I, 608).

The proposed "new town" (Extension/Eixample) and the Reform of the old one, try to resolve or alleviate this deficit of "viality" and hygiene, while solving the pressing problem of working class to access to worthy housing¹⁸.

The "survey" in the Cerdà's Project

In the context of this publication can we now ask to what extent Cerdà has considered popular housing? We can say that only vicariously, primarily as data for research.

First, because Cerdà is not worried by constructive or artistic aspects of housing

¹⁸ *“The Cerdà Plan permit a double reading: the uniform and egalitarian layout, and within it, the fragmentation of neighbourhood units each of which focuses on the church or a public building and is articulated with passages and the layout of built-strips”* (Bohigas, 1985: 143-144).

that we can call popular. His concern is not how to build houses -and in this sense, as a builder, how to incorporate techniques and construction procedures- but to know how the habitat influences the living conditions and how the improvement of the structure of the housing project, can improve these conditions.

When he decides to boot his "urbanization" adventure, Cerdà is fully aware of the scope and difficulty of his project since he must to establish relationships among different theoretical and disciplinary fields related to his subject. However, Cerdà accurately outlines what will be the extent of his raid on those fields.

In the presence of so vast and extensive picture of work, I confess that I was about to deter me, the fact, however, of not having more than 27 years and considering that it was not necessary to study under the expert point of view each of the mentioned branches, being sufficient just to know for each of them what was concerning the special work that I was trying to do, encouraged me to continue on my first purpose that from that moment I did not hesitate to raise to the status of last, final and irrevocable. (Cerdà, 1875)

Likewise, it is difficult to talk about popular architecture in a city where military engineers, architects and master builders were responsible for deploying the built environment. Engineers focussed on neoclassical rationality; Architects interested in large representative buildings; Master builders -first from the guild structure and later following a neoclassical training- were the real and effective builders of the "common" Barcelona, not just during the eighteenth century but even well into the nineteenth century. To some extent, are the master builders, who set the connection between academic and popular architecture, keeping



Figure 7. The so called "Cerdà houses" (named after the owner, not the planner) were among the first to be built in the new city. But, as you can see in the picture below, the building volume is superior to that proposed by Cerdà himself (Cerdà, 1859)

techniques, procedures and materials from the "popular"¹⁹ architecture.

For technical reasons (security, increased building volume...) and economy (better use of the profitability of the properties, more speculation, adjustment of the relations cost/benefit), the urban house moves away from the traditional building systems (popular), and as in other parts of Europe, incorporates on the one hand, constructive models of high architecture and, secondly, maintains, some language solutions that came from vernacular architecture²⁰.

¹⁹ *"In the houses of the neighbours in Barcelona during the second half of the eighteenth century, the walls and load walls lose thickness and strength thanks to the replacement of the fence and the adobe wall by the brick, alone or combined with masonry, removing or reducing the presence of planking, plaster cast walls with mud or cane, the coffered ceilings and roofs on wooden trusses, while the plan tile vaults were generalized (Catalan vaults), the vaults, the paving flagstones or tiled floors and ceilings, and they appear the first roofs "a la catalana", with the result of reducing the combustibility of the buildings, while improving their strength. This type of house formalized in the last decades of the eighteenth century remains, with slight modifications, until the late nineteenth century and, perhaps, to more recent dates. And not only in the old town of Barcelona, but also in the Eixample and some villages aggregated to Barcelona in 1897 (for example, in Sant Martí de Provençals) [Arranz, 1990: 150].*

²⁰ The case of the reconstruction of Lisbon since 1775 and its subsequent development, it is essential to understand the contamination processes between academic and vernacular architecture (Cunha Leal, 2005).

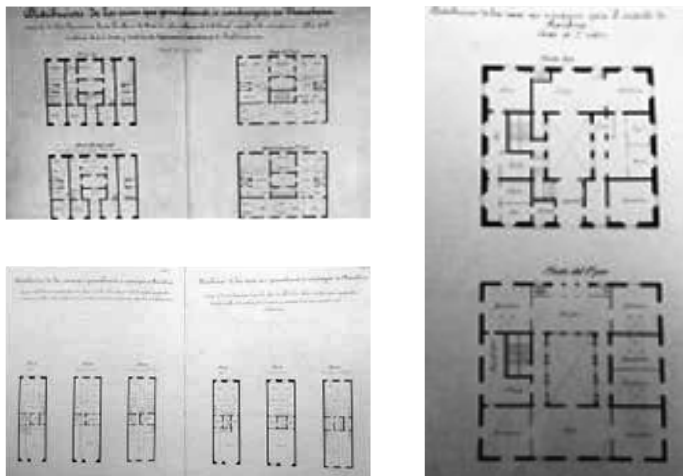


Figure 8. Plant of 1st order houses existing in Barcelona (Cerdà, 1855)

Figure 9. Plant of 3rd order houses for workers existing in Barcelona (Cerdà, 1855)

Figure 10. Plant-type of Cerdà's proposals for houses in the Eixample. You can check the conceptual difference that exists between these plants and those of Figures 8 and 9. Especially in regard to the interior layout and the real possibility of ventilation of the housing. The main staircase is clearly represented (Cerdà, 1859)

We previously noted that the tenement building is a paradigm shift regarding the medieval/guild house that responds to the conditions of a new social organization, so we can realize that the housing typology that Cerdà proposes, will represent another paradigm shift. Indeed, Cerdà assumes the existence of a new social structure in which the working class has a role, while assuming that the reproduction of the labour force should be done in a physical scenario different from that in the pre-industrial society.

An important part of Cerdà's research is statistical in nature. His detailed studies on the organization of work and conditions on the family structure and its economic capacity (income, expenditure, consumption...) is a historic document that describes an epoch (Cerdà, 1856-1859).

But these studies are also the meeting point between his "theoretical model" and the empirical test (García-Bellido, 2000). His conclusion is that *we cannot keep*

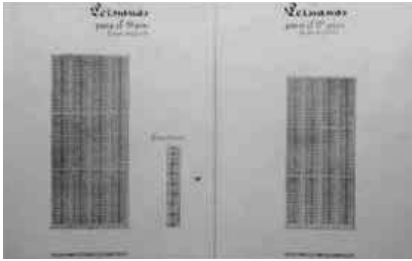


Figure 11. Different types of shutters used in Barcelona (Cerdà, 1859)

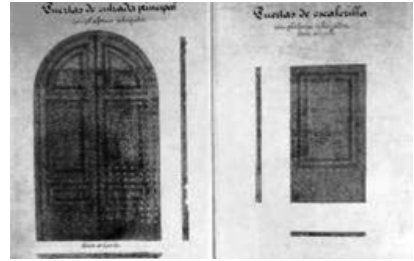


Figure 12. Different types of doors used in Barcelona (Cerdà, 1859)

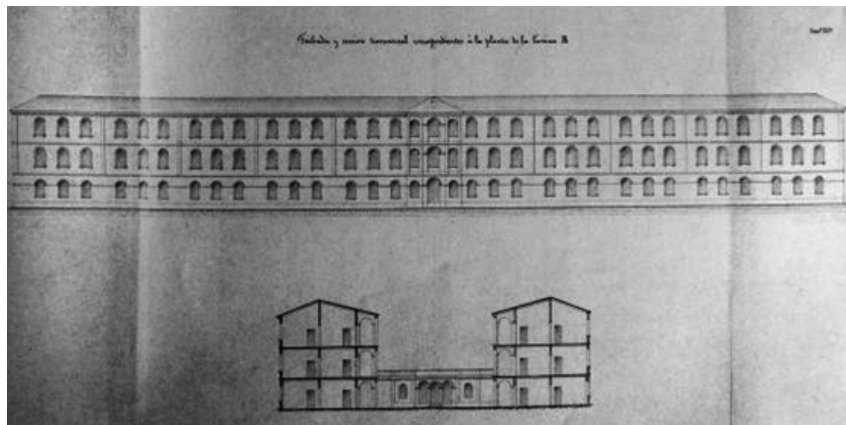
living this way. Hence in his project, he will rethink not only how the new city has to occupy the territory (by shifting the urban layout in relation to ventilation and insulation, establishing the proper relationship between *vía e intervía*), but, also restating how it should be the house for the new city (Regarding the parcel: by ordering size and maximum built occupation. Regarding the dwellings: ordering their areas, their ventilation courtyards, their sanitary infrastructure...).

In short, building a better, healthier, more equitable city.

With this aim, Cerdà developed a survey of different types of buildings in Barcelona. The study of current housing conditions, the study of their physical characteristics is a fundamental step in the development of his thought. As someone trained in project methodology, Cerdà knew that between the statistic figures and policy proposals contained in both the "*Reform and Expansion Plan*" and in his "*Building regulations*", there was a huge gap.

How to overcome the gap? Cerdà develops a "visual survey" which results in a detailed "Atlas" of how housing was in Barcelona.

Already in 1855 (Cerdà, 1855), he shows 9 plates that summarize the most common building types and that are the basis for developing its Preliminary Project. Later in 1859, in his *Theory of Construction of Cities*, he presents 4 plates engaged in morphological analysis of houses, 14 plates on exterior building



elements (doors, windows, shutters...), 14 more on interior elements (doors, cabinets, ...), 1 on floors and 1 on black holes; 2 on ladders; 5 on plants of cities²¹ and, finally, 4 plates with city projects for workers, including Mulhouse. To this material we should add the 21 plates comprising the “Atlas of the Extension project for Madrid”²² (Cerdà, 1861). Interestingly, they are devoted to maps of the city and some cross-sections of the streets.

Cerdà's thought shows that knowledge of "place" is central to the development of the project proposals. The "knowledge" about locality, about what is specific, allows the project and its associated theory to get a high level of consistency and operability.

In short, if we want to avoid an axiomatic thought we should proceed by constant movements of analysis and synthesis, going from the particular to the universal and vice versa. In this process the role of “visual surveys” is critical. One of the highlights of the work by Cerdà, are the Atlas accompanying their texts

²¹ Turin, Cienfuegos, Vitoria, St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Buenos Aires, Boston and Philadelphia.

²² A project never done, but that left a trace in the layout of the Salamanca district.



Figure 13. On of the proposals by Cerdà (1855) for working class housing. This image, can allow us to understand that the thought of Cerdà is rooted in the neoclassic principals of building, especially those related to the “city making” of the military engineers²³. Below, the old building of the Military Academy of Mathematics in Barcelona

and not limited to a simple collection of pictures²³. Cerdà translates synthetically (image) what has been studied analytically, as in the case of plants that translate, spatially, the metric data of the constructed space occupancy. Contrast analytical information about the city, with a selection of images of cities "shows" what he proposes. He establishes a methodology of analysis-presentation that we enjoy today. The atlas is not an illustration; the illustrations are within the body of the text. The Atlas is the proposal of synthetic thought: *“In order any observer can understand and get a technical reason of the history of these transformations”* (Cerdà, 1867: 309) or *“To give a graphical notion of we call typical urbanization of Hispanic-American cities, we copy in the atlas (Plate III, Figure 2) a sample that, with slight modifications imposed by the various topographies, it equally fits to all big*

²³ The idea to collect and synthesize images a theoretical proposal will be developed by Alphand (1867-1873) showing the progress of the hazzmanizationb of Paris and later in a key document, by Aby Warburg in his Mnemosyne Atlas.



Figure 14. Barcelona. Braun and Hogenberg, 1572

cities founded in Central and South America by the Spanish, a system that has also been followed in the North". (Cerdà, 1867: 189)

That is the big difference with previous experiences from the *Cosmographies* by Sebastian Münster (1564), through the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) by Abraham Ortelius and to the *Orbis Civitates Terrarum* (1572 -1617) by Braun and Hogenberg. These authors and many that will follow are located in *vedutta* position of the city, away, away, in an elevated position. The analysis involved in these works relates more to the detail of the representation than to the visual translation of the analytical results of study and research. Maybe Piranesi is different.

Finally we would consider that "real" is not there to certify the theory. On the contrary, theory, as an abstract elaboration of the real, is required to be able to guide its transformations. Otherwise it is not useful. Hence the importance of proceeding with different theoretical approaches: from the particular theory related to the project (Cerdà, 1859) to the general theory (Cerdà, 1867) that can not forget that due to its high degree of abstraction and generalization can not be "applied" in the project but "reconstructed" as a particular theory for a specific project.

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EXHIBITIONS AS SURVEYS: ITALIAN MODERNISM AND VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

MICHELANGELO SABATINO

Little research about the scope and diversity of the vernacular building traditions across the various regions of Italy was produced until the first decades of the Twentieth Century. (Sabatino, 2010) The *Mostra di etnografia italiana* (Exhibition of Italian Ethnography) was mounted in 1911 in conjunction with other exhibitions celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Italian republic (Piantoni, 1980). Curated by ethnographer Lamberto Loria, the *Exhibition of Italian Ethnography* focused on regional traditions (buildings and material culture) in a strategic effort to cultivate national identity. Although Loria intended for the 1911 installation to become a permanent museum of the Italian peasantry (inspired by Artur Hazelius's open-air Skansen museum in Stockholm established in 1891), when the *Exhibition of Italian Ethnography* closed, the buildings were demolished (Puccini, 2005). Loria's premature death delayed plans for the National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions that was eventually opened in Rome in 1947 (Massari, 2004).

Yet another exhibition revolving around the vernacular tradition was organized for the 1911 celebrations by Italian artist and artisan Duilio Cambellotti: his *Mostra delle scuole dell'Agro Romano* (Exhibition of the Roman Agro Schools) was concerned with portraying the living conditions of the disenfranchised



Figure 1. Galileo Chini, Poster, *Rome 1911 – Ethnographic Exhibition*

rural poor of the Roman countryside (Bonasegale, 2000). In this context, Cambellotti and his collaborators assembled a number of large reed huts typical of the Roman countryside and outfitted them with household objects (mainly ceramics) designed by Cambellotti, such as tableware and vases decorated with sheaves of wheat. Not an ethnographer like Loria, who commissioned the architect and engineers Augusto Giustini and Angelo Guazzaroni to re-design typical vernacular buildings for the *Exhibition of Italian Ethnography*, Cambellotti designed everything himself, stressing both the aesthetic and the mundane qualities of peasant life. Cambellotti was shaped by his reading of Leo Tolstoy's *What is Art?* (1897) and his exhibition was essentially a political project to promote education in the Latium region of Italy, where the poorest of peasants remained basically illiterate. Despite their different approaches, it is significant for the history of Italian culture in general, and for architectural exhibitions in particular, that both Loria and Cambellotti drew heavily upon the evidence of Italy's rural vernacular heritage that had long been overshadowed by the classical tradition.

The first architect-organized exhibition of Italian vernacular buildings focused on a more restricted audience of professional practitioners in comparison to general visitors to the 1911 *Exhibition of Italian Ethnography*. Mounted in Rome by Marcello Piacentini, Gustavo Giovannoni, and Plinio Marconi, the *Mostra dell'arte rustica* (Exhibition of Rustic Art) of 1921 juxtaposed a scattering of architect's drawings of extant vernacular buildings with a selection of designs for contemporary houses that drew inspiration from them (Maraini, 1921). The scheme for this modest-sized exhibition hosted in the *Palazzo delle esposizioni* on Via Nazionale hinted at the relevance of the vernacular tradition for design practice. Just prior to the exhibition opening, Giovannoni started planning housing estates at Garbatella and Aniene in Rome (both begun in 1920), replete with meandering streets and rustic buildings adorned with rustic accents and pitched roofs with terracotta tiles. Giovannoni was not interested in the reed



Figure 2. Period photograph, *Exhibition of Rustic Art*, Rome, 1921

huts of the disenfranchised peasantry. Instead, his design agenda focused on the vernacular urban forms of the extant “minor architecture” of the hill towns of the Latium region in which Rome was located (Romana Stabile, 2001).

Giuseppe Pagano and Werner Daniel’s Milan Triennale exhibition *Architettura rurale italiana: Funzionalità della casa rurale* (Rural Italian Architecture: Functionality of the Rural House) inaugurated in 1936, reacted to the rustic appeal of Giovannoni’s Garbatella and Aniene (Pagano and Daniel, 1936). Trained as an architect alongside engineers, Pagano sought to understand the way the vernacular tradition had responded over time to human needs. For Pagano, stylistic concerns were completely subordinated to his modernist architectural project. Unlike Giovannoni’s picturesque rendition of rusticity, Pagano was interested in the rational, functionalist attitude of Italian rural builders. Like the *Exhibition of Rustic Art* in 1921 his exhibition for the Triennale sought to derive operative principles from extant vernacular that could be applied to



Figure 3. Period photograph, Exhibition, *Rural Italian Architecture: Functionality of the Rural House*, Triennale, Milan, 1936

contemporary practice. Unlike the exhibition in Rome that relied heavily upon hand drawing as a medium for documenting vernacular buildings, Pagano turned to black and white photographic documentation, which reinforced his rationalist and “objective” approach.

