SOUTHERN MODERNISMS

CRITICAL STANCES THROUGH REGIONAL APPROPRIATIONS

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SOUTHERN MODERNISMS
Critical Stances through Regional Appropriations
Conference proceedings

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The hegemonic definition of Modernism has been subjected to an intense critical revision process that began several decades ago. This process has contributed to the significant broadening of the modernist canon by challenging its primal essentialist assumptions and formalist interpretations in the fields of both the visual arts and architecture.

This conference aims to further expand this revision, as it seeks to discuss the notion of “Southern Modernisms” by considering the hypothesis that regional appropriations, both in Southern Europe and the Southern hemisphere, entailed important critical stances that have remained unseen or poorly explored by art and architectural historians. In association with the Southern Modernisms research project (FCT – EXPL/CPC-HAT/0191/2013), we want to consider the entrenchment of southern modernisms in popular culture (folk art and vernacular architecture) as anticipating some of the premises of what would later become known as critical regionalism.

It is therefore our purpose to explore a research path that runs parallel to key claims on modernism’s intertwinement with bourgeois society and mass culture, by questioning the idea that an aesthetically significant regionalism – one that resists to the colonization of international styles and is supported by critical awareness – occurred only in the field of architecture, and can only be represented as a post-modernist turn.

Submissions are invited that engage with all aspects of the title. Papers might include (but are not limited to):

1. the discussion of current definitions of modernism(s), regionalisms, folk art, vernacular architecture, and those of the tangent notions of avant-garde, tradition, nationalisms, rationalism, popular or mass culture and primitivism;

2. the effects of established dichotomies such as centers vs. peripheries; high art vs. low art (including folk art), etc; as well as the challenges raised by north/south and west/east conceptual divides;

3. the impact of modernist approaches on the history of Modernisms; the hegemony of teleological discourses positing abstraction as the necessary historical outcome for the arts (thus neglecting other ongoing interrogations on the means and possibilities of
representation), or as far as architecture is concerned instrumental notions of rationalism;

4. the political implications of the above-mentioned interpretations: the impact of fascism’s populism on Southern Europe; the potential of regionalism as resistance; the political implications of validating popular and vernacular modes in the realm of high art, and their relation to the avant-garde militant anti-bourgeois positions; the problems raised by the surveys on folk and vernacular cultures through the lens of modernist visual culture (particularly through the use of photography), etc.
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Conference organization
TRAVELLING MODERNISMS: 
The tours and acquaintances of Portuguese architects
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Abstract

With a special interest in the nature of the interwar Portuguese dictatorial regime, this paper will analyse the path followed by contemporary European aesthetic paradigms among the Portuguese architects. The aim is to understand whether these ideas paradigms were internally absorbed and externally implicated in the built environment. To achieve this aim, architects’ travels will be reconstructed, minding that travel will be conceptualized in a broad sense, encompassing different contacts with non-Portuguese reality, such as through personal libraries, attendance to congresses, visits to exhibitions, study tours, vacations, education abroad, and acquaintance with foreign architects. This knowledge is expected to enlighten whether certain right-wing dictatorial political models, like Nazism and Fascism, were apprehended and embodied by architects involved in public buildings’ commissions; or, conversely, if the aesthetic influence of Portuguese long-standing allies, like the United Kingdom and France, was still dominant. Stretching the argument, one might even wonder if the autarchy’s political claims during the Portuguese regime were also extended to the architectural field. All in all, the research’s initial hypothesis was that some architects were more cosmopolitan than acknowledged. In proving it, the emphasis put by the art history and architectural history on Portuguese atavism loses strength, as architects would have been inspired and influenced by as many as the existent European regimes.

Keywords: Estado Novo, architecture, transnational modernism, transnational fascism

This paper draws upon two premises. First, as pointed out by the architect Luiz Cunha, the Portuguese architecture during the Estado Novo (New State) had a close relation with the individual taste of its supporters. These had generally no significant artistic culture, hence refusing what they could not understand (Almeida, Proença & Vaz, 2006, p.118). This statement matches with what Carlos Ramos had claimed: ‘we had no other job; we knew that our proposals would be rejected or amended if not in accordance with national expression’. However, this does not prove the existence of an official architecture. In fact, the second premise is that, as it was argued by the architect Pedro Vieira de Almeida (2008, p.93-96), there is no such thing as the Estado Novo architecture. As Cunha further explains, in a country where innovations were few and where the past was regarded as a

It was in fact the need to adjust architects’ views to the dominant taste that hampered their adhesion to the Modern Movement. This assertion makes the following Carlos Ramos statement to seem a mere excuse to continue applying traditionalist elements during the dictatorship: ‘hardly were the ideas and modern theories known by us; it cannot be said that we had great convictions about what we were doing’ (Portas, 1969).

