

**BUILT UTOPIAS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE:
THE RURAL AND THE MODERN IN FRANCO'S SPAIN**



Jean-François Lejeune

**Built Utopias in the Countryside:
The Rural and the Modern in Franco's Spain**

Dissertation

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For Astrid, with love.

Propositions

of the dissertation by Jean-François Lejeune “Built Utopias in the Countryside. The Rural and the Modern in Franco’s Spain.”

01. The traditionally opposed concepts of *Gesellschaft* vs. *Gemeinschaft* — society vs. community / village and small town vs. the metropolis — have contributed *together* to the definition of modernity and its application in the metropolis and the countryside.
02. The vernacular embodies the concept of type, and it is the very adaptability of the type as defined by Rafael Moneo that makes for the possibility of vernacular modernism.
03. We cannot continue to reserve the label of “modern urbanism” to the theories and practices that have assimilated the libertarian agenda of the open city with a progressive vision of history, and have rejected the street and the square as the indispensable constituents of urban space and life.
04. In spite of its reactionary position and support, the Catholic Church was a major agent of urban and architectural modernity during Franco’s dictatorship.
05. In contrast to the cancer of suburban sprawl that has engulfed the coasts of the Mediterranean since the 1970s, Benidorm is almost all right.
06. Contemporary urban realizations and projects demonstrate that the “picturesque,” or dare I say, the “scenographic,” as epitomized in Camillo Sitte’s principles, has been resurfacing as a formal strategy for twenty-first century avant-garde in urban design.
07. Historians tend to deduce forms and styles from political relationships and understand professional activity as political inventory. I maintain that there is no dictatorial urbanism, only urbanism done by dictatorships. In the case of Spain, the post-1955 capitalist phase of Franco’s regime implied a paradigm shift from

the pre-1945 Beaux-Arts model to the North American automobile-oriented modernist concept of the city. The latter type of urbanism has been characteristic of all post-1945 dictatorships, particularly in Latin America.

08. Following their general collapse during the 20th century, the collective, totalitarian and globalizing utopias are unlikely to return. However, utopias remain more than ever necessary. They will be small, partial, and local, to be implemented within the interstices of the contemporary urban and rural territory.

09. Fifty years after Aldo Rossi and as a logical reaction of a new generation of architects to the globalizing homogenization of real estate, architecture, and urban planning, the emphasis on the real advocated by Maurizio Ferraris's philosophical *Manifesto del Nuovo Realismo* (2012) has the potential to bring typology back to the forefront of theory and practice. Beyond typology, the neighborhood, the city, the region and the territory are the contemporary elements of the real that must influence a truly sustainable conception of the architecture of the city and landscape as urbanism.

10. As depopulation continue to affect the livability and survival of the countryside, each school of architecture in Europe and in the United States should adopt an abandoned or declining village, make it a place of learning the vernacular, and restore it with the students and faculty.

These propositions are regarded as opposable and defensible, and have been approved as such by the supervisors:

Prof. Dr. Herman van Bergeijk

Prof. Dr. Carola Hein

Summary

Built Utopias in the Countryside:

The Rural and the Modern in Franco's Spain

Anchored by Hüppauf and Umbach's notion of *Vernacular Modernism* and focusing on architecture and urbanism during Franco's dictatorship from 1939 to 1975, this thesis challenges the hegemonic and Northern-oriented narrative of urban modernity. It develops arguments about the reciprocal influences between the urban and the rural that characterize Spanish modernity, and analyzes the intense architectural and urban debates that resulted from the crisis of 1898, as they focused on the importance of vernacular architecture, in particular the Mediterranean one, in the definition of an "other modernity." This search culminated before 1936 with the "Lessons of Ibiza," and was revived at the beginning of the 1950s, when architects like Coderch, Fisac, Bohigas, and the cosigners of the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra* brought back the discourse of the modern vernacular as a politically acceptable form of Spanish modernity, and extended its field of application from the individual house and the rural architecture to the urban conditions, including social and middle-class housing. The core of the dissertation addresses the 20th century phenomenon of the modern agricultural village as built emergence of a rural paradigm of modernity in parallel or alternative to the metropolitan condition. In doing so, it interrogates the question of tradition, modernity, and national identity in urban form between the 1920s and the 1960s. Regarding Spain, it studies the actuation of the two Institutes that were created to implement the Francoist policy of post-war reconstruction and interior colonization—the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas*, and the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización*. It examines the ideological, political, urban, and architectural principles of Franco's reconstruction of the devastated countryside, as well as his grand "hydro-social dream" of modernization of the countryside. It analyzes their role in national-building policies in liaison with the early 20th-century Regenerationist Movement of Joaquín Costa, the first works of hydraulic infrastructure under Primo de Rivera, and the aborted agrarian reform of the Second Republic. Inspired by the Zionist colonization of Palestine and Mussolini's reclaiming of the Pontine Marshes, Falangist planners developed a national strategy of "interior colonization" that, along with the reclamation and irrigation of extensive and unproductive river basins, entailed the construction

of three hundred modern villages or *pueblos* between 1940 and 1971. Each village was designed as a “rural utopia,” centered on a plaza mayor and the church, which embodied the political ideal of civil life under the national-catholic regime and evolved from a traditional town design in the 1940s to an increasingly abstract and modern vision, anchored on the concept of the “Heart of the City” after 1952. The program was an important catalyst for the development of Spanish modern architecture after the first period of autarchy and an effective incubator for a new generation of architects, including Alejandro de la Sota, José Luis Fernández del Amo, and others. Between tradition and modernity, these architects reinvented the *pueblos* as platforms of urban and architectonic experimentation in their search for a depurated rural vernacular and a modern urban form. Whereas abstraction was the primary design tool that Fernández del Amo deployed to the limits of the continuity of urban form, de la Sota reversed the fundamental reference to the countryside that characterizes Spanish surrealism to bring surrealism within the process of rural modernization in Franco’s Spain.

Foreword

The very premise of this research and dissertation was a serendipitous discovery in the stacks of the Architecture and Fine Arts Library at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, sometimes around 2000: fifteen years of the Spanish periodical *Reconstrucción*, unknown to me until then and that, monthly from 1940 to 1956, documented the ideology, early propaganda, theory and practice of the post-Civil War reconstruction. There I discovered that the city of Guernika, martyr of the Civil War and first air attack of the Nazi German Luftwaffe and the Fascist Italian Aviazione Legionaria, had been reconstructed rationally but more or less as it was before the bombing. There I discovered the first plans, models, and renderings of the orthogonal new towns that had replaced the destroyed villages around Madrid, names like Brunete, Villanueva del Pardillo, and further along the Ebro front, Belchite and Gajanejos. A couple of years later, when I had completed my other books, I finally hit the road and embarked on various trips across the Spanish countryside, looking for those reconstructed towns and for that modern village, Vegaviana, whose name and photographs I had frequently encountered. It is on the way to that beautiful place that I realized that it did not exist in geographic and historical isolation and that, every four or five kilometers, a modern campanile in the landscape gave me a clue that another modern village was there to discover on the side of the road. Over the following years I drove hundreds of miles in the Spanish countryside, encountering dozens of modern villages designed and built between 1940 and 1970. And, in spite of their highly contested political history, I fell in love with their plazas, streets, and houses.

There is, no doubt, a contradiction in the semantic articulation of the two terms *pueblo* (village or small town) and *moderno* (modern). For most of us, including historians, a *pueblo* is rarely modern. Most often than not it conjures stories and memories of childhood, of family, of tradition, of folklore, of community life that is usually anchored in a historical environment, one that highlights old vernacular architectures and streets. In contrast, those new villages and towns that I visited were modern and functional, with straighter and wider streets, yet, their architecture was vernacular—some better and more abstract than other—and they were all centered on a *plaza mayor* which concentrated the civil life. To be sure, at that time, my interest in the works of José Luis Sert in Latin America had made me aware of the architecture of Ibiza and its influence on Spanish modernity. It is also through Sert that I was introduced to José Ortega y Gasset and his definition and cultural value of urban space and tradition.

Methodology

Research on this project took a long and contorted trajectory. Like many architects and even historians, my knowledge of 20th century architecture in Spain was quite selective and concentrated on the pre- and post-Civil War periods, with the exception of my admiration for José Antonio Coderch. Hence, I started with the study of the fast-developing secondary material by Spanish historians through books as well as published and on-line editions of various dissertations. Critical was the full consultation of *Arquitectura*, *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, *Nueva Forma* and many other period periodicals like *Gran Madrid* that allowed me to position the relation of modernity to the countryside and its very modernization within the larger picture of Spanish architecture and urbanism between 1918 and 1975, but also within the larger international context and particularly Mussolini's *città di fondazione* that were very familiar to me as they were always part of my teaching itineraries with students in Rome. The analysis of the primary and secondary literature also included a comparative process with non-Spanish examples of modern villages in to understand how similar design strategies and objectives led to very specific formal and typological solutions.

Over the years, the research led me to Ministerio de Agricultura (Madrid and San Fernando de Henares), repository of all plans, printed documents, and original photographs produced by the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (I.N.C.); to the Archivo General de la Nación (Alcalá de Henares), repository of all plans and original photographs produced by the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas* (D.G.R.D.); to the Servicio Histórico of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos Madrid (COAM), and its extensive archives of Spanish architecture and architects; to the archives of various architects involved in the program like the Fundación de la Sota in Madrid.

Site visits were fundamental to the development of this research. Given the number of places involved (300 for the I.N.C. and 20 for the D.G.R.D.), it was neither technically nor financially possible to visit physically every site. Consequently, choices and priorities had to be made in order to focus on as representative selection as possible. It included those places that have been the focus of most literature, like Vegaviana, Esquivel, and Brunete, but also many others, less or little discussed, particularly from the late 1950s and the 1960s. Those cases were analyzed urbanistically and architecturally in order to develop my own opinion on their relative value. During the last 18 months, thanks to the complete work of aerial and street photography realized by Google Earth, I did visit every single town and village digitally. I can thus assert that I was able to visit all the villages of the I.N.C. and all reconstructed towns of the D.G.R.D. Likewise, I was able to digitally visit the examples in Portugal and Israel.

Acknowledgments

Financial support for travel and research in Spain came from a variety of sources. In 2005-2006, Cristiano Rosponi, director of the *Agenzia per la città* and the Rome-based *Fondazione C.E.S.A.R.*, supported the initial step of my research with a small grant and the publication *Agorà a cielo scoperto: città di fondazione in Spagna* (2006) and the subsequent “Spagna: Città di Fondazione 1944-1969” for the *Città di pietra* catalogue (Biennale of Venice 2006). In 2010, I received funding from the Center for Transect Studies in Miami, directed by Andres Duany, and its generous support allowed me to start my yearly itineraries throughout the Spanish countryside. In 2010, along with my friend and colleague Michelangelo Sabatino, we published *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean* (Routledge, 2010) for which the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Arts gave initial funding. This publication resulted from the conference *The Other Modern* that I organized at Villa Malaparte in Capri in March 1998 and which was the very first step in my interest in the relationship between the Vernacular and the Modern.

However, it is from my own institution, the University of Miami, that I received the definitive support to embark on this dissertation and its future publication. In 2014-2015 and in 2016-2017 I got the Provost’s Award for Summer Research, and a year-long sabbatical in between. Finally, in 2015, thanks to Rosa Cervera, Professor and friend, I received a Giner de los Rios Research Fellowship from the Universidad de Alcalá de Henares at the Escuela de Arquitectura. Visiting positions have also helped me advance my theses and test it with colleagues and students. In 2010, thanks to my old friend from DoCOMOMO-Brazil, Professor Carlos Eduardo Comas, I taught a Ph.D. seminar at the Universidade do Rio Grande del Sur focused on Vernacular Modernism under the title “The Modernity of the Informal.” Four years later, on the invitation of Professor Giuseppe Strappa, I was a Visiting Professor at Università La Sapienza in Rome where I taught a semester-long seminar in the Ph.D. Program in “Architecture and Construction – Space and Society.” Selected material of the research in progress was presented at and published following a series of conferences as well as in invited lectures in various countries: *Oriental-Occidental* (ACSA, Istanbul, 2001), *Planned Cities* (ISUF, Bari, 2003), *Pamplona Metropolis 1930 Modernidad y Futuro* (Pamplona, 2006), *Fresh Air* (ACSA, Philadelphia, 2007), *The Venice Charter Revisited* (INTBAU, London, 2009), IASTE Conference (Beyrouth, 2010), Harvard University Graduate School of Design (2012), UNESCO Conference (Hondarribia, Spain, 2015), Escuela de Arquitectura Universidad de Alcalá de Henares (2015), ETSAM in Madrid (2015), Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha (2015), IHPS Conference (TU Delft, 2016), Bauhaus Universität Weimar (2016), Auburn University School of Architecture (2018), EAHN Fifth Conference (Tallinn, 2018), *Modernism, Modernization and the Rural Landscape* (MODSCAPES, Tartu, 2018),

In spite of many opportunities to share and discuss ideas, the making of this dissertation was a relatively solitary endeavor while teaching full time at the University of Miami School of Architecture. I would have liked to spend more time at the School of Architecture and the Environment at the Delft Technical University, but the help I received from my promoter and co-promoter, Carola Hein and Herman van Bergeijk, was invaluable. I thank them for their generosity, their advices, and their patience in seeing me complete the task. I also thank the independent members of the dissertation committee, Professors Hartmut Frank, Jean-Louis Cohen, Eric Storm, Carlos Sambricio, and Vincent Nadin.

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In Spain, first I have to thank the Biblioteca del Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid (COAM) for the many months that I have spent there researching, photographing, reading, and scanning material, a lot of which did not make it in this dissertation but in what I hope will be its following venture; in particular I need to recognize José Luis Alcalde Morejudo, who was a genuine mentor within the stacks of the library; Alberto Sáenz, director of the Servicio Histórico and his colleague María Carolina Hernández Martínez; María Cristina García Pérez, and María Jesús Gracia Montalbán—all of them mastering the art of making you feel welcome. I also thank the library staff at the Centro Museo Reina Sofía, at the Escuela Técnica de Arquitectura Madrid (ETSAM), and at the Escuela de Arquitectura, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares. Furthermore, for their friendship and the critical conversations, I show gratitude to Teresa Couceiro and Alejandro de la Sota, who opened generously the doors of the Fundación Alejandro de la Sota; to Rafael Fernández del Amo, and his help with his father's archives; and to Carlos Sambricio (ETSAM), David Rivera Gómez (ETSAM), Alejandro García Hermida (Universidad Alfonso X el Sabio de Madrid), Carlos

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O:

Introduction

The history of contemporary urban planning does not at all coincide with the history of avant-garde hypotheses. On the contrary, as certain recent philological investigations have been able to ascertain, the tradition of urban planning rests on foundations constructed outside of any avant-garde experience: on the *médicalisation de la ville* so intrinsic to physiocratic thought; on the late-eighteenth-century taxonomy of service spaces; on the nineteenth-century theories of Baumeister, Stibben, Eberstadt; on the practice of the American Park Movement; and on French and English regionalism. This necessitates a radical reexamination of the interrelationship between the history of urban planning and the parallel history of the ideologies of the Modern Movement. If this method is followed, many myths are destined to crumble.¹

Two large building fields are presented to us, when we observe the historical development of architecture. One field concerns the construction that is simply for life, while the other is strictly connected to completely specific spiritual atmospheres, which we perceive as precise cultures. The buildings of the first type are in all respects linked to the land on which they arise: these and only these are truly genuine. They are formed from the primary material of the landscape. They have not been invented but are, in the truest sense, developed from the needs of their inhabitants, and reflect the rhythm and character of the landscape in which they are inserted. These characteristics are typical of all the farmhouses, at any point on the earth.²

¹ Manfredo Tafuri, "The Historical Project," in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth – Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1987, pp. 18.

² Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Conferenza del 1926, in Fritz Neumeyer, *Mies van der Rohe. Le architetture e gli scritti*, Milano: Skira, 1996, pp. 267-68: "Due grandi campi edilizi si presentano a noi, quando osserviamo lo sviluppo storico dell'architettura. Un campo riguarda il costruire semplicemente per la vita, l'altro invece è strettamente connesso ad atmosfere spirituali del tutto specifiche, che percepiamo come culture ben precise. Gli edifici del primo tipo sono in tutto e per tutto legati al terreno sul quale sorgono: questi e soltanto questi sono veramente genuini. Essi sono formati dal materiale primario del paesaggio. Non sono stati inventati ma si sono, nel senso più vero, sviluppati a partire dai bisogni dei loro abitanti, e riflettono il ritmo e il carattere del paesaggio nel quale sono inseriti. Queste caratteristiche sono tipiche di tutte le case coloniche, in qualsiasi punto della terra si trovino."

BACKGROUND AND POSITIONS

North-South: Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean

In its traditional sense vernacular architecture can be seen “as the repository of a timeless way of building, marrying practicality and economy with unselfconscious artistic effect, using local materials and responsive to local needs and climate.”³ Etymologically, the word ‘vernacular’ is derived from the Latin *verna*, meaning a slave born in the house of his or her master. By extension, the adjective *vernacular* came to mean association with the place of birth, or as a noun, a native, usually a peasant or dependent. More generally, the term refers to the domestic realm in contrast with the public sphere. The word is often identified with a local or village society and implied a way of life devoted to work—usually farm work—and to family.

Renewed interest in the vernacular originated in England during in the 1800s. The first Industrial revolution had a traumatic impact on the development and quality of life of cities and on the conditions of workers’ housing, thus engaging architects, social scientists, and artists in attempting a return to the sources. In England, and later in France and Germany, the medieval gothic vernacular and the structural principles of gothic construction became the sources of inspiration for a new architecture that defined itself in opposition to the neo-Palladian principles that dominated the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century. Values of Christian life and faith, adequacy of form and construction, as well as the nationalistic overtones of the gothic style sustained the development of the new school of English theory initiated by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52). His followers John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896) were the progenitors of the Arts & Craft Movement and the spiritual inspirers of the Garden City, two deeply interconnected movements which were to spread across Europe and the United States at the turn of the century. In Germany, Herman Muthesius’s (1861-1927) book *Das englische Haus* of 1904 pioneered the new spirit. Talking about the English house and its new functionalist design inspired by farmhouses and other English vernacular elements, he wrote that “these houses are foundation stones of a new architecture (...) they are modern in the best sense of the word, because they are built reasonably and built for the middle class.”⁴ From the Arts and Crafts Movement he opened the way to the Werkbund but also to the vernacular-inspired works of Paul Schmitthenner, Paul Mebes, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, and Bruno Taut.

³ For this section on the vernacular and its influence on modern architecture I am deeply indebted to Richard A. Etlin’s chapter “A Modern Vernacular Architecture,” *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890-1940*, Cambridge-London: The MIT Press, 1991, pp. 129-161. The definition of the vernacular is on page 129. Also see J. B. Jackson, “Vernacular”, *American Architecture: Tradition and Innovation*, New York: Rizzoli, 1986, p. 144.

⁴ Herman Muthesius, *Das englische Haus: Entwicklung, Bedingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung und Innenraum*, Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1904. Quoted from Julius Posener, *From Schinkel to the Bauhaus*, New York: George Wittenborn, Inc., p. 18. In English, see Hermann Muthesius, *The English House*, Dennis Sharp (ed.), New York: Rizzoli, 1987.

Mebes's book *Um 1800* (1908) made the vernacular references and building types accessible to architects who, to some extent, modernized them in the 1920s.⁵

The program of the Staatliche Bauhaus that opened in Weimar in 1919 relied on two apparently contradicting influences, the Deutscher Werkbund of pre-1914 and the Expressionist medievalism epitomized by Taut, Mendelsohn, and Poelzig. Yet, both movements were—at least partially—related to the concept of vernacular. Within the Werkbund, Fritz Schumacher and Peter Behrens attempted to bridge the gap between craft and industry by advocating full-fledged artistic collaboration. In the debate of July 1914, Muthesius defended the idea of “standard” or “type” and hinted early at the idea of a standardized machine-made aesthetic, whereas Henri van de Velde argued that the individuality of the artist had to prevail. At the same time, Walter Gropius' medievalism akin to the Arts and Crafts was unequivocally suggested in the program for the Bauhaus: “Architects, sculptors, painters, we must all return to handicraft.”⁶ During Gropius's, Mies van der Rohe's, and Hannes Meyer's tenure at the helm of the Bauhaus in Dessau, the post-war craft-oriented pessimism led way to a machine-oriented sophisticated aesthetic and to the apology of industrialization as the ultimate form of vernacular.

While most of the scholarly interest has focused on Northern Europe, the Mediterranean exercised, from the early 1800s, a concomitant and perhaps even major influence on western architecture and art. Long overlooked, the discovery of the Mediterranean vernacular by Karl Friedrich Schinkel and later Hans Olbrich, Adolf Loos and Josef Hoffmann was eventually brought forth by Eduard Sekler, Benedetto Gravagnuolo, and other historians studying the connection in countries to the north and south of Europe.⁷ As Barry Bergdoll wrote, “a radical reappraisal of the most influential thinkers and form givers of the architecture of the modern movement, and their relationship to both the classical and the vernacular centered on the

⁵ Many paragraphs under this heading “North-South” are selections from Jean-François Lejeune's essay, “The Other Modern: Between the Machine and the Mediterranean,” in Jean-François Lejeune and Allan Shulman, *The Making of Miami Beach 1933-1942 – The Architecture of Lawrence Murray Dixon*, New York: Rizzoli, 2000, pp. 200-224.

⁶ See Julius Posener, op. cit. for this section and p. 47, from Walter Gropius, “Programme of the Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar,” in Ulrich Conrads, ed., *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*, MIT, Cambridge, MA, 2002, pp. 49-53. Also see Frederic Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996; Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *100 Jahre Deutscher Werkbund 1907/2007*, München: TU München, 2007; Barry Bergdoll and Leah Dickerman, *Bauhaus 1919-1933: Workshops for Modernity*, New York: MOMA, 2009.

⁷ For a discussion of the historiography of the influence of the Mediterranean, see Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino, “North versus South,” Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino (eds.), *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*, London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 1-12. Also see the Italian translation, *Nord-Sud: L'architettura moderna e il Mediterraneo*, Trento: Listlab, 2016, which contains an additional essay on Portugal by Pedro Baia, “Il vernacolare del ‘Habitat Rural’ al programma SAAL. La recensione portoghese del Team X.” Also see Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Historiography of Modern Architecture*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1999; Maria Luisa Scalvini e Maria Grazia Seri, *L'immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea da Platz a Giedion*, Roma, Officina, 1984; Eduard Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann: the Architectural Work*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985; Benedetto Gravagnuolo (ed.), *Le Corbusier e l'antico – Viaggi nel Mediterraneo*, Napoli: Electa Napoli, 1997, and “From Schinkel to Le Corbusier: the Myth of the Mediterranean in Modern Architecture,” in Lejeune and Sabatino, pp. 15-41.

Mediterranean basin, has been a key force in a revised cartography of the architectural modernism.”⁸

Published in 2010, *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (Routledge, 2010), edited jointly by Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino, presented a comprehensive and pan-regional analysis of the debt twentieth-century modernist architects owe to the vernacular building traditions of the Mediterranean region.⁹ Although a renewed interest in classicism spurred by political and aesthetic motivations helped shape modernism in the Mediterranean and beyond during the early twentieth century, this was only one side of the story. Equally implicated in the history of modernism was a parallel appropriation of the forms, materials, and colors of vernacular buildings throughout the region. By exploring the impact of the Southern vernacular in the rise and diffusion of modernism, the essays focused on the moment when professionally trained architects began to look beyond the academic references for inspiration, and projected modern values onto anonymous building traditions that flourished for millennia among the pre-industrial cultures of the Mediterranean basin. From the first decade of the twentieth century through the 1960s and beyond, architects working in Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and North Africa began to discover in the built forms of simple villages and settlements an antidote to the style-driven attitudes of nineteenth-century historicism; this was taken as an opportunity to deeply engage elements of the local context such as climate:

The avant-garde break with academic conventions, rules and historicist structures of thought and practice, was now provocatively linked with the supposed naivety, naturalness, and non-self-reflexive invention and problem solving of the indigenous builder. For the next century it might be said that the vernacular would continually oscillate between its role as modernism’s other and its foundational myth.¹⁰

Organized in two sections, the first group of essays (“South”) discussed the works of architects who lived and worked in Mediterranean countries; it examined how they addressed and negotiated the complex politics of identity as a constituent of a multilateral vision of modernity against the prevailing ‘machine age’ discourse. The second group (“North”), which included Erich Mendelsohn, Bruno Taut, Gunnar Asplund, Bernard Rudofsky, Aldo van Eyck, and others, mapped the contribution of architects from non-Mediterranean countries who traveled and occasionally practiced in the Mediterranean region; these outsiders often appropriated a tradition that, although foreign, resonated in their attempt to establish their modernist identity.

⁸ Barry Bergdoll, “Foreword,” in Lejeune and Sabatino, p. xviii.

⁹ Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino (eds.), *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*, London: Routledge, 2010. Also see the Italian translation, *Nord-Sud: L’architettura moderna e il Mediterraneo*, Trento: Listlab, 2016, which contains an additional essay on Portugal by Pedro Baia, “Il vernacolare del ‘Habitat Rural’ al programma SAAL. La recensione portoghese del Team X.”

¹⁰ Bergdoll, p. xviii.

Without a doubt, the complex positioning of Le Corbusier, more than any other modernist interested in the Mediterranean and vernacular environment, represented a serious provocation to the Anglo-German axis and, as a result, his influence was very strong in some southern countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, and to a lesser extent in Greece. The epistemological gap of Le Corbusier from the beginning of the Arts and Crafts in Chaux-de-Fonds and his mechanical-centric modernism of 1920 to the southern version where the Mediterranean vernacular replaced the discursive role played by the machine was also a direct response to a series of global and personal events, which put his initial position in crisis. Let us mention the Great Depression and the critique of industrial capitalism in the 1930s, the growth of German right-wing parties and the rise of nationalist socialism that made modernist Nordic criticism dangerously ambiguous, and finally the intellectual consequence of having lost the competition for the Palace of Nations in Geneva. The impact of these events coincided with the first meeting with Josep Lluís Sert in Barcelona and the subsequent trip aboard the *Patris II* ship from Marseilles to Athens as locus of the CIAM 4 meeting where the avant-garde German architects were conspicuously absent.

Freed from the most nationalist references after World War II, including in Spain where it was positioned against the classical image of the regime, the vernacular continued to frame the discourse of modernity across the European continent. Prewar architects like Gio Ponti, Adalberto Libera, Luigi Figini, Luigi Moretti, of even more so Ernesto Nathan Rogers kept the North-South debate alive and expanded the discussion to urban form. New figures emerged like Aldo Van Eyck, Hans Van der Laan, Fernando Távora, Miguel Fisac, Oriol Bohigas, Aris Konstantidinis, Costantinos Doxiadis, Fernand Pouillon, Ludovico Quaroni, and Aldo Rossi. Beyond the question of architectural language, which had been the focus of the pre-war discussion, it was the morphological and typological discovery of the urban South—the Italian hill towns, the Survey of Portuguese Architecture, the travel and writings of Aldo Van Eyck about Africa—that not only expanded the field of inquiry and research but contributed strongly to the creation of Team X and the demise of the CIAM.¹¹

My own essay in this anthology, titled “The Modern, the Vernacular, and the Mediterranean in Spain,” charted the way in which José Luis Sert and the newly founded GATPAC embraced a Spanish vision of modern architecture, rooted within the realm of Ibiza and the Mediterranean shores. I argued that, far from being an avant-garde experiment interrupted by the Civil War and Franco’s regime, this aspiration returned in the 1950-1960s in the works of José Antonio Coderch, Grup R, and Oriol Bohigas. Likewise, I asserted that pro-Franco Catholic-oriented architects based in Madrid—Alejandro de la Sota, Fernández del Amo and many others—were equally engaged in the search for a modern architecture anchored in the vernacular, and particularly the Mediterranean. The Spanish Pavilion for the IX Milano Triennale (1951) and the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra* (1953) provided the major impulse and the cultural alibi not only for adopting a stripped-down vernacular as a politically acceptable form of Spanish

¹¹ See Lejeune and Sabatino, op. cit.

modernity, but also to set up a less rigid relational system between buildings and their environments.

Positing Vernacular Modernism and Typology

In the prologue to their book *Vernacular Modernism, Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*, Bernd Hüppauf and Maiken Umbach introduced the concept of “vernacular modernism” to reflect, on the one hand, the deconstruction of the hegemonic status of the ‘heroic modernism’ broadly labeled as International Style; on the other hand, to position the vernacular as an expression of *place* and the values of difference, whether cultural, tectonic, climatic, and beyond. For them, vernacular modernism was best understood in terms of praxis, and its significance best captured by examining its role in those cultural fields that participate in the construction and performance of space and place. In their own words,

The individual, the emotional, and the regional are, it transpires, constitute parts of the political and cultural project of “modernity” in ways that we are only just beginning to recognize. As much as the theories of the postmodern lay claim to thinking diversity, rupture, the non-identical and the non-rational, this “other” side of modernity has been part of its history from the beginning.¹²

For the authors, this ‘other’ side of modernity was largely excluded from modernist theory, and generally “less visible than the teleological optimism and triumphalist narratives of time, progress, and emancipation” epitomized by the works of Nikolaus Pevsner, Sigfried Giedion, and the likes.¹³ Likewise, they argued that the vernacular modernism was not an extension of reactionary politics, but rather a mode of engagement with the local man-made and natural environment. In that sense, “the vernacular was an integral part of the history of the modern.”¹⁴ Moreover, the vernacular helps elucidate how the local and the regional are constructed within—rather than against—the context of the modern: “It is, rather, the negotiation between, and the interdependence of, the regional and the global, concrete locality and border-devouring abstraction, that can generate a new and more complex narrative of the modern.”¹⁵ This intellectual process brings to mind Marc-Antoine Laugier’s discussion of the primitive hut in his *Essay on Architecture* published in 1753. According to Alan Colquhoun, Laugier was not particularly interested in the vernacular world of architecture, but was in fact looking for the historical roots and the ‘de-stylization’ of classical architecture: “This process entailed, not the discovery of vernacular building, but the re-

¹² Bernd Hüppauf and Maiken Umbach, *Vernacular Modernism, Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005, p. 8.

¹³ Ibidem. See Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, Londra, Faber & Faber, 1936; Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture – The Growth of a New Tradition*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941.

¹⁴ Hüppauf and Umbach, p. 11.

¹⁵ Hüppauf and Umbach, p. 2.

“vernacularization” of classicism with which to substantiate a myth of origins.”¹⁶ Among many case studies, Francisco Passanti’s essay “The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier” demonstrated the significance of vernacular influences on Le Corbusier’s high modernism of the 1920s.¹⁷ Likewise, Mardges Bacon highlighted how the Museum of Modern Art had, in the years immediately following the International Style exhibition, forged across a series of new exhibitions “a new alliance of modernism and the vernacular.”¹⁸

While Pevsner and other authors like Giedion emphasized the role of the northern vernacular as springboard in the development of modern architecture and the purification in the question of styles, they eventually reduced it to a transitory agent, which, for them, ceased to be relevant as soon as the International Style was born.¹⁹ Moreover, they completely neglected the influences from the southern vernacular that Schinkel, Hoffmann and Loos had put forth. Let us recall that Pevsner’s *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* barely acknowledged Le Corbusier and that Giedion made only a rare concession to the classical tradition in his discussion of Garnier’s *Cité industrielle*.²⁰ To the contrary, and in agreement with Umbach, I have sustained, along with my co-editor Sabatino, that the influence of the vernacular (both northern and southern) could not be limited to that original phase, but that it has remained a fundamental component of modernity. Unlike the first histories of modernism, which stressed the internationalist aspects of modern architecture, the scholarship developed during the last two decades has attempted to clarify the delicate balance achieved by architects working in a modernist idiom who maintained, nonetheless, a strong allegiance to their cultural roots.²¹ As they have shown, a significant post-WWII impetus to changing perceptions among non-Mediterranean countries about the constructive role that vernacular buildings of the South

¹⁶ Alan Colquhoun, “Vernacular Classicism,” *Modernity and the Classical Tradition—Architectural Essays 1980-1987*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989, p. 30.

¹⁷ Also see my essay, Jean-François Lejeune, “Al di là del Mediterraneo: Le Corbusier, Costa, Niemeyer e il ‘vernacolare moderno’ in Brasile,” in Paolo Carlotti, Dina Nencini and Pisana Posocco (eds.), *Mediterranei Traduzioni Della Modernità*, Milano: Francoangeli, 2015, pp. 46-69. There I extend the discourse on Le Corbusier’s encounter with the vernacular to his discovery of Latin America, including the emerging favelas, as well as its influence on the first phase of Brazilian modernism in the works of Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer

¹⁸ Mardges Bacon, “Modernism and the Vernacular at the Museum of Modern Art, New York,” in Hüppauf and Umbach pp. 35-52.

¹⁹ Hüppauf and Umbach, pp. 13-14.

²⁰ Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture – The Growth of a New Tradition*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941, p. 693.

²¹ For a more complete assessment of the literature, see Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino, op. cit. Also see Alberto Sartoris, *Encyclopédie de l’Architecture Nouvelle*, Milan: Hoepli, Vol. 1 (Ordre et climat méditerranéen), 1948, Vol. 2 (Ordre et climat nordiques), 1957, Vol. 3 (Ordre et climat américains), 1954; Jean-Louis Cohen e Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures*, New York, Monacelli Press, 2002; Benedetto Gravagnuolo, *Le Corbusier e l’antico: Viaggi nel mediterraneo*, Napoli, Electa Napoli, 1997; Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, *Die Architektur, die Tradition und der Ort – Regionalismen in der europäischen Stadt*, Ludwigsburg: Wüstenrot Stiftung, 2000; Vojtech Jirat-Wasiutynski e Anne Dymond, eds., *Modern Art and the Idea of the Mediterranean*, Toronto, Buffalo, The University of Toronto Press, 2007; Jan K. Birksted, *Modernism and the Mediterranean: The Maeght Foundation*, Aldershot, Burlington, Ashgate, 2004; Jean-Paul Bonillo, *Domus Mare Nostrum: Habiter le mythe méditerranéen*, Toulon: Centre d’art, 2014; Barbara Miller Lane, *National Romanticism and Modern Architecture in Germany and the Scandinavian Countries* (2000); Michelangelo Sabatino, *Pride in Modesty – Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

could play in shaping postwar modernism came with Bernard Rudofsky's 1964 exhibition *Architecture Without Architects* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York and Myron Goldfinger's 1969 publication *Villages in the Sun: Mediterranean Community Architecture* both of which stressed how Mediterranean vernacular builders prefigured the "efficiency" of industrially produced housing without the monotony of contemporary examples that reflected no connection to a specific locale or site. The issue of "repetition without monotony," implying type and serial production in the studies of Goldfinger and Rudofsky, was key to designers whose identity as architects was heavily invested in Mediterranean modernism.²² For them, the vernacular types were first and foremost the essential components and the scientific and rational keys to understand the formation of the urban fabric, from the Andalusian pueblo to the complexity of the Medina to the European city itself.

Here it is important to refer to Rafael Moneo, for whom type and typology have been of critical importance. In his seminal essay of 1978, "On Typology," he further theorized these arguments. He set up the various interpretations of the concept, and summarizes typology as "the act of thinking in groups."²³ Far from being an impediment to creativity and invention, he saw type as "the frame within which change operates."²⁴ Yet he stated that during the first decades of the twentieth century, the new idea of type put forth by Muthesius, the Werkbund, and later Le Corbusier, deviated toward the concept of prefabrication. As a result, "the singularity of the architectural object that in the nineteenth century had permitted adaptability to site and flexibility for use within the framework of a structure was violently denied by the new architecture, committed to architecture as mass production."²⁵ Indeed, for Moneo, type was not only a formal concept, but it was strongly related to construction. It is the combination of form and construction that makes the type. Finally, he suggested that "the old definitions must be modified to accommodate an idea of type that can incorporate even the present state, where, in fact, subtle mechanisms of relationship are observable and suggest typological explanations."²⁶ The disconnection of the type from the context of the city constituted a major theoretical and practical problem, which spurred the development of a new theory, usually known as Urban Morphology, which would rationally explain the formal and structural continuity of towns and cities.²⁷ For the primary actors of this discipline, including Saverio Muratori (1910-1973) and Giancarlo Caniggia (1933-1987) on the Italian side, architecture was to be considered, neither as a single and individualistic creative event nor as the industrially produced object, but as a "process," in time, of building from the single

²² See Lejeune and Sabatino, pp. 6-8.

²³ Rafael Moneo, "On Typology," *Oppositions* 13, Summer 1978, pp. 23.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ Moneo, "On Typology," p. 33.

²⁶ Moneo, "On Typology," p. 44.

²⁷ Moneo, pp. 35-36. Urban morphology is the study of the form of human settlements and the process of their formation and transformation. The study seeks to understand the spatial structure and character of a metropolitan area, city, town or village by examining the patterns of its component parts and the ownership or control and occupation.

dwelling to the city as whole.²⁸ For Muratori, types were the generators of urban form, from the village to the city, and in particular the constituents of urban space (streets, *calli*, *campi*, and *corti* of the Venetian context for instance). In that sense, one can argue that the vernacular relied on the concept of type, and that the very adaptability of the type was inherently responsible for the possibility of vernacular modernism.

Camillo Sitte: Modernity and National Identity in Urban Form

Beyond the revision of the concept of 'modern' and its relation to the vernacular, a fundamental question of this dissertation can be expressed using the paraphrase of a question posed by historian Jean-Louis Cohen within the 1996 *Dictionnaire de l'architecture du vingtième siècle*:

Can we continue to reserve the label of 'modern' to those {urbanists} who simultaneously worked on the renovation of forms, the transformation of uses and technological development, while embracing radical political points of view?²⁹

In the same manner that the history of twentieth-century modern architecture has been politically and ideologically oriented towards the myth of the machine, functionalism, and new technologies and materials, the history of twentieth-century urbanism and urban planning has been systematically directed toward a linear and progressive positivism that tends to equate the notion of progress with radical changes in the technological vision of the city and thus in the formal organization of urban and suburban spaces. As a result, any formal organization that puts into question or rejects the hegemony of the street as basic organizing principle of urban space has been systematically assimilated within a progressive vision of history and a libertarian agenda of the so-called open city and the end of the street.³⁰ Le Corbusier's attack on the rue-corridor—in part understandable within the framework of the overcrowded industrial city—was used as a universalist motto against any type of street, contributing to the widespread elimination of the urban street, square and block fabric of the city in history in favor of superblocks, highways, "streets in the sky," and monumental public spaces unfriendly to pedestrians. The complete rejection of the urban street neglected Le Corbusier's own

²⁸ For an introduction on Muratori and Caniggia, see Cataldi, Giancarlo, Gian Luigi Maffei, and Paolo Vaccaro. "Saverio Muratori and the Italian School of Planning Typology," *Urban Morphology* 6, n° 1, 2002, pp. 3-14. See Saverio Muratori, *Studi per una operante storia urbana di Venezia*, Roma: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1960; Anna Bruna Menghini; Valerio Palmieri, *Saverio Muratori: didattica della composizione architettonica nella Facoltà di Architettura di Roma, 1954-1973*, Bari: Polibta, 2009; Gianfranco Caniggia; Gian Luigi Maffei, *Architectural Composition and Building Typology: Interpreting Basic Building*, Firenze: Alinea, 2001, and *Gianfranco Caniggia: architetto Roma (1933-1987): disegni, progetti, opere*, Firenze: Alinea, 2003.

²⁹ Jean-Louis Cohen, "Mouvement moderne," *Dictionnaire de l'architecture du XXIème siècle*, Paris, Hazan/Institut français d'architecture, 1996, p. 630.

³⁰ Significant parts from this section of the Introduction are taken from Jean-François Lejeune and Charles Bohl, "The Never-Ending Debate," in Jean-François Lejeune and Charles Bohl (eds.), *Sitte, Hegemann and the Metropolis: Modern Civic Art and International Exchanges*, London: Routledge, 2009, pp. xiv-xix.

interest in more vernacular types of streets, whether in Venice, Buenos Aires, or Salvador de Bahía, and conceded the functional classification and design of streets and highways to traffic engineers. Although the generalized model of the functional city would become endemic in architecture, planning and engineering, modernist principles of city planning had already been put into crisis as early as the 1950s by the emergence of Team X, the writings of Gordon Cullen, Jane Jacobs, Bernard Rudofsky, Aldo Rossi, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown to name of few.³¹

The negative answer that is implied in Cohen's question clearly refers to the major changes that have occurred in the historiography of modern architecture within the last two decades and have significantly rebalanced the orthodox and canonical explanation of modernism. In matters of urbanism and urban design, a field that has remained even more politicized than architecture during the twentieth century, the historiography has changed more slowly, but one can argue that the critical revision of the modern urban project has progressed dramatically with the works of Jean-Louis Cohen, Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, Hartmut Frank, Harald Bodenschatz, or Wolfgang Sonne.³² Their works have focused on the 'other urbanists'—such as Theodor Fischer, Henri Prost, Donat Alfred Agache, Patrick Geddes, Fritz Schumacher, Tony Garnier, or Eliel Saarinen—who planned, designed, and built modern cities, neighborhoods and towns, that adapted the traditional city form and its typologies to the current conditions of life and society. Tel Aviv, Casablanca, Miami Beach, Asmara, the Parioli in Rome, Copacabana, and Sabaudia were some of those 'other modern' cities, founded or developed in the twentieth century. In all of them, the street pattern was delineated and maintained as the fundamental organizing principle of urban space. The deep anchoring of the traditional urban structures—particularly as they relate to the Mediterranean—and the pragmatic realities of a small, incremental, and plot-based real estate prevailed and enticed the modern-oriented architects to mediate between the urban scale and the individual expression.

³¹ See Gordon Cullen, *The Concise Townscape*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1961; Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: Random House, 1961; Aldo Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, Padova, 1966; Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1972. Among those actors, it is important to point to Bernard Rudofsky, another Viennese architect, and his work toward the architectural and urban vernacular. See his books *Architecture without Architects* (New York, Doubleday, 1964), later followed by *Streets for People: A Primer for Americans* (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1969).

³² Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (ed.), *Die Architektur, die Tradition und der Ort: Regionalismen in der europäischen Stadt*, Ludwigsburg: Wüstenrot Stiftung, 2000; Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (ed.), *Die Stadt im 20. Jahrhundert – Visionen, Entwürfe, Gebautes*, Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2011; Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani and Romana Schneider, *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900–1950: Reform und Tradition*, Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz, 1992; Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca – Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures*, New York: The Monacelli Press, 2002; Wolfgang Sonne, *Urbanity and Density in 20th-Century Urban Design*, Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2017; Harald Bodenschatz and Daniela Spiegel, *Städtebau für Mussolini : auf der Suche nach der neuen Stadt im faschistischen Italien*, Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2011.

Many of these studies have highlighted the importance of Camillo Sitte's treatise *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätze*.³³ Four hundred years after the invention of the straight and perspectival street during the Renaissance, Sitte's observations were revolutionary as, for the first time, it was advocated that there was another model possible—a move as revolutionary as Ruskin's discussion of *The Stones of Venice*. Yet, it is obvious that the importance of the debate of 'straight or crooked streets' has been greatly exaggerated, in part because of Le Corbusier's famous line about the donkey path—repeatedly taken out of context and without consideration of the intellectual evolution of its author.³⁴

What is thus modern in Sitte's theory and urbanism? How is his work on the city and public spaces related to the emerging movement of modern architecture that, influenced by Ruskin, Muthesius and the nascent romantic movements of national architecture, was based upon the rejection of the Beaux-Arts principles, on asymmetry, on the organization of masses rather than facades, and on the functional issues? Aren't Sitte's principles very similar to these issues, to which we can add the development of the touristic "gaze"? Once freed from the 'hygienic grid' and placed within a more artistic context, the vistas, the special points of views, the articulation of public spaces clearly helped architects to develop an architecturally simpler language that achieved strong impact through its insertion in a more complex, let us dare say 'picturesque', urban layout. Architect-urbanists like Ernst May, Bruno Taut, Hendrik Berlage, Eliel Saarinen, J.P. Oud have expressed their debt to Sitte; the Berlin Siedlungen of Taut and Wagner, the Italian fascist new towns, the Viennese *Höfe*, and after the War the *Townscape* movement were clearly influenced by Sitte's principles. Likewise, the 1950s INA-Casa social neighborhoods of Rome—Tiburtino and Tuscolana as the most exemplary—as well as La Martella in Matera (1952-1954) deployed a modernized vernacular architecture coupled with Camillo Sitte-based urban design tenets.³⁵ Their organic design and rural references and techniques demonstrated—in the words of Carlo Aymonino—"an accentuated pursuit of the 'picturesque.'" Facades, roofs, exterior balconies and stairs "reinforce their character of being constructions that have risen spontaneously at successive moments in time."³⁶ Why is it then that these very principles were more often than not considered retrograde, "culturalist" and not modern, in contrast with the new criteria of urban modernity of the 1920s based upon a

³³ Camillo Sitte, *Der Städte-Bau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen. Ein Beitrag zur Lösung modernster Fragen der Architektur und monumentalen Plastik unter besonderer Beziehung auf Wien*, Wien, Verlag von Carl Graeser, 1889. Reedited in fac-simile under the same title by Böhlau (Wien) in 2003. In English, see Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning*, New York, Rizzoli, 1986

³⁴ David Frisby, "Straight or Crooked Streets? The Contested Rational Spirit of the Metropolis," in Iain Boyd Whyte, ed., *Modernism and the Spirit of the City*, London, Routledge, 2003, pp. 57-84.

³⁵ See Stephanie Zeier Pilat, *Reconstructing Italy: the INA-Casa Neighborhoods of the Postwar Era*, London: Ashgate, 2014. Also see Mario Ridolfi, *Manuale dell'architetto* (1945-46), which illustrated traditional and vernacular techniques for modern construction; Jean-François Lejeune, "From Hellerau to the Bauhaus: Memory and Modernity of the German Garden City," in Jean-François Lejeune (ed.), *The New City 3* (Modern Cities), New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, pp. 51-69.

³⁶ Carlo Aymonino, "Storia e cronaca del Quartiere Tiburtino," *Casabella-continuità* 215 (April-May 1957), p. 20, quoted by Bruno Reichlin, "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 1), *Grey Room* 05, Fall 2001, p.85.

rational and geometric model that, in the case of Le Corbusier, was in fact a return to a modern interpretation of Baroque urbanism?³⁷

Daniel Wieczorek's work of 1981 titled *Camillo Sitte et les débuts de l'urbanisme moderne?* and George and Christiane Collins's *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning* were the first to attempt an unbiased critical analysis, putting in evidence the importance of the urban vernacular and the phenomenological approach in Sitte's theory of urban space. In 2003, the Technische Universität in Vienna organized a major conference at the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Sitte's death, whose proceedings were published in 2005 as *Kunst des Städtebaus: neue Perspektiven auf Camillo Sitte*. In 2009, Charles Bohl and Jean-François Lejeune published *Sitte, Hegemann and the Metropolis: Modern Civic Art and International Exchanges*, the result of a conference on Werner Hegemann held at the University of Miami in 2002.³⁸ In the first part of the book, titled "Camillo Sitte and the Picturesque: Precedents and Perspectives"³⁹ the eight authors discussed a century of urban design theory and ideas, effectively stripping away the misrepresentation of Sitte as simply a purveyor of the medieval, the picturesque, and irregular town planning. Following Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani's introduction to Vienna fin-de-siècle and to the terms of the classic debate between Sitte and Otto Wagner, Ruth Hanisch examined Sitte's interpretation and adaptation of Semper's thought and concluded that Sitte's "very material-technical determinism...could be found in almost every rucksack on which the avant-garde fed" and that "on theoretical grounds... Sitte was in truth a modernist, even if each and every one of the later modernists would disavow it."⁴⁰ Both Hanisch and Lampugnani made clear that, seen from our contemporary point of view and in light of what we have learned about the making and the un-making of the city, the positions of Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner were not so distant: they both saw the city as a work of art even though their concept of what art should be in the future diverged quite dramatically. Jean-François Lejeune's essay focused on Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Sitte, and Adolf Loos, linking them through the discussion of the "body in the visible." Wolfgang Sonne adroitly debated the political subtext of picturesque urban design as used, abused and rehabilitated. In his footsteps, both Bernhard Langer's discussion of Junk Space and Ákos Moravánsky's dissection of the "picturesque" from the

³⁷ Werner Hegemann was one of the first scholars to go beyond the controversy and to read Sitte with more open eyes and less prejudice. One can safely assume that it is his American experience—not limited to the iconic skyscraper and the Chicago style but with a deeper understanding of the colonial roots and the heart of the country—that allowed him to re-read Sitte and understand the Viennese's fascination with more "Roman" forms of planning such as Gottfried Semper's forum projects for Vienna and Dresden.

³⁸ Daniel Wieczorek, *Camillo Sitte et les débuts de l'urbanisme moderne*, Bruxelles, Mardaga, 1981; George Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning*, New York, Rizzoli, 1986; Jean-François Lejeune and Charles Bohl (eds.), op. cit.; Klaus Semsroth, Kari Jormakka, and Bernhard Langer (eds.), *Kunst des Städtebaus: Neue Perspektiven auf Camillo Sitte*, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005.

³⁹ Four of the papers were presented at the occasion of the international conference in Vienna *Camillo Sitte* (November 2003) while four other authors were asked to contribute to the theme and complete the section.

⁴⁰ Ruth Hanisch, "Camillo Sitte as 'Semperian,'" in Lejeune and Bohl (eds.), p. 51.

“painterly” conjured up a shared frame of reference between Sitte and Rem Koolhaas. Finally, Stanford Anderson’s discussion of Behrens and Brinckmann’s reactions to Sitte’s concepts as well as Alan Plattus’s scrutiny of the hidden and/or unacknowledged presence of Sitte in modern urbanism remind us of the never-ending debate between irregularity and regularity that has persisted for more than two centuries.⁴¹

Within this context, it is critical to posit Camillo Sitte’s foundational text *Der Städtebau* and its influence on the development of European urban form. In particular—and this dissertation as a demonstration for a particular experience of Spanish urbanism between 1940 and 1970— it is indubitable that the theories of Sitte played for modern European town planning a role comparable to Ruskin, Morris, Muthesius, and the likes in the development of modern architecture. In particular, it is Sitte’s theory that has eventually determined the national forms of adaptation to international theories like Howard’s Garden City. The historical success of *Der Städtebau* can thus be analyzed at the meeting point with the movements “arts and crafts,” the emerging issue of historical heritage, and the birth of a new consciousness of history. Far from seeing in these forms and investigations a reactionary or regressive trend, I argue that urban progress is not only linked to the machine concept and technology development, but is equally strongly linked to the rediscovery and reassessment of the vernacular in search of a national/regional identity in opposition to a globalizing technocratic vision of the city. George Collins and Christiane Collins wrote in their introduction to *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning*:

Sitte was involved in abstracting principles from works that had been created anonymously, one could even say unconsciously, which would then guide individual artisans. So, it was the vernacular whose secret he was trying to unravel: the vernacular in objects of daily use, in the building of simple structures, and in building towns intimately responsive to the functions of daily life.⁴²

As Daniel Wiczorek also wrote,

Sitte appears now as a precursor of that modern architecture which he fought in his articles against the Secession. By integrating the spectator into the space, and by considering the latter as a place that one must occupy and inhabit, Sitte suppressed the distance between subject and object that underlies the reality of classical architecture. Likewise, with his attacks against the system of modern, compact and static urban blocks to which he opposed the differential relationship between

⁴¹ Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, “Vienna Fin-de-siècle: Between Artistic City Planning and Unlimited Metropolis,” pp. 25-37; Jean-François Lejeune, “Schinkel, Sitte, and Loos: The ‘Body in the Visible,’” pp. 69-97; Wolfgang Sonne, “Political Connotations of the Picturesque,” pp. 123-139; Alan J. Plattus, “The Pack Donkey’s Revenge: Sitte and Modernist Urbanism,” pp. 141-147; Ákos Moravanszky, “Forced Spontaneities: Camillo Sitte and the Paradox of the Picturesque,” pp. 109-121.

⁴² Collins and Crasemann Collins, p. 15.

buildings and voids of the medieval syntax, Sitte put into question all the dogmas of the architecture of his time.⁴³

The primacy given by Camillo Sitte to the modern experience of vision also puts him as a precursor of the 20th century field of phenomenology and its importance in the evaluation of modernity. Space (*Raum*) did not appear in architectural treatises as an essential concept until the second half of the 19th century, when Gottfried Semper introduced the three spatial moments of aesthetic perception linked to the human body: height, breadth, and depth. From these extensions, he derived symmetry, proportion, and direction.⁴⁴ At the same time Semper emphasized the role of architectural enclosure, the wall, along with the roof, the platform earthwork, and the hearth. Art historian August Schmarsow developed Semper's ideas, explicitly linking the idea of space to architecture in his inaugural address to the University of Leipzig in 1893, "The Essence of Architectural Creation."⁴⁵ Based on perceptual empiricism, Schmarsow's essay argued that bodily movement through space rather than the stationary perception of form was the essence of architecture. For Schmarsow, space exists because we have a body. Although he alluded to uncovered spaces such as those contained in a courtyard or an enclosed urban space, he did not have the city as focus. It is Sitte who, shortly before him, translated Semper's theme of spatial enclosure from architecture into exterior space. As he relied on a majority of Italian and German examples of medieval and Renaissance periods, it means that, most of the times, the movement of the body was necessary to understand the space and its wealth of effects and perspectives. This emphasis on the 'body' was a radical departure from the dominant architectural features of late Antiquity that had emphasized order, axial sequences and traditional symmetry—features that would re-emerge to dominate Baroque architecture. It is what Riegl defined as the passage of tactile or haptic vision (antiquity-medieval) to optical vision (late Roman-Baroque period).⁴⁶

⁴³ Wieczorek, p. 159.

⁴⁴ For this entire section, see Tonkao Panin, *Space-Art: the Dialectic between the Concepts of Raum and Bekleidung*, Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2003.