Staged four years after the *Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution* (1932), Pagano and Daniel's exhibition opened in the same year Italy invaded Ethiopia. The exhibition and accompanying catalogue were prepared since 1935, in the shadow of this pivotal military campaign that represented a turning point in expansionistic Fascist politics and ultimately led to an alliance between Mussolini and Hitler with the signing of the Iron Pact in 1938. A Fascist on the left who promoted socialist reform from within the nationalistic agenda of the Fascist party, Pagano opposed bombastic classicizing architecture under Fascism realized in the name of “*Italianità*” (Italianess). Pagano viewed the tectonic and material simplicity of the vernacular (not its picturesque simulation) as a potential new impetus in

a modernist design that did not abandon traditional values grounded in Italy's agrarian past. Pagano and Daniel's central interest lay in recasting preindustrial vernacular buildings as a source for Italian rationalist architecture. To this end, the medium of black and white photography along with understated yet insightful display tactics were all deployed to expose the Triennale public to a wide range of vernacular architecture from Italy's different regions. The intent was to foster awareness of and appreciation for a little understood and up to then barely studied aspect of the built environment. Interest in the vernacular had been on the rise since Loria's and Cambellotti's exhibitions of 1911, but the operative and polemical dimension Pagano brought to the documentation of vernacular architectural forms was indeed unprecedented if one excludes the *Exhibition of Rustic Art* held in Rome in 1921.

Although exhibitions offered visual stimuli to debate, publications helped reach and educate a broader audience. The first comprehensive survey of vernacular architecture of the Italian peninsula was *L'architettura rusticana nell'arte italiana* [Rustic Art in Italian Architecture] published by Giulio Ferrari in 1925, a few years after Giovannoni, Piacentini, and Marconi's exhibition. Ferrari's book was distinguished by the breadth of material it covered and incorporated a number of photos and drawings mainly executed by the author. Commenting on pioneering studies of the vernacular tradition some fifteen years later, Giovannoni wrote that Ferrari's book was "the most extensive and well-known" on the subject. Departing from the approach taken by most authors who typically treated individual regions, Ferrari traced the Italian vernacular tradition chronologically, subsuming the building types of every region into a single timeline. Departing from Ferrari's chronological approach, Pagano and Daniel's overview of Italian vernacular architecture (published as a catalogue accompanying the Triennale exhibition in 1936) betrays an interest in type rather than chronology. The buildings were presented as "timeless," with Pagano and Daniel ignoring dates and stylistic classifications.



Figure 4. Giuseppe Pagano and Werner Daniel. (1936)
Architettura rurale italiana, Milan: Hoepli editore

While Pagano was certainly not the first to employ photography to document vernacular architecture, he was the first to display the images in the book and exhibition design as he did, in series, in horizontal bands that were reminiscent of strips of film. If early Italian photographers like the Alinari brothers favored classicism and only rarely photographed vernacular buildings, Pagano's black and white photographic survey set a new precedent with its sheer comprehensiveness. Despite his social engagement and the extensive fieldwork involved in a selection process that occasionally included the work of other photographers, Pagano was reluctant to photograph the inhabitants of rural buildings. He rarely even photographed interiors. The air of suspended reality that pervades his photos in which sentimentality is nowhere to be found falls into the "New Objectivity (*Neue-Sachlichkeit*)" documentary approach of Albert Renger-Patzsch and August Sander. None of the vernacular buildings he included in his book were measured or drawn. Pagano may have avoided the sketch in order to discourage picturesque and sentimental readings of the material, but it is curious that

measured engineering drawings were not made in order to explicate structural issues, since engineers and architects in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria made extensive use of these techniques for studies of vernacular buildings published during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Pagano and Daniel (as Adolf Loos before them) were concerned with the anonymous builders' functional response to program, and less interested in the stylistic specificity of Italian vernacular building types, their materials, and the techniques used to construct them. They believed that program constituted a common ground, from which the elements of a rational and modern Italian architectural syntax would emerge – as free of nostalgic references to a picturesque past as it was liberated from the excesses of bombastic classicism. Pagano's vision for a new modern Italian architecture, infused with an ethos of modesty he extracted from rural architectures, shared little with bourgeois nostalgia for rustic living subsumed into designs for luxury villas during the late 19th century and early 20th century. He believed that through the careful study of vernacular sources, conceptually modern systems could be distilled for application in the design of buildings as divergent as luxury villas and multi-family housing, hotels and schools.

In 1931, Pagano completed a weekend house in Rivara, in the Canavese region of the Alps near Turin, in collaboration with Gino Levi-Montalcini (Cagneschi et al, 2012). This project, begun in 1929, seemed to initiate what would become a tendency in Pagano's work, that is, combining basic volumes with vernacular elements and materials in homage to anonymous builders. Although it was conceived as a weekend house (thus implied an upper class status of its clients) Pagano and Levi-Montalcini chose understatement over pomp. This is the same direction of his last completed building in 1942, a little over a decade later and the same year that Pagano abandoned the Fascist party, he completed a small weekend residence in the town of Viggìù outside Milan. When it was published

in *Domus*, a short text by Pagano accompanying plans and photographs of the modest wooden house explained that his design was motivated by the desire for something that was truly just “*una cosa qualunque* (an ordinary thing).” Pagano’s design for the house at Viggiù was based on basic components that could be assembled on site, anchored to a stone foundation. It was constructed predominantly of local wood, and was sheltered by a single inclined large roof plane. To some extent, it reflected an approach that was already evident in the house at Rivara, filtered through the experience of intently studying rural architecture of the Italian countryside in preparation for the Triennale exhibition. In this last building at Viggiù, with the exception of the rusticated podium-like base, Pagano eliminated all of the classical references in plan and elevation.

Consistent with his agenda for his Triennale exhibition on *Rural Italian Architecture* six years earlier, Pagano claimed that the design and realization of the house at Viggiù was modelled on “those houses without pretension that do not offend the landscape,” that is, anonymous vernacular buildings. He stressed his commitment to the legacy of the anonymous builder by means of reinterpreting and offering a new synthesis of the elements of vernacular architecture. Weary of the arbitrary nature of poetics and virtuosity in architecture (insofar as it recalled the “genius” architect of centuries earlier), Pagano patently rejected the “lyricism” of Giuseppe Terragni and other Italian protagonists who combined Rationalism with the poetic dimension of “*Mediterraneità*” (a Mediterranean ideal that brought artists, architects, and literati together over of their common interest in the region’s history as the centre of the classical world) in favour of a straightforward approach (Lejeune and Sabatino, 2010).

With the collapse of the Fascist regime, a new chapter in the history of modern Italy opened which would result, thanks to American funding provided by the Marshall Plan, in a rapid transition from a primarily agrarian to an industrialized society, with the migration of masses from the countryside to cities. When the

Second World War came to an end, a popular referendum was held in 1946 so Italians could choose between a monarchy or republican (democratic) government and they chose the later. This political background enabled a new era for architecture and its audience. For the field of vernacular architecture, the long-awaited opening of the *Museo Nazionale di Arti e Tradizioni Popolari* (National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions) in Rome in 1947, coincided with the resurfacing of several loose strands of the debate over the role of the vernacular tradition in Italian society. The urgent need for new housing stock and the transformation and migration of peasant masses into the new working classes of major industrial cities provided the socio-economic backdrop for the vernacular debate to rekindle intellectual debates in publications and exhibitions and within the domain of practice. During this time, four distinct terms shaped the debate, each of which had a different genesis and its own currency during the overlapping pre-, inter-, and post-war periods: “spontaneous architecture”, “minor architecture”, “organicism” and “neo-realism.”

During the inter-war years, the Fascist regime championed the rhetoric of classicism for public buildings and to a significantly lesser extent, vernacular models for domestic architecture for New Towns and colonies in Africa. As a way of redressing the housing crisis in the post-war period, architects were invited by the new democratic government to design housing estates for the working class under the auspices of the state-sponsored Fanfani Plan (also referred to as the Piano INA-Casa) approved in 1949 and partially financed by the Marshall Plan. Housing estates at Tiburtino and Tuscolano (1950-54) in Rome were developed and built under the auspices of this initiative. A growing enthusiasm for projects on a smaller scale was in large measure also a function of the economic realities of post-war Italy and restrictions that accompanied foreign aid dedicated to rebuilding. Not only did the Fanfani Plan strategically promote low-tech vernacular building approaches over industrialized technologies, it also encouraged the development of small-scale, autonomous communities as “villages.” (Sabatino, 2010)

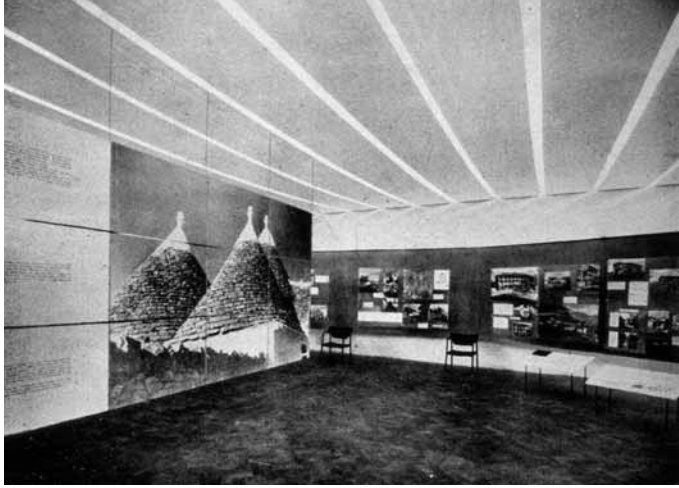


Figure 5. Period photograph, *Exhibition of Spontaneous Architecture*, Triennale, Milan, 1951

It was in this climate that the *Mostra dell'architettura spontanea* (Exhibition of Spontaneous Architecture) was developed for the Milan Triennale in 1951. Curated by architects Franco Albini, Enzo Cerutti, Giancarlo De Carlo, and Giuseppe Samonà working in conjunction with graphic designer Albe Steiner, the exhibition's focus was the urban (and rural) vernaculars characteristic in particular of the historic hill towns of Italy, which were thought to pose a more viable model for contemporary urbanism than the “towers in a park” model. Simultaneously, the Triennale presented a commemorative installation dedicated to architects who perished in the Second World War identified with the rationalist tendency in Italian modernism: Giuseppe Pagano, Edoardo Persico, Giuseppe Terragni, and the critic Raffaello Giolli. The *Exhibition of Spontaneous Architecture* was staged to provide an opportunity for a younger generation of Italian architects trained after the Second World War to engage the legacy of Giuseppe Pagano's beloved rural architecture, which in the aftermath of the war was still charged with the negative associations of a disgraced political regime.

Franco Albini coined the seemingly more neutral term “*architettura spontanea* (spontaneous architecture)” and it instantly generated controversy. Critic Gillo Dorfles complained that it was problematic because all forms of artistic creation could be described as “spontaneous” to a certain extent. Francesco Bono joined the chorus of critics with his essay “*Architettura 'spontanea' o 'popolare'* ('Spontaneous' or 'Popular' Architecture).” Liliana Grassi dedicated an entire chapter of her compendium *Storia e cultura dei monumenti* (History and Culture of Monuments) (1960) to warn against over-romanticizing the vernacular tradition. In organizing the exhibition, Albini and De Carlo engaged new voices that had emerged in the post-war period that were beholden to research begun during the Fascist regime. Art historian Renata Egle Trincanato was invited to contribute photographs from her 1948 book entitled *Venezia minore* (Minor Venice), which revived a term that Gustavo Giovannoni and Marcello Piacentini had popularized in the 1920s. Trincanato however did not subscribe to the nationalist thrust underlying Giovannoni’s concept even though she carried out the research for her book during the height of the Fascist Regime. Art and architecture historian Roberto Pane was also invited to contribute his photographs of “spontaneous” architecture (i.e. *architettura rurale campana*) of southern Italy. Such collaborations reinforced the perception of continuity between pre- and post-war debates on the subject although few scholars of twentieth-century architecture and urbanism in Italy have been reluctant to acknowledge this continuity. Minor architecture as it was recast in the 1950s responded well to the populist sentiment of the time. Pane's 1948 essay “Architecture and Literature” (*Architettura e Letteratura*) lent new currency to the concept by re-dressing the differences between prose and poetry already discussed by Benedetto Croce in a seminal essay of 1930. Whereas Trincanato’s study had refocused attention to the “minor architecture” of Venice as an alternative to architect-designed buildings, Bruno Zevi fuelled a debate about “organic” architecture in Italy, at times in agreement with, and at other times in opposition to the vernacular, which also impacted the phenomenon of “neo-realism” in film and the arts.

The debate over spontaneous architecture coming to terms with their own involvement with the Fascist Regime surfaced in Rome. Critic and historian Bruno Zevi, and other proponents of organic architecture that supported his journal *Metron* and the Association for Organic Architecture (APAO) founded in 1944, spearheaded the Roman debate. Despite his interest in organicism, Zevi resisted endorsing vernacular, perhaps because of its perceived vulnerability to ideological manipulation. Even though Frank Lloyd Wright was interested in vernacular architecture and Wright was Zevi's guiding light, the Italian critic's definition of organic architecture downplayed the vernacular. Quite revealing of his idiosyncratic interpretation of organic architecture is the fact that, when in an interview a couple years before his death, Zevi was asked which Italian architecture of the 1920s and 1930s best exemplified the principles of organic architecture, he cited the Villa Oro (1934–36) on the outskirts of Naples by Viennese émigré Bernard Rudofsky and Luigi Cosenza. Zevi identified the Villa Oro as organic architecture despite the fact that the Villa Oro combines cues from Rationalism and the vernacular tradition.

What was of greatest concern to Zevi, was the risk that the appropriation of vernacular models could lead to nostalgia, which he flatly condemned. Thus his cautious support for neo-realist organicism was motivated by its insistence on the model of rural and hill-town vernacular forms. The Tiburtino village in Rome (1950–54) by Mario Ridolfi and Ludovico Quaroni was the most significant experiment with vernacular sources in post-war neo-realist Italian architecture. While Zevi praised Pagano's contribution and the 1936 exhibition along with that of Ludovico Quaroni, designer of the Villa at Porto Santo Stefano of 1938 and Mario Ridolfi's 1940 project for an agricultural concern at Santi'Elia Fiumerapido, he also realized with the hindsight of someone who had survived Fascism that nostalgia had been the province of many Fascist architects who didn't know how to distinguish between imitation and transformation. Zevi did make exceptions, as did Pagano, for experiments involving modernized

rural architectural typologies, such as the *casa colonica* (cottage). He hailed Pier Luigi Giordani's book *I contadini e l'urbanistica* (Peasants and Urban Planning) of 1958 as an important contribution to the understanding of the history of "spontaneous planning" by peasants in rural Italy – as Robert Pane had drawn attention to the "peasant architect" years earlier. Before the publication of this book, Zevi featured a number of Giordani's essays on the built environment of the farming communities along the Po River valley in the journal he edited *L'architettura – cronache e storia*. Combining research with practice, Giordani designed a number of rural hamlets and towns in the Po River valley region.

Perhaps Zevi's interest in organic architecture as a reaction to Classicism led to a shared interest in the Garden City that received renewed attention during those years thanks to the publication of an Italian translation of Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, accompanied by a in-depth analysis by Giordani. This interest in "basic" or "simple" rural architecture (and not in the appropriation of "rusticity") probably informed Zevi's contribution, alongside Mario Ridolfi and Pier Luigi Nervi, to *Il manuale dell'architetto* (*The Architect's Manual*) (1946). This do-it-yourself manual influenced by American pragmatism was produced under the aegis of the *Consiglio Nazionale della Ricerca* (CNR) and the United States Information Agency (USIA). Mario Fiorentino and Adalberto Libera, both of whom engaged in the rational appropriation of vernacular forms during the interwar years, were also involved in the production of the manual, which sought to merge Italian know-how with a straightforwardness of the *Architectural Graphic Standards* published for the first time in 1932 in the United States. The *Manuale* was designed to provide guidance to amateur builders and artisans involved with new housing after the war, when architects could not meet the overwhelming demands of the time. The *Manuale* was perhaps one of the most interesting postwar experiments in disseminating knowledge about building, insofar as the authors demonstrated the degree to which extant vernacular could be employed as a design model in semi-urban and rural realities. Especially

significant is the chapter dedicated to “*costruzioni rurali* (rural buildings),” presenting a brief history as well as an explanation of contemporary use.

