

“Tupi or not Tupi” versus “Casa Portuguesa”: Friction between Lúcio Costa and Raul Lino in *Auriverde Jornada* (or the debate that might have taken place on Identity and Heritage in Architecture)

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ABSTRACT

In the book *Auriverde Jornada*, Raul Lino recounts his meeting with Lúcio Costa in Rio de Janeiro in 1935. That brief shared moment, their personal convictions in relation to architecture and the affinities and divergences that unite/distance them serve as the point of departure for a comparative analysis of their professional journey in the sphere of heritage safeguarding. In fact, as well as landmarks in the architectural landscape of their respective countries, Lino and Costa were also towering figures in the heritage pathway, taking different directions but also sometimes moving in parallel. The animated debate between Lino and Costa on the spirit of modern architecture functions as a catalyst for the present essay, which encompasses a wider problematic: the construction of identity in architecture, the idiosyncrasies of the Modern Movement and the patrimonialization of architecture in Portugal and Brazil, as well as the relations, influences and repercussions that existed in this area between both countries between 1930 and 1960.

KEYWORDS

Raul Lino | Lúcio Costa | Safeguarding Heritage | *Auriverde Jornada* | Modernism

INTROIT: RAUL LINO'S MEETING WITH LÚCIO COSTA, IN RIO DE JANEIRO

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1935. During a lunch at the Jockey Club, two towering figures of Portuguese and Brazilian architecture become involved in an animated debate about the spirit of modern architecture. A generation separates them: an eminent architect and scholar is challenged by another, who is still making a name for himself. These differences impact on their views on architecture, at that moment unapologetically opposed [fig.01]. «At this time an impassable ditch opened up between my interlocutor and myself», Raul Lino (1879-1974) tells us about his dialogue with Lúcio Costa (1902-1998), related by him in his book *Auriverde Jornada – Recordações de uma Viagem ao Brasil* (1937)¹.

In fact, Raul Lino mentions his enthusiasm on meeting Lúcio Costa [fig.02], «an artist who enjoys the well-deserved prestige of a true mentor of the young architects of Brazil, having distinguished himself throughout his dazzling career mainly by an unexpected shift from the traditionalist eclecticism – exercised with notable talent – to a strictly traditional abstentionism (...) whose behaviour was held by some to be an act of apostasy, by others to be the logical transfiguration of his ideals». The two architects wasted no time in setting out their convictions, for «when practitioners

of the same craft get together, positions are quickly defined, agreement or disagreement is established, and then, choosing their words with care, they get to the heart of the matter».

Lúcio Costa very subtly opens the “hostilities” praising recent advances in modernist architecture in relation to the eclecticism, with which Raul Lino very diplomatically agrees, though with the caveat of an implied criticism of the emphasis placed on affirming that kind of architecture as an ideal solution, crowning architectural developments of the moment. Lúcio Costa returns to the attack, praising the new architecture as a product of new, rational and innovative techniques, untrammelled by references from the Past, «paradoxically still waiting for the society to which, logically, it should belong». However, Raul Lino views this new architecture more precisely as a reflection of contemporary society, the product of more than a century of living with rationalist ideals (among other motifs) in which architecture ended up «stripping off the forms that had become clothing with no meaning», ending up naked when, in reality, it should be covered by «clothes that confer on it the expression proper to a society that will not be eternally concerned with the body», reflecting the hopeful spirit of its respective era.

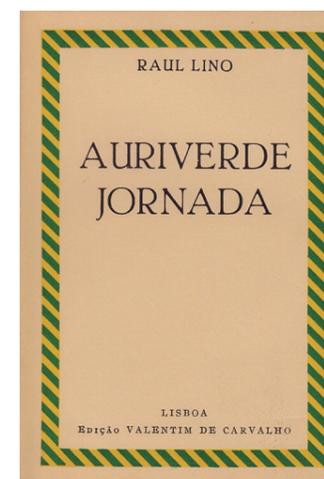


Fig 01. Cover of the book *Auriverde Jornada: Recordações de uma Viagem ao Brasil* (source: author's private library)

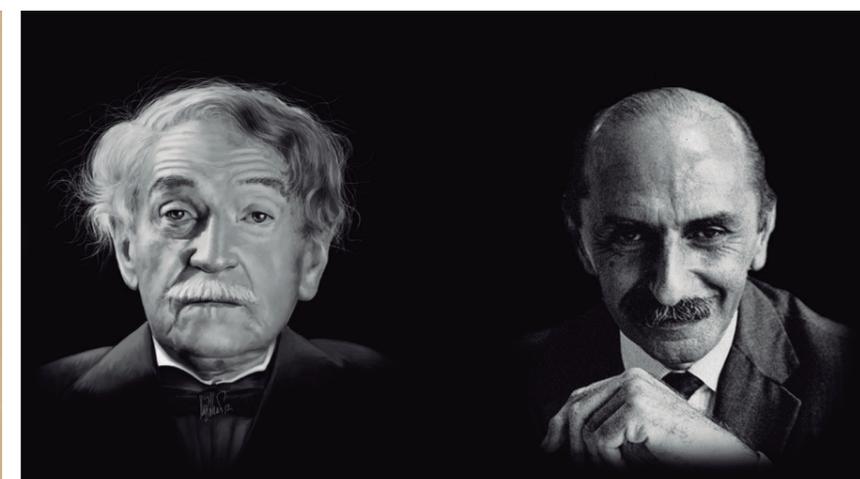


Fig 02. Photographs of Raul Lino and Lúcio Costa, photomontage by the author (sources: <https://www.deutscher-werkbund.de/raul-lino-1879-1974-architekt-zwischen-tradition-und-moderne> and https://www.correiobraziliense.com.br/app/noticia/cidades/2014/12/12/interna_cidadesdf,461704/fotos-compare-imagens-da-esplanada-dos-ministerios-em-1960-e-2014.shtml [2022.07.12])

1. All of the following quotations from Raul Lino are from *Auriverde Jornada* (Lino, 1937: 90-100).

Raul Lino explains very lucidly that «Lúcio Costa does not want to hear about tradition, that is to say, he seems to want to equate the morphological tradition in architects' work with the spiritual tradition in the work of mankind, and he observes that we Europeans are fed up with a heritage that oppresses us», countering that for his part, tradition «does not oppress or disturb anything» and he receives «the new techniques with open arms, all new techniques», as long as they yield to the human spirit, instead of yielding to the machine, as Le Corbusier (1887-1965) advocates (as, at that moment, Lúcio Costa also advocates, when he affirms «the certainty that the delight of personal endeavour will eventually disappear altogether»). The product of his Anglo-German training, still somewhat imbued with the romantic values and influences of the Arts and Crafts movement inspired by Augustus Pugin (1812-1852), John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896), Raul Lino rebels against «a certain kind of architecture, a certain art of recent decades (...) absolutely inhuman because of its exclusivist materialism» as the consequence of so much rationalism, arguing for his part in favour of a more human and sentimental architecture that reflects an individual and collective spirit. It is for this reason that, faced with the observation of the imminent rupture between both kinds of architecture due to the old «antinomy between rationalism and sentiment» that

each of them defended so fiercely, Raul Lino offers the above phrase on the “impassable ditch opened up” between him and Lúcio Costa that brings the heated debate to a close.

If this encounter had taken place a decade before, we would be witnessing a probable agreement between both of the characters in this story, the Portuguese and the Brazilian debating the affinities between the “Portuguese house” and “neo-colonial Brazilian architecture” (although with some possible, insignificant differences). But at the precise moment when the encounter actually took place, the divergences that existed were all too obvious. Even so, despite the apparent antagonism that is indicated, there was common ground between them both reflecting an architectural era and context made up of discoveries and rediscoveries, of advances and retreats, of oppositions and reconciliations, of alliances and schisms. Dualities that are reflected in the different kinds of relation (including architectural ones) that existed between the two sister countries, Portugal and Brazil, both living at that time under homonymous nationalist regimes, the recently established Estado Novo (New State) in Portugal, and the still incipient Brazilian Estado Novo. Both regimes viewed architectural heritage as an important propaganda instrument, and architecture thus reflects the ideological thinking of the era.