⁴⁵ See Mitchell Schwarzer, "The Emergence of Architectural Space: August Schmarsow's Theory of Raumgestaltung," in *Assemblage* 15, 1991, pp. 49-61; August Schmarsow, "Das Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung," first given as a lecture in 1893 and published one year later by Karl Hiesemann, Leipzig.

⁴⁶ Alois Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie, nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien, Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1901-1923.

The Rural Paradigm of Modernity

Et maintenant où s'étagaient les maisons claires,
Et les vergers et les arbres allumés d'or,
On aperçoit, à l'infini, du sud au nord,
La noire immensité des usines rectangulaires.⁴⁷

In reaction to the universalistic claims of rationalization and abstraction put forth by the Enlightenment, the Romantic Movement discovered the countryside and the vernacular with all their values of place, identity, and subjectivity, sparking the rise in various reinterpretations of the styles in neo-nationalist visions. The countryside thus became a locus of resistance to the socio-cultural transformations put in motion by industrialization and rapid urbanization and concentration of population within the cities. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the literature but also the visual arts reflected the growth of a European movement increasingly interested into the figure of the peasant/farmer, the landscape, and the rural world. Realist painters like Courbet, Delacroix in Morocco, Impressionists, post-Impressionists like Cézanne and Gauguin, all increasingly used the countryside, the village, and the Mediterranean as recurrent themes where the process of modernization and abstraction could find an ideal object. Faced with the dislocation of previous certainties such as the Spanish disaster of 1898 that marked the end of the Spanish Empire in the Americas and Philippines, by the disconcerting emergence of the masses, and the transmutation of societal values generated by industrialization and urbanization, the European elites of the late nineteenth century turned their gaze towards more peaceful and orderly landscapes. In this search for more stable environments in the political and moral order, the reference to the land and the rural space was a paradoxical but eventually logical one in a world thrown into turmoil by technical progress and rapid industrialization.⁴⁸ The democratization of travel, including the frequent excursions across the rural landscape and its villages and towns increased the awareness of the rural world within the urban intellectual and educated circles in Spain and all European countries. Landscapes, local customs and costumes, music, dance traditions, dialects were increasingly studied and catalogued in an ethnographic way, with the objective of maintaining the *Volksgeist* and compensate for their progressive disappearance or transformation under the impact of urban culture and commercialism

⁴⁷ Émile Verhaeren's growing concern for social problems inspired two collections in 1895: *Les Villages illusoires* ("The Illusory Villages") and *Les Villes tentaculaires* ("The Tentacular Cities").

⁴⁸ Gustavo Alares López, "Ruralismo, fascismo y regeneración. Italia y España en perspectiva comparada." *Ayer: Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, n° 83, 2011, pp. 127-47 [128]; Gustavo Alares López, "El vivero eterno de la esencia española. Colonización y discurso agrarista en la España de Franco," in Alberto Sabio Alcutén (ed.), *Colonos, territorio y estado. Los pueblos del agua de Bardenas*, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico (C.S.I.C.), 2010, pp. 57-80 [57].

The rediscovery of the farmhouse and its simple beauty and functionality was a universal phenomenon that has been intensely studied during the last years.⁴⁹ As Ákos Moravanszky wrote in the introduction to his book *Das entfernte Dorf*, “the fascination provoked by a newly discovered culture, that was encountered in one’s own country but nevertheless appeared foreign and distant, was a common experience of many artists in Central Europe at the end of the nineteenth century.”⁵⁰ The culture of the village and the vernacular house of the countryside—whether an isolated farmhouse or a village house—became progressively an organic element of national identity, often to be confronted with the reality of the modern city. To be sure, as I have already alluded to in the preceding pages, it is in England that this discovery of the vernacular and its urban expression, the picturesque, first took place, and where it led to the very first modern village of Milton Abbas and to the radical revolution in the design of private and public parks.⁵¹ In parallel with the intense process of industrialization, the writings of John Ruskin and William Morris spurred the emergence of a new rural and small town paradigm, which was later synthesized by Ebenezer Howard in his proposal of the Garden City. At the turn of the twentieth century, this inward-looking process of discovery had reached all European countries from Scandinavia to Spain and from France to Hungary. The house of the farmer epitomized more and more the roots and the continuity of humankind. In the words of Oswald Spengler,

He who digs and ploughs is seeking not to plunder, but to alter Nature ... Hostile nature becomes the friend; earth becomes *Mother Earth* ... A new devoutness addresses itself in chthonian cults to the fruitful earth that grows up along with man. And as completed expression of this life-feeling, we find everywhere the symbolic shape of the farmhouse, which in the disposition of the rooms and in every line of external form tells us about the blood of its inhabitants. The peasant’s dwelling is the great symbol of settledness. It is itself plant, thrusts its roots deep into its ‘own’ soil.⁵²

The peasant dwelling is, as compared with the tempo of all art-history, something constant and ‘eternal’ like the peasant himself. It stands outside the Culture and therefore outside the higher history of man; it recognizes neither the temporal nor the

⁴⁹ Among the many historians who have studied these trends, it is important to cite, among others, Stanford Anderson and Moravanszky for Central Europe; Brian McLaren, Richard Etlin, Cesare De Seta, Benedetto Gravagnuolo, Michelangelo Sabatino, and Mia Füller for Italy; Hartmut Frank, Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, Romana Schneider, Harald Bodenschatz, Kai Gutschow for Germany; Tom Avermaete and Bruno Notteboom for Belgium and the Netherlands; and Carlos Sambricio, Flores Soto, Antonio Pizza, Domenèch Girbau, and Carlos Flores, for Spain.

⁵⁰ Ákos Moravánszky, “Vorwort: Künstler als Ethnographen,” in Ákos Moravánszky (ed.), *Das entfernte Dorf – Moderne Kunst und ethnischer Artefakt*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2002, pp. 7-19 [7]: “Die Faszination einer neu entdeckten Kultur, der man im eigenen Land begegnet, die aber trotzdem als fremd und entfernt erscheint, war eine gemeinsame Erfahrung vieler mitteleuropäischer Künstler am Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.”

⁵¹ The village was the work of William Chambers and Capability Brown from the 1780s. It actually involved the destruction of an existing village to be replaced by a park.

⁵² Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1926, Volume 2, pp. 89-90. The work was first published in German in 1918 under the title *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*.

spatial limits of this history and it maintains itself, unaltered ideally, throughout all the changes of architecture, which it witnesses, but in which it does not participate.⁵³

However, the overall socio-political conditions had evolved dramatically at the end of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the rural paradigm remained more than ever a primary reference for architects attempting to shed the heritage of the academic past, and for artists who were looking for a subject that could respond to new techniques and interpretations of vision. The countryside and its vernacular architecture and landscape, whether natural or man-made, continued to be a major focus of attention and artistic subject in parallel to and contrast with the depiction of metropolitan life. Movements as diverse as the post-WWI Futurism, the Surrealists in Spain like Picasso, Miró, Salvador Dalí and Luis Buñuel, or Kandinsky and the Russian Constructivists used the countryside as primary locus of their artistic experiments. On the other hand, the increased pluralism in politics and culture led to various interpretations of the rural context and the emergence of different ways of life reflected in the development of urban districts, early suburbs, and the single-family house concept. As the rural world and its values were increasingly emphasized as an alternative to the metropolis, the metropolitan phenomenon was debated, eulogized and demonized throughout the western world. In this perspective, one can argue that the traditionally opposed concepts of *Gesellschaft* vs. *Gemeinschaft*—the village or small town vs. the metropolis—did contribute *together* to the definition of urban modernity and of the metropolis itself.⁵⁴

It is well known that major dictatorial regimes in the twentieth history did privilege the countryside and/or considered de-urbanization and the return to the land as a fundamental conservative policy and ideology—see the cases of Italy, Spain, the Soviet Union, and countries of the Eastern Block after WWII. That reality has usually obscured a more complex panorama that can be traced back to the ‘fin-de-siècle.’ At that time, a series of rural-based ideologies arose, from the left to the right of the political spectrum, but overall it was quite difficult to distinguish between the essence of ‘progressive’ and ‘conservative’ visions as both took a relative negative vision of the metropolis and advocated decentralization, the return to the countryside, or the merging of the city and country.⁵⁵

The Modern movement started to make an impact on rural landscapes as early as the mid-19th century (with the experiments of utopian socialism, radical state reformism, and enlightened philanthropy), and even more from the 1920s onwards,

⁵³ Spengler, p. 121.

⁵⁴ See Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001. The book was first published in German in Tönnies, Ferdinand (1887). *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Leipzig: Fues's Verlag. An English translation of the 8th edition 1935 by Charles P. Loomis appeared in 1940 as *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, New York: American Book Co.; in 1955 as *Community and Association (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft[sic])*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; and in 1957 as *Community and Society*, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. Also see Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life,” in Richard Sennet, *Classic Essays in the Culture of Cities*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1969 [1903], pp. 23-46.

⁵⁵ Moravánszky, pp. 8-9.

especially in the frame of late colonization as well as the new political movements of the time – such as Fascism, Socialism, Communism, Zionism, Anarchism, Communalism, the Co-operative Movement. In an attempt to cope with a “problematic” social group, an unproductive or underproductive land, and the dramatic backwardness of the agricultural sector, different actors such as Nation-States, government assisted organizations, bottom-up movements or groups, and even individuals, engaged in more or less extensive campaigns to dramatically reshape the countryside ... Through selective uses of the past and tradition, they “reinvented” unprecedented ideas of rurality.⁵⁶

As Peter Hall has shown, the debate between ‘urbanists’ and ‘de-urbanists’ was intense and at times violently expressed.⁵⁷ The short-lived adventure of the Soviet de-urbanists like Ginzburg, Melnikov, and others, paradoxically echoed the thesis that Frank Lloyd Wright developed in many writings and gave form to in *Broadacre City*. The latter epitomized the apex of the American anti-urbanism that Morton and Lucia White analyzed in their seminal work *The Intellectual Versus the City: From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright* (1962) and whose roots were deeply engrained in the American past and its ideological and cultural psyche.⁵⁸ Likewise, the de-urbanist theories were strongly anchored in the socialist and even communist-anarchist camps. The Belgian socialist politician Emile Vandervelde (1866-1938) advocated *L'exode rural et le retour aux champs* but eventually imagined, like the anarchist Pyotr Kropotkin (1842-1921), that city and country would eventually morph into each other, creating a series of city-regions where agriculture and industry would be dispersed but remain in connection with the urban nuclei. Interestingly, in 1929 Vandervelde wrote *Le pays d'Israël: un marxiste en Palestine* in which he emphasized the rural-based and Socialist-oriented colonization of the biblical land. At the beginning of the 1920s, the Zionist village presented itself as a modern and progressive model of human settlement, a radical alternative to that of the modern western city.⁵⁹ As Wolfgang Sonne has shown, traces of nationalist ideology and hostility towards the metropolis can be discerned even in the preface that Franz Oppenheimer, a Jewish physician-turned-sociologist and one of the promoters of the Zionist project for Palestine, wrote to a 1917 publication on the Gartenstadt Staaken near Berlin. In the text, this small suburb, designed entirely by Paul Schmitthenner according to the

⁵⁶ See MODSCAPES, *Modernism, Modernisation and the Rural Landscape*, Abstract book and program, 2018 Conference, Tartu, Estonia, 11-13 June 2018, p. 9.

⁵⁷ Peter Hall, “Metropolis 1890-1940: Challenges and Responses,” in Anthony Sutcliffe (ed.), *Metropolis 1890-1940*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984, pp. 19-66 [31-32].

⁵⁸ Lucia White and Morton White, *The Intellectual versus the City: from Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977; Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Disappearing City* New York: W.F. Payson, 1932; Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Living City*, New York: Horizon Press, 1958; David de Long, *Frank Lloyd Wright and the Living City*, Milan: Skira, 1998.

⁵⁹ Axel Fisher, “La ruralité comme territoire de projet ? : Questions d’architecture et de composition dans la définition des formes et caractères du village agricole sioniste, 1870-1929,” EAAE rurality network conference and workshops, 8-12 avril 2013, Fribourg, Suisse, unpublished. See Emile Vandervelde, *L'exode rural et le retour aux champs*, Paris: Alcan, 1910 [2nd edition].

picturesque small town ideal and realized in 1914-1917, was interpreted as a medicine against the diseases caused by the metropolis:

Statistics show us the consequences of this unnatural system [the metropolis] in the horribly increasing number of men unfit for the army and women unfit for breastfeeding [...] Furthermore, the metropolis is heavily dangerous in regard to politics. It is everywhere the place of the most avant-gardist radicalism.⁶⁰

Furthermore, at the end of World War I, Bruno Taut (1880-1938) whose socialist sympathies were well known, published his visionary *Die Auflösung der Städte*, which propounded the radical vision of a world without cities and states.⁶¹

On the conservative side, Spengler's cultural pessimism in *The Decline of the West*, his concept of social cycle theory, and his critique of 'urban sterility' gave ammunition to the anti-urban agenda:

Now the giant city sucks the country dry, insatiably and incessantly demanding and devouring fresh streams of men, till it wearies and dies in the midst of an almost uninhabited waste of country [...] There suddenly emerges into the bright light of history a phenomenon that has long been preparing itself underground and now steps forward to make an end of the drama - the sterility of civilized man [...] When the ordinary thought of a highly cultivated people begins to regard "having children" as a question of pro's and con's, the great turning-point has come.⁶²

Spengler was a direct inspiration for Benito Mussolini's anti-urban rhetoric and programs of rural foundations during the 1930s. However, as Diane Ghirardo demonstrated, even though the political systems of New Deal America and Fascist Italy were poles apart, the planned American communities of the 1930s, from Greenbelt towns to migrant worker camps, had close parallels in Italy.⁶³ In each country, one solution to solve the massive unemployment problems involved conservative policies to entice impoverished workers to move back to the land: the programs highlighted the stability of the traditional nuclear family diligently at work on its own plot of ground, uninvolved in strikes or political demonstration. Likewise, Le Corbusier's proposal for the Radiant Village stemmed from his anti-urban state of mind and his interest into the right-wing Regionalist Syndicalism. Moreover, he unsuccessfully attempted to get a commission from Mussolini to apply his concept to the new town of Pontinia.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Sonne, "Political Connotations of the Picturesque," p. 128.

⁶¹ Bruno Taut, *Die Auflösung der Städte, oder Die Erde eine gute Wohnung, oder auch: Der Weg zur Alpenen Architektur*, Hagen: Folwag Verlag, 1920. On Taut, see in particular Manfred Speider (ed.), *Bruno Taut – Natur und Fantasie*, Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1995.

⁶² Spengler, Vol. 2, p. 102.

⁶³ Diane Ghirardo's *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989.

⁶⁴ See Chapter Two in this dissertation.

The modernization of the countryside continued to develop after World War II in various countries and under ideologically opposite regimes, including the UNRRA-CASAS program in postwar Italy under the guidance of Adriano Olivetti and architects such as Ludovico Quaroni (La Martella, near Matera, 1952-54), the sole experiment of Hassan Fathy with the model village of Gournah in the 1940s, and the failed colonization under Salazar in Portugal, and various large-scale State-driven collectivization programs in Eastern Germany, Estonia, Latvia, and Ukraine. Within this international framework, the Spanish experience led between 1939 and 1971 under Franco's regime constitutes, undoubtedly, a remarkable achievement in terms of its urbanistic and architectural impact. From 1939, the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas* (D.G.R.D.) was put in charge of the reconstruction of many small towns destroyed during the Civil War. In parallel, the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (I.N.C.) was created in October 1939 to implement a pro-active policy of land reclamation and rural foundation and strengthen the strategy of ideological ruralization of the proletariat. Over three decades, the architects, planners, and workers of the National Institute of Colonization worked in collaboration with State's hydraulic engineers to create new man-made landscapes (*Kulturlandschaften* or cultural landscapes) of dams, irrigation canals, electric power plants, and new settlements. From 1944 to 1970, more than thirty thousand colonist houses were built in three hundred new *pueblos* integrated within the new regional networks. Hence, an estimated 200,000 residents considering the size of rural families settled in those new foundations and started a new life.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Reciprocal Influences

As Jordana Mendelson has demonstrated in her seminal work *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929-1939*, the years between 1929 and 1939 in Spain show “the surprising extent to which Spanish modernity was fashioned through dialogue between the seemingly opposed fields of urban and rural, fine art, and mass culture.”⁶⁵ This dissertation expends Mendelson’s arguments about the contradictory nature of Spanish modernity in the realm of architecture and urbanism. More specifically, it highlights the reciprocal influences between the urban and the rural in the frame of theory and practice, and this within a double direction of investigation: first backwards, from 1898 and the intense debates that followed the loss of the last American colonies about the regeneration of Spain; secondly forward, following 1939 during the three decades of Franco’s regime.

The research underscores the continuity of these reciprocal influences with the intense architectural and urban debates that resulted from the crisis of 1898, the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, and the experiments of the Republic between 1929 and 1936, with a special focus on the importance of the rural vernacular, in particular the Mediterranean one, in the definition of an ‘other modernity.’ In this perspective, the dissertation explores how a genuinely Spanish modernity resulted from the interaction and dialogue between opposing fields, the rural and the urban/metropolitan. Following Hüppauf and Umbach’s theory, I argue that the study of and inspiration from *arquitectura popular* and its urban expression—the *pueblo*—were not only tools to abstract, replace, and clean up historicism and regionalism, but that there were in themselves critical agents of modernization before and after the Civil War. In other words, there was in Spain a rich body of architectural projects, realizations, texts and methods (other moderns, situated moderns) that offer alternatives to the paradigms of the pre-World War II modern avant-garde and what could be described as “high modernism.”⁶⁶ As a result, this thesis challenges the hegemonic and Northern-oriented narrative of urban modernity. At the same time, it provides an alternative chronicle in the story of modernity, i.e., how modern ideas impacted the countryside in many countries during the twentieth century and created distinctly national models for the Modern Village.

⁶⁵ Jordana Mendelson, *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929-39*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005. See: <http://www.psupress.org/books/titles/0-271-02474-7.html>.

⁶⁶ See Andres Ballantyne (ed.), *Rural and Urban: Architecture between Two Cultures*, London: Routledge, 2010.

Ortega y Gasset and Spanish Circumstances

The dissertation evidences that the Spanish quest for vernacular modernism before and after the Civil War was not limited to architectural forms and building types, but that it equally embraced the urbanistic environment of that very popular architecture, i.e., the street, the *plaza*, and other Spanish iterations such as the *paseo*, as manifested in both the *pueblo* and the larger city.

First, it is important to reflect on the use of the word *pueblo* in the Spanish language. It is a term, at once clear and complex, which is almost untranslatable due to its rich content and the particularities of Spanish historical culture. In English, it can be translated as *village*, *town*, and even a *city* that does not exceed 50,000 inhabitants and is not a provincial capital or of similar hierarchical level. Moreover, the *pueblo* does not only represent the physical reality of the built community, it also represents its very citizens, from the villagers to the citizens of Spain as a whole. In that sense, one can assert that the *pueblo* represents the essence of the country, of its compromise between the rural and the urban.

Secondly, contrary to the more northern and Anglo-Saxon understanding of the word, the rural in Spain cannot be considered the opposite of urban. The social and physical reality of the Spanish countryside is very heterogeneous and especially difficult to equate with the more traditional, more often northern, representation of the rural as a world of farms, small villages, and rural sprawl along country roads.⁶⁷ North of the Cantabrian-Pyrenean line, the isolated farmhouse is the dominating typology, both physical and cultural, in direct connection with the fields and the landscape. This territorial relationship contributes, among other factors, to the often-disseminated nature of the settlements and/or their reduced size.⁶⁸ On the other hand, the configuration of the towns to the south of the discussed line, in large areas of Aragón and the vast plateau of Castilla-León, has been generally compact and clearly demarcated from the countryside around, with the distance between towns reaching ten to twenty kilometers. To some extent, the limits of the towns seem to function as a frontier and 'defense' against the countryside, reminding us of Ortega y Gasset's description of the formation of a genuinely human public space within the countryside. In most of these compact localities, whether large or small, the inhabitants tend to focus their life in the built environment, where almost everyone lives, and the public life gravitates around the *plaza mayor* and in the streets. The relationship with the field corresponds to the regular working hours; it is not the center of a lifestyle, which takes place within the compact urban fabric. Separated from the working countryside, the compact town prioritizes the presence of urban elements, spaces, and social practice such as the capacity for self-management, analogous

⁶⁷ For this section on the Spanish concept of *pueblo*, I have relied on Francisco López-Casero, "Pueblo y sociabilidad: formas de vida urbana en el Mediterráneo," *Anales de la Fundación Joaquín Costa*, 1999, pp. 177-205.

⁶⁸ Among the most specific types, let us mention the Asturian farmhouse, the Cantabrian farmhouse, the Basque farmhouse, the Aragonese *pardina* and the Catalan *masía*. This regional identification extends into some areas of the Levant and the Balearic islands like Ibiza.

to that of the Antique *polis*. Expectedly, there is no institution parallel to the northern farmhouse, organized around the family with a strong value of identification.⁶⁹ The same urban lifestyle, further reinforced thanks to the large size of the population (which can easily go from five to fifteen thousand residents, mostly dedicated to the agricultural economy), dominates the third category of settlements in the countryside, the agro-cities of the south. There, sociability plays a special role "in the desire to live in the density of the city, in the passion of the bustle and of the human action, in the conversations and in the debates, in the preference for urban life over rural life."⁷⁰ In the agro-city system, the urban structure is fully developed and permits the development of more complex social structures, as well as a much greater degree of contacts, sociability, but also, given the greater economic dependency of many residents, a place of socio-political conflict. As a result, the term "rural" cannot adequately reflect the spatial reality of urban life in the countryside environment, with the only exception of the northernmost regions where the farmhouse dominates the social life. As Francisco López-Casero has stated,

In reality, more than a rural Spain there is a Spain of pueblos. Within the Spanish countryside, the *pueblo* is the mediator between the rural and the urban world. It incorporates features of both and often presents a remarkable ambivalence.⁷¹

To be sure, the 'urban' character of the settlements in the countryside is not limited to Spain, and can be found across the entire Mediterranean basin, as authors like Christian Norberg-Schulz and Amos Rapoport have convincingly argued.⁷² In particular, they have emphasized the importance of Mediterranean compactness and well-defined public spaces—the square—in contrast with the Northern and Anglo-Saxon traditions. As Claudio D'Amato Guerrieri wrote in his contribution to the Biennale of Venice in 2006,

The Mediterranean architectural ideals ... really represent the classical idea of organic unit as well as Alberti defined it again. They extend it to all the design scales, because they consider architecture as a synthesis of a continuous process of

⁶⁹ The only institution with a strong presence in space would be the farmhouse in Andalusia; but the farmhouse has not been a symbol of identification, but of disunity and conflict.

⁷⁰ Quoted by López-Casero, p. 190 from Anton Blok and Henk Driessen, "Las agrocidades mediterráneas como forma de dominio cultural: los casos de Sicilia y Andalucía," in Francisco López-Casero, *La agrocidad mediterránea. Estructuras sociales y procesos de desarrollo*, Madrid, 1989: p. 102.

⁷¹ López-Casero, p. 192. In spite of fundamental differences between the Japanese society and its patterns of rural and urban development, it is interesting to point out a parallel reflection by Kisho Kurokawa, author of a metabolist project in the countryside: "It seems to me that there exists a city versus village concept with an emphasis toward cities. We say 'the flow of agricultural population into cities' or 'dispersion of urban population.' I am of the opinion that rural communities are cities whose means of production is agriculture." See "Agricultural City, 1960 / Kisho Kurokawa," in *ArchEyes*, May 7, 2016, <http://archeyes.com/agricultural-city-kurokawa-kisho/> (<http://archeyes.com/agricultural-city-kurokawa-kisho/> (last accessed November 1, 2018).

⁷² Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci, Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, New York: Rizzoli, 1980; Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.

transformation of nature that recognizes the relation and the belonging of every element and organism to a more complex unity.⁷³

Likewise, as Giuseppe Strappa discussed the Mussolini's foundations in the 1930s,

It cannot be overlooked that most of the villages and cities of foundation built by Italian architects between the two world wars are part of a new, all modern Mediterranean specificity, which, if we look at the organic (tectonic and typological) roots of the construction and of its relationship with the urban organism ... it seems to derive largely from a central nucleus of shared characters, the conscience of which is born and is highlighted by the contrast with the seriality and discontinuity of the modern northern European world.⁷⁴

Like many other Spanish intellectuals and architects, José Luis Sert acknowledged his debt to philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955).⁷⁵ In general terms, Ortega proposes that philosophy must, as Hegel discussed before him, overcome the lacks of both idealism (in which reality gravitated around the ego) and ancient-medieval realism (which is for him an undeveloped point of view in which the subject is located outside the world) in order to focus in the only truthful reality (i.e. life), in which there is no me without things and things are nothing without me, thus no me (human being) detached from my circumstances (world). This led Ortega to pronounce his famous maxim "*Yo soy yo y mi circunstancia*" (I am myself and my circumstance) which he always situated in the core of his philosophy. In the published version of his CIAM 8 speech on "Centers of Community Life," Sert introduced his talk with a quotation from Ortega y Gasset about the public square as the human separation from the "geo-botanic cosmos" of the countryside. Like Ortega, he believed that a square was necessary for the people to interact and develop a full civic life and that its origin was fundamentally a Greco-Roman creation that had impacted Mediterranean culture since Antiquity:

Excavation and archaeology allow us to see something of what existed on the soil of Athens and Rome before Athens and Rome were there. But the transition from that pre-history, purely rural and without specific character, to the rising-up of the city, a fruit of a new kind produced on the soil of both peninsulas, this remains a secret. We are not even clear about the ethnic link between those prehistoric peoples and these strange communities which introduce into the repertoire of humanity a great

⁷³ Claudio D'Amato Guerrieri, "Mediterranean Architectural Ideals," in Claudio D'Amato Guerrieri (ed.), *Cities of Stone / the Other Modernity / Stereotomic Architecture – 10. Mostra Internazionale Di Architettura Venezia*, Venezia: Marsilio, 2006, pp. 15-17 [16].

⁷⁴ Giuseppe Strappa, "Nuove città mediterranee," in Renato Besana, et. al. (eds.), *Metafisica costruita – Le città di fondazione degli anni Trenta dall'Italia all'Oltremare*, Milano: TCI, 2002, p. 105.

⁷⁵ For this section, see Jean-François Lejeune and José Gelabert-Navia, "Los arquitectos españoles y la construcción de la ciudad moderna: Sert, Moneo, Harvard y América" (with José Gelabert-Navia) – *Pamplona Metropolis 1930-modernidad & futuro*, Pamplona: Colegio Oficial de arquitectos Vasco Navarro 2006, pp. 18-39.

innovation: that of building a public square and around it a city, shut in from the fields. For in truth the more accurate definition of the *urbs* and the *polis* is very like the comic definition of a cannon. You take a hole, wrap some steel wire tightly round it, and that's your cannon. So, the *urbs* or the *polis* starts by being an empty space, the *forum*, the *agora*, and all the rest is just a means of fixing that empty space, of limiting its outlines. The polis is not primarily a collection of habitable dwellings, but a meeting-place for citizens, a space set apart for public functions. The city is not built, as is the cottage or the *domus*, to shelter from the weather and to propagate the species—these are personal, family concerns—but in order to discuss public affairs. [...] The square, thanks to the walls which enclose it, is a portion of the countryside which turns its back on the rest, eliminates the rest, and sets up in opposition to it. This lesser rebellious field, which secedes from the limitless one, and keeps to itself, is a space *sui generis*, of the most novel kind, in which man frees himself from the community of the plant and the animal, leaves them outside, and creates an enclosure apart which is purely human, a civil space.⁷⁶

The issue of “circumstance” was important for Sert, who, throughout his life and career, claimed his Mediterranean origins as a fundamental source of modernity. Following his exile to the United States, and particularly through the experience of his Latin American projects, Sert came out to recognize the importance of local building types and ways of life that would put into crisis, along with the younger Team X set, the international, abstract and universal agenda of the original CIAMs and Charter of Athens. Yet, it is in Rafael Moneo’s works—the Spanish architect initiated his career at the very heart of the Francoist regime—and writings that Ortega y Gasset’s thinking became a central principle of design and analysis. Indeed, for Moneo, circumstance in architecture becomes context, site, history and materiality. Circumstance calls for an architecture “that would ensure a building’s permanence within the modern tradition: an architecture that was concerned with construction, techniques, materials, and meaning in a building’s form.”⁷⁷ Moneo’s ability to “reabsorb his circumstances” is both a source of necessity and freedom to connect practice with intellect. Moreover, as the architect is fully immersed in the reality of the construction of architecture, it is only through knowledge of history and the theories of architecture that he or she is able to confront the immediate, the circumstantial and to reinvent architecture.⁷⁸ Moneo always made clear that he aimed at a “socially responsible” architecture that rejected invention and individualism for their own sake. In Kantian terms, freedom must be bound in order to not to fall into “arbitrary spontaneity” and disintegrate. For Moneo, the freedom of the architect and of architecture is equally bounded, and that bind must be an intellectual one—the insertion into the city, into the rules of the city.

⁷⁶ José Luis Sert, “Centres of Community Life,” *CIAM 8: The Heart of the City* (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952), 3. Quoted from José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, New York: Norton, 1932, pp. 164-5.

⁷⁷ See the detailed analysis by Valeria Koukoutsis-Mazarakis, *José Rafael Moneo Vallés: 1965-1985*, Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001, p. 61.

⁷⁸ Koukoutsis, p. 91.

In that sense, Sert and Moneo after him rejoined, at a much different scale and with programs of a different nature, the ideas put forth in the countryside by the architects of the I.N.C., Alejandro de la Sota and José Luis Fernández del Amo first among them.⁷⁹ The dissertation will emphasize the importance of the public space within Spanish culture and thus its fundamental presence in the towns and villages of the reconstruction and the interior colonization.

Urbanize the Countryside, ruralize the urban life

Rurizad lo urbano, urbanizad lo rural ... *Replete terram.*

In 1867, Ildefons Cerdà wrote an epigraph to the Volume One of his *Teoría General de la Urbanización*, “ruralize the urban life, urbanize the countryside ... Fill the earth.” Yet, as Vicente Guallart wrote, “the relationship between the country and the city is not explained in depth in his theory.”⁸⁰ He made his ideas clearer in a letter of 1875 to the Marquis of Corvera, where he posited that Cerdà “conceived all territorial space - both urban (susceptible to urbanization) and rustic (susceptible to ruralization) and whatever its size (territorial division in successive jurisdictions) - as a space colonized by man through operational principles of transformation (homotheties or “analogies from greatest to least, from the difficult to the easy, from the complex to the simple).”⁸¹ One can assume that for Cerdà, urbanizing the countryside implied “helping humanity understand that the aim is to free them of the ills from which they are suffering and to provide them with the legitimate advantages of which they are currently deprived.”⁸² Three decades later, Soria y Mata reasserted the same motto in his proposals of the Ciudad Lineal, as “ruralize the city, urbanize the countryside.”⁸³

The dissertation argues that both terms of this vision were deployed in Francoist Spain in continuity with previous attempts during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the Second Republic. In contrast to the virulent anti-urban attacks launched by the most reactionary supporters of the regime, it is important to emphasize the balanced approach to the relationship city/country that César Cort, Professor of Urbanología at the School of

⁷⁹ See Chapters Six and Seven.

⁸⁰ Ildefons Cerdà, *Teoría General de la Urbanización, y aplicación de sus principios y doctrinas a la reforma y ensanche de Barcelona*, Madrid: Imprenta Española, 1867; in English, Ildefons Cerdà, *General Theory of Urbanization*, Vincent Guallart (ed.), Barcelona: IAAC/Actar, 2018: quote from Vicente Guallart, “Urbanization: the Science of Making Cities,” p. 25.

⁸¹ Javier García-Bellido García de Diego, “Ildefonso Cerdà y el nacimiento de la urbanística: la primera propuesta disciplinar de su estructura profunda,” in *Scripta Nova: revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, no. 61, April 2000, <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn-61.htm> (last accessed December 1, 2018): “todo espacio territorial--tanto urbano (susceptible de la *urbanización*) como rústico (susceptible de la *rurización*) y cualquiera que sea su rango de tamaño (división territorial en sucesivas jurisdicciones)--como un *espacio colonizado* por el hombre a través de principios operacionales de transformación (homotecias o “analogías de mayor a menor, de lo difícil a lo fácil, de lo complejo a lo simple.”

⁸² Ildefons Cerdà, *General Theory of Urbanization*, p. 57.

⁸³ See Georges Collins and Carlos Flores, *Arturo Soria y la Ciudad Lineal*, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968.

Architecture of the University of Madrid, published in 1941. Under the title *Campos urbanizados y ciudades rurizadas* [Urbanized countryside and ruralized cities], Cort proposed an agenda that eventually guided the urban program of Franco's regime, at least until the end of autarky.⁸⁴

First of all, urbanizing the countryside meant modernizing it as debated from the very beginning of the twentieth century under the leadership of Joaquín Costa. It became the goal of Franco's hydro-social dream of modernization of the countryside with a national strategy of interior colonization. This dissertation presents and analyzes the international concept of the Modern Village and its application in Spain through the post-Civil War reconstruction and the works of the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización*.

Secondly, "ruralizing urban life" was a fundamental strategy of modern Spanish urbanism, from the early schemes proposed by Cerdà and the variations on the *ciudad lineal* imagined by Soria y Mata. However, the limited success of the Garden City movement stimulated the architects in developing genuine Spanish models such as the Plan Macià for Barcelona and the Zuazo-Jansen masterplan for Madrid. Between Le Corbusier and German-inspired modernism these projects were reimagined and reinterpreted after the civil war under the general Plan Bidagor approved in 1947. As a leading intellectual member of the Falange, Bidagor developed a corporatist vision of the Grand Madrid where strict control of land development would structure the city as an archipelago of rural-based towns to be developed around the consolidated city center and interconnected by an advanced metro and train network system. Each of these towns expressed a genuinely Spanish vision of middle to high-density districts structured around a hierarchical civic center where the church would dominate space and skyline, and formally influenced by a genuinely Spanish understanding and application of Sitte's theories.

As a later experience in Madrid, the *poblado dirigido* of Caño Roto (1957-63, Vázquez de Castro & Iniguez de Onzoño), consisted of a complex of courtyard houses and small slab blocks that partly brought rural typologies at the edge of the city. At the same time in Barcelona, Oriol Bohigas wrote his manifesto *Elogi de la barraca* [In praise of the shanty, 1963], which provocatively ennobled both traditional construction techniques and self-construction process in contrast with the speculative blocks of the periphery, and thus reconnected with the prewar discourse on housing and normalization discussed earlier.

⁸⁴ César Cort Botí, *Campos urbanizados y ciudades rurizadas*, Madrid: Yagües, 1941.

Utopia of Nostalgia

In his introduction to “The Historical Project,” Manfredo Tafuri argued that an ideology molded on the existing order is opposed, in history, by at least three other modes of ideological production: first,

A ‘progressive’ ideology, typical of the historical avant-gardes, that proposes a total seizure of the real: this is the avant-garde ... that rejected every form of mediation and that, when the chips were down, clashed with the mediating structures of the consensus, which in turn reduced it to pure ‘propaganda’; secondly, “a ‘regressive’ ideology, that is, a ‘utopia of nostalgia,’ distinctly expressed, from the nineteenth century on, by all forms of anti-urban thought, by the sociology of Tönnies, and by the attempt to oppose the new commercial reality of the metropolis with proposals aimed at restoring mythologies of anarchist or ‘communalist’ origins”; and thirdly, “an ideology that insists directly on the reform of the major institutions relating to the management of urban and regional development and the construction industry, anticipating not only real and proper structural reforms, but also new modes of production and a new arrangement in the division of labor: an example is the American progressive tradition, namely, the thought and the works of Olmsted, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, and Robert Moses.⁸⁵

“Utopia of nostalgia, regressive”? Although the program of reconstruction and interior colonization that will be the focus of this dissertation in the chapters 3, 5, 6, and 7, appear to respond to Tafuri’s category of the regressive ‘utopia of nostalgia’—an argument that many critics and historians have made one way or another—this dissertation will argue and research how:

1. The Franco regime, from the end of the Civil War to the end of economic and political isolation (second half of the 1950s) embraced a utopian vision of urbanism that involved both the city and the countryside. It was particularly dominant during the first half of the dictatorship, a period in which Pedro Bidagor advocated a well-balanced metropolis whose organic development would not be driven by capitalist speculation, and whose relation with the countryside would be as syncretic as possible, therefore diminishing the tensions between the urban and the rural. As I will develop in Chapter Three, the plans of the reconstruction by the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas* (D.G.R.D.), and to a lesser extent the *pueblos de colonización*, responded to the general ideas of the “organic city” that he developed from the end of the Civil War in the “Plan de Ordenación Nacional.” The organic city was thought of as an alternative to the liberal city dominated by economic and speculative interests. It would consist of a central core “of representation” surrounded by closed and strictly defined districts, interconnected by areas of countryside and landscape, and functionally organized in a hierarchical way. In

⁸⁵ Manfredo Tafuri, “The Historical Project,” in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth – Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1987, pp. 1-21.

line with the ideology of the early years of the regime, the “organs” would be primarily dedicated to agriculture.⁸⁶

2. That the use of traditional forms of planning does not necessarily respond to a concept of nostalgia. Based upon the most common definition and etymological origin of the word, *nostalgia* is a learnt formation of a Greek compound consisting of *nóstos*, meaning ‘homecoming’, which is a Homeric word, and (*álgos*), meaning ‘pain, ache.’⁸⁷ For most critics and historians, the traditional design of most pueblos, their rather conservative architecture, and their reliance on the traditional concept of streets and squares were echoes of a nostalgic vision. However, the evident use of those traditional typologies, architectural elements, and picturesque effects must be reassessed in their social and cultural context. Indeed, the traditional architecture and urbanism of the pueblos were conceived of and built for farmers, laborers, and their large families, i.e., for the very social classes that have always, one way or another, inhabited the genuinely historic towns and villages from which the architects of the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (I.N.C.) took their inspiration. Thus, it would be quite paradoxical—and quite wrong—to speak of nostalgia: these were not men and women of the city, perhaps emigrated from the countryside, who aspired at returning home and find a facsimile of their previous life. They were not garden cities, which imitate the countryside for very different users, potentially nostalgic of a past that they have never experienced; to the contrary, they were genuine agricultural villages for genuine workers of the land. In other words, there was no “displacement of meaning” between architecture, urbanism and users - something that happens every day with tourist development, transformation of historic villages into touristic havens, or even middle-class villas in subdivisions. Hence, there is a profound difference between the *pueblos de colonización* and their use of the architecture of white walls, tiled roofs, balconies, and *rejas* of all forms, and the same elements when they are deployed in suburban subdivisions, touristic venues, and the middle-class chalets that will eventually take over the Spanish peripheries and especially the Mediterranean coasts to host retired generations from Spain and many other European countries. That being said, the question asked by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter in their book *Collage City* remains fundamental for the development of the dissertation arguments:

Why should we be *obliged* to prefer a nostalgia for the future to that for the past?” ... It goes without saying that exponents of the city as prophecy theatre would be likely to be thought of as radicals while exponents of the city as memory theatre would, almost certainly be described as conservatives; but, if there might be some degree of truth in such assumption, it must also

⁸⁶ See Bibiana Treviño Carrillo, “La utopía ruralista del primer franquismo en los planes de reconstrucción de la posguerra,” *Actas de la II Conferencia de Hispanistas de Rusia*, Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1999, unpaginated (internet accessed).

⁸⁷ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York: Basic Books, 2001.

be established that block notions of this kind are not really very useful.⁸⁸

3. That the Francoist utopia was politically very conservative but not necessarily so in terms of urbanistic and architectural expression. If the anti-urban theory and propaganda entailed, for a couple of years, a histrionic rhetoric from the most conservative side of the regime, the emphasis on the countryside was, in reality, nothing different from what was going on in many industrialized countries. This list of case-studies mentioned earlier (some of which will be studied in details in the Chapter 2 of the dissertation) is not exhaustive, yet I can safely argue that the anti-urban rhetoric used by the Franco regime during the very first years to follow the Civil War was not specific Fascist. There was no real policy of return to the land or transfer of population as happened partially in Italy, in post-WWII Communist regimes, and even with a very different political context with the population of Palestine. Spengler's influence on Mussolini is well known but there was no equivalent with Franco.⁸⁹ Likewise there was no cultural equivalent of the Italian interwar ideological and intellectual conflict between *strapaese* and *stracittà* in Spanish literature and arts.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1978, p. 49.

⁸⁹ It is Ortega y Gasset himself who most promoted the works of Oswald Spengler by introducing it to the readers of the progressist *Revista de Occidente*. Ortega y Gasset's contribution to opening the Spanish and Latin American world to the European and particularly German philosophy was highly significant. In his writings and in capacity as editor of the *Revista de Occidente*, he made his readers familiar with Georg Simmel, Martin Heidegger, and other important authors such as Spengler. In 1923, first year of *Revista*, he published a series of translated excerpts from *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*.

⁹⁰ According to The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature (2002), "The vision of peasant wholesomeness and a corresponding earthy pithiness of style which was promoted particularly by Mino Maccari apropos of Tuscany and Tuscan in *Il Selvaggio* in the interwar years. It was polemically opposed to the internationalism of *stracittà* associated with Bontempelli and the *900 (Novecento)* group. Both tendencies claimed to be in tune with the true spirit of Fascism, but *strapaese* gained the ascendancy in the 1930s."

According to the Encyclopedia Britannica (Brittanica.com), "Stracittà, an Italian literary movement that developed after World War I. Massimo Bontempelli was the leader of the movement, which was connected with his idea of *novecentismo*. Bontempelli called for a break from traditional styles of writing, and his own writings reflected his interest in such modern forms as Surrealism and magic realism. The name *stracittà*, a type of back-formation from the word *stracittadino* ("ultra-urban"), was meant to emphasize the movement's adherence to general trends in European literature, in opposition to *strapaese* (from *strapaesano* ["ultra-local"])—collectively, those authors who followed nationalist and regionalist trends."

STATE OF THE QUESTION: THE ABSENCE OF SPAIN

In Spain like in other European nations who had to suffer the consequences of twentieth century dictatorships, architectural historians either ignored or gave an often contestable and usually reductionist interpretation of the urban and architectural works of the long dictatorship period. Yet, over time, a new generation has developed a serious revision of earlier writings and publications in favor of a more balanced and less ideologically oriented interpretation of urbanism and architecture as professional disciplines. The evolution of the historical project follows that of Fascist Italy, where most of the works built under Mussolini's regime have survived intact and are now an integral part of the urban life of millions of citizens. As a result, it is in the late 1960s/early 1970s that the process of rehabilitation of Fascist architecture and urbanism was initiated and has been, to some extent, completed at this time. Foreign scholars of Mussolini's Italy have, in particular, developed extensive and important research on the subject, in part thanks to the important role played by the American Academy in Rome to support the research in modern Italian studies. A similar movement has been underway in Germany, Russia, and recently in the former Yugoslavia. In many of those cases, American or America-based scholars have been at the forefront of the international research and publications. However, this has not yet been the case for the Spain and Franco's regime, which has been, in general, little studied or not at all. However, it is important to mention the 2015 volume *Urbanism and Dictatorship – A European Perspective* edited by Harald Bodenschatz, Piero Sassi, and Max Welch Guerra. A major volume *Franco's Städtebau* is in preparation by the same team of editors and will be published in 2020, with my participation in regard to the program of Interior Colonization.

Within this context, international scholarship on Spanish architecture and urbanism has been relative limited. Most studies have concentrated on the period 1900-1936 preceding the Civil War—with an emphasis on Gaudí and other architects of Modernism, as well as on the work of the GATCPAC around the key figure of José Luis Sert—and after 1975 with the works of Oriol Bohigas for Barcelona and the irruption of Spanish architects on the international scene (Ricardo Bofill, Rafael Moneo, etc.). Even though research on the architecture and urbanism of the Franco period has been intense in the last fifteen years among the new generations of Spanish historians and architects, the scholarly production by authors and researchers outside of Spain has been negligible, and this, in contrast with other disciplines of research which have produced important works (history, relations between State and Church, cultural studies, film studies, etc.). I argue that it is not possible to understand the importance of post-1975 architecture and urbanism in Spain without studying the period 1936-1975. The decades of Franco's regime were, overall, marked by continuity rather than rupture with the decade preceding the Civil War. Likewise, even though many architects decided to emigrate during the war, it is incontestable that many other excellent architects remained in the country and that the most important architects of the 1945-60—Francisco Cabrero, Fernández del

Amo, Miguel Fisac, Alejandro de la Sota—were men with strong religious belief who, by default, embraced the Franco regime. Likewise, a survey of the professional literature through periodicals such as *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, *Arquitectura*, and *Nueva Forma*—to name the most important of the 1950-75 period—reveals that the critic of modern urbanism was launched in the early 1960s by architects like Bohigas and Bofill who planted the seeds of the major revision of the 1980s-90s from Barcelona to Madrid to Seville. There are however some exceptions such as José Antonio Coderch and Alejandro de la Sota who are known through accessible monographs, but with the exception of William Curtis and Moshen Mostafavi (both having written about de la Sota), they originated from Spain. Gabriel Cabrero's overview of post-1945 Spanish architecture published in 2001 remains the only introduction to the period. One recent important work is María González Pendás's dissertation *Architecture, Technocracy, and Silence: Building Discourse in Franquista Spain* (Columbia University, 2016), which explores the intersections of spatial and building practices with processes of political, technological, and religious modernization during the twentieth century and applies to specific case studies including Oriol Bohigas's Pallars Housing project in Barcelona.

I have discussed the concept of vernacular modernism in a previous section of this introduction, using as reference Hüppauf and Umbach *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*, which does not include Spain in its case studies, or my own work (with Michelangelo Sabatino) *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean*. Two other important works were useful as well to frame my research positions and questions even though they do not include Spanish case studies, *Rural and Urban: Architecture between Two Cultures* (2010) edited by Andres Ballantyne, and *Re-Humanizing Architecture – New Forms of Community, 1950-1970* edited by Ákos Moravanszky and Judith Hopfengärtner. The latter includes an important essay by Nelson Mota, "Dwelling in the Middle Landscape: Rethinking the Architecture of Rural Communities at CIAM 10," which analyzes proposals for the planning of new villages made at the Dubrovnik conference in 1956.⁹¹

Beyond this original position, this dissertation embraces two interconnected bibliographic fields and their relation to the case of Spain: first, the question of the reconstruction after the Civil War; secondly, the interior colonization and the general concept of the modern village. Perhaps because most of the post-Civil War reconstruction took place before 1945, Spain has been mostly absent from important comparative studies such as Jeffrey Diefendorf's *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities* and John Pendlebury, Erdem Erten, Peter Larkham's *Alternative Visions of Post-War Reconstruction – Creating the Modern Townscape*, and even Jean-Louis Cohen's *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World*. The Cañada Blanch/Sussex Academic Studies on Contemporary Spain Center published two

⁹¹ Andres Ballantyne (ed.), *Rural and Urban: Architecture between Two Cultures*, London: Routledge, 2010; Nelson Mota, "Dwelling in the Middle Landscape: Rethinking the Architecture of Rural Communities at Ciam 10," in Ákos Moravánsky and Judith Hopfengärtner (eds.), *Re-Humanizing Architecture: New Forms of Community, 1950-1970. East West Central: Re-Building Europe 1950-1990*, Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017, pp. 311-24.

significant books on the reconstruction in Spain, but they are the works of Spanish scholars.⁹² However, in his important work of 2017, *Urbanity and Density in 20th-Century Urban Design*, Wolfgang Sonne has put Spain prominently in his transnational comparative approach and he includes a small chapter on the reconstruction following the Civil War.⁹³

In 2006, the University of Leuven organized a European conference titled *Making a New World? Modern Communities in Interwar Europe* (Heynickx and Avermaete, 2012), whose focus was “on those individuals and organizations that engaged with modernity not in a straightforward and often dogmatic way, as did the avant-garde, but rather with a cautious ‘yes, but...’”⁹⁴ The event and publication unfortunately overlooked the Spanish situation, as did, casting a wider net of planned communities and all forms of garden cities, two significant publications from Belgium, *Regionalism and Modernity: Architecture in Western Europe 1914-1940* (Meganck, Van Santvoort, De Maeyer, 2013), and *Living with History 1914-1964* (Bullock and Verpoest, 2011).⁹⁵ Likewise, a recent issue of the *Journal of Architecture* focused on the Modern Village, with an innovative international overview that includes proposals by Doxiadis Associates for new rural development units or communities in post-independence Zambia, however it does not include Spain.⁹⁶ David Fishman, Jacob Tilove, and Robert A.M. Stern’s monumental and international *Paradise Planned: The Garden Suburb and the Modern City* totally ignored Spain that is only present with the Parque Güell in Barcelona. Even though the country was not the most fertile field of application of the concept of garden suburb and the book limits itself to 1945, the wide net cast by the authors around all versions of planned communities could have included score of projects, particularly in Catalonia and Andalusia, as well as the reconstructed villages by the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas* and the first generation of pueblos by the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización*.⁹⁷

Following on the successful publications on *Los pueblos de colonización de Fernández Del Amo: Arte, Arquitectura y Urbanismo* by Miguel Centellas Soler and the *Pueblos de*

⁹² Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities*, London: Macmillan, 1990; John Pendlebury, Erdem Erten, and Peter J. Larkham (eds.), *Alternative Visions of Post-War Reconstruction – Creating the Modern Townscape*, London/New York: Routledge, 2015; Olivia Muñoz-Rojas, *Ashes and Granite : Destruction and Reconstruction in the Spanish Civil War and Its Aftermath*, Cañada Blanch/Sussex Academic Studies on Contemporary Spain, Eastbourne/Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2011; Dacia Viejo-Rose, *Reconstructing Spain: Cultural Heritage and Memory after Civil War*. Brighton/Portland/Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2011.

⁹³ Wolfgang Sonne, *Urbanity and Density in 20th-Century Urban Design*, Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2017.

⁹⁴ See Rajesh Heynickx & Tom Avermaete, eds., *Making a New World: Architecture and Communities in Interwar Europe*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012.

⁹⁵ Leen Meganck, Linda Van Santvoort, and Jan De Maeyer, *Regionalism and Modernity*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013; Nicholas Bullock, and Luc Verpoest (eds.), *Living with History, 1914-1964*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011.

⁹⁶ Ayala Levin and Neta Feniger, “Introduction: The Modern Village,” in *Journal of Architecture* 23, n° 3, 2018, pp. 361-366; and Petros Phokaidis, “Rural Networks and Planned Communities: Doxiadis Associates' Plans for Rural Settlements in Post-Independence Zambia,” in *Journal of Architecture* 23, n° 3, 2018, pp. 471-97.

⁹⁷ David Fishman, Jacob Tilove, and Robert A.M. Stern, *Paradise Planned: The Garden Suburb and the Modern City*, New York: The Monacelli Press, 2013.

colonización durante el Franquismo: la arquitectura en la modernización del territorio rural (2008), the research developed in Spain has been expanding widely with a focus on various regional actuations in Aragón, Extremadura, and the province of Almería in Andalusia. However, contrary to the Italian and Zionist experiences that have been widely published in English by local and international scholars, the scholarship on Spanish colonization and its most important architects (De la Sota, Fernández del Amo, Fernández Alba) remains relatively invisible outside of Spain. An important exception in international literature can be found in two works edited by Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, *Die Architektur, die Tradition und der Ort: Regionalismen in der Europäischen Stadt* (2000) and his opus magnum *Die Stadt im 20. Jahrhundert – Visionen, Entwürfe, Gebautes*, which positioned the Spanish colonization within the international context of regionalism and twentieth-century urbanism.⁹⁸ Likewise it is important to mention the *Cities of Stone* (10th Biennale di Architettura Venezia 2006) and *Mediterranei Traduzioni Della Modernità*, edited by Paolo Carlotti, Dina Nencini and Pisana Posocco (2015).

Last but not least, since 2016, the European association MODSCAPES “deals with new rural landscapes produced by large-scale agricultural development and colonization schemes implemented in the 20th century throughout Europe and beyond. Conceived in different political and ideological contexts, the underlying agricultural development and colonization policies (ADCP) were pivotal to Nation-building and State-building, and to the modernization of the countryside. Such policies and schemes provided a testing ground for the ideas and tools of agronomists, environmental and social scientists, architects, engineers, planners, landscape architects and artists, which converged around a shared challenge. Their implementation produced modernist rural landscapes (MRL) which have seldom been considered as a transnational research topic.”⁹⁹ *Modernism, Modernization and the Rural Landscape* was the theme of the international conference held in Tartu, Estonia, from June 11-13, 2018. Organized by the European network MODSCAPES, it gathered about one hundred participants whose presentations were focused on the transnational process of modernization of the European countryside from the 1918 to the 1960s, with an emphasis on its many urbanistic and architectural expressions. The proceedings of the conference—with a variety of presentations on the case of Spain—will be released in 2018-2019.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Antonio Pizza, “Die Dörfer Der Agrarkolonisation Im Spanien Francos,” In Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (ed.), *Die Architektur, Die Tradition Und Der Ort: Regionalismen in Der Europäischen Stadt*, Ludwigsburg: Wüstenrot Stiftung, 2000, pp. 464-493; Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, “Der Mythos Der Wahrheit; Städtebau Im Spanien Francos und im Italien des Neorealismus,” in *Die Stadt Im 20. Jahrhundert – Visionen, Entwürfe, Gebautes*, Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2011, pp. 668-95.

⁹⁹ See <https://modscapes.eu/about/> (last accessed December 1, 2018).