Back in Milan where his architecture practice was based, the *Exhibition of Spontaneous Architecture* was an auspicious start for the young De Carlo even though it did not receive full endorsement from all parties, especially those in Rome. His early introduction to extant vernacular sources as a student of Pagano allowed him to steer clear of classical architecture, which was in disrepute. It was only a short time before this renewed interest led to the discovery that extant “rural architecture” and “minor architecture” of the medieval hill towns of central and southern Italy shared much in common in terms of “anonymity.” Following the completion of his first housing estate in Matera (Spine Bianche, 1956-57) with which he explored his own brand of neorealist architecture with an exposed concrete structure, pitched roof and simple massing, De Carlo began to work as consulting architect for the University of Urbino (Rossi, 1988). It is there that he took on the challenge that lasted several decades to integrate vernacular building approaches with a contemporary design program. The semi-circular crescent housing for University employees (1955) in brick and terracotta tiles followed by his terraced *Collegio del Colle* (1965) are De Carlo’s first important realizations in Urbino under the tenure of the Catholic intellectual and rector Carlo Bo.

During the years De Carlo was building on the premises of his *Spontaneous Architecture Exhibition* many architects and urban designers were turning to the study of “minor urbanism.” Unlike Renaissance architecture and urban design initiatives, the domestic fabric of Italian hill towns was rarely “designed” by professional architects, and was instead often the work of local builders. Because of its irregular topography, the hill-town not only generated but absorbed “spontaneous” forms that adapted to the site while integrating into the extant urban fabric. De Carlo’s student housing villages simultaneously embraced and

facilitated communal student life by looking to the specific topographic asset of Urbino and by using the Italian hill town as an urban model.

Perhaps no other Italian university “campus” designed during the twentieth century has received such positive endorsement from the international community. What made De Carlo’s colleges so interesting to outside observers is that they were modernist and respectful of the historically charged landscape in which they were located. De Carlo’s *Exhibition of Spontaneous Architecture* and subsequent designs based on its premises is especially important if one considers his role in the moribund CIAM, and his contribution to Team X as they offered less formulaic responses to modern planning models. Many of the younger generation of architects like Aldo Van Eyck and Peter and Alison Smithson would eventually join De Carlo in the ILA & UD (International Laboratory of Architecture & Urban Design) which was conceived as a design charrette for Urbino. During those years De Carlo was the only Italian architect who continued to respect the legacy of Pagano who celebrated the virtues of the anonymous builder as an important sounding board for the architect as designer. In an unprecedented move, De Carlo installed a commemorative plaque that bears testimony to the fundamental contribution of local mason to the realization of the Colleges in Urbino: “Astolfo Sartori. Master builder has participated in the building of these university colleges from 1965 to 1987.” This plaque also attests to De Carlo’s commitment to blurring the line between architecture and building - something that in no small part due to his appreciation for “participation architecture.” Rather than simply appropriate vernacular models, De Carlo actually brought the end users into the design process. By combining exhibition design and research with professional practice, De Carlo facilitated a fertile dialogue between the vernacular tradition and modernism in Italy that finds parallels during those years among Portuguese architects who were also struggling with a number of similar issues, as they diligently compiled the Survey on Popular Architecture in Portugal first published in 1961.

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SPECIFIC ARCHITECTURE ROOTED IN THE COUNTRY. SURVEY ON VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

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Lake Balaton

After the failed revolution in 1956 the old-new socialist government in Hungary had to stabilise its power. In the spirit of détente they intended to raise living standards, let people more privacy and at the same time open toward the West. The main target of home and international tourism development was Lake Balaton – the largest lake in Central-Europe – which was popular as a resort place already in the first part of the 20th century. In the history of the lake the Second World War was followed by a period of decline: the private hotels and villas were socialised, and soon the situation was characterised by a lack of maintenance and occasional unregulated developments. A radical change began when the Managing Committee of Lake Balaton (BIB) was re-established¹ under the supervision of the National Tourism Board in March 1957. This meant that all developments concerning the lake were concentrated and had a direct access to central financial resources. The BIB's responsibility covered everything concerning the development around the lake: from managing infrastructural, building and landscaping plans, through legislation up to the surveying the

¹ The Managing Committee of Lake Balaton [*Balatoni Intéző Bizottság, BIB*] was originally founded in 1929 but was abandoned in 1949.

attendance data of resort places. The BIB involved professional associations from all the attached fields, among them also the Association of Hungarian Architects. To manage the project a chief architect was appointed, whose office, the Balaton Construction Management belonged to the Ministry of Building Affairs.² Finance, organisation and professional knowledge was concentrated, the government and the Socialist Workers Party expected quick results.

Survey on vernacular architecture

The architectural preferences for the development around the Balaton had been defined already before the BIB was re-established. The architect, who later was responsible for the project at the Ministry, summarised two main tasks in his early proposal. Firstly that facilities and characteristics which make attractive the Balaton as a resort place should be preserved and developed. He listed as such the press houses, manor houses and ruins from the middle ages, all evaluated as *'prime representatives of the cultural landscape at the Balaton. It is obvious that architects' role is important in prevention, organisation and implementation'* – he emphasised. (Kislégghi Nagy, 1957: 51) A few paragraphs later he repeated the importance of the former and added vernacular architecture to the list. He mentioned only secondly that the appropriate circumstances for recreation, including summer cottages and new facilities for holiday makers and excursionists should be created.

As soon as the institution of the Balaton Construction Management was established the chief architects published their program. They summarised the main steps of implementation in eleven points. The tasks included mainly infrastructural questions, planning and design problems and the protection of natural environment. The last point referred to the monuments.

²The chief architect was Tibor Farkas. He got this job after he had led the task force for the reconstruction of the flood damage in southern Hungary in 1956 with success. He shared the job with two chief engineers both selected from his former staff. Károly Polónyi was responsible for the south shore, István Bérczes for the north.

Although they need much less money than the above mentioned tasks, conservation and maintenance of the architectural heritage around the Lake Balaton should be mentioned among the most needed ones. The state of our monuments is getting worse year by year, so that we may lose our most important cultural values. (Farkas et al., 1957: 112)

The survey on the listed fields began in the summer of 1957 including the survey on the built heritage. It covered two main areas: the first project included the settlements around the lake within a 3 km distance from the water (Galambos, et al., 1958), while the second covered the northern bordering area, the so-called Balaton-highlands (VÁTI, 1958).³ Due to tight deadlines the research groups spent only one or two days of fieldwork on each settlement, and made a list on the architectural values. The items were classified according to their importance as a monument or as an element of the streetscape, and were followed with a short description. The first survey covered 40, the second 38 settlements. Neither of the surveys included the full documentation of the valuable houses – the most important monuments of the region had already been documented – but the new survey was accompanied with plenty of photos. The main findings of these works were the maps, which indicated all the processed settlements and buildings, referring to their functions and building periods.

The novelty of this inventory was that it included also vernacular architecture, though it was not an accurate collection and documentation of these houses, as it was expounded also in the research report. *‘We have to make it clear, that the aim of this survey didn’t include the collection and documentation of vernacular architecture.’* (VÁTI, 1958: 3) However if we take a look at the maps the many icons referring on vernacular architecture show the rich heritage of the territory

³ Both surveys were delivered by the state design office VÁTI, *Városépítési Tervező Vállalat* [Urban Design Company] under the surveillance of the same experts in monuments preservation. Now only the second research report (VÁTI, 1957) and research material (VÁTI, 1958) are accessible in the archive of the National Office of Cultural Heritage.



Figure 1. Peasant house, Mindszentkál, Fő utca 83. (VÁTI, 1958, N° 129. 213)

in this respect. The increased importance of vernacular built heritage is mirrored also in the building regulations announced in the report, which protected the vernacular streetscapes just as strictly as the townscapes or natural green spaces. The official protection of vernacular architecture – after some rare exceptions – was realised in the Balaton regional plan first.

The report on the survey on the Balaton-highlands contained also a brief proposal on how to protect the vernacular built heritage. Beyond the standard criteria of monuments preservation the authors included a paragraph into the text with clear suggestions how to deal with new developments.

We shouldn't exclude new building initiatives in such streets [with rich vernacular built heritage], but we have to orientate and help people with showing exemplary old buildings as models. We have to show and explain the works of good taste; this is the proper way to defend us against bad taste.
(VÁTI, 1957)

The report also proposed to complete the survey with the detailed documentation of the vernacular monuments of the region and to publish the material for a wider public and the profession both.

To explore the values inherent in vernacular architecture it would be desirable to edit different kind of publications – illustrated with drawings and images – presenting the characteristic buildings of the Balaton region, for the first time. It may be either an attractive book made for the wider public or the dissemination of the plans in the form of reprints. (VÁTI, 1957)

The authors didn't expound in detail how to use the vernacular architectural collection as a source: whether it should be a model, or an inspiration for architectural details and building materials. Its significance lied in the initiative to propose vernacular heritage as a basis for the present.⁴ To sum up: the inclusion of a survey on built cultural heritage into a regional development plan was a new initiative especially because the vernacular architecture was integrated into the group of monuments. Both researchers and officials took important the preservation of this heritage as a cultural value, which enhances the power of the region as a touristic destination. However the use of the collected material as a source for contemporary architecture was formulated only in an unpublished research report.

Summer cottages

The surveys on built heritage listed all kinds of monuments – strongholds, churches, bridges, chateaus, country and peasant houses, barns and granaries – but the majority of the items, especially in the Balaton-highlands belonged to peasant houses. This allows the assumption, that if the built heritage of

⁴ The first book on the Balaton-highlands vernacular architecture was edited only decades later (H. Csukás, 1986).

the region had had any impact on the new constructions it would have been appeared in summer cottages. Private weekend houses were never excluded from the development plan supported by the architects, but the opinion of the layman differed from that of the profession. *‘Why couldn’t thousands of families have a small weekend house at the Balaton? Why can’t we change the well-known slogan “stand out to sea, Hungarian” into “stand out to Balaton, Hungarian”?* - expressed a reporter the common desire. (Tatár, 1957) Architects were not so enthusiastic concerning summer cottages, the low level of these buildings, and the lack of relevant building regulations were recurrent theme of professional manifestations.⁵

The number of weekend house construction increased rapidly, so the Ministry of Building Affairs – together with the Association of Hungarian Architects – announced a design competition on the theme in 1958.⁶

On the one hand the aim of the competition was to gain designs of modern weekend houses, that may serve as a basis for the production of prefabricated elements and houses, easy to assemble. On the other hand its aim was to supply the future builders with economical design packages representing high cultural level. (MÉSZ, 1959: 1)

The sequence of the two types of designs – first prefabricated and second traditional – clearly expressed professional preferences. Practical considerations were emphasised also in the evaluation process, the ‘appearance of the building’ was listed only as the sixth criteria, following the requirement of practical layout, extension possibility or clear structure. The different construction types had a further impact: *‘We appreciated those buildings which expressed materiality. As a*

⁵ The Association of Hungarian Architects organised a voluntary architect-patron system, within which the experts helped the private builders and the municipal councils giving professional advice. The system worked actively between 1957-1958. (Bérczes et al., 1958).

⁶ The competition was successful: 140 entries were submitted. (MÉSZ, 1959: 1).

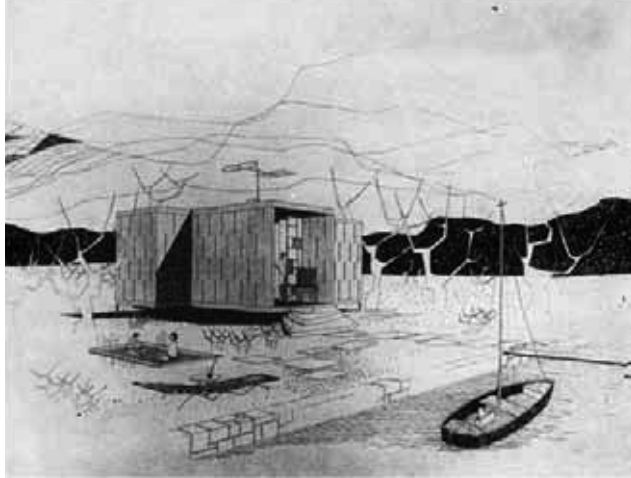


Figure 2. First prize winner entry at the weekend house competition 1958. Architects: Tamás Mandel & Tibor Tenke (Callmeyer, 1960: 25)

result of the different building construction the duality of approaches are the most visible in this respect: romantic and unemotional constructive forms are running parallel. (MÉSZ, 1959: 2) The entries using traditional materials were not only labelled 'romantic', but were accused with individuality, namely that their form was too special, and didn't fit into the row of existing cottages. The reviewer and the contributors to the discussion shared the opinion, that the proper handling of weekend house problem would be the use of prefabricated construction for houses settled in group-form. Though the committee issued two first prizes, one in the traditional and one in the prefabricated section, they appreciated the prefabricated solution most.

The price winning designs were presented in the leading architectural journal a year later (Callmeyer, 1960) and were made accessible for the wider public (potential builders) in the form of a brochure in 1962 (Bánszky & Egressy, 1962). The architectural journal published 10 projects, six of which with a flat roof, representing (in details even emphasising) the prefabricated line. The other



Figure 3. First prize winner entry at the weekend house competition 1958. Architect: Zoltán Farkasdy (Callmeyer, 1960: 24)

four entries stood for the traditional line. The ratio of 6:4 mirrored professional preferences, though the reviewer made it clear right in the introduction, that the majority of the entries used traditional materials. (Callmeyer, 1960: 23) The ‘traditional’ entries were very similar in form: all had a double pitch roof but without side walls, so they looked like a tent. The gables were made of stone, brick or wood, but the roofing material was reed thatch in each case. The article was accompanied with an extra drawing – a group of pitch roof cottages on the beach – an architectural dream of uniform appearance even in case of traditional weekend houses.

The 1962 brochure expressed a slightly changed interpretation of what a traditional house means at the Balaton region. It published 18 designs from the competition entries and divided them into three groups. The houses designed for prefabrication were listed within the second group, while the tent looking, reed thatch roof buildings were ranked into the third one as ‘proposals for special demands’. The most popular designs – *‘which are feasible with traditional*

building methods, with usual building materials, accessible at any resort places and which can be realised with local building firms or masters with simple means, even with home-made methods’ – were listed as first (Bánszky & Egressy, 1962: 17). On the basis of the six designs published under this label the expression ‘traditional building methods’ referred to the masonry, namely that the walls were made of brick or natural stone. Knowing the characteristics of the peasant houses in the region, the published summer cottages had only two elements – if at all – in common: the use of reed thatch and natural stone, both as a building material. As a conclusion, the 1958 architectural competition on weekend houses and its later publications show that the profession didn’t rely consciously on the findings of the survey made on vernacular architecture.

Public buildings

The Balaton regional development project offered a long-awaited opportunity for the profession. It is not surprising that the architects concentrated not on the small summer cottages but on the large public developments.

By the end of 1957 the regional plan draft of Lake Balaton was completed. It grouped the settlements by their intended character, which defined their future development. The first group served mass tourism that is the weekend visitors; the second served hikers, while the third was devoted to international tourism. (Bérczes et al., 1958) However from the 20 investigated settlements only four belonged to the third group, all well-known resorts from the pre-war period. The architects focused on mass tourism, the main task for the upcoming years.