This paper expects to demonstrate how close Portuguese architects were to the European vanguard. The research is still ongoing, but some preliminary insights are already possible. The argument is not new: Jorge Segurado, an architect receiving many commissions from the regime, claimed it in a hyperbolic manner. First, he considered that the minister of public work Duarte Pacheco, known for the significant development of public buildings, was a narrow and rustic minded, uneducated, unable to quote intellectuals in any conversations. Conversely, some architects - among whom were himself, Carlos Ramos, Adelino Nunes, Cottinelli Telmo, Gonçalo de Mello Breyner, Cassiano Branco, Veloso Reis Camelo, Januário Godinho and Viana de Lima - were intellectuals who admired European modernist architects, such as Walter Gropius and Erich Mendelsohn. In his opinion, Portuguese architects' work even rose above Corbusier ideals (Segurado, 1989).

**Research hypothesis**

Despite the architects' exaggeration, the research hypothesis is that at least some architects were more cosmopolitan than usually acknowledged. Indeed, the emphasis put by art history and architectural history on Portuguese atavism seems to lose strength when considering that architects were inspired and influenced by as many as the existent European regimes and their particularly architectural modernisms, these being fascists or not. By modernism it is meant a cultural and political reaction to the previous status quo, a reaction that is identified with a 'technological utopianism' (Antliff, 1997, p.149) and a fascination with 'the impulse towards the “new”’ (Shiach, 2010, p.17-18).
In 1938 the National Union of Architects (Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos - SNA) founded under Salazar’s corporatist regime identified 75 architects legally working in Portugal. In 1944, Cristino da Silva argued that in Spain there were hundreds of architects while in Portugal there was only a scant hundred. The research is grounded on these architects' life paths and their professional and intellectual practices.

Looking for links, transferences and commonalities within the interwar dictatorships, this paper starts out in 1932, when Oliveira Salazar became the President of the Council of Minister, and ends up in the aftermath of the World War II. This timeline was not only determined by the latter's political and cultural significance, but also because it marks the date when the president of the architect’s Union was replaced. Architects’ travels will be scrutinized, minding that travel will be conceptualized in a broad sense. It encompasses architects' different contacts with non-Portuguese life, such as attendance to congresses, visits to exhibitions, study tours and vacations, education and training abroad, personal libraries, and acquaintances with foreign architects.

**Informal networking**

Architects maintained one to one contacts with several renowned foreign architects.

It is known that Pardal Monteiro was friend with Pierre Vago (1910-2002) with whom he exchanged private correspondence. Monteiro was also friend with André Bloc (1896-1966), founder of the *Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* and the *Réunion International d’Architectes* (RIA), who knew well Le Corbusier (1857-1965), Auguste Perret (1874-1954) and Henri Sauvage (1873-1932). Like Perret, Monteiro also attended to the RIA meeting in Rome in 1933.

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1 Minute nº 184 of the National Union of Architects board, 7 December 1938.
2 Third Congress of Federación de Urbanismo y de la Vivienda, 1944.
3 It is plausible that in 1937 Monteiro had gone to Algeria along with Duarte Pacheco to watch the works of the author of the Church of Notre Dame du Raincy, Auguste Perret: *Cathédrale d’Oran* (1912), *Maison de l’Agriculture* (1932), *Bureaux du Gouvernement*
An autographed book by Rouz-Spitz (1888-1957) can be found in his personal library proving that they met at least once. In a report of the commission created to construct a national stadium in Lisbon, Monteiro testified that he usually visited the Louis Faure-Dujarric’s 'very perfect facilities' guided by the French architect himself. He also knew Étienne de Gröer since they had worked together on the Belém urban plan (Lisbon). Alfred-Agache and Cesar Cort (1893 - 1978) travelled to Poland and the Soviet Union with Monteiro in a study tour organized by RIA in 1932 (Tostões, 2009) and the Brazilian Nestor Figueiredo, president of the Brazilian Institute of Architects, was Monteiro's friend.