¹⁰⁰ See MODSCAPES, *Modernism, Modernisation and the Rural Landscape*, op. cit. The case studies being developed by MODSCAPES as part of the program of comparative investigation include: Italy (1922-1943): Fascist integral reclamation of the Pontine Marshes & Apulian tableland; Spain (1930s-1975): Francoist reclamation and internal colonization in the Ebro and Tagus Valleys; Portugal (1920s-1950s): Salazar’s failed internal colonization of the common lands; Germany (1945-1989): State-driven collectivization in former GDR (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Brandenburg); Estonia and Latvia (1944/5-1991): Forced collectivization under Soviet occupation; British Palestine / Israel (1920s-1973): Zionist agricultural colonization; Libya (1922-1947): Italian agricultural colonies in Tripolitania and

As Javier Monclús and Carmen Diez Medina wrote, the lack of translations has generally made it difficult for the English-speaking world “to appreciate the specificities of *urbanismo* and *urbanística*,” and prevents the inclusion of this body of work in the wider debate about planning history. They recalled how Anthony Suttcliffe identified “a specifically Latin culture of *urbanism*, which is used to contextualize both planning and architecture.”¹⁰¹ The overall absence of Spain in architectural and planning history of the twentieth century undoubtedly reflects Monclús and Diez Medina’s affirmation.

Cyrenaica; Morocco (1920s-1970s): French reclamation and rural development schemes of the Gharb Valley; Greece (1922-1968): Settlements in the Axios and Strymon Valleys for refugees from Asia Minor; Ukraine (1944/5 – 1991): Rural planning in Soviet Ukraine.

¹⁰¹ Javier Monclús and Carmen Diez Medina, “*Urbanisme, Urbanismo, Urbanística – Latin European Urbanism*,” in Carola Hein (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History*, London: Routledge, 2018, pp. 147-160 [147]. The reference from Suttcliffe comes from “Foreword” to Arturo Almandoz, *Planning Latin America’s Capital Cities 1850-1950*, London: Routledge, 2002.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

1. The Rural and the Modern, 1898-1936: The Lesson of Ibiza

The *Lesson of Ibiza* deals with the issue of the vernacular in Spanish architectural theory from 1898 to 1936. It discusses the ideological and cultural crisis that followed Spain's loss of her last territories in Latin America and the Philippines. The rediscovery of the Spanish heartland, away from the big cities, was a physical, geographical, cultural, and also architectural process that would spur a radical revision of national identity through the study of vernacular architecture and its urban expression in the *pueblo*. The chapter traces and attempts to understand the sources of vernacular modernism and the operations of appropriation it entailed (geography, materials, and culture) in the search for solutions to housing problems in Spain. It continues with a detailed analysis of the role of Fernando García Mercadal (Madrid) and José Luis Sert and the GATCPAC group (Barcelona) in the development of a modern architecture based upon a reinterpretation and abstraction of the vernacular—the “Lesson of Ibiza.” In doing so, they coincided with the paradigmatic shift in thinking about modernity that the German philosopher Walter Benjamin experienced in discovering the island. The last section consists of the comparative analysis of two masterplans, the Plan Macía for Barcelona (1931-36) in collaboration with Le Corbusier and the contemporary plan Zuazo-Jansen for the expansion of Madrid. Even though these two visions of the city and blocks strongly differed in morphology and typology, both embodied a modern and Mediterranean approach to urbanism and life, which contrasted in many ways with contemporary examples in Northern Europe.

2. The Modern Village: Spain and the International Context

Following the crisis of 1898, politician, jurist, economist and historian Joaquín Costa Martínez became the intellectual leader of Regenerationism, a multi-disciplinary movement whose objective was the modernization of the country with a focus on the impoverished countryside. For Costa and his friends, modernization meant the remaking of Spanish nature and the complex answer involved the need for a major hydrographical re-engineering of the country. By the 1930s, decades of debates and legal initiatives, intensified during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship and the Second Republic, had established a socio-political consensus that an ambitious state-driven hydraulic policy was the sine qua non condition of the modernization of Spain. The *Modern Village* outlines the Spanish national debate about the morphological and typological modernization of the countryside from Soria y Mata's theories of the *ciudad lineal* and the International Exposition of Ghent in 1913 (*Premier congrès international et exposition comparée des villes*) to the 1932 competition for the design of new villages in the basins of the Guadalquivir and the Guadalhorce rivers in Andalusia. The second part of the chapter analyzes how the concept of the Modern Village was used ideologically and politically

between the interwar period in Italy, Palestine, Portugal, as well as Le Corbusier's own study of the *Radiant Village* and his attempt to get a commission for from Mussolini. The modernization of the countryside continued to develop after World War II in various countries and under ideologically opposite regimes, including the UNRRA-CASAS program in postwar Italy under the guidance of Adriano Olivetti and architects such as Ludovico Quaroni (La Martella, near Matera, 1952-54), the experiment of Hassan Fathy with the model village of Gournah in the 1940s, and the debates held at the CIAM 10 in Dubrovnik.

3. The Ordered Town: The Reconstruction of the Devastated Regions

Created in the last year of the Civil War, the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas* (D.G.R.D.) was responsible for the reconstruction of more than 150 damaged or destroyed towns and villages across Spain. Although the most urgent needs were in rebuilding the larger cities and their industrial peripheries, the reconstruction initially focused on the rural front. The main rationale was the State's economic policy to bolster new agrarian development in order to allow the necessary reorganization of private capital, at that time without opportunities for rapid investment. Arguably, the program of reconstruction was not a creation *ex novo*. From the Renaissance, Spain had forged a rich and brilliant tradition of new urban foundations, both in America and in the Peninsula itself. Architects and planners of the reconstruction found a fertile ground in that heritage but, at the same time, demonstrated their unambiguous knowledge of pre-war modern European planning. The analysis of about twenty projects of integral reconstruction, which include Brunete, Villanueva del Pardillo, Belchite and Los Blazquez, underscores the rational morphology of the gridded plans replacing the medieval pre-war pattern. Simultaneously expression of an ideological (memory) and hygienist discourse (modernity), the rationalism of the urban plans contrasts with the regionalist architecture that masks the functional modernity of the patio houses. The chapter also highlights the political, conceptual and administrative continuity between the principles and standards developed under Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, the Second Republic, and the Franco regime. This chapter concludes with a special section of Case studies in the Madrid region, in the Zaragoza area, and in Andalusia.

4. The Modern and the Vernacular: Postwar Continuities

Post-war Continuities studies how modern architecture returned to Spain through the advocacy of a modernized vernacular. José Antonio Coderch's projects for the town of Sitges in the 1940-1950s and his design for the Spanish Pavilion at the IX Milano Triennale (1951), among others, provided the impulse and the cultural alibi, not only to adopt a stripped-down vernacular as a politically acceptable form of Spanish modernity, but also to set up a less rigid relational system between buildings and their environment. Furthermore, the chapter asserts that the Catalanian sphere did not have the monopoly on modernity. The search for modernity

was also part of the ambitions of regime-supporting Catholic-oriented architects that dominated the Madrid scene. Among that group, Gabriel Cabrero, Miguel Fisac, Alejandro de la Sota, and José Luis Fernández Del Amo aimed at retrieving the vernacular and particularly the Mediterranean one as a source of inspiration and development for a modern Francoist architecture that would break with the casticist mould of El Escorial as “imperial” reference during the first phase of the Francoist regime. As a result, many saw in the Alhambra in Granada a more appropriate historical reference to the modern condition and needs of post-war Spain (*Manifiesto of the Alhambra*, 1953). In Madrid, the social crisis of 1956 in the chabolas [bidonvilles] of the periphery, the activism of a local priest, Padre Llanos, and the organizational energy of architect Julián Laguna, converged to produce an experiment in public housing. Of particular interest for this study is the *poblado dirigido* of Caño Roto (1957-63), a complex of courtyard houses and small slab blocks mixing vernacular-based techniques of auto-construction and semi-industrial typologies. At the same time in Barcelona, Oriol Bohigas developed a realist position, critical of the urbanism of the modern movement and was also an extension of the “vernacular discourse” that had until then concentrated on the countryside or the remote peripheries. Of particular interest is his famous manifesto *Elogi de la barraca* [In praise of the shanty, 1963], which provocatively ennobled both traditional construction techniques and self-construction process in contrast with the speculative blocks of the periphery, and thus reconnected with the pre-war discourse on housing and normalization discussed earlier. In the 1960s, from a position, supported by sociologist Henri Lefebvre and highly critical of the large-scale social housing projects of the 1960s, Bofill and his Taller de Arquitectura studied high-density housing schemes whose organic methodology is based on the geometric formation of elements in space (*Ciudad en espacio*), but whose spatial and cultural model relates directly to the traditional *pueblo*.

5. Rural Utopia and Modernity: The *Pueblos de colonización*, 1939-1971

This chapter outlines the ideological, political, and urbanistic principles of Franco’s grand “hydro-social dream.” From 1940 to the mid-1960s, the architects, engineers and agronomists employed by the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (National Institute of Colonization or I.N.C.) created new man-made “colonial” landscapes that integrated dams, irrigation canals, roads, and new towns. Each town was designed as a ‘rural utopia,’ centered on a *plaza mayor* that embodied the political ideal of civil life under the national-catholic regime. The analysis starts with the first series of towns, designed from 1943 by the architects of the I.N.C. with a strong influence from Camillo Sitte (Gimenells, Valdelacalzada) and a regionalist vision of the vernacular. From the early 1950s, a series of new towns (Esquivel, Villafranco de Gadiana, Gévora del Caudillo) was commissioned to a generation of young architects such as de la Sota, Fernández del Amo, and Antonio Fernández Alba who, under the influence of organic architecture, the Manifesto of the Alhambra, and the international concept of civic center, radically modernized the practice, both in terms of urban form, typology and

architecture. For the young architects, the search for a more abstract urban form to match the modernized vernacular implied that the grid and the block could lose their absolute character and be substituted by more organic plans and relationships between city and nature. Camillo Sitte's tenets of urban composition, which provided a traditional sense of identity to the first group of new towns, remained paramount, although reinterpreted, to the implementation of that novel dialectic between tradition and modernity. During the last phase of the 1960s, the design of the villages continued with a lot of variations, the growing influence of the automobile, and a highly repetitive, quasi-mechanical, deployment of the building types.

6. Five Villages by Alejandro de la Sota: Vernacular and Surrealist Modernity

Alejandro de la Sota (1913-1996) was one of the most important modern architects of the post-Civil War period in Spain. Following his graduation from the Escuela Técnica de Arquitectura de Madrid in 1941, he was admitted as one of five architects at the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (I.N.C.). There he planned Gimenez (1943, Lérida) before leaving the Institute. He rejoined in the 1950s to design and build four new villages: Esquivel (1952, Sevilla), Entreríos (1954, Badajoz), Valungo (1954, Badajoz) and La Bazana (1954, Badajoz). His first independent work of architecture was the Gobierno Civil of Terragona that he built from 1956-1963, and the Gymnasium of Maravillas School (Madrid, 1960-1962), considered as two of the most significant works of modern Spanish Architecture during the Francoist period. This chapter summarizes the urbanistic and architectonic modernity of the five pueblos, in particular, the pioneering features of the separation of traffic, the propagandistic concept of the open plaza, the volumetric abstraction of the vernacular house, as well as his "ironic" use (as understood by Ortega y Gasset) of the pure Spanish classical architecture. Most importantly the research emphasizes how de la Sota transcends those "functionalist" elements of modernity in order to mobilize memories of the real and produce, in his last four pueblos, an "invented" or "surreal" reality. In so doing, de la Sota reverses the fundamental reference to the countryside that characterizes Spanish surrealism to bring surrealism within the process of rural modernization in Franco's Spain.

7. Landscape and Abstraction: Twelve Villages by José Luis Fernández del Amo

José Luis Fernández del Amo (1914-1995) joined the Madrid School of Architecture in 1933 but had to interrupt his studies when the Civil War erupted. In 1938, he incorporated in Franco's army, and fought on the Guadalajara front and the final battle in Madrid. Reintegrating the University, he graduated in 1942 with ten colleagues, among whom Miguel Fisac and Francisco de Asís Cabrero. He then started to work for the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas and was one of the architects of the new social district of Regiones in Almería with Prieto Moreno and Fernández de Castro. In Granada, he got in contact with various modern artists, and laid the groundwork for his interest in contemporary art and the

“integration of the arts” in Spanish modern architecture. In 1951 he was named director of the new and small Museo de Arte Contemporáneo (Contemporary Art Museum) where, for seven years, he produced and curated a series of important exhibitions revolving around abstraction and art. In 1947 he started to work for the I.N.C. where he was active for 20 years, built 12 villages and developed a very advanced program of integration of the arts. With Vegaviana (1954), Cañada de Agra (1962), and the other towns for which he was full responsible for urban design and architecture, Fernández del Amo developed a concept of “landscape urbanism” whose origins can be traced to the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra* but also to Aalto’s influence. Modern abstraction was one of the design tools that he pushed to the limits of the continuity of urban form.

8. Morphological Classification and Case Studies in the Evolution of Town Design

This final section organizes the 300 towns and villages of the I.N.C. according to three hierarchically structured criteria. The first criteria represents the organization of the “heart of the town,” the plaza or as often mentioned by the architects, the “civic center.” It is hierarchically the most important as it can be best used to categorize the urbanistic invention and diversity of the *pueblos*. The second criterion characterizes the type of street system that was used for each town. Note that the categories relate to the foundation nucleus, independently from the potential extensions and additions. The third one will identify whether the plan includes the separation of pedestrian from animals and mechanical equipment. In order to illustrate the evolution of town design according to those criteria, the section concludes with the analysis of thirty-three *pueblos*, organized by theme and architect.

* * *



Salvador Dalí. Portrait of Luis Buñuel, 1924. © Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid / Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York.

1:

The Rural and the Modern, 1898-1936:

The Lessons of Ibiza

The popular in Spain is the permanent affirmation of the national; it is, at the same time, the most universal, the highest and the most constructed.... Popular art is the lyric representation of the creative force of man, of the building power of the people who build things and objects of invented proportions, shapes, and colors: magical creations of exact measurements.¹

Walking through these old Castilian towns, so open, so spacious, so full of a heaven of light, on this serene and restful land, next to these sober little rivers, is how the spirit is attracted by its roots to the eternal of the caste.²

[The popular architecture] is a climatic product, subjected to the environment, adapted topographically to the place, built with materials from the region; it is a natural and a morphological product of the environment. Rational in the use of the elements, sincere and true, its exterior arises without anxiety and manifests the destiny.... Oblivious to transient mutations, it is the survival of secular taste and tradition, the immanent architectural expression. It is the normal, the innate, the manifestation of architectural serenity.³

¹ Maruja Mallo, *Lo popular en la plástica española a través de mi obra. 1928-1936*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, p. 7, quoted by Patricia Molins, "Surrealismo: El fantasma en el armario," in *Campo Cerrado – Arte y poder en la posguerra española, 1939-1953*, Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2016, p. 78: "Lo popular en España es la afirmación permanente de lo nacional; es, a la vez, lo más universal, lo más elevado y lo más construido... El arte popular es la representación lírica de la fuerza creadora del hombre, del poder de edificación del pueblo que construye cosas y objetos de proporciones, formas y colores inventados: creaciones mágicas de medidas exactas."

² Miguel de Unamuno, *Andanzas y visiones españolas*, Madrid: Renacimiento, 1922, p. 82: "Recorriendo estos viejos pueblos castellanos, tan abiertos, tan espaciosos, tan llenos de un cielo de luz, sobre esta tierra serena y reposada, junto a estos pequeños ríos sobrios, es como el espíritu se siente atraído por sus raíces a lo eterno de la casta."

³ Teodoro de Anasagasti y Algán, La arquitectura popular: discurso de Don Teodoro de Anasagasti y contestacion del Excmo. Señor Don Marceliano Santa Maria el día 24 de marzo de 1929 ante la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, 1929, pp. 15-16: "[La arquitectura popular] es producto climático, sometida al ambiente, adaptada topográficamente al lugar, levantada con materiales de la región, es un producto natural y morfológico del medio. Racional en el empleo de los elementos, sincera y verídica, su exterior, que surge sin preocupaciones, manifiesta el destino. Labor colectiva y anónima, obra permanente surgida por la depuración y aleccionamiento del tiempo. Ajena a mutaciones transitorias, es la supervivencia del gusto y tradición seculares, la expresión arquitectónica inmanente. Es lo normal, lo ingénito, la serenidad arquitectónica."

1898 was a critical year in the history of Spain. On the 1st of May in the Philippines and on the 3rd of July in Santiago de Cuba, the Spanish-American War ended miserably in Spanish defeat. The year marked the end of a world empire whose first steps had been set in 1492 with the arrival of Christopher Columbus in Santo Domingo. For more than four centuries, Spain had been the most potent imperial power, even though the Wars of Liberation in nineteenth-century Latin America had considerably reduced its importance and economic strength. Faced with the backward situation of the countryside, the intense competition from the other European nations, and its own belated process of industrialization and modernization, Spain entered the twentieth century amidst a major intellectual, moral, political, and social crisis. Having lost most of its international network and prestige, the country had no other choice but to turn inwards and analyze the reality of its society in order to develop a new project and vision. The aftershock of the announced defeat provided an impetus for many intellectuals, including writers, philosophers, artists and architects, to diagnose their country's ills and to seek ways to jolt the nation out of its predicament. Novelists, poets, essayists, intellectuals and philosophers active at the time of the lost war became known, in the expression of writer Azorín (1873-1967), as the Generation of 1898.⁴ Whereas this informal group shared primarily a literary and subjective approach to a new vision of Spain to be shaken from apathy and to be repositioned within a modernizing European scene, the *Regeneracionismo* or Regenerationist movement—that paralleled it and included some of the same actors—shared a more objective and more scientific aim at modernizing the country and “regenerating” the nation’s social and economic base.⁵

In this context of “deconstruction,” the question of “what is *lo español*”, i.e., the “national question” became of utmost importance across all disciplines, from literature to philosophy to politics, from the political right to the left.⁶ In the last decades of the nineteenth century already, there was a lingering impression that everything Spanish was diminished nationally and internationally. On one side of the debate were some intellectuals like Ángel Ganivet

⁴ José Augusto Trinidad Martínez Ruiz, alias Azorín, coined the expression in an article of 1913. See Ricardo Baroja, *Gente del 98*, Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1969; José Ortega y Gasset, *Ensayos sobre la «Generación del 98» y otros escritores españoles contemporáneos*, Madrid: Alianza, 1981; Azorín, *La generación del 98*, Salamanca: Anaya, 1961; Donald Leslie Shaw, *La generación del 98*, Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1977.

⁵ See Joseph Harrison and Alan Hoyle, *Spain's 1898 Crisis: Regenerationism, Modernism, Post-colonialism*, Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2000; Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire, 1898-1923*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997; Erik Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity: Nature, *Regeneracionismo*, and the Production of the Spanish Waterscape, 1890-1930,” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 89, no. 3, 1999; Erik Swyngedouw, *Liquid Power and Contested Hydro-Modernities in Twentieth-Century Spain*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2015.

⁶ For the following sections, see José Antonio Flores Soto, *Aprendiendo de una arquitectura anónima: Influencias y relaciones en la Arquitectura española contemporánea: El INC en Extremadura*, Doctoral Thesis, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2013; Francisco Daniel Hernández Mateo, *Teoría y pensamiento arquitectónico en la España contemporánea (1898-1948)*, Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2004; Ángel Urrutia, *Arquitectura española contemporánea – Documentos, escritos, testimonios inéditos*, Madrid: COAM, 2002.

(1865-1898), often considered as a precursor of the Generation of 1898.⁷ In what is considered his most important and philosophically richest work, the *Idearium Español* of 1896, the Granada-born author and diplomat projected a conservative and strongly spiritual voice. Rejecting the industry-based modernity, he insisted that Spain has to stand by itself, look into itself, and close the doors to foreign influences.⁸ On the other side, globally more representative of the evolving balance of power, members of the Generation of 98 and the Regeneracionists advocated a modernizing trajectory and the opening of Spain to its neighbors, what many called the ‘Europeanization’ of Spain. As philosopher Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936) wrote in his third letter to Ganivet, published in *El Porvenir de España*:

The intimate knowledge of what is foreign is the best way to get to know what is your own... A people who wants to regenerate by walling itself completely is like a man who wants to get out of a well by pulling on his ears. If among its virtues the Castilian people keep a deep vice, it is its self-imposed isolation, even when they live among other peoples. They ran land and seas among strange people, but always tucked into their shell. As they believe with stubborn ignorance that the resources of their soil will suffice for them to live the life that has become habitual today, closed in on themselves they also believe that they have in their traditional background everything they need to nourish their spirit and satisfy at the same time the imperative need for progress.⁹

Yet, both trends in this complex debate coincided on the fact that tradition was an important reality, even though they differed on its meaning. The conservative tended to see it as a fixed and immobile concept that had to resist modernity, whereas Unamuno and his followers argued that tradition was a living and evolving concept, and often the result of foreign influences. The “national” could only become richer through contacts with the rest of the world. Tradition needed to be studied, preserved, and reenergized, in order for Spain to enter modernity while maintaining its strong identity. As in other European countries, increasingly torn between the metropolitan globalization and the call for a return to the social values of smaller cities and towns, tradition in Spain meant to know, study, and cherish popular culture:

⁷ On Ángel Ganivet, see Julián Marías, “El 98 antes del 98: Ganivet,” RILCE (Universidad de Navarra) 13, n° 2, 1997, pp. 121-128; Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, Adolfo, “Tres visiones de España (Unamuno, Ganivet y Machado),” *Incursiones literarias*, México: UNAM, Secretaría de Desarrollo Institucional: Dirección General de Publicaciones y Fomento Editorial y Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, pp. 65-110.

⁸ Ángel Ganivet, *Idearium español*, Madrid: Librería general de Victoriano Suárez, 1905 [1896].

⁹ Miguel de Unamuno & Ángel Ganivet, *El porvenir de España*, Madrid: Renacimiento, 1912, pp. 188-189 (Third letter from Miguel de Unamuno a Ángel Ganivet). *El porvenir de España* gathers four letters that both authors wrote to each other in 1898: “El conocimiento íntimo de lo ajeno es el mejor medio de llegar a conocer lo propio... Un pueblo que quiera regenerarse encerrándose por completo en sí, es como un hombre que quiera sacarse de un pozo tirándose de las orejas. Si entre sus virtudes tiene algún vicio profundo el pueblo castellano es éste de su íntimo aislamiento, aunque vive entre otros pueblos. Corrió tierras y mares entre pueblos extraños, pero siempre metido en su caparazón. Así como cree con terca ignorancia que le bastarían los recursos de su suelo para vivir la vida que hoy se le ha hecho habitual, encerrado en sí, cree también que tiene en su fondo tradicional con qué nutrir su espíritu, satisfaciendo a la vez a la necesidad imperiosa de progreso.”

from its customs, traditions, crafts, music, all away to the urban and architectural environments that generated and protected them.

In Spain, the increasing interest in popular culture rose exponentially during the last decades of the nineteenth century, mostly under the influence of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (Free Institution of Education, I.L.E.). The I.L.E. was founded in 1876 by a group of professors—among whom was its primary leader Francisco Giner de los Ríos (1839-1915)—who separated themselves from the University in Madrid in order to defend the academic freedom and reject any interference in their teaching related to official dogmas in religious, political, and moral matters. Influenced by the writings of German philosopher and pedagogue Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1781-1832), Francisco Giner de los Ríos established the private institution as a progressive alternative to the University, before opening it up later to primary and secondary education. From 1876 until the civil war, the I.L.E. became the center of gravity of an entire era of Spanish culture and a channel for the introduction in Spain of the most advanced pedagogical and scientific theories.¹⁰ Among the faculty who resigned from the University and taught at the I.L.E., was the politician, economist, historian and leader of the *Regeneracionismo* movement, Joaquín Costa (1846-1911).¹¹ In his attempt to refocus and reenergize the attention of the country, he tirelessly advocated the revalorization of traditional customs, local histories, and popular culture, including the revalorization of Spanish towns, villages, and regional landscapes. Together and through their teaching, Giner de los Ríos, Manuel Bartolomé Cossío (1857-1935), a first-generation student of the I.L.E. who became its head at the death of Giner de los Ríos, and others like philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) contributed to the establishment of a cultural climate that would claim the values of the rural world, including in the architectonic field. Spain's future would not be determined in its "ignominious present," but in its distant past.¹² It is within this intellectual framework that Unamuno coined the concept of *intrahistoria*. Dividing Spain's past into "external history" and "internal history" (*intrahistoria*), he argued that the latter—"Spain's true historical reality"—was the "spirit of the people."¹³ As he wrote in *En torno al casticismo*,

The newspapers say nothing of the silent life of the millions of men without history who at all hours of the day and in all the countries of the globe rise to the order of the sun and go to their fields to continue the dark and silent daily and eternal work.... On the august silence the sound rests and lives; over the immense silent humanity rise those who get bustled in history. That intra-historic life, silent and continuous as the

¹⁰ See Antonio Jiménez-Landi, *Breve historia de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza (1896-1939)*, Madrid: Tébar, 2010.

¹¹ On Joaquín Costa, see Chapter 2.

¹² Jordana Mendelson, *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929-39*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005, p. 52-sq.

¹³ The dictionary of the Real Academia de España defines *intrahistoria* as "Vida tradicional, que sirve de fondo permanente a la historia cambiante y visible" (traditional life which serves as permanent background to the changing and visible history). Also see Edward Inman Fox, *La invención de España: Nacionalismo Liberal e identidad cultural*, Madrid: Catédra, pp. 48-49.

very bottom of the sea, is the substance of progress, the true tradition, the eternal tradition, not the deceitful tradition that one goes to look for in the past, buried in books and papers, monuments, and stones.¹⁴

Rural Spain, whose rational and spiritual identity was formed through its relationship to the land and determined by regional differences, “would teach the urban intellectual the lessons that recent history had erased.”¹⁵ An excerpt from Cossio’s essay *Elogio del Arte Popular* of 1913 emphasized the connection between the collective—popular art—and the more individualistic or aristocratic—Art. It also reflected how important were the ideas of the I.L.E. in the education of the new generations:

Because popular art, like language – both are anonymous creations born of the same process – embodies just the last and deepest elements, those primitive data of the soul of the multitude, which are called natural. From the amorphous background of the demo, sometimes the distinguished artist and the aristocratic work arise; from there sprout the differentiation, the schools, the transports of inspiration, and the accents of the creative geniuses. All of this, born out of popular art, reverts to it, incorporates in it, and he feeds on it, as Mother Earth lives and nourishes itself at the expense of the beings that her fertility engendered.¹⁶

1.1. From National to Regional

Two years after the creation of the I.L.E, the young architect Lluís Domènech y Montaner (1850-1923) published, in Catalan, his famous essay “En busca de una arquitectura nacional,” published in *La Renaixensa*.¹⁷ Although the word “modern” did not appear in the essay’s title, Domènech i Montaner made it clear that the search was for a modern national

¹⁴ Miguel de Unamuno, *En torno al casticismo*, Madrid: Renacimiento, 1916 [1902], pp. 62-63, quoted by Flores Soto, p. 55: “Los periódicos nada dicen de la vida silenciosa de los millones de hombres sin historia que a todas horas del día y en todos los países del globo se levantan a una orden del sol y van a sus campos a proseguir la oscura y silenciosa labor cotidiana y eternal... Sobre el silencio augusto se apoya y vive el sonido; sobre la inmensa humanidad silenciosa se levantan los que meten bulla en la historia. Esa vida intrahistórica, silenciosa y continua como el fondo mismo del mar, es la sustancia del progreso, la verdadera tradición, la tradición eterna, no la tradición mentira que se suele ir a buscar al pasado enterrado en libros y papeles, y monumentos, y piedras.”

¹⁵ Jordana Mendelson, p. 53.

¹⁶ Manuel Bartolomé Cossio, “Elogio del arte popular,” Prólogo de *Bordados populares y encajes*, Exposición de Madrid, mayo, 1913, reprint in *Anuario Brigantino*, 2016, p. 219: “Porque el arte popular, a semejanza del lenguaje - anónima creación también de idéntico proceso- encarna justamente los últimos y más hondos elementos, aquellos datos primitivos del alma de la multitud, que por esto se llaman naturales. De ese fondo del demos, amorfo, surge a veces el artista distinguido y la obra aristocrática; brotan las diferenciaciones, las escuelas, los transportes de la inspiración, los acentos de los genios creadores, y todo esto, nacido, al arte popular nuevamente revierte y en él incorpora, y él de ello se alimenta, como la madre tierra vive y se nutre a expensas de los seres que fecunda engendrara.”

¹⁷ Lluís Domènech i Montaner, “En busca de una arquitectura nacional,” in *La Renaixensa*, 28 November 1878, pp. 149-160. In English, “In the search for a national architecture.”

architecture that would build upon the national styles—with a preference in Catalonia for the medieval and mudéjar—and adapt them to the contemporary conditions, including technological. In his opinion, the contemporary architect lived in a complex and modern civilization in which he had to deal with, and choose from, a plethora of artistic and material possibilities. In such a period of transition, a national architecture would take time to appear and consolidate, but in actuality the continuous exchange of knowledge between people and the assimilation of modernity could also make it impossible: in that scenario, “it would modern architecture, but not national.”¹⁸ Moreover, the contemporary architect had to accomplish two parallel tasks: to open the way for a new architecture and to realize the architectural structures that the new society needed urgently. The solution was the simultaneous use of the formal, constructive, and typological heritage of the history of architecture, and to adapt it to the needs and opportunities of modern society:

Modern architecture, which is the daughter and heir of all past architectures, will rise above all, bejeweled with the treasures of the past and those of industry and science that it has acquired by itself.¹⁹

Domènech y Montaner’s vision for a modern national architecture was thus, in his own words, a “new type of eclecticism” that would be conditioned by the moral and material environment, would acknowledge the contaminations, and reveal a new force of expression in integrating the modern techniques and responding rationally to the new programs.²⁰

To be sure, the manifesto was emblematic of the anxieties that ran under the surface of an architectural world that would soon enter forty glorious years and would change and enrich the urban landscape of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, but also many smaller towns, while establishing the premises of the future.²¹ Indeed, in the last decades of the nineteenth century and more intensely after the crisis of 1898, the architectural debates paralleled the general discussion at work in the country about national identity, the significance of popular architecture, and modernity. In particular, the question was whether a national architecture was really possible in a world that was evolving rapidly technologically, socially, and

¹⁸ Domènech i Montaner, p. 49.

¹⁹ Lluís Domènech i Montaner, “En busca de una arquitectura nacional,” in *La Renaixensa*, 28 February 1878, pp. 149-160; reproduced in Utturia, pp. 46-53, here p. 48: “... la arquitectura moderna hija y heredera de todas las pasadas se alzar  sobre todas enjorada con los tesoros de aquellas y con los de la industria y la ciencia que han sido adquiridos por ella misma.”

²⁰ See Urretia and Pepe Hereu, Josep Mar a Montaner, and Jordi Oliveras, *Textos de Arquitectura de la Modernidad*, Hondarribia: Editorial Nerea, 1994, pp. 141-142. Urretia, pp. 35-36. Also see the first sections of the essay by Carlos Flores, “La obra de Regiones Devastadas en el contexto de la arquitectura espa ola contempor nea,” *Arquitectura En Regiones Devastadas*, Madrid: MOPU, 1987, pp. 51-59.

²¹ For the following sections of the essay, I have used references from Flores Soto, op. cit., Alfonso Mu oz Cosme, “Un siglo de investigaci n sobre la arquitectura tradicional en Espa a,” in Alfonso Mu oz Cosme (ed.), *Patrimonio Cultural De Espa a – Arquitectura Tradicional. Homenaje a Felix Benito*, Madrid: Ministerio de Educaci n, Cultura y Deporte, 2014, pp. 21-42.

economically.²² They addressed the relevance of tradition, the merits of foreign influences, and under the encouragement of the Instituto Libre de Enseñanza, the necessity to know and see from one's own eyes the historic heritage of the country. Manuel Cossio, in particular, made the issue of travel within the country a critical issue for the new students and, in 1904, a national law required travel to be included as a fundamental component of the University curriculum. Unamuno himself set up to discover the country in depth and published various works on his travels among which *Por tierras de Portugal y de España* (1911) and *Andanzas y visiones españolas* (1922).²³

On the architectural side, Vicente Lampérez y Romea (1861-1923) initiated, with the help of his students, an exhaustive campaign of investigation and documentation of the monumental architecture, whose publication would start from 1924 under the series' title *Catálogos monumentales*.²⁴ Over the years, the process focused more and more on popular architecture in towns and villages, to which Lampérez dedicated, for the first time in Spanish history, a sixty-eight page chapter in his *Arquitectura civil española de los siglos I a XVIII* published in 1922. This publication consolidated the research in progress and gave a critical impulse to more complete and detailed studies. To some extent, Lampérez y Romea became the theoretician of the national architecture and of the autochthonous against the foreign imports.²⁵ In particular, he studied and advocated how Spanish styles could be adapted to the contemporary uses, thus separating what he called "*estilos muertos*" (romanesque, neo-classical) from the "*estilos vivos*" (mudéjar and renaissance). He was convinced that the national expressions of Spanish architecture were perfectly adaptable to the modern requirements, but also suggested that the new style could not be born from scratch, but that had to be formed by the slow and constant modification of the previous styles.²⁶

In Madrid, the reconstruction of Calle Alcalá and the opening of the Gran Vía marked the triumph of the modernization of the national styles. Among the landmarks, the Casa de Correos (1905-1918) by Antonio Palacios & Otamendi deployed behind its historicist facades six floors of rationality and functionality where steel structures and glass floor walkways produced a unique interior space, only comparable to Otto Wagner in Vienna and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Also designed by Antonio Palacios, the Banco Española del Río de la Plata (1911-1918) was topped by an attic floor crowned with a glass cupola, while the

²² Those concerns about the international image of Spain following the crisis of 1898 received a symbolic but also political expression with the Spanish pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris (1900). The pavilion, a work of José Urioste y Velada, was built in "pure Renaissance style" and displayed a combination of various motifs from 16th and 17th century buildings.

²³ See for instance Miguel de Unamuno, *Por tierras de Portugal y de España*, Madrid: Renacimiento, 1911, and Unamuno, *Andanzas y visiones españolas*, Madrid: Renacimiento, 1922.

²⁴ From Flores Soto, p. 56 & sq. The first one, *Catálogo Monumental de la Provincia de Cáceres* was published in 1924 under the direction of José Ramón Mélida. The last ones were published in 1961 (Salamanca) and 1983 (Ávila).

²⁵ Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Arquitectura Civil Española de los Siglos I al XVIII*, Madrid: Editorial Saturnino Calleja, 1922.

²⁶ See Carlos Sambricio, Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo 1900-1960 – De la "normalización de lo vernáculo" al Plan Regional, Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2004.

Círculo de Bellas Artes (1921-1926) appeared to be made of superimposed parts in various stylistic languages that corresponded to a highly complex section. As for the high-rise Palacio de la Prensa (Pedro Muguruza Otaño, 1924-1928) and the Edificio Telefónica (Ignacio De Cárdenas Pastor, 1926-1929), they introduced a new American-inspired skyline that did not exclude major Spanish stylistic references.²⁷

At the occasion of the First Salón de Arquitectura in Madrid (1911), the Basque architect Leonardo Rucabado created the surprise by presenting an album of documentation drawings of popular architecture in Cantabria under the title *Arquitectura popular montañesa*. The same year he participated in the thematic competition *La casa española* and won with an entry in neo-montañés style.²⁸ Until then his architecture had displayed a distinctive modern character, both anglophile and influenced by the Catalan Modernisme. Yet, Rucabado's career veered in the opposite direction and the architect adopted a definitive regionalist stance that produced important neo-Basque edifices in Santander and other cities. As he wrote in 1918,

Those spiritual aptitudes and predilections, those material singularities of the locality, when placed in timely operation and brilliantly channeled into happy and favorable historical moments of the people who possess them, are those that unfailingly point out the peculiar, intimate and profound character of what the artistic activity of that nationality, of that regional group, can and should cultivate with great probabilities of success. In synthesis, it is nothing other than the cult and the deliberate cultivation of the genuine tradition, which I have been preaching.²⁹

Interestingly, some members of the Generation of 1898 took critical positions regarding the architectonic discourse in relation to the role of art in the regeneration of the country. In his book *Granada la Bella* of 1898, Ganivet denounced the trends of disrespectful modernization of the city and made a loud call in favor of an organic architecture that would be based upon the region and more specifically the rural environment. For him, a national regeneration needed to lean on the strong specificities of the regions; in other words, regionalism and

²⁷ See COAM, *Guía de arquitectura y urbanismo de Madrid*, Madrid: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1982 (Tomo I. Casco antiguo).

²⁸ See Leonardo Rucabado, *Álbum de Arquitectura popular*, I Salón de Arquitectura, 1911; and the modern publication, Isabel Ordieres Diez, *El álbum de apuntes de Leonardo Rucabado*, Bilbao: Xarait Ediciones, 1987. For a complete history see Carlos Velasco Barral, "La incorporación de la Arquitectura popular al Patrimonio Nacional: orígenes de su valoración como monumento histórico-artístico," *Ciudad y Territorio – Estudios territoriales*, XLVI (182), 2014, pp. 1-17 (including legislation). The winning entry was published in *Arte Español*, nº 1, 1912.

²⁹ Leonardo Rucabado Gómez, "La tradición en arquitectura. (Comentarios a la discusión de este concepto por el Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos celebrado en San Sebastián, el año de 1915)", *Arquitectura y construcción*, n.34, Barcelona: Manuel Vega March, 1917, p. 39; quoted by Flores Soto, p. 117: "Esas espirituales aptitudes y predilecciones, esas singularidades materiales de la localidad, puestas en oportuno funcionamiento y brillantemente encauzadas en felices y favorables momentos históricos del pueblo que las posee, son las que señalan indefectiblemente, el carácter íntimo, profundo peculiar de lo que, la actividad artística de aquella nacionalidad, de aquella agrupación, regional, puede y debe cultivar con grandes probabilidades de éxito, lo que en síntesis no es otra cosa que el culto, el cultivo deliberado de la genuina tradición, que vengo predicando."

nationalism were equivalent.³⁰ Likewise, Azorín had warned about the potentially dangerous intervention of city-based architects within the fragile vernacular fabric of the countryside. In his opinion, in contrast with the anonymous builders, architects worked abstractly and usually did not take the regional conditions, like climate and materials, into consideration.³¹

Specifically it is at the National Congress of Architects (Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos) held in San Sebastián in 1915 that Rucabado, in association with the Seville architect Aníbal González, propounded the triumphant advance of the regionalist theses. Together they positioned themselves as the defenders and, in fact, the genuine instigators of a national architecture that would reject foreign influences and reflect the diversity of the regional. For the first time, they articulated the thesis that the establishment of a national architecture had to pass by the knowledge and the utilization of its regional manifestations in relation to climate, region, and materials. Their speech "*Orientaciones para el resurgimiento de una Arquitectura nacional*" (Orientations for the resurgence of a National architecture) concluded with a series of operational directions that firmly rejected any foreign influence, basically merged the concept of national with that of regional, and suggested that the future competitions for all major public buildings gave preference to the projects "inspired by the traditional styles of the region":

1. The need for a resurgence of Spanish architectural art is necessary for our national dignity.
2. Spain does not show predilections for artistic freedom in architecture.
3. The cult of tradition is one quality of our race...
5. The practical establishment of a Spanish architectural art will have as essential inspiration the national historical styles, with their natural adaptations to place and time.
6. In the schools of Architecture, the teaching of our historical styles will be given great importance ...
10. The architectural competitions organized by the different Ministries, Provincial Councils, City Councils and other official institutions, should give preferences to the projects that are inspired by our traditional styles.³²

Taking a definitive stand in favor of regional tradition against the foreign modernizing influences, the tone and underlined threats contained in Rucabado and Gonzalez's pro-

³⁰ See Eric Storm, "Regionalismo y arquitectura en España, 1900-1930. Contexto cultural, ideología y logros concretos," in Paula André & Carlos Sambricio (eds.), *Arquitectura popular. Tradição e Vanguarda — Tradición y Vanguardia*, Lisboa: Centro de Estudios sobre a Mudança Socioeconómica e o Território/Instituto Universitário de Lisboa 2016, pp. 52-53; also see <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/46525/ArquitecturaRegionalistaenEspana.pdf?sequence=1>

³¹ See Eric Storm, pp. 50-51: Azorín, "La arquitectura", *ABC*, 9 julio 1909, p. 6.

³² Aníbal Gonzalez and Leonardo Rucabado, "Orientaciones para el resurgimiento de una arquitectura nacional," in *Arte Español*, nº 7-8, 1915, pp. 379-386/437-453, reprinted in Urrutia Nuñez, pp. 65-86, here p. 86: "1. Por dignidad nacional, se impone la necesidad de un resurgimiento del Arte español arquitectónico. 2. España no muestra predilecciones por la libertad artística en la arquitectura. 3. El culto de la tradición es uno de nuestros caracteres de raza.... 5. Las prácticas para la instauración del Arte arquitectónico español tendrá por inspiración esencial los estilos históricos nacionales, con las naturales adaptaciones de lugar y época. 6. En las escuelas de Arquitectura se dará capital importancia a la enseñanza de nuestros estilos históricos....10. Se debe pretender que los concursos de proyectos que establezcan los diferentes Ministerios, Diputaciones, Ayuntamientos y demás Centros oficiales, determinen preferencias para los inspirados en nuestros estilos tradicionales."

regionalist speech prompted an intense theoretical polemic.³³ Yet, its influence was prolonged and manifold. First, it consolidated the use of regional styles, particularly for public buildings and residences of the middle and high bourgeoisie, often in the context of the garden suburbs; secondly, it coincided with the development of tourism and the need to consolidate a strong “Spanish image”; thirdly, it helped intensify a long-lasting period of research and study about the popular architecture and its regional forms across the country. However, it is important to distinguish the various theoretical and esthetic currents that were supported by the same research and interest on popular architecture and would develop over time and often in parallel: first, the “mimetic”, at times called pastiche, of a regionalist architecture that could be synthesized in Rucabado’s and González’s approach and practice; the rationalist inspiration for the development of a Spanish modern architecture that would guide the thinking of Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Fernando García Mercadal, and the GATEPAC in Barcelona; and thirdly, the first steps toward the conservation and restoration of pueblos, cities, and monuments.

The theoretical reaction against the “*Orientaciones*” of Rucabado and González and what could be perceived as regionalist abuses such as excess of folklore, misinterpretations of the local tradition, and other potential falsifications of the past came from different actors in Spanish society. Demetrio Ribes (1875-1921), an architect active in Valencia where he built his masterpiece, the central train station in a singular adaptation of the decorative principles of the *Sezession* and the structural ones of Otto Wagner, defended the absolute creative freedom of the architect in relation to styles and modernizing tendencies.³⁴ In May of 1918, the Sociedad Central de Arquitectos published the first issue of the periodical *Arquitectura*, which, over the years, published many articles about popular architecture. In the first issue, Leopoldo Torres Balbás (1888-1960) responded to the national/regional debate in signing his article “*Mientras labran los sillares*” (While they work the ashlar). Arguing against all dogmatic positions, he differentiated clearly between what he called the *verdadero y sano casticismo* (true and healthy *casticismo*) and the *falso casticismo* (false *casticismo*). In relation to architecture, the latter involved a superficial process of copying, collaging, and manipulating elements of Spanish tradition, going from the mudéjar towers of Toledo to the University of Alcalá and other grand monuments. On the other hand, the *casticismo sano* was based upon a serious analysis of the past, from the monuments to the rural houses.³⁵ From that process, the architect will derive the principles of the architecture that, in actuality, reside in the proportions, in the contrasts between light and shadows, in the relation between the

³³ See Urrutia Nuñez, op. cit.; Hernández Mateo, op. cit.; Flores Soto, op. cit.

³⁴ Demetrio Ribes, “La tradición en arquitectura,” *Arquitectura y Construcción*, 1918, pp. 21-28; reprinted in Utturia, pp. 88-90.

³⁵ Leopold Torres Balbás, “Mientras labran los sillares,” *Arquitectura*, nº 1, 1918, pp. 17-21. According to the Real Academia de España, “casticismo” can be defined as 1. Attachment to the castizo (Typical, genuine of the country or place in question) in the customs, usages and manners; 2. Attitude of those who, when speaking or writing, tend to use voices and traditional expressions.

masses and volumes, and other fundamental elements which only belong to Spanish architecture, high and low:

You will know that the pinnacles of the Palace of Monterrey [in Salamanca] and its gallery of arched windows are isolated and episodic characters. The essence of that building is in its proportions, in the contrast between the large canvases of naked ashlar stone without windows or any decoration, the balconies, and the high gallery. You will also know that something analogous occurs in the façade of the [University of] Alcalá, that the Mudejar towers of Toledo form an inseparable whole with the churches and have proportions that are indissolubly connected to their forms; that the use of the horseshoe arch is an absurdity in contemporary constructions, and that it appalls our modern sensibility when it appears in new works.³⁶

In his short essay "*Nuevas casas antiguas*" José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) described how "in the streets of Madrid we find every day a greater number of houses typically from Madrid. Similarly, Seville is filling up to the edges of 'Sevillan' things." The philosopher saw progress in the construction of these new houses "in style."³⁷ They marked a return to a necessary concept of beauty, but he lamented that they were copied and selected from a catalogue rather than invented. Besides, the "stylistic" actuation of the architects, developers, and builders raised the question of the tradition *castiza* as well as that of nationalism. For Ortega, analyzing the concept of tradition in architecture meant to search for the common and invariable elements that made up its objective identity, i.e., the "invariants" that Fernando Chueca Goitia discussed after the war.³⁸ As Ortega wrote in "*La meditación del Quijote*",

Isn't it a cruel sarcasm that after three and a half centuries of wandering, we are being asked to follow the national tradition? The tradition! The traditional reality in Spain has consisted precisely in the progressive annihilation of the very possibility of Spain. No, we cannot follow the tradition. In my opinion, achieving Spanish-ness is a very high promise that has been fulfilled only in cases of extreme rarity. No, we cannot follow the tradition; quite the contrary. We have to go against tradition, beyond

³⁶ Leopold Torres Balbás, "Mientras labran los sillares," *Arquitectura*, nº 1, 1918, pp. 17-21, here p. 20, reprinted in Urrutia Nuñez, p. 94: "Sabrá que los pináculos de Monterrey y su galería, aislados, son caracteres episódicos, y que la esencia de ese edificio está en sus proporciones, en el contraste entre los grandes lienzos de sillería desnudos, sin ventanas ni decoración alguna, los balcones y el tema seguido de la galería alta: sabrá asimismo que algo análogo ocurre en la fachada de Alcalá, que las torres mudéjares de Toledo forman un conjunto inseparable con sus iglesias y tienen unas proporciones unidas ya indisolublemente a sus formas; que el arco de herradura es absurdo emplearle en construcciones contemporáneas, y repugna a nuestra moderna sensibilidad en obras nuevas."

³⁷ See José Ortega y Gasset, "Nuevas casas antiguas [1926]," *Obras completas*, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1957, vol. 2 (*El Espectador*, 1916-1934), pp. 549-51: "en las calles de Madrid encontramos cada día mayor número de casas madrileñas. Parejamente, Sevilla se está llenando hasta los bordes de sevillanerías." The word 'sevillanerías' is quite ironic and implies a highly folkloric interpretation of what is genuinely Sevillan.

³⁸ See Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Invariantes castizos de la Arquitectura española*, Madrid: Editorial Dossalt, 1947.

tradition.³⁹

For Ortega, “*raza*” or race meant the ensemble of circumstances that have accompanied culturally the men and women of a particular region or nation. National styles and popular architecture related unquestionably with the small town, the pueblo, and eventually the rural, against the ‘globalized’ forms of architecture to be deployed within the metropolis.⁴⁰ Ortega’s concept of the popular and tradition was the main influence on Torres Balbás, who developed his concept of “*sano casticismo*” to support this vision of tradition in flux:

Let us spread this healthy *casticismo* [national character] open to all influences, studying the architecture of our country, visiting its cities, towns and fields, analyzing, measuring, drawing the old buildings of all times, not only the monumental and richest, but also, and perhaps preferably, the very modest ones, those that constitute the everyday, popular and anonymous architecture, in whose forms a secular tradition has been perpetuated, and in which we will be able to perceive better the constructive spirit of our race.⁴¹

Beyond his role as architectural critic and editor, Torres Balbás was also a historian and an architect in charge of important restoration works, including the Alhambra in Granada. In 1923, he won the first prize in a competition organized by the Ateneo de Madrid regarding popular architecture in the regions of Spain. It was published in 1931, in an augmented version, under the title *Folklore y costumbres de España*.⁴² Contrary to Lampérez, his focus was not historical but geographical, with the two parts dedicated respectively to the rainy and arid regions of Spain, and a detailed presentation of building types, constructive systems, and materials.⁴³

Another important critic of the falsified regionalism was the Madrid-based Teodoro de Anasagasti y Algán (1880-1938). A Rome Fellow from 1910 to 1914, he had a great

³⁹ José Ortega y Gasset, *La meditación del Quijote*, Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1914, p. 132-133: “¿No es un cruel sarcasmo que luego de tres siglos y medio de descampado vagar, se nos proponga seguir la tradición nacional? ¡La tradición! La realidad tradicional en España ha consistido precisamente en el aniquilamiento progresivo de la posibilidad España. No, no podemos seguir la tradición. Español significa para mí una altísima promesa que solo en casos de extrema rareza ha sido cumplida. No, no podemos seguir la tradición; todo lo contrario; tenemos que ir contra la tradición, más allá de la tradición.”

⁴⁰ See Carlos Sambricio, “La tradición, lo popular y la raza. Elementos de un debate en la arquitectura del primer tercio del siglo,” in Carlos Sambricio (ed.), *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo: 1900-1960*, Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2004, pp. 85-100.

⁴¹ Torres Balbás, op. cit., p. 20, reprinted in Urrutia Nuñez, p. 94: “Propaguemos este sano casticismo abierto a todas las influencias, estudiando la arquitectura de nuestro país, recorriendo sus ciudades, pueblos y campos, analizando, midiendo, dibujando los viejos edificios de todos los tiempos, no sólo los monumentales y más ricos, sino también, y tal vez con preferencia, los modestísimos que constituyen esa arquitectura cotidiana, popular y anónima, en cuyas formas se va perpetuando una secular tradición, y en la que podremos percibir mejor el espíritu constructivo de nuestra raza.”

⁴² Muñoz Cosme, p. 23: Leopoldo Torres Balbás, “La arquitectura de las distintas regiones de España,” Memoria ganadora del premio Charro Hidalgo del Ateneo Científico y Literario de Madrid, 1923; Francesch Carreras y Candi (ed.), *Folklore y costumbres de España*, Barcelona: Casa Editorial Alberto Martín, 1931.

⁴³ For more published works on regional architecture during the period, see Muñoz Cosme, p. 25.

knowledge of Austrian and German architecture, from Otto Wagner to Sant'Elia and the Futurists, and repeatedly stressed the importance of technique, the logic of construction, and the expression of new materials. In an essay of 1918, he wrote, "*La tradición, el plagio y el pastiche nos envenenan*" (Tradition, plagiarism and pastiche are poisoning us).⁴⁴ The year before, he won the competition for the Casa de Correos de Málaga (1917-1925), a powerful and beautifully crafted building, that demonstrated against González and Rucabado, that the regionalist option was entirely compatible with the development of modern architecture. His introduction lecture to the Real Academia de Bellas Artes, *Arquitectura popular* of 1929, was a plaidoyer in favor and in defense of the genuine popular architecture, "that of the national stock, the indigenous, the one we could call the country's own index."⁴⁵ He denounced the continuous and ruthless demolition, abandonment, and mutilation inflicted to popular architecture across the country. Likewise, he condemned the substitution of the authentic vernacular architecture by new constructions that were falsely traditional and that made an uncritical use of industrialized materials. Yet, a more critical point in his speech was that most of the interest given to popular architecture, not only in Spain but also abroad and particularly in the United States, continued to focus on the dwelling as an isolated object, often devoid of a real context. Hence, he emphasized that even if the study of the popular was truly complete,

... it would show only one aspect of this architecture, because it would lack the analysis of the urban groupings, so diverse according to climates and civilizations.⁴⁶

Notwithstanding all the theoretical debates, from 1915 onwards, the regionalist trend dominated the field, particularly outside of Madrid, often producing architecture of outstanding quality. Rucabado died young in 1918 but Aníbal González Álvarez-Ossorio (1876-1929) produced great works in Andalusia.⁴⁷ His masterpiece was the Plaza de España at the 1929 Universal Exposition in Seville, that, more than a work of regionalist architecture, was first of all a great intervention of urban design, an edifice-plaza, hence a completely modern concept. Far from being a manifestation of 'façadism,' frequent in the Ensanche de Salamanca for instance—as some authors like Flores Soto have argued—the new regionalism actually enticed the development of a modern three-dimensional architecture that often took place in new urban or suburban neighborhoods. The Casa de Correos in Málaga by Anasagasti is a good example as it occupies almost a full block and exploits all the opportunities created by the multiple vistas that its position allows. Richard Etlin developed this issue from an Italian

⁴⁴ Teodoro de Anasagasti y Algán, "La tradición, el plagio y el pastiche nos envenenan", 1918, p.1.

⁴⁵ Teodoro de Anasagasti y Algán, "Arquitectura Popular – Discurso de entrada a la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando." in Emilia Hernández Pezzi (ed.), *Anasagasti: Obra Completa*, Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, Centro de Publicaciones, 2003, p. 305: "[la] del acervo nacional, lo indígena, la que podríamos llamar índice propio del país."

⁴⁶ Ibidem: "no mostraría más que un aspect de esta arquitectura. Porque le faltarián el análisis de las agrupaciones urbanas, tan diversas según los climas y las civilizaciones."