We intend to concentrate the available financial forces on certain points, primary on the supply of weekend visitors, providing them with large and well equipped beaches, catering facilities, shelters and with camping places. We intend to solve the mass accommodation for the increasing number of tourists by different quality camp sites and motels. In the centres of the main resort places we intend to meet functional and aesthetic demands. We plan to design

our buildings with contemporary lightweight construction in accordance with their temporary and leisure nature. (Bérczes et al., 1958: 140)

The realised architectural developments followed the objectives set out above: investments concentrated on beach facilities serving weekend tourism. Architects developed a construction system – simple shelters – adaptable to many different uses, such as buffet, dressing room, store, camp central building etc. The supporting structure consisted of reinforced concrete pillars and beams, which were prefabricated in a workshop during the winter. The basic elements of the structure were one type of pillar and one type of beam, which could be duplicated in various ways. The outer walls were made of rubble, and for the partitions brick or wooden panels were used. The combination of prefabrication and on-site manual work made possible that the completion of the facilities needed only a truck-crane and did not require specialists, but local masters. Simplicity inherent in the construction was interpreted by the designers as an architectural approach relevant to the Hungarian conditions. *‘Simplicity that is equally present in structure and architecture - we think so – means a big step towards the new practice which stands for a contemporary, unsophisticated, architectural approach against the fashionable modernity. It is an emerging practice also here in Hungary being in tune with home realities.’* (Polónyi & Klimov, 1959: 434)

The combination of prefabrication and on-site manual work featured not only the seasonal buildings, but it characterised a number of other buildings built around the lake – restaurants, buffets, shops etc. – during this period. The architects preferred reinforced concrete or steel for construction, but applied also traditional materials, mainly ashlar, sometimes as load bearing walls, sometimes only as cladding for their buildings. The natural stone – grey or red basalt – was a traditional building material on the northern shore of the lake, where it was mined from the mountains of the Balaton-Highlands. It never characterised the vernacular architecture of the plain southern shore, however it was applied all around the lake in the first period of the Balaton-development.

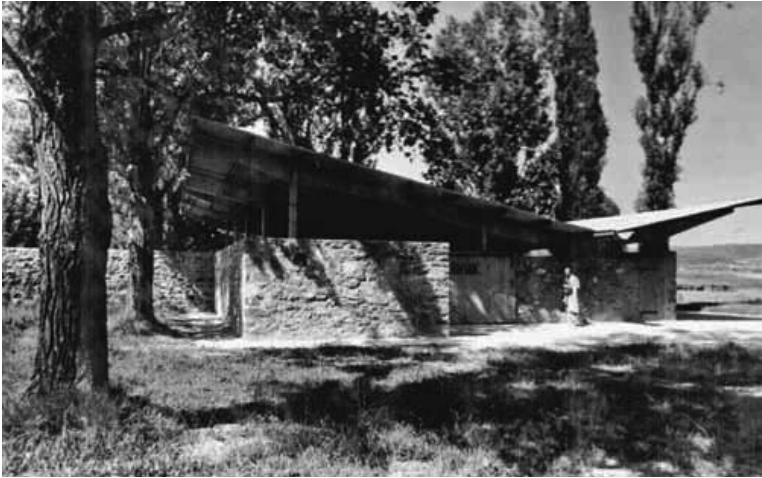


Figure 4. Dressing room on Keszthely beach. (IPARTERV photo archive, N° 3810)

The impressive presence of local natural stone in the architecture might be interpreted as a conscious strive to be in tune with the environment or as a reference to existing vernacular architecture. However in contemporary building reviews we hardly find such intentions. The only exception was a small wine pub, which was not only built from traditional materials, but the architect recognized the intention to fit.

We applied fully local building materials, from reed thatch up to the dark grey basalt. The exceptions are the glass wall of the entrance and the hyperbolic paraboloid frame of the shading canvas above the terrace. The interior is bare brick, resembling the atmosphere of wine cellars. It has an empty roof showing the reed thatch. ... The building tries to become part of the surrounding green, landscaped, mountainous environment. (Callmeyer, 1958: 55)

In all other cases the explanation of architectural form – if at all mentioned – referred to simplicity to be in tune with the natural environment.



Figure 5. Wine pub in Badacsony. Architect: Ferenc Callmeyer. (IPARTERV photo archive, N° 3773)

Why vernacular architecture?

We may conclude that the survey on vernacular architecture of the Balaton region – the first such action considering its project-related nature – didn't have any direct impact on contemporary architecture. However the situation is more complex. More than two decades later the architects who were active in the 1960s recalled this time when *'it was in the air to create a special Hungarian architecture.'* (Zalaváry, 1988: 46) An architect - who explained the longitudinal form of his restaurant that to be in tune with the landscape – evoked his intentions differently later.

I felt that the simple forms and proportions created by light and shadow are those elements which make peasant architecture so attractive and worthy of follow-up. So I used these ancient and cheap means already at that time, and I know it for sure by now, that it can't be a bad job done with these means, resisting to time. (Callmeyer, 1988: 30)

The architect of the seasonal shelters recalled the period also as that was affected by vernacular architecture. *'The composition and construction of the buildings were always very simple, applying commonly used materials in the spirit of vernacular architecture.'* (Polonyi, 1992: 28) Well, Polónyi stressed his intention to evoke 'the spirit of vernacular architecture' differently in Hungary and abroad. He presented the seasonal buildings at the last CIAM conference in Otterlo in 1959, and there he referred to the affect of the local spirit of peasant houses (Polonyi, 1961), but he never expressed the same in Hungary in the 1960s.

The interpretations changing in time can't be explained simply with cheated memory, because 'the spirit of vernacular architecture' was in the air indeed. In 1957 not only the Balaton development gained new impetus, but the monument preservation agency was also reorganised, with a particular emphasis on vernacular architecture. Within the Association of Hungarian Architects the two working groups – one on the Balaton and another on vernacular architecture – were formed parallel, too.⁷ Practicing architects were involved not only into the 1957 survey on the Balaton-region, but they were active in several further surveys on vernacular architecture.⁸ The Balaton development and the reinvention of vernacular architecture were connected also by persons. The 1957 survey on the Balaton-region had many antecedents, made mainly within the frame of the former organization of BIB, active especially in the 1930s. The last book on their findings was written and edited by Kálmán Tóth (Tóth, 1936) who played an active role also later. He was the representative of the Association of Hungarian Architects in the Managing Committee of Lake Balaton, (MÉSZ, 1957b) and he also took part in the design of some new buildings as an architect of the state design office IPARTERV.

Vernacular architecture as a plausible reference point for creating a nation-

⁷ The Balaton working group was formed on April 16. 1957, while the vernacular architecture group on April 23. (MÉSZ, 1957a and MÉSZ 1957b)

⁸ According to the documents practicing architects participated in surveys in 1958, 1960 and in 1964. (MÉSZ, 1958 & MÉSZ, 1960 & IPARTERV, 1964)

bound architecture re-emerged in the theoretical debates around 1960, too. The posts focused on the relationship between modern architecture and tradition. The opinions were different, but if the contributors accepted the importance of tradition at all, they interpreted it as vernacular architecture. In terms of tourism vernacular heritage was also determining. When searching for the main features of Hungarian architecture as a tourist attraction the author (responsible for the Balaton project at the Ministry of Building Affairs) summarised them as follows.

We think of the thousands of peasant houses with porch, or the hundreds of small medieval village churches, when searching for the specific examples of our architecture. ... Maybe they don't belong to the high architecture but they are still valuable, mature structures. ... It is not applied art, neither sculpture, but a clear and specific architecture rooted in the country. (Kisléghi Nagy, 1961: 179)

Despite the fact, that the spirit of vernacular architecture was present in Hungary after 1957 it didn't have an overall effect on contemporary works. Even those architects, who used some elements of the vernacular (or regional) architecture in their design denied or didn't mention it. After the forced historicism of the so-called socialist realism intermezzo during the 1950s Hungarian architects returned to modern architecture with enthusiasm. They wanted to make up for what they have missed. 1960 onwards politics also changed the development concept of the lake for fully equipped large hotels settled along high density resort places. This new image of the Balaton – the Hungarian Riviera – was attractive for architects, too as a new technical challenge to build higher and larger complexes. They also adapted themselves to the changing situation, namely that politics – due to the lack of financial background for building summer cottages in group-form – accepted the growing private weekend house constructions. The Association of Hungarian Architects which sent volunteers to help the builders to increase the quality in 1957, by 1960 accepted the

proposal of the chief architect that only a given circle of architects should have a permission to design around the Balaton. (MÉSZ, 1960)

Leading architects dismissed the idea of the 'specific architecture rooted in the country', but it soon re-emerged in the romantic form of the 'tcharda', the Hungarian inn – a false tradition for consumption.

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THE SURVEY AS A KNOWLEDGE PROCESS, RESEARCH AS A CRITIC TOOL

ANA TOSTÕES

The mid-1950's were a moment of critical thought and operative action contributing for the affirmation of what one may call in a disciplinary way Portuguese architectural culture (Tostões, 2002). In fact, the search for local references would give rise to a critical regionalist awareness referenced to the revelation of Popular Architecture through the Survey on Regional Architecture in Portugal (1955) research project. If this attitude revealed the conflicts and crisis the Modern Movement was going through in the international context namely within the most recent *CIAM* discussion platforms, it marked in Portugal a retrieval of the integrating sense that seems to constitute a constant in Portuguese architecture as G. Kubler remarked (Kubler, 1972). Indeed, the questions of building tradition, modernity and regionalism traversed the conscience of diverse architects, raising once more the question of the Casa Portuguesa¹ [Portuguese house] in a somewhat hegemonic way since the beginning of the century.

As a result of his built work, Keil do Amaral (1910-1975) had already highlighted important new elements, divulging the Dutch architecture of Dudock and

¹ See the contribution and discussion on the issue developed by João Leal (2000; 2011).

proposing, in 1947, “Uma iniciativa necessária” (Amaral, 1947), that look into popular architecture in searching for an authentic architecture removed from all eclecticism and styles and identifying with its own roots. Januário Godinho (1910-1990) had also been developing an approximation strongly contextualised on the location and the natural environment and revealed considerable knowledge of the traditional methods and materials. The series of Hostels he designed in the Serra de Gerês for HICA and other industrial or social facilities revealed a sensitivity to the rusticity of the landscape and announced an open process of contextualisation (see Tostões, 1997). Without rejecting modernity or the vanguard contributions, Fernando Távora (1923-2005) searched for authenticity putting together history and Project, searching for the overcome of the *Problem of Casa Portuguesa* (Távora, 1947). Since the late 1940’s, also Nuno Teotónio Pereira (1922-) had been carrying out his own innovative conceptual research in line with these questions, working, in the Igreja de Águas, on a process of formal investigation, which, coming out from orthodox functionalism, deliberately searched for a new understanding of the space as a significant social and cultural value (Pereira, 1996; Tostões, 2004).

1. A modern movement Survey on Regional Architecture in Portugal?

The conduction of the Survey on Regional Architecture in Portugal was to be of major cultural and political importance in this context of resistance to both the official conservatism and the schematism of the International Style. More than a simple inventory of forms and building techniques, it proposed a closer relationship with the place, the forms of settlement and the forms of life reflected in the appropriation of the space. As a project of investigation and cultural integration, it played a decisive role contributing to face a culturalist architectural language repositioned between faithfulness to the Modern Movement and the compromise with reality (França, 1974).

Following “Uma Iniciativa Necessária” the inquiry questions emerged formulated under the scope of the Modern Movement architecture assumptions



Figure 1. Igreja Paroquial de Águas, Águas, Penamacor, 1949-1957. The new church between the old one and Megre's family house.

(in Tostões, Ana (2004) (ed.). *Arquitectura e Cidadania: Atelier Nuno Teotónio Pereira*. Lisboa: Quimera Editores)

namely concerned with: 1) Existenzminimum research and spatial organization concept; the popular house is envisaged as a house typology lab; 2) Less is more axiom is applied to unveil minimum resources, scarcity and depuration; 3) The search for platonic and pure geometries as an inspiring plastic value; 4) Brutal and rough textures related in order to unveil density connected with the character of craftsmanship materials; 5) Anthropologic space analyses; 6) Political ideological consciousness about the rural way of life poverty and primitivism; 7) The architecture envisaged as a social condenser following Le Corbusier “architecture and revolution” proposing better living conditions.²

In fact, during the survey period architect's incrementally changing attitude from his earlier rejection of the question of the *Casa Portuguesa* to his subsequent

² The Last CIAM's, *Rassegna* 1992, no. 52, December, special issue with contributions by J. Bosman, J. C. Bürkle, G. De Carlo, J. L. Cohen, R. Landau, W. Oechslin, C. Olmo, A. Oosterman and R. Dettingmeijer, S. Protasoni and F. Strauven; *Docomomo Journal*, n. 42, 2010.

rejection of instrumentalized modernism as it has been envisaged also across other countries, whether in the rest of Europe or on the east coast of the USA. While Távora's intellectual transformation might be characterized as a retreat by the younger generation of Portuguese architects, it will no doubt prove in some years to come as a culturally consistent insight into the failures of modernity (Bandeirinha, 2012).

The Survey stands as the basis of a mature cycle of the Portuguese architecture (Tostões, 2013) starting during the latest 50's and connecting the identity which individual pieces of architecture were able to establish varied: each piece of architecture may therefore be read in terms of the position it establishes vis-à-vis the notion of physical, immediate context, or vis-à-vis cultural, indeed national context.

As paradoxically, the aesthetic component of modernism implied the creation of uniform surfaces, the application of few materials and colors, the composition with geometrically pure forms, in other words, a formal discipline that stood in contrast to the desire for the freedom of individual expression.

2. The setting-out of architectural theory

In 1961 the publication of *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (AA/VV, 1961), which spread out the Survey, fixed the memory of a territory and way of building. It was the hinge between these two worlds, in which abstract rationalism was seen realistically in the vernacular enabling one to overcome the local versus international dichotomy. It has been the symbolical marking of the process of coming to terms with modernity. It meant the opening up of Portuguese architecture to the future and to the possibility of contemporaneity. At this point, research on architecture practice and theory became an academic subject integrating CODA's project. This was the case of the final architectural education project conducted by the pioneers researchers and professionals Pedro Vieira de Almeida (1933-2011) and Nuno Portas (1934-) at ESBAP as it proposed a close interaction between practice and theory, between scholarship and architectural



Figure 2. *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* book cover (in AA/VV (2004). *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*. 4th edition. Lisboa: Ordem dos Arquitectos)

design, therefore aiming to bring up a maturity stage on Portuguese architectural culture.

Pedro Vieira de Almeida analysed the philosophic and existential problematic of the architectonic space, presenting in 1963 an “Essay on Architectural Space”.³ He also addressed themes relate with the space and architectural output from outside the specific territory of the profession.

Nuno Portas *CODA's* was a research on the “Social Housing, proposal for its architectural methodology”⁴ that opened a new page on Portuguese architecture critic (Grande, 2012).

Parallel to this, from 1956 onwards a young generation of architects born in the 1930's (Frederico Sant'Ana, Carlos Duarte, Hestnes Ferreira, to name but a few), who were joined by the brilliant, knowledgeable and intelligent

³ Published in *Arquitectura*, Lisboa, 3^a série, nº 79, 80, 81, respectively July, December 1963; March 1964.

⁴ Published in *RA – Revista da Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto*, 1992.

critic Pedro Vieira de Almeida or Nuno Portas, ushered in a new phase for *Arquitectura* magazine, publishing and exercising criticism and divulging the roots of the Modern Movement in a perspective of culturalist and historical reflection (Tostões, 1997).

The gradual assumption of responsibility on the part of architects as transformers of society was to be reflected in several articles throughout the 60's. Here, due to its critical power and continuity, one must highlight the work of Nuno Portas, which was not limited to *Arquitectura* magazine. He spread his activity to the *Jornal de Letras e Artes*, where he began writing his chronicle (Portas, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964) "Pioneiros de uma Renovação" (Pioneers of a Renewal). During the 1960's Nuno Portas extended his thoughts to larger-scale works: in *Arquitectura para Hoje* (Portas, 1964) and, above all, *A Cidade como Arquitectura* (Portas, 1969) he distanced himself from the Modern Movement and the tendency to overvalue languages and creatorships, initially proposing a qualified "serial" architecture in democratic city. The veteran Keil do Amaral also reflected somewhat more bitterly on the significance of the new times in *Lisboa, Uma Cidade em Transformação* (Amaral, 1969). In the context of the LNEC (National Civil Engineering Laboratory), investigation also received strong and decisive impulses.

3. A mature architectural production made with pride and without prejudice

One may say that some of the most impressive buildings owe their inceptions to a knowledgeable recourse to a disappearing tradition such as Raul Lino's *Casa Montsalvat* in Estoril (1902) or his *Casa do Cipreste* in Sintra (1907-13), or to the graduated transition between pre-existing and new orders as in Januário Godinho's *Edifício da UEP* in Porto (1953).