RAUL LINO: THE QUESTION OF THE “PORTUGUESE HOUSE” AND THE MISUNDERSTANDING AT THE HEART OF THE DEBATE ON THE NATIONAL ARCHITECTURAL STYLE IN PORTUGAL

Accompanying the intense debate that was being heard in Europe on the question of national architectural styles, in Portugal too there was also a heated debate about what should constitute the Portuguese architectural style. Possidónio da Silva had already questioned on a theoretical level which architectural style should be chosen to construct contemporary Portuguese architecture, accepting technological developments and at the same time respecting national traditions, and Ramalho Ortigão pronounced on the same topic. The result of this debate was the domination of eclecticism throughout a lengthy

period that ran from the middle of the 19th century to the second quarter of the 20th. The Neo-Manueline was especially important, characterised by the use of a template inspired directly by the architectural language of the sixteenth-century Manueline – a preference based on nationalist and historicist reasoning alluding directly to the glorious Past and the heroic feats carried out during the Golden Age of the Portuguese Discoveries – recreating them freely in the structures, symbolism or simply drawing on their aesthetic sense by randomly incorporating eclectic ornaments with picturesque motifs.

The preferred “national style” would then evolve into other architectural models emerging from the debate that was growing more intense, going from the Neo-Romanesque to the Neo-Baroque. It was in the middle of this controversy that the question of the “Portuguese house” expressed by Raul Lino was caught up, surrounded by misunderstandings produced both by opponents and defenders of the concept.

At just eleven years of age, Raul Lino² was sent to a school in England, then went on to Germany where he studied in the School of Arts and Crafts and in the Technical College. He then began to work in the studio of Albrecht Haupt (1852-1932), a German architect who was thoroughly versed in Portuguese architecture, having written his doctoral thesis on Renaissance architecture in Portugal. As Pedro Vieira de Almeida and José Manuel Fernandes observe, Raul Lino viewed Portugal as a rural, conservative country, from various points of view still backward in relation to other, more developed European countries (Almeida and Fernandes, 1986: 2).

But this was not viewed, however, as necessarily a matter of fate or completely negative. After his return to Portugal in 1897, Lino travelled throughout his native land, taking inventory and drawing traditional Portuguese architecture (popular houses and monuments, details of construction and decorations, façades and plans, etc.). This allowed him to envision the presence of a model for habitation that he considered typically Portuguese, whose values would be largely rooted in the south of Portugal, especially the Alentejo region, where the Roman and Muslim influences prevailed. His trip to Morocco in 1902, and later trips to Greece, Italy and Turkey also contributed to this notion, thus allowing him to insert popular Portuguese architecture into the Mediterranean world.

This understanding had a profound impact on his way of designing: despite some works that reveal a certain amount of eclecticism – the Tivoli Theatre in Lisbon (1924), with a suggestion of classicist eclecticism (this project won him his architect's diploma), and the Verdades de Faria House in Monte Estoril (1918), where the “St. Patrick's Tower” attached to the house clearly harks back to medieval seigneurial towers – Raul Lino was consistent in his work, dedicated to an architectural model that moved away (or tried to

move away) from eclectic academic models, whose influence came above all from Paris. Even when he demonstrated greater vanguardism among his then peers, as happened in the Brazil Pavilion (1940) in the Portuguese World Exhibition, Raul Lino remained true to the ideas that governed his way of designing.

It was however the question of the “Portuguese house” that made Raul Lino a landmark of Portuguese architecture in the 20th century, and although he was not a pioneer in his conceptualisation – which had been questioned since at least the mid-19th century – he was undoubtedly its best theorist, with views expressed in various books, among which *A Nossa Casa: Apontamentos sobre o Bom Gosto na Construção das Casas Simples* (1918), *A Casa Portuguesa* (1929), *Casas Portuguesas: Alguns Apontamentos sobre o Arquear das Casas Simples* (1933) and *L'Évolution de l'Architecture Domestique au Portugal* (1937) stand out. Those same guidelines are reflected in many of his works, as for example the Monsalvat House (1901) in Monte Estoril, Santa Maria House (1902) – also known as the Jorge O'Neill Palace – in Cascais, the Patudos House (1906) in Alpiarça, the Ribeiro Ferreira House (1906) and the Eliza Vaz House (1912) both in Lisbon, the Comenda House (1909) in Setúbal, the House of the Cypress (1913) and the House of Rocks (1922) both in Sintra. Not forgetting, of course, the project that threw him into the limelight: the competition for the Portuguese Pavilion in the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1900, that was won by Miguel Ventura Terra (1886-1919).

A culturalist paradigm deeply linked to the values that Raul Lino recognised as intrinsically national, though inserted into a broader sphere related to the Mediterranean world, runs through all of his works (written and constructed). The influences he absorbed from the British and German cultures, where he originally trained, are more than evident, not only in the Romantic traces related to the spirit of the place (above all the role of nature in determining which architecture is most appropriate for each location, taking advantage of the landscape), but also in the spirit of the place in which they build (the development of what is constructed, ways of inhabiting and lived experiences, relations with what is inside and outside, the individual dwellers and surrounding communities, etc.), recognisable in the ideas of John Ruskin or Camillo Sitte (1843-1903), among others.

2. On the life and career path of Raul Lino, already the subject of many studies, see among others: Pereira, 2012; Manoel, 2012; Quintino, 2003; Neto, 2002; Silva, 1997; Ribeiro, 1994; Almeida & Fernandes, 1986; Segurado, 1975.

It is not surprising, then, that the majority of projects carried out by Raul Lino have been for private dwellings, where his creative freedom could be unleashed without so many formal or conceptual pre-conditions. These houses were characterised not only by the use of traditional building materials (terracotta, tiles, wood, wrought iron, whitewash, ceramic blocks, etc.), but also by the use of forms, volumes and structures considered to be in some way typically linked to Portuguese tradition, like roofs with eaves, porches and verandas, chimneys, pergolas, little belvederes, courtyards, *masseira* ceilings³, staircases (interior and exterior), gardens and others (Silva, 1997: 17-18).

The upshot was extremely organic residential accommodation, with successions of spaces of transition not only between exterior and interior, but also between different kinds of functional space (that reflected different ways of living in these spaces), characterised by the meticulous design of the furniture, decoration and the actual modelling of the space; delicately articulated between themselves, these differences of spaces were frequently reflected through a rich external volumetric composition (accentuated by the effects of light-shade furnished by the porches, verandas, eaves, etc.), judiciously integrated into and respectfully dialoguing with the surrounding landscape [fig.03].