⁴⁷ Víctor Pérez Escolano, "La Arquitectura de Aníbal González," *Hogar y Arquitectura*, nº 82, May-June 1969, pp. 9-126

point of view and made important observations about the regionalist movement in Rome. Once freed from the hygienic grid and placed within a more artistic context, the vistas, the special points of views, the articulation of public spaces clearly helped architects to develop an architectural language that achieved a complex impact through its insertion in the new city. In this contextual approach it was logical that the renewed values of the vernacular cultures were brought to the forefront of the search for modernity in Italy but also in Germany, Spain, Sweden, to only name a few. In that sense, one can argue that, at its best, regionalism, which benefitted from the urban principles of Camillo Sitte and Ebenezer Howard, helped produce an architecture that was stylistically conservative but typologically modern.⁴⁸

1.2. Vernacular and Workers' Housing

From the end of World War One onwards the study of popular architecture was seen as the basis for a new Spanish architecture of low-cost houses for the working class.⁴⁹ In 1919, following the Inter-Allied Conference on the Reconstruction in Paris, Amós Salvador (1879-1963) reported in an article of *Civitas* that a new process of normalization and standardization of building materials, windows, doors, and furnishings was being implemented in the reconstruction of Belgium and other regions of Northern Europe.⁵⁰ He argued, along with Cebrià de Montoliú and Torres Balbás, among others, that the same system should be applied in Spain to diminish the cost of housing and incentivize the construction industry. Spanish economy was booming during the 1910s as the country stood apart of the devastations of the WW1 and benefited from the industrial slowdown in war-torn countries. Consequently, rationalizing construction was critical to respond to the increasing migratory flux from the countryside toward the cities as well as to give a solution to substandard conditions of life in cities and towns as well as to major urban works, such as the opening of the Gran Vía in Madrid, that destroyed thousands of dwellings. In contrast to the developing debate in advanced industrial countries about full-fledged industrialization, the Spanish architects, specialists of vernacular architecture, and housing advocates oriented their reflection toward normalization and a new standardization of the vernacular production in order to conserve the traditional systems of production and to adopt solutions confirmed by tradition and the availability of abundant and qualified manpower. Hence, the study of the

⁴⁸ See Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture 1890-1940*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1991, p. 100 & sq.

⁴⁹ A section of this essay was published in Jean-François Lejeune, "The modern, the Vernacular, and the Mediterranean in Spain: Sert, Coderch, de la Sota, Fernández del Amo, Bohigas," in Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino (eds.), *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*, London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 65-94.

⁵⁰ *Civitas*, 9 May 1916. For this section, see Carlos Sambricio, "La normalización de la arquitectura vernácula: un debate en la España de los veinte," in *Revista de Occidente*, nº 235, December 2000, pp. 21-44; here pp. 23-24. A more detailed essay with the same title can be found in Carlos Sambricio, *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo – De la "normalización de la vernácula" al Plan Regional*, Madrid, Ediciones Akai, 2004. For the conference, see "Hygienic Reconstruction of War Devastation: an Inter-Allied Conference in Paris," *The Lancet*, Volume 193, Issue 4994, 17 May 1919, pp. 856-857. On Amós Salvador, see Víctor del Reguero, *Amós Salvador y Carreras*, León: Piélago del Moro, 2011.

popular presupposed to precisely analyze the constructive elements in order to search for the optimal conditions of standardization, normalization, and implementation.⁵¹ As Carlos Sambricio wrote:

To normalize meant to standardize the vernacular; it meant to look for a solution to the problem of building low-cost and hygienic dwellings; it became the action plan to establish a new policy of housing in a city which was being transformed into a metropolis.⁵²

This policy implied the development of specialized workers' neighborhoods in the periphery of major cities. Following unsuccessful attempts during the second half of the nineteenth century, the first laws of *Casas Baratas* (Economical Houses) were promulgated in 1911 and then revised in 1921 to make them more efficient and financially more applicable. From 1921 onwards, the projects of *casas baratas* were increasingly managed by housing cooperatives or specific public institutions like municipalities and political parties, which guaranteed a higher rate of adaptation to the needs of the working class. In 1926 the Socialist Parti and its leader Julián Besteiro saw strong convergences between Primo de Rivera's policies of low-cost vernacular houses, and their own assumptions based upon the Austro-marxist principles of Otto Bauer, whose *Der Weg zum Sozialismus* [The Road to Socialism, 1919] was published in Spain in 1920.⁵³ The popular constructions—or *casas baratas*—became the point of departure for a program of participation of the Socialist parti to the de Rivera government.⁵⁴

The morphological model of the *casas baratas* districts was the Garden City theorized by Ebenezer Howard whose writings and advocacy were introduced in Spain in the early 1910s by the Catalan urbanist and social reformer Cebrià de Montoliú I de Togores. A "cultural agitator in matters of urban planning," he traveled extensively in 1910-1911, meeting with the most important world planners and visiting the Expositions of Berlin and Düsseldorf. Then he founded the *Sociedad Cívica Ciudad Jardín* in 1912, edited the influential magazine *Civitas* (1914-1919), and strove to make the garden city and suburb a tool of urban and progressive social reform.⁵⁵ More specifically, the Sociedad Cívica distinguished between three different

⁵¹ See Carlos Sambricio, "La normalización de la arquitectura vernácula: un debate en la España de los veinte," in *Revista de Occidente*, nº 235, December 2000, pp. 21-44; here pp. 23-24.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 44.

⁵³ Carlos Sambricio, *Cuando se quiso resucitar la arquitectura*, Murcia, Comisión de Cultura del Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos, 1983, p. 29. For the influence of Otto Bauer in Vienna, see Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919-1934*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1999. See Otto Bauer, *Der Weg zum Sozialismus*, Wien, Ignaz Brand, 1919 [In English, *The Road to Socialism*, 1919].

⁵⁴ On the *casas baratas* program, see Federico López Valencia, *Las casas baratas en España*, Madrid, Establecimiento tipográfico, 1928; Paloma Barreiro Pereira, *Casas baratas: la vivienda social en Madrid, 1900-1939*, Madrid, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1992; Ana Julia Gómez Gómez and Javier Ruiz San Miguel, *Las Casas Baratas De Bilbao 1911-1936*, Bilbao: Polidori, 2004.

⁵⁵ Susan Larson, "The *Ciutat Jardí* in the United States: Cebrià di Montoliú's Fairhope, Alabama, City Plan of 1921," in *Diseñar América/Designing America: El trazado español de los Estados Unidos*, Fundación Consejo España-Estados Unidos, 2014, pp. 122-133. The Madrid section of the *Sociedad Cívica* was created in 1919.

concepts of usually quite different sizes: the garden city, the garden suburb, and the garden villas and colonies. For Montoliú this manner of making the modern city was inseparable from the worker dwelling concept and the cooperative movements.

As applied in the middle-class and high bourgeoisie contexts, the garden city model entailed a vision of picturesque—a mix of medieval and Baroque design—supported by an architecture whose references were definitely regionalist. On the contrary, the districts of *casas baratas* were simplified to minimize costs: the grid became the common urban design standard and the architecture essentially an economical derivation from the popular architecture of towns and villages. The typological model was the small vernacular house of the countryside, one or two floors high, usually detached, and built in non-urbanized or poorly urbanized areas on the fringes of Madrid, Zaragoza, Tarragona, and other middle and large cities.

At the same time, the movement of the *casas baratas* was instrumental to change the conditions of the debate about the new “national architecture.” As we have seen earlier, the concept of national was progressively replaced by the study of the vernacular and it increasingly dissolved in the study and use of regional styles perceived as more authentic and in fact potentially more modern. For Torres Balbás—the key figure of the debate along with his colleagues Gustavo Fernández Balbuena and Amós Salvador—the study of the vernacular was to become the system of reference in order to solve concrete housing problems, thus shedding away any remnant of a romantic vision of craft. Torres Balbás, who had intuited the difference between conservative thinking and the study of tradition, developed his reflection on contemporary architecture in parallel with the debate that had taken place earlier within the German Werkbund. In 1910 Muthesius had explicitly argued that the defense of a national architecture and the *Heimatsbewegung* of regional identity was a danger for the needed progress in construction. It was thus necessary to arrive to a simplification of the forms that would lead to a modern architecture.⁵⁶ The Spanish architect saw it as an opportunity to rejuvenate the discussion about national identity by opening it up to foreign (mostly German) influences:

There exists a type of architectural “chauvinism” that scorns the trivial and rather searches for the essence of buildings, and, with confidence, does not fear the contact with all foreign art that could fertilize it. Our task is to propagate that type of healthy “chauvinism,” open to all occurrences; and to do so we must study the architecture of our country, travel across its cities and countryside, and draw and measure the old buildings.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Sambricio, “La normalización de la arquitectura vernacular,” p. 36.

⁵⁷ Torres Balbás, quoted by Sambricio, pp. 41-42: Leopoldo Torres Balbás, “Mientras labran los sillares...,” in *Arquitectura*, n^o 2, 1918, pp. 31-34; reprinted in Ángel Urrutia Núñez, p. 91-94, quote in p. 94.

For Torres Balbás, who followed the lessons of Ortega y Gasset but also of Heinrich Tessenow, the study of tradition had to involve a reflection on the techniques of construction, on typologies, and eventually on a more abstract interpretation of the concept that would frame the more radical direction for a truly modern architecture inspired by the vernacular.

In this fundamental debate one must emphasize the role of Luis Lacasa Navarro (1899-1966), later to be co-designer with Josep Lluís Sert of the Spanish Pavilion in the Paris Exposition of 1937. In 1921 he went to study urbanism in Germany and, at his return in Spain, helped propagate the terms of the German context through the works of Tessenow and Muthesius—he was their original translator—and their role within the *Werkbund*.⁵⁸ When he wrote the review in 1924 of Muthesius's book *Kleinhaus und Kleinsiedlung*, he emphasized that the cost of construction was only one issue and that the whole problem was social and ethical. Lacasa's concerns paralleled those discussed by Martin Wagner and Bruno Taut when they accused Gropius—at the time of the Dammerstock Siedlung project—of avoiding the main question, i.e. that cost reduction was more intimately linked to the interests rates than to any real saving in construction: “The agenda is not to enlarge windows and save space, but to increase the buying power of families by lifting their revenues and reducing the prices of housing.”⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Lacasa argued that putting narrow houses in rows and reducing the number of types would limit costs, especially—and here again we find the unique Spanish urban/Mediterranean point of view—if they were built along the narrow streets typical of small towns and pueblos and thus gave a more rural character to the whole ensemble.⁶⁰ Likewise, Amós Salvador, at the time of the CIAM of 1929, established a set of criteria for Spanish minimal housing that the GATEPAC recuperated in some reduced form in the 1930s. In this context, it is worth mentioning the importance of the Residencia de Estudiantes, a complex of buildings built from 1913 on the Collina de los Chopos in Madrid at the initiative of the Instituto Libre de Enseñanza. There, the architect Antonio López Urdapilleta built a series of modern buildings, all in brick and of mudéjar style, equipped with the most modern technologies. The first two structures, known as the “twin pavilions”, with their clean architectural lines and beautiful proportions, were praised by Walter Gropius at the occasion of a lecture he gave there in 1930, stating that “new forms arise from the essence of the architectural project, from the function that it has to provide.”⁶¹

⁵⁸ Sambricio, p. 41.

⁵⁹ Quoted by Winfried Nerdinger, *Walter Gropius: Opera Completa*, Milan: Electa, 1988, p. 34, from Martin Steinmann, *CIAM. Dokumente 1928-1939*, Basel & Stuttgart, 1979, p. 70. Hermann Muthesius, *Kleinhaus und Kleinsiedlung*, Saldwasser Verlag, 1918.

⁶⁰ See Concepción Díez-Pastor Iribas, “La vivienda mínima en España: primer paso del debate sobre la vivienda social,” *Scripta Nova: revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* VII, nº 146, August 2003, p. 9.

⁶¹ Salvador Guerrero (ed.), *Antonio Flórez, arquitecto (1877-1941)*, Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 2002.

1.3. García Mercadal in Madrid

As architect and scholar, Fernando García Mercadal (1896-1985) was the most influential voice of the *Generación del 25*.⁶² Architect and historian Carlos Flores coined the expression to describe the generation of young architects who graduated from the School of Madrid between 1918 and 1923 and worked within the Madrid environment. Mercadal, along with colleagues like Luis Lacasa (1899-1966), Rafael Bergamín (1891-1970), and Carlos Arniches Moltó (1895-1958), headed an educated and cosmopolitan group which established the first serious contacts with the European modern architects and were definitely absorbing their progressive agenda.⁶³ Born in Zaragoza, García Mercadal graduated from the School of Madrid in 1921, where he recognized as most influential professors, Antonio Palacios and Teodoro de Anasagasti.⁶⁴ Perhaps on the recommendation of the latter, he applied to the Academia de España in Rome and won a 3-year fellowship from October 1923 to September 1927. There he developed his interest in vernacular architecture, mainly Mediterranean, while traveling to the South, Capri and the Amalfi peninsula, and then Greece and Istanbul (1924). Elaborated in 1924, his book *Camino de Grecia. Notas del primer viaje (Febrero 1924)* was eventually published sixty years later. In an exhibition at the Academia in 1925 he presented some studies on Pompeian houses, but more significant was the series of drawings on the theme of the *Casa Mediterránea* (Mediterranean House), ranging from the Amalfi Coast to Capri to Greece and Santorin:

During my prolonged stays in Paris, Vienna and Berlin... I noticed that the architecture that was being made and taught, from the end of the First World War, looked like these popular constructions, which are known for their covered terraces, their absence of decoration, as well as their elementary functionalism... This popular architecture of the Mediterranean, of its islands and coastlines, dates back several centuries before the architectural 'cubism' of modern trends.⁶⁵

⁶² Carlos Flores, *Arquitectura española contemporánea*, Madrid: Aguilar, 1961; Concha Díez-Pastor, Carlos Arniches y Martín Domínguez, *arquitectos de la Generación del 25*, Madrid: Maira, 2005.

⁶³ See Paloma Barreiro Perreira, "García Mercadal, espíritu abierto y receptivo," in Fernando García Mercadal, *La vivienda en Europa y otras cuestiones*, Zaragoza: Institución 'Fernando el Católico', 1998, p. xii; Oriol Bohigas, *Arquitectura española de la Segunda República*, Barcelona: Tusquets, 1970, p. 46.

⁶⁴ See Sofía Diéguez Patao, *Fernando García Mercadal, pionero de la modernidad*, Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1997; Ángeles Layuno Rosas, "Fernando García Mercadal, tradición e historia en la arquitectura de la modernidad," in Miguel Ángel Chaves Martín (ed.), *Fernando García Mercadal. Arquitectura y fotografía – Una mirada al patrimonio arquitectónico de Segovia, 1929-1936*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2011, pp. 49-105.

⁶⁵ Fernando García Mercadal, sobre el Mediterráneo, sus litorales, pueblos, culturas (imágenes y recuerdos) – Discurso leído por el arquitecto Don Fernando García Mercadal el día 20 de abril de 1980 con motivo de su recepción, Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1980, pp. 37-38: "Durante mis prolongadas estancias en Paris, Viena y Berlín... observe que la arquitectura que se hacía y enseñaba, a partir del final de la primera guerra mundial, se parecía a estas construcciones populares por sus cubiertas en terrazas, su ausencia de decoración, así como por el elemental funcionalismo.... Estas arquitecturas populares mediterráneas, de sus islas y litorales, datan de varios siglos antes del "cubismo" arquitectónico de las modernas tendencias."

His focus on the relation between the Mediterranean and modernity was reflected in the article of 1926 published in *Arquitectura* under the title “*Arquitectura mediterránea*” and the following one “*Arquitectura mediterránea II*” one year later. In the first one he mentioned the studies of Albert Demangeon on rural habitat and of Augustin Bernard on indigenous Algeria to argue for the unity of purpose and the construction rationalism that tie the rural houses throughout the Mediterranean. He emphasized the relation geography/architecture, and particularly the concept of the “house as natural vegetation.”⁶⁶ He accompanied the text with his drawings for the Casa a la Orilla del Mar and the Casa in Sicilia, both of them showing influences from Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Adolf Loos. In the second article he presented his project for a Club Náutico and the *Casa para el ingeniero*, the latter showing influences from Mendelsohn and Loos again.⁶⁷

Beyond the Mediterranean, traveled to Vienna in the spring of 1924 where he met Josef Hoffmann and probably was made aware of the Austrian admiration for the architecture of Capri. Twenty-five years earlier, Hoffmann did not limit himself to an attentive analysis of the compositional interplay of the pure volumes of the island architecture, which he fixed in around two hundred drawings, but published upon his return a significant essay in the pages of *Der Architekt* (1897). Mercadal’s own familiarity with the architecture of Schinkel and Loos must have given him another impulse toward the modern promises of the Mediterranean.⁶⁸ The following year he visited the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs in Paris where he was introduced to Le Corbusier. In 1926 he followed courses at the Institut d’Urbanisme with Marcel Poëte and Jacques Gréber. Later, fluent in German, he attended the Seminar of Urbanism at the Technische Universität in Charlottenburg with Hans Poelzig and Hermann Jansen.

Back in Spain, he carefully compiled the results of his years of travel in a *Memoria*, titled *La vivienda en Europa y otras cuestiones* (1926). This manuscript, that integrated many articles published in *ABC* and *Arquitectura*, reflected his deep interest into the development of modern housing across Europe, often through the lens of the garden city and garden suburb. Guided by his understanding that the geographical phenomenon most intimately connected to human life was the dwelling, he discussed modern housing and the garden city in their variety of national and regional forms, from Letchworth to the Netherlands, to the French and

⁶⁶ See Layuno Rosas, p. 60; Augustin Bernard, *Enquête sur l’habitation rurale des indigènes de l’Algérie*, Algiers, Fontana frères, 1921;

⁶⁷ Fernando García Mercadal, “Arquitectura Mediterránea,” in *Arquitectura* 85, May 1926, 192-197; “Arquitectura Mediterránea II,” in *Arquitectura* 97, May 1927, pp. 190-193. Mercadal’s book of synthesis on the Mediterranean was only published in 1984: *La Casa Mediterránea*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1984.

⁶⁸ See Benedetto Gravagnuolo, “From Schinkel to Le Corbusier: The Myth of the Mediterranean in Modern Architecture,” in Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino (eds.), *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean – Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*, London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 15-40; Josef Hoffmann, “Architektonisches von der Insel Capri,” *Der Architekt* III, 13, 1897, pp. 13-14.

German examples.⁶⁹ Moreover, Mercadal introduced for the first time the generation of architects who were involved in looking for new directions and solutions to the problem of the social dwelling: the German Bruno Taut, Paul Wolf and Hannes Meyer, and the Dutch Dudok, Berlage, Brinkman, Oud, Wils, Staal and De Klerk.⁷⁰ A special issue of the periodical *La Gaceta Literaria* (15th April 1928) followed under the title “Nuevo Arte en el Mundo – Arquitectura, 1928.” Illustrated with projects by J.P. Oud, Le Corbusier (Palais des Nations, Villa Garches), the Bauhaus-Dessau, the Van Nelle factory in Rotterdam, and a modern house in Stuttgart, *La Gaceta Literaria* offered an instantaneous panorama of modern architecture. Oud, Zuazo, Taut, Le Corbusier, Moreno Villa, and others responded to Mercadal’s questionnaire about the relationship between modern literature and modern architecture, while the first page reproduced some excerpts from Paul Valéry’s *Eupalinos ou l’architecte* (1921). Also important was the introduction by Ortega y Gasset:

The average man triumphs. But this average man has been awakened, we do not know how, suddenly, to a fine sensibility for the pure form and the pure colour, that are the opposite of the form and colour attached to things and always impure. In addition, he lives outdoors. Architecture, as art, has always assumed that if a man abandons his habitation and then looks at it from outside he will be nothing but embarrassed. The architecture that builds the interior is paradoxically the exterior art par excellence. Our age is this - the evasion towards exteriority.⁷¹

In 1927-1928 Mercadal built the first Spanish example of Rationalist architecture: the library-museum Rincón de Goya, “a modern creation but also a concretion of their ideas, a kind of doctrinal manifesto” built in a public park in the place of the sculptural monument originally planned.⁷² *El Rincón de Goya* and his other built or unbuilt projects demonstrated how he intended to use the traditions of the Mediterranean architecture to develop a modern project. Likewise, the new middle-class single-family districts to the north of Madrid such as the Colonia Parque Residencia—planned by Bergamín and Luis Blanco Soler, 1931-1934—and the Colonia El Viso—planned by Bergamín from 1934 with houses by Mercadal, Bergamín and Luis Gutiérrez Soto among others—became the showpieces of the new Mediterranean-inspired rationalist architecture in the capital. The Colonia El Viso, where some of the most important professional and intellectuals of the period like Ortega y Gasset and Salvador de

⁶⁹ The *Memoria* was only published in 1998. See Fernando García Mercadal, *La Vivienda en Europa y otras cuestiones*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando El Católico – C.S.I.C., 1998, with a prologue by Paloma Barreiro Pereira.

⁷⁰ See Diez-Pastor, p. 9.

⁷¹ *La Gaceta Literaria*, 15th April 1928, p. 1: “Triunfa el hombre medio. Pero a este hombre medio se le ha despertado, no se sabe cómo, súbitamente, una fina sensibilidad para la pura forma y el puro color que son lo contrario de la forma y color anejos a las cosas y siempre impuros. Además, se vive al aire libre. La arquitectura, como arte, supone siempre que el hombre abandona su habitáculo y al verlo desde fuera se avergüenza de él. La arquitectura que construye el interior es paradójicamente el arte exterior por excelencia. Nuestra época es esto — la evasión hacia la exterioridad.”

⁷² Antonio Bonet Correa, Introduction to the new edition of Fernando García Mercadal, *La casa popular en España*, Barcelona, Editorial Gili, 1981, p. IX: “una creación moderna sino también una concreción de sus ideas, una especie de manifiesto doctrinal.”

Madariaga lived, showed strong influences from modern German Siedlungen in terms of morphology and typology. The colonies were the middle-class version of the *casas baratas*, but in the mid-1930s their planning had taken a turn toward modernity.

During those years, Mercadal was the most distinguished and travelled architect in the campaign to link Spanish architecture with modern developments in Europe. He was a founding member of CIAM at La Sarraz, and organized a number of conferences at the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid, inviting some of the most notable contemporary architects, including Erich Mendelsohn, Theo van Doesburg, Walter Gropius, and Le Corbusier. Through his critical role of mediator between a modernized tradition (Torres Balbás) and modernism (CIAM), Mercadal embraced Le Corbusier's ideas, but remained wary of the consequences of an "international agenda" on national values:

[The] intellectual spirit of the southern people and its manifestation in civic art are today under threat. Our modern *Zeitgeist* tends to level and standardize all the ways of life; likewise, modern architecture, which should aim at the synthesis of all creative elements, turns out, with its powerful means of expression, to overturn and neutralize the sacred laws derived from the land and the race....⁷³

As Layuno Rosas reminds us, while he was deep in studying the Mediterranean, Mercadal also explored the popular architectures of Castilla and other regions of Spain. As a good disciple of the Instituto Libre de Enseñanza and their leaders Francisco Giner de los Ríos and Manuel B. Cossío, he saw no contradiction between being at the same time a modern man and a deep admirer of the popular heritage and its lessons of simplicity and adaptation to the context. This work of investigation that resulted in many drawings, sketches, and photographs, surged within an intellectual—and increasingly professional—context dominated, as we have seen, by the figure of Torres Balbás, the tip of an iceberg of many historians, photographers, and ethnographers, which were deeply involved with popular architecture and culture.⁷⁴

In 1930, he published *La casa popular en España*, the culmination of years of research on the various forms of regional vernacular, and in particular the rural house. Undoubtedly, like Torres Balbás, Mercadal's interest in popular architecture was a prospective one in the sense that he saw it as a potential source for a Spanish modern architecture within the evolving European context: "Mercadal, who had studied popular architecture... in situ, visiting villages and hamlets, sketching and making notes on the spot, admired more than anything what they represented 'as examples of logic and rationalism.'"⁷⁵ Illustrated with dozens of black and white sketches, the book covered all regions of Spain from Navarra to Catalonia to Andalusia

⁷³ Fernando García Mercadal, *La Casa Mediterránea*, Madrid, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1984, p. 16.

⁷⁴ Layuno Rosas, p. 66.

⁷⁵ Antonio Bonet Correa, p. XV.

and the Balearic islands. In his introduction, the author summarized the importance of the *casa popular*:

The house is the work that best reflects not only the way of being of the people, but also the relations between one and the other. The popular house is always national art; [Joaquín] Costa has taught us that is *the axis of rural life*, the symbol of the family institution.⁷⁶

Likewise, he insisted on the functionality of the rural house, i.e., on its “agricultural function, given that the peasant conceives and constructs his house tectonically, as an utensil or working tool...”⁷⁷ It is in the pages dedicated to the Mediterranean island of Minorca, that he could anticipate the essential argument of Mediterranean modernism, as it would develop operationally by José Luis Sert across the GATCPAC and the CIAM meetings:

Mahón, which is all geometry, might easily fulfill the aspirations of the most fanatical Cubists.⁷⁸

1.4. Nationalism, and Noucentism in Catalonia

Three years after the defeat of the Spanish-American Wars, the elections of 1901 brought the pivotal victory of the Catalan nationalist party, the Lliga Regionalista.⁷⁹ The new social, political, and aesthetic sensibility that emerged from that victory coalesced into a specifically Catalan regenerationist vision, “the dream of projecting Catalunya into the orbit of advanced nations while creating the ‘ideal’ urban space of Mediterranean ‘civility’ at home.”⁸⁰ The origin of this intellectual quest toward a “rediscovery” of the Mediterranean roots, both classical and vernacular, can be situated at the beginning of the twentieth century, when philosopher, writer, and essayist Eugeni d’Ors (1881-1954) advanced and promoted a culturally and politically nationalist project that would be based upon the return to a mythical Mediterranean past dominated by the Greek ideal—“a metaphor of progress, sea, commerce and opening of the borders.”⁸¹ D’Ors titled the movement Noucentisme. His writings about the new Catalan cultural identity defended the classical, Greco-Roman inheritance of the past, as

⁷⁶ García Mercadal, *La casa popular in España*, p. 7: “La casa es la obra que major refleja no solo la manera de ser de los pueblos, sino las relaciones entre unos y otros, y la casa popular, particularmente, es siempre arte nacional; [Joaquín] Costa la ha enseñado como *eje de la vida rural*; el símbolo de la institución familiar.”

⁷⁷ Ibidem, p.9.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, p. 54.

⁷⁹ This section borrows from my essay, op. cit., “The Modern and the Mediterranean in Spain,” pp. 65-94.

⁸⁰ See Olivier Thomas Kramsch, “Towards the ‘Ideal City’ of Noucentisme: Barcelona’s Sirens Song of Cosmopolitan Modernity,” in *Journal of Cultural Spanish Studies* 4, nº 2, 2003, pp. 223-224.

⁸¹ Josep Rovira, *José Luis Sert: 1901-1983*, Milan, Electa, 2000, p. 197. On Eugeni d’Ors, see José María Capdevila, *Eugeni d’Ors: etapa barcelonina, 1906-1920*, Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1965; Antonino González González, *Eugenio d’Ors: el arte y la vida*, Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010; Javier Varela, *Eugenio d’Ors 1881-1954*, Barcelona: RBA Libros, 2017.

well as the unequivocal “imperial” aspirations of Catalonia. For D’Ors, the goal was “to discover the Mediterranean in ourselves and to affirm it, in imperial work, among men.”⁸² The intellectuals supporting Noucentisme, among whom the industrialists Eusebi Güell and Francesc Cambó and the theoretician of Catalan nationalism Enric Prat de la Riba (1870-1917), were actively engaged within the new institutional and political context issued from the elections of 1901. Culturally, it was the Mediterranean that was to anchor the legitimacy of the new political parti, and establish the concept of reference for the Noucentist project of the Catalunya-Ciutat [Catalonia-City]—i.e., the vision of Catalonia as an “ideal city”, that would convey a ‘totalizing’ sense of nationhood, and embrace a new civic ethos of collective life at once urban and modern.⁸³ It is significant that, from 1908 onwards, the architect Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956) had been leading the excavation works at Ampurias (in Catalan, Empúries), a Greco-Roman town in proximity to Cadaqués whose discovery nurtured the roots of the *Renaixança* in the Mediterranean:

Emporium... Ampurias... It is a blue horizon that extends its serenity to the Mediterranean father, Mare Nostrum! ...Sometimes I think that the ideal ambition of a redeeming Catalanian gesture would come down nowadays to discovering the Mediterranean.⁸⁴

The Noucentist artists and architects advocated a return to a Mediterranean classicism based on order, proportions, moderation, and civic awareness. They stressed their southern—Mediterranean—roots in contrast to the Modernisme movement that Joaquín Torres-García dubbed as a phenomenon typical of “the people of the north.”⁸⁵ Contrary to the exaltation of individualism in Modernisme, Noucentisme was seen as a social and public art, more intent to support the Catalan nationalist project than importing modernist ideals from afar. Like Modernisme, the Noucentist movement supported the renaissance of artisanal crafts, yet they did not emphasize the individualistic process of creation, but rather the pure beauty and perfectibility of the object. In 1911, d’Ors published the *Almanac dels Noucentistes*, a collection of texts, drawings and poems that had in common a return to classicism, a particular interest in urban life, and a special concern for the determining aspects of private life.⁸⁶

⁸² Quoted by Alicia Suárez and Mercè Vidal, “Catalan Noucentisme, the Mediterranean, and Tradition,” in William Robinson, Jordi Falgàs, Carmen Belen Lord (eds.), *Barcelona and Modernity: Picasso Gaudí Miró Dalí*, New Haven-London: Yale University Press, p. 230, from Eugeni D’Ors, “Emporium,” *Glosari 1906-07*, pp. 31-32. Also see Teresa Camps, “Critical Theories of Noucentisme, Classicism and the Avant-garde in Catalonia, 1906-1930,” in *On Classic Ground: Picasso, Léger, De Chirico, and the New Classicism 1910-1930*, Elizabeth Cowling and Jennifer Mundy (eds.), London, Tate Gallery, 1990; Norbert Bilbeny, *Eugeni D’Ors i la ideologia del Noucentisme*, Barcelona: La Magrana, 1988.

⁸³ Kramsch, pp. 225 and sq.

⁸⁴ Eugeni D’Ors, “Emporium,” pp. 31-32.

⁸⁵ Quoted by Alicia Suárez and Mercè Vidal, “Catalan Noucentisme, the Mediterranean, and Tradition,” p. 226, from Joaquín Torres-García, “La nostra ordinació i el nostre camí,” *Empori*, April 1907.

⁸⁶ See Jordi Falgàs, “The Almanac dels Noucentistes: A Hybrid Manifesto,” *Barcelona and Modernity*, pp. 233-235. The Almanac was published once only, in 1911.

In reality, the opposition to Modernisme was not as clear-cut as its detractors would argue. Modernist artists like Gaudí and Puig i Cadafalch attempted to uplift Catalan arts and architecture to a par with other European cultures. They articulated Modernisme as a critical and unambiguous instrument of Catalan Renaissance [Renaixença] and linked it to the search for a style that would better express the claim for a genuine Catalonian culture and politics. Ruskin was one major inspiration for Gaudí's return to the principles of medieval architecture and construction techniques to which he attempted to give a genuine Catalan character—see his use of the Catalan vault—while at the same time demonstrating his interest for the Islamic architecture in Spain. As William Curtis wrote about Gaudí,

It was a matter of understanding local structural types and construction techniques in brick and ceramic, but also of reacting poetically, not to say mystically, to the hedonistic Mediterranean landscape and vegetation, as well as to the maritime character and traditions of Barcelona.⁸⁷

Besides, as José Lahuerta discussed, Gaudí and Eugenio d'Ors already approached the theme of the Mediterranean in the planning of the Parque Güell between 1900 and 1914, and in particular the archaic Doric hypostyle hall imagined by Güell as a Greek theatre:

The temple where songs would be sung in praise of Apollo... was not only the domed living room in the Güell Palace: there was another location... That of the Parque Güell, the theatre of Apollo, and the temple of the God.⁸⁸

Summarizing the complex and often contradictory aspirations of the Noucentistas, Josep Rovira argued that the return to Mediterranean classicism and tradition was in fact an ideological mask, "an ideological covering for the programs, urban strategies and technological advances necessary to tackle the problems to be solved by the industrial metropolis in times of modernity and of the presence of the masses in the streets."⁸⁹ Noucentism pressed for an orderly vision of Catalonia in which urban life would eclipse ruralism. Yet, this collective ambition was not devoid of ambiguity. In 1911, Eugeni d'Ors, then secretary of the Instituto de Estudios Catalanes, published the most influential novel of the beginning of the twentieth century in Catalonia, *La Ben Plantada*. The novel, half work of fiction, half philosophical essay, envisioned the "Catalan Woman" as symbol of the future metropolitan society: woman as Mediterranean goddess, as embodiment of the value of the land, as a mother and driving force of the society. D'Ors and his colleagues affirmed a notion of 'tradition' that was rooted both in a classical, urban Mediterranean ideal, and in the popular

⁸⁷ William Curtis, *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, 3rd edition, London, Phaidon, 1996, p. 60.

⁸⁸ On Gaudí and the Mediterranean, see Juan José Lahuerta, *Antoni Gaudí, 1852-1926*, Milan: Electa, 1992, pp. 143-171 with quote on p. 155, from V.M. Gilbert, *Gaudí, músico potencial*. Also see Josep Rovira, "La posesión del Mediterráneo," *Urbanización en Punta Martinet, Ibiza, 1966-1971*, Almería: Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 1996, pp. 7-32.

⁸⁹ Josep M. Rovira, "The Mediterranean is his Cradle," *J.LL. Sert and Mediterranean Culture*, Barcelona: Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, 1995, p. 47.

and rural communitarian values.⁹⁰ As a result, within the process of modernization of the Catalan metropolis, the forms of the countryside could equally be called upon to solve the problems of urban architecture. In the words of architectural historian Antonio Pizza, it was “a process of symbolic unification in which not only would architecture become ‘telluric’ and the countryside acquire an architectural sheen, but the woman would also have to be natural and *ben plantada*, spontaneous and constructed....”⁹¹ Thus, it is not surprising that the Mediterranean and his vernacular architecture framed the human geography of the seminal novel:

Now I would like to speak to you about the *Ben Plantada*, who has blossomed, taller than the rest, during these days of heat and gold, in a very humble summer village, small and white, close to the wide blueness of the Mediterranean.⁹²

And further:

You see, then, that there is nothing particular about the tiny village in which the *Ben Plantada* spends the summer. It is neither rustic, nor rough, nor picturesque. It looks neither fashionable nor wild. But we must love it by virtue precisely of its humility, in which the secret resides of its profound grace and truth.⁹³

Interestingly, the following paragraph alluded to the damages that a badly understood regional architecture was already producing and that would become a major point of debate, as we have seen earlier, i.e., the difference between regionalist architecture and the authentic vernacular:

The rest of the village will also remain white, provided it is not vulgarly coloured and sneered by all the garbage that architects and builders are spreading throughout Catalonia in the abominable style that has degraded our Tibidabo.⁹⁴

Joaquim Folch i Torres, author of *Meditaciones sobre la arquitectura* (1916) and a major Catalan art historian, also emphasized the harmony of the traditional houses in the landscape when he wrote, “houses in a landscape are like the eyes of a face and a kind of splendor on earth, just as the human eyes are a kind of spiritual splendor in the body.”⁹⁵ Likewise, in a poem published in the *Almanach dels Noucentistes* by Josep Pijoan, one could read:

⁹⁰ Kramersch, pp. 225 & sq.

⁹¹ For this section, see Antonio Pizza, “The Mediterranean: Creation and Development of a Myth,” *J.L.L. Sert y el Mediterráneo*, p. 23.

⁹² Eugeni D’Ors, *La Ben Plantada*, Barcelona: Ed. Selecta, 1958, p.15.

⁹³ Eugeni d’Ors, p. 32.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁵ Quoted by Pizza, p. 23, from J. Folch i Torres, “Record d’una masía,” *La Veu de Catalunya*, nº 210, December 27, 1913.

Minorca, your white houses, the labyrinthine walls of the entire island, all painted white, make even more clear the grey sponge of the flat rock that rises out of the sea.⁹⁶

This ongoing dialectic between the renewed *civitas* and a countryside arcadia was important for the development of an independent Catalanian identity. As Pizza wrote, “it is the rural world that is presented as the depository of the new collective values which will be needed to construct the modern city, seen as the culminating moment of “artistic” investment on the part of a bourgeois nationalism which would thus claim recognition of its role as a driving force at the core of the political movements of the time.”⁹⁷ This assertion was clearly at the basis of one of the manifestoes of Noucentisme and Catalan autonomy, Prat de la Riba’s *La Nacionalitat Catalana* of 1906. His vision referred to the organic nature of the nation and was imbued with Hippolyte Taine’s theory of “race, milieu, and moment” which can be considered as the foundations and roots of regionalism.⁹⁸ Prat de la Riba himself expressed its mistrust of the classical agenda, defending instead the architecture that originated from the countryside:

The appearance of the country folk on the Catalanian public stage signaled the beginning of the *renaixença*. The accumulated vigor of so many generations could not remain unused and dead to the society. The sons and heirs of the *masía* owners are now renewing and strengthening, with their new blood, the population of our cities and towns.⁹⁹

For the Noucentists, the *masía*—a type of rural construction connected to a large estate, often fortified, which had its origins in the antique Roman villas and was also influenced by the Palladian types—became a fundamental symbol of Catalan identity. Like so many artists, Joan Miró used it as a major source as in his famed work of 1921-1922, *La Masía*.¹⁰⁰ Joaquim Sunyer’s paintings such as the *Pastoral* built up the image of an Arcadia for a Catalan nation; likewise, the *Cala Forn* of 1917, with its background of urbanization, brought together “the perilous dichotomy between the natural and the man-made, governed wisely by the controlled, progressive evolution of the times.”¹⁰¹ Under the impulse of Prat, three major ethnographic archives (one of which was specially dedicated to the *Estudi de la Masia Catalana*) were established in Barcelona, whose focus would be to scientifically document “not only that a specific Catalan culture existed but also that it was different from the rest of

⁹⁶ Josep Pijoan, “De les terres Velles,” *Almanach dels Noucentistes*, 1911.

⁹⁷ Antonio Pizza, p. 19.

⁹⁸ Alícia Suarez and Mercè Vidal, p. 226.

⁹⁹ Enric Prat de la Riba, *La Nacionalitat Catalana*, Barcelona, Biblioteca Popular, 1906, p. 20; quoted by Josep Rovira, *Urbanización en Punta Martinet*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁰ On the Catalan *masía*, see Joaquím de Camps i Arboix, *La masía catalana: Historia-Arquitectura-Sociología*, Barcelona, 1969; “La Masía: historia y tipología de la casa rural catalane,” *2C: construcción de la ciudad*, nº 17-18, 1981.

¹⁰¹ Antonio Pizza, p. 22.

Spain."¹⁰² The most important one, the Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya (AEFC), made an innovative and pioneering use of photography and advanced classification to record all aspects of the region's traditional culture and folklore, including architecture, labor, trade, and types of inhabitants. Context and truth, provided by the new medium, were "crucial to the Noucentiste notion of photography and archives."¹⁰³

For Miró—but also for Salvador Dalí—the passage from Noucentiste realism to surrealism would be swift, but the Catalan countryside was equally important for the new aesthetic. In 1924, the twenty-year old Dalí painted an enigmatic portrait of Luis Buñuel, then twenty-four, shown as a very solemn Spanish man looking into a distance while, in the background, the cubic volumes of a village seem to anticipate the architecture of the new towns built by the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (I.N.C.) in the 1950-1960s. It is also near Cadaqués, a vernacular white town on the edge of the Mediterranean, that Dalí and Buñuel would script and shoot the Surrealist manifesto, *L'âge d'or* (1930).¹⁰⁴

In architecture, the Noucentistas lacked the range and importance of their Modernist counterparts, but their overall impact, particularly on the social and economic infrastructure of Barcelona, Girona, and the Catalan countryside, was remarkable. They defended a type of architecture that not only had a different aesthetic from Modernisme, but sought to represent their metropolitan ambition, both political and social. Classicism, links with Central European modernity like the Vienna Secession, but also neo-folk and regional trends characterized the diversity of the architectural period. The urban houses by Rafael Masó Valenti in Girona represent the transition from Modernism to Noucentisme: if his first houses seemed like Modernist houses with more abstract traits, the Casa Ensesa (1913-1915) shows the influence of Viennese architecture, both classical and Secessionist. Yet, it is with the family home overlooking the River Onyar (Casa Masó) and renovated in 1919 that Masó realized his masterpiece: not only do the white facades and large glazed sections integrate very well in the urban landscape of the river, but they can be seen as precursors of modernism in the thirties.¹⁰⁵

In Barcelona, the works of Josep Goday illustrate the more social and populist direction of Noucentisme. He was the author of several municipal schools groups destined to be an essential symbol of Catalan modernity. As remarked in a manual de la Mancomunitat of Catalunya, "an ideal of dignity presides at the installation of these centers ... We tried to give each its own building, built expressly, and responding through its aesthetic qualities and comfort to an ideal life conducive to giving a lesson of refinement and elegance in simplicity." Stylistically, Goday's schools formed a remarkable eclectic group, going from a discreet

¹⁰² Jordana Mendelson, p. 12.

¹⁰³ Jordana Mendelson, p. 15.

¹⁰⁴ Dalí was one of the first artists to live in Cadaqués, which attracted many others like Picasso, Miró, etc. On Dalí and Buñuel, see Matthew Gale, *Dalí & Film*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2007.

¹⁰⁵ Joan Tarrús Galter (ed.), *Rafael Masó y Valentí*, Barcelona: Publicacions del Col.legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya i Balears, D.L. 1971; <http://www.rafaelmaso.org/cat/index.php>.

Baroque (Group Escolar Pere Vila, 1921-1931) to the vernacular (Escuela del Mar, Barceloneta, 1922) and the classicism of German influence (Escuela Collaso Gil, Raval, 1933).¹⁰⁶

However, it is Puig i Cadafalch, author of the essential study on the Romanesque architecture in Catalonia, who was the most important actor and promoter of the architectural shift from Modernism to Noucentisme in Barcelona. After his early Modernist phase (see Casa Amatller on Paseo de Gracia of 1898-1900), he opened his Noucentiste period with townhouses inspired by the Viennese Secession and incorporating vernacular references (Casa Trinxet, 1904; Casa Company, 1911). His third period began at the end of the second decade with an urban architecture, at once classical, civil, and expressive of the collective aspirations of Catalonia, particularly in its metropolitan appearance. Very representative of this vision was the renovation of the Plaza de Catalunya as a point of convergence between the historic center and the villages surrounding the Cerdà grid, and where, in 1919, Puig reformed an existing building with an architecture that symbolized the aspirations of the city to a modern European image (Casa Pich i Pon, 1929).

The masterpiece of the twenties was the International Exhibition, initially scheduled for 1917 but delayed by WW1, and that eventually opened in 1929 with the active support of Puig y Cadafalch. The Exposición Universal of Barcelona finally opened under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, who was supported by Puig and the Catalan elite in exchange of a false promise of minor Catalan autonomy. However, it was reconceived as a large propaganda enterprise that meant "to reaffirm the central government's power over both its internal and external satellites, its own 'regions' as well as its past colonies."¹⁰⁷ The Exposition celebrated the metropolitan achievements of Catalonia and Spain, and entered into architectural history with the quasi-Mediterranean vision of Mies van der Rohe's German pavilion. Of particular importance were the gardens of Miramar and Laribal that the French landscape architect Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier and his assistant Nicolau Rubio i Tudurí designed between 1917 and 1924. The projects were distinctly Mediterranean with terraces, viewpoints, stairways inspired by the Generalife in Granada, Hispano-Arab fountains (such as Font del Gat) and white pergolas inspired by Andalusia and the Balearic Islands. Along the descent to the city, the gardens opened onto the *Teatre Grec*, an outdoor theater for two thousand spectators, inspired from Epidauros and designed by the architect Ramón Reventós in collaboration with Forestier. As a landscape architect and urban planner, Rubio i Tudurí was one of the greatest representatives of Noucentisme and the return to the "Mediterranean world." In his position of director of Parques y Jardines de Barcelona since 1917 and under the influence of Forestier he was the main promoter of the "Mediterranean garden" in

¹⁰⁶ See Jordi Carreras, "Noucentisme between Architecture and the Art of the Object," in *Barcelona and Modernity*, pp. 281-293; Gonçal Mayos Solsona, "Escuelas en un contexto macrofilosófico y biopolítico" in Albert Cubeles and Marc Cuixart (eds.), *Josep Goday Casals. Arquitectura escolar a Barcelona de la Mancomunitat a la República*, Barcelona: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona e Instituto de Educación, 2008.

¹⁰⁷ Jordana Mendelson, p. 9.

opposition to the English concept. The gardens of the square Francesc Macia (1925), the park de la Font del Racó (1926), the gardens of the Palacio Real de Pedralbes (1927) and those of the Parque Turó (1933) bear witness to this new Mediterranean spirit in landscape architecture.¹⁰⁸

Overall, its most popular attraction was the Pueblo Español. Most accounts make the Pueblo the collaborative work of art historian Miguel Utrillo, visual artist Xavier Nogués, and architects Ramon Reventós and Francesc Folguera—the latter two acted as photographers during the more than 6,000 miles that the team travelled across the cities, towns, and villages of Spain to bring back the accurate documentation. One hundred seventeen buildings and places were selected from the photographic *mission* and picturesquely re-assembled to become, themselves, “photogenic.”¹⁰⁹ Visitors were thus encouraged to take the place of the original rural subject, thus establishing the genuine Noucentiste aspiration at a fusion between city and country, a “new relationship between Spain’s rural architecture and its now urban inhabitants.”¹¹⁰ Contrary to other ethnographic exposition collages (for instance in Chicago, Paris, or Rome) which formed a mere assemblage of types and styles, often within a garden-city like environment, the vernacular pieces were here arranged to form urbanistically correct urban spaces, without distortion or downscaling. The plaza mayor, approximately 200 by 150 feet, gave the feel of a genuine urban space, while the Andalusian section of the Pueblo was the recreation of a *barrio* whose very urban structure was the reason of its success. Its houses, patios, and narrow streets like the “Calle de los Arcos,” projected a recognizable image of southern Spain. Swiss architect Alfredo Baeschlin and great connoisseur of Spain through his travels, journals, and drawings, wrote enthusiastically about the Pueblo: “But the Spanish Village is more. It is a town composed of many styles, but it has a definitive Spanish flavor ... We breathe the air of a Spanish town.”¹¹¹ As we will see in chapter Four, these were precisely the character and quality that enticed Oriol Hohigas to write an important article about the *Pueblo español* in the early 1960s.

¹⁰⁸ Bénédicte Leclerc (ed.), *Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, 1861-1930. Du jardin au paysage urbain*, Paris: Picard, 1994; J.C.N. Forestier, *Jardins: carnet de plans et de dessins*, Paris: Picard, 1994 (1920). For Rubió i Tudurí, see Mercè Rubió i Boada, *Nicolau María Rubio i Tudurí (1891-1981): jardínero y urbanista*, Aranjuez: Ediciones Doce Calles/ Madrid: Real Jardín Botánico, CSIC, 1993.

¹⁰⁹ Jordana Mendelson, p. 23. Also see Jordana Mendelson, “From Photographic Fragments to Architectural Illusions at the 1929 Poble Espanyol in Barcelona,” in Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren (eds.), *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Place*, Oxford-New York, Berg, 2004, pp. 129-147.

¹¹⁰ Jordana Mendelson, *Documenting Spain*, p. 25.

¹¹¹ Juan Antonio García-Esparza, “Casas de campo españolas (1930): la revisión de un libro de Alfredo Baeschlin,” *Ciudad y Territorio* XLIV, nº 174, Winter 2012, pp. 750-751: “Pero el *Pueblo español* es más. Es un pueblo compuesto de infinidad de estilos, pero tiene sabor español... Respiramos aire de pueblo.”

1.5. Benjamin and the Lessons of Ibiza

It is at Mercadal's invitation that Le Corbusier came to lecture in Madrid. On May 15, 1928, at a stopover of the train in Barcelona, the Swiss architect was literally "intercepted" at the station:

In Madrid I received a telegram signed by José Luis Sert (whom I did not know at the time) who said he would meet at 10 o'clock in the evening in Barcelona station, an intermediate stop for the Madrid-Port-Bou express, and rush me off without delay to give a talk somewhere in the city. At Barcelona station I was received by five or six youths, all short but full of fire and energy.¹¹²

Le Corbusier lectured on his way back in Barcelona. This was a moment of frustration and crisis in his career after the failure at the competition for the Palais des Nations in Geneva. At the same time, his discourse about "the new architecture" was shifting away from the analogy of the machine toward an architecture where classical proportions, vernacular references, and Greece-based harmony could be harnessed to redefine modernity.¹¹³ After listening to Le Corbusier, Sert and his colleagues realized that there was neither contradiction nor opposition between modernity and tradition. In other words, it was possible to be truly modern without losing their Spanish roots and identity. Hence, they set up to demonstrate that they were the heirs of an "autochthonous culture whose roots revealed the same preoccupations as those concerning [northern] Europe in the years immediately before," and that gave them the right to be now, albeit belatedly, at the forefront of the modernist movement.¹¹⁴ In working together to assert the Mediterranean and its vernacular as the primary sources of modern architecture, Le Corbusier, Sert, and many others across Europe, attempted to substantiate the myth of the origins beyond the machine and other technological analogies.¹¹⁵ Rejecting the regionalist mask, Fernando García Mercadal, Josep Lluís Sert, and the architects of GATCPAC saw in the reinterpretation and abstraction of the vernacular aesthetic and tectonics (Ibiza in particular) the means to "mediterraneanize" the modern.¹¹⁶

In the late 1920s, Sert and his classmate at the School of Architecture, Germán Rodríguez-Arias, embarked on a series of journeys in the south of Spain to discover the vernacular

¹¹² Le Corbusier, quoted by Josep Rovira, "The Mediterranean is his Cradle," p. 49. See Juan José Lahuerta, *Le Corbusier e la Spagna*, Milan: Electa, 2006; and Le Corbusier, *Espagne: Carnets*, Milan-Paris: Electa, Fondation Le Corbusier, 2001.

¹¹³ Le Corbusier, *Une maison, un palais – A la recherche d'une unité architecturale*, Paris, G. Crès, 1929.

¹¹⁴ Josep Rovira, "The Mediterranean is His Cradle," pp. 63-64.

¹¹⁵ See Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino (eds.), *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean – Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*, London: Routledge, 2010.

¹¹⁶ This intellectual process brings to mind Marc-Antoine Laugier's discussion of the primitive hut in his *Essay on Architecture* published in 1753. According to Alan Colquhoun, Laugier was not particularly interested in the vernacular world of architecture, but was in fact looking for the historical roots and the "de-stylization" of classical architecture: "This process entailed, not the discovery of vernacular building, but the revernacularization of classicism with which to substantiate a myth of origins." From Alan Colquhoun, "Vernacular Classicism," *Modernity and the Classical Tradition—Architectural Essays 1980-1987*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989, p. 30.

architecture of its towns and villages.¹¹⁷ Ibiza was the next step and there they joined a small crowd of intellectuals who, like Schinkel, Hoffmann, and Italian futurists when they discovered Capri, saw in the “primitive” rural architecture and quasi-virginal culture of the island the values of modernity.¹¹⁸ To some extent, the island represented a return to a more innocent and primitive past where men and nature were united through simple handwork and the functional beauty of simple objects and spaces. Ibiza appeared as a new utopia, an anti-technological one, where the western men and women—the men and women of the metropolitan *Gesellschaft*—could find a pure *Gemeinschaft* within foreign land, away from the traditional conservative attitude associated with the small towns of Central Europe. The imagined and idealized island offered the possibility of a new way of life, “in the context of a privileged nature, renouncing the bourgeois conventions and any kind of comfort, and gambling on a new type of community in which the creative and individual freedom would have a leading role.”¹¹⁹ Among the international visitors were, to name only a few, Walter Benjamin, Albert Camus, Man Ray, Tristan Tzara, and Hausmann. Benjamin (1892-1940) stayed on the island twice, between April and July of 1932 and the second between April and September of 1933. When he left the island for the second time in the fall of that year, Benjamin’s exile started in earnest and he never came back to Germany.

Ibiza—at that time the poorest island of the Balears—became for Benjamin the ideal terrain of observation of the modern world, and in particular of the relationship between the antique and the modern, between primitivism and modernity. Following Jean Selz, a French writer who resided in Ibiza and who entertained a relationship with the German, the island offered to the modern traveler the possibility to know the antique world, not “across the ruins... but in the life of the inhabitants of Ibiza, in their customs, their beliefs, their crafts....”¹²⁰ It is important to remember that Schinkel had reached the same conclusions when he visited Capri in 1804 and that from Josef Hoffmann onwards, the Italian island would be seen in a similar way by many generations including Rationalist and Futurist artists and architects alike.¹²¹ Benjamin left some short impressions in his correspondence:

It is obvious from this that the island is really far removed from international trade and even civilization and that it is therefore necessary to do without every kind of comfort.

This can be done with ease, not only because of the inner peace given by economic

¹¹⁷ See Josep Rovira, “Ibiza y la mirada de la vanguardia,” in *Urbanización en Punta Martinet, Ibiza, 1966-71*, pp. 33-54; also see Josep Rovira, *José Luis Sert*, op. cit.

¹¹⁸ See Michelangelo Sabatino, *Pride of Modesty – Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

¹¹⁹ Vicente Valero, *Experiencia y pobreza – Walter Benjamin en Ibiza, 1932-1933*, Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 2001, p. 8: “en el marco de una naturaleza privilegiada, renunciando a las convenciones burguesas y a cualquier tipo de confort, y apostando por una nueva comunidad en la que tuvieran protagonismo el ocio creativo y la libertad individual.”

¹²⁰ Vicente Valero, “Ibiza, la tradición seductora,” in A.C. – *La Revista Del G.A.T.E.P.A.C. 1931-1937*, Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2008, p. 259.

¹²¹ See Benedetto Gravagnuolo, op. cit.

independence but also because of the composure the landscape provides; the most untouched landscape I have ever come across.

...