During the early thirties, Jorge Segurado made contact with the Spanish architects Luis Lacasa and Sanchez Arcas (Galvão, 2003, p.211). Segurado even met William Lescaze once. While staying in New York to prepare the Portuguese pavilion to the 1939 international fair, the Portuguese architect invited Lescaze to be the United States correspondent of the Portuguese journal Arquitectos: 'I have asked Lescaze to be our journal correspondent and he kindly agreed. As you know, he is one of the first-line architects and very well connected'\(^4\). Segurado was then writing to Pardal Monteiro.

Carlos Ramos was friends with the famous Brazilian architect Lúcio Costa, who also contacted with Raul Lino, although on a more formal basis (Lino, 1937). Through Caldeira Cabral, Raul Lino also met the German architect Konrad Wiesner, who was working on the Nuremberg stadium.

Cristino da Silva was friend with Pedro Muguruza(1893–1952), who was responsible for the Directorate General of Architecture and the Directorate General of Devastated Regions and Repairs (Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas y Reparaciones) (1939-1957), and the author of the Valley of the Fallen design plan(1940-1948). Apparently, Muguruza had close relationships with Portuguese architects. He was mentioned for the first time in a minute of the Portuguese Architects' Union. Pardal Monteiro, its president, informed his colleagues that Muguruza had sent a letter to

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\(^4\) Pardal Monteiro Studio Archive, Folder 69 – National Stadium.
Guilherme Rebelo de Andrade expressing the intention of promoting a Spanish and Portuguese architects’ meeting in Madrid\(^5\). From then onwards, contacts were fruitful.


Ties with foreigner architects are also well illustrated in the competition to build the already mentioned sport stadium, held in 1936. The most famous Portuguese architects worked in association with foreigner architects, engineers and companies. Swedish, French, Belgian, German, Spanish and Italian companies presented proposals to the competition. Constantino Constantini, the architect that designed the Reggio Emilia stadium, the Mussolini Obelisk and other facilities of the Forum Mussolini, was a member of the Cristino da Silva and Vasco Lacerda Marques' team. This team also counted on an important Italian building company that erected the fascist stadiums of Livorno and Bari. No wonder that the proposal spoke about a ‘spectacular’, ‘harmonious’, ‘monumental’ and ‘imposing’ architectural ensemble\(^7\). Classicism and regionalism seem to have been preferred by all firms, although Carlos Ramos had applied with the Dutch architect Jan Wils (1891–1972), one of the founding members of the *De Stijl* movement.

Clearly, Portuguese architects were not confined to a national milieu.

**International Exhibitions**

Regarding international fairs, some architects attended to the International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts, held in Paris in 1925. There, they had direct contact with modernist architecture. Luiz Cunha, Pardal Monteiro and Cassiano Branco saw Le Corbusier's *Esprit Nouveau*.

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\(^5\) Minute n° 281 of the National Union of Architects board, 22 March 1943
\(^6\) Pardal Monteiro Studio Archive, Fold 104.
\(^7\) IRHU, PT CAONEL-0013/03 – Lisbon Stadium - Proposals.
pavilion and the Konstantin Melnikov Soviet pavilion. It is highly likely that Cristino da Silva visit them also as he was living in Paris at that time. According to João Paulo Martins, Cottinelli Telmo should have been there also (Martins, 1995, p. 136).

Not surprisingly, some of the Portuguese architects, such as Pardal Monteiro, Jorge Segurado, Keil do Amaral, Luís Benavente, and Frederico Caetano de Carvalho, went to the International Colonial Exhibition and the Congress on Urbanism in the Colonies and Tropical Countries held in Paris-Vincennes in 1931. There, they could observe the building planned by the French architects André Granet and Roger-Henri Expert Le Cactus.

In 1937 another great international exhibition was organized by the French government. Again, Pardal Monteiro, Jorge Segurado, Keil do Amaral, Luís Benavente, Jorge Segurado and Frederico Caetano de Carvalho attended to the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne. This time they had the opportunity of seeing Picasso’s Guernica, Alexander Calder’s Mercury Fountain and Miro’s Catalan peasant in revolt. The Finnish pavilion of Alvar Aalto must have amazed the Portuguese architects.