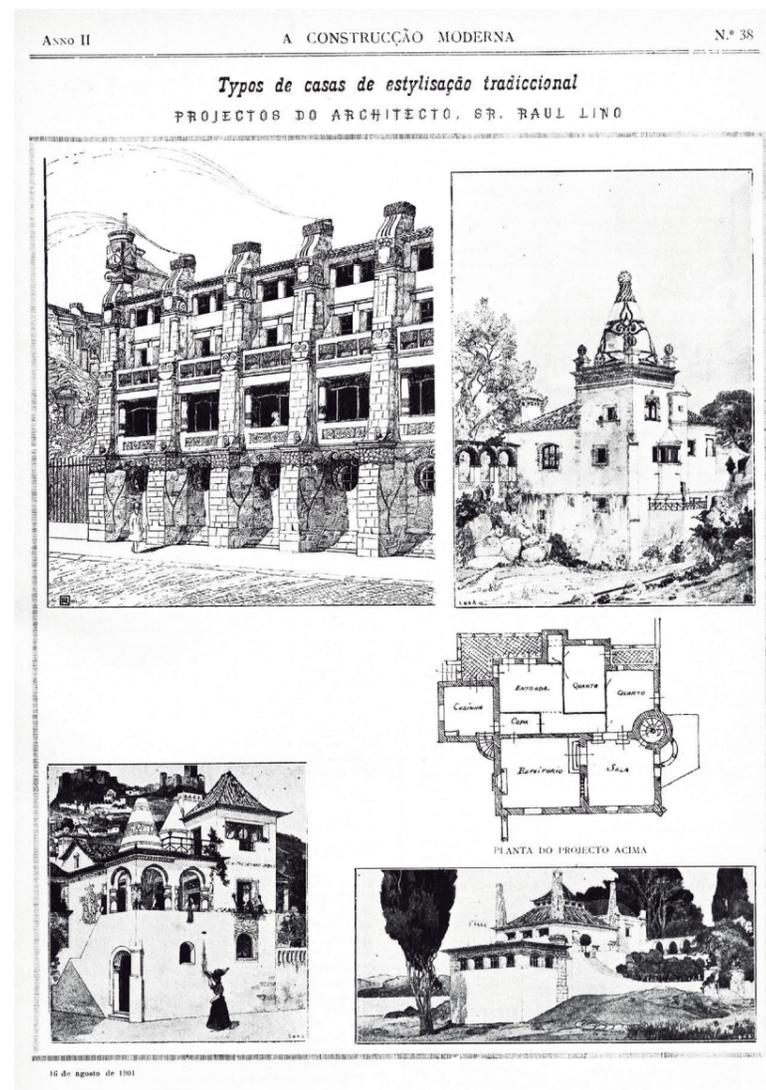


Fig 03. Designs for traditional houses by Raul Lino [source: *A Construção Moderna*, 38 [1901], p. 1]

3. Masseira ceiling is a kind of decorative wooden ceiling traditionally from the Mediterranean area.

The concepts presented by Raul Lino were not, however, understood by the great majority of contemporary society⁴. In fact, his ideas were received from a merely formal point of view, when what Raul Lino really had in mind was a more metaphysical conception. In other words, it was not so much the physical form that underlay the model of the Portuguese house, but rather the way that this was experienced and adapted and evolved according to circumstance. And if his critics used to lump him in with the old fashioned architects associated with revivalisms and eclecticism, nor did his followers succeed in fully assimilating the scope of Raul Lino's ideas, limiting themselves largely to producing buildings that arose out of the collage of

construction from popular Portuguese traditions on built structures whose matrix was not necessarily connected to lived Portuguese tradition, in a fashion commonly designated "Soft Portuguese" (Português Suave) and which was put on display during the dictatorial regime of the Estado Novo⁵.

This compositional, which had been rehearsed in 1904 by the architect Ricardo Severo (1869-1940) in his Oporto house, gave rise to an authentic pastiche of pseudo-traditional Portuguese forms inspired by the studies made by ethnologists António Rocha Peixoto (1866-1909) and Henrique José das Neves (1841-1915) in urban groupings in Northern Portugal⁶.

LÚCIO COSTA: THE SEARCH FOR BRAZILIANNESSE IN ARCHITECTURE, BETWEEN NEO-COLONIAL REVIVALISM AND BRAZILIAN MODERNISM

Ricardo Severo was, in fact, a person who was also directly involved with another sensitive issue relating to identity in architecture, but on this occasion in Brazil, in which Lúcio Costa also became involved. In effect, similarly to what occurred in Portugal, Brazil also saw a critical reaction to the European-style eclecticism that raged in the Brazilian architecture of the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, the product of the influences exercised directly by the French Artistic Mission to Brazil, as well as the foundation of the National School of Fine Arts in Rio de Janeiro.

Ricardo Severo also fanned the debate about the style of national architecture in Brazil, when in 1914 he delivered his lecture *A Arte Tradicional do Brasil*, in which he argued in favour of linking Brazilian architecture to the Portuguese, though modelled down the ages by local circumstances, which would give rise to a brazilianizing of Portuguese architecture.

That is, the national identity of Brazilian architecture would be based on the Portuguese architectural premises of the colonial period that were adapted in the Brazilian territory, thus giving rise to a typically Brazilian architectural model.

A little in the likeness of the "Soft Portuguese", the neo-colonial style – as it was usually designated – pleaded for the return of the Portuguese spirit to Brazilian architecture, from which stemmed the revivalist works deriving from a collage of built structures and ornamental elements inspired by the architecture of the colonial period, especially the Baroque era. The apotheosis of the neo-colonial came with the International Exhibition to commemorate the Centenary of Independence, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1922, championed among others by José Mariano Filho (1881-1946), writer and art critic.

It was in this context of a search for Brazilian identity in architecture that Lúcio Costa⁷ was trained in 1924.

4. In fact, Raul Lino complains indirectly about the way his ideas are misunderstood, in the *Vicissitudes da Casa Portuguesa nos Últimos Cinquenta Anos* (Vicissitudes of the Portuguese House in the Last Fifty Years) (Lino, 1945, pp.33-37).

5. Regarding "Soft Portuguese", see: Fernandes, 2003.

6. On Ricardo Severo's life, work and professional trajectory, and also regarding the question of neo-colonial architecture in Brazil, see among others: Fernandes & Pinheiro, 2013; Silveira & Bittar, 2013; Pinheiro, 2011; Kessel, 2008; Mello, 2007; Milheiro, 2005.

7. On the life, work and professional trajectory of Lúcio Costa, also widely studied, see among others: Costa & Pessôa, 2012; André, 2011; Pinheiro, 2011; Leonídio, 2007; Leonídio, 2006; Baeta, 2004; Kamita, 2004; Wisnik, 2001; Sant'Anna, 1977.

Despite the fact that some projects show affinities with European revivalisms or traditionalisms – for example, the Arnaldo Guinle Residence or the Jayme Smith de Vasconcellos Residence (also known as the Castle of the Baron of Itaipava), both in Teresópolis (1924) – most of the projects carried out under his approval at the beginning of his career, done together with his partner Fernando Valentim (1900-1969), demonstrate a clear affiliation with the neo-colonial style (called the “traditionalist movement” by Lúcio Costa), examples of which are the Adelaide and João Daudt de Oliveira Residences (1928) in Cosme Velho, the Raul Pedrosa Residence (1920s) in the Rua Rumânia, and the Rodolfo and Paulo Bittencourt Residences (1934-35) in the Largo do Boticário, all in Rio de Janeiro. Revivalist elements are clear to see in these constructions, including the “Portuguese-style eaves”, oculi, archways, tiles, pinnacles and niches, typically Baroque-style pediments, whitewash and carved stonework – elements that Lúcio Costa would have carefully observed and analysed during his study trips in Brazil, especially Minas Gerais (in 1924 and 1927).

This would have been when he coincided with Raul Lino’s ideas, if the encounter with Lúcio Costa had taken place at this time. But that was not the case, for when the meeting did take place, the latter had already undertaken a radical reversal of his convictions in respect of the best way to tackle architecture. In reality, Le Corbusier’s first visit to Brazil (1929) and his architectural and urban proposals must have impacted strongly on Lúcio Costa, who then converted to modernist ideals. At heart, the Modern Movement fought for a “new architecture”, breaking with the Past. In many cases, this rupture also led to profound changes in the experiences of the users of this architecture. In other words, it was conditioned by the existence of a metamorphosis of the actual modernist society. Le Corbusier’s famous “machine for living in” was only a part of this transmutation that turned architecture and cities into impersonal, universal organisms, making them the equivalent of machines and viewing people as standardised parts of those machines: preferential use of reinforced concrete and pre-fabricated pieces in standard forms, living spaces and structures built with standardised measurements, growing prioritisation of routes for traffic circulation, etc.

Lúcio Costa makes known the new direction of his theoretical thinking in the article *O Aleijadinho*⁸ e

a Arquitetura Tradicional (1929), where criticism of the famous artist from Minas Gerais served as the basis for his own criticism of historicist Brazilian architecture. Lúcio Costa then wrote that “the Aleijadinho never agreed with the general, authentic spirit of our architecture. Our architecture is robust, strong, massive, and everything he made was slim, delicate, fine, almost a medallion. Our architecture has calm, tranquil lines, and everything he left is tortuous and nervy. Everything in it is stable, severe, simple, not in the least pretentious. In him, everything is unstable, rich, complicated, and a little precious” (Costa, 1962: 14).