The interiors are likewise archaic. Three chairs along the wall of the room opposite the entrance greet the stranger with assurance and weightiness, as if three works by Cranach or Gauguin were leaning against the wall; a sombrero over the back of a chair is more imposing than a precious Gobelin tapestry. Finally, there is the serenity and beauty of the people—not only of the children—and, on top of that, the almost total freedom from strangers, which must be preserved by being extremely parsimonious with information about the island. The end of all these things is unfortunately to be feared because of a hotel being built in the port of Ibiza.¹²²

...

The most beautiful things are the view from the window giving onto the sea and a rocky island whose lighthouse shines into my room at night. There is also the privacy the inhabitants maintain toward each other by a clever arrangement of space and walls that are almost a meter thick, through which no sound (and no heat) can penetrate.¹²³

Going fishing lobster in the sea, he narrated how

We were then put ashore in a hidden bay [of Ibiza]. And there we were presented with an image of such immutable perfection that something strange but not incomprehensible took place within me: namely, I actually did not see it at all; it made no impression on me; because of its perfection, it existed on the very brink of the invisible... Four or five fishing boats had been pulled well up onto the shore. A few women were standing next to these boats, who were completely draped in black with only their serious and immobile faces uncovered... A child had died in the stone hut down below. The women draped in black had been keeners who, in spite of their duties, had not wanted to miss an unusual spectacle such as the arrival of a motorboat on this beach. In short, in order to find this spectacle striking, you must first understand it. Otherwise, you would look at it with the same kind of indifference and thoughtlessness as you do at a painting by Feuerbach. When looking at such a

¹²² Walter Benjamin, Letter to Gerhard Scholem, [Ibiza], April 22, 1932, in Gershom Scholem and Theodor W. Adorno, *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin 1910-1940*, Chicago / London: The University Press of Chicago, 1994, p. 390.

¹²³ Walter Benjamin, Letter to Gretel Adorno, [Ibiza], Spring 1932, op. cit., p. 392.

painting, people remotely think that tragic figures on the rocky shore would make it just right.¹²⁴

As Vicente Valero commented at large in his book *Experiencia y pobreza*, Benjamin was a highly productive writer on the island. In his *Ibizenkische Folge*, he rediscovered the art of traditional narration, which came to him by walking and observing the life of the people, their habitat and landscape.¹²⁵ The theme of those Ibizan tales was nothing but narration itself: the art of telling a tale and to listen to stories.¹²⁶ Yet, it is with his essay “Experience and Poverty” that the impact of Ibiza could be felt in his philosophy and his understanding of modern life and society¹²⁷: “the traditional dwelling of Ibiza... was, for its location, a space propitious for artistic creation, and it was also, because of its specific conditions, structure and archaic typology, a space apt at living a life totally removed from any bourgeois conventions.”¹²⁸ For Benjamin, following the disasters of WW1, men had become unable to communicate their experience, and this poverty of experience in general, personal and general, had led to a new kind of barbarism, indeed, “a positive concept of barbarism.”¹²⁹ This new barbarism was forcing him to start from scratch; it implied the erasure of all historical traces from city and home. On the architectural level, it meant that glass, a material that has no “aura,”¹³⁰ was desired because it is the “enemy of secrets... of possession.”¹³¹ Modern architecture, from Loos, Le Corbusier to the Bauhaus, had created rooms in which “it is hard to leave traces.” As mankind has given up one portion of human heritage after another, we had “to rely on the men who have adopted the cause of the absolutely new and have founded it on insight and renunciation. In its buildings, pictures, and stories mankind is preparing to outlive culture, if need be.”¹³²

It is a paradox that Benjamin was advocating the *tabula rasa* and the architecture of glass, at the very moment when the new generation of Spanish architects intended to reject the imported exterior signs of modernity (glass), and define an architecture adapted to the climate of the Spanish soil. Benjamin’s comments on architecture were logically related to his experience of Germany and Central Europe, and thus it would have been difficult to guess the

¹²⁴ Walter Benjamin, Letter to Gretel Adorno, [Ibiza] June 1933, op. cit., p. 420. The German interest for Spanish vernacular has been extensively studied in Joaquín Medina Warmburg, *Projizierte Moderne: Deutschsprachige Architekten und Städtebauer in Spanien (1918-1936)–Dialog, Abhängigkeit, Polemik*, Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert Verlag, 2005. Of particular interest is the third section of the book, titled “Inseln” [Islands].

¹²⁵ Walter Benjamin, “Ibizenkische Folge,” *Gesammelte Schriften - IV: Kleine Prosa. Baudelaire-Übertragungen*, 2 volumes, Berlin: Suhrkamp Insel Verlag, 1972.

¹²⁶ Valero, p. 261.

¹²⁷ Walter Benjamin, “Experience and Poverty” [Erfahrung und Armut] in Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (eds.), *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings: Vol. 2 (1927-1934)*, Cambridge: University Press, 1999, pp. 731-736.

¹²⁸ Valero, p. 66.

¹²⁹ Benjamin, “Experience and Poverty,” p. 732.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, p. 734.

¹³¹ Ibidem. p. 732.

¹³² Ibidem, p. 735.

links between the vernacular Mediterranean architecture and the emerging Spanish vision of modernity. Yet, there was a clear common trait. Sert like Benjamin wanted to erase the signs of bourgeois past and imagine a new primitivism for modern life and for the modern man and woman. That such a primitivism could take different clothes was a reflection of a decade when return to order and avant-garde were interacting while fighting for predominance.

On October 25, 1930, Josep Lluís Sert, Manuel Subiño, Josep Torres Clavé, José Manuel Aizpurúa, Fernando García Mercadal and others officially launched the group GATEPAC (*Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles Para la Arquitectura Contemporánea*) as the Spanish branch of CIAM, and announced the future publication of their periodical *Arquitectura Contemporánea* or *A.C.*¹³³ The editorial, published in the first issue (1931) reflected the ambiguity of the group's position. On the one hand, it advocated that the new architecture was the fruit of a new spirit "which annuls customs and traditions" and required industrialization and mass production; on the other hand, it claimed the "full Latinism" of modern architecture and the importance of the southern vernacular and climate by making direct reference to the Mediterranean "terraces, awnings, flown slabs, screened light" in contrast with the "large glazed areas" of northern architecture.¹³⁴ Attacked by conservative architects, the GATEPAC manifesto also saw strong reactions from Joaquín Torres-García, the former Noucentiste who had just created a constructivist group with Mondrian, and who criticized the lack of spiritual expression of an architecture that required "standardized mannequins" to inhabit them.¹³⁵ The first issue of *A.C.* further set the tone for the series of twenty-five issues published between 1931 and 1937. Next to photographs of modern architecture in San Sebastián and Barcelona, and a discussion of the future urbanization of Barcelona and the Green City project in Moscow, it featured a double page that focused on traditional fishermen houses on the Mediterranean coast and compared them dramatically to J.P. Oud's row of houses at the Weissenhof Siedlung of 1927. Opposed to the architectonic eclecticism of various regionalisms reduced to exterior signs of decoration, they saw in the sobriety of the white volumes of the peasant and fisherman houses, as well as in the strict functionality of their constitutive elements, a genuine model for a new modern and socially oriented architecture.

In the second issue, the editors declared that they respected "the good architecture of the past." They argued about the value of the good historical architecture (Santa María del Mar, Monasterio de Pedralbes, and the Romanesque buildings studied by Domènech y Montaner

¹³³ For a synthetic understanding of the group, see *A.C.: la revista del G.A.T.E.P.A.C., 1931-1937*, op. cit. *AC (Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea)* was published from 1931 to 1937 with a total of twenty-five issues. See the integral reprint: *AC Publicación del GATEPAC*, Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2005.

¹³⁴ *A.C.*, nº 1, 1930-31, p. 13.

¹³⁵ See Enrique Granell Trías, "Impossible not to succumb to the song of the sirens. Paralell 1933," in *J.L.L. Sert and the Mediterranean*, pp. 126-137.

and Puig I Cadafalch earlier in the century) as roots for the new architecture that the new social conditions required.¹³⁶ The authors wrote:

We want to continue, without prejudice, the magnificent tradition of Architecture, but not that tradition based on erudition and eclecticism, but rather the tradition resulting from the understanding that architectural strength lies in the sincere, clear and optimistic exteriorization of a problem well planted, and of a well-articulated plan.¹³⁷

Overall, A.C. was the publishing platform for Sert, his friends, Le Corbusier, and CIAM. Of his own work, Sert gave special attention to the apartment house at Calle Muntaner (A.C.4), his summer resort near Barcelona in collaboration with Torres Clavé (A.C.7, A.C.13), the plan Macia (A.C.13) and the Casa Bloc for the revision of the Ensanche (A.C.10), and the weekend house in Garraf also with Torres Clavé (A.C.19), a modern-Mediterranean type of house which combined a ground floor in stone topped by a white stucco box with large windows opening on the sea. Likewise, the issue 11 gave a report from the CIAM IV on the Patris II ship and included a series of photos including the vernacular houses of the Aegean Sea.

The first reference to Ibiza came within the issue A.C. 6 of 1932 which dedicated 3 pages of simple photographs under the titles "Ibiza, la isla que no necesita renovación arquitectónica" (Ibiza, the island that does not need an architectonic renovation) and "En Ibiza no existen los 'estilos históricos'" (In Ibiza the historical styles do not exist).¹³⁸ Four photographs focused on the urban environment, while the four others showed views of rural *fincas* or farmhouses. Three years later, the A.C. 18 (1935) was entirely dedicated to popular architecture and its cover featured the photograph of a traditional ceramic vase and a straw plate, with the following commentary: "The popular architecture without style and the objects of domestic use that originate from places separated from the centers of civilization conserve a traditional base that constitutes the essence of their expression."¹³⁹ It also contained one of Sert's most significant essays, "*Raíces mediterráneas de la arquitectura moderna*" [The Mediterranean roots of modern architecture] which ended with these lines:

¹³⁶ A.C. 2, 1931, p. 22: "respetamos la buena arquitectura del pasado... "queremos continuar, sin prejuicios, la magnífica tradición de la Arquitectura, pero no esa tradición basada en la erudición y el eclecticismo, sino una tradición fruto de la comprensión de que la fuerza arquitectural radica en la exteriorización sincera, clara y optimista de un problema bien plantado, de un plano con la debida articulación."

¹³⁷ Ibidem, p. 23. Logically, the Catalan environment dominated the magazine but the first issues made clear that the new modern conditions were rising throughout the country: for instance, the masterplan for the extension of the Paseo de la Castellana in Madrid by Herman Jansen and Secundino Zuazo (AC2), the new campus of the Ciudad Universitaria in Madrid (1927-), the modernist Club náutico by Aizpurúa & Labayen in San Sebastián (AC3), and the Casa del Doctor Horno en Zaragoza by Mercadal (AC3).

¹³⁸ AC 6, 1932, pp. 28-30.

¹³⁹ AC 18, 1935, cover text: "la arquitectura popular sin estilo y los objetos de uso doméstico de los lugares apartados de los centros de civilización conservan una base tradicional que constituye la esencia de su expresión."

Technically, modern architecture is mostly a discovery of the Nordic countries. Yet, spiritually, it is the “style-less” Mediterranean architecture which has influenced this new architecture. Modern architecture is a return to the pure, traditional forms of the Mediterranean. It is a victory of the Latin Sea.¹⁴⁰

Besides two articles on ‘popular’ industry dealing with amphorae, ceramic vases, and fishermen’s boats, and on Joan Miró’s primitive synthesis of “abstractivismo” and “surrealismo” in painting, the issue focused mainly on Mediterranean towns, emphasizing the rationality of their streets and building types, in particular the *casa-patio* of various sizes. It was an analysis that emphasized the urban character of the Mediterranean—its streets, alleys, and small piazzas—and characterized the distinctly Spanish approach to the strategic use of the Mediterranean. Out of the 100 illustrations that made up the issue, about forty-six were directly related to the Spanish urban context, the others being mostly linked to the rural environment. Let us mention the *casa de vecino* in Córdoba organized as a simple three-story rectangular structure along a densely planted patio, and the one in Fernán Núñez organized as a large arcaded corral; the intimate nature of the streets of San Fernando and Tarifa in Andalusia; the “patio de volumen mínimo” in Tarifa, without style, functional as it provides air, light and heat protection, but also spiritual because of the identification and personification to their residents; and many other examples.¹⁴¹ Discussing the streets of the Andalusian towns and cities, A.C. suggested that the narrow streets for pedestrians “should exist in the layout of all modern towns and neighborhoods of Mediterranean climate, separating entirely the circulation of pedestrians from the main traffic.”¹⁴² Likewise, the short essay “Poblaciones mediterráneas” emphasized the unity, order, clarity, and repetition of the standard elements of the vernacular architecture, and described how, within the Mediterranean urban fabric and culture,

A house is not built with the intention of surpassing that of the neighbor. The human scale here imposes a uniform measure of openings and a rational and economical ceiling height.¹⁴³

The twenty-first issue (1936) was dedicated to the rural world, with an architectural and photographic survey of the traditional Ibiza rural house produced by Raoul Hausmann and Erwin Heilbronner. Hausmann (1886-1971) was an artist who was among the founders of the Dada movement in Germany and also a renowned photographer; Heilbronner (1898-1971)

¹⁴⁰ José Luis Sert, “Raíces mediterráneas de la arquitectura moderna,” A.C. 18, 1935; reprinted in Antonio Pizza, *J.L.L. Sert y el Mediterráneo*, pp. 217-18, quote on p. 217.

¹⁴¹ AC 18, 1935, pp. 16-27; 38-41.

¹⁴² AC 18, 1935, p. 27. It is important to relate these writings to the article by Alejandro Herrero in 1948 and the adoption of separation of traffic for many of the new towns of the INC. See chapter 5 and 6.

¹⁴³ AC 18, 1935, pp. 33: “una casa no se edifica con la intención de superar en apariencia a la del vecino. La escala humana impone aquí una medida uniforme de aberturas y una altura de techo racional y económica.”

was a German architect who sought refuge on the island in 1934.¹⁴⁴ Hausmann, who arrived on the island in March 1933 following foreign echoes from the CIAM IV and the GATEPAC, recorded his impressions in a series of articles as a correspondent. Twelve years earlier, the young Dadaist had claimed that “the new man needs a new language without the inheritance of the past.”¹⁴⁵ From the island, he shared the same fascination as the architects, yet his glance was more scientific, even ethnological:

These primitive conditions and the patriarchal structure of the family are reflected in an architecture that is especially attractive to us due to the purity of its lines and cubic volumes. It appeals to our love for truth and simplicity....¹⁴⁶

Ibiza is by excellence the land of architecture without architects. The houses that the peasants build there have such a pure style and such a harmonious expression, that they can perfectly sustain the comparison with more mature and more designed works of modern architecture. As soon as one leaves the city and enters the interior of the island, one goes from surprise to surprise; everywhere the same plastic expression, everywhere the same noble forms of dwellings.¹⁴⁷

In the A.C. article, Hausmann and Heilbronner published accurate floor plans and sections, along with remarkable photos of peasant houses. They described the typological process of cell-based construction of the rural house (*Can*), its adaptation to topography, and the spatial and cultural significance of the *porxo* (porchu or portico), a sort of covered patio connected to the kitchen and facing the entrance of the house where, at times, a staircase would lead to a second floor room. The second part of the issue contained contemporary projects (a bath complex and a group of serial houses) by Heilbronner who, under his new name, Broner, continued his architecture practice after the War with a series of white houses mixing tradition and modernity, and created the group of modern artists *Ibiza 59*.¹⁴⁸

Hausmann remained three years on the island. From 1933 to 1936, he produced an intense photographic investigation, going from the landscape to the house to the chair and the hands of its artisan. In doing so, he did not limit himself to the formal qualities of the island and its constructions, but he was also, perhaps even more, fascinated by the “materiality” of its natural and man-made reality. In a series of notebooks he discussed the employed materials and the artisanal and constructive techniques that revealed the human-based essence of the architecture. Hundreds of sketches and photographs document the intensity of his gaze and

¹⁴⁴ AC 21, 1936, pp. 11-23. See *Raoul Hausmann*. Valencia: IVAM, 1991. Bartomeu Marí, Jean-Paul Midant et.al., *Raoul Hausmann, Architecte. Ibiza 1933-1936*, Brussels: Archives d'Architecture Moderne, 1990.

¹⁴⁵ Valero, p. 101: “el hombre nuevo necesita un nuevo lenguaje sin la herencia del pasado.”

¹⁴⁶ Raoul Hausmann, “Ibiza et la maison méditerranéenne,” *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui*, n° 1 1935, p. 33.

¹⁴⁷ Raoul Hausmann, “Elvissa i l'arquitectura sense arquitecte,” *D'ací i d'allà* 184, 1936. Here quoted from the French translation in Bartomeu Marí, Jean-Paul Midant et. al., p. 28.

¹⁴⁸ AA.VV., *Erwin Broner, 1898-1971*, Barcelona: Colegio de arquitectos de Baleares, Demarcación de Eivissa y Formentera, 1994.

the importance of the material references from the imperfections in the walls and the nudity of the surfaces to the making of a wooden chair. For Haussman, the “material” meant “history, culture, nature, landscape, architecture—and so many other things—; his Ibiza experience allowed him to recognize the universal character of its architecture across the material.”¹⁴⁹ *Hyle* (the Greek word for ‘matter’ in philosophy as well as other meanings such as ‘material, thing, substance’) was the title of the experimental novel that he initiated in Ibiza but was only able to publish in 1969 in a reduced version.¹⁵⁰

To complete this horizon tour of Ibiza in the 1930s, it is important to mention the Swiss architect Alfredo Baeschlin (1883-1964) and the elegant drawings of rural houses that he published as “Cuadernos de Arquitectura Popular – La Casa Ibicensa” in 1934.¹⁵¹ In his attempt to design new “casas de campo” in Spain, the Swiss condemned both “the uniforming vanguards and the aesthetic transmigrations of false regionalism” while defending the real popular architecture, its natural adaptation to climate, the life forms, and the artisanal traditions.¹⁵² He wrote, “the country house for the Mediterranean region will have a very simple architecture, bordering on the ‘vanguard’ but without dryness and with a healthy joyful spirit.”¹⁵³

Reading *A.C.* more than 75 years after its publication, the harshness of Sert’s attacks against modernist architecture—and in general terms against the German origins and developments—remains surprising. In the issue 16 of *A.C.* (1934), he wrote in his summary of the conference he presented in front of the Asociación de Alumnos de la Escuela Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona:

Theories about modern architecture led architects from some countries to create a functional architecture that, disregarding the spiritual needs of the individual, has resulted in works that can not satisfy our aspirations, which always go beyond the material needs.

[...]

¹⁴⁹ The quote is from Aitor Acilu Fernández, “Raoul Hausmann. Hyle en la arquitectura rural de Ibiza.” *ZARCH: Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Architecture and Urbanism*, nº 4, 2015, pp. 114-23 [122].

¹⁵⁰ The book has now been published in its totality, with a selection of photographs, see Raoul Haussman, *Hyle, ein Traumsein in Spanien*, Munich: belleville, 2006; in Spanish see *Hyle. Ser sueño en España*, Gijón: Ediciones TREA, 1997.

¹⁵¹ Juan Antonio García-Esparza, “Casas de campo españolas (1930): La revisión de un libro de Alfredo Baeschlin,” om *Ciudad y Territorio* XLIV, nº 174, Winter 2012, pp. 743-58.

¹⁵² Joaquín Medina Warmburg, “La fábrica, la casa, el palacio: Franz Rank y Alfredo Baeschlin, dos “Heimatschützer” en España,” in *Arquitectura, Ciudad e Ideología Antiurbana*, Pamplona: Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura Universidad de Navarra, 2002, p. 137: “las vanguardias uniformadoras y las trasmigraciones estilísticas del falso regionalismo.”

¹⁵³ Juan Antonio García-Esparza, “Casas de campo españolas (1930): la revisión de un libro de Alfredo Baeschlin,” *Ciudad y Territorio* XLIV, no. 174, Winter 2012, pp. 743-58: “la casa de campo para la region mediterránea sera de sencillísima arquitectura, rayando a la de ‘vanguardia’ pero sin sequedad, con sana alegría.”

There exists a 'functional academicism', which is as dead, as academic and as dangerous as the school academicism. We have an example of this tradition in the German Siedlung. These spiritually miserable constructions are one more example, repeated frequently in history, that misinterpreted theories can be dangerous of and that great works have never been done solely with theories."¹⁵⁴

Criticizing the fetishism of architects who copied Le Corbusier and use elements of the machine and the cruise ship as *decoración maquinista*, Sert posited the concept of Spanish modernity:

"We must defend an architecture of climate, a Mediterranean architecture that is made for an intense sun, a diaphanous atmosphere, and a friendly landscape. Architecturally we can not respect other borders than the natural, geographical, and eternal ones."¹⁵⁵

And in order to achieve that goal, it was useful to

"We must take advantage of all the means at our disposal, from the most traditional to the most modern; from stone to brick and reinforced concrete, steel and glass, as long as they are controlled by a spirit of order, clarity and respect for the millenary constants, which are the spiritual essence of all the great architectural creations."¹⁵⁶

Finally, in his most stringent attack,

The new social structure that is being prepared requires a new architecture in agreement with the same necessities. These, as in all epochs, will be from a lyrical/poetic or spiritual order and from a material one as well. The pure functionalism of the 'machine à habiter' is dead, but the movement will kill, before dying, the old styles and their teaching in the schools of architecture. Architects and theorists, above all Germanic, have carried functionalist experiments to absurd extremes.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Josep Lluís Sert, "Resumen de la conferencia," *AC # 16*, pp. 43-44: "Las teorías sobre la moderna arquitectura llevaron a los arquitectos de algunos países a la creación de una arquitectura "funcional" que, prescindiendo de las necesidades espirituales del individuo, ha dado por resultado obras que no pueden satisfacer nuestras aspiraciones, que van siempre más allá de las necesidades materiales ... "Existe un 'academicismo funcional' tan muerto, tan académico y tan peligroso como el academicismo de escuela. Tenemos un ejemplo de este tradicismo en los Siedlung alemanes. Estas construcciones espiritualmente miserables son un ejemplo más, repetido con frecuencia en la historia, del peligro de las teorías mal interpretadas y de que nunca las grandes obras se han hecho únicamente con teorías."

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 43: "Debemos defender una arquitectura de clima, una arquitectura mediterránea hecha para un sol intenso, una atmósfera diáfana y un paisaje amable. Arquitectónicamente no podemos respetar otras fronteras que las naturales, geográficas y eternas."

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 44: "Debemos aprovechar todos los medios que tenemos a mano, desde los más tradicionales a los más modernos; desde la piedra al ladrillo y hormigón armado, el acero y el cristal, siempre que estén controlados por un espíritu de orden, claridad y respeto a las constantes milenarias, osatura espiritual de todas las grandes creaciones arquitectónicas."

¹⁵⁷ Josep Lluís Sert, "Arquitectura sense 'estil' i sense 'arquitecte'", *D'Ací i d'Allà* 179, December 1934, reprinted in Antonio Pízzia, *J.L.L. Sert and the Mediterranean*, p. 210.

1.6. The Plan Macià and the Casa Bloc: Mediterranean Modernism in Barcelona

In the first issue of *A.C.*, the GATCPAC criticized the exponential and up hazard expansion of Barcelona. They suggested the organization of a competition, but the latter did not happen. Nevertheless, the group, which maintained close political contacts with Francesc Macià, President of newly declared Republic of Catalonia, started to work almost immediately on a master plan for Barcelona in collaboration with Le Corbusier.¹⁵⁸ As the master had already written in 1928, “Barcelona is one of the most beautiful cities in the work, one must make it even more worthy of admiration. Hire me, I will be very happy to be useful to you.”¹⁵⁹

The Plan Macià as it came to be known developed in multiple phases from 1932 and 1936, and a first comprehensive version, published in nº13 of *A.C.*, was presented to the public from July 11 to August 14 of 1934 in the subterranean rooms of Plaza de Catalunya, with big panels and a huge 180° diorama, designed by Josep Torres Clavé and Le Corbusier.¹⁶⁰ In the CIAM tradition, the elaboration of the plan started from a rigorous critique and analysis of the urban development of Barcelona and of the living conditions of large segments of the population, not only within the historic center but also within Ildefons Cerdà’s *Ensanche*, the old but rapidly industrializing villages on the outskirts of the nineteenth century grid, and the exploding periphery. The group was equally very critical of the Garden City concepts that were developing quickly around Barcelona, “a form of urban development which was the fruit of a culture, a climate... totally distinct from the Mediterranean one.”¹⁶¹

Overall, the Plan was organized around five principles and objectives: the urban renewal of most dilapidated areas such as the *Barrio Chino*; a new model of urban expansion beyond the Cerdà grid; a new zoning at the metropolitan scale; the creation of a “city of leisure” at the edge of the sea; and the reform of the housing regulations. The urban renewal (*saneamiento*) involved the historic center on both sides of the *Ramblas*, with an emphasis on the *Raval* and *Barrio Chino*. Even though the architects admitted that the center should have been destroyed and rebuilt, they were aware, under the Republican regime, of the social conditions of the neighborhoods and thus proposed what could be qualified as ‘careful clearance.’ The idea was to selectively target the most derelict blocks (both from a social and housing point of view), demolish them and replace them by public spaces like parks, squares, and public equipment: “It is necessary that the residents of the historic center be given more sun, air, light, and a vision of space and trees; in one word, it is necessary for them to reestablish

¹⁵⁸ See *A.C.* nº 1, pp. 20-21.

¹⁵⁹ Quoted by Salvador Tarragó Cid, “El Pla Macià o La Nova Barcelona, 1931-38,” in *Quaderns*, nº 90, p. 26. This last section of the essay was first published as Jean-François Lejeune, “Madrid versus Barcelona: Two Visions for the Modern City and Block,” in *Athens Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 1, nº 4, October 2015, pp. 271-294.

¹⁶⁰ See *A.C.*, nº 13, 1934, pp. 14-28. Also see Tarragó Cid, op. cit. & “El Plan Macià, síntesis del trabajo del GATCPAC para Barcelona, in *2c – Construcción de la Ciudad*, nº 15-16, 1980, pp. 68-85;

¹⁶¹ Tarragó Cid, “El Pla Macià,” p. 25.

contact with nature.”¹⁶² At the same time, the authors heavily criticized the Municipality’s plan to open new streets and avenues within the historic center and, in particular, the so-called Via C from the cathedral to Via Layetana:

We believe... that to facilitate the contemplation of monuments from new points of view and to extricate them from the neighboring buildings is a dangerous experiment, today abandoned universally and which has failed more than once.... The concept of creating a connection street between the monuments appears to us like the second part of the famous project “Barcelona Gothic,” which was rejected by all.... It is preferable to accept the actual environment made up of the superposition of styles of different periods.¹⁶³

The GATCPAC’s strategy of limited and targeted demolition, coupled with its denunciation of the isolation of monuments, stand out as one of the most interesting aspects of the Plan Macià. For those architects, monuments only made sense in relation to their urban and social context and the old Haussmanian strategy had to be abandoned.¹⁶⁴ As the group’s architects asserted that their criticism implied “more respect for the past” than the official policy, they were somewhat distancing themselves from the CIAM theses. This departure from the concept of full-fledged *tabula rasa* certainly reflected the intensity of social life in the city—and an aspect that has not been often discussed in the history of modernist urbanism. To some extent, I would argue that they expressed a Southern—Mediterranean—vision of the modern city against the prevalent northern one as inscribed in CIAM’s tenets. It is here useful to remember the first project of the GATEPAC presented in A.C. 4 for the urbanization of the Diagonal. Although the succession of parallel and aligned slabs along the avenue corresponded to the tenets of CIAM, the Barcelona proposal placed these slabs on top of a continuous two-story high plinth. This plinth recreated the traditional urbanity at ground level with shops and other functions on the two floors while the roof became new recreational ground with gardens, pools and other leisure spaces for the residents.¹⁶⁵

The second objective of the Plan Macià resulted directly from the critique of Cerdà’s Ensanche whose original design and concepts (two-sided blocks, low density and high proportion of gardens, open blocks for public structures) had been turned over and perverted by real estate speculation and increased density. In order to avoid the expansion of the Cerdà block beyond the limits of the plan, the GATCPAC presented a planning alternative based upon a new typological and morphological module that combined nine Cerdà blocks of 133m x 133m together to form a new grid of 400m x 400m to be deployed on the edge of the existing Ensanche and outside villages. This strategy was, according to the group, necessary

¹⁶² Quoted in Tarragó Cid, “El Plan Macià, síntesis,” p. 77.

¹⁶³ Ibidem. The GATCPAC’s attack against the proposed Via C created such a political problem that they were obliged to remove one of their panels in the exhibition of 1934.

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem, p.75. It must be noted that the Plan Macià involved the complete demolition of the Barceloneta neighborhood.

¹⁶⁵ See A.C. nº 4, pp, 24-27.

to limit the size of the city expansion while increasing the density beyond 1000 residents/ha (i.e., twice the density of the actual Ensanche). They wrote:

It is necessary to concentrate the city: modern urbanism must fight against the concept of garden city and the cities in continuous expansion.¹⁶⁶

With this statement, the GATCPAC architects buried what they saw as the main, and problematic, characteristics of the urbanism of the Modernisme and Noucentisme, i.e., the indiscriminate demolitions in the historic center to widen streets for traffic and put monuments in evidence (a kind of late Haussmannian vision), the Beaux-Arts and socially divided city promoted by Jaussely's Plan of 1903-1907 in contrast with the more egalitarian vision of Cerdà, the garden suburb and its villa type, as well as the regional vision of Rubió I Taduri, a controlled approach at the regional level of the oil stain strategy of expansion of the city. Adopting the system of Le Corbusier's *redents* at the large scale, the GATCPAC placed itself again in contraposition with the rigidity of CIAM's schemes. They refused the simplistic strategy of parallel housing bars and implicitly advocated an urban structure that, albeit totally new, may have been able to establish the public spaces necessary to the Mediterranean way of life and, in this case, the concept of the patio at a large scale.

Expectedly, the plan also included the establishment of a zoning at the metropolitan scale. Beyond the many diagrams, two urban/architectural projects made that strategy visible within the landscape. First, as can be seen on the diorama, the Plan proposed an administrative and business center to be established as three tall cruciform towers set into a new park at the edge of the bay and harbor. Unavoidably, this large-scale zoning relied on a new highway system that involved significant widening of important arteries such as the Gran Vía. Linked to the new metropolitan zoning but presented as an autonomous project within the Plan Macià was the planning of a recreation city to the south of Barcelona along the beach of Castelldefells. "La Ciudad de Reposo que necesita Barcelona," published in details in the issue nº7 of A.C., was an ambitious plan primarily targeted to the working and middle class, that included hotels, organized beaches and bath complexes, residential areas of cabins or small vacation houses, and other sport infrastructures. The vacation city was a couple of miles long and connected by trains, buses, and a highway terminating in the Gran Vía. All buildings were dispersed and connected by the beach and various nature trails in order to respect the ecologically sensitive pine area. The overall goal was "not to create a fashionable beach but rather a fundamentally democratic path to resolving the social needs of the middle- and working class."¹⁶⁷

Last but not least, the Plan Macià proposed a radical reform of the housing regulations in order to require cross-ventilated spaces, eliminate the small internal ventilation patios, and

¹⁶⁶ Quoted in Tarragó Cid, "El Plan Macià, síntesis," p. 73.

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem, p.81. 800,000 people were members of the Cooperativa de la Ciudad de Reposo y Vacaciones de Castelldefells (unions, cultural and sport associations, etc.). See A.C., nº 7, 1932, pp. 24-31.

thus reduce the typical width of the units. All of these were necessary to adopt the new module of nine Cerdà blocks for the expansion of the city. They were also instrumental in the design of the Casa Bloc whose construction was underway (1933) under the direction of architect Josep Torres Clavé in collaboration with GATCPAC members José Luis Sert and José Baptista Suberino.¹⁶⁸

Built from 1932 to 1936, the Casa Bloc was an experimental social housing project for industrial workers located to the northeast of the Ensanche in the Sant'Andreu neighborhood. As described by the architect in the A.C. n°11, "the Casa [Bloc]... constitutes a first experiment for the Republican revolution: a new plan and type of social housing projects that will come out as results of the new social structure of the country."¹⁶⁹ The parcel was 170 meter long and 70 meter wide, along a street 30-meter wide. It was much smaller than the module proposed in the Plan Macià, but the architects adopted the same concept of "redents" that characterized their vision for the expansion of Barcelona. The S-shaped linear structure was organized around two large planted open patios, one toward the street and the other toward the back. The whole structure was articulated around four staircases and elevators with outdoor distribution corridors every two floors. Every section of the project consisted of three levels of cross-ventilated apartments designed as double-level units, and reaching a density of 1140 residents per hectare with outstanding environmental conditions. The living/kitchen level of every duplex was four-meter wide, which corresponded to the width of the structural system, whereas the switching of interior partitions off the grid on the second level allowed to provide three relatively generous bedrooms in each unit.

Like the Plan Macià, the Casa Bloc did break away from a certain northern orthodoxy. José Luis Sert presented this project in his book *Can Our Cities Survive?*, published in 1942 in the United States following his voluntary exile during the Civil War:

This housing scheme for low-income families, formed by 211 apartments (five-room duplex type), is adapted to the climate of Barcelona (Spain). These apartment units with their community services... form a small neighborhood unit. The widely spaced wings of these blocks and the semi-enclosed open space between them are reminiscent of the traditional Mediterranean patio and to a certain extent reconstruct this element on an urban scale. The relationship between open and built-up spaces is especially important in housing schemes: from it may be derived a great variety of architectural expressions.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ On Clavé, see the special issue of *2c – Construcción de la Ciudad*, n° 15-16, 1980.

¹⁶⁹ See A.C., n° 11, 1933, p. 22. Also see Carolina B. García and Josep M. Rovira, *Casa Bloc*, Barcelona: Mudito & Co, 2011; Salvador Tarragó Cid, "Revendicació de la Casa Bloc," *Quaderns*, n° 140, pp. 41-43.

¹⁷⁰ José Luis Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive?*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942, p. 73. The book was an attempt to introduce the Charter of Athens to the American profession and public. Ten years after in 1953, Sert and his partner Paul Lester Wiener published the famous article "Can Patios Make Cities," in *Architectural Forum*, Aug. 1953, pp. 124-[131], where they advocated the use of the patio at the scale of the city (civic center), the neighborhood (plaza), and the house (patio). Also see

Moreover, even though the Casa Bloc was built on pilotis to help with ventilation of both streets and patios, important sections of the ground floor were reserved for retail, social services, etc. The plans published in *A.C.* indicated the extent of traditional mixed-use spaces integrated within the ground floor plan of the project. In so doing, the architects emulated—in the modernist language—the functions of the traditional Madrid block (*manzana*), or, as Sert wrote, as a “neighborhood unit”: concierge housing units, public library, public baths, workshops, shops, café, swimming pool, day-care center, and other gardens. Part of that program reflected the social ambitions of the second but short-lived Republican government, but beyond its ideological implications, it also emphasized that the Casa Bloc was an *urban* modernist alternative to the traditional block. This attitude was not an exceptional one: the same issue of *A.C.* 11 presented a revised Cerdà block whose urban characteristic—size, enclosed perimeter, mixed uses—were maintained and modified at the same time through the use of pilotis and sections of blocks set up at ninety degrees.¹⁷¹ The project for workers’ housing proposed within the Ensanche in a high-density area looked back to the principles of the original Cerdà block: housing along two opposite sides of the manzana; walls and gardens along the perpendicular streets. Eliminating the chamfers and using the oblique corners to create gated passages to the central public garden, the architects placed one ten-meter deep barre of duplex housing along the SW-NE streets, whereas three short housing bars to be built on top of a continuous one-story street front kept the continuity of the other streets. The entire perimeter was devoted to shops, social spaces, library, gymnasium, and other functions; some of the bars had a roof garden and children playgrounds. The capacity of the GATCPAC to combine modern and functionalist forms of housing while maintaining the urban continuity and occupation of the street edges was particularly remarkable and suggested, within the Cerdà Ensanche, a reinforced Mediterranean culture of housing that was necessary to maintain. As Carolina García and Josep Rovira wrote recently in their small monograph *Casa Bloc*:

Redents and *pilotis* anticipate the conceptual scheme that informs the Casa Bloc, a formal scheme that unmistakably has intellectual implications: to take side in history, at the present moment. Against the linear block of the *Siedlungen*. Against Germany. And also, against the enclosed block and the garden city.¹⁷²

Carola Barrios, “Can patios make cities? Urban traces of TPA in Brazil and Venezuela,” in *ZARCH. Journal of interdisciplinary studies in Architecture and Urbanism*, n° 1 (Las trazas del lugar / Traces of place), 2013, pp. 70-81.

¹⁷¹ See G.A.T.E.P.A.C., “Ensayo de distribución de la zona edificable en una manzana del Ensanche de Barcelona a base de un tipo de vivienda obrera,” *AC 11*, 27-31 (Fall 1933).

¹⁷² Carolina B. García and Josep M. Rovira, *Casa Bloc*, p. 11.

1.7. Zuazo & Jansen's *Anteproyecto* for Madrid and the Casa de las Flores

Born in Bilbao, Secundino Zuazo Ugalde (1887-1971) was one of the most important architects and urbanists to rise in 1920s Madrid until his forced exile by General Franco and his eventual return to Spain in the late 1940s.¹⁷³ He graduated in 1912 and worked with Antonio Palacios and Joaquín Otamendi, two eclectic architects whose important work continues to mark the landscape of early 20th century Madrid. Between 1920 and 1927, Zuazo elaborated urban design projects for the interior redevelopment and the expansion of Sevilla, Bilbao and Zaragoza, among other cities—all proposals of indisputable originality and invention within the conventions of the European city. If the intellectual environment of Barcelona was highly influenced by Le Corbusier and his Mediterranean revelation, in Madrid, it was the German world of modern planning and architect-urbanists like Bruno Taut, Otto Wagner, Paul Mebes, Joseph Stübben or Paul Wolf who were the definitive references.¹⁷⁴ Those German planners and architects pursued the same goals of a better, more humane, more environmentally-friendly city and they had advocated a lot of new ideas such as the so-called “reformed block,” i.e., an enclosed block containing a large garden and, in some cases, some public infrastructure inside.¹⁷⁵ Equally influential were the Viennese Höfe, the abstracted classical architecture of Adolf Loos, and Henrik Berlage’s conception of the modern city where the city block conceived as a whole, rather than the sum of individually built parcels, were to become the main component of modern urban monumentality. In the early 1930s Madrid, “Secundino Zuazo played, along with Leopoldo Torres Balbás... the role accepted by all of master of the younger generation: most prominently, in the controversy over the nature of the classical language or the analysis of the rational housing unit.”¹⁷⁶

The planning of Madrid had been dominated since 1860 by the implementation of the Plan Castro, but the Ensanche was far from complete and what had been done was in many ways in contradiction with the original plan. Many public spaces were not respected, as the implemented grid privileged traffic and thus eliminated most of the public places programmed by Castro. Moreover, the successive building ordinances from 1864 allowed for a higher density, compensated only by small-scale courtyards for light and ventilation only. Even more important was the fact that there was an unplanned area between the limits of the Castro Plan—known as the Extrarradio—and the edges of municipal Madrid. In 1929, the City of

¹⁷³ On Zuazo, see Lilia Maure Rubio, *Secundino Zuazo, arquitecto*, Madrid: Fundación COAM, 1987, and the special issue of the periodical *Arquitectura*, vol. 12, n° 141, 1970. Also see Carlos Sambricio, “Introducción,” Secundino Zuazo, *Madrid y sus anhelos urbanísticos. Memorias, 1919-1940*, Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2003, pp.12-134.

¹⁷⁴ See Carlos Sambricio, “Hermann Jansen y el concurso de Madrid de 1929,” in *Arquitectura*, n° 303, 1995, pp. 8-15; also see his very important essay “Zuazo in Caracas: The urbanism of exile in Venezuela 1937,” in *Planning Perspectives*, v. 28, 2013, pp. 51-70.

¹⁷⁵ On the concept of reform block, see Wolfgang Sonne, “Dwelling in the Metropolis: Sitte, Hegemann, and the International Dissemination of Reformed Urban Blocks, 1890-1940,” in Charles Bohl and Jean-François Lejeune (eds.), *Sitte, Hegemann and the Metropolis: Modern Civic Art and International Exchanges*, London: Routledge, 2009, pp. 249-274; Wolfgang Sonne, *Urbanität und Dichte im Städtebau des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2014.

¹⁷⁶ Sambricio, “Hermann Jansen y el concurso de Madrid de 1929,” p. 8.

Madrid called a competition to prepare an extensive study of the extension of the city (particularly to the north) and potential reforms of the historic center. Thanks to the intervention of Fernando García Mercadal, who worked in Zuazo's office for some time, Zuazo associated with the German planner Hermann Jansen. Disciple of Karl Henrici in Aachen, Jansen had won the master plan for Groß-Berlin in 1910 and had in the aftermath been the artisan of various neighborhoods plans in Berlin, as well as abroad. He was also the editor of the important periodical *Der Baumeister* from 1924 to 1929.¹⁷⁷

The team Zuazo-Jansen placed first in the competition but the jury headed by German architect Paul Bonatz decided not to designate a winner. The Zuazo-Jansen *Anteproyecto del trazado viario y urbanización de Madrid* responded best to the preconditions set by the municipal government, i.e., to plan the future of the city in relation to the global traffic, including automobiles, metros and railways, and to the housing needs with an emphasis on "the necessity to study the distinct typologies of housing as generating cells of the urban fabric."¹⁷⁸ In contrast with the Plan Macià, the *Anteproyecto* clearly limited the extension of the city with the use of a large green belt and "the development of satellite-cities which, new or superimposed on existing urban or rural nuclei would absorb the surplus of urban growth."¹⁷⁹ In line with international proposals by Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, Martin Wagner and Jansen himself, the greenbelt was to be connected with existing parks and gardens, in a fully integrated system of parks. Within the belt, Zuazo and Jansen designed the large-scale armature of the new neighborhoods to be planned in the Extrarradio in a combination of five density zones from 450 residents/ha to single-family houses; all proposed blocks were shaped as variations of long rectangles with large green cores in their centers. The plan also included a series of proposals for the historic center, mainly the widening of radial arteries and the design of an interior ring connecting the Gran Vía to the Opera and Calle Atocha. In addition, a large central market and business district was to be built into phases to the south of the Plaza Mayor. This project, along with another proposal between the Gran Vía and the Plaza Alfonso Martínez, was part of Zuazo's ambitious plan of inner-city reform that he would study and present later.¹⁸⁰ Both projects involved a significant amount of demolition of the

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem. There is still no comprehensive study of Jansen's extensive work, with the exception of his work in Ankara.

¹⁷⁸ On the competition, see note 22 and Lilia Mauro Rubio, *Anteproyecto del trazado viario y urbanización de Madrid: Zuazo-Jansen, 1929-30*, Madrid: COAM, 1986, p. xix. The project was partially published in A.C. n°2, 1931, pp. 24-25.

¹⁷⁹ Lilia Mauro, introduction to *Anteproyecto*, p. xxiv. According to Carlos Sambricio, "Zuazo established the outline of the project, and they divided the workload between them. The evidence for this is seen in Jansen's original sketches, found in the Plan Sammlung del Kunswissenschaft Institut of the Technische Universität in Berlin, as well as drawings located in the Zuazo archive in Madrid's National Library. The Berlin drawings demonstrate how Jansen approached the plan for the outlying districts. He proposed a zoned system for the city, with new industrial districts, a residential district, and a detailed study of how the extension of the Paseo de la Castellana should be conceived. At the same time Zuazo concentrated on alterations to the city center, indicating how to lay out the new infrastructure, as well as analyzing - based on criteria different from those set out by the German - the vision for the Castellana axis." (from Sambricio, "Secundino Zuazo in Caracas: The Urbanism of Exile in Venezuela 1937," op.cit.).

¹⁸⁰ See Secundino Zuazo, "La Reforma interior de Madrid," in *Arquitectura*, n° 7, 1934, pp. 175-206.

historic fabric—a fact not unusual at that moment of 20th century urbanistic practice and theory—but the proposed solutions were typologically quite inventive for their attempt, in spite of their radicalism, at developing a new urban form in relation to the historic city.

The focus of the Zuazo-Jansen Plan was the prolongation of the historic axis Paseo del Prado/Paseo de la Recoleta/Paseo de la Castellana toward the north, a project in discussion for decades but without effective resolution. The first version of the plan presented for the competition in 1929—a two-kilometer long project mixing parks, public buildings and plazas—had the potential of dramatically impacting Madrid's overall urban form and create a civic and residential pole, comparable in size and spirit with the Paseo del Prado and the Retiro Park, while proposing at the same time a new and modernist urban form for housing. At the center of the project was a 400-meter wide linear park embracing the central roadway boulevard on a length of approximately 1200 meter. At its southern end, at the connection point with the existing Paseo de la Castellana, Zuazo and Jansen designed two large courtyards blocks whose use was not determined; at its northern end, two large public buildings marked the intersection with another wide E-W green boulevard. Beyond this intersection the extended Paseo was reduced in width to about 100 meters.

Even though it may suffer from excessive symmetry and may have been too wide to be fully activated, this monumental composition at the scale of the whole city, both traditional and modern, could have been one of the most impressive in a European city. It was overall, in spite of its traditional axial monumentality, a more “modernist” scheme than what GATCPAC had proposed in any section of the Plan Macià—almost an anticipation of Lúcio Costa's conceptual scheme for Brasilia. Indeed, twenty parallel 12-story bar buildings connected by low structures flanked the wide Paseo on each side. At the intersection with the E-W green, Zuazo and Jansen planned two large cultural buildings, which would have appeared in the landscape by their attached 25-story thin towers. Moreover, in a bold but rational infrastructural move, they proposed to build an underground tunnel under the extended Paseo de la Castellana between the two main train stations of Chamartín to the north and Atocha to the south.

In 1929, Zuazo, who intended to be a business partner in the execution of the Castellana project, criticized the decision to entrust the development to a Municipal Technical Office. Yet, a couple of months later, the Municipality asked the Madrid architect to come back to the project and revise the proposal for the prolongation of the Castellana by making it more profitable both for the city and private real estate interests: parks were to be reduced and the density increased with the use of a new type of block; at the same time, Zuazo pleaded for the insertion of social housing in the overall scheme. The revised project, without the participation of Jansen, maintained the large-scale civic center in the middle of the development, whereas a more traditional urban fabric lined up both sides of the Paseo reduced in width to 120 meters. Like in Barcelona with the Casa Bloc, the block type proposed by Zuazo was being built at exactly the same moment in the Ensanche of Arguëlles

to the western side of the city near the Moncloa—the Casa de las Flores. This type of block implied a more continuous urban front along the extended Paseo de la Castellana and thus supported a more traditional vision of urban space, one that would have more appropriate to host the mixed uses that were fundamental for a successful urban life along the Paseo.¹⁸¹

The original block or *manzana* designed in the Plan Castro of 1860 left half of the block area free of construction and proposed to establish a large central patio to promote density with adequate ventilation and green spaces. Yet, in 1864 already, height had been increased from three to four floors with mandatory ventilation patios while the percentage of open space had been reduced to thirty-five and in some smaller cases to twenty per cent.¹⁸² Moreover, given that a typical *manzana* would be built as an assemblage of individual properties, the resulting spaces were more often than not inadequate for residents' uses. For the Casa de las Flores, Zuazo went back to Castro's original concept and percentage of open space: he organized the block in two parallel sections around a large public central patio, open on both short sides of the rectangle. The block/building was a complex massing of six sections with four, six or eight floors depending on their location and the neighborhood ordinances. The two parallel sections consisted of five individual apartment houses—each organized around a very large light and ventilation patio. The nuclei of vertical circulation were set up as bridges across the ventilation courtyards, thus providing airy and well-ventilated vertical circulation spaces and allowing for larger and better lighted apartments on both sides—interestingly, this new system became a familiar feature of Madrid housing from the postwar decades and is quite popular in contemporary construction. Overall, the Casa de las Flores contained 248 apartments varying from 88 to 170 square meters, i.e., originally hosting up to 1475 residents in the block; a variety of retail areas, including a café known for important *tertulias* (social and/or literary gatherings), provided all necessary services to residents and neighbors.¹⁸³

As built, the Casa reflected Zuazo's two main objectives: firstly, to remedy the problems of the Ensanche, i.e., to redefine the block versus the lot in the manner advocated by his German mentors and Hendrik Berlage, and thus provide more hygienic and better ventilated apartments; secondly, to propose a new typology for the extension of the city that would reflect a new social concept of "convivencia" or "living together." In his manuscript notes, the

¹⁸¹ Sambricio mentions in the essay "Secundino Zuazo in Caracas" that the Spanish architect intended to use the Casa de las Flores type in the competition proposal but Jansen convinced him to adopt the more modern proposal. Carlos Sambricio, "El bloque Las Flores, de Secundino Zuazo," in *RA, Revista de Arquitectura*, nº15, 2013, pp.23-34; "Antología de textos sobre la Casa de las Flores" in *Quaderns*, nº 150, 1982, pp. 86-87.

¹⁸² On the Plan Castro, see Carlos María de Castro, *Memoria descriptiva del Ante-Proyecto de Ensanche de Madrid* (con estudio preliminar de Antonio Bonet Correa), Madrid: COAM, 1978.

¹⁸³ Pablo Neruda, selected lines from "Explico algunas cosas," *Residencia en la Tierra*, Madrid: Ediciones Cruz y Raya, 1935:

... I lived in a neighbourhood / of Madrid, with church bells, / with clocks, and with trees. / From there I could see / the dry face of Castille / like an ocean of leather. / My house was called / The House of the Flowers, for / they were geraniums in all parts; / it was a beautiful house / with dogs and a lot of kids.

architect described, in a modern language that recalls both Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius, the functional aspects of his project:

Projected under architectural inspirations and social concepts prevalent in our time.

The group of houses is a huge mass of construction, an "Escorial" in pink brick. It is designed with strict sense of the function and the decorative elements are actually functional elements.... A very rational art of handling the brick, to establish rhythms and decorative series with different orders, is what gives particular grace to this set of large buildings together.

The architect looked exclusively function, and has achieved a logical and rational set, which strongly impressed by the admirable play of volumes of construction.¹⁸⁴

At the same time and like Clavé at the Casa Bloc, Zuazo combined the languages of modernity and tradition to produce a work of architecture and urbanism that strongly belonged to Madrid, its past, its present and its future. The facades of the four corners of Casa de las Flores displayed the Madrilenian brick, whereas the eight-floor recessed sections on both N-S sides, the interior courtyards, and all facades facing the garden-like patio at the center of the block were stuccoed. Most remarkable were the two apartment houses on the southern corners of the complex: their deep balconies, where flowers grow, are reminiscent of the vernacular interior courtyards or distribution terraces visible in Triana, Sevilla, or even the *corrales*—the open air theaters that used to be visible across Renaissance and Baroque Spain. Zuazo made direct reference to those traditional vernacular elements:

When analyzed, one notices gracefully designed elements that were never exotic in Spain, but, on the contrary, reflect an ancient traditional lineage. Arcades along streets, as in many Spanish towns and cities. Garden courtyard, stepped terraces, balconies and sunrooms. Chromatic surfaces.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Carlos Sambricio, "El bloque Las Flores," p. 32.

¹⁸⁵ Ibidem. Corrales originated from courtyard performances, and were constructed within rectangular courtyards enclosed by buildings on three sides. The stage was raised with a permanent backdrop, and a patio for standing spectators was placed in the upper levels.

1.8. The Spanish Pavilion at the Paris 1937 World's Fair

On the 17th of July 1936, the Civil War erupted. Many architects—particularly modern ones from Sert to Candela to Lacasa and Domínguez—took the road of exile. Yet, a pioneer of Spanish modernism such as José Manuel Aizpurúa embraced the Falangist cause and ended his life executed by the Popular Front in San Sebastián. Most modern architects eventually remained in Spain.¹⁸⁶ Before leaving for the United States, Sert and his colleague Lacasa designed the Spanish Pavilion for the Paris World's Fair of 1937 and brought the spirit of the endangered Republic and the Mediterranean at the heart of the French metropolis. In contrast to the massive symbolism of the German and Italian pavilions, Sert and Lacasa's work was light and open-air. The pavilion was made of two distinct parts: the rectangular steel-framed box that displayed Picasso's *Guernika* and a vernacular open patio covered with a sail-like canopy reminiscent of the sheltered patios of Andalusia in the summer. Parts of the building floors were covered with typical ceramic tiles of Spanish terracotta, and the exhibition rooms were carpeted with "esparto," the rope-like grass fiber used in Mediterranean cultures. Another spectacular detail was a wooden lattice characteristic of southern Arabic influence.¹⁸⁷

"This pavilion"—Enrique Granell Trías wrote—"was a reliquary, a Noah's Ark, a kind of artificial Ibiza where the 'degenerates' could seek refuge: Picasso, Miró, Alberto and Julio Gonzalez, among others, would be present there..."¹⁸⁸ The pavilion plan encouraged movement in a continuous way. Following the entrance through the grand patio, a series of ramps and rooms defined a path not unlike an urban corridor, with an ingenious sequence that allowed the visitor to see the two upper floors before descending into the amenities of the ground floor. Jaime Freixa has interpreted this layout as "a metaphor of the city, with shelves and display cases that replicated the linear contemplation of storefronts in the city streets." Here, it seems that

The urban planner met the Mediterranean: the memories of the old medinas and historic quarters with their web of tight corners and narrow streets filled with intense life, alleviated finally by the splendid breadth of the plazas.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ On the impact of the Civil War on architects, see Sofía Diéguez Patao, *La generación del 25: primera arquitectura moderna en Madrid*, Madrid: Catédra, 1997; Juan José Martín Frechilla and Carlos Sambricio (eds.), *Arquitectura española del exilio*, Madrid: Lampreave, 2014.