In fact, the reflection imposed by the Survey and the national and international contexts in these years defined a hinge phase integrating a process of adaptation of the national output to international contemporaneity.

Following the "third way" opened by Keil (Tostões, 1999) and its generation,

Távora in the *Santa Maria da Feira Market* gave an example of modern, abstracted tectonic forms that established a connection to the local traditions by using local materials: roof tiles as in the surrounding houses, slate and marble that had been common for the market stalls, blue and white *azuleijos*, and a granite base. As Távora put it: “mythified architecture, the untouchable white virgin, turned into a manifestation of life (...) and the myth became undone. And between the masterpiece and the cottage [he saw] that there were relations like those [he knew] existed between the bricklayer (or any other man) and the architect” (Távora, 1964).

A spiritual heir of Távora’s, the promising Álvaro Siza (1933-) retrieved the theme of the historic vanguards and relaunched, in a somewhat unexpected way, the use of traditional materials in his desire to reconcile the intellectual with the sensual and sensorial. Concern with the context led to an open design method that valued the potentials of the existing morphology: *Houses in Matosinhos*, 1954; *Boa Nova Tea House*, 1958-64; *Quinta da Conceição Swimming Pool*, 1956 (Fernandez, 1988). These works announced an intuitively sensitive architect who masterfully established non-conflicting relations between the old site and the architectural creation, thus renewing the dialogue between the new and the already existing.

In Lisbon, where the Lisbon School continued its academic training, Nuno Teotónio’s firm tendentially positioned itself as a counter power. From the late 1950’s, already with the presence of Nuno Portas, the firm functioned as the most important space for debate, with irreversible consequences of the later generations passing through it at some stage: Pedro Vieira de Almeida (1933-2011), Vítor Figueiredo (1929-2004), Gonçalo Byrne (1941-), Reis Cabrita (1942-) and Pedro Botelho (1948-), to name only a few. Without ever adhering ideologically to functionalism, and rejecting the simplistic codification of the Modern Movement, Teotónio Pereira is an indisputable reference for understanding the paths of modern Portuguese architecture. One only has to call to mind the house in Vila Viçosa (co-designed with Nuno Portas) as a “test/

paradigm”. The concerns with the urban context, with the use and usufruct of the spaces, with reflection and subversion of the programmes revealed an architect that could work in a team, as confirmed in the admirable *Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*. Expressively heralding in the new decade of the 1960’s, it was the opportunity to leave a definitive mark that was more than just a new image in religious building in Portugal, it was a new concept of urban life.

The 1960’s were also a period of resistance characterised by an erudite auteur architecture concentrating in particular on works of “artisanal” dimension and research. The work of Teotónio Pereira’s firm, which included Nuno Portas, remained a reference (Tostões, 2004). It developed a methodology based on problematic encounter of the relations between the civic dimension and the urban scale of the architectural fact, prolonging and confirming a critical practice that originated in the 1950’s. The experimental rigour based on an artisanal practice allowed the firm to develop a personal language, which, together with the cultural activity and open team work, contributed to the consolidation of formal investigation. At this stage, the *Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*, the *Sassoeiros Monastery* and the *Almada Church* were being completed. They introduced alterations to the liturgy at the same time as enhancing and integrating the urban space.

The principle of paying respect to place and people therefore finds a variety of design responses in the second half of the 20th century in Portugal that are not subject to the reductive rationalism of modernist architectural principles. Francisco Keil do Amaral’s initiative to study the true roots of Portuguese vernacular architecture, culminating in the *Survey on Popular Architecture in Portugal*, as a “third way” united modernist principles with southern European plain architecture. Mediterranean cubism was transformed into an abstracted vernacular. The “third way” (Tostões, 2013) thus built a bridge between the radical purism of the more northern Europe and the specific climatic and constructional needs of Portugal.

The prolific production of large housing schemes, villas, schools and minor

public buildings during this period demonstrates a remarkable level of demand. Paralleling similar searches in central and northern Europe of the 50's, architects in Portugal were inspired to express the modern spatial syntax using direct construction, the way that the materiality of each tectonic component would be clearly and immediately exposed. The process brought the immediate materiality as the primary source for the creation of an architecture's character to the forefront of design concerns. Unadorned surfaces, which represent nothing but their own constructional essence, compact configurations containing the basic program, composed in a free plasticity, all this was explored in the course of finding a plausible "third way" in Portugal during the late 50's till the 70's. All this production became known internationally, significantly later through the writings of Reyner Banham, as "brutalism" (Bahnam, 1966), referring to the rawness of materials. Namely, the *Headquarters of the Gulbenkian Foundation* in Lisbon by Alberto José Pessoa, Pedro Cid and Ruy Jervis d'Athouguia (1959-69) or Viana de Lima's *Faculty of Economic Sciences of Porto University* (1961-72) were large scale examples of clear configurational compositions creating a sculptural complex that in each case is given depth and gravity through the largely unclad primary construction.

Now, in the 60's and 70's, the horizontal stretches of board-marked concrete beams, slabs and wall surfaces became the raw, immediate, honest, "brutalist" equivalent to the sawn granite blocks of the Salazar era; in their granular appearance not miles away from the granite, but more powerful, structurally more efficacious than the bonded blocks of granite. Gone were also the large surfaces of plaster to be replaced by glass.

The *Headquarters of the Gulbenkian Foundation* (Tostões, 2012) with its museum and auditorium actually combined in-situ concrete, glass and granite on the exterior, on the interior polished granite and various fine woods are used as subdominant infill, permitting the in-situ concrete to clearly read as the main structuring elements. This architectural attitude has once again become current in recent years.

4. A comprehensive and hybrid Survey on Popular Architecture in Azores

In the 80's, the so-called *Survey on Popular Architecture in Azores* (Caldas, 2000) followed and extended the 50's *Survey* to the islands territories. In a post-modern circumstance, following Kubler's sequences concept and the art history idea of form classes combined with functional spatial types issued from the 70's architectural culture, during the Azores research an opened insight on vernacular architecture has been envisaged integrating hybrid values, therefore fostering an approach to migration transfers and exchanges, as well as to a large popular domain in which erudite manifestations could be taken into account.

As Kubler states in his *Portuguese Plain Architecture* (Kubler, 1972): "This is less a conventional or rectilinear history of architecture than a collection of studies seeking to determine the nature of Portuguese building during an age when resources were scarce. [...] it is usually about shadowy architects to whom buildings are "attributes" as if they were paintings or statues. (One may enlighten this as a reference to the architecture without architects issue that has been popularized during the 60's Pop times). Today, however, we need to study the continuously changing architectural situation, and to trace the shifting pattern of taste, with more concern for the nature of architectural meaning than the slogans and pigeonholes of encyclopaedic art historical classification will allow." The period Kubler's studied begins with a major change of Portuguese taste in the 1520's, resulting in the abandonment of *Manueline* decoration. It closes with the surcharged ornament in the decades around 1700. The change of taste from *Manueline* to plain forms coincided with economic changes, in the shift from the still uncommitted "new" resources to fully committed and dwindling "old" ones. The transformation from 1520 to 1580 in Portugal is therefore of the same order as in the present century, when an ornate and eclectic taste surviving from the late 1800's yielded to rationality and economic necessity in the abandonment of the heavily decorated surface.

In fact, "plain architecture" in Portugal resists and escapes confinement in the usual categories [...]. It differs from *estilo desornamento* of Spain, by its freedom



Figure 3. Ribeirinha, Graciosa, Azores. Chimney covered with tile.
(in Caldas, João Vieira (2000) (ed.). *Arquitetura Popular dos Açores*. Ordem dos Arquitectos)

from academic rule and from Italianate forms. The Portuguese plain style is like a vernacular architecture, related to living dialect traditions more than to the great authors of the remote past [...]. In Portugal there are uncharted elements of an entirely different architectural geography, where clarity, order, proportion, and simplicity mark the countours of another aesthetic.” (Kubler, 1972)

In fact, recent historiographies of modern architecture look after the connection between the research on architectural history dealing with erudite and popular architecture in order to contribute for the redefinition of 20th century architectural culture scholarship.

An aesthetics of poverty, as it has been revealed by *Portuguese Plain Architecture* approach, is then critically perceived in order to rescuing deliberately memory and history issues. Discussing the hegemonic *Portuguese plain style* concept as an approach to architectural production in times of scarcity, the research aimed to unveil the nature of Portuguese architecture character. Namely, it has been possible then to enlightened Lucio Costa’s research on, his own words, colonial



Fachada de casa de Francisco Barcelos.

apresentam uma expressão mais leve, dadas a menor espessura das faixas de cantaria e a força que ganham as linhas verticais. O próprio aumento do pé-direito origina uma maior elegância no desenho da fachada e permite soltar os vãos de verga curva no reticulado da cantaria. Cria também o espaço necessário para a respiração do assentil sabiamente introduzido nesta malha.

A casa de Francisco Bettencourt Barcelos é um exemplo conseguido deste sistema geométricamente ritmado de dois módulos alternados, o dos vãos e o da superfície casada, unidos pelo fio condutor da linha curva em cantaria. Parece desenvolver em três pisos o tema lançado na casa, ainda atarracada e com vincadas faixas horizontais, da Rua Capitão Manuel Correia de Melo. Tem um andar térreo cheio de portas, altas janelas de sacada no primeiro andar e um segundo andar com janelas recortadas na cantaria, mas soltas da cornija. Ambas lembram construções de expressão erudita do Norte do Continente.

Outros edifícios libertam-se das faixas reguladoras verticais soltando os vãos que, no entanto, são distribuídos em intervalos regulares e sempre consolidados em cantaria à vista. As sacadas do primeiro andar por vezes alteram com janelas de peito cujas ascetas deslizam até à faixa horizontal de separação dos pisos. O soco, saliente e moldurado, sobe até à altura do peitoril das janelas do piso térreo. A fachada, de composição simétrica, salienta simbólica e geométrica-mente o eixo da entrada, seja ao modo barroco, por elevação e intonscência da verga curva da porta, seja já por influência do gosto neoclássico, combinando com um frontão triangular.

Mesmo nestas casas nobres e urbanas ainda existe a adaga térrea, quantas vezes paredes meias com o comércio de retalho ou com a nova instalação bancária. Santa Cruz, de resto, mantém-se uma vila impregnada de feição rural do resto da ilha, com cheiro a verdejão, ramalhões de milho erguidos nas buarras e moitões de vento desenhando-se no horizonte.



Santa Cruz, casa com frontão.



Santa Cruz, geminário de casa nobre.

BRANCO, 1970.

Arquitetura Popular dos Açores, 1971.

Figure 4. Graciosa. “Análise tipológica”. (CALDAS ed., 2000: 303)

architecture in Brazil (Goodwin, 1943) in order to define his strategy to create the sense of a Brazilian modern architecture. The survey he conducted in Portugal searching for the roots launched in Brazil, his acute remarks to Carlos Ramos (1897-1969) or Keil do Amaral and his active role stimulating the *Survey on Regional Architecture in Portugal* are an evidence from this.

“Documentação necessária” (1937) was a research program that contained an explicit hypothesis: demonstrating the possibility of constructing a genealogical line between the architecture of the colonial period and modern architecture. Such documentation claimed for an investigation consisting of a systematic analysis of the spatial devices in the dwelling organization, including its regional variations, concerning systems and construction processes [...] and forms of occupation (Costa, 1962c). As André Tavares referred, the purpose of the study, ultimately aiming to reach contemporary, was “to determine the reasons for the abandonment of such adequate rules and the origin of the [current] *mess*” (Tavares, 2009).

The plan to restore dignity to the present through the rediscovery and interpretation of a colonial past, which was no more than that lesson of plain architecture, that functional and close to the essence erudite, that architecture meant to serve rather than to please, as Keil said. Lucio Costa strategy is to prove a sort of continuity, namely the sequence of the evolution of windows and facades, presented in schematic drawings, clearly evidences how the “*fenêtre en longueur*” was reached in this process of adaptation to new times.

As Costa states “our ancient Architecture has not been adequately studied yet [...] popular architecture in Portugal shows, in our view, greater interest than the erudite one” (Costa, 1962a). And further on, “it is in their villages, in the virile aspect of their rural constructions, at once rough and warm, that the qualities of the race show better. Without the affected and sometimes pedantic look of refinement interventions, then, at ease, it naturally develops, showing on its justness of proportions and absence of make up, a perfect plastic health.”

Lúcio Costa’s “founder” text “Documentação necessária” rescued some ideas of



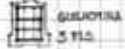
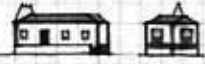
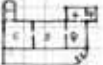
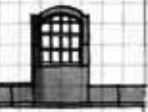

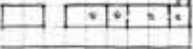





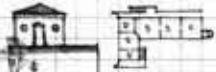
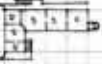
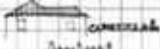
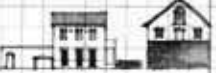




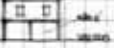
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Figure 5. The Survey on Popular Architecture in Azores. Schemes by Ana Tostões

the 1929 text “O Aleijadinho e a arquitectura tradicional” in which Lúcio “looked at his works from the standpoint of pure architecture” trying to understand what he designated as the homogeneity of the Portuguese colonization period civil architecture “way to make”. “Our architecture is robust, strong, massive, and all he ever did was slim, delicate, and fine. Our architecture is calm and quiet, and everything he did was tortured and nervous. Everything about it is stable, severe, simple, and never pedantic. As for him, everything is unstable, rich, complicated, and a little precious.” (Costa, 1962b)

Coming back to current, contemporary, architectural production I wish to conclude stating that concerns such as direct materiality, excellent crafts, conducive spaces, lapidary forms, awareness of the natural and built context, knowledge indeed of the wider history of architecture appear to be part of the intellectual curiosity that constitute contemporary architects in Portugal. As W. Wang argues, the 20th century has seen what I have described as a see-saw of attitudes in the architecture in Portugal (Wang, 2006). I believe that a more balanced expression straddling pride and melancholy is achievable. But for that, the objective and unsentimental search and research conducted by the previous generation and the current one into the gestation of built culture and architecture in Portugal needs to be passed on year after year.

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BETWEEN HERE AND THERE. RURAL AND URBAN SPACE AS NATIONAL IDENTITY IN 1960s PORTUGAL

LUÍS URBANO

In the turn of the decade to the 1960s, Portugal, as did much of the western world, witnessed the beginnings of a social, cultural and political disruption. Worthy of note are the ruptures that occurred on cinema and architecture, which set themselves to become, not only a counterpoint to the dictatorship that ruled the country, and whose official style could still be found in some buildings and cinematography, but simultaneously, an alternative to the modernism that latterly came to Portugal. Therefore, they were both anti-fascist and post-modern disruptions that questioned the assumptions of a nationalist policy and proposed specific objects that intersected the national characteristics with the contemporary trends from abroad. And they did not fail to address the main concerns of an oppressed population: poverty, the right to housing, social parity, the colonial war and emigration, subjects that both architects and filmmakers tried to tackle.

Since the early 60s over a million Portuguese were forced to leave the country, often illegally, drawn to a fast developing Europe. Inside borders, the peripheries of large cities absorbed a huge mass of people who escaped the countryside in search of better living conditions, initiating *"a double process of urban redevelopment: the gentrification of the traditional city centers pushed the population*

to the peripheral areas, where the bulk of migrants who came to work in the city settled as well." (Rosas, 2008: 138)

The urban population started to show signs of unrest, first with the candidacy of Humberto Delgado, and later in the academic crisis of 62 and 69. With the anti-colonial movements gaining expression all across Europe, the Portuguese government choosed the military option over a peaceful transition in the African colonies. In that same period about 150,000 men are mobilized for the war effort and more than 10,000 will never return. And despite the censorship filtered much of the information, echoes of the May of 68, the Vietnam War or the Prague Spring did arrive and made their mark. All this led to

social, cultural and mindset changes that had a decisive influence in the history of the period. The proletarianization of much of the rural population that arrived to the cities, the birth and expansion of a modern services sector, the progressive literacy, the increased access to education, culture and media, the new forms of sociability - all of this will turn the urban and suburban population in major cities and metropolitan areas (...) into an agent of social and political intervention of increasing importance. (Rosas, 2008: 139)

The invention of a new identity for Portugal, a permanent desire but not a goal theorized by this generation of architects and filmmakers, was related, on one hand, with the need to overcome the underdevelopment of the country, without losing its purest traditions that had little to do with the folklore invented by the Estado Novo propaganda; and on the other, with the absolute need for freedom: political, cultural and of expression, but also individual. The dictatorship of Salazar and Caetano was a shared enemy, a common denominator that maintained a certain group cohesion, but, at the same time, architects and filmmakers did not renounce to their personal freedom as persons and artists, not willing to join political or artistic movements that could somehow limit their life and work options. The shaping of this new identity did not impose itself

limits. It was from the combination and questioning of seemingly contradictory worlds that arose its own logic. It combined national identity with international references, crossed the urban culture with the rural imaginary, intertwined the modern language with the vernacular and mixed contemporary technology with the techniques of the past.