Lúcio Costa’s u-turn in favour of the Modern Movement is, in any case, confirmed by two of his later texts, *Uma Escola Viva de Belas-Artes* (1931) and *Razões da Nova Arquitetura* (1935), where he reiterates that architecture should be social (collective instead of individual), contemporary (adopting materials, building technologies and coeval artistic languages) and the architectural physiognomy should reflect the building systems and accept divestment, the opposite of covering them up with eclecticism (Sant’Anna, 1977: p.123). The project for the Alfredo Schwartz Residence (1932) in Rio de Janeiro, exemplifies his thinking at this time. For this reason, Lúcio Costa could not be more at odds with Raul Lino regarding these architectural matters, at the time of their encounter – as his words indeed confirm. But curiously, if this meeting had taken place ten years later, perhaps the differences between the two architects would not have been so marked, the result of Lúcio Costa’s new reversal in his relationship with architecture, that blurred those profound divergences.

Le Corbusier’s second journey to Brazil, in 1936, made within the framework of the design of the building destined for the Ministry of Education and Culture in Rio de Janeiro, occurred in a context in which Lúcio Costa would again ask himself about Brazilian identity in architecture. If there had to be a new architecture for a new country like Brazil, and if that architecture were to be inserted into a global Modern Movement (sometimes known as “International Style”), what then would define the existence of Brazilianness in the modern national architecture that could be identified with the country? This emancipatory attitude of “being national” was a deep-seated concern of the Brazilian cultural elites of the time: “Tupi or not Tupi, that is the question”, as the

8. Antônio Francisco Lisboa (1730 or 1738 –1814), more commonly known as Aleijadinho, “the little cripple”.

writer and essayist Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954) would write in his *Manifesto Antropófago* (1928)⁹.

Reflection on the existence of a specific aspect of Brazilian modernist architecture, in comparison with the “International Style”, led to emphasis on the so-called Brazilianness of Brazilian Modernism. Being modernist would somehow mean being Brazilian, as long that modernism reflected the actual Brazilian culture, different from other international cultures. For this it would be necessary to “brazilianize” modernist architecture (and, in addition, the society in which it is inserted), valuing the attributes considered intrinsic to Brazil that had developed since its colonial past. For this very reason, Lúcio Costa argued for recourse to the teachings of the Past in order to construct the Present, in a continuity that allied tradition to modernity, and translated into the existence of an authentic identity for Brazilian architecture, as can be inferred from his text *Documentação Necessária* (1937).

However, let it be said in all truth that even previously, Lúcio Costa had been fascinated by popular Brazilian architecture, during his study trip to Minas Gerais, which would later lead him to value “simplicity and honesty in building” of traditional houses, in contrast with the “vanity and decorative falsity” of the eclecticism. Re-evaluating his stance led him to find the essence of Brazilian architecture in colonial residences – above all the wattle and daub ones. The building logic of

this traditional structure, composed of a free-standing wooden structure holding up the building, to which were later added the walls (mud) demarcating the spaces, would coincide, according to Lúcio Costa, in the “five points for a new architecture” drawn up by Le Corbusier, that was structured on the building logic of reinforced concrete (Baeta, 2004: 2-3).

If Le Corbusier had insisted on using local building materials to construct the Ministry of Education and Culture in Rio de Janeiro, the continuation of Lúcio Costa’s study trips around Brazil and in particular the ones he made in Portugal in 1948 and 1952, where he had the opportunity to study traditional Portuguese architecture, certainly strengthened his conviction that many Brazilian solutions undoubtedly found their roots in Luso-Brazilian architectural culture, whose invariants tended to extend through time. These invariants were the result of a long process in which Portuguese architecture adapted to local conditioning factors: tropical climate, available materials, building systems in use, economic possibilities and ways of life. Brazilian modernism thus set out to reinterpret these invariants and introduce them into its architectural lexicon, justifying this development as a continuation from the colonial past into modernism [fig.04].

Brazilian modernist architecture is characterised by its simplicity and purity of form, it is genuine in its exposure of the building materials and structures that are used,

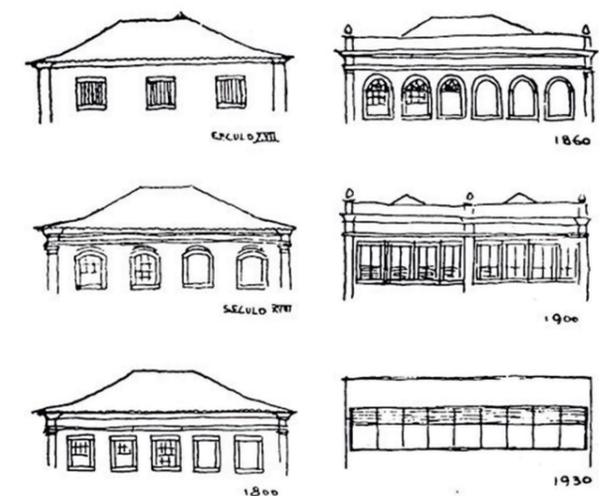


Fig 04. Evolution of Brazilian residential architecture, according to Lúcio Costa (source: Costa, 1937, pp. 36-37)

9. Tupi was a native language spoken in most of the coastal zones of what today is Brazil; this language was partially adopted and adapted by European settlers and African slaves as the *lingua franca* in the 16th and 17th centuries, when they had to communicate with the local indigenous inhabitants. The word play “Tupi or not Tupi, that is the question”, based in the opening phrase “To be, or not to be, that is the question” of Prince Hamlet’s soliloquy (William Shakespeare, 1564-1616), is a rhetorical question about the essence of “being Brazilian”, a new country born of the fusion of different cultures.

and organic (sometimes curvilinear), punctuated by traditional materials (local stone, tiles, ceramic roofs, wood) and construction elements that would be the logical finish on the basis of popular architecture: the *cobogós* (hollow concrete or brick block walls) evolved out of *muxarabis* (projected bay window enclosed by a wooden *jalousie* screen, deriving from the Muslim *mashrabiya*) and *gelosias* (*jalousie*

windows with a wooden screen of latticework), the systems of pillars and beams mark the culmination of the wattle and daub technique, and the open galleries derived from porches and verandas. Some iconic works by Lúcio Costa designed in this period are the Museum of Missions (1937) in São Miguel das Missões, the São Clemente Park Hotel (1944) in Nova Friburgo, and the Paes de Carvalho Residence (1944) in Rio de Janeiro.

HOW RAUL LINO AND LÚCIO COSTA APPROACHED THE QUESTION OF HERITAGE

Notwithstanding the different professional paths taken by both men and the divergences that emerged in the 1935 encounter, it is certain that in the next couple of years, fate would place them on very similar trajectories, as the senior figures responsible for state institutions dedicated to cultural heritage. In 1936 Raul Lino was appointed to the position of Head of the Office of Studies and Monumental Works, within the General-Bureau of National Buildings and Monuments (Portuguese acronym DGEMN), in 1939 he became Superintendent of National Palaces, and in 1949 he took on the role of director of the DGEMN Monuments Service (he retired in that same year, though he continued to work with the DGEMN as a consultant, until 1974). For his part, in 1937 Lúcio Costa began work in as Director of the Division of Studies and Listing in the newly created National Historical and Artistic Heritage Service (Portuguese acronym SPHAN), remaining there until he retired in 1972.

It is particularly significant that even the political circumstances of both countries were at that time quite similar, producing an enormous impact on their respective heritage contexts. Both the totalitarian regimes of the Portuguese Estado Novo, under the leadership of António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970), and the Brazilian Estado Novo, under the leadership of Getúlio Dornelles Vargas (1882-1954), made use cultural heritage as an ideological instrument for political propaganda, looking to the Past for a national identity, advocating the existence of national architectural styles,

and promoting the realisation of heritage interventions in keeping with these ideas. But while the Portuguese regime looked nostalgically to a glorious national Past that it wanted to recover, rewriting it according to its ideology – which entailed the reinterpretation of some monuments or the obliteration of parts of its past in others, as an attempt to reintegrate them in their initial form – the Brazilian regime, aware of the potential grandeur of the Present, considered that the Past took on meaning as the basis for the sense of modernity of the Present which, in turn, underpinned the prospect of a grandiose Future (Santos & Cardoso, 2013).