In short, attendance to international exhibitions evinces Portuguese architects' empirical knowledge of international architecture and architects.

**Cultural Diplomacy**

Contrary to the establish wisdom, cultural diplomacy was not a Nazi or Fascist exclusive. Propaganda was used by the Axis Powers, the Allies and neutrals. In the early thirties, two exhibitions on German architecture and technique were inaugurated, the first in 1941 and the second in 1942. In 1943 a Swiss exhibition was held. Within its leaflet Le Corbusier was mentioned as the architect responsible for the creation of a new architectural style. Apparently, Nazi events grasp more intensive attention of the media, since the Modern German Architecture was inaugurated by Albert Speer and the President of the Republic, Óscar Carmona (Ninhos, 2012, p.111), also with the presence of the President of the Council of
Minister Oliveira Salazar\textsuperscript{8}. After that, the book entitled *Moderna Arquitectura Alemã* was offered by Albert Speer to all the SNA’s members, inclusive the Oporto affiliates\textsuperscript{9}.

There were also some magazines sponsored by foreign governments. The American embassy printed the magazine *Noticiário de Arte e Arqueologia na América do Norte*, that had a section entitled ‘Architecture’, reproducing works by Walter Martens, Pietro Belluschi, Holabird & Root, O’Dell, Hewlett and Suckenback. The *Jovem Europa* [Young Europe] was published in Portugal and by many other countries and the German Siegfried Graf zu Dohna was its responsible in Portugal being also in charge of cultural academic exchange. In 1940 the *Institute Français* promoted a conference with the French architect Charles Siclis, who designed the *Casa de Serralves* in Oporto, about theatres’ architecture.

**Congresses**

Another kind of event that fostered contacts between Portuguese architects and European vanguards were the international architectural meetings. In fact, Portuguese architects participated in several of these events (Madrid, 1904; London, 1906; Rome, 1911; Holland, 1927; Rome, 1935). An illustration of their thoughts regarding what they had seen is the report that Pardal Monteiro sent to Salazar about the 13th International Congress of Architects held in Rome. The architect reproduces Mussolini opening speech:

\begin{quote}
I am for modern architecture. I want the respect and cult of the past. But I do not want the past to defeats us. The eternal Rome will always be timeliness. [...] A few years ago, Rome was a historical city. The fascist Rome, crossed by new and beautiful roads, is a city of today in which everything that represents the past is valuable and preserved, providing that this past does not damage the development of the Fascist Era. [...] The fascist Rome can't be crushed under so
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{8} Torre do Tombo, AOS/DI-3, 8 Novembro de 1941
\textsuperscript{9} Minute nº 248 of the National Union of Architects board, 19 November 1941.
many old stones in a way that it cannot breathe. Therefore, along with buildings from other eras, there are Fascist-era buildings, indicating to the future what Italy is in this moment.

Pardal Monteiro continued his letter by mentioning two opposed fascist Italian architectural styles: modernism versus classicism. He also gave some examples of new buildings that had originated violent protest being labelled as barbarian, foreigner, internationalist, on contrary to the Italian tradition and fascist nationalism: Florence train station planned by the architect Giovanni Michelucci, and the Genoa maritime station planned by Luigi Vietti (1931). In Monteiro’s view, these were planned in the new national styles and he thought Salazar should follow Mussolini’s recipe in order to facilitate the arisen of a new national style.

Pardal Monteiro have been at the Réunions Internationales d’Architectes – held in Moscow, Milan and Prague in 1932, 1933, 1935. In 1935 Cottinelli Telmo met Monteiro in Prague since he was going to attend to the International Penal and Prison Congress in Berlin.

The 1931 Deutsche Bauausstellung and the International Exhibition of Urbanism and Dwelling held in Berlin where visited by Jorge Segurado and Frederico Caetano de Carvalho. Adães Bermudes participated in the Fourth Pan-American Congress of Architects assembled in Rio (1930), during which architects expressed two opposite trends: modernism and traditionalism. Other Portuguese architects attended to the International Conference of Museums in Madrid in 1934 (e.g. Guilherme Rebelo de Andrade), and the International Congress of Hospitals in Paris in 1937 (e.g. Raul Lino).