The motivations of architects and filmmakers were not, however, only political; they were embedded in their own disciplinary practices. The quest for a new identity was also the search for a new language, crossing the universality (or hegemony) of the modern legacy with local traditions. In the period that followed World War II, there was no longer a collective certainty in modern thinking and crisis settled in, with individuals trying to tackle it based on their own assumptions. The abstract and unified logic gave way to a desire for the real and concrete. The *new waves* in cinema and the emergence of groups like *Team X* in architecture were authentic revolutions in the universe of the two disciplines, with effects that persist to this day.

Portuguese architecture, keeping up with the European trend of reassessing modernist conventions, began to question the absolute need to use a preformatted language, a tendency that crossed the 1950s after the National Congress of Architecture, held in 1948. The main conclusions of the Congress, which proposed a radically modern architecture in opposition to the imposed Portuguese style, were, in fact, anachronistic. By then, the modernist masters themselves were questioning the validity of a rationalism that allowed for the barbarity, initiating a revision process. The deliberations of the Congress of 48 were already out of synch with a modernity that was no longer possible.

This was not the case with film, for one can state that, with rare exceptions, there was no modern cinema in Portugal. It went directly from a parochial and outdated cinema to films using radical new languages, in line with the revolutions that were underway in Paris, London or New York. The desire to reinvent the film language, challenging the then-current models of the Estado Novo, leaving the studio and filming the city *in loco* attested to the desire to portray the reality.

But questioning the city as it was then perceived was also essential in both disciplines. The failure of the Athens Charter, the questioning of models that despised the historic city, the desire to seize the spatial richness, the unpredictability and the social relations of the traditional city, have become central issues in architecture and urbanism in the end of the 50s and the early 60s. The discipline questioned itself through the pioneering reflections of Nuno Portas, collected in books such as *A Arquitectura para Hoje* (1964) (Architecture for Today) and especially in *A Cidade como Arquitectura* (1969) (The City As Architecture), where it departed from both the modern movement and the progressive overrating of language and authorship, proposing a qualified current architecture in a critic return to the democratic city.

This fresh look at the city was also present in Portuguese cinema, particularly in the films that inaugurated the movement that became known as the Novo Cinema. Curiously this designation was also coined by Nuno Portas, who as a film critic for the journal *Diário de Lisboa*, called for a renewal of the Portuguese cinema that could meet the expectations of a society in renovation. The Novo Cinema questioned the idea of the city, which was previously represented as an enclosed community, offering a new way of looking at the urban space, showing the outskirts, the expansion of the city, the multiplicity of places but also the individuality of characters.

In *Dom Roberto* (1962) - the film that many consider the transition element to the new cinema - the old city of courtyards is already crumbling, with these contained and closed microcosms in abandonment and ruin. The homeless couple that occupies a vacant building in order to survive, conveys a clear political message on the subject of poverty and housing rights. The end of the movie, with the evicted characters returning to the inhospitable flow of the city, with no assurances about their future, makes it clear that it was also Portugal that was on the screen.

But it is the first films of directors like Paulo Rocha or Fernando Lopes that really debut a new approach to the city and to filmmaking in Portugal. Both



Figure 1. *Os Verdes Anos*, Paulo Rocha, 1963 (Cinemateca Portuguesa)

films depict misfits, characters living on the edge that, as their country, have failed. These films show a willingness to question reality but also the city itself. The presence of the city in *Os Verdes Anos* (1963), and the new way in which it is represented, is one of the images that mark the Portuguese New Wave. Unlike the comedies of the 30s and 40s, where all the characters were integrated into a solidary community, the protagonists of Rocha's film were marginalized by the city. Lisbon is a metaphor for the social prison that was Salazar's regime and

the stage of a conflict that is expressed cinematically by the overt segregation of the protagonists from spaces and liveliness of the city, portrayed either by the Baixa streets, or by the new modern neighbourhoods of the Avenida de Roma and Avenida dos Estados Unidos da America. In Os Verdes Anos the protagonists find an oppressing city that constantly demeans and marginalizes them, exploiting the most of their vulnerabilities and revealing at every step, their dominated status. (Baptista, 2008: 94)



Figure 2. *Belarmino*, Fernando Lopes, 1964 (Cinemateca Portuguesa)

Belarmino, by Fernando Lopes, debuted the following year, in 1964, and is affiliated to a trend that crossed fiction and documentary, in this case in a clearly urban setting, in which the character moves through the city with the freedom that was lacking to his fellow citizens and in which hostility is not identified with the urban space or the architecture, as in *Os Verdes Anos*, but with poverty, repression, and the claustrophobic environment of a paternalistic and castrating dictatorship.

Both films shared with the European and South American "new waves" the desire to leave the studio and film the street, on the exact locations where the action was unfolding, to escape the conventionality of the previous cinema, considered too distant from the vast social and cultural changes brought by the 1960s.

But if the city was a central theme, the rural space also played a key role in the cultural debate of the 1960s. Following previous investigations by "agronomists, who organized and carried out the Survey on Rural Housing in the turning of the 30s to the 40s" or by anthropologists "who carried out, between the 50s and 70s,

several ethnographic and anthropological researches on the traditional Portuguese architecture" (Leal, 2009: 9-11), architects and filmmakers also turned their attention to country life. They were interested in understanding and portraying the lifestyle of rural people, who often comprised forms of social, cultural and even political organization - as was the case of Rio de Onor or Vilarinho das Furnas - that symbolically questioned, not only the national identity shaped by the Estado Novo, but the very political organization of the dictatorship. But they were also the evident expression of the enormous underdevelopment to which the dictatorship condemned the country and of the immensely difficult living conditions of the rural population, which could only rely for their survival on obsolete farming techniques and production methods, conditions that the state propaganda sought to conceal through the myths of "honored poverty" and "proudly alone".

One cannot properly speak of a return to the countryside, as Portugal in fact had never really left it. At the end of the 50s, Portugal was still, by choice, a predominantly rural country. The rural essence instilled by the Estado Novo only gave in to the industry interests at the turn of the decade, into the 60s. Isolation, poverty and the lack of education were essential tools for the perpetuation of the regime. It is not so surprising that architects and filmmakers, themselves plunged into an identity crisis, have turned their gaze to what was considered the last bastion of the authentic Portugal. They knew the new identity they sought could not be solely created within the Portuguese cities, where, despite the repression and censorship, the population lived in a privileged world that did not correspond to the reality of the country. For those who had political concerns of opposition to the dictatorship, dismantling the myth of a rural paradise became an essential goal. The political agenda was to demonstrate that the reality did not match the propagandistic image of the country. The lifestyles, traditions, culture or architecture, were diverse in the different regions of the country, sharing only an immense poverty, isolation and illiteracy. By taking apart the fantasised construction of a unified country, the very foundations of

the dictatorship would collapse.

In architecture, for this rediscovery of the rural world was essential the idea launched by Keil do Amaral, in the aforementioned Congress of 1948, to conduct a survey on Portuguese popular architecture. The objective, decidedly political, was to tear up the aspirations of the regime to consolidate a "Portuguese style". It was this study, conducted between 1953 and 1957, and published in 1961, that endorsed a "third way", as referred by Fernando Távora, which combined the modernist tradition with the vernacular, with architects acquiring the freedom to design without constraints, what is already apparent in some works of the 50s, but became widespread in the 60s. The poetic creativity, the appropriateness to the environment and existing materials, the diversity, rationality and functionality of the design solutions found by different teams that toured the country researching for the Inquiry, served the architects, in addition to the political significance that derived from it, to reinvent the identity of Portuguese architecture.

At a crossroads between the failure of international modernism and the restraints to adopt a fictionalized Portuguese-style, architects, particularly those of the Porto School, found a way that allowed them to practice a language that was both modern without being hegemonic and national without being nationalist. Or at least, according to circumstances, wander between the two, being sometimes more radically modern, others more encompassingly traditional. That is the case of Álvaro Siza in Leça da Palmeira, who at the Tea House (1963), and despite the references to the work of Alvar Aalto, sought a direct relationship with the site, particularly with the nearby chapel, using materials such as wood, plaster and roof tiles, referring to the vernacular architecture. But at the Tide Pool (1966) is uncompromisingly modern, using concrete against the rocks and a geometric logic influenced by Wright that estranges from the natural order of the place, integrating by opposition and an smart disappearance strategy.

As we know, this path was short lived because soon this "third way" was adopted by the more commercial architecture, popularizing it in such a way that it would

be massively used in tourism projects developed in the Marcelismo. This led to its abandonment by the more educated architects who turned back to seek in the history of the modern movement, although without the dogmatism of the past, the formal references that would allow them to embrace the contemporary. One of the latest manifestations of this 'third way' was the holiday house Vill'Alcina designed by Sergio Fernandez between 1970 and 1974. The design was actually for two twin but not symmetric houses. The building is a filter to the overwhelming landscape and on arrival, still on the outside, the entrance portico frames the landscape. But once inside one is invited to move around and discover the different views and experiences in the singular spaces of the house. The ceiling follows the inclination of the site towards the landscape and the furniture models the space as in one of the apartments of the Marseille Unité. The house has a measured space, adjusted to the necessary living equipment, with the division walls being at the same time bookshelves and seats. The bedrooms are merely a space to sleep with mattresses on the floor and no doors, in what was saw as a materialized sign of the customs freedom of the time.

For some critics Vill'Alcina is the last modern house built in Portugal, as it reflects, simultaneously, the modernist culture and the neorealist culture, which promoted an approach to reality in order to understand the modern utopia. Sergio Fernandez was a collaborator of Viana de Lima, a corbusian modernist, but he also participated in the effort for the Inquiry on Portuguese Popular Architecture with a graduation thesis on Rio de Onor. This was a small village - half Portuguese, half Spanish - in northern Portugal, where Fernandez studied intensely not only the local architecture but also the harsh living conditions of the rural population. And Vill'Alcina reveals these two experiences in an almost pure state: its volume is archaic; its spatiality is modern. In a cinematic montage, a rural, telluric house unveils a modern narrative, in a re-setting of the modernist open space. Without this coexistence and tension, the house would be a simple revival, either of the rural tradition or of the modern movement (Figueira, 2008).



Figure 3. Vill'Alcina, Sérgio Fernandez, 1974 (Fernando Guerra)

Vill'Alcina is a functionalist building in the dusk of modern architecture but here functionalism means experimental joy. The modern dilemmas of the lacking domesticity and humanity are here happily resolved. The space seems to fit one's measures, minimum but communicative, open but creating a sense of shelter. Maybe this is its biggest legacy: a spatial precision that emotes us, the measure of the human body reverted to the measure of a building, the anxieties of an era compressed into a space (Figueira, 2008).

In cinema the direction is similar. After an initial interest in the city as a place of alienation, has seen in *Os Verdes Anos* and *Belarmino*, the filmmakers of the new cinema sought in rural areas the exits they did not found in the city. The reasons are, firstly, related with the desire to expose a world that was opposite to that of their earlier films, showing that reality was very different from the rural ideal of the dictatorship, and also, as we have seen, this demand for a fresh look at the reality of rural areas was inscribed in a cultural trend, but also politically marked, which had already been undertook by other disciplines.

The tendency to this movement between rural and urban in Portuguese cinema

began to be evident in *O Pão*, a documentary by Manoel de Oliveira, in which there is a constant duality between views of urban and rural landscapes. The itinerary around the bread manufacture serves as a pretext to show the abyssal differences between two worlds that often intersect, but that are clearly opposed. The fast pace of the city, mounted in parallel with plans of the industrial bread making process, accentuates the contrast with the slow and rudimentary processes used to manufacture handmade bread.

But it is with *Acto da Primavera* (1962), also directed by Manoel de Oliveira, that a contemporary look on the countryside is confirmed, without the paternalism and ideological prejudices of the past. A particular filmic object that joins the trend of hybridity between fiction and documentary, *Acto da Primavera* portrays the representation of the Passion of the Christ in a Trás-os-Montes village. What initially appears to be a documentary about a particular rural universe, slowly becomes a fiction film on the life of Christ, where the villagers of Curalha assume the role, not only of figurants in the staging that happens every year around Easter, but also as actors in a fiction film. And Oliveira also explores a duality between two conflicting worlds, opposing to the film's central rurality a sequence of war images edited by Paulo Rocha, who was at the time a collaborator of the Oporto's master. The uniqueness of the film strongly marked the generation of Cinema Novo.

The second film by Paulo Rocha, *Mudar de Vida*, portrays the anguish of a fisherman who was sent to the Colonial War and ended up staying in Africa for a longer period of time than his mission required. On his return to Portugal he discovers that both the people and the place he left behind, as himself, are no longer the same. His girlfriend married his brother and is now ill; Furadouro, the fishing village where he lived, is dangerously threatened by the sea. This film is a symmetrical work to *Os Verdes Anos*. What was imminently urban in Rocha's first feature, here is uncompromisingly rural. *Os Verdes Anos* was spontaneous, experimental and a new form of filmmaking in Portugal; *Mudar de Vida* is



Figure 4. *O Acto da Primavera*, Manoel de Oliveira, 1962 (Cinemateca Portuguesa)

cerebral in the use of camera movements, photography, dialogues and the mise-en-scène. The criticism to the dead-end environment of the country that one could feel in *Os Verdes Anos*, which was nonetheless represented with a certain amenity, is in *Mudar de Vida* characterized by a profoundly harsh life. Here, as in the Lisbon of the 60s, there is also no choice but to escape. Isabel Ruth's character introduces this possibility to get away, the woman who seeks more than what destiny intended for her, who breaks the rules, even to the point of stealing from the donation box of a chapel. Her occupation as a manufacturing worker is criticized for being too easy, as if the only way to make a living there was inevitably linked to fishing. One of the most striking scenes is filmed in a half destroyed house, a metaphor for the impossible love between the characters of Maria Barroso and Geraldo Del Rey, with Paulo Rocha showing the abyss of this relationship in a setting that literally collapses into the sea.

Uma Abelha na Chuva, 1971, by Fernando Lopes, is a film adaptation of a novel by Carlos Oliveira, which again depicts an oppressive rural universe, marked by silences, misunderstandings, frustrations and conflicts between the characters.



Figure 5. *Uma Abelha na Chuva*, Fernando Lopes, 1971 (Cinemateca Portuguesa)

It reflects the differences and difficult relations between social classes and it is structured by the intersection of two stories: on one side Maria dos Prazeres and Álvaro Silvestre, the lords of the house, representatives of a disintegrating rural bourgeoisie, and on the other, Clara, the maid, and Jacinto, the coachman. A grey and cold environment insistently marks the film, plunging the characters in an undecided and undefined atmosphere, creating a dreamlike countryside landscape. Between crisis and oppression, frustration and conflict, desire and forbidden love, *Uma Abelha na Chuva* reveals a willingness to innovate aesthetically, an endless quest for deconstructing the narrative itself, through the repetition of scenes without dialogue, the insistence on certain movements that intensify and emphasize the actions of the characters, in a careful and entirely experimental object.

What we can hold from these movements between the city and the countryside of Portuguese architects and filmmakers in the 60s is an inevitable drift and an understandable disorientation in regard to the national and international events

that marked the profession and society. On one hand everyone aspired to remain faithful to the spirit of their time, producing objects that somehow characterized it. On the other hand, the strong ideological and political boundaries implied exacerbated positions that strongly marked the disciplinary practices. In the 1960s both architecture and cinema fought against imposed styles of a fenced regime, looking for new languages and identities, without losing their cultural roots but equally criticizing the legacy of modernity. And it was this generation of architects and filmmakers who took the stage until today, marking the Portuguese cultural landscape of the past fifty years.