There is no doubt that both Raul Lino and Lúcio Costa made their mark on the heritage landscape of Portugal and Brazil in the mid-20th century, directly or indirectly. If the former showed an incipient hostility vis-à-vis the general reintegration practices that were being mooted in the DGEMN, taking instead a common-sense approach and embracing greater moderation and ponderation in heritage intervention, something that would happen afterwards, coinciding with his progression within the institution, the latter, from the outset, played a leading role in the SPHAN, taking on the role of setting out criteria and norms for classification and intervention in built heritage, that were later adopted by the institutions' technical staff. The analysis of both architects' views on heritage is based, in the case of the Portuguese architect, on the set of his technical rulings which are preserved in the DGEMN archives¹⁰, and, in the case of the Brazilian

architect, through the evaluation of a set of studies¹¹ that deal with some of the more paradigmatic cases of heritage interventions in which Lúcio Costa took part, during the “heroic phase” of the SPHAN. Although they do not categorically define the way the architects acted, they do, however, demonstrate important characteristics to be considered.

Lúcio Costa was in many respects a pioneer of Brazilian cultural heritage safeguarding, and in some instances was actually a world leader. Of course he fitted into the spirit of Getúlio Vargas's governance with regard to the valuing of the Past, embodied by monuments and historical and artistic sites, which led to the creation of the SPHAN. The region of Minas Gerais, epicentre Ouro Preto (the old Vila Rica) was considered the place of Brazilian emancipation, both on a political level – through the association with the Inconfidência Mineira (first attempt at liberation from the colonial yoke) and its leader, the national hero Joaquim da Silva Xavier (1746-1792), known as Tiradentes, and on the artistic level – due to the Minas Gerais' Baroque and its principal practitioner, the famous Aleijadinho (who, born in Brazil to a Portuguese man and an African woman, was himself celebrated as a symbol of the miscegenation that characterised the Brazilian culture).

National identity and memory were thus (re)constructed to forge a professed Brazilian cultural unity, inspired by the culture of Minas Gerais, excluding what was not considered consistent with an idealised Past. With this in mind, the Baroque churches, fortifications, farmhouses and colonial townhouses, overlooking the slave quarters, *quilombos* (settlements of runaway slaves), company towns and whatever went against the mystification of a homogenous Past and a history free from conflict and social contradictions (Fernandes,

2010: 12). The buildings classified by the SPHAN underwent systematic operations to eradicate anything that did not fit in with its (so-called) original purity, which resulted in the removal of eclectic elements considered spurious (namely parapets instead of eaves).

Lúcio Costa clearly took part in the construction of the stylistic homogenisation of historical Brazilian architecture – which came to be known as “Heritage Style”), applied also in new constructions located in historical centres – recovering some neo-colonial models with which he was already familiar. Examples are the interventions that took place in Ouro Preto [fig.05] and, more concretely, the refurbishment of the old Ouro Preto Lycée for the installation of the Vila Rica Cine-Theatre (1957), as well as a townhouse then occupied by the agency of the Banco do Estado de Minas Gerais. In both situations, Lúcio Costa suggested the elimination of decorative elements derived from eclecticism (parapets, pediments), replacing them with others linked to the aesthetic norms considered traditional (eaves, homogenous doors and windows with round arches).

Portuguese heritage was strongly favoured by Lúcio Costa to the detriment of other, less significant influences (Italian, French, German, etc.), but which even so, were no less worthy of being preserved. Such an attitude is reflected in the monuments classified by the SPHAN, mainly dating from the colonial period – though encompassing some neo-colonial and neo-classical buildings, because it was considered that the Frenchman Auguste Grandjean de Montigny (1776-1850) had adapted neo-classicism to local conditions, “brazilianizing” it in what became known as the “Imperial Style”. The fact that eclectic architecture did not brazilianize meant that it was demonstrably scorned by the technicians of the SPHAN, and almost did not appear in the list of classified monuments.

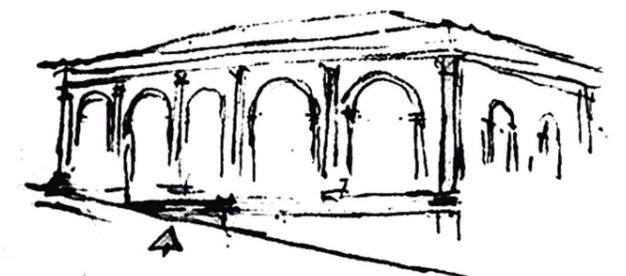


Fig 05. Sketch by Lúcio Costa for the Cine-Theatre Vila Rica, em Ouro Preto [source: <https://www.scielo.br/j/anaismp/a/P9FhMD6qPpcjn9ChDNj5B7q/?lang=pt#ModalFig4> [2022.07.12]]

10. The set of rulings under analysis is published in: Neto, 2001.

11. The studies analysed are: Pinheiro, 2018; Atique, 2016; Pinheiro, 2011; Pessôa, 1999; Sant'Anna, 1995; Cavalcanti, 1993; Motta, 1987; Sant'Anna, 1977.

Furthermore, the refusal to classify them by Lúcio Costa caused two important sets of buildings to be demolished in the 1970s, the Monroe Palace (eclectic building that had housed the Brazilian Federal Senate) and the Monjope Manor House (an example of the neo-colonial, built on the orders of José Mariano Filho), both in Rio de Janeiro.

The destruction of sets of eclectic buildings or buildings with aesthetics considered out of keeping was a practice that Lúcio Costa often supported, as was seen with the demolition of a neo-classical building in the Largo de Coimbra (Ouro Preto), aimed at “freeing up” the Church of St. Francis of Assisi – one of the masterworks of the Minas Gerais Baroque, in which the Aleijadinho took part – and granting it new visual perspectives, enhancing its value [fig.06]. The city of Ouro Preto was, moreover, the pearl of Brazilian historico-cultural heritage, and it was for this reason that the urban group was then classified in 1933, becoming the first on a world level. This classification was followed by a set of operations that set out to give the city a homogenous colonial image, where the introduction of new constructions was subject to very restrictive regulations. This was the case of the Grand Hotel of Ouro Preto, designed by Óscar Niemeyer (1907-2012) and concluded in 1944, where Lúcio Costa was again involved and which demonstrates, symptomatically, the insertion of a modernist building into an historical centre: although maintaining the modernist principle of honesty in construction, the new buildings should dialogue with pre-existing ones, making compositional and volumetric compromises

to match the characteristics of the place. The same principle was followed by Lúcio Costa in his intervention in São Miguel das Missões (19938-40) which, as well as the works to stabilise the ruins, involved the construction of the Museum of Missions; although it adopted a simplified aesthetic language and modern building techniques, the building was clearly inspired by the mission houses which had in the meantime disappeared, recovering some of their volumetry [fig.07].

In parallel with the classification of colonial architecture (above all the Minas Gerais Baroque), there was the classification of the modernist architecture of Rio de Janeiro, in a vanguard movement that contradicted the motto “If it is a monument it is not modern, and if it is modern it cannot be a monument” (Mumford, 1938: 438). If in Europe historicity and antiquity were key factors in classifying heritage, the introduction by the Brazilian modernists of artistry as a classification factor – whose philosophical-aesthetic subjectivity is different from the other two values – allowed recently finished buildings to be classified as national monuments: the Church of St. Francis of Assisi in the Pampulha (1947), in Belo Horizonte, or the Ministry of Education and Culture (1947) and the Hydroplane Station (1957), both in Rio de Janeiro. Not to mention the Flamengo Park (1965), also in Rio de Janeiro, whose heritage classification was given when the group was not yet finished, that is, it was granted during the project of Affonso Eduardo Reidy (1909-1964) – which gave rise to a curious problem: the repristination of modernist works may be the finalisation of existing projects, with or without the collaboration of the respective authors (who may still be alive).