An Iberian architects meeting was promoted by Pedro Muguruza in Madrid and Lisbon in 1944, gathering twenty Portuguese architects and over sixty Spanish architects. Personalities like Lopes Otero, the director of the works of the university city in Madrid, Cesar Cort, a urban planner and professor, Francesc de Paula Nebot, the Director of the School of Architecture of Barcelona, and Jose Fonseca, the chief architect of the Institute of attended this First Meeting of Portuguese and Spanish architects where there.

10 Torre do Tombo, AOS/CP-184, pt. 6, fls. 81-116. Letter to Oliveira Salazar, 8 September 1936.
Aware of the architectural international debates, the Portuguese architects' professional contacts with their international fellows were positively more wide and intense that one might think in face of history's emphasis on Portugal's seclusion from Europe's intellectual stage.

**Foreigner journals**

Reinforcing the idea that Portuguese architects were up to date regarding the architectural vanguards is the fact that many of them subscribed foreigner journals. Jorge Segurado testified that, during his education, Carlos Ramos used to bring foreign journals to the Fine Arts School and he already knew 'that thing of Bauhaus' (Portas, 1969). Furthermore, Segurado wrote to Eduardo Andycoberry, director of the *Arquitectura*, in Madrid, telling him that Carlos Ramos, Adelino Nunes e Paulino Montês wish to subscribe the Journal (1930). In fact, during a meeting of the Union, Cristino da Silva stated that almost all architects subscribed foreigner journals\(^1\). Furthermore, the Union itself promoted exchanges and subscriptions of foreigner journals like:

1. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, which was founded by Andre Bloc and associated to the vanguards, publishing several works of distinct architects, like Le Corbusier and Monteiro;
2. *Bulletin Société des Architectes Diplômés par Le Gouvernement*;
3. *L'Émulation, Journal of the Société centrale d'architecture de Belgique*;
5. *South African Architectural Record*, whose co-editor was Rex Martienssen, *an architect deeply influenced by Le Corbusier who nominate him as member of CIAM in 1937*;
6. *Arquitettura Italiana, directed by the fascist architect Armando Melis*;

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\(^1\) General Assembly of the National Union of Architects in 17 February 1938.

8. *Arquitectura e Urbanismo*, published by Instituto de Arquitectos do Brasil;

9. *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, published by Colégio Oficial de Arquitectos de Cataluña y Baleares;

10. *Casabella*, first published by an editorial committee that included Giuseppe Pagano (1933-1953);

11. *Architettura*, journal of the Italian Fascist Union;

12. *Royal Institute of British Architects Journal*.

The generalized idea of Portuguese architects' lack of knowledge on the international architecture seems to lose strength. After all, these journals disseminated the work of the modernist architects in Europe, assembling different aesthetic and ideological stances.

**Portuguese Press**

Information about the Modern Movement in the Portuguese specialized journal *Arquitectos* (1938-1942) prevailed over classicist and vernacular buildings, though these design plans were also reproduced\(^\text{12}\). However, more radical architectural solutions were discarded. The Portuguese journal also promoted acquaintances between national and foreign architects. Laprade, Mustafa Bey Fahmi and William Lezcase, for instance, were invited to collaborate with the *Arquitectos*. All of them accepted, although Lezcase did not publish anything within the journal.

\(^{12}\) Some examples are the modernists Virgile Bierbauer (a Hungarian member of CIAM), Howard Robertson (member of CIAM), Nicolosi Giuseppe, Lászlo Králík, Angelo A. Murgel, R. H. Uren, Alfred Kasiner; the fascist modernists Calza Bini, Rafael Fagnoni; the regionalist Albert Laprade, and the classicist Albert Edward Richardson.
Besides specialized journals, generalist magazines also published pictures and articles about new architectural tendencies. It is the case of *A Esfera*, a pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist journal. It disclosed the new German churches and highlighted the church of Charlottenburg designed by Gustave Adolf. One of its covers even published the Nuremberg tribune of honour. In 1925 the Soviet pavilion in the International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts was replicated in the *Europa* along with the description of some pavilions: Czechoslovakia (Josef Gočár), Austria (Joseph Hoffmann) and Soviet Union (Konstantin Melnikov). The train station in Hadrec Králové, also planned by Josef Gočár illustrates an article written by Cottinelli Telmo in *Boletim da CP*. Another article, also written by Cottinelli, is accompanied by a picture of the Karl Marx-Hof, a building complex that held 1,382 apartments, with the following subtitle: *social housing in Vienna, remarkable work that has exceeded our expectations*. In 1934 pictures of the Corbusier work were published in the *Magazine Bertrand* while the booklet *Lisboa Oriental* by Manuel Vicente Moreira quoted some Corbusier's sentences (Toussaint, 2013, p.204).