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VICTOR MESTRE

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Revitalization Cabinet of Patrimony at the Directorate-General of National Monuments and Buildings (2000-2003), institution where he had worked since 1995. Contributes to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation monograph 'Portuguese Patrimony in the World: Architecture and Urbanism' (2011) (José Mattoso, dir.) with entries on the volumes Asia (Walter Rossa, coord.) and South America (Renata Araújo, coord.). Invited to participate in conferences in Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, Morocco, Slovenia, Colombia and Mexico. Curator for Architecture and Public Spaces, and co-author of the Architectural Project for the exhibition 1999 | 2004 - Architecture and Design in Portugal - *Triennale di Milano*, Milan, Italy.

ABSTRACTS

FROM SEA TO STONE. CRADLE OF AVANT-GARDE

Rubén Alcolea and Aitor Acilu

The idea of modernity and its formalisation is deeply rooted in Mediterranean culture, not only in terms of formal and material configuration but also as concerning the human approach of architecture to site and culture. Throughout history, popular Mediterranean architecture has mainly been developed only by their users or by artisans; it is a perfect example of understanding buildings as an extension of human life, habits, and sensibility to landscape and climate. This point of view of the popular has commonly been seen by early modern and avant-garde architects as a landmark, or as a prelude to a new and international architecture – a perfect example of integration of popular culture into the most orthodox and theoretical discourses and theories. Josep Lluís Sert – one of the most important Spanish architects in early years of modernism – and the Austrian Bernard Rudofsky – who visited many times the Spanish Mediterranean area looking for vernacular references – worked with these principles to settle the theoretical arguments understand modernity through history.

VERNACULAR, CONSERVATIVE, MODERNIST: THE UNCOMFORTABLE 'ZONE 6' (ALGARVE) OF THE PORTUGUESE FOLK ARCHITECTURE SURVEY (1955-1961)

Ricardo Agarez

To this day, part of the aura surrounding the 'Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa' (1955-1961) in Portuguese architectural culture stems from the narrative of resistance constructed around it. According to such narrative, the authors of this survey on vernacular building traditions would have countered perceived official stereotypes for regional architecture and set out to prove that 'folk architecture was, like all "true architecture", functionality.' They would have, therefore, designed the project to fit their own post-war modernist agendas. Dismantling preconceptions on regional features, demonstrating diversity and integrating modern architecture with the long-span lineage of vernacular tradition were essential aims of the survey, shared by all its participant teams. Yet, these goals were not always easy to pursue.

By looking at the work of the 'Zone 6' team in Algarve, the southernmost region of Portugal, this text will discuss the challenges placed by a specific building identity, historically charged and visually enticing, on the survey's stated and unstated purposes. With its idiosyncrasies, Algarve seems to have been valuable in rendering national diversity more dramatic and enabling a clearer

contrast between extremes, thus countering claims to homogeneity; an instrumental view that in fact echoed other, apparently quite disparate initiatives, earlier in the century. Furthermore, Algarve' 'vernacular' features were uniquely tempting to both conservative and modernist eyes, and the survey placed them under the aestheticised look that, as much as the authors attempted to downplay it, permeated the entire work – and, in the case of Algarve, was often not so far from the superficial, stereotyped views those authors condemned as trite vulgarisations. Finally, there was the embarrassing matter of external decoration: an inextricable part of Algarvian building tradition that hardly fitted modernist tenets, it was sensed as problematic and framed in terms that echo those with which, twenty years before, other Mediterranean vernaculars were recorded.

A CRITICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE PORTUGUESE SURVEY IN THE EARLY SIXTIES: NUNO PORTAS AND PEDRO VIEIRA DE ALMEIDA

Tiago Lopes Dias

This paper proposes to highlight how the Survey on Popular Architecture in Portugal was interpreted by a young generation of architects who were, in the early sixties, searching for a theoretical framework capable of given a more solid basis to modern architecture in Portugal. From that generation, I consider that Nuno Portas (Vila Viçosa, 1934) and Pedro Vieira de Almeida (Lisboa, 1933 – Porto, 2011) were amongst the most restless and uneasy architects and critics. Although not directly addressed to the results of the Survey, their texts selected for this argument reveal methodological strategies that could have made possible a wider debate. In doing so, the Survey may appear filtered in each of them, considering that it is analyzed under the lens of a larger and deeper body of knowledge. This approach certainly prevents a superficial interpretation of its documents (and subsequent contradictions and misunderstandings) and avoids both the circumstantial and the incidental. Moreover, this effort defines a strategy suitable to resist over time – beyond populist or political pressures as well as fashion trends – that makes its recovery, nowadays, absolutely necessary.

ARCHITECTURAL KOINÈ: ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE AND THE VERNACULAR IN 20th CENTURY SPAIN

Concepción Díez-Pastor

The drift of the vernacular concept in Spain is closely related to that of 'architectural koinè', and thus an essential characteristic of the leading representatives of Spanish architecture. Its interesting development and evolution throughout the 20th century, closely related to that of the Modern Movement, constitute the 'Spanish peculiarity', in architectural terms. Therefore, an architectural language can be said to exist as a product of the culture embracing it, which is represented by 'architectural koinè'. The vernacular is a central aspect of the whole. Its origins and evolution are the subject matters of the present article.

ALFREDO DE ANDRADE'S (1838-1915) SURVEYS ON VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE ACROSS ITALY AND PORTUGAL

Teresa Ferreira

The paper examines the surveys on vernacular architecture made by Alfredo de Andrade across his two nations, Italy and Portugal. This broader (documentary and iconographic) material relates to central issues in the late 19th century architectural debate focused on the 'construction of the nation': on the one hand, the identification, study and safeguarding of buildings, which represented an emerging national identity, and which, on the other hand, could also be a source of inspiration for new architectural design. Moreover, the paper suggests the importance of this background in defining 20th century architectural culture.

ARCHITECTURAL THEORY AND THE VERNACULAR IN PEDRO VIEIRA DE ALMEIDA'S WRITING

Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia and Alexandra Cardoso

The last texts written by PVA, many of which remain unpublished, are specifically devoted to the survey published under the title Portuguese Popular Architecture, or had discussions on it at their outset.

Ever since PVA first mentioned the survey in Raul Lino's catalog (1970) a thorough historical, critical, and theoretical approach to the survey was carried out by him. The presentation of the research project *Portuguese Popular Architecture. A critical look*, undertaken under his coordination until September 2011, is a direct and rather important outcome of this long-standing work. This paper aims to bring in to discussion such a pervasive concern with the survey's main questions and deep theoretical and critical implications in PVA's writings.

THE DECLINE AND CONTAMINATIONS OF POST-SURVEY ARCHITECTURE IN ARCHITECTURE WITHOUT ARCHITECTS (1955-1985)

Victor Mestre

Throughout 30 years of research in the field of traditional architecture and architectural heritage in mainland Portugal, the Autonomous Regions of the Azores and Madeira, the Canaries, Cape Verde, in the context of the Mediterranean, in the far territories of Goa, Damão and Diu, Macao and Timor, among other territories with Portuguese influence and culture, we have carried out several works almost always interconnected by a common objective, to understand them in order to better save the values of the cultural traditions in the interest of their users.

We have sought to know and live with these users and observe their territory and the contemplative and productive landscapes as an essential framework of the traditional culture of different peoples and cultures, their materials and technologies, their typologies and expressions, their identity and the anthropological traces of the communities, placing man and his actions at the centre of the research.

Throughout these years we have observed a decline, a neglect, a collapse, a transformation, an assimilation, the corruption and the disappearance of traditional cultures in different environments, in accordance with which industrial and modern civilization has besieged it. We have seen different rhythms and intensities that conform to the environment and socio-political cycles and the frenetic acceleration of time and actions. We have seen a spatial transformation like no other in history, making it difficult to understand its

direction and to completely understand the causes and the effects of the losses and the benefits for the good of the people. And in the midst of these violent changes it is important that we fight against resigning ourselves to the apparently inevitable disappearance or corruption of lifestyles in syntony with nature, with ancestral principles and common practices associated to the methods of construction.

BUILDING THE NEW BARCELONA. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "SURVEY" ON COMMON ARCHITECTURE IN THE CERDA'S PROJECT

Antoni Remesar and Salvador García Fortes

Ildefons Cerdà's work has been undervalued in the context of the historiography on urbanism. However his work is becoming recognized as essential in the deployment of this field of social and economic practice and of research now called urbanism. In this paper we will not address nor the aspects of "planning" inherent to the Cerdà's project nor the derived aspects of his thinking on the discipline of "urbanization". Instead, we focus our attention on some of the methodological procedures of Cerdà less widespread but that are essential for development, not only of his Reform and Expansion Project for Barcelona, but also for the articulation of his theory.

In the context of this study we will focus on the "road (intervia)", in the building and we will try to study, to what extent, Cerdà includes the popular construction.

RUSTIC VERSUS RURAL: THE VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE EXHIBITION AS SURVEY OF THE MANY FACES OF ITALIAN MODERNISM

Michelangelo Sabatino

Like the literary form of the manifesto, which addresses the general public as well as specialists, architecture exhibitions and supporting catalogues can promote debate, opening up new ground for professional practice. Recall for example the heated discussion generated by Bernard Rudofsky's MoMA exhibition and book on vernacular buildings entitled *Architecture without Architects* (1964). Furthermore, architecture exhibitions have the capacity to

serve as an archive (and survey) especially when accompanied by in-depth supporting catalogues. Exhibitions curated and designed by architects with polemical intentions have had crucial impact on the course of twentieth-century design practice in Italy, spurring debate and feedback to the profession. Over the course of the Fascist period as well as after the Second World War, exhibitions and publications on the vernacular challenged architectural discourse in thrall to classicism. This paper examines four seminal exhibitions that surveyed vernacular buildings of Italy: Exhibition of Italian Ethnography (Rome, 1911), Exhibition of Rustic Art (Rome, 1921), *Architettura rurale italiana: Funzionalità della casa rurale* (Rural Italian Architecture: Functionality of the Rural House) (Milan, 1936), and the *Mostra dell'architettura spontanea* (Spontaneous Architecture Exhibition) (Milan, 1951). These exhibitions, which revolved around questions of Italian identity, advocated a synthesis of regionalist and modernist ideals with the potential to challenge the dominant tendency toward classicizing schemes typically endorsed by the Fascist regime and at the same time functioned as an antidote to generic functionalism during the postwar period. (Sabatino, 2010).

SPECIFIC ARCHITECTURE ROOTED IN THE COUNTRY. SURVEY ON VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Mariann Simon

After the failed revolution in 1956 an intensive development began around the Lake Balaton in Hungary. It was a manifestation of political détente but was driven also by the economic interest, as an investment in tourism. The new regional plan included a survey on monuments, which was extended also on vernacular built heritage. The paper presents the findings of the survey and compares them with the planned and realised buildings, and with the architects' manifestations. The investigation includes public buildings which gave the bulk of building activity in the first period, but it analysis also the award-winning designs of weekend houses submitted for a competition in 1958. The research concludes that while decades later some architects remembered this time as when 'the spirit of the vernacular was in the air' the buildings were not fully in tune

with this statement, against the previously well-documented built heritage. The duality of place-form and product-form that is of tradition and technology – or vernacular and modern – was interpreted by the majority of architects as either/or problem. by the middle of the 1960s this battle ended with the victory of technology.

THE SURVEY AS A KNOWLEDGE PROCESS, RESEARCH AS A CRITIC TOOL
Ana Tostões

The mid-1950's were a moment of critical thought and operative action contributing for the affirmation of what one may call in a disciplinary way: Portuguese architectural culture.

In fact, the search for local references would give rise to a critical regionalist awareness referenced to the revelation of Popular Architecture through the Survey on Regional Architecture in Portugal (1955) research project. If this attitude revealed the conflicts and crisis the Modern Movement was going through in the international context namely within the most recent CIAM discussion platforms, it marked in Portugal a retrieval of the integrating sense that seems to constitute a constant in Portuguese architecture as G. Kubler remarked (1972). Indeed, the questions of building tradition, modernity and regionalism traversed the conscience of diverse architects, raising once more the question of the Casa Portuguesa [Portuguese House] in a somewhat hegemonic way since the beginning of the century. In 1961 the publication of "Arquitettura Popular em Portugal", which spread out the Survey, fixed the memory of a territory and way of building. It was the hinge between these two worlds, in which abstract rationalism was seen realistically in the vernacular because maturity enabled one to overcome the local versus international dichotomy. It meant the opening up of Portuguese architecture to the future and to the possibility of contemporaneity. At this point, research on architecture practice and theory start to be part of a pedagogical tool: Nuno Portas (1934-) and Pedro Vieira de Almeida (1933-2011) at ESBAP were achieving the interaction between practice and theory aiming to bring up a maturity stage on Portuguese architectural culture.

In the 80's, the so-called Survey on Popular Architecture in Azores followed and extended

the 50's Survey to the islands territories. Aiming to discuss Portuguese plain style as a hegemonic concept approaching to architectural production in times of scarcity, the research opened a link with a global view on architecture of Portuguese influence showing the connection between the research on architectural history dealing with erudite and popular architecture and the redefinition of 20th century architectural culture realm.

architecture and the first films of the so called Cinema Novo.

BETWEEN HERE AND THERE. RURAL AND URBAN SPACE AS NATIONAL IDENTITY IN 1960s PORTUGAL

Luis Urbano

This paper will try to understand how, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Portuguese architects and filmmakers developed a fascination with a disappearing rural world, of which the Survey on Popular Architecture or films like *Acto da Primavera* (Oliveira, 1963) and *Mudar de Vida* (Rocha, 1966) were just some of the most visible outcomes. The real country they found did not coincide with the ideal country publicized by the dictatorship and research carried out both in architecture and cinema had clear political motivations of opposition to an increasingly claustrophobic regime. Their works integrated and bear witnessed the most genuinely Portuguese features: the lack of resources, the invention from the available materials and community life as a survival strategy. It was in this confrontation with a reality hitherto hidden, that filmmakers and architects found a possible solution to the crisis of modernity, but also a way to pursue a new national identity, recognizing the qualities of a landscape and a culture that stemmed from a particular geographic, political and socio-economic context, with no false formalisms, often full of poetry. The paper will also consider how, concurrently with this interest in the rural world, both architecture and film debated the return to the city, its traditional values, the qualities of the historic centres, the rediscovery of the street and its unpredictability, all recurrent themes in the 1960s, internationally, but also in Portugal. Consideration will be given to how architects and filmmakers were challenged with the growing urbanization of the Portuguese territory, consequence of the abandonment of the countryside, and how the renewed interest in the city issues was also seminal, both in post-survey

RESUMOS

Traduzido do Inglês por Bárbara Vieira de Almeida

DO MAR À PEDRA. BERÇO DA VANGUARDA

Rubén Alcolea and Aitor Acilu

A ideia de modernidade e a sua formalização está fortemente enraizada na cultura mediterrânica, não apenas em termos de configuração formal e material mas também no que diz respeito como à abordagem humana da arquitectura, do lugar e da cultura. Ao longo da história, a arquitectura popular mediterrânica tem sido sobretudo desenvolvida apenas pelos seus utilizadores ou por artesãos; é um exemplo perfeito da compreensão dos edifícios como uma extensão da vida humana, dos hábitos e da sensibilidade à paisagem e ao clima. Este entendimento do popular tem sido visto por arquitectos vanguardistas e do primeiro modernismo como uma referência, ou como o prelúdio de uma arquitectura nova e internacional – um exemplo perfeito de integração da cultura popular nas teorias e discursos mais ortodoxos. Josep Lluís Sert – um dos arquitectos espanhóis mais importantes dos primeiros anos do modernismo – e o austríaco Bernard Rudofsky – que visitou muitas vezes a área mediterrânica espanhola à procura de referências vernaculares – trabalharam com estes princípios para estabelecer os argumentos teóricos para compreender a modernidade através da história.

VERNACULAR, CONSERVADORA, MODERNISTA: A INCÓMODA 'ZONA 6' (ALGARVE) DO INQUÉRITO DA ARQUITECTURA POPULAR PORTUGUESA (1955-1961)

Ricardo Agarez

Parte da aura que envolve o 'Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa' (1955-1961) na cultura arquitectónica portuguesa, decorre, até hoje, da narrativa de resistência construída à sua volta. De acordo com essa narrativa, os autores desse inquérito às tradições de construção vernacular teriam contrariado supostos estereótipos oficiais para a arquitectura regional e ter-se-iam predisposto a demonstrar que a "arquitectura popular era, tal como toda a 'verdadeira arquitectura', funcionalidade". Teriam, assim, concebido o projecto de modo que se enquadrasse nas suas agendas modernistas do pós-guerra. Desmantelar preconceitos sobre as características regionais, demonstrando a diversidade e integrando a arquitectura moderna na longa linhagem da tradição vernacular eram objectivos cruciais do inquérito, partilhados por todas as equipas que nele participaram. Contudo, estes objectivos nem sempre foram fáceis de alcançar.