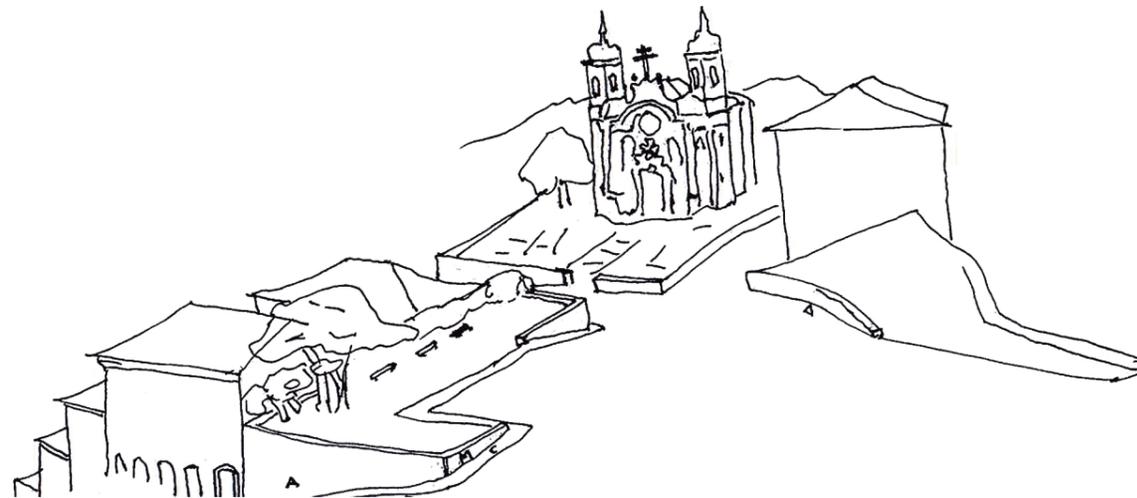


Fig 06. Sketch by Lúcio Costa for the Largo do Coimbra, in Ouro Preto (source: <http://espacospublicosbarricos.blogspot.com/2012/05/o-largo-de-coimbra.html> [2022.07.12])

As for Raul Lino, in the period when he worked in the DGEMN, the Portuguese dictatorial regime considered architectural monuments to be memorials and living witnesses to the origins of the country, national heroism and the glorious historical events of the Past, with medieval classified works being clearly favoured for heritage interventions. Just as it rewrote history according to its ideology, the regime also rewrote the symbolic messages conveyed by the monuments, whereby the intention of restoring their primitive purity to the monuments led increasingly to acts of architectural reintegration, sacrificing the contributions added down the ages, above all those that came after the 16th century, belonging to epochs that the regime associated with periods of national decadence. Despite everything, the DGEMN condemned the inventive component of the interventions, considering them to betray the values associated with the monuments – apart from very exceptional cases. The interventions sometimes involved extensive demolition of buildings, as a way of freeing old monuments from the amalgamation of “spurious constructions” that often concealed them.

Raul Lino’s thinking on heritage may be understood essentially in the rulings he issued on projects to intervene in classified monuments, most of them in the DGEMN. These rulings frequently conflicted in the first instance with the DGEMN practices. However, from the end of the 1940s, these slowly changed, coming closer to Raul Lino’s recommendations. Moreover, in 1949, already in post as Director of the DGEMN Monuments Service, Raul Lino wrote a memorandum entitled *Conservação de Monumentos* in which he sums up

the principles for the practice of restoration explained by Linus Birchler (1893-1967) one year before: there are no absolute norms in restoration work, each case is unique (the criteria to be followed are determined by the specific conditions of each building); purity of style is not justifiable, to the extent that it is not possible to make a building go back in time, and so it must be accepted that monuments are the product of works carried out down the ages in different languages; the monuments must be studied before interventions are launched; the value of a monument must be regulated by the environment into which it is inserted, and not by comparison with other monuments in different contexts; modern materials must be excluded from everything that is on view; if it is necessary to sacrifice some element of the monument, the least valuable one should be sacrificed, not necessarily the least old (the most recent could be more valuable than the oldest); special care must be taken with the surroundings of the monument, including minor architecture, since they have contributed to making them valued; modern additions must not have revivalist forms (unless exceptionally in furniture), on the contrary it should have a neutral aesthetic language.

Although this memorandum only circulated among the DGEMN technicians in 1949, the rulings issued by Raul Lino reveal that he would already follow many of the principles expressed in them from at least the 1930s. In fact, in the article *A Propósito da Sé do Funchal: A Restauração de Monumentos* published in 1941, Raul Lino criticised the theory of stylistic restoration advocated by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879),

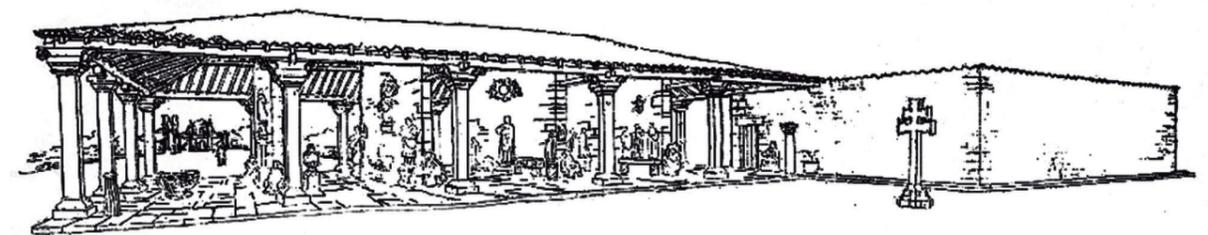


Fig 07. Sketch by Lúcio Costa for the Museum of Missions, in São Miguel das Missões (source: <https://www.archdaily.com.br> [2022.07.12])

whose obsession with stylistic repristination ended up producing adulterated monuments by obliterating their history, purging them of what he considered to be later spurious elements, and at the same time “made new” by giving them a new image due to the removal of their patina; this was a veiled criticism of the DGEMN’s own behaviour, on the heritage level.

His views relating to the restoration of Lisbon Cathedral (1939-41), where he comes into conflict with the architect responsible for the project, demonstrates his zeal and vanguardism; Raul Lino argues for maintaining elements constructed in periods after the Romanesque era (the Philippine sacristy, the Old Treasury, the Chapel of Bartolomeu Joanes, the Chapel of St. Vincent, the Manueline arcade on the terrace), since these gave value to the ancient monument. Regarding the 18th-century chancel and the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, which possessed 18th-century decoration of enormous value and coherence, he considers these should not give way to “new Gothic and Romanesque chapels”. Raul Lino even criticises the scorn poured on Baroque elements in favour of medieval ones, as well as the restorations made at the end of the 19th century (and beginning of the 20th) following principles of stylistic repristination that distort and disfigure the monument.

In this respect, Raul Lino is opposed to the construction of the tower over the crossing because there were not enough elements, and this was no longer part of the local imaginary; he further argues that the vaults of the side naves should not be decorated, but remain simple.

The criticism of removing elements later than the period of the initial constructions, as well as the use of revivalist languages in restorations, is repeated in the ruling on the Church of St. Peter (1937) in Manteigas, when he states that he is opposed to the demolition of the Baroque church in order to construct a new Neo-Gothic, also rejecting the option to construct a second tower in Neo-Gothic style (an imported foreignism out of keeping with Portuguese tradition and its own pre-existence), resting against the old Baroque church. In relation to the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption (1939) in Elvas, he is opposed to the demolition of the side naves and replacement of the existing windows with supposedly medieval slit windows, arguing for a sober reintegration of the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament (which was the target of banal decorations) and the maintenance of the pyramid of the church tower which, though not original, should be preserved, since it is already part of its image. For the Jerónimos Monastery (1938) in Lisbon, Raul Lino protests against the

19th-century revivalisms without quality that have distorted the monument, at the same time as he defends maintaining the post-Manueline additions of artistic quality. As for the works to be carried out in the wing of the old dormitories for the installation of the Naval Museum, these should be discrete and make the greatest possible use of the pre-existence [fig.08].