¹⁸⁷ Peio Aguirre, "The State of Spain: Nationalism, Critical Regionalism, and Biennialization," *Journal* n° 22, January 2011, last accessed November 15, 2018 at <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/22/67767/the-state-of-spain-nationalism-critical-regionalism-and-biennialization/>

¹⁸⁸ Enrique Granell Trías, p. 136.

¹⁸⁹ From the unpublished lecture notes of Jaume Freixa "From Ibiza to America: Josep Lluís Sert's Modern Reinterpretation of the Mediterranean Vernacular," University of Miami School of Architecture, "The Other Modern" Conference at Casa Malaparte, Capri, March 8-13, 1998. On Sert abroad, see for instance Josep Rovira, *José Luis Sert*, op. cit.; Xavier Costa and Guido Hartray (eds.), *Sert: arquitecto en Nueva York*, Barcelona, ACTAR, 1997. Also see the catalogue *Pabellón Español 1937: Exposición Internacional de París*, Madrid: Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 1987.

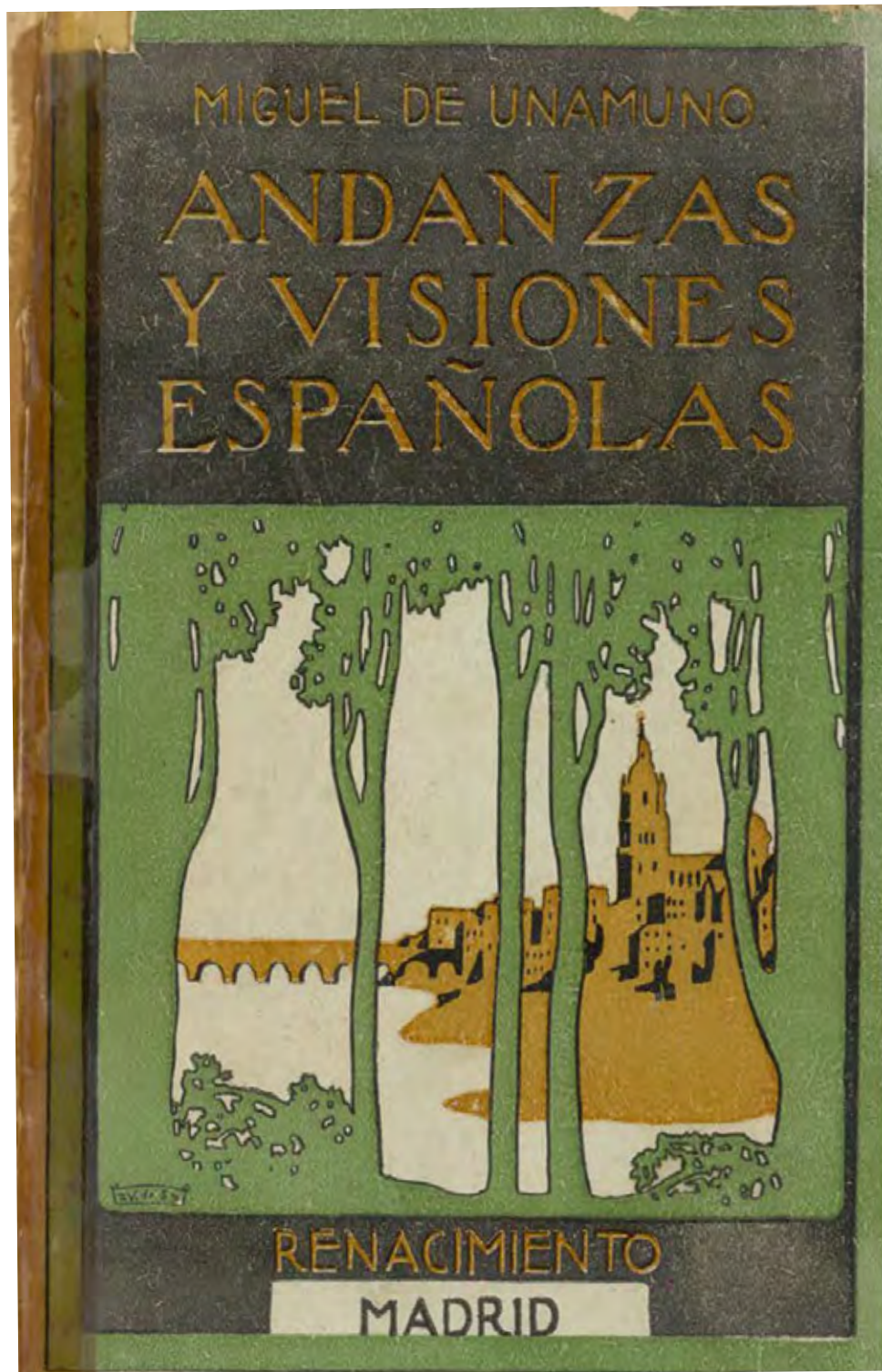
This ideology, about raising a truly national architecture, modern and avant-gardist at the same time, rooted in the tradition and in earth, was also manifest in the sculpture erected by Alberto Sánchez, entitled *The Spanish People Have a Path Which Leads to a Star*, that stood in front of the pavilion. In his complex organization and construction methods, the pavilion was an expression of Spain's complex multi-identitarian reality.¹⁹⁰

As Jordana Mendelson has shown, photography and graphic arts had an equivalent, possibly even bigger role on the image of the Spanish pavilion. Along the architectural promenade and on some exterior façade panels as well, the large photomurals, conceived by Valencian artist Josep Renau, used the most advanced techniques of photomontage, collage, and other contraposition to present Spain's diverse regional geography, the social advancement of the Republic such as land reform, and the *Misiones pedagógicas* to bring art and culture to the countryside, as well as large and rich of popular arts and crafts.¹⁹¹

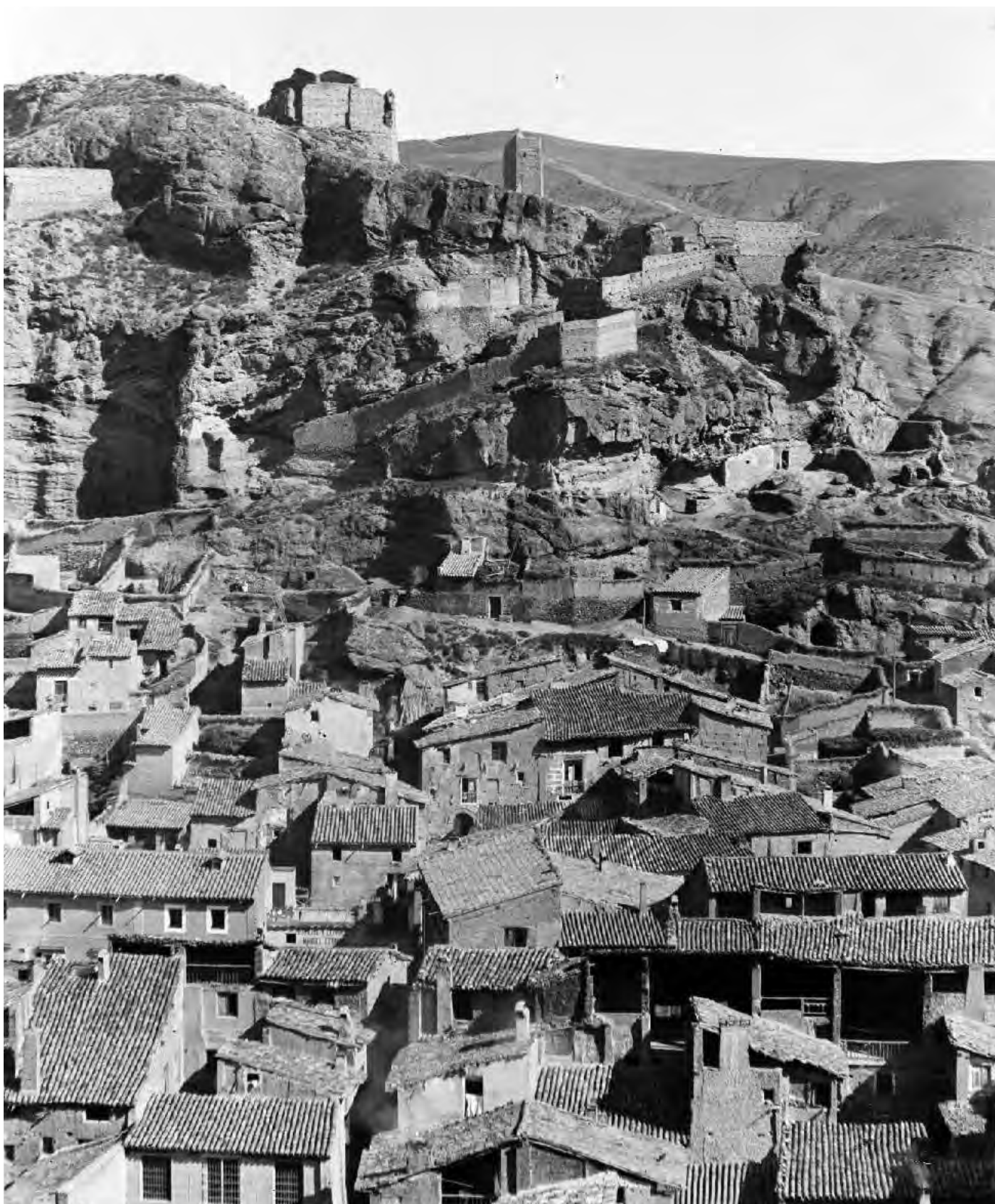
* * *

¹⁹⁰ Peio Aguirre, op. cit.

¹⁹¹ See Jordana Mendelson, "Josep Renau and the 1937 Spanish Pavilion in Paris," *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929-1939*, pp. 125-183.



Cover of book by Miguel de Unamuno, *Andanzas y visiones españolas*, Madrid: Renacimiento, 1922.



Daroca. Urban fabric and castle. © Otto Wunderlich, Fototeca del Patrimonio Histórico, Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España.



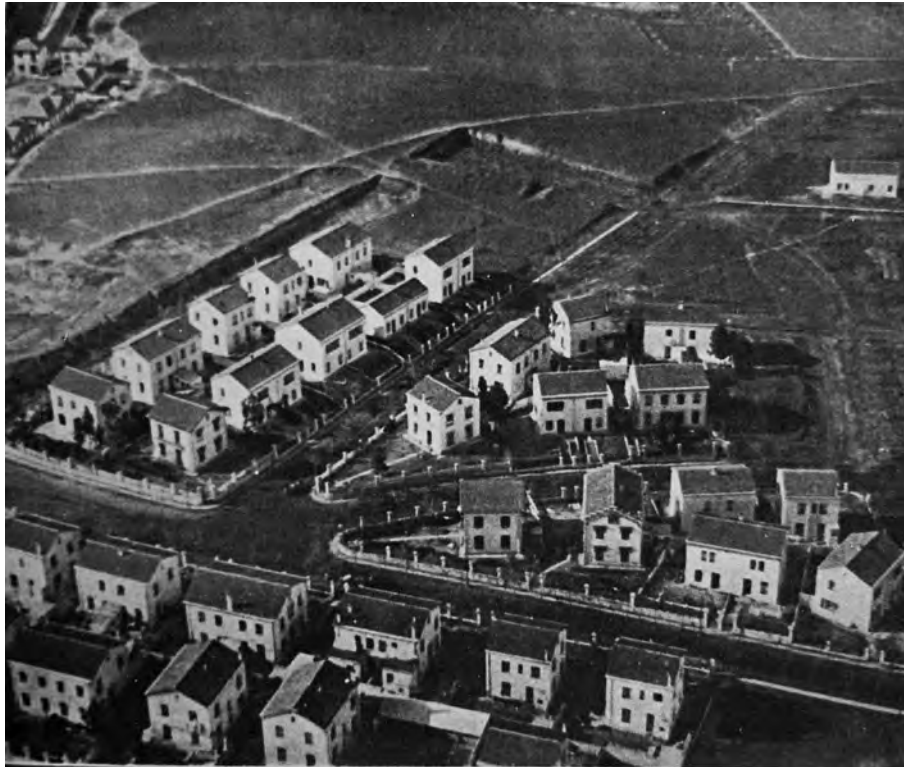
"Leonardo Rucabado" from *Arquitectura*, nº 8, 1918. © COAM.



Aníbal Gonzalez Álvarez-Ossorio. Plaza de España, Seville. 1914-28. Photo J.F. Lejeune..



Teodoro de Anasagasti. Casa de Correos y Telégrafos, Malaga, 1917-1925. From <https://n-340.org/patrimonio/items-patrimoniales/malaga/malaga/conjunto-del-paseo-del-parque/antigua-casa-central-de-correos-y-telegrafos/>



Colonia Unión Eléctrica
Madrileña. Aerial view, 1932.
From Barreiro Pereira, Paloma.
Casas Baratas: La Vivienda Social En Madrid 1900-1939, 1991.

Colonia del Retiro (La Regalada).
Los Previsiones de la Construcción (1925-32). General view,
1932. From: see above.



Colonia Maudes (1928-29).
Sociedad Cooperativa de Casas Baratas y Económicas para los Ayudantes y Auxiliares de la Ingeniería y de la Arquitectura. Arch. Eladio Laredo Cortina, José García Nieto, et. al. Aerial view, 1932. From: see left.



Top: Joaquim Sunyer. Cala Forn, 1927. © Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

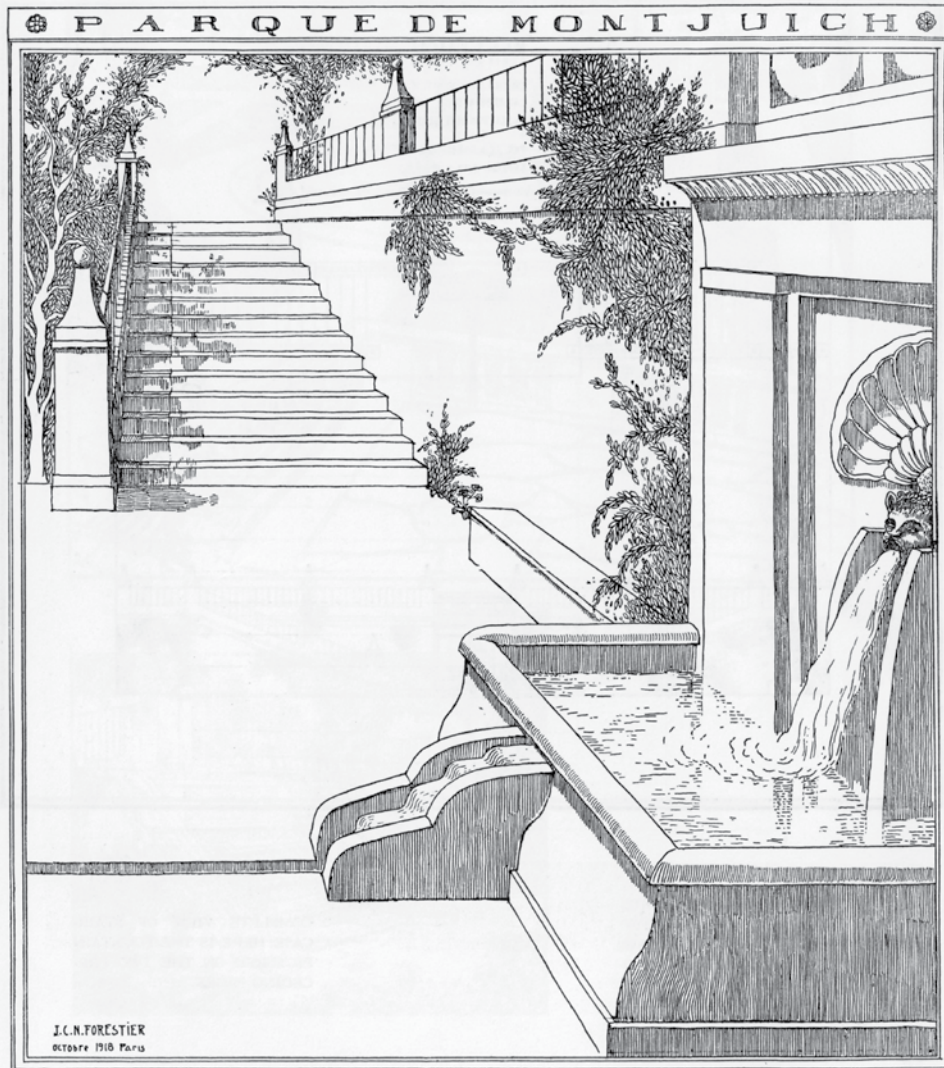
Bottom: Joan Miró. La Masía, 1921-22. © National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.



Joan Miró. *La tierra labrada*, 1923-1924. © Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum New York.

Cover of the special issue of the periodical *2c Construcción de la ciudad*, 1981. Courtesy Biblioteca COAM.





Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier. Fountain del Gat, Montjuïc, Barcelona, 1918. From J.C.N. Forestier, *Gardens; a Note-book of Plans and Sketches*, New York, 1924-28.

Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier. Gardens of Montjuïc (Miramar), Barcelona, 1919. From J.C.N. Forestier, *Gardens; a Note-book of Plans and Sketches*, New York, 1924-28.

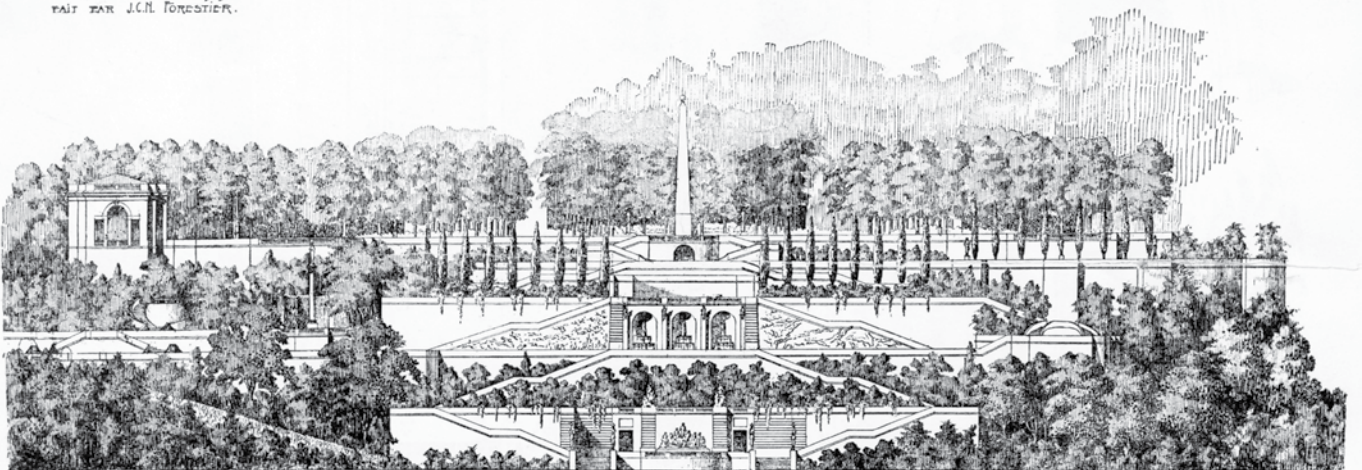


JARDINES DE MONTJUICH

SECCION DE MIRAMAR

ELEVACION PRENTE AL LEVANTE

PARIS JUN 1919
FAIT PAR J.C.N. FORESTIER.



El Pueblo Español



Pueblo Español, Barcelona, 1929. Source: Pueblo español, 1929, pamphlet, author's collection.

Pueblo Español, Barcelona, 1929. Plaza mayor. Photo J.F. Lejeune.



Casa de vecindad en Triana



Patios de casas de vecindad

Sevilla

Cover and pages from the book *La casa popolare en España*, 1930. From Fernando García Mercadal, *La casa popolare en España*, Barcelona, 1981 [1930].

Following page: Pages from A.C. nº 1 (1931) & nº 6 (1932); from A.C. nº 18 (1935); from A.C. nº 21 (1936).



.....Aparece el Standard. Ausencia de toda preocupación estética: fantasía, originalidad, estilos históricos, «cultura escolástica», individualismo...

Las mismas necesidades, las mismas características, aprovechando las ventajas de la moderna técnica constructiva.



EN IBIZA NO EXISTEN LOS "ESTILOS HISTÓRICOS"...

Caracterizada por su vida sencilla y económica, Ibiza refleja en sus construcciones estas cualidades — constantes — que son la perfecta adaptación al clima y el sentido universal. Ibiza entera es una maravilla de color y de duros contrastes de luz y sombra. Cada piedra tiene su carácter propio; y las construcciones son tan espon-

deñas como la misma Naturaleza. Sencillez, claridad, orden, limpieza, ausencia absoluta de preocupación decorativista y de originalidad; tradición constructiva a base de soluciones felices. Ibiza posee todas estas altas virtudes. Sus casas, orgánicamente ligadas al lugar, completan el paisaje conmovedor y tranquilo; un magnífico sedante

para nuestros tiempos de complicación y velocidad. Ibiza, para el arquitecto moderno, es el sitio ideal de meditación y descanso. Apartada del tráfico turístico oficial — poesía aún inédita — es hoy la residencia de algunos conoedores de muy diversos países; de los eternos perseguidores de la bondad, verdad y belleza de personas y casas.

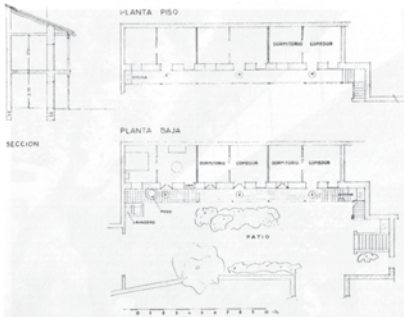
Una calle: es de notar la ausencia absoluta de adornos y molduras.



Una calle de Ibiza en donde la azotea de las casas inferiores sirve de terraza a otros viviendas más altas con entrada por otra calle.



Un grupo de viviendas en el barrio más pobre de la capital de la isla.



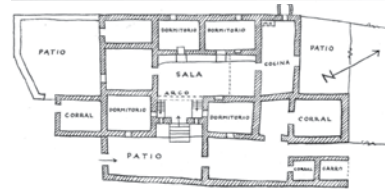
Casa de vecinos en Córdoba (Andalucía). Planta y sección. Abajo: Tres aspectos parciales.



Rejas en San Fernando y Tarifa (provincia de Cádiz), Andalucía.



Los elementos standard repetidos hasta el infinito, en vez de crear monotonía, a lo que tanto miedo tienen los profesores de las escuelas académicas, dan un gran sentido de unidad y de conjunto a las poblaciones andaluzas. Para a veces, con el afán de restauraciones arqueológicas como se dió el caso en una plaza de Córdoba al hacer desaparecer una pared escolástica para poner de manifiesto decoraciones de épocas anteriores, destruye el conjunto de un rincón de población en que el blanco unifica las distintas viviendas, poniendo de manifiesto su ritmo de conjunto, que de otra manera se perdería. Estas grandes rejas lisas, compuestas de sencillos hierros redondos y las paredes encaladas hacen de San Fernando (Cádiz) una población sumamente agradable.



San Agustín, Ibiza (Baleares). "Can Mariano Rafael"

planta baja, continúa el mismo proceso de crecimiento en la planta superior. Dado que cada habitación tiene techo y paredes de soporte propio, se prevé con facilidad cuál ha de ser el plan de ensanche del nuevo piso.

Los pisos se ponen de manifiesto de una manera comprensible como elementos construidos posteriormente en el conjunto, ya por su material diferente, ya por el empleo de columnas y soportes.

Con este proceso, el primitivo plano rectangular ha perdido su pureza por la aparición de balcones, pilastras y columnas. El balcón aparece, generalmente, en los casos que están situados en alguna ladera de montaña, pues generalmente como se puede ver en uno de los ejemplos que publicamos, el piso de los dormitorios, a causa de la pendiente del terreno, está situado medio metro y a veces hasta un metro sobre el nivel del piso de la sala, es decir, la finca se amoldó estrechamente a la formación del terreno en que está emplazada.

Muchas construcciones aisladas, principalmente en aquellas situadas en puntas "estratégicas" están flanqueadas por una o dos torres cilíndricas, cuyas paredes de piedra están construidas con un aparejo en "espina de pez". Estas torres, se suponen hablan de servir para la defensa de los habitos de la vivienda y de las casas contiguas.

En ciertas iglesias de la isla, aparece en su parte superior una crestería almenada que indica claramente que se utilizaba como fortaleza en tiempos de guerra y contra las incursiones de los piratas. Un buen ejemplo de ello es la iglesia de Santa Eulalia del Río.

Otro elemento arquitectónico típico, pero sin motivo ni origen determinado, son los portales que dan entrada a las "falxas" (puertas). Se trata de unos portales de piedra labrados en forma de pilono y que se encuentran con frecuencia en la región de Talamana, junto al puerto de Ibiza.



San Agustín, Ibiza (Baleares). "Can Mariano Rafael"

Raoul Haussmann
Trad. Tomás Schlichtkrull

DOCUMENTOS DE ACTIVIDAD CONTEMPORANEA

A.C. 21

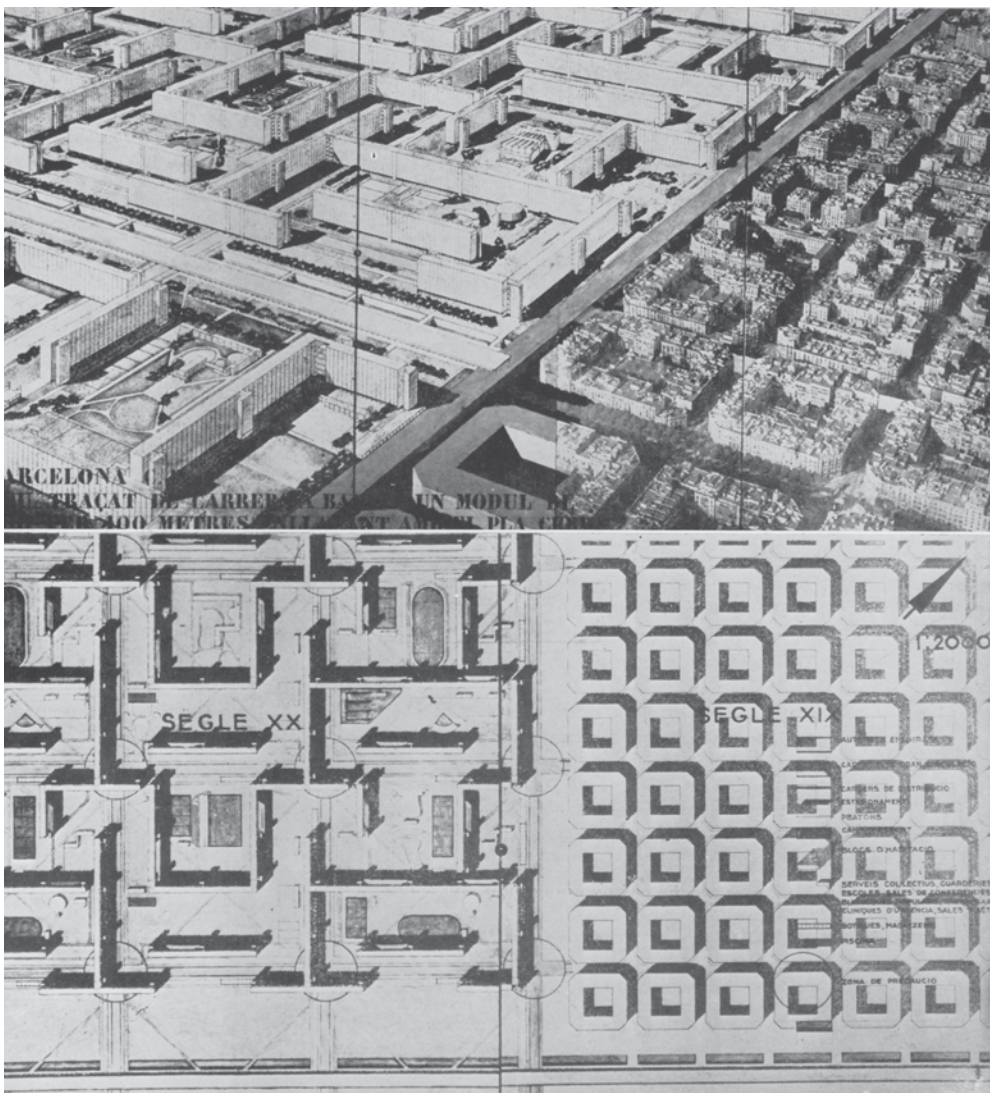
PUBLICACIÓN DEL G. A. T. E. P. A. C. - AÑO VI - PTAS. 3,25



Top: Raul Haussman, photographer. House in Ibiza, c. 1933-1936. Source: Archives Raoul Haussman, Limoges.

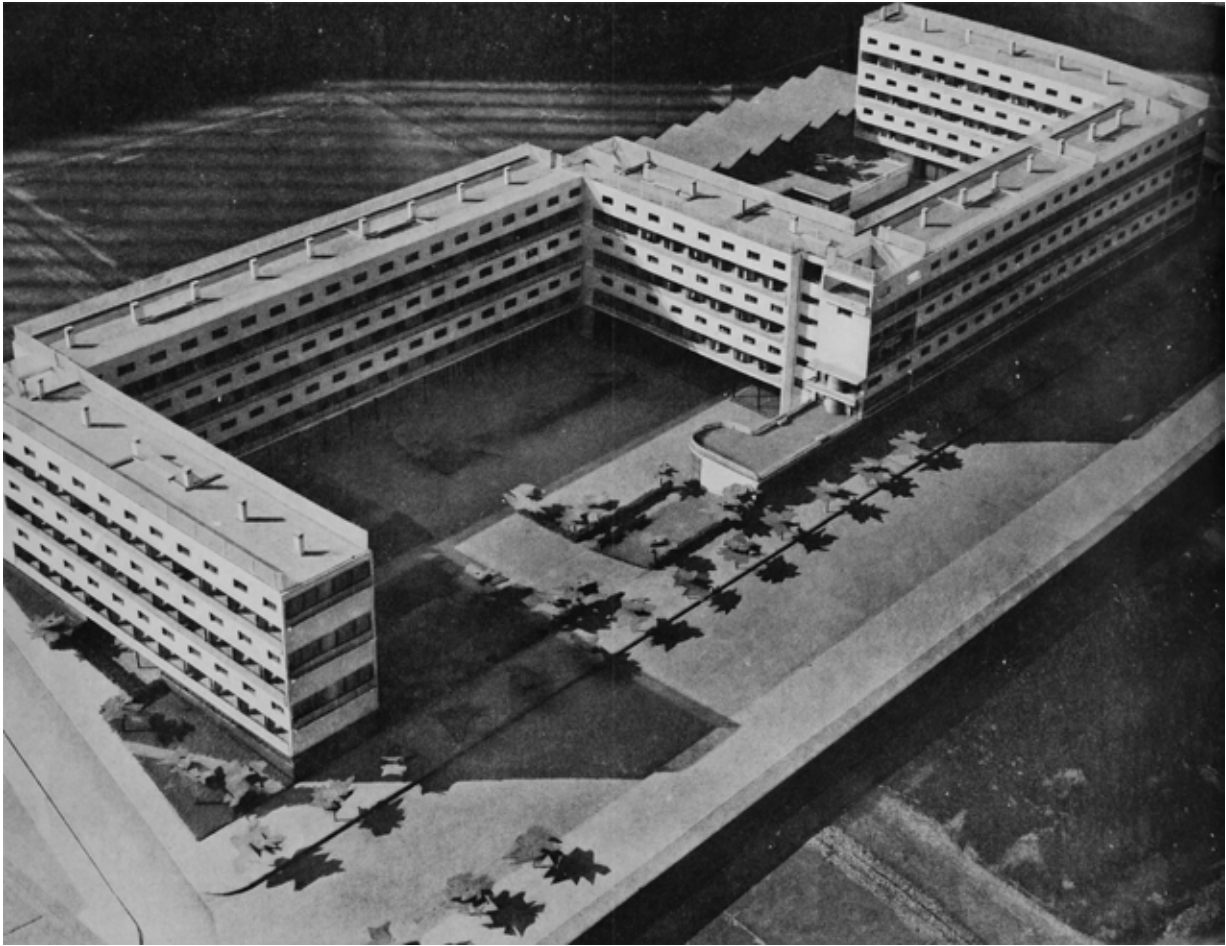
Bottom left: José Luis Sert and J. Torres Clavé. House "Week-End," type A, Costas de Garraf, Barcelona, 1935. Source: A.C. 19, 1935.

Bottom right: cover of *Hyle: ein Traumsein in Spanien*, Munich, 2006.



Le Corbusier and GATCPAC. Plan Macià, Barcelona, 1933. © Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, Barcelona.

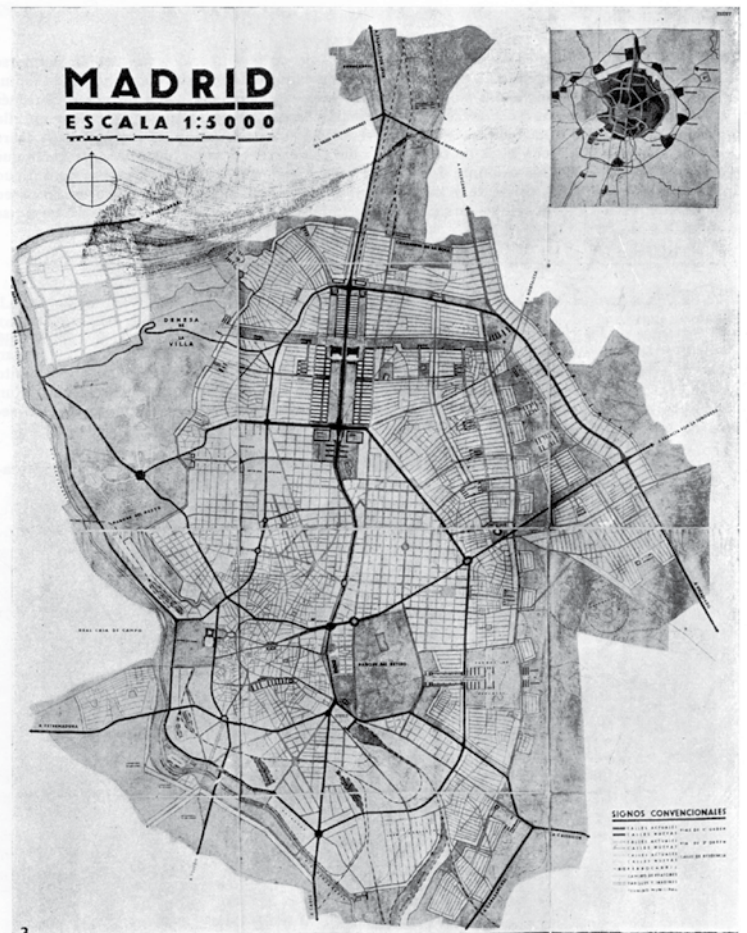
Le Corbusier and GATCPAC. Details of the Plan Macià, Barcelona, 1933. © José Luis Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive?*, Cambridge, The Harvard university press, 1942.



Right & bottom: Josep Torres Clavé, José Luis Sert & Joan Baptista Subirana. Plans and perspective of Casa Bloc, Barcelona, 1932-36. © A.C., nº 11, 1933.

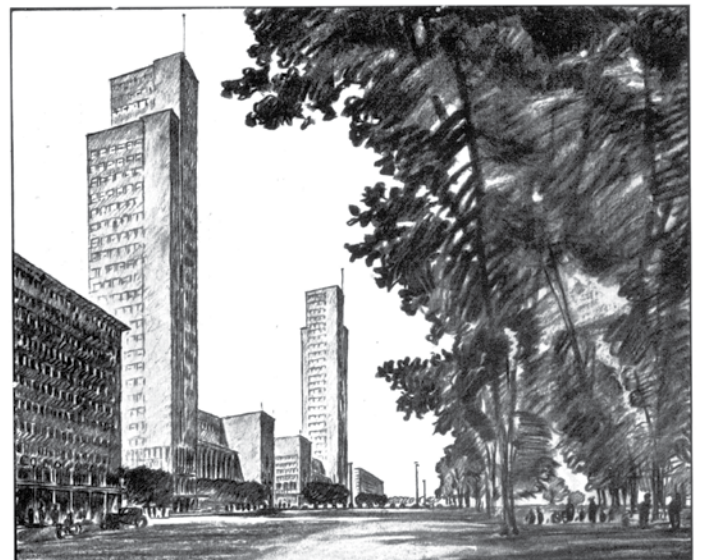
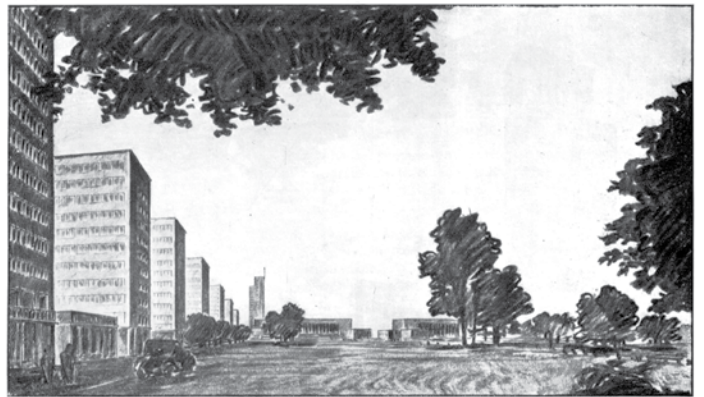
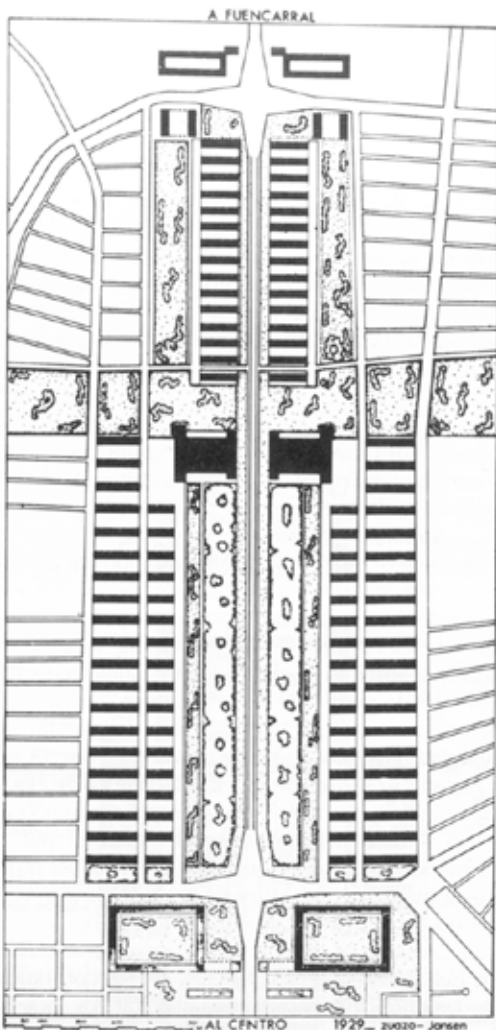
Top: Josep Torres Clavé, José Luis Sert & Joan Baptista Subirana. Casa Bloc, Barcelona, 1932-36. © José Luis Sert, *Can Our Cities Survive?*, Cambridge, 1942.





Right: Secundino Zuazo & Hermann Jansen. Masterplan for Madrid, 1929-30. From Lilia Maure Rubio, *Anteproyecto del trazado viario y urbanización de Madrid: Zuazo-Jansen, 1929-30*, Madrid: COAM, 1986.

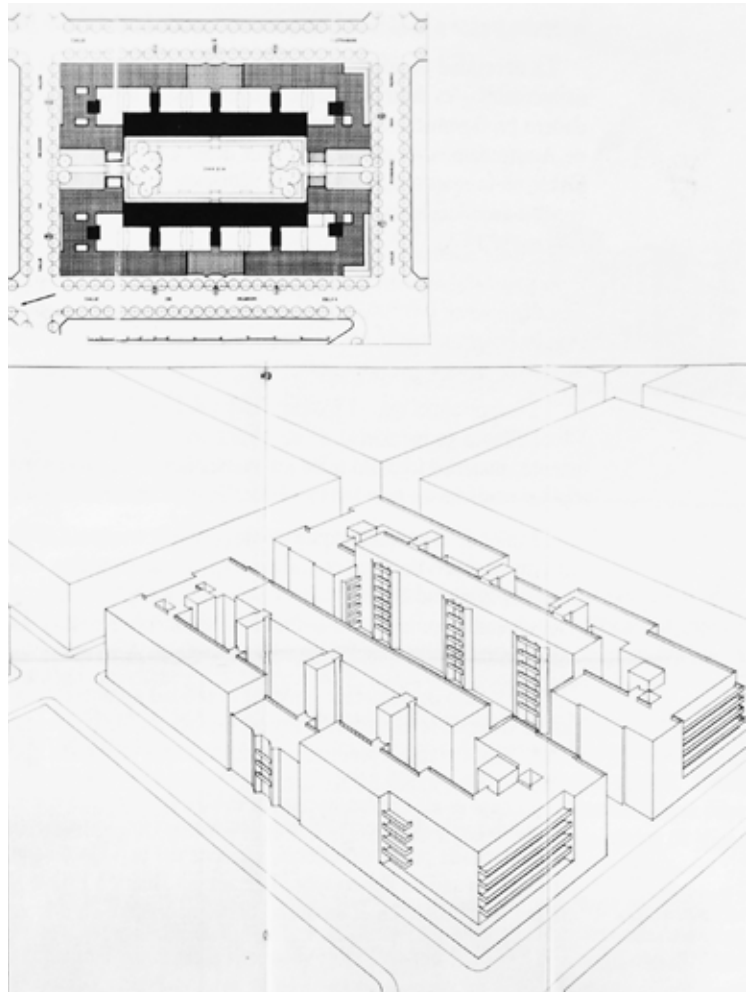
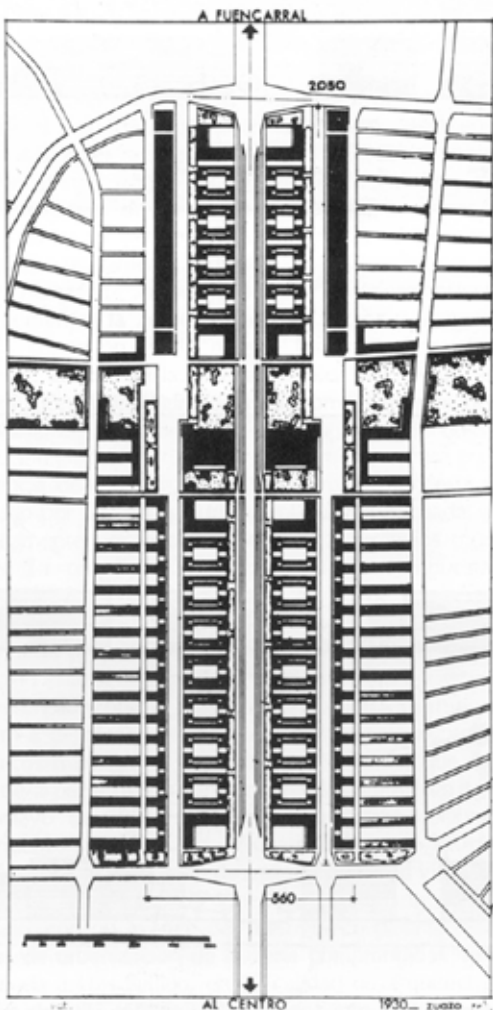
Bottom left and right: Zuazo & Jansen. First version of the extension of the Castellana, 1929-30. From Lilia Maure Rubio, *Anteproyecto del trazado viario y urbanización de Madrid: Zuazo-Jansen, 1929-30*, Madrid: COAM, 1986.



Top: Secundino Zuazo. Casa de las Flores, Madrid, 1930-32. Photo J.F. Lejeune.

Bottom left: Secundino Zuazo. Second version of the extension of the Castellana, 1930. From Lilia Maure Rubio, *Anteproyecto del trazado viario y urbanización de Madrid: Zuazo-Jansen, 1929-30*, Madrid: COAM, 1986.

Bottom right: Casa de las Flores: site plan and axonometric view. From Lilia Maure Rubio.





Top: José Luis Sert and Luis Lacasa. Covered patio of the Spanish Republic Pavilion at the Paris Exposition, Paris, 1937 ["Le Pavillon de l'Espagne. Guernica, par Picasso. Fontaine de Mercure, par Alexander Calder"]. Source: *Cahiers d'Art* 8-10, 1937. The New York Public Library / Art Resource, NY.

Bottom left: Interior view of the covered patio. Source: *Cahiers d'Art*.

Bottom right: Model of the Spanish Pavilion. Centro de Arte Reina Sofía. Photo J.F. Lejeune.



Victoriano Balazanz. Portrait of Joaquín Costa, 1912. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.

2:

The Modern Village: Spain and the International Context

The disgrace of Spain originated principally because of the absence in national consciousness of the vision that the internal war against drought, against the rugged character of the soil, the rigidity of the coasts, the intellectual backwardness of the people, the isolation from the European Centre, the absence of capital, was of greater importance than the war against Cuban or Filipino separatism; and because of not been as alarmed by the former as by the latter, and because of not having made the same sacrifices that were made for the latter, and of not having committed—sad suicide—the same stream of gold to the engineers and scientists as to the admirals and generals.¹

There is no landscape that the hand of man, well guided, cannot embellish. In a few cases, absolute naturalness is justified, as in other extremes, a complete transformation in artificial scenarios.²

¹ Joaquín Costa, *Reconstitución y europeización de España*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1981 [1900], quoted by Erik Swyngedouw, "Modernity and Hybridity: Nature, *Regeneracionismo*, and the Production of the Spanish Waterscape, 1890-1930," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 89, no. 3, 1999), p. 451.

² Victor d'Ors, "La Estética en el paisaje, preservación y realce de las condiciones naturales de las comarcas: Conferencia pronunciada por el arquitecto Victor d'Ors con ocasión de la III reunión de técnicos urbanistas en el Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, no. 85, 1949, p. 19.

2.1. REGENERATIONISM AND THE MODERNIZATION OF SPAIN

The 1898 defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War and the subsequent loss of the last colonies opened a major intellectual, moral, political, and social crisis. Whereas the intellectual and writers, known as the Generation of 1898, shared a literary and subjective approach to a new vision of Spain, the *Regeneracionismo* or Regeneracionist movement that paralleled it shared a more objective and more scientific aim at modernizing the country and “regenerating” the nation’s social and economic base.³ Constructing the concept of regeneration from the medical vocabulary as the opposite and genuine solution to corruption, the movement created a flow of new books and periodicals—*Revista Contemporánea*, 1875-1907; *La España Moderna*, 1889-1914; *Alma Española*, to name some of the most important—to criticize the incapacity of the political Restoration after 1876, the plague of *caciquismo*, and to promote new democratic forms of government that would end the backwardness of the country and integrate it into the modernizing European context on the other side of the Pyrenees. The dismal conditions of the countryside became a major focus of the movement as it synthesized all the ills of early 20th century Spain, i.e., extreme poverty, lack of productivity, archaic, and almost feudal social conditions in the south under the regime of latifundia owners, challenged by the new modernizing industrial and agricultural elites.⁴

Politician, jurist, economist and historian Joaquín Costa Martínez (1846-1911) was the most important representative of regeneracionism. Born in a small village of Aragón from a modest farmer family, he quickly became engaged in social issues, particularly as they related to the rural world. His life-long political efforts mostly failed, but the significance of his publications and ideas made him a figure of national and international importance for decades to come. In 1898 he published his book *Colectivismo agrario en España* where he strongly condemned the practice of *latifundistas*. Following the results of the investigation led at the Ateneo de Madrid in collaboration with Miguel de Unamuno and others, he issued a detailed denunciation of the political system under the title *Oligarquía y Caciquismo como la forma actual de gobierno en España: urgencia y modo de cambiarla* (1901). In this text, he pleaded for radical changes in the priorities of the State in favor of, among most important themes, education, scientific investigation, interior colonization, hydraulic public works and

³ For this introduction, see Erik Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity,” op. cit.; Erik Swyngedouw, *Liquid Power and Contested Hydro-Modernities in Twentieth-Century Spain*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2015; Josefina Gómez Mendoza, “Regeneracionismo y regadíos,” in Antonio Gil Olcina and Alfred Morales Gil (eds.), *Hitos históricos de los regadíos españoles*, Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 1992, pp. 231-62; Fusi and Falafox, 1998; Joseph Harrison and Alan Hoyle, *Spain’s 1898 Crisis: Regenerationism, Modernism, Postcolonialism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000; J.P. Fusi, and J. Palafox, *España 1808–1996: El Desafío de la Modernidad*, Madrid, Editorial Espasa, 1989; R. Garrabou, *El regeneracionismo en España : política, educación, ciencia y sociedad*, València: Universitat de València, 2007.

⁴ Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity,” pp. 451-2. The Caciquismo is a distorted form of local government where a political leader has total control of a rural society expressed as a political form of clientelism.

reforestation, in brief “the de-Africanization” and the concomitant Europeanization of Spain.”⁵ In 1911 he published his most influential work in regard to the future process of interior colonization and the role of water, *Política hidráulica*, a sort of political testament whose influence throughout the twentieth century went across all ideologies and political changes.⁶

Costa’s emphasis on the role of water for the future and modernization of Spain had started earlier. He propounded his views in lectures to groups of farmers in Madrid in 1880 and 1881, where he argued already that “... if in other countries it is sufficient for man to help Nature, here it is necessary to do more; it is necessary to create her.”⁷ Likewise, Ricardo Macías Picavea, a leading regeneracionist intellectual, wrote in “El Problema Nacional”:

There are countries which . . . can solely and exclusively become civilized with such a hydraulic policy, planned and developed by means of a hydraulic policy and its necessary works. Spain is among them . . . And the truth is that Spanish civilized architecture finds itself strongly subjected to this inexorable dilemma: to have water or to die.... Therefore, a hydraulic politics imposes itself; this requires changing all the national forces in the direction of this gigantic enterprise.... We have to dare to restore great lakes, make real interior seas of sweet water, multiply vast marshes, erect many dams, and exploit and keep all drops of water that fall over the peninsula without returning, if possible, one single drop to the sea.⁸

For Costa, modernization meant the remaking of Spanish nature and thus of the rural world. The erratic fluvial system, the uneven rainfalls, and the long periods of drought had hampered agricultural productivity for centuries, and the complex answer involved the need of an ambitious hydraulic strategy of irrigation and a radical social reform of the agricultural economical structure, in other words the creation of a “new” nature and a major hydrographic re-engineering of the country.⁹ Costa played a major role in this battle, the one of fusing a new geography and a new hydrographic condition with a renewed organization of the State that would help reduce social inequalities and provide the basis for a modernization of the economy and the state. His proposed solution was a state-driven national hydraulic policy. In the absence of private investments, the central government had the duty and responsibility of financing, planning, and building dams, reservoirs, and the canal infrastructure necessary to the irrigation of unproductive lands. He was aware of the extreme political forces at work—

⁵ Joaquín Costa, *Colectivismo agrario en España: doctrinas y hechos*, Madrid: Imprenta de San Francisco de Sales, 1898; Joaquín Costa, *Oligarquía y Caciquismo como la forma actual de gobierno en España: urgencia y modo de cambiarla*, Madrid: Revista de Trabajo, 1975 [1901]. On Costa, see Alberto Gil Novales, *Derecho y revolución en el pensamiento de Joaquín Costa*, Madrid: Ediciones Península, 1965.

⁶ Joaquín Costa, *Política hidráulica: misión social de los riegos en España*, Madrid: Biblioteca J. Costa, 1911.

⁷ From Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity,” p. 451: Costa, cited in Stephen L. Driever, “And since Heaven has Filled Spain with Goods and Gifts”: Lucas Mallada, the Regeneracionist Movement, and the Spanish Environment, 1881–90,” in *Journal of Historical Geography* 24, 1998, p. 40.

⁸ Swyngedouw 1999, S. 454, quoted from Ricardo Macías Picavea, *El problema nacional*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1977 [1899], pp. 318-20 (translation revised by author).

⁹ Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity,” p. 454.

from traditionalists to anarchists—and searched for a middle way. The project of the Regeneracionists was thus geographical, ideological and technocratic. The objective of modernization was intimately connected to the difficult situation of the farmers. It advocated the breaking of the large estates and their replacement with small peasant landowners, an intensive program of public education of the rural masses, and as condition *sine qua non*, the State's control of water. In other words, it was predicated on the potential alliance of farmers as small landholders and the modernizing bourgeoisie against the reactionary system of cacicist control from the end of the Carlist Wars. For the Regeneracionists, the hydraulic route was an essential precondition and the role of the State critical to generate both investments and scientific resources.¹⁰

The writers of the Generation of 1898 were equally active on the subject and through their novels helped popularize the battle for water that Costa and his allies were trying to push politically. Miguel de Unamuno, who was one of the intellectuals most active in the campaign for the modernization of the countryside, wrote about “the cruelty of the climate” and the “somberness of the landscape.”¹¹ Pio Baraja's novel *César o nada* (1909-10) narrated the unsuccessful quest of a Castilian man who commits to create a municipal democracy in his small town by breaking the power of the elites and harvesting water for irrigation and reforestation. The ambiguous proto-fascist hero fails and nothing changes as “the people emigrate, but Castro Duro will continue living with its venerated traditions and its sacrosanct principles . . . sleeping under the sun, in the middle of its fields without irrigation.”¹² Likewise, the “hydraulic” missionary in Macías Picavea's *La tierra de campos* fails to turn around the local power structure and the village remains poor and without water. As Swyngedouw has stated, the “hydraulic heroes” that the novelists created were “apostolic figures whose voluntarist vision fought against the desperation and ignorance of the rural masses and the persistent dominance of the traditional rural elites, imposing on their modernizing program a hydraulic revival meant to resolve the contradictions emerging from the “Social Question” that seemed to plague Spain after its imperial downfall.”¹³

Rural development became, for Costa and many Regeneracionist colleagues, a fundamental way to develop, enrich, and balance the nation's diverse regions and their various regimes of agricultural ownership and exploitation. The rural town or *pueblo* was seen, as in many other countries, as an ideal, communitarian goal, allied in a moderately progressist vision, with land reform that would give more independence and livability to the farmers and the farmworkers. For the Regeneracionist movement, the State was the only possible actor and instrument in

¹⁰ See Nicolás Ortega, *Política Agraria y Dominación del Espacio*, Madrid: Editorial Ayuso, 1975. The Carlist Wars were a series of civil wars that confronted various factions claiming the throne and that took place during the 19th century (1833-1840; 1846-1849; 1872-1876).