In other words, the Union not only provided access to international architecture via its library and exchange policy, as it published itself illustrations of the work that was being done throughout Europe. This is true also true for other kind of publications.

**Professional Associations**

SNA established links with other professional associations such as the Instituto Central dos Arquitectos from Brazil and the Royal Institute of British Architects. Nestor de Figueiredo was made honorary member of the SNA and Pardal Monteiro became an honorary member of the Brazilian institute in 1940. RIBA offered assistance and its library to the Portuguese Union's members staying in London. José Luís Monteiro, Cristino da Silva e

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13 *A Esfera*, 77, 20 October 1943.
14 *A Esfera*, 80, November 1943.
15 *Boletim da CP*, December 1935 and December 1936.
16 Minute of the National Union of Architects board, 26 September 1938.
António Couto became its honorary members. Pardal Monteiro was also member of the Société Centrale de L’Architecture de Belgique and Pedro Muguruza was a member of SNA.

Some architects belonged to other associations. Pardal Monteiro was the Portuguese representative in the RIA and, between 1931 and 1933, Segurado was member of the *Internationaler Verband Für Wohnugswesen* (International Association for House and Planning) based in Frankfurt (Galvão, 2003, p.322).

**Studying abroad and professional training**

Some Portuguese architects studied abroad. Surprisingly, none of them seems to have been particularly modern and certainly not modernist. José Augusto Magalhães attended the School of Fine Arts of the University of Rio Vasco Regaleira, José Augusto de Magalhães and Augusto José Maria Rodrigues da Silva studied at the Royal Institute of British Architects. Raul Lino was educated in Germany and England. António José de Brito e Cunha, José Marques da Silva, Manuel Marques and David Moreira da Silva obtained the French Government degree of Graduate Architect. Fernando de Barros Santa Rita also graduated with a foreigner degree. And Cristino da Silva was an inter architect in Paris, working in Victor Laloux’s studio.

**Travelling abroad**

Apart from vacations, most of the Portuguese architects who composed the restrict elite that worked for the state travelled abroad on behalf of the government. For each building program, the minister of Public Work Duarte Pacheco (1932-1936, 1938-1943) created a three members commission. Usually, it gathered an engineer, an architect and someone related with the functional program of the planned building. These members travelled in order to learn from the similar experiences in other countries. The program for the National Stadium competition, for example, was designed
accordingly to the learning of a member of the commission during a study trip. For that reason, some went on a multiple destination tour.

Usually, Monteiro’s study tours take not least than one month and sometimes it makes sense speaking about grand tours.

The engineer Eduardo Rodrigues de Carvalho and Pardal Monteiro, for instance, went on a long trip to study maritime stations. When writing the report, the engineer explained that the Lisbon’s maritime stations were planned after carrying out a comparative study with its congeners abroad: the maritime stations of Verdon, Cherbourg and Le Havre, in France; and the Genoa (two stations) and Trieste buildings, in Italy. Although they did not go to North America, the two authors asserted to have also taken into consideration the Los Angeles maritime station.

Some of these architects stayed for long periods outside Portugal. For example, Jorge Segurado spent a full year in the USA preparing the Portuguese pavilion for the 1939’s New York World’s Fair. A letter from to Pardal Monteiro shows the impact the trips had on the architect’ views:

I am convinced that Americans are the masters of construction. As you know, here, there are outstanding professionals: architects, planners and engineers; however, what we thought of America in that side of the Atlantic falls far short of direct impressions. To know the entrepreneurial strength of the Americans is mandatory to come up here. Prepare your bags and come. Look, bring Pacheco with you, because what you see here cannot be seen in Europe.

Analysing the Portuguese architects destinations, one might be surprised to find out they travelled more around before the end of Second World War. However, it must be minding that in that period they were younger and supported by the Minister of Public Works who died in a car accident in 1943. From then onwards, the Ministers of Public Work succumbed to

17 IRHU, PT CAONEL-0093/01 – Documents concerning the Stadium competition.
Salazar’s will, who always have preferred savings rather than expensive building programmes (and journeys). The absence of German after the World War II, once the Bauhaus' siege, requires further comprehension.