In effect, the preference for more simple and less intrusive approaches is demonstrated in the ruling about the Misericórdia Church (1939) in Angra do Heroísmo, in which he states that it is preferable to refrain from works than to rework the so-called restoration; in the Castle of Alvito (1939) he defends the conservation of the old plasterwork with its varied and picturesque tones, where fixing the wall surfaces should be a matter of urgent repairs; for the Castle of Portel (1939) he defends just doing consolidation works without their being visible, trying to preserve the patina of the walls, and he praises the intention to conserve the ruins of the alcazar and the Manueline chapel, the opposite of restoring them, stating that the remaining structure «is a ruin and it should remain a ruin» (Neto, 2001: 326); in the Pena Palace (1948) in Sintra, he argues for the simple consolidation of the altarpiece in the chapel’s chancel; for the Capuchos

Convent (1948), also in Sintra, he proposes that it should be classified, so as to protect it from prejudicial “improvements or enhancements” that, despite the good intentions of the eventual promoters, might contribute to the destruction of its heritage value.

This does not mean, however, that Raul Lino was absolutely opposed to the boldest interventions: emphasising the catchphrase that every case is unique, for the Queluz Palace (1938), which had been ravaged by fire shortly before, he argued for the modernisation of the parts used in the State protocol, but for the museological part, he argued for the most faithful reconstitution possible, including the reintroduction of the old furniture (displaced from museums and other palaces, or acquired at auctions) in order to recover the interior ambiances. Also for the Foz Palace (1942) in Lisbon, which had suffered a fire a decade before and which it was intended to recover in order to install the Secretariat of National Propaganda, Raul Lino equally proposed its reconstitution based on what had existed before. The unfinished Ajuda Palace (1934-37) and the Church of St. Engrácia (1956), both in Lisbon, received concluding proposals from Raul Lino (the church was made in collaboration with Luís Amoroso Lopes), who proposed to complete the

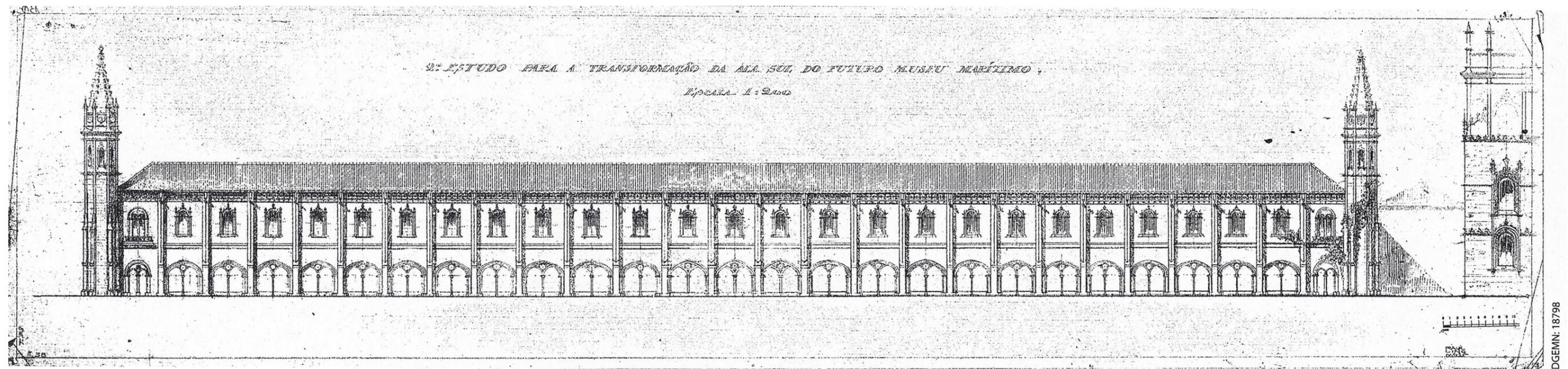


Fig 08. Design by Raul Lino for the installation of the Naval Museum in the old dormitory of the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos, in Lisbon [source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312516399_Raul_Lino_e_a_DGEMN_Patrimonio_edificado_e_arquitetura_publica_avaliar_superintender_e_projectar_1934-1974#fullTextFileContent [2022.07.12]]

missing parts using the same architectural language of the building, but in as discrete a way as possible, without overshadowing the pre-existing building [fig.09,10]. In other words, exceptionally to recover (or confer) dignity on the great monuments that had suffered disastrous events, use of reintegration or complementing their style were justified.

Finally, mention should be made of the importance Raul Lino attributed to the problem of the monuments' surroundings, whether space that had been built on,

or the natural environment, as can be seen in his rulings on the Convent of Christ (1948) in Tomar, in which he advocated for the protection of the groves of trees around the monuments, or the Leiria Castle (1949), where he argues that the monuments have to exist in harmony with the natural landscape, given that the vegetation adds value to the monument by allowing controlled views, scales, etc., as opposed to unimpeded monuments, that are not so interesting; besides, in many situations the natural vegetation is preferable to that in the bourgeois gardens, as it makes it possible to evoke picturesque impressions.

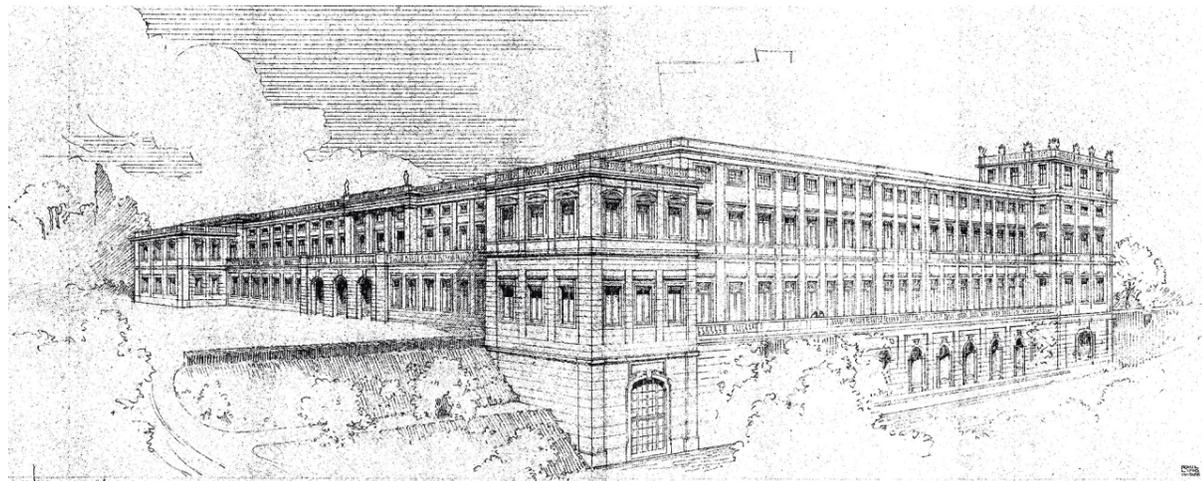
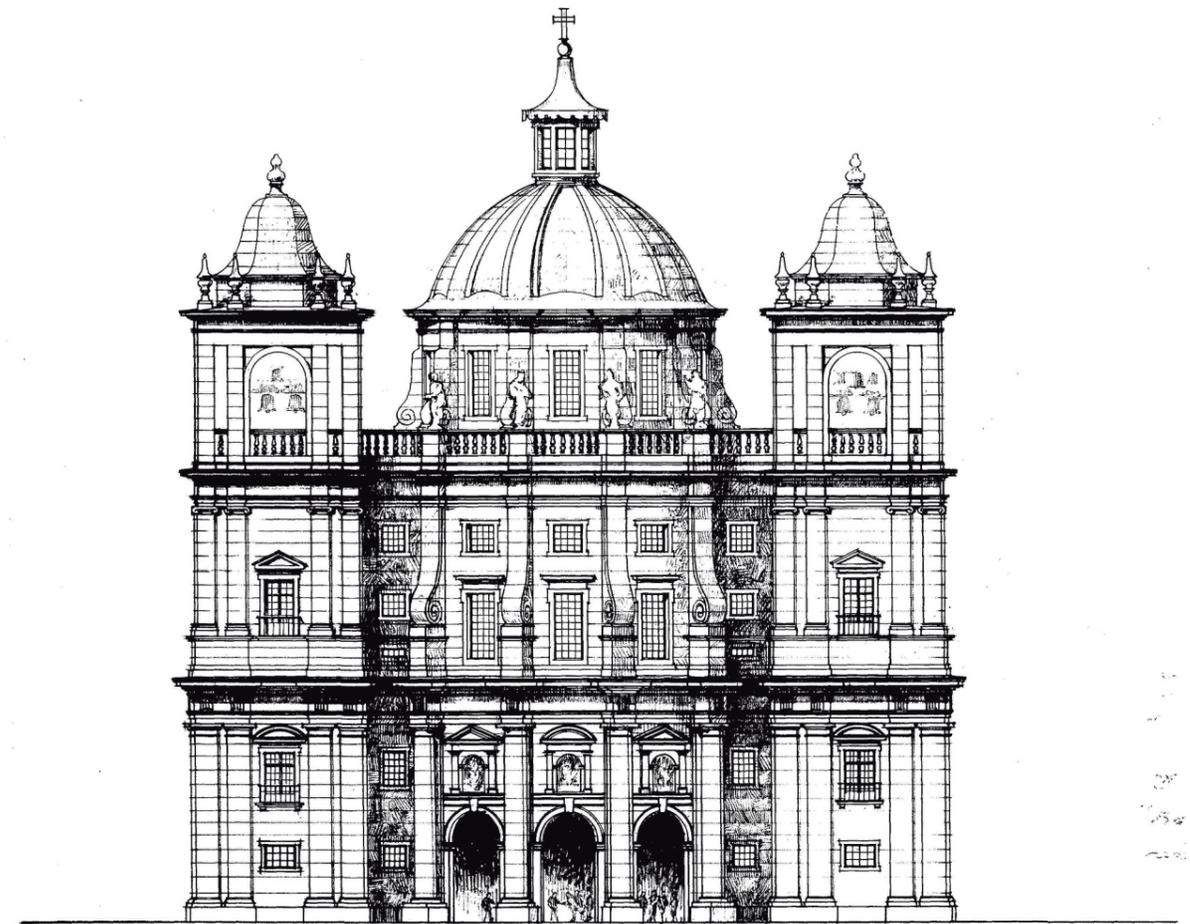