¹¹ Quoted by Swyngedouw, *Liquid Power*, p. 54, from Stephen L. Driever, op. cit., p. 33.

¹² Quoted by Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity,” p. 455 from Pio Baroja, *César o nada*, Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1965 [1910], p. 379.

¹³ For these references, see Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity,” p. 455; Ricardo Macías Picavea, *La tierra de campos*, Madrid: Librería de Victoriano Suárez, 2. Vols., 1897-1898.

the hydraulic project. Yet, theirs was a reformist vision that remained fundamentally capitalist in essence, particularly in relation to the landownership. They followed a reformist road for development against the traditional latifundia-based conservative elite. At the same time, by embracing the rural agenda, equally favored by the conservative classes afraid of the growing power and threat of the industrial sector and workers, they were able to receive some support from the right and the State's apparatus. The promotion of this rural utopia became over the years "the spinal cord of the liberal state and the route to the Europeanization of the nation."¹⁴

2.1.1. New Villages and Regional Planning

The first significant response to the Regeneracionist multi-faceted drive to promote a new national water policy led by the State on a regionalist basis was the *Plan General de Canales de Riego y Pantanos* approved by the Government in 1902 and which was amended in 1909, 1916, 1919 and 1922. The plan included a list of projects for new dams, canals, reservoirs, and other water-related works, but was short of defining a clear implementation policy as well as a scientific understanding of the complexity of the river basins and other geographical-political realities. Conservative forces and progressist ones increasingly shared the hydraulic agenda over the first two decades, yet the question of land ownership and the scale of the river basins would generate major dissensions and delays. Costa and many engineers advocated a new basin-based regional organization, whereas the conservative side intended the process to remain in centralized hands.¹⁵

This first plan of hydraulic works prompted an intense discussion regarding the potential colonization of the new reclaimed areas. As a result, the *Ley sobre Colonización y Repoblación Interior* [Law on Colonization and Interior Repopulation] was signed on the 30th of August 1907. In October of the same year the *Junta Central* [Central Board] *de Colonización y Repoblación Interior* was established to guide and monitor the program. The goal was to help "the families deprived of work or capital to take root in the nation, to provide for the necessities of life, reduce emigration, populate the field and cultivate uncultivated or not sufficiently exploited lands."¹⁶ The law that only applied to public properties was criticized and revised various times along two decades, but was overall unsuccessful. In twenty years, eighteen rural foundations were established and 1700 families settled, mostly in Andalusia, in

¹⁴ Swyngedouw, *Liquid Power*, p. 74.

¹⁵ The first law was the Ley de Aguas of 1879 that established the public ownership and management of water resources. For a complete study (in English) of the 19th and 20th century attempts at developing a coherent hydraulic policy, see Erik Swyngedouw, *Liquid Power*, op. cit.; Carlos Barciela López and Javier Melgarejo Moreno (eds.), *El agua en la historia de España*, Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000, and in particular Joaquín Melgarejo Moreno, "De la política hidráulica a la planificación hidrológica. Un siglo de intervención del Estado," pp. 275-319; Antonio Gil Olcina, "Del Plan General de 1902 a la planificación hidrológica," *Investigaciones geográficas*, nº 25, 2001, pp. 5-31.

¹⁶ See Sara Luzón Canto, "Precedentes de la colonización del franquismo: la Ley de 1907 y su contexto internacional," in *Pueblos de colonización durante el Franquismo: la arquitectura en la modernización del territorio rural*, Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura, 2008, p. 077. On a general history of colonization, see Javier Monclús and José Luis Oyón, *Políticas y técnicas en la ordenación del espacio rural. Historia y evolución de la colonización agraria en España*, vol. 1, Madrid: MAP/MAPA/MOPU, 1988.

settlements known as Algaida, Urrieta del Aguila, Las Navas, Coto de la Sierra de Salinas, Alisos, and others.¹⁷ La Algaida was the first village to be built with the direct intervention of the State and was laid out between 1910 and 1914 in the region of Sanlúcar de Barrameda near Cádiz. Its plan was a very basic gridiron structured on both sides of a wide central avenue at the center of which ran the train tracks leading to the water. With its small public structures and detached dwelling units placed parallel to the main town axis—quite unsophisticated in design but well ventilated and generously sized by the rural standards of the time—La Algaida appeared like a short segment of a rural *ciudad lineal*. It was indeed described as an *aldea lineal* (linear village) by its design engineers Torrejón y Boneta.¹⁸ Overall, the poverty of the proposed solutions reflected a lack of serious analysis of Spanish precedents, from the eighteenth century foundations under Carlos III to some interesting experiments of combined industrial and rural settlements such as the Colonia Güell at Santa Coloma de Cervelló in the periphery of Barcelona.¹⁹

Developed from 1882, sixteen years before Ebenezer Howard's *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898), architect Arturo Soria y Mata's concept of the *Ciudad lineal* proposed a radical alternative to the historical logic of urban development. Instead of the radial expansion of most European cities along access roads and the streetcar lines, he envisioned the linear city as an infrastructure ring at a significant distance of the city center. This curvilinear ribbon included roads, railway lines, parkways, gas and water at its center, while the other components of the city would be attached on both sides within very large blocks of houses in walking distance from the central axis area. As compared to the diagrams of Ebenezer Howard, Soria's linear city aimed at channeling the process of expansion between cities and towns rather than allowing them to sprawl around their centers.²⁰ In 1892 the Spanish Government approved Soria's project of a rail-based streetcar of circumvallation around Madrid and two years later Soria established the Compañía Madrileña de Urbanización, or C.M.U., whose fundamental goal "was to set up and manage linear cities."²¹ In 1906, the C.M.U. had built eighteen kilometers of rail line to the northeast of Madrid between the towns of Chamartín and Vallecas. In 1913, more than 4000 residents lived along the line. The advertising motto "for each family a house: and for every house an orchard and a garden" set up the parameters of a new city where self-sufficiency was emphasized in

¹⁷ La Algaida, Urrieta del Aguila, Montes Els Plans, Las Navas, Coto de la Sierra de Salinas, Alisos are some of those new rural nuclei. In total, 596 individual houses and 50 communitarian structures were built as part of this early program.

¹⁸ Luzón Canto, p. 77.

¹⁹ See "Colonia Güell en Santa Coloma de Cervelló," in *Conarquitectura* nº 6, October 2002, pp. 77-92.

²⁰ Arturo Soria y Mata, Pedro Navascués Palacio, "La Ciudad Lineal," in AA.VV, *Madrid*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1979, pp. 1101-1120; George R. Collins, "The Ciudad Lineal in Madrid," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 18, nº 2, May 1959, pp. 38-53; Georges Collins and Carlos Flores, *Arturo Soria y la Ciudad Lineal*, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968; Fernando De Terán, *La Ciudad Lineal, antecedente de un urbanismo actual*, Madrid: Editorial Ciencia Nueva, 1968.

²¹ Fernando de Terán, *Planeamiento urbano en la España contemporánea*, Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1982, p. 74.

addition to private green space.²²

This practical experiment was paralleled by an important work of promotion and planning propaganda, the periodical *Ciudad Lineal, Revista de Higiene, Agricultura, Ingeniería y Urbanización*, founded in 1897 and which became a major publication tool in the first international and transnational conferences and exhibitions at the beginning of the 20th century. Interestingly, as the full title indicates, the *Ciudad Lineal* intended to be a response to the global problems of urbanism, not only the city and its suburbs, but all the way to the countryside and the future of agriculture pro-acted by Costa and his colleagues. In an article of *La Ciudad Lineal* of 1903, Soria presented a decree proposal that in many ways anticipated the already discussed *Ley de Colonización y Repoblación* of 1907 and whose initial lines reflected the extreme of the socio-political situation: "The revolution from above, peaceful, quiet and convenient to avoid in time the one from below, with its bad manners, with blood, and with noise."²³ Within the larger context of Soria's program of expropriation and exploitation of unlabored land (with Andalusia as first region of application), he proposed to apply the concept of linear city to the regional scale between the most important towns:

The distribution of land will be done under the direction of the civil engineers of each province, who will draw in the plans that they already have or intend to raise on the ground, a project of "Linear City" between each town of the province with each of the nearest ones and beginning with the most important. This city will be of the same dimensions, with respect to the width and layout of the streets, as those of the "Lineal City" of Madrid, varying as appropriate the dimensions of each block and its internal subdivision into individual lots. The axis of each linear city will be the same road that already existed or a parallel line next to it, whether it is a sidewalk, a horse path, a road, a tram or a railroad line.²⁴

Furthermore, Soria described as well how poor families would be allowed to settle: "Each poor household father... will choose, on plan first and subsequently in situ, within the "Linear City" of the town where he lives, a plot of 400 square meters for himself and for each individual of the family that lives with him; then he will select other new lots in the parallel strip for himself again and for each individual in the family."²⁵

The first experiences of colonization promoted by the law of 1907 as well as Arturo Soria's speculation on the regional development of the countryside had little geographic and physical impact. However, they marked the beginning of a systematic reflection to improve rural housing and living conditions in light of the developing international discourse on the garden city, the garden suburb, and the workers' neighborhoods. Among the most critical themes

²² In Spanish: "para cada familia una casa: en cada casa una huerta y un jardín."

²³ Arturo Soria y Mata, "El reparto de tierras," *Ciudad Lineal*, no. 180, November 10, 1903, pp. 7-8: "La revolución desde arriba, pacífica, tranquila y conveniente para evitar a tiempo que se haga desde abajo con malos modos, con sangre, y con ruido."

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Ibidem.

were the optimal dimension of the cultivated parcel and the colonist house itself, the number of families which should settle in the new foundations, the architecture and typology of the modern rural house, the public infrastructure such as the church, the schools, the water cisterns, and so on.

2.1.2. Kropotkin, Spain, and the City-Region

According to Pyotr Kropotkin (1842-1921), “anarchism,” from the Greek. *ἀν*, and *ἀρχή*, “contrary to authority,” was the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government — harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being.²⁶ Contrary to what Karl Marx had predicted, the early twentieth century process of revolution did not start from the industrialized centers of Europe, but rather from an impoverished periphery, in Russia and in Spain, countries within which the process of modernization was chaotic, delayed, and highly contested by the resisting power of the land aristocracy. In both countries, the anarchist movement was able to develop and give the impulsion to larger and diverse workers’ movements. In Spain, anarchism had various centers such as the industrial bases of Barcelona and Zaragoza, but the peasant anarchism in the agricultural South, more specifically Andalusia, was critical to the movement. The roots of a strong ideological movement toward everything rural—from the concept of national identity, *casticismo*, vernacular architecture and popular art—had been growing during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth up to the Civil War.²⁷ Two visions of the world entered into a long-lasting conflict, a communitarian and traditional one versus a more modern one that aspired at making Spain enter the era of liberalism and more generally a European, northern-based, vision of modernization. At the same time, the socialist ideas penetrated deeply in the society. The process of *desamortización* [confiscation] during the 19th century increased the social tensions by depriving many farmers from many communal lands and forests of which they had made useful use during centuries. Part of that peasantry had to convert to agricultural workers while others moved to the large cities to join the growing industrial economy. The rupture with a traditional way of life and the worsening of material living conditions tended to radicalize the peasantry, helping for instance the growth of the anarchist movement in Catalonia and Andalusia.²⁸

²⁶ For this section, see José Luis Oyón, "La ciudad desde el consumo: Kropotkin y la Comuna anarquista de la conquista del pan," *Urban*, nº 507, March-August 2014, pp. 105-122; from Kropotkin's entry on "Anarchism" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of 1910.

²⁷ See Chapter 1 in this dissertation.

²⁸ In the words of jurist Francisco Tomás y Valiente, the Spanish *confiscation* process presented the following characteristics: appropriation by the State and by unilateral decision of immovable property

Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), founder of the anarchist movement, was never able to travel to Spain and it is the young Italian Giuseppe Fanelli who eventually introduced the movement into the Iberian Peninsula. At Bakunin's death in 1876, Kropotkin became the leader of the movement. He was a Russian aristocrat and a scientifically trained geographer. A declared revolutionary, he was imprisoned in 1874 but escaped and went into permanent exile in Switzerland, France, and England. The starting point of his philosophy was the concept of mutual aid and human solidarity. Although he never fully explained the precise nature of the post-revolutionary society, he wrote that "the independent commune" would be the form for the anarchist revolution: "let all the country and the world be against it; but once its inhabitants have decided that they will communalize the consumption of commodities, their exchange, and their production, they must realize it among themselves."²⁹ Kropotkin's writings were heavily distributed in Spain, and among them, none other than *La conquista del pan* (The Conquest of Bread), originally published in 1892 and first translated in 1894. His relationship with the Spanish movement was intense and he himself was in the country in June-July 1878.

In his important article on Kropotkin, José Luis Oyón argued that *La Conquista del Pan* (The Conquest of Bread) formed, in fact, a "territorial project."³⁰ The anarchist concept of the new city—the insurrectionary Commune—was based upon a decentralized vision of the territory where city and countryside would be fully integrated within an anarchist society founded on the conception of the "ciudad desde el consumo" (a city based upon the equality of consumption).³¹ *La conquista del pan* was a sign of belonging and recognition for the Spanish anarchist movement. Tens of thousands of copies were owned or passed in the hands of the Spanish workers of the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth—an estimated print of 100,000 copies by the times of Civil War. Written in a clear, simple and concise language, the book spoke eloquently to the working class and aimed at constructing the project of a new society to follow the revolutionary insurrection: "It is very likely that the concreteness, simplicity, and clarity of the design of the new political edifice, of the new society of anarchic communism, was one of the attractions of the book for the Spanish workers."³²

Marx's theory was essentially a-spatial. The goal to bring down the old society did not involve a specific spatial materialization. Likewise, the first anarchist Bakunin, equally resonant in

belonging to "dead hands" (the church and religious orders); sale of the same and allocation of the amount obtained with the sales to the amortization of the titles of the debt." See Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *El marco político de la desamortización en España*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1972.

²⁹ See Robert Alexander, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War*, London: Janus Publishing, 1999, volume one, pp. 34-sq, quoted from Pyotr Kropotkin, *Modern Science and Anarchism*, 1903. On Kropotkin, see Jim Mac Laughlin, *Kropotkin and the anarchist intellectual tradition*, London: Pluto Press, 2016; Martin A. Miller, *Kropotkin*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

³⁰ Oyón, p. 105.

³¹ Oyón, p. 106.

³² Oyón, p. 107: "es muy probable que la concreción, sencillez y claridad del diseño del nuevo edificio, de la nueva sociedad del comunismo anárquico, fuera uno de los atractivos del libro para los obreros españoles."

Spain, assumed that nature would permit and bring about new social organisms. As Gerald Brenan has noted, “the kind of life that Bakunin had in mind was the small peasant community as it had seen it in Russia.”³³ Kropotkin later would see great interest into the medieval communities and even Greek ones. That is to say that there is in anarchism “a strong element of reaction against industrialism, of return to (though without renouncing the advantages of modern industrial processes) to the freer, more human life of the Middle Ages. For it was only in small groups, he thought, that a proper regard for human rights and human dignity could be found.”³⁴ For Kropotkin, the root of the problem was the separation of the medieval city from its agricultural hinterland, which had been the cause of its defeat by the State.³⁵

Kropotkin was a geographer, thus it is no surprise that for him the anarchist utopia would produce its own space, its own city, a much more elaborate project than the reactivation of the old medieval center.³⁶ His theory—which involved no capitalist distribution of salaries, a maximum of five working hours, and the sharing of manual and intellectual tasks— would push the Spanish workers and farmers out of the vicious circle of their inferior level of consumption and allow them “el derecho al bienestar, al bienestar para todos” (the right to well-being, to well-being for all).³⁷ The source of all society evils was misery and the sub-conditions of life and consumption that make human exploitation inevitable. For Kropotkin, it was necessary to displace the economic analysis from the production to the consumption, i.e., the satisfaction of all necessities of the individual, before real production be discussed. This could not but have significant consequences in the anarchist’s manner to see the city and more generally the territory. The main culprit was the division of labor—the division of industrial tasks among the workers—and the division of the geographic space into specialized areas of production, countries, and regions. Capitalist wealth was based upon those increasingly unbalanced network of spatial inequalities:

In order to compensate fairly some categories of workers, it is necessary for the peasant to be the beast of burden of the society; it is necessary that the cities leave the fields empty and desert; it is necessary that the small trades gather in the dirty neighborhoods of the big cities and manufacture, almost for nothing, the thousand objects of little value that put the products of the great manufactures within the reach of the buyers who are only paid mediocre salaries... It is necessary that the backward

³³ Gerard Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth – An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Spanish Civil War*, 2nd edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950, [check printed version]

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ Oyón, p. 117.

³⁶ See the references given by Oyón (p. 108, note 2): Myrna M. Breitbart (ed.), *Anarquismo y geografía*, Vilassar de Mar: Oikos-tau, 1988. In *La nueva utopía* (1890), Ricardo Mella (1861-1925) imagines the life of a small town where anarchy has succeeded. The title makes an obvious reference to Thomas More.

³⁷ Pyotr Kropotkin, *La conquista del pan*, Buenos Aires: Libros de Anarres, 1892, pp. 29-30; quoted by Oyón, p. 111.

countries of the East be exploited by those of the West.³⁸

As a consequence, the new economy of the anarchist society had to be founded on a new relation between city and countryside, in fact a territorial project that would resolutely integrate city and countryside. Agriculture and industry had to be integrated at all scales, national, regional, urban and individual as part of a new economic regionalism which would cancel the old antagonism between city and countryside. In Spain, the revolution would be specifically based on the independence of all provinces and municipalities, which had been fighting for their autonomy along their entire history. The objective was to bring industry close to the country and agriculture close to the city.³⁹

However, it is important to point out that Kropotkin's discourse, although he proposed to merge city and countryside, was not fundamentally anti-urban or anti-metropolitan. On the contrary, in his example of the anarchist Paris, he argued that its theaters, houses, streets, industries, and monuments were the products of the common labor of generations of residents and workers, the heritage of millions of men and women who had worked hard to "make it habitable, clean it and make it more beautiful."⁴⁰ The century-long heritage of the city should be maintained and eventually given for free use to the entire population living in the city and around. At the same time, he imagined that the agro-industrial communities of 200 families that he had proposed for Russia in *Campos: fábricas y talleres* would be implanted around the metropolis but as locus of intensive agricultural production. In the other direction, agriculture would penetrate within the city by taking over empty lots and blocks, in the interstitial spaces of the city.

Kropotkin's communalist version of anarchism and his decentralizing vision of the city and the region were influential within the utopian segments of the garden city movement. His book *Campos, fábricas y talleres* was quoted in the 1902 edition of Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* as a potential demonstration of the concept of auto-sufficiency. It also influenced Thomas Adams, secretary of the Garden City Association from 1901 and the regionalists like Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford. In Catalonia, the decentralizing proposals of Martínez Rizo in his anarchic-utopian work *La urbanística del porvenir* of 1932 also were indebted to

³⁸ Kropotkin, *La conquista del pan*, pp. 100-101; quoted by Oyon, p. 112: Para llegar a retribuir medianamente a algunas categorías de obreros, hoy es necesario que el campesino sea la bestia de carga de la sociedad; es necesario que las ciudades dejen desiertos los campos, es necesario que los pequeños oficios se aglomeren en los barrios inmundos de las grandes ciudades y fabriquen casi por nada los mil objetos de escaso valor que ponen los productos de las grandes manufacturas al alcance de los compradores de salario mediocre.... Es necesario que los países atrasados de Oriente sean explotados por los de Occidente."

³⁹ For Kropotkin, the revolution would start within a new Paris Commune (on the model of 1871), which "deberá cultivar ella mismo su trigo, sus legumbres, su carne, y lo hará sobre el territorio de partida del departamento del Sena:" Pyotr Kropotkin, Carta a Jean Grave (1889), Institut Français d'Histoire Sociale, Fondo Jean Grave, 114 AS, Letters from Kropotkin to Jean Grave, p. 671; quoted by Oyon, p. 114.

⁴⁰ Kropotkin, *La conquista del pan*, pp. 100-101; quoted by Oyon, p. 117; Pyotr Kropotkin, *Campos: fábricas y talleres*, Barcelona: E. Bauza, 1899.

Kropotkin and his territorial vision.⁴¹ Likewise, but on a completely different ideological side, Pedro Bidagor's concept of the *ciudad orgánica* was also somewhat similar to Kropotkin's thesis, as we shall see in Chapter Three:

There lies, in my opinion, the most transcendent of *La Conquista del Pan*. What is important in Kropotkin from the point of view of an ecological urbanism is not in itself the notion of food self-sufficiency but the very idea of geographical proximity of production and consumption that ecological thought sees today as absolutely essential for energy saving and the drastic reduction of greenhouse gases. This desired proximity between production and consumption, agriculture and industry, countryside and city, is the essence of the message of economic-territorial reordering that the Russian anarchist brought at the time and that we should rescue today. Begin to understand the metabolism of the city, how it consumes its food or can recycle its organic waste, as it is done in *La Conquista*, can be an excellent starting point.⁴²

2.1.3. The World's Fair in Ghent and the *Village Moderne*

The concerns about the modernization of the countryside and the potential of new geographically driven projects about the relationship between city, countryside, and regions were not specific to Spanish society. Around the turn of the century, various organizations for the improvement of life in the countryside and its villages were founded in several European countries and in the United States.⁴³ Within this international context, Belgium played an important role with the organization of the International Exposition of Ghent in 1913.⁴⁴ Unique to the Ghent World's Fair was a large section called *Le Village Moderne*, designed to reflect the modernization program that the study committee for the modern village had in mind: "the promotion of technical innovations on the farm, the improvement of road and railroad

⁴¹ Alfonso Martínez Rizo, *La urbanística del porvenir*, 1932. In the book, the engineer Martínez Rizo (1877-1951) critiqued the "inorganic city" of the capitalist society, which grows without control, destroys the countryside, and concentrates the population into anti-hygienic and anti-social cities. He proposed the *ciudad-campo*, a city/country that supersedes the tradition division and replaces it with a continuous fabric mixing urban and rural functions. The ultimate objective would be the elimination of real estate speculation, and the reconstruction of cities into units of 100,000 residents maximum. See <http://www.alasbarricadas.org/forums/viewtopic.php?f=19&t=35012> (last accessed August 13, 2018).

⁴² Oyón, pp. 120-121. See Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1988, updated in 1996, 2002, and 2014; Antonio Bonet Correa, "Teoría de la ciudad anarquista en España," *Ciudad y Territorio – Estudios Territoriales* XLIII, n° 168-169, 2011, pp. 507-513.

⁴³ In one of its first issues, the *Boletín de la Junta Central de Colonización y Repoblación Interior* published a detailed report by González-Besada, the author of the Law of 1907, that summarized the national and international documentation prior to the writing: see Luzón Canto, p. 86 and note 41.

⁴⁴ In Belgium, world fairs had been staged in Brussels, Antwerp and Liège, and Ghent was determined not to be left out. In particular the Liège exhibition of 1905 fuelled the ambitions of Ghent's industrial bourgeoisie and they became the driving force behind the project. The 1913 World Fair was held on a 125-hectare area in Citadel Park and the Sint-Pietersaalst district. The exhibition was also a catalyst for the development of the city towards the south.

networks, and the expansion of public amenities in the countryside.”⁴⁵ The village resulted from the initiative of *The Nationale Commissie ter Verfraaiing van het Landleven* (National Commission for the Embellishment of Rural Life), founded the same year, in coordination with the Boerenbond and its feminine section, the Boerinnenbond. These associations not only aimed at modernizing and improving the countryside, but also to counteract the rural exodus toward the cities. Ideologically, the experiment was socially driven but politically quite conservative as the leading associations were intimately linked to the Catholic church and a vision of the society funded on a single-family structure and its architectural representation, the single-family house. The modernization of the rural world also involved a reevaluation and redefinition of the rural community, for instance with the introduction of corporative structures. Various images of village’s life as well as exhibitions were instrumental in diffusing a better and more modern image of the rural world. Two magazines, *De Boerin*, and *De Boer*, participated of these transformations. The first one, aimed at the female public, dealt with the house and the farm, and how to improve them while reinforcing their traditional character. The second one, which was the periodical of the Boerenbond, focused on improved methods of farming. Overall, the message transmitted by these modern medias was a pro-rural, anti-urban message that emphasized the countryside as “the place of tradition, authenticity, purity and a life on the rhythm of nature and the seasons” in contrast to the city as the place of “temptation, uprootedness, and deterioration of morals.”⁴⁶

Planned under the direction of Paul De Vuyst, General Director at the Ministry of Agriculture and Public Works, the *Village Moderne* presented a modern appearance that “reminded more of a semi-urban environment than of the traditional rural village.”⁴⁷ A town hall associated with an exhibition area, a church, an hotel-restaurant and other farm-related structures surrounded the generously scaled central square from which departed wide and beautifully planted utilitarian and residential streets. The whole layout and the farmhouses that looked like workers’ villas followed the principles of the Garden City movement, which made the *Village Moderne* “compete with an urban environment not by producing a counter-image of a traditional village, but by projecting the modern comfort of the city upon the village.”⁴⁸ Unlike the picturesquely touristic *Oud Vlaanderen* village that occupied an adjacent site in the Fair and reproduced a traditional small town with its square and its narrow streets, the *Village Moderne* aimed at redefining a “rural aesthetics,” that learnt from the traditional and regional character of the countryside while developing a fully modern and hygienic agenda that

⁴⁵ See Bruno Notteboom, “Images of the Countryside: Landscape, Village and Community in the Discourse of Belgian Farmers,” in Rajesh Heynicks and Tom Avermaete (eds.), *Making a New World: Architecture & Communities in Interwar Europe*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012, p. 191.

⁴⁶ Notteboom, p. 189. For a vision of the relationship between city and countryside in the Socialist parti, and in particular the writings of Emile Vandervelde: see my Introduction.

⁴⁷ Notteboom, p. 191. See Paul De Vuyst (ed.), *Le Village moderne à l'Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Gand. Notes, comptes rendus, vues et plans*, Brussels, 1913. Also see Leen Meganck, and Linda Van Santvoort, “Such a Magnificent Farmstead in My Opinion Asks for a Muddy Pool’ – Rural Buildings and the Search for a ‘Regional’ Architecture in Belgium,” in Andres Ballantyne (ed.), *Rural and Urban: Architecture between Two Cultures*, London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 116-133.

⁴⁸ Notteboom, p. 191.

praised the rural work as spirit of community. The village was proclaimed to be the 'natural' Belgian habitat: "The village is the rule, the city is the exception."⁴⁹

The rural exodus, which is assuming alarming proportions, is not due exclusively to the attraction of the high wages of the industry; it is due again to the brilliant, enticing and often deceiving exteriors of the cities. To raise the level of rural life by a more diligent concern for habitation, hygiene, comfort and even good taste, is to strengthen the agricultural spirit; it is to give more vigor to the countryside, which constitutes the great reservoir of human forces. The rural house plays a major role in the revival of rural life, and the *Village Moderne* has shown its various forms: the large farm, the average farm, the small farm, and the house of the agricultural or horticultural worker. Moreover, the *Village Moderne* has forced the public to focus on an often relegated issue.⁵⁰

These ideas on rural aesthetics were amply developed in the commemoration book *Le Village Moderne* (1913), which largely echoed the ideas of the Swiss baron Georges de Montenach. The latter argued that in order to efficiently fight against rural exodus, technology and improvement of the working conditions were not sufficient. Rural life was an aesthetic, cultural and patriotic reality that needed to be preserved from creeping industrialization, ugliness, and banalization. The international movement of Civic Art concentrated on similar issues in cities and urban life, but generally neglected the deteriorating situation of the countryside. Working toward the *Village Moderne* meant to preserve the landscape and the trees; to respect "l'art ancien" in regard to the church and the town hall while allowing to gently modernize the regional styles; to build pleasant and radiant schools; to improve streets, sewers, and public lighting; to study traditional architecture not as a style applied to a villa, but rather understand its typology and details to conceive a modern rural house with adequate functional needs such as the large kitchen; and to revive the forms and materials of the artisanal tradition; in brief reject the false bourgeois style imported from the city and re-appropriate the tradition of the countryside as genuinely representative of the fundamental values of the nation: "It is the plot of land and it is the home and hearth that are the essential roots of patriotism. It is in the heart of nature that it is conserved in all its strength and vitality."⁵¹ Further, de Montenach wrote, "It is in the village that the representative types of the race are conserved... While the cities are neutralized by the cosmopolitan dust that has leveled them all, the countryside possesses still the kind of particularities that gives a nation its distinctive accent."⁵²

Spanish members of the Junta Central de Colonización and of the Compañía Madrileña de Urbanización (C.M.U.) attended the Ghent's Fair and some of them also participated in the

⁴⁹ Quoted by Notteboom, p. 194, from *Le Village Moderne*, op. cit. p. 18.

⁵⁰ *Le Village Moderne*, p. VI. Also see the Introduction in this dissertation.

⁵¹ *Le Village Moderne*, p. 18, quoted from Georges de Montenach, "Formation et éducation," Conference, June 9, 1910.

⁵² Georges De Montenach, "L'art public au village," Fribourg: Fragnière Frères, 1910, p. 39, quoted by Bruno Notteboom, op. cit., p.194.

parallel International Congress of Ghent.⁵³ Hilarión González del Castillo, C.M.U. councilor and one of the most ardent defenders of the *Ciudad lineal*, even presented a paper titled *Projet de cité linéaire belge*.⁵⁴ Likewise, the Catalan urbanist and social reformer Cebrià de Montoliú i de Togores, a translator of John Ruskin and avid disciple of Patrick Geddes, reported from the Ghent Exposition in the *Revista de Obras Públicas* in 1914.⁵⁵ In one of the reports of the *Junta Central de Colonización*, it was clearly made allusion to the International Exposition and Congress of Ghent in 1913: "... they must not forget the teachings that Ghent gave us. We have them as a goal of our aspirations to improve the rural life, to devote more attention to rural housing. They help us invigorate the resistance of the countryside as a deposit of energies and strengthen the agricultural spirit..."⁵⁶ But the Belgian influence did not stop at Ghent 1913. As Carlos Sambricio has pointed out, the Belgian experience of post-WW1 reconstruction was critical for Spanish architects and planners as witnessed in the articles published in *Civitas* and the *Boletín de la Sociedad Central de Arquitectos*.⁵⁷ More importantly, in 1919, Hillarón González del Castillo made an important report at the occasion of the *Exposition de la Reconstruction* that took place in Brussels in 1919 in relation to the heavy destructions incurred in the country. Under the title *Projet de cité linéaire belge* he presented and published the proposal for a regional-scale *Ciudad Lineal* to be implemented among the destroyed towns and villages of Belgium. Interestingly, whereas Soria y Mata's diagrams had been criticized for their lack of urban character and, specifically, their lack of a real center. Castillo's proposal borrowed from Howard's Garden City diagram and inserted a genuine city center:

The urban agglomeration is a living organism. As the human organism has a heart that pumps blood and carries activity, life and movement to the whole body, so the city needs a center of activity that irradiates urban life and business life. The planned

⁵³ See William Whyte (ed.), *Ghent Planning Congress 1913: Proceedings of the Premier Congrès International et Exposition comparée des Villes*, London: Routledge, 2014 [1913].

⁵⁴ Carlos Sambricio, "De la Ciudad Lineal a la Ciudad Jardín. Sobre la difusión en España de los supuestos urbanísticos a comienzos del Siglo," *Ciudad y Territorio*, nº 94, 1992, pp. 146-59; *Projet de cité linéaire belge inspiré par la Cité linéaire espagnole inventée par Arturo Soria y Mata*, Imprenta La Ciudad Lineal, Madrid, 1919.

⁵⁵ Montoliú was since 1908 the librarian of the Museo Social of Barcelona. He was an avid lecturer and introduced Geddes's concept of the Civic Museum to Spain. A "cultural agitator in matters of urban planning," he traveled extensively in 1910-11, meeting with the most important world planners, visiting the Exposition of Urbanism in Berlin and Düsseldorf. He founded the Sociedad Cívica Ciudad Jardín in Barcelona in 1912, edited the influential magazine *Civitas* (1914-1919), and strove to make the garden city a tool of urban and progressive social reform. See Susan Larson, "The Ciutat Jardí in the United States: Cebrià di Montoliú's Fairhope, Alabama, City Plan of 1921," in *Diseñar América/Designing America: El trazado español de los Estados Unidos*, Fundación Consejo España-Estados Unidos, 2014, pp. 122-133. The Madrid section of the *Sociedad Cívica* was created in 1919.

⁵⁶ Carlos Sambricio, "La 'revolución conservadora' y la política de la colonización en la España de Primo De Rivera," in *Pueblos de colonización durante el franquismo: La Arquitectura en la modernización del territorio rural*, Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2008, p. 062. The origin of the quote is not indicated.

⁵⁷ Sambricio, "La 'revolución conservadora,'" p. 071. On the reconstruction in Belgium, see Marcel Smets, *Resurgam: La reconstruction en Belgique après 1914*, Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1985; also see Nicholas Bullock and Luc Verpoest (eds.), *Living with History, 1914-1964*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011.

heart of the *Cité Linéaire Belge*, which I have named Forum, will have, like the ancient roman forum, a triple aspect of place of amusement, center of public life and business center.⁵⁸

Moreover he clearly distinguished between three populated zones, urban, suburban, and rural, accepting the idea that some of the districts would be agricultural and/or industrial. Over the years, González del Castillo's interest centered more and more on the agrarian question and he clearly saw the relation between the *Ciudad Lineal* and the necessary program of interior colonization. In the Belgian version, he inscribed the project within a regional planning strategy and made the linear city the backbone of a regional/national program of interior colonization. In 1922, Lorenzo Pardo, hydraulic engineer for the Ebro basin, published a large-scale project, the *Ciudad Jardín en el Ebro. Propuesta con fines agrícolas y navegación hasta Zaragoza* (1922), which suggested colonizing the edge of the river with a series of agrarian garden cities. González del Castillo joined the proposal and imagined a series of garden cities along the Ebro in Logroño, Miranda de Ebro, Calahorra, Tudela, Zaragoza, Caspe, and Tortosa. Four years later, the same Lorenzo Pardo designed the *Plan de Obras de la Confederación Hidrográfica del Ebro* for the government of Primo de Rivera.⁵⁹

In 1925, the *Junta Central* published a document of synthesis, *La Colonización y Repoblación interior en los principales países y en España. Sus orígenes, desarrollo y estado actual*. Two decades of research and work had made it that, according to the report's boasting introduction, "Spain was the first nation in the world that embarked on the publication of a general treatise of interior colonization and repopulation ... the reward for the efforts of the Junta to contribute, with the divulgation of agro-social progress, to the improvement of the fatherland."⁶⁰ As Sambricio has stated, "if, so far, the Spanish interior colonization could be understood as the sum of specific interventions, around 1923—when large-scale projects started to be developed—a new way of understanding the agrarian policy appeared. The issue had evolved from the punctual creation of wealth in zones hitherto unpopulated to the will to enhance energy and water resources of the country."⁶¹

Those programs of modernization of the countryside did get a more popular voice, better adapted to the constituency of the countryside, with the periodical *Agricultura*, founded in 1919 in Madrid. Its editorial policy involved the productive and social modernization of the Spanish countryside, its techniques, education and information about technical progress. More importantly, *Agricultura* "reaffirmed with conviction that the agricultural industry

⁵⁸ Hilario González del Castillo, *Projet de Cité Linéaire Belge*, Madrid: Imprenta de la Ciudad Lineal, 1919, p. 14. quoted by Carlos Feferman, "The City Center in Early Modern Planning," Paper presented at the 15th International Planning History Conference, São Paulo, 2012, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁹ Sambricio, "La 'revolución conservadora,'" p. 067 and note 15. Sambricio gives the following references: On the Ciudad Jardín along the Ebro river, see *Ciudadanía*, 30 September 1922, p. 3; and Luis Fuentes López, "Los riegos del Alto Aragón," in *Ingeniería y Construcción*, 1924, pp. 50-54.

⁶⁰ Luzón Canto, p. 088.

⁶¹ Sambricio, "La 'revolución conservadora'", p. 066. See Junta Central de Colonización y Repoblación Interior, *La colonización y repoblación interior en los principales países y en España. Sus orígenes, desarrollo y estado actual*, Madrid: Junta Central de Colonización y Repoblación Interior, 1925.

constituted the basis of the prosperity, the industrial development, and the national economic independence of Spain.”⁶² Beyond agriculture, the periodical functioned as instrument of more general information about modern life, politics, finances, and the National Plan of Hydraulic Works. Art was not absent as the periodical published articles about the symbolist and member of the 4 Gats in Barcelona (Modernisme), the Mediterranean painter Santiago Rusiñol (landscape) and the review of the Barcelona Exposition of 1929.

2.1.4. Primo de Rivera and the *Confederaciones Geográficas*

The political and social chaos of the first two decades of the twentieth century ended in the manner that many like Joaquín Costa had feared, predicted, or even hoped for. On September 13, 1923, Miguel Primo de Rivera, Captain General of Catalonia, revolted against the government and led a successful military coup. The Civil Directory that was put in place (1925–30) was responsible for a thorough overhaul of local government and for initiating, at last, an ambitious public works program to increase irrigation, hydraulic power, and road building. Primo de Rivera did not miss the opportunity to see himself as the “cirujano de hierro” (iron surgeon) who was supposed to uproot the old culture of caciquism and whom Costa had ambiguously alluded to, in a Nietzschean kind of way, earlier in the century:

That surgical policy, I repeat, must be conducted by an Iron surgeon, who knows the anatomy of the Spanish people and feel infinite compassion for it... that holds a steady hand and a value of hero, and even more than value, what we would call guts and courage to hold at bay those swarms of evil who live of letting the others die, a hero who, angry and desperate, craves for a homeland and, as an artist of the people, is thrown to improvise.⁶³

Until the advent of the dictatorship, very little progress had been made in the development of the hydraulic project. It is thus during the De Rivera dictatorship that the geographical configuration of Spain started to be transformed. As Swyngedouw has argued, “geographical conditions are reconstructed as the outcome of a process of production in which both nature and society are fused together in a way that renders them inseparable, producing a restless “hybrid” quasi-object in which material, representational, and symbolic practices were welded together,” what he has called as well the “production of nature.”⁶⁴ Primo de Rivera encountered in the engineer Rafael Benjumea (1876-1952) the man who would help him lead a vast economic shift of the country toward large-scale projects such as transport infrastructures for roads and railroads, and eventually the hydraulic works and electrification. Early in his career Benjumea was involved in hydraulic projects along the Guadalhorce river

⁶² Mónica Vázquez Astorga, “La obra gráfica en la revista *Agricultura* (1929-1935). La aportación de José Borobio,” *Artigrama*, nº 16, 2001, p. 442.

⁶³ Quoted by José Domingo Dueñas Lorente, “Notas sobre la interpretación mesiánica de la figura y obra de Joaquín Costa,” *Anales de la Fundación Joaquín Costa*, nº 14, 1997, p. 109, from Joaquín Costa, *Oligarquía y Caciquismo*, Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1998 [1901].

⁶⁴ Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity,” p. 461.

in Andalusia, and in particular, the construction of a dam and adjacent hydraulic plant (1903-5), known as the Pantano del Chorro or del Conde Guadalhorce (1921).⁶⁵ Aware that Benjumea was highly favorable to the concept of the State's large-scale economic intervention, the dictator named him in 1926 Minister of Public Works, Agriculture and Mines. For the modernizing and Regenerationist engineering community, the river basins (*cuencas*) became the battleground over which political and social conflict was to be fought over many years. They understood that the regions marked by the natural hydrological divisions could be developed as pivotal institutions for instigating the hydrological revolution, and that such a territorial reorganization was the geographic and political instrument to challenge the power of the traditional elites. Instigated by hydraulic engineer Lorenzo Pardo and created by decree on March 5, 1926, the *Confederaciones Sindicales Hidrográficas* were gradually established as quasi-autonomous organizations for nine rivers basins: the Duero River between Salamanca and Palencia; the Tagus and Alagón Rivers from the Portuguese border to Toledo; the Guadiana River that would be the backbone of the Plan Badajoz from Badajoz to Ciudad Real; the Guadalquivir and its associate rivers such as the Viar in Andalusia; the Segura River around Murcia; the Júcar from Cuenca to the Gulf of Valencia; the Ebro River between Huesca and Lerida; and the Rio Miño in Galicia from Lugo to the Portuguese border.

The task of the *Confederaciones* was to make plans and implement hydrological planning, management of water resources, concession of water rights, construction of new infrastructures, the environmental management of the area with special attention to preservation and water quality. This was a conservative revolution of sort, led by the Minister of Public Works Benjumea and technically devised under the leadership of Lorenzo Pardo, conscious that only the State had the capacity to care to the well-being of the national community.⁶⁶ What had been the difficult struggle of the Regenerationism for two decades was eventually made law during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. According to historian Melgarejo, the epoch of the dictatorship produced a genuine extension of the role of the State in economic matters, concretely realized by the creation of large control institutions of public action, management and control. These interventions were driven by the belief that technology and engineering works—in this matter the hydraulic public works and the program of irrigation—would remove the country from its backwardness, reactivate and embark on the modernization of the economy, in brief “regenerate” Spain.⁶⁷ At all moments of that long history, the engineers took the primary role and they would be the leaders throughout the Franco dictatorship as well.

The 1920s saw a revival in the discussion, writings, and other studies related to the improvement and modernization of the rural house. There was a growing convergence

⁶⁵ On Benjumea, see Swyngedouw, *Liquid Power*, and in particular, pp. 88-93

⁶⁶ Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity,” p. 459 & sq.

⁶⁷ Joaquín Melgarejo Moreno, “De la política hidráulica a la planificación hidrológica,” pp. 288-289. Melgarejo Moreno makes clear that this policy was not the prerogative of Spanish dictatorship but was also at work in Germany, France, etc., independently of the political regimes.

between architects, historians, medical doctors, agronomists and engineers toward the study of the modern house, which resulted in an important document, *Contribución al estudio de la casa rural*, published in 1929.⁶⁸ The lack of hygiene, the over-occupation of the houses, and the lack of separation between human residents and the animals were increasingly seen as additional causes of misery and poverty. Unless resolved, the agrarian reform would only achieve partial objectives. In general, it was a larger discussion where the theme of the rural house was but a prolongation of a series of hygienic, moral and cultural concerns about the rural milieu in general, and about its poverty in particular. The goal was to “equalize” the conditions of life in the countryside with that of the city. The house was of course at its center but making it more hygienic only made sense if the hygienic conditions of the *pueblos* themselves were to be improved; likewise, it made no sense to build new isolated houses, thus maintaining the farmer isolated and away from the influences of modern civilization. It is thus from the 1920s, and more importantly during the dictatorship of Franco, that the Regenerationist project was eventually and gradually implemented.⁶⁹

2.1.5. The Second Republic and the Competition of 1932

Once established the Second Republic, a decree of the Ministry of Justice of 21 March 1931 created a technical commission to study and initiate the implementation of a large-scale agrarian reform regarding, among others, the exploitation of communal lands, the reduction and elimination of the latifundia, and the conditions of credit. The *Ley de Reforma Agraria* approved on 15 of September 1932, along with the creation of the Instituto de Reforma Agraria, paved the way for wide-ranging reforms to be applied to the poorest, socially divided, and less productive regions of the country, including Andalusia, Extremadura, and La Mancha. Although politically and socially ambitious, the reform dealt only with the expropriations of fincas or large estates under certain conditions of size and productivity. The law also addressed their subdivision and transfer to small farmers, but did not deal with the necessary infrastructural improvements. Potentially more transformative for the future of Spanish agriculture was the proposed acceleration of the program of irrigation. On 13 April 1932, the Republic, eager to move quickly and energetically on the rural front, passed the *Ley de Obras de Puesta en Riego* (O.P.E.R.), which made the State responsible for the works of irrigation infrastructure of large agricultural zones. The idea was to create the conditions to accelerate and increase the profitability of large-scale hydraulic works through a genuine program of colonization. Under the leadership of civil engineer Lorenzo Pardo and agronomist engineer Leopoldo Ridruej, the *Centro de Estudios Hidrográficos* was put in charge of a *Plan Nacional de Obras Públicas*, published in 1933 and covering 1.3 millions hectares with a

⁶⁸ Dirección General de Agricultura, *Contribución al estudio de la casa rural*, Madrid: Ministerio de Economía Nacional, 1929. Other studies include J.M. Soroa, *Construcciones agrícolas*, Madrid, 1930; M. Gutiérrez del Arroyo, *El mejoramiento de la vivienda rural*, Zaragoza, 1931; J. J. Fernández Urquiza, *Viviendas rurales*, Valladolid, 1932.

⁶⁹ Swyngedouw, “Modernity and Hybridity,” p. 460.

large section in critical areas of Andalusia. The Prado plan was never officially approved but eventually guided the hydraulic and irrigation policy for most of the twentieth century.

The *Concurso de Anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y del Guadalquivir*, the urban and architectural competition held at the end of 1932 in Andalusia, was organized in this tense context.⁷⁰ The competition was related to the *Ley de Obras de Puesta en Riego* (1932) for the Guadalquivir and the Guadalquivir rivers, together covering an area of about 31,000 hectares. It required the design of eight villages in the Guadalquivir area ranging from 100 to 360 houses in the first phase to 400 to 1500 in the phase of more intense production. For the Guadalquivir River, it requested four designs ranging from 60 to 120 houses and then from 300 to about 500. As regards the generic architectural language, the program brief was quite succinct:

All the buildings, especially the dwellings for the farmers and artisans, will reflect the simplicity and sobriety that correspond to a rural town. Their comfort has to be provided in proportion to the limited economic means of its inhabitants, without thereby losing anything in hygiene and amenities. In no case shall the function be sacrificed to the form ... All buildings will be easy and economical to maintain.⁷¹

The list of engineers and architects who entered the competition was impressive and exposed the professional interest that the modernization of the countryside was generating, even though most participants came from the Madrid circles and no GATEPAC architect took part in the competition.⁷² From an urban point of view the competition marked an exceptional moment in the evolution of the discussion of the modern village. As Calzada Pérez has noted, only a couple of years after the theoretical but unpractical proposals of the *Ciudad Lineal*, González del Castillo had made a pragmatic shift and embraced the now well established concept of the *Ciudad jardín*.⁷³ The competition of 1932 was the first attempt to develop a truly urban form of the modern village, both morphologically and typologically. However, it was not the Anglo-Saxon model of the garden city that was adopted, the one that had been

⁷⁰ The results of the competition were published in December 1934, see "Concurso de anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y el Guadalquivir," in *Arquitectura*, nº10, December 1934, pp. 267-298.

⁷¹ Base octava, 2 y 3, *Gaceta de Madrid*, 7 May 1933, p. 954; quoted in Esther Almarca Núñez-Herrador, "El descubrimiento y la puesta en valor de la arquitectura popular: de Fernando García Mercadal a Luis Feduchi," in María Pilar Biel Ibañez and Ascensión Hernández Martínez (eds.), *Lecciones de los maestros: aproximación histórico-crítica a los grandes historiadores de la arquitectura española*, Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" (CSIC), 2011, p. 190: "Todos los edificios, especialmente las viviendas agrícolas y de artesanos, reflejarán sencillez y sobriedad como corresponden a un poblado rural. Su confort ha de ser proporcionado a los pequeños medios económicos de sus habitantes, sin que por eso pierda nada en higiene y comodidad relativa. En ningún caso se sacrificará, por la forma, la función.... Todos los edificios serán de fácil y económica conservación."

⁷² Manuel Calzada Pérez, "Barracones para jornaleros o ensayos para urbanistas. El Concurso de Anteproyectos para Poblados en las Zonas Regables del Guadalquivir y del Guadalquivir," in *DC: Revista de Crítica Arquitectónica*, nº 13-14, 2005, p. 157.

⁷³ Calzada Pérez has argued that the competition also served as a vehicle to study and approach the issue of the expansion of Madrid, particularly the design of the satellite cities proposed in Zuazo-Jansen Anteproyecto for Madrid (1929) and later in *Plan de Ordenación de Madrid* by Pedro Bidagor (1942). See Chapter 3.

dominating the international scene since the debates on the reconstruction after WW1. All winning entries, with the exception of the one proposed by Fonseca and Raimundo Beraza, took the grid as the primary morphology of departure and rejected the use of curvilinear streets to purely anecdotic moments in the schemes. At the same time, houses were aligned along the streets without setbacks and the patio typology radically eliminated the “garden” image of the Anglo-Saxon models.

Fernando De La Cuadra’s winning designs for the Guadalquivir consisted of a precise but simple study of variations on the theme of the orthogonal and rectangular grid. In the three detailed schemes (Poblados A-B-C), two perpendicular axes led to a central square created through slight displacements in the alignment of the block edges. The resulting square was rectangular and organized in the “turbine” manner in order to place the town hall as terminating vista on the entrance axis from the train station. The building types included a patio closed by walls and outbuildings, but the simplified perspective only showed long rows of houses. In this view, the main axis was asymmetrically organized and small squares for schools, sport fields, and other public structures were dispersed within the plan.⁷⁴

The second prize’s winner was the group made up of Santiago Esteban de la Mora, Luis Lacasa, Jesús Marti, and the engineer Eduardo Torroja. Their proposals were also based upon a prevailing grid but presented two elements which would make them the real precursors to the new towns created during the Francoist period by the Instituto Nacional de Colonización: first of all, the square appeared as an empty block taken away from the grid and in many examples was located at a particular moment of rupture within the grid itself. In all the proposals but one, one of the axes entered the town obliquely, with the effect of creating a direct or indirect terminated vista. This design strategy can be seen clearly in the detailed axonometric view of the Poblado B, a drawing that also emphasizes the use of the patio typology with interconnected outbuildings. The team won the first prize for the Guadalmellato section of the competition with similar designs and a striking approach to the issue of typological “repetition,” a theme that would be of fundamental importance in the following decades. Here, the architects gave great attention to the design of the street sections and to the street facades as coordinated projects that recalled the German Siedlungen of the 1920s and the works of J.P. Oud in the Netherlands with additional influences from Adolf Loos. The use of one-sided sloping roofs facing the backside of the lots emphasized the quasi-urban character of some streets.

The other team to be awarded a prize included José Maria Arrillaga, Jesús de Zavala, and Martín Domínguez whose aerial perspectives (Poblado A Guadalquivir, and Poblado Q Guadalmellato) stressed the importance of the grid and the central square conceived as a

⁷⁴ Beyond the three detailed types, the entry included variations on larger towns, marked as D-E-F-G-H. The “turbine” square was discussed in Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, Vienna, 1889, chapter 3 (Die Geschlossenheit der Plätze), in English: *City Planning according to artistic principles*, chapter 3 (That public squares should be enclosed entities) in the translation of George Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins.

void faced by all major public structures. Moreover, the perspectives emphasized the continuity and the horizontality of the long rectangular blocks, their street fronts, and the continuous rows of outbuildings within the patio-based blocks. Here again the variations on the design of the main streets were remarkable with the succession of inverted roofs, the display of oblique roofs parallel to the fronts, and so on. Other designs ranged from extreme modernist rationality (the parallel bars of the scheme by Luis Pérez Minguéz and José Lina Vaamonde that remind of Ernst May's works) to the weak schemes of José Fonseca, César Cort, and the late Beaux-Arts one by Raimundo Beraza.

Significantly, none of the projects showed any relation with the contemporary designs of rural towns in Italy such as Sabaudia or Richard Kauffmann's planned settlements in Palestine. With the exception of the Lacasa/Torroja team, which explored a series of geometric variations by assembling various grids on different axes—a procedure that would be followed quite often in the works of the I.N.C.—most plans referred closely to the tradition of colonization in Latin American and later in eighteenth century southern Spain. Moreover, the striking element of all the entries was that the image of the towns derived mostly from the plan and the housing blocks, downscaling the potential importance of the civic buildings usually located around the plaza. Unsurprisingly, the brief did include the town hall, schools, and other services, but none of the projects included the church, a fact consistent with the socialist-oriented ideology of the moment in the Second Republic. From the architectural image point of view, the projects were far ranging and tended to propose a simplified architecture mid-way between modernist and regionalist sources. As Carlos Sambricio has stated “those [architects] who won the competition of 1932-33 shocked and disappointed both those who were claiming for an experimental architecture and those who supported the regional pastiche.”⁷⁵ More importantly, it is critical to point out the typological similarities that characterized most entries. The consistent use of the patio-type house and the capacity of most house types to expend in terms of rooms and productive spaces were deployed in various ways and demonstrated the capacity of most architects to develop a genuinely Spanish alternative to the Garden City, marked by morphological and typological memory and modernity. Moreover they corresponded with architect José Fonseca Llamedo's contemporary studies and publications regarding the rural house and the importance of the vernacular in the definition of another Spanish modernity. Interestingly, Lacasa, de la Mora, Martí and Torroja developed the blocks in more details and the back-to-back arrangement of the houses created a type of cluster that would be studied internationally in the 1950s. As for the Domínguez team, they emphasized the rural character of their proposals by systematically lining up the most important streets with the back of the houses and reserving the street fronts on quieter streets—an early strategy of separation of traffic that would be theorized by Alejandro Herrero in his article of 1947.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Sambricio, “La ‘revolución conservadora””, p. 070.

⁷⁶ See chapter 5: Alejandro Herrero, “Independencia de circulaciones y trazado de pueblos,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 81, September 1948, pp. 348-57.