### Travels to European Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>1890-1945</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>1946-1968</th>
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<tr>
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<td>29</td>
<td>1 Europe</td>
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<td>2 France</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>5 Belgium</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3 Switzerland</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6 England</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Europe</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>(not discard)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Personal libraries

This restricted elite of architects also collected foreign books on architecture purchased both in Portuguese bookstores and during their stays abroad.

It is possible to access some of these personal libraries through the studios of Pardal Monteiro, donations to public libraries - Cottinelli Telmo, Adelino Nunes, Keil do Amaral, David Oliveira Lopes - and the archives of DGEMN, MOP, CAPOPI. Although this research is not yet concluded and probably many libraries were incomplete and dismantled, some preliminary conclusions can be drawn. The analysis was carried out taking into account
Recalling that these architects travelled abroad, one might question if the absence of these fundamental books on modernism was a matter of choice, rather than opportunity, as recurrently implicit in the history of Portuguese architecture. The explanation can also be more prosaic: the books were still in the hands of their families or were sold in used book shops.

**Foreign architects working in Portugal**

Portuguese architects acquainted with foreign architects were also promoted within the national territory. Some French, German and Italian architects such as Donald-Alfred Agache, Étienne de Gröer, Charles Siclis, Hermann Diestel, Marcelo Piacentini, Giorgio Calza Bini and Giovanni Muzio were invited to work in Portugal. There are also some German landscape architects to be considered: Heinrich Wiepking-Jürgensmann, Himmler's adviser and friend who had worked in the Berlin stadium; Georg Gunder,

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who worked on the Reich's sport field and Olympic village in 1936; and especially Konrad Wiesner, who had worked in the Nuremberg's stadium.

**Quotations on the Modern Movement**

In 1931 Segurado made a reference to Corbusier while lecturing in Madrid under the topic *Un Maison, Un Palais* (Galvão, 2003, p.252). Rogério de Azevedo, in a conference held in 1934, consistently quoted the French architect Le Corbusier (Toussaint, 2013, p.204). In turn, Raul Lino, in the book entitled *Auriverde Jornada* argued that Lúcio Costa intended to reinforce his opinion with Le Corbusier’s statements (Lino, 1937). Cottinelli Telmo mentioned Le Corbusier as following: ‘A smart French architect, an agitator to whom we all owe recognition, who is able to defend lies with the same intelligence that sustains truths, who created the formula of "house: living machine". This was funny when was new; today, is boring, I think it is of an ignoble romanticism. Why a machine? May I be when imagining myself as a dishwasher? How can I get satisfaction while imagining myself as something entering home through a door and going out clean, dressed, satiated, keeping a cigarette in the corner of my mouth?’

Cleary, Portuguese architects were informed about the Modern Movement. Whereas they adhered to it is a different issue requiring further research.

**Conclusion**

The following episode summarizes the argument of this paper: Jorge Segurado wanted to build a ten storey building with one hundred apartments to lodge intellectuals and artists. However, Salazar, not sharing

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21 Isabel Cottinelli Telmo Archive, text probably written in 1938.
Cottinelli’s views regarding the huge apartment block, vetoed the proposal, recalling what had happened during the Austrian Civil War in 1934. The Karl Marx Hof was the scene of a workers’ repression carried on by Dollfuss Austro-fascists (Segurado, 1989). Salazar represented the general taste and, as Pardal Monteiro stated in a conference, ‘the Portuguese architects worried about their earnings, follow de public taste, succumbed to the wishes of the tasteless and ignorant owners, practicing an architecture that tends to be the opposite of what it should be’: nice façade, rich materials, and non-functional design.\(^{22}\)

In conclusion, it was the nationalist pressure on the elite that jeopardized the architects' modernist impetus. In the end, highly depending on the state, architects gave in on their thoughts and did what the regime expected. They accepted the recommendations of the state's agencies headed by individuals adverse to the vanguard movement, in line with Salazar's views, and attuned to the taste of the private sector. That ended up giving rise to a mitigated modernism, a modern classicism and a vernacular traditionalism. However, it cannot be said that the Portuguese architecture stems from architects' ignorance.

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\(^{22}\) Pardal Monteiro Studio Archive, Fold 64A, 'Para onde vai a arquitectura', Pardal de Monteiro conference held in August 1945.


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