Fig 09. Design by Raul Lino for the additions to the Ajuda Palace, in Lisbon (source: <http://cidadaniaix.blogspot.com/2014/11/plano-de-remate-do-palacio-nacional-da.html> [2022.07.12])



Igreja de Santa Engrácia ESTUDO PARA O SEU COMPLEMENTO

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Fig 10. Design by Raul Lino and Luís Amoroso Lopes for the additions to the Church of St. Engrácia, in Lisbon (source: <https://restosdecoleccion.blogspot.com/2015/01/igreja-de-santa-engracia.html> [2022.07.12])

EPILOGUE: THE DEBATE THAT MIGHT HAVE TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN RAUL LINO AND LÚCIO COSTA, ON IDENTITY AND HERITAGE IN ARCHITECTURE

Much had been written about the debate between Raul Lino and Lúcio Costa in 1935. It is often considered that the former came bearing a conservative, backward-looking architectural discourse, on the verge of extinction, and the latter was the herald of a daring and progressive modernity, looking to the future. From the merely formal point of view, Raul Lino seemed to follow a model of eclecticism based on the reuse of traditional building techniques, systems and

elements, producing a pseudo-traditional architecture. Lúcio Costa, however, had adopted the new materials, building systems and the aesthetics of the Modern Movement, breaking with the Past and taking on the modernity of his age. In this respect, it might be said – and many have surely said it – that Lúcio Costa's architectural thinking was more advanced than that of Raul Lino, whereas the latter's was already considered outdated.

However, as we have seen above, if we analyse the debate from a metaphysical point of view, in the end it transpires that Raul Lino understood long before Lúcio Costa the experiential concepts of space in a logic of optimisation carried out through time, becoming perfected and modelled by the new conditions that emerge in each age: for this reason architectural form is the reflection of those experiences, because of which the Past is a preponderant element in architecture. Something that Lúcio Costa would come to acknowledge a few years later, although the application of these concepts in architecture has been done differently (reinterpreting the Past in the light of Modernism).

And as for the debate about safeguarding heritage that might have taken place between Raul Lino and Lúcio Costa? At that time neither of them was working with their respective heritage institutions. This only occurred a couple of years after. But we can foresee how this debate might have been had it taken place some years later! In a first analysis, it seems that once again Lúcio Costa's actions might have been more progressive in the sphere of heritage safeguarding than those of Raul Lino. In fact, Lúcio Costa was involved in the heritage classification of urban areas and modernist monuments (the first classifications of this kind in the world), he sponsored the integration of modernist architecture into historical environments, and he adopted criteria of artistry for heritage classifications (up till then limited to values of historicity and antiquity). Something that happened in Portugal later on.

But at a second, more focused glance, we note that in the end Raul Lino's vision of heritage was more advanced than that of Lúcio Costa, insofar as the latter frequently proposed the valuing of architecture from certain eras and of certain styles to the detriment of others, often resorting to processes of repristination through the demolition of built structures or removal of decorative elements considered spurious in relation to the so-called "primitive style". Raul Lino valued contributions from all ages, not only as historical documents, but also as artistic additions tending to enrich the initial monument through time by the different communities that lived alongside it, accepting the addition of modern elements to these monuments – as long as the elements were simple and subtle, leaving the old monument to occupy centre stage.

We could go further: shortly before Raul Lino and Lúcio Costa met, two documents were signed – with the same title but very different in content – usually called the "Athens Charter": Athens Charter of 1931, with the conclusions of the First International Congress

of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments; and the Athens Charter of 1933, with the synopsis of the International Conference of Modern Architecture (French acronym CIAM). While Lúcio Costa was indubitably aligned with the CIAM charter, there is no doubt that Raul Lino's thinking already brought him into line with the heritage charter of 1931.

The CIAM charter, generally speaking, gives clear primacy to the conditions of habitability and functionality, to the detriment of heritage value, where progress might rarely coexist with reminiscences of the Past. Obsolescence would inexorably dictate the death of the witnesses of the Past, though admitting the permanence of some with major historical and artistic significance, under certain circumstances: as documentation, in an isolated form and as long as they did not disturb the modernity or salubrity of the cities. In addition to this, in no case should revivalist elements be used in new constructions raised in historical zones, under the pretext that fictitious reconstitutions would devalue the authentic witnesses – this meant that the modernist language was the only one acceptable, given that it corresponded to the coeval aesthetic and technical resources.

The heritage charter recommended respect for the character and physiognomy of the cities, and, in particular, the monuments and historical centres, which should receive special care. In order to prevent their degradation and ruin, the monuments should continue to be occupied with respect, guaranteeing their regular maintenance and consequent patrimonial and functional conservation. Restorations should be minimal and respect the works of all eras, and in the event of that modern technical resources were chosen, these should be disguised, so as to preserve the character of the buildings.

Years later, when Lúcio Costa and Raul Lino were already working in the heritage institutions of their respective countries, an evolution could be discerned in the thinking of both architects: the former substantially approached the Athens heritage charter, while the thinking of the latter foreshadowed what would later be expressed in the Venice Charter of 1964, on the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites.

The debate (that never took place) between Raul Lino and Lúcio Costa on safeguarding heritage could for this reason have followed the same lines as the debate on modern architecture: at first sight Lúcio Costa would present a more modern version of the heritage discourse, but at a second moment perhaps it would be noted that Raul Lino, in the end, would hold some more advanced and coherent prerogatives, many of them still in fashion.

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