Através da análise do trabalho da equipa da 'Zona 6' no Algarve, a região mais a Sul de Portugal, este texto discute os desafios colocados pela construção de uma identidade específica,

historicamente carregada e visualmente sedutora, aos fins declarados e não-declarados do Inquérito. Com as suas idiossincrasias, o Algarve parece ter sido valioso para dramatizar a diversidade nacional e para permitir um contraste mais claro entre extremos, contrariando, assim, as reivindicações de homogeneidade; uma perspectiva instrumental que, na realidade, era eco de outras iniciativas, aparentemente bastante distintas, do início do século. Além do mais, as características "vernaculares" do Algarve eram singularmente tentadoras tanto para o olhar dos conservadores como para o dos modernistas, e o inquérito colocava-as sob o olhar esteticizado que, por muito que os autores tentassem subestimar, impregnava todo o trabalho – e no caso do Algarve, estavam frequentemente não muito longe das perspectivas superficiais e estereotipadas que esses autores condenavam como banais vulgarizações. Por fim, existia a embaraçosa questão da decoração exterior: uma parte inextrincável da tradição construtiva algarvia que dificilmente se ajustava aos princípios modernistas como era sentida problemática e enquadrada em termos que lembravam aqueles com que, vinte anos antes, outros vernáculos mediterrânicos tinham sido registados.

UMA INTERPRETAÇÃO CRÍTICA DO INQUÉRITO PORTUGUÊS NOS INÍCIOS DOS ANOS SESSENTA: NUNO PORTAS E PEDRO VIEIRA DE ALMEIDA

Tiago Lopes Dias

Este texto propõe-se realçar o modo como o Inquérito da Arquitectura Popular em Portugal foi interpretado pela nova geração de arquitectos que, nos inícios dos anos 60, procurava um enquadramento teórico capaz de proporcionar uma base mais sólida à arquitectura moderna em Portugal. Dessa geração, considero que Nuno Portas (Vila Viçosa, 1934) e Pedro Vieira de Almeida (Lisboa, 1933 – Matosinhos, 2011) estão entre os arquitectos e críticos mais activos e inquietos. Ainda que não directamente dirigidos aos resultados do Inquérito, os seus textos seleccionados para esta discussão revelam estratégias metodológicas que poderiam ter possibilitado um debate mais amplo. Ao fazê-lo, o Inquérito pode surgir filtrado em cada um deles, considerando que é analisado sob a lente de um campo de conhecimento mais amplo e mais

profundo. Esta abordagem previne, certamente, uma interpretação superficial destes documentos (e consequentes contradições e mal-entendidos) e evita tanto o circunstancial como o accidental. Além do mais, este esforço define uma estratégia apropriada para resistir ao longo do tempo – para além populismos ou pressões políticas, bem como a tendências da moda – o que hoje torna a sua recuperação absolutamente necessária.

KOINÈ ARQUITECTÓNICO: A CULTURA ARQUITECTÓNICA E O VERNACULAR NA ESPANHA DO SÉCULO XX

Concepción Díez-Pastor

A deriva do conceito de vernacular está, em Espanha, intimamente relacionada com o de "koinè arquitectónico", sendo assim uma característica essencial dos principais representantes da arquitectura espanhola. O seu interessante desenvolvimento e evolução ao longo do século XX, estreitamente ligado ao do Movimento Moderno constitui, em termos arquitectónicos, a "peculiaridade espanhola". Por conseguinte, pode dizer-se que existe uma linguagem arquitectónica enquanto produto da cultura que a envolve, que é representada pelo 'koinè arquitectónico'. O vernacular é um aspecto central do todo. As suas origens e evolução são os temas do presente artigo.

ALFREDO DE ANDRADE (1838-1915) ENTRE ITÁLIA E PORTUGAL: PESQUISAS SOBRE A ARQUITECTURA VERNACULAR

Teresa Ferreira

O texto aborda as pesquisas de Alfredo de Andrade sobre arquitectura vernacular nas suas duas pátrias: Itália e Portugal. Este vasto material (documental e iconográfico) relaciona-se com questões fulcrais do debate arquitectónico dos finais do século XIX centrado na 'construção da nação': por um lado, a identificação, estudo e salvaguarda de edifícios que representassem uma identidade nacional emergente e que, por outro lado, pudessem ser também uma fonte de inspiração a nova produção arquitectónica. O texto fundamenta ainda a importância deste contexto prévio na definição da cultura arquitectónica do século XX.

TEORIA DA ARQUITECTURA E VERNÁCULO NA OBRA DE PEDRO VIEIRA DE ALMEIDA

Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia and Alexandra Cardoso

Os últimos textos de Pedro Vieira de Almeida, alguns dos quais ainda inéditos, incidem sobre o Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional, mais concretamente, a sua versão publicada com o título *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*, ou utilizam-no como universo de demonstração teórica.

Desde a tese que dedicou ao espaço em arquitectura (1961-63), passando pelo estudo da obra de Raul Lino (1970), entre outros textos, Vieira de Almeida contribuiu significativamente para uma abordagem teórica, crítica e histórica do Inquérito. O projecto de investigação *A "Arquitectura Popular em Portugal". Uma Leitura Crítica* por ele proposto e inicialmente coordenado, é pois, uma consequência directa desse trabalho de longa data.

O estudo que agora publicamos identifica as principais questões que Pedro Vieira de Almeida levanta a propósito do Inquérito e as implicações teóricas e críticas que este teve na sua obra.

DECLÍNIO E CONTAMINAÇÕES NO PÓS-INQUÉRITO DA ARQUITECTURA NA ARQUITECTURA SEM ARQUITECTOS (1955-1985)

Victor Mestre

Ao longo de trinta anos de investigação na área da arquitectura tradicional e do património arquitectónico em Portugal continental, nas regiões autónomas dos Açores e Madeira, nas Canárias e em Cabo Verde, no contexto do Mediterrâneo e nos territórios Goa, Damão e Diu, Macau e Timor, entre outros de influência cultural portuguesa, realizamos diversos trabalhos quase sempre interligados por um objectivo comum: compreende-los para assim melhor salvaguardar os valores das tradições culturais no interesse dos seus utilizadores.

Procurámos conhecer e viver com esses utilizadores, observar o seu território e as paisagens contemplativas e produtivas como um enquadramento essencial da cultura tradicional de diferentes povos e culturas os seus materiais e tecnologias, as suas tipologias e expressões, a sua identidade e os traços antropológicos das

comunidades, colocando o homem e suas acções no centro da investigação.

Ao longo destes anos fomos observando um declínio, um abandono, um colapso, uma transformação, uma assimilação, a corrupção e o desaparecimento de culturas tradicionais em diferentes ambientes e consequentemente, o modo como a civilização industrial e moderna as foi cercando. Observámos diferentes ritmos e intensidades que se ajustam ao meio ambiente e aos ciclos político-sociais e o frenético acelerar de tempo e acções. Testemunhámos uma transformação espacial como nenhuma outra na História, tornando-se difícil deprender o seu rumo e compreender inteiramente as causas e os efeitos das perdas e dos benefícios para as pessoas. E no meio destas violentas alterações é importante que não nos deixemos resignar face ao aparentemente inevitável desaparecimento ou corrupção de estilos de vida em sintonia com a natureza, com princípios ancestrais e práticas correntes associadas aos métodos de construção.

CONSTRUINDO A NOVA BARCELONA. A IMPORTÂNCIA DO "INQUÉRITO" À ARQUITECTURA CORRENTE NO PROJECTO DE CERDÀ

Antoni Remesar and Salvador García Fortes

O trabalho de Ildefons Cerdà tem vindo a ser subestimado no contexto da historiografia do urbanismo. No entanto, a sua obra começa a ser reconhecida como essencial para o desenvolvimento deste campo de prática social e económica e de investigação que actualmente designamos por urbanismo. Neste artigo não nos concentraremos nem nos aspectos de "planeamento" inerentes ao projecto de Cerdà, nem nos aspectos decorrentes do seu pensamento sobre a disciplina da "urbanização". Em vez disso, centramos a atenção em alguns dos procedimentos metodológicos de Cerdà menos conhecidos, mas que são essenciais no desenvolvimento, não só do seu Plano de Reforma e Expansão para Barcelona, como também para a articulação da sua teoria.

No contexto deste estudo, concentrar-nos-emos na "rua (intervia)", na construção e tentaremos analisar até que ponto Cerdà aí inclui a construção popular.

RÚSTICO VERSUS RURAL: A EXPOSIÇÃO DE ARQUITECTURA VERNACULAR COMO ESTUDO DAS MUITAS FACES DO MODERNISMO ITALIANO

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Tal como a forma literária do manifesto, que se dirigetanto ao público em geral como a especialistas, as exposições de arquitectura e os catálogos de apoio podem promover o debate, abrindo um novo terreno para a prática profissional. Recorde-se, por exemplo, o debate acalorado gerado pelo livro e exposição de Bernard Rudofsky no MoMA, sobre edifícios vernaculares, com o título: "Architecture without Architects [Arquitectura sem Arquitectos]" (1964). Além disso, as exposições de arquitectura têm a capacidade de servir como um arquivo (e levantamento), especialmente quando acompanhadas por catálogos abrangentes. Exposições com curadoria e concepção de arquitectos com intenções polémicas tiveram, ao longo do século XX, um impacto crucial na prática de projecto em Itália, estimulando o debate e influenciando a prática profissional. Ao longo do período fascista, assim como após a Segunda Guerra Mundial, exposições e publicações sobre o vernacular, desafiaram um discurso arquitectónico ligado ao classicismo. Este trabalho examina quatro exposições seminais que realizaram um inquérito aos edifícios vernaculares de Itália: Exposição de Etnografia Italiana (Roma, 1911), Exposição de Arte Rústica (Roma, 1921), *Architettura rurale italiana: Funzionalità della casa rurale* [Arquitectura Rural Italiana: Funcionalidade da Casa Rural] (Milão, 1936), e a *Mostra dell'architettura spontanea* [Mostra de Arquitectura Espontânea] (Milão, 1951). Estas exposições que giravam em torno de questões da identidade italiana, advogavam a síntese de ideais regionalistas e modernistas com o potencial de desafiar a tendência dominante rumo a esquemas classicizantes tipicamente apoiados pelo regime fascista e, simultaneamente, funcionaram como um antídoto para o funcionalismo genérico, durante o período pós-guerra. (Sabatino, 2010).

ARQUITECTURA ENRAIZADA NO CAMPO: LEVANTAMENTO DA ARQUITECTURA VERNACULAR E DESENVOLVIMENTO TURÍSTICO

Mariann Simon

Após a revolução falhada de 1956, teve início um intenso desenvolvimento em redor do Lago Balaton na Hungria. Isto constituiu um indício de desanuviamento político, mas também foi em parte determinado pelo interesse económico de investimento no turismo. O novo plano regional incluía um inquérito aos monumentos que se estendeu ao património construído. Este texto apresenta os resultados desse inquérito e compara-os com os edifícios projetados e construídos, e com as manifestações dos arquitectos. A investigação inclui edifícios públicos que constituíram a maioria da actividade construtiva no primeiro período, mas também analisa projectos premiados de casas de fim-de-semana apresentados ao concurso de 1958. A investigação conclui que enquanto décadas mais tarde alguns arquitectos recordavam essa época como aquela em que "o espírito do vernáculo estava no ar", os edifícios não estão em sintonia com este testemunho, face ao património construído que fora previamente bem documentado. A dualidade lugar-forma e produto-forma, ou seja da tradição e tecnologia – ou vernacular e moderno - foi interpretada, pela maioria dos arquitectos, como um problema de escolha ou/ou. Em meados de 1960 esta contenda terminou com a vitória da tecnologia.

O INQUÉRITO COMO PROCESSO DE CONHECIMENTO, A INVESTIGAÇÃO COMO INSTRUMENTO CRÍTICO

Ana Tostões

Os meados dos anos 1950 corresponderam a um momento de reflexão crítica e acção operativa que contribuíram para a afirmação daquilo que do ponto de vista disciplinar, podemos designar como cultura arquitectónica portuguesa. De facto, a procura de referências locais daria origem a uma consciência regionalista crítica, com referência à Arquitectura Popular identificada no âmbito do projecto de investigação que foi o Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional em Portugal (1955). Se esta atitude revelava os conflitos e a crise que o Movimento Moderno atravessava no contexto internacional, nomeadamente no

âmbito das mais recentes plataformas dos CIAM, assinalava também, em Portugal, o retomar do sentido integrador que parece constituir uma constante da arquitectura portuguesa, tal como G. Kubler assinalou (1972). Na verdade, as questões relativas à tradição construtiva, à modernidade e ao regionalismo, atravessaram a consciência de diversos arquitectos, trazendo uma vez mais, ao de cima, o tema da "casa portuguesa", presente de um modo algo hegemónico desde o princípio do século. Em 1961, a publicação da *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* (1961), que divulgou o trabalho do Inquérito, fixava a memória de um território e de um modo de construir. Era a charneira entre estes dois mundos, em que o racionalismo abstracto era visto realisticamente no vernacular, porque a sua maturidade permitia superar a dicotomia do local versus internacional. Isto significou a abertura da arquitectura portuguesa ao futuro e à possibilidade da contemporaneidade. Neste momento, a investigação sobre a teoria e a prática da arquitectura começa a constituir-se enquanto ferramenta pedagógica: na ESBAP, Nuno Portas (1934-) e Pedro Vieira de Almeida (1933-2011) procuravam conseguir uma interação entre prática e teoria, com vista a levar cultura arquitectónica Portuguesa a um novo estágio de maturidade. Na década de 80, o designado Inquérito à *Arquitectura Popular dos Açores* seguiu e ampliou o Inquérito dos anos 50 ao território das ilhas. Com o objectivo de discutir o *Estilo Chão* como um conceito hegemónico de aproximação à produção arquitectónica em tempo de escassez, o estudo abriu caminho para uma articulação com uma visão global da arquitectura de influência portuguesa, demonstrando a relação existente entre a investigação sobre história da arquitectura ligada com a arquitectura erudita e popular e a redefinição da cultura arquitectónica do século XX.

ENTRE CÁ E LÁ. ESPAÇO RURAL E URBANO COMO IDENTIDADE NACIONAL NOS ANOS 60 EM PORTUGAL
Luís Urbano

Neste trabalho procurar-se-á compreender como, no fim dos anos 50 e inícios de 60, os arquitectos e realizadores portugueses desenvolveram um fascínio por um mundo rural em desaparecimento, do qual o Inquérito à *Arquitectura Popular* ou

filmes como *Acto da Primavera* (Oliveira, 1963) e *Mudar de Vida* (Rocha, 1966) foram apenas algumas das produções mais visíveis. O país real que encontraram não coincidia com o país ideal propagandeado pela ditadura e a investigação realizada, tanto na arquitectura, como no cinema, tinha claras motivações políticas de oposição a um regime progressivamente mais claustrofóbico. Os seus trabalhos integravam e testemunhavam as características mais genuinamente portuguesas: a carência de recursos, a invenção a partir dos materiais existentes e a vida comunitária como estratégia de sobrevivência. Foi neste confronto com uma realidade até então escondida, que realizadores e arquitectos encontraram uma solução possível para a crise da modernidade, mas também uma via para a procura de uma nova identidade nacional, reconhecendo as características de uma paisagem e de uma cultura provenientes de um contexto geográfico, político e socio-económico particulares, sem falsos formalismos, frequentemente carregadas de poesia. Este texto também considerará como, paralelamente a este interesse pelo mundo rural, tanto a arquitectura como o cinema debateram o retorno à cidade, os seus valores tradicionais, as características dos centros históricos, a redescoberta da rua e a sua imprevisibilidade; todos eles temas recorrentes nos anos 60, tanto a nível internacional como também em Portugal. Também se tomará em consideração o modo como arquitectos e realizadores se viram desafiados pela crescente urbanização do território português, consequência do abandono das zonas rurais, e como o renovado interesse pelos problemas da cidade foi também seminal tanto na arquitectura pós-Inquérito como nos primeiros filmes do chamado Cinema Novo.

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