The improvement of the rural dwelling was debated in Spain during the first decades of the twentieth century, but it is the competition for the new towns in Andalusia of 1932 that actualized the discussion to the new socioeconomic and international architectural context. In 1934, the Vth Congress Nacional de Riegos concluded that the new irrigation territories had to be planned and realized in a comprehensive manner that included not only the hydraulic works but also the residential and public services in the new settlements to be destined to the expected colonists. One important element of the debate and one that would repeat during the first five years of activities of the Institute of Colonization was whether habitat would be dispersed in the fields on the Italian model, or rather as most Spanish experts would agree toward concentration in compact new villages.

From 1932 to 1936, José Fonseca directed the Seminar of Urbanology of the School of Architecture, attached to the Chair of César Cort in the School of Architecture at the University de Madrid. In that position and in association with the students, he studied the typology of the rural house in order to link it, economically and rationally, to the size of the rural exploitation, its production capacity, and its socio-cultural value. The objective was the systematization and rationalization of the rural environment and in particular of the minimal rural house through an intensive examination of plans, functions, minimum sizes, and hygiene criteria—in brief, “all elements that come from the rural tradition, but in this case not by a pastoral nostalgia, but by constructive and functional convenience.”⁷⁷ At the same time and from a more conservative political background than his peers in the GATEPAC he advocated the value of popular architecture in the definition of a nationally driven modernity:

In the face of the international uniforming movement, the only possible salvation is the inexhaustible vines of inspiration in our rural architecture. With an advantage in favor of this inspiring source; for indeed, however rabidly one intends to defend functional architecture, it is not a stance that thrives against traditional local styles that are all functional.⁷⁸

In October 13, 1935, Fonseca and his team won a national competition on the theme of “la vivienda rural en España” [The rural house in Spain]. Fonseca’s study (*La vivienda rural en España: Estudio técnico y jurídico para una actuación del Estado en la materia*) analyzed the fundamentals of the necessary program of colonization, including the foundation of new villages and towns, the typology of modern dwelling units and their functional organization, the economy of the installation of non-proprietary farmer, and the existing or to be proposed Spanish legislation. Interspersed within the article were sketches of building types of the Italian colonization of the Pontine area, counterpoised with more modern and rational proposals for Spanish types drawn by students of the course of Urbanology. The Spanish examples were more explicit in regard to the recommended separation between the residential and the agricultural sections of the house: the one-story house with patio and

⁷⁷ Manuel Calzada Pérez, “La vivienda rural en los pueblos de colonización,” *PH*, nº 52, 2005, p. 058.

⁷⁸ José Fonseca, “Arquitectura Popular,” *Cortijos y rascacielos*, nº 20, 1935, p. 2.

corral was proposed as most desirable rural type, in contrast to the predominant two-story house (*casa colonica*) of the Pontine area, characterized by its agricultural ground floor and its second floor residential. Furthermore, Fonseca and his students endorsed the model of the dense and compact residential village as opposed to the dispersion strategy of the rural houses implemented in the Fascist reclamation of the Pontine Marshes. Beyond its functional content, the report stressed also the symbolic and national values of the rural house and of the *pueblo*, all arguments that would resonate ideologically during the Franco regime.⁷⁹

In addition to the economic and hygienic campaign, there will be a necessary revindication of the spiritual values of the field, of the conservation of its beautiful architectural peculiarities, of the exaltation of its traditions, of the restoration of the personality and individuality of the peoples that have lost it; in short, of all the stimuli of peasant life that should contribute, as well as the well-built home, to make the life in the Spanish fields kind and dignified.⁸⁰

At the inauguration of the seminar of Urbanology in December 1935, José Fonseca, Eugenio d'Ors and César Cort once again argued in favor of a new balance between city and country. Seeing in the development of the big cities the hand of the State—*Estado-Ciudad*—he advocated to turn to the *Campo-Hogar*: We must pay special attention to the countryside, fighting against the disappearance of the peasant culture and the monstrous growth of the cities, in which it is increasingly difficult to live.⁸¹

In February 1936, the *Frente Popular* won the elections, a milestone event that was followed by weeks of extreme social and political convulsions. In July, the Civil War started. In 1939, at the end of the Civil War, Fonseca was appointed Director of the National Institute of Housing (*Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda*) and continued his pre-war line of research on the rural dwelling. The two institutes which were created to implement the Franquist policy of post-war reconstruction and interior colonization—the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas*, and the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización*—not only adopted the ordinances that he designed but many of his students eventually became important actors within those two institutes.

⁷⁹ José Fonseca, "La vivienda rural en España: estudio técnico y jurídico para una actuación del Estado en la materia," *Arquitectura* XVIII, nº 1, January 1936, pp. 12-24.

⁸⁰ José Fonseca, "La vivienda rural en España," p. 22: "Al lado de la campaña económica e higiénica se hará una reivindicatoria de los valores espirituales del campo, de conservación de las peculiaridades bellas de su arquitectura, de exaltación de sus tradiciones, de restauración de la personalidad e individualidad de los pueblos que la han perdido; en fin, de todos aquellos estímulos del vivir campesino que deben contribuir, tanto como el bien hallarse en el hogar bien construido, a hacer amable y digna la vida en los campos españoles."

⁸¹ "Notas de actualidad: inauguración del seminario de urbanología," *Arquitectura* XVII, nº 10, December 1935, p. 337: "hay que prestar una atención preferente al campo, cortando la desaparición de la cultura campesina y el aumento monstruoso de las ciudades, en las que llega no poderse vivir." After the Civil War, Cort expended the discussion in his *Campos urbanizados y ciudades ruralizadas*, Madrid: Yagües, 1941.

2. 2. ITALY: THE METAPHYSICAL AND THE POSTWAR VERNACULAR

How much did we laugh, us intellectuals, about the architecture of the Regime, about such cities as Sabaudia! And yet, nowadays, analyzing them, we cannot but experience an unexpected feeling. The architecture of Sabaudia has nothing unreal, nothing ridiculous: the passing of time has given its architecture of Fascist origin a modern character between the metaphysical and the realistic.... A city that we saw as preposterous and Fascist suddenly appears to us as haunting and delightful.⁸²

The date of 26 May 1927 marked a momentous turning point in Fascist urban policy. In his notorious Ascension Day's Speech Benito Mussolini argued that metropolitan industrialization induced the "sterility of the population."⁸³ A year after, in his article *Sfollare le città*, the Duce outlined the regime's radical goals to limit metropolitan growth by re-equilibrating city and countryside and "ruralizing" the country.⁸⁴ A major program of public works was initiated to restructure older neighborhoods through demolition and reconstruction, as well as to modernize towns and cities with a new infrastructure of post offices, train stations, and other representative buildings such as the Case del Fascio.⁸⁵ The reclamation of the Pontine Marshes and the subsequent founding of agricultural new towns and villages, along with new industrial towns in Sardinia and the aeronautical city of Guidonia near Tivoli, followed this line of ideological and technical planning. "With both types of towns—Diane Ghirardo wrote—Fascism seemed to be promising a new and bright future with up-to-date, hygienic living conditions and improved agricultural and industrial productivity."⁸⁶ About one hundred and seventy new communities were created in Italy (including Sardinia and Sicily) between 1928 and 1942. Fifteen of them can be considered as towns and cities, most of them in the Lazio area.⁸⁷

⁸² Pier Paolo Pasolini, translated from an excerpt of the short film (15 minutes) *Pasolini e la forma della città* directed by Paolo Brunetto and completed in 1973. The film can be seen at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=btJ-EoJxwr4> (last accessed January 2016).

⁸³ For the Ascension Speech, see <http://cronologia.leonardo.it/storia/a1927v.htm> (last accessed January 2016).

⁸⁴ Benito Mussolini, "Cifre e deduzioni. Sfollare le città," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, December 22, 1928.

⁸⁵ The *Case del Fascio* (Houses of the Fascist Party) were built throughout Italy, from villages to cities, as local seats of the National Fascist Party (P.N.F.).

⁸⁶ Diane Ghirardo's *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989.

⁸⁷ The political and socio-cultural origins of the Fascist program have been studied at length. Among the most important books: Roberta Martinelli and Lucia Nuti, *Le città di Strapaese: La politica di 'fondazione' nel ventennio*, Milano: FrancoAngeli, 1981; Elisabetta Novello, *La bonifica in Italia: legislazione, credito e lotta alla malaria dall'unità al fascismo*, Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2003; Renata Besana, Carlo Fabrizio Carli, Luigi Prisco (eds.), *Metafisica costruita. Le città di fondazione degli anni Trenta dall'Italia all'Oltremare: dagli archivi storici del Touring Club Italiano e dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente e dai fondi locali.*, Milano: Regione Lazio and Touring Club Italiano, 2002; Eugenio Lo

Plans for the reclamation of the Pontine Marshes, the malaria-infested region to the south of Rome between the Via Appia and the Mediterranean Sea, go back to Antiquity. Rulers like Julius Cesar, Augustus, and Renaissance Popes like Leo X (with the likely help of Leonardo Da Vinci) and Sixtus V developed more or less ambitious but aborted projects to sanitize the area. Eventually, it was the Fascist regime, which from 1927 embarked on the *bonifica integrale*, a multi-throng public work program to engage a “total war” against malaria, drain the marshes, and colonize the reclaimed areas.⁸⁸ The first years focused on vast works of hydraulic engineering. The law of 9 April 1931 created the Commissariat for Migrations and Interior Colonization (Commissariato per le Migrazioni e la Colonizzazione Interna), an organism involved with the policies of internal migrations and transfers.⁸⁹ The *Opera Nazionale dei Combattenti* (ONC) was put in charge of the management of the newly created parcels of land and of the installation of more than four thousand small farms distributed to thousands of colonists who were encouraged (at times through coercion) to move, like the Peruzzi family in the novel *Canale Mussolini*, from the impoverished provinces of Veneto, Friuli and Emilia-Romagna.⁹⁰

The hierarchical organization of the region was structured at three levels by the ONC: First, the *poderi* or farms, each with an isolated farmhouse (*casa colonica*) The *casa colonica* was usually two-floor high, with 4 or 5 bedrooms upstairs, and kitchen storeroom, and animal stables at the ground level—those functional rooms were not separated but integrated within the overall structure; second, the district, each of them centered on a borgo or hamlet consisting of a small church, a small *casa del fascio*, a bank and a school; thirdly, the new towns also called *città di fondazione* (cities of foundation). The five towns built from 1932 to 1939 —Littoria, Sabaudia, Pontinia, Aprilia and Pomezia—were primarily conceived as service centers.⁹¹ They contained houses and apartments for artisans, shopkeepers, and civil servants, but overall a strong policy of dispersed dwellings was encouraged. The Roman artist Dullio Cambellotti saw and depicted this rural urbanism—or urban ruralism—as the purest expression of Fascist modernity.⁹² The central section of the *Redenzione dell’Agro*—the large narrative triptych painted in 1934 at the Prefecture in Littoria—shows the central

Sardo and Maria Luisa Boccia, *Divina geometria: modelli urbani degli anni Trenta — Asmara, Addis Abeba, Harar, Olettà, Littoria, Sabaudia, Pontinia, Borghi*, Firenze: Maschietto & Musolino, 1995.

⁸⁸ Anatolio Linoli, "Twenty-six Centuries of Reclamation & Agricultural Improvement on the Pontine Marshes", in Christof Ohleg, *Integrated Land and Water Resources Management in History, Schriften der Deutschen Wasserhistorischen Gesellschaft (DWhG) Sonderband 2*, DWhG, 2005, pp. 27–56; Frank Snowden, *The Conquest of Malaria: Italy, 1900-1962*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

⁸⁹ A. Treves, *Migrazioni Interne nell'Italia Fascista: Politica e Realtà Demografica*, Torino: Einaudi, 1976.

⁹⁰ The institution O.N.C. (*Opera Nazionale dei Combattenti*) was established at the end of World War I to help veterans. The law of 9 April 1931 created the Commissariat for Migrations and Interior Colonization (Commissariato per le Migrazioni e la Colonizzazione Interna), an organization involved with the policies of internal migrations and transfers. See Antonio Pennacchi, *Canale Mussolini*, Milano: Mondadori, 2010.

⁹¹ I will use the original name when writing about Littoria during the Fascist period, and the new name of Latina for post-World War II events (renaming in 1945).

⁹² Carlo Fabrizio Carli and Egisto Bragaglia, *Dullio Cambellotti e la conquista della terra*, Latina: Edizioni Agro, 1994.

nucleus of the city-region in construction: in the background the network of roads, farms and hamlets is clearly visible and inscribed within the rigor of the geometric division of the territory in *Migliari* (parallel roads at intervals of one kilometer) and canals; in the foreground, groups of soldiers/farmers and animals struggle to create a Fascist new nature, new city and new society.⁹³

Reflecting on the Pontine foundations, Luigi Piccinato, one of the urbanist-architects of Sabaudia, wrote in 1934 that “neither Littoria nor Sabaudia were cities in the usual urbanistic significance of the term.”⁹⁴ They were not walled or closed in opposition with the countryside, but “authentic agricultural centers, with an indissoluble link to their territory and to the soil that produces.”⁹⁵ Arguing against the metropolis and the large city, Piccinato emphasized the regime’s embrace of urban decentralization (*decentramento urbano*), in line with early twentieth century experimentation with garden cities, linear cities, etc. In other words, the traditional concept of a city was, in Piccinato’s words, to be replaced by a new “city-region, city-province, city-nation.”⁹⁶ Echoes of the American regionalist and anti-urban experiments, in particular the Greenbelt creations and the works of the Tennessee Valley Authority, were evidently resonating in the new Fascist policy of de-urbanization. As Mussolini declared one month before the inauguration of Sabaudia:

The rallying cry is the following: within a couple of decades all the residents of the Italian countryside will have a large and healthy house ... Only in this way can we fight against the nefarious urbanization; only in this way will we be able to bring back to the fields and villages all those dreamers and disappointed ones who have left their established families in order to follow the urban mirages of the salary in cash and easy recreation.⁹⁷

To be sure, this negative vision of urbanization and urban life preceded the advent of Italian Fascism and had deep roots in the industrialization of cities in the second half of the nineteenth century. During the interwar period, Oswald Spengler’s *The Decline of the West* (1918) was a major source of inspiration for anti-urban policies and for Benito Mussolini among others. The debate was international in nature and had influenced major experiments such as the Socialist *Siedlungen* of Ernst May in Frankfurt and of Bruno Taut and Martin Wagner in Berlin, the de-urbanist projects in the Soviet Union, and the rural aspirations of the New Deal in the United States.⁹⁸ The new foundations in the Pontine region partook in these

⁹³ Federico Caprotti and Maria Kaïka, “Producing the Ideal Fascist Landscape: Nature, Materiality and the Cinematic Representation of Land Reclamation in the Pontine Marshes,” *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, n° 6, 2008, pp. 613-634.

⁹⁴ Federico Malasurdi, Luigi Piccinato e l’urbanistica moderna, Roma: Officina Edizioni, 1993, p. 355, from Luigi Piccinato, “Il significato urbanistico di Sabaudia,” *Urbanistica* 1, January 1934.

⁹⁵ Malasurdi, p. 357.

⁹⁶ Ibidem.

⁹⁷ Quoted in Martinelli and Nuti, p. 154; also see Danilo Breschi, *Mussolini e la città. Il fascismo tra antiurbanesimo e modernità*, Milan: Luni Editrice, 2018.

⁹⁸ See Martinelli and Nuti, op. cit.; Diane Ghirardo, op. cit.

international trends. At the same time, their unique program and form were the result of a complex negotiation between two tendencies of Fascist politics: on the one hand, a ruralism that aimed at ascribing “a new dignity to every form of work, particularly agricultural,” and on the other hand, the attraction of a vernacular and urban monumentalism that strove to express the lineage of Fascism with the antique and medieval past.⁹⁹ Fascist propaganda extolled the virtues of rural and healthy living, with a new sense of values and morality, and promoted, particularly in the rural areas of the north, a Fascist land program that aimed at placing individual families on their own piece of land, thus making them individual landowners. A major target was the returning veteran from WWI, which led to the creation of the Opera Nazionale per i Combattenti (O.N.C.). As spelled out in 1926 after its reorganization by Mussolini, its task was to “promote the growth of agricultural colonies and new living centers, bringing veterans there—especially those who were farmers. The importance of this task is obvious: only with the formation of new living centers will it be possible to resolve a grave problem of hygiene and morale; to clear out overcrowded areas, especially in the south, and to give veterans sanitary houses.”¹⁰⁰ In other words, the O.N.C. was “one of the fundamental forces to be mobilized for the ruralization of the country”¹⁰¹ The exaltation of the “rural values” did not only reflect the renewed potential of agriculture in the national economy, but also helped define the design agenda to which the architects of the Pontine cities would respond from 1932 to 1939. As Mia Fuller has argued, relegating the farmers to isolated farmhouses was a serious departure from tradition and a policy that reflected the *desurbanamento* [de-urbanization] tendencies of the regime under supposed gains in productivity.¹⁰² As Gustavo Giovannoni summarized it in his 1936 book:

After having studied in depth what is being done and built abroad, we must now go home and operate with our simple and Italian sentiments. The new towns shall be designed as to not alter the local character of the environment, while responding to the concepts of modernity and practical utility. Let us plan a nucleus of compact houses, yet not too high, that contains the main square, intimate and tranquil like the antique plazas, outside of the main roads of circulation. Then the fabric shall diminish in intensity toward the outskirts, adapting to the terrain, creating harmonious groupings of masses without following systems too rigid; even if the architectural inspiration is not directly local... at any rate it should follow a common sense approach, simple but Italian.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Massimo Pica Ciamarra, “Occasioni mancate,” in Giovanni Marucci, ed., *Architettura Città Rivista di architettura e cultura urbana*, n° 14 (Città pontine), 2006, p. 39.

¹⁰⁰ Ghirardo, p. 45, from O.N.C., *L'opera nazionale per i combattenti*, Roma, 1926, p. 69.

¹⁰¹ Martinelli and Nuti, p. 21.

¹⁰² Mia Fuller, “Tradition as a means to the end of tradition: Farmers’ houses in Italy’s fascist-era new towns,” Nezar Alsayyad (ed.), *The End of Tradition?*, Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013, pp. 171-186.

¹⁰³ Gustavo Giovannoni, *L'urbanistica e la deurbanizzazione*, Roma, 1936, pp. 17-18.

2.2.1. Foundations and the Reclamation of the Pontine Marshes

In April 1932, O.N.C.'s president Valentino Orsolino Cancelli commissioned the Roman architect Oriolo Frezzotti to design the master plan and main buildings of the first Pontine city, Littoria. Frezzotti prepared the plan in less than sixty days.¹⁰⁴ Six months later the town was inaugurated with its main public buildings and spaces in place. Seen from the air, Frezzotti's radio-concentric design brought to mind Palmanova and the Ideal City of the Renaissance, re-actualized in light of Ebenezer Howard's and Raymond Unwin's theories. Littoria became an international sensation. In the fifth issue of *Quadrante*, Pietro Maria Bardi reported the excitement that the presentation of the new town at CIAM IV had generated:

Our report on Littoria is ready, the maps and photographs have been attached to the boards. Van Eesteren has asked the architect Bottoni to make the presentation. After London, Berlin, Paris, now Littoria. We are truly at the center of a very curious attention.¹⁰⁵

Littoria was planned for five thousand residents, yet it presented a highly urban image, one that contradicted the regime's goal of "de-urbanization." However, Mussolini quickly understood the political and propagandistic value that could be derived both nationally and internationally. On the day of its inauguration, the Duce announced the foundation of a second new town, Sabaudia.

Sabaudia was the result of a one-month design competition held in early 1933 and won by a team of young architect-urbanists who had graduated from the new School of Architecture of Rome and were members of the Gruppo degli Urbanisti Romani (GUR): Luigi Piccinato, Gino Cancellotti, Alfredo Scalpelli and Eugenio Montuoti.¹⁰⁶ The town plan, its tri-dimensional construction and the Rationalist architecture of Sabaudia gave it an immediate iconic image. The plan was structured on three principles: first a modern reinterpretation of the Roman colonial diagram with two axial streets—*decumanus* and *cardo*—intersecting at the Piazza della Rivoluzione; second, the balanced asymmetry of building masses and the careful termination of the visual lines characteristic of the medieval city; third, the loose arrangement, on both sides of the main axis, of two paradigms of modern housing: the organic garden neighborhood and the rational grid of the modern housing movement of the 1920s. Key to the planning of Sabaudia was Camillo Sitte's book *Der Städtebau*, first published in 1889 and popularized in Italy since the 1910s by Gustavo Giovannoni and the association AACAR

¹⁰⁴ On Littoria, see Carlo Fabrizio Carli and Massimiliano Vittori, *Oriolo Frezzotti: 1888-1965: Un architetto in territorio pontino*, Latina, Lazio: Novecento, 2002; Pietro Cefaly and Giorgio Muratore, *Littoria 1932-1942: gli architetti e la città*, Latina, Lazio: Casa dell'architettura, 2001; Francesca Bocchi and Enrico Guidoni, *Atlante storico delle città italiane/Lazio 3: Sabaudia*, Roma: Multigrafica, 1988. When Littoria was given the status of a provincial capital in 1933, Frezzotti signed the first expansion plan of the city.

¹⁰⁵ The quote is from Bardi (1933), quoted in Carlo Fabrizio Carli and Massimiliano Vittori, p. 31. Littoria's early critical fame was eventually short-lived as its plan and its architecture were increasingly seen as too traditional in comparison with Sabaudia. Yet, for many Fascist leaders, Littoria better reflected the esthetic goals of the regime.

¹⁰⁶ On the G.U.R., and its professional profile, see Giorgio Ciucci, *Gli architetti e il Fascismo: Architettura e città 1922-1944*, Torino: Einaudi, 1989.

(*Associazione Artistica fra i Cultori di Architettura*).¹⁰⁷

The first axis, *decumanus*, enters the town from Littoria and the reclaimed countryside at the end of a four-kilometer long perspective that terminates on the City Hall's tower; the other and shorter axis, *cardo*, connects the military headquarter to the church. Sabaudia's "medieval" image was exalted in the complex of two central squares, the civic one at the intersection of axes with the tower of the town hall, the hotel, the shops and the cinema, and, isolated but visually connected, the religious one, complete with the church and its detached campanile and baptistery. The whole organism was oriented according to modernist requirements of light and air, and surrounded by a system of parks equivalent to a greenbelt. Whereas Littoria's urban spaces were fundamentally introverted, Sabaudia's response to the regime's concept of "de-urbanization" was clever and made physical with direct visual links between city, the man-made countryside, and the mythical landscape to the south: The long entrance axis; the transparent patio of the City Hall opening on the waterway and the dunes; the subtle articulation of the central square with the public garden, the tall and slender towers of the city hall, and the church's campanile aimed at establishing a connection with the flat landscape. For Alessandra Muntoni, this physical concept was conceived "to make the void speak, to render quasi physically this re-conquered territorial space, new protagonist of a reversed relation country-city...."¹⁰⁸

Sabaudia's ensemble was resolutely modern and one of the first examples of Rationalist architecture in the country. However, it is the public architecture of the city hall, the church, the towers, and the "metaphysical" image of the urban spaces that were first built, advertised and ultimately recorded in the "collective memory" of residents, visitors and readers. As Piccinato explained:

The building of these institutions should be proportioned to the needs of the entire agricultural center and not only to those of the communal town center itself: this explains the apparent disproportion between the size of the public buildings and the number of houses that together with the public buildings comprise the true and characteristic urban aggregate.... Sabaudia is seen comprehensively in its territory, or rather as a strongly decentralized building pattern that has its center in a large central district.¹⁰⁹

Arguably, the iconicity of Sabaudia, Latina, and the other Pontine cities (Pontinia, Aprilia and Pomezia) was significantly different than that of most planned twentieth communities. Overall,

¹⁰⁷ On Sabaudia, see Francesca Bocchi & Enrico Guidoni, *Atlante storico delle città italiane / Lazio 3 Sabaudia* (Roma: Multigrafica Ed., 1988); Giorgio Muratore, Daniela Carfagna & Mario Tieghi (eds.), *Sabaudia, 1934: Il sogno di una città nuova e l'architettura razionalista* (Sabaudia: Comune di Sabaudia, 1999); Richard Burdett, et. al., *Sabaudia 1933: città nuova fascista*, London: Architectural Association, 1981. On Sitte in Italy, see Giorgio Piccinato, "Sitte e le parole dell'urbanistica italiana," in Guido Zucconi (ed.), *Camillo Sitte e i suoi interpreti*, Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1992, pp. 116-144.

¹⁰⁸ Alessandra Muntoni, "Urbanistica e Architettura nelle città dell'Agro Pontino," *Architettura Città Rivista di architettura e cultura urbana*, n° 14 (Città pontine), Camerino: Università degli Studi di Camerino, 2006, p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ Malasurdi, p. 358.

their iconic value was not related to a modern image of housing and dwelling, like in Greenbelt, Welwyn, or the Red Frankfurt, but rather to the modernity of their plans, public architecture and the “metaphysical” image of their urban spaces. Within the context of de-urbanization, they were created as service centers with minimum residential content. Most city users lived around the city, in the farms located on the outskirts of the towns, in the *borghi* and other isolated structures located at the heart of the agricultural heart—as shown in the beautiful and poetic interpretation of Cambellotti’s cycle in Latina. To be sure, housing was an important component of Littoria and Sabaudia’s existence. Luigi Piccinato and his colleagues defined three types for Sabaudia, from the apartment type in the very heart to the rowhouse and the single-family house on its own plot. Not surprisingly he emphasized the importance of the villa-Type C (D in Littoria) as “the richest type, distributed on the edges in direction of the most important vistas, and penetrating within the center, in particular around the church.”¹¹⁰ It was also the type that corresponded best to the anti-urban objectives of the regime. These typologies were clearly influenced by the contemporary context of housing research in Europe and in the United States, but their value in terms of iconicity was eventually limited. The repetitive nature of this arrangement showed obvious influences from the 1920s *Siedlungen* by German architects Bruno Taut, Ernst May and Martin Wagner.¹¹¹ However, no part of those housing sections was implemented.

The following years saw the design and the construction of three other towns and a score of hamlets in the region. Pontinia was the most traditional and designed, without competition, by Pappalardo and Frezzotti (1934-35). The competitions for Aprilia and Pomezia, held in 1936 and 1938 and won by the group Petrucci-Tufaroli-Paolini-Silenzi, further revealed the extent of the typological and morphological inventions of new town planning in a uniquely Italian way. Most of these plans, built or unbuilt, were the works of a new generation of young architect-urbanists, often from the School of Rome, the first generation of “integral architects,” trained and often assistants of Marcello Piacentini and Gustavo Giovannoni. The latter coined the terms in 1916, when he affirmed the necessity to change the traditional figure of the “dilettante architect” and make him or her an “architetto integrale.” In Giovannoni’s words, the “integral architect” was to be “a genuine architect, who is simultaneously artist, technician, and cultivated individual.”¹¹² In 1932 he defined the figure as an architect “who needs to be prepared to the most acute constructional problems as well as to the development of an artistic concept, to the preservation of monuments as well as an urbanistic task.”¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Piccinato, “il significato di Sabaudia,” in Malasurdi, p. 363.

¹¹¹ The competitions for Aprilia and Pomezia respectively held in 1936 further revealed the extent of the typological and morphological inventions of Italian new town planning, but once again, the housing areas were left unbuilt. It is only in the case of the aeronautical city of Guidonia near Rome that housing became essential in defining the public image of the town: see Jean-François Lejeune, “Futurismo e città di fondazione: da Littoria a Guidonia, città aerofuturista,” *Angiolo Mazzoni e l’architettura futurista*, Roma: Fondazione C.E.S.A.R., 2008, pp. 59-74.

¹¹² Ciucci, p. 9; see Gustavo Giovannoni, *Gli architetti e gli studi in Architettura in Italia*, Roma, 1916, p. 12.

¹¹³ Ciucci, p. 10; see Gustavo Giovannoni, *La Scuola di Architettura di Roma*, Roma, 1932, p. 9.

Seen as an ensemble, and even though they were supposed to be non-cities, the new foundations created significant moments of urbanity within the countryside. The *cardo/decumanus* that was used in most cases gave them a strong sense of rational planning, inspired by the Roman *castrum*, while setting up subtle perspectival effects directly related to the lessons of *Sitte*. Eventually, the absence of real housing typologies—with a couple of exceptions such as the suburban pattern of Carbonia that consisted of long roads bordered by single-family houses and stretching far into the landscape—has impacted their overall image and monumentalized them. Housing was not really part of the equation of the foundations. Even if building types such as *case a schiera* (townhouses) were indeed planned in most projects, none of them were ever realized, Rural typologies were not really strongly studied but basically adapted from existing patterns. This made the Italian foundations particularly unique in contrast with other international situation where, most of the time, it is housing or the rural house that was meant to define the new identity.

In this evolving context, the new towns reconciled the apparently contradictory presence of modernism and ruralism, of city and country, and of experimenting between modernity and reference to tradition. Not surprisingly, the iconic urban form of Sabaudia, as well as its integration within the new Fascist landscape, attracted the gaze of the aero-futurist painters and photographers. Following the Manifesto of Aero-painting of 1929, the airplane and the aerial gaze became the symbolic means and tool of futurism.¹¹⁴ Faced with the sickness, the ugliness, and poverty of the traditional cities, altitude allowed seeking for relief, by abstracting the multitude, and the masses in movement on the earth. Works like *Bonifica integrale* (1933) by Peruzzi, Tato's *Sorvolando Sabaudia* (1934), Prampolini's *Cuore aperto di contadino bonificatore*, or Di Bosso's *Spiralando su Sabaudia* (1936) situate the Aero-futurist movement at a point of reconciliation between the two antagonistic factions of Italian culture during Fascism, i.e., *Strapaese* and *Stracittà*. As Emily Braun wrote, "it was not *Strapaese*'s intention to reject modernity in its entirety, but rather to absorb it through the filter of tradition, and in this way to counter the complete eradication of the past."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Giacomo Balla, Benedetta Marinetti, Fortunato Depero, Gerardo Dottori, Fillia, F.T. Marinetti, Enrico Prampolini, Mino Somenzi, Tato, "L'aeropittura, manifesto futurista," in *Futurismo 1909-1944*, pp. 555-556. Also see Umbrio Apollonio, *Futurist Manifestos*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1973.

¹¹⁵ Emily Braun, "Speaking Volumes: Giorgio Morandi's Still Lifes and the Cultural Politics of *Strapaese*," *Modernism/Modernity* 2, March 1995, p. 95. According to The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature (2002), "The vision of peasant wholesomeness and a corresponding earthy pithiness of style which was promoted particularly by Mino Maccari apropos of Tuscany and Tuscan in *Il Selvaggio* in the interwar years. It was polemically opposed to the internationalism of *stracittà* associated with Bontempelli and the *900* (*Novecento*) group. Both tendencies claimed to be in tune with the true spirit of Fascism, but *strapaese* gained the ascendancy in the 1930s."

According to the Encyclopedia Britannica (Britannica.com), "Stracittà, an Italian literary movement that developed after World War I. Massimo Bontempelli was the leader of the movement, which was connected with his idea of *novecentismo*. Bontempelli called for a break from traditional styles of writing, and his own writings reflected his interest in such modern forms as Surrealism and magic realism. The name *stracittà*, a type of back-formation from the word *stracittadino* ("ultra-urban"), was meant to emphasize the movement's adherence to general trends in European literature, in opposition to *strapaese* (from *strapaesano* ["ultra-local"])—collectively, those authors who followed nationalist and regionalist trends."

Most observers, historians and critics have emphasized the even more explicit connection with the other great movement in Italian Modern Art, i.e., the Metaphysical painting of Giorgio de Chirico and Carlo Carrà, and, after World War One, other artists like Mario Sironi. The *città di fondazione* formed in Renata Basana, Carlo Fabrizio Carli, and Luigi Prisco's words, a *Metafisica costruita* or Constructed Metaphysics. Like many authors before them, they equated the "metaphysical" character of the urban spaces of the Pontine cities with the series of paintings produced, mostly by de Chirico between 1914 and 1925, under the general title of *Piazze d'Italia*. De Chirico's abstracted architectural language was at once traditional and modern. As such, and with various degrees of intensity, it was strongly reflected in the architectures of Littoria, Sabaudia, Aprilia and others like Pomezia.¹¹⁶ The period photographs, mostly produced by and for the Touring Club Italiano (T.C.I.), and some of the architect's drawings, consciously exploited these standard elements of metaphysical painting. From their very start the Pontine cities were scenically, urbanistically and politically conceived as urban objects of propaganda and as such were extensively photographed. In contrast with Tato's *Sorvolando Sabaudia* and other aerial works that suggested or effectively showed the masses that were supposed to fill the large spaces imagined by the architects as points of gathering for the Regime, most T.C.I. photos were precisely constructed to emphasize the illusion of one or more vanishing points; they were more often than not either empty of human beings, or featured an enigmatic figure standing in isolation, a statue as in one of Chirico's Metaphysical squares, or even, as an iconic element of modernity, the silent presence of an automobile.¹¹⁷

2.2.2. Postwar Villages

War destructions on the Italian territory were considerable. About two millions habitable rooms were destroyed and another four millions severely damaged.¹¹⁸ The reconstruction process was thus two-fold. On the one hand, it involved the reconstruction of towns, cities, and monuments within the confines of their urban fabric; on the other hand, it embraced an ambitious process of new neighborhoods, that would favor low-cost social housing outside of the pre-war limits of the urban fabric, usually on lands without infrastructures, often remote from public transportation, and eventually functioning in quasi-isolation as neighborhood units or urban villages. In 1948, Amintore Fanfani, Minister of Labor and Social Security, signed the Legge Fanfani that created the Ina-casa program that provided the financing for a massive program of housing that created 350,000 new dwellings from 1949 to 1963. Formerly a

¹¹⁶ Renata Basana, Carlo Fabrizio Carli, Luigi Prisco, op. cit.

¹¹⁷ Note that I will not discuss here the Italian foundations created in Ethiopia as they follow the same principles and do not include any housing. See Renata Basana, Carlo Fabrizio Carli, Luigi Prisco, op. cit., and Mia Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, cities and Italian imperialism*, London: Routledge, 2007.

¹¹⁸ See Paola di Biagi (ed.), *La grande ricostruzione: il piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001; Stephanie Zeier Pilat, *Reconstructing Italy: The Ina-Casa Neighborhoods of the Postwar Era*, London: Ashgate, 2014.

member of the Fascist party, Fanfani was situated to the left of the Christian-Democrat party and was driven by a Catholic view of capitalism that encouraged and supported the role of the State to temper the “amorality and excesses of market-capitalism.”¹¹⁹ Funded by the Marshall Plan, the aspiration of the INA-casa program was “to give workers a civilized home, studied in ways so that each can feel in its own and where each man can feel himself a citizen of a new community.”¹²⁰

The Institute published two design manuals in 1949 and 1950.¹²¹ These manuals combined normative rules, examples of projects both good and bad, and were richly illustrated with diagrams and photographs. Together the first and second manuals comprise a theory and method of interior, architectural, and urban design for architects working during the first seven years of the plan. Overall, they promoted a humane type of urbanism, in rupture with the geometric rationalism of Fascist low-cost housing in the peripheries, with winding streets, changing perspectives, and a vernacular approach to materials that favored labor-intensive techniques. Those were in many ways Camillo Sitte’s principles, albeit reinterpreted in a more modern mode. In post-1945 Italy, under the spell of Bruno Zevi, it was the word “organic architecture” that best described the search for the architecture and urban design of the new democratic era:

The house should contribute to the formation of the urban environment, keeping in mind the spiritual and material needs of man, of a real man and not an abstract being; a man, that is, who neither loves nor understands the unending repetition and monotony of the same type of dwellings.... He does not love the arrangement of a chessboard, but rather those environments that are both cozy and dynamic.¹²²

The most famous of the new post-war districts of the INA-casa, the Quartiere Tiburtino was designed between 1949 and 1954 by a team of architects led by Ludovico Quaroni and Mario Ridolfi, and including W. Frankl, C. Aymonino, C. Chiarini, M. Fiorentino, F. Gorio, M. Lanza, S. Lenci, P. Lugli, C. Melograni, G. Menichetti e M. Valori.¹²³ Commenting the project in *Casabella*, Aymonino wrote that it had “the character of a village, archaic and free, as something more intimate than the chaos of the periphery of the metropolis.”¹²⁴ And further: “from the very beginning of the project for the district, the accepted idea was to move beyond a rationalist type of composition, dictated by uniform orientations, constant distances, and the repetition of a few building types... in order to obtain a unity by means of the superposition of always different perspectives formed by a succession of diverse spaces brought together by a

¹¹⁹ Zeier Pilat, p. 50.

¹²⁰ Quoted from Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*, Roma: Staderini, 1963, cited by Zeier Pilat, p. 29.

¹²¹ *Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi*, Roma: F. Damasso, 1949, and *Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, Roma: F. Damasso, 1950.

¹²² Zeier Pilat, p. 69, cited from *Suggerimenti*, 1950, pp. 10-11.

¹²³ “Quartiere Tiburtino a Roma,” *Urbanistica* 21, n° 7, 1951, pp. 24-25; Carlo Aymonino, “Storia e cronaca del quartiere Tiburtino,” *Casabella continuità*, n° 215, November 1955, pp. 18-43.

¹²⁴ Carlo Aymonino, *Casabella* 215, 1957, p. 20.

renewed value of the street.”¹²⁵ The team successfully pursued the “picturesque,” “with the studied happenstance of many different types of façades and roofs, with the use of balconies for their sculptural functions, with the extension of the first flights of stairs on the exterior of the building in order to reinforce their character of being constructions that had arisen spontaneously at successive moments in time.”¹²⁶ As Bruno Reichlin has commented, Wolfgang Frankl, a member of the team and a former student of the Stuttgarterschule in Germany, was passionately interested in minor architecture. He scrutinized and drew the towns and villages of central Italy in search of design ideas.¹²⁷

Written for and applied in the periphery of cities within the context of the INA-casa, those principles were deployed as well to guide the design and construction of new villages across the country, and primarily in the South or Mezzogiorno. Toward the end of the war, a group of exiled figures including Ernesto Nathan Rogers, Luigi Einaudi, and Adriano Olivetti had initiated the debate about the physical and moral reconstruction of the country, and particularly the development of the South. Influenced by the New Deal, Olivetti initiated programs of development such as the Olivetti complex in Pozzuoli and the adjacent INA-casa neighborhood. Yet, it is in the countryside that his action would be decisive as a member of the board of the UNRRA-CASAS (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration/Comitato Amministrativo Soccorso ai Senzatetto) founded in 1946 to manage international help with a priority for the rural south. More specifically, at the end of the 1940s, the Basilicata and the city of Matera became the focus of study by Italian and foreign intellectuals. Among them, the German Frederic Friedmann, professor at the University of Arkansas and Olivetti’s personal friend, who arrived in Matera in the footsteps of Carlo Levi’s *Cristo si è fermato ad Eboli* and immediately epitomized Matera as a socio-economic model of the rural world.¹²⁸ Levi’s novel, published in 1945, was a devastating portrait of Matera’s unique historic center, the Sassi. In his memoir, Levi, a doctor, painter and author revealed the wealth of civic values of work and solidarity in Matera, suffocated in the deepest misery and that had to be recognized and eventually protected:

These inverted cones, these funnels are called Sassi, Sasso Caveoso and Sasso Barisano. They have the shape with which, in school, I imagined Dante's hell ... The narrow road passed over the roofs of the houses, if they can be called so. They are caves dug into the walls of the ravine’s hardened clay ... The streets are both floors for those who leave the houses above and roofs for those who live below ... The doors were open for the heat, and I could watch as I was passing by: and I saw the

¹²⁵ Ibidem.

¹²⁶ Ibidem.

¹²⁷ Marcel Meili and Markus Peter, interview with Wolfgang Frankl in “Durch die Abruzzen nach Rom: Eine architektonische Reise,” photo-copied document distributed during research trip for the Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Zurich, 1993, pp. 111–25, quoted by Bruno Reichlin, “Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 1), *Grey Room* 05, Fall 2001, p.86.

¹²⁸ See Federico Bilò and Ettore Vadini (eds.), *Matera e Adriano Olivetti – Conversazioni con Albino Sacco e Leonardo Sacco*, Ivrea: Fondazione Adriano Olivetti, 2013.

inside the caves: they take no more light and air than from the door. Some do not even have that: you enter from above, through hatches and small stairs.¹²⁹

Levi's *Cristo* had a massive and awakening impact on the society and particularly on the intellectuals and politicians of the early 1950s. Matera became a symbol of the condition of the South, a "disgrace" that had to be cured and renewed. Promoted by the UNRAA-CASAS and the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (I.N.U.) under the leadership of Adriano Olivetti, and by Frederic Friedmann, a commission was put in place to study the design of new and modern communities that could reproduce and maintain the civic values of the old habitat.¹³⁰ The result was the *Piano regolatore* di Matera (1953-54), authored by Luigi Piccinato, who led the design team of Sabaudia twenty years earlier. The plan was the response to the law of 17 May 1952 that decreed the urban renewal of the Sassi and the subsequent forced expulsion of their residents. It included the construction of five new villages to serve as agricultural communities—La Martella, Borgo Venusio, Santa Lucia, Drago di Picciano, Torre Spagnola—and a series of suburban quarters closer to the city, Serra Venerdi, Spine Bianche, Villa Longo, and La Nera.¹³¹ What Tiburtino was for Rome and the urban environment, La Martella, projected by Ludovico Quaroni, Federico Gorio, Luigi Agati, Pietro Maria Lugli, and Michele Valori, became for the countryside: an instant icon of Italian postwar modern and neo-realist architecture. The village was loosely organized around a multi-focal civic center where the church, administrative buildings, schools formed two U-shaped compositions that provided public space and responded to multiple viewpoints in a clearly picturesque manner: at the very edge of the village were the commercial center and the modern church whose cubic, quasi-medieval and tower-like volume jutted out in front of the landscape. This urban composition was a notable departure from the 1930s examples in the pontine area. The architects abandoned the concept of a central and geometrically—one could say rationalistically—conceived piazza and replaced it by a more modern concept of civic center made up of a loosely arranged assemblage of buildings with diverse places of encounter.¹³²

Behind them were other public functions such as schools, dispensary, sport fields, etc. From the civic center, four roads extended into the landscape, with almost continuous and irregular group of houses aligned on one or both of their sides. Between the roads and branching out of them were a series of short and curved streets that functioned as a type of semi-private

¹²⁹ Carlo Levi, *Cristo si è fermato ad Eboli*, Turin: Einaudi, 1945; in English, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, New York: Farrar, Strauss and company, 1947: "Questi coni rovesciati, questi imbuti si chiamano Sassi, Sasso Caveoso e Sasso Barisano. Hanno la forma con cui a scuola immaginavo l'inferno di Dante... La stradetta strettissima passava sui tetti delle case, se quelle così si possono chiamare. Sono grotte scavate nella parete di argilla indurita del burrone... Le strade sono insieme pavimenti per chi esce dalle abitazioni di sopra e tetti per quelli di sotto... Le porte erano aperte per il caldo, lo guardavo passando: e vedevo l'interno delle grottesche non prendono altra luce ed aria se non dalla porta. Alcune non hanno neppure quella: si entra dall'alto, attraverso botole e scalette."

¹³⁰ See Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica, *Esperienze urbanistiche in Italia*, Roma: INU, 1952; Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica, *Nuove esperienze urbanistiche in Italia*, Roma: INU, 1956.

¹³¹ Luigi Piccinato, "Matera: i sassi, i nuovi borghi e il piano regolatore," *Urbanistica* 24, n° 15-16 (1954), pp. 142-151; Carlo Aymonino, "Matera: mito e realtà," *Casabella continuità*, n° 231, September 1959, pp. 7-12; "Matera," *Casabella continuità*, n° 231, September 1959, pp. 8-33.

¹³² For a discussion of the modern civic center, see Chapter 5 in this dissertation.

cul-de-sac but were eventually connected all together on the outskirts of the village. Those short streets were, to some extent, villages within the village, the desired equivalent of the *sassi* and of the mini-community that the antique typology had spurred. Almost banal houses at the front of narrow and deep lots reinterpreted the vernacular and the architecture without architects. In contrast to the fixed nature of the *città di fondazione* where the matrix center permitted to understand the whole from one point, Matera and its followers were all about movement. What Quaroni, Ridolfi and the team planned in La Martella was not focused on the plaza as Sitte studied extensively, but rather on Kevin Lynch's version, more dynamic and closer to the Townscape approach. As Lucio Barbera summarized,

Quaroni's experiments became a voyage through the geographical landscape of Italian architectural languages, into places whose identity had remained true and distinct. And the miracle of La Martella was born together with the studies into the language of an architecture without architects, into the merits of apparent randomness and the substantial resources of spontaneously created historical fabrics, which had their origins in the severe economic conditions, in the need to live together in communities, in the harsh competition barely held in check by the fear of other people, microcosms in which the embryo of the contemporary metropolis, free, rejoicing and savagely stern, was unexpectedly already alive.¹³³

However, the success of La Matera hides a double paradox. On the one hand, the expediency with which the Piano Regolatore, as well as the construction of more than 2000 housing units, was achieved at the cost of the quasi-destruction of a unique urban culture with roots deep in history. On the other hand, the relocation program supported by the masterplan was only partially successful as some residents did not adapt and returned to the *sassi*, while some of the planned villages were not built or left incomplete. Within the new democratic context, La Martella and the other villages created by the UNRAA-CASAS offered a new perspective on the role of housing. The Fascist concept of dispersed farmsteads and isolated centers of service was replaced by a semi-compact design that integrated the agricultural housing within the overall composition. This radical shift could be explained by the humanistic intent of the program. These villages were not the focus of a regime's propaganda: it was the modernity of their housing structure that mattered, not only to the architects but mainly to the institutional promoters who were under big pressure to solve the housing crisis and the increasing economic disparities of the immediate postwar era.

Michele Valori and Stefano Gorio won the competition for Torre Spagnola, one of the five villages planned outside Matera, with a quite sophisticated masterplan that remained unfortunately on paper. The village was organized in two sections joined on both sides of an ambitious civic center that included a park, a rectangular piazza, and a system of public spaces defined by the public structures. The most remarkable was the long rows of courtyard houses, accessed from the inside the village and that literally enclosed it in the form of

¹³³ Lucio Barbera, *The Radical City of Ludovico Quaroni*, unpublished manuscript, p. 200.

inhabited walls. The only interruption was an outdoor auditorium facing the landscape. The tall volume of the church, “the best invention of the whole Italian neorealism” in the words of Benevolo, dominated the suggestive perspective.¹³⁴ For another settlement, Borgo Venusio, Luigi Piccinato planned a civic center immersed in a small park and surrounded it with a ring of small residential islands. Each island consisted of 15 to 20 houses built around and entered from a central green. The village remained incomplete but its planning structure can be clearly distinguished. The civic center, on a slightly elevated stone terrace, is one of the most successful of the postwar generation of villages: conceived as a U-shaped piazza open to the landscape on one side, it sits an elegant modern church, an arcaded bar-like line of housing on top of shops and residences, and a 3-story apartment buildings whose mass articulates strongly the pedestrian and vehicular access to the square.

Beyond Matera, the post-war program of new villages is relatively little investigated. To be sure, Olivetti’s role was not limited to the exceptional case of Matera. As president of the I.N.U, he advocated for reclamation and agrarian reform in the south (particularly Sicily, Puglia and Sardegna) as well as similar programs in the Maremma and in the region of L’Aquila. In February of 1940, in occasion of the *Mostra del latifundo e dell’istruzione agraria* held in Palermo, the projects for eight new villages were presented and some of them were in construction when the war interrupted the works in 1942. Borgo Schirò and Borgo Schisina, the latter because it was the site of a famous scene in Antonioni’s movie *L’avventura*, were quickly abandoned or even never occupied.¹³⁵ The majority of the postwar villages, and that was clearly the case in Sicily, remained conceived as service centers with limited housing capacity. Among the projects that were brought to fruition, it is important to mention Pescia Romana and Santa Maria di Ripescia, both of them in the Maremma, Ottomila (Vittorini, Boccianti) in the region of L’Aquila, and Gromola, Province of Salerno.¹³⁶ Carlo Boccianti realized the core of the small village of Santa Maria di Ripescia, also in the Maremma, where he planned a completely traditional church at the heart of a gridded plan. However, it is the heart of Pescia Romana (1953), which stands out as one of the most successful modern centers of the 1950s. The hexagonal church, an apartment building, and a mixed-use complex form an active pentagonal square. Realized in stone like the rest of the square, the church features a tall campanile-like tower on one side—a rare occurrence in the 1950s examples—and, on the other side, a hexagonal pedestrian square for use by the schools and the day-care center.

In the early 1950s, the UNRAA-CASAS commissioned Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini, two masters of prewar Italian Rationalism, to design a masterplan for a new town, the Borgo Porto Conte, on the coast of Sardinia in an area depressed by poverty and depopulation near

¹³⁴ Quoted by Maristella Casciato, *Michele Valori. Taccuini di architettura*, Roma: Gangemi, 2013, p. 12: “la migliore invenzione di tutto il neorealismo italiano.”

¹³⁵ See Jean-François Lejeune, “Pueblos modernos,” *Teatro Marítimo* 6 (Tradición y modernidad), 2017, pp. 42-51.

¹³⁶ See Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica, *Esperienze urbanistiche in Italia*, Roma: INU, 1952; Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica, *Nuove esperienze urbanistiche in Italia*, Roma: INU, 1956.

Fertilia. It was planned to relocate hundreds of Italian-Dalmatian refugees from Yugoslavia in a familiar Mediterranean environment.¹³⁷ The long report written by the architects gave a precise description of a carefully studied project for 750 habitants in 125 housing units, which, unfortunately, did not materialize. The beautifully drawn and detailed project was important for two main reasons. Firstly and for the first time in the practice of Italian new settlements since the 1930s, the architects selected to use a courtyard type for the fishermen' and farmers' houses. Dispersed on an informal grid pattern all around the civic center, the houses and their outbuildings were to be grouped two by two, each one having access to two small patio: a residential one as prolongation of the private realm and a "rustic" one for tools and work. Here, not unlike Le Corbusier in Chile, they took clues from the Sardinian Mediterranean landscape and vernacular and designed the houses with high stone walls and long one-sided roofs to protect from winds and sun. As for the square, it appeared as a large public space, closed on three sides by a continuous portico structure containing shops, a bar, the medical office, a 200-seat cinema and meeting room, and other services. The fourth side opened up to the church placed some distance away and framing the landscape. According to the architects, "the entire compound aspires to be the heart of the village; the concept of the Italian piazza has been taken here, closed and lined with porticos, defended from the winds, the sun, and the rain ... These are the fundamental elements that, in many ancient plazas of our cities and our towns, continue today, favoring the most suitable conditions for the development of human relationships and of society's life, together with the harmony of the architectural spaces that derive from them."¹³⁸ Clinging to the landscape from the waterfront to the hill, the town reflected the natural environment, with its skyline dominated by the tall, cubical tower of the church complex and its inverted V-shaped roof.

Porto Conte was the last major design for an agricultural settlement within the Italian context. Interestingly, the Spanish periodical *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* published the project in all its details. The year was 1957, at the very moment when Alejandro de la Sota, José Luis Fernández del Amo, and Antonio Fernández Alba were developing their most innovative *pueblos* for the Instituto Nacional de Colonización. To some extent, the 30-year long Italian experience of colonization had come full circle, from the Fascist modern monumentalism to the equivalent of the Spanish approach based upon an "architecture without architects."

¹³⁷ Interestingly, the project was published in great details in the Spanish periodical press: Luigi Figini and Giorgio Pollini, "El poblado de Porto Conte," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 188, August 1957, pp. 23-30; also see Vittorio Gregotti and Giovanni Marzari, *Luigo Figino, Gino Pollini: opera completa*, Milano: Electa, 1996.

¹³⁸ Ibidem, p. 29: "Todo ese conjunto aspira a ser el corazón del pueblo; se ha tomado aquí el concepto de la piazza italiana, cerrada y con porticos, defendida de los vientos, del sol, y de la lluvia... Son éstos los elementos fundamentales que, en muchas piazzas antiguas de nuestras ciudades y nuestros pueblos, continúan aún hoy favoreciendo las condiciones más idóneas para el desarrollo de las relaciones humanas y de la vida de sociedad, junto con la armonía de los espacios arquitectónicos que de ellas se deriven."

2.3. LE CORBUSIER'S RADIANT VILLAGE OR THE OTHER CITY OF TOMORROW

In the 1934 edition of *La Ville radieuse*, Le Corbusier wrote in chapter Seven, titled "Rural Reorganization":

Friends,

The city cannot keep the city planner all to itself; the countryside is crying out for him too.

The country is the other city of tomorrow.

Our cities are crammed to the bursting point with parasitic elements of population. Our cities must be purged.

We cannot send these underprivileged groups of people back to the land unless we first redevelop our countryside.

...

The spirit of the age must reign over the entire country: why should the peasant, because of our negligence or idleness, remain as underprivileged as he now is? The man in the fields and the man in the factory must have the same sunshine, whether of sky or spirit, shining onto their homes and into their hearts."¹³⁹

Le Corbusier's involvement in the small French political movement known as *Syndicalisme régional* (Regional Syndicalism), and his participation in the Fascist-leaning periodicals *Plans* (1931-32), *Prélude* (1933-36), and *L'homme réel* (1934) is now well known.¹⁴⁰ "Syndicalism" alluded to the prewar syndicalist movement, which called for government by unions for unions. It represented a sort of decentralized socialism that was based on the trades (*métiers*) rather than political structures. At the same time the group advocated a government based upon the *natural regions*, hence on administrative units whose limits would be based upon natural conditions "that dominate the machine-age adventure: climate; topography, geography, race."¹⁴¹ Yet, the group rejected the Italian model of centralized State fascism of Mussolini in favor of "regional" structures of power. The movement and Le Corbusier as one of its most important spokesmen argued that reorienting the modern currents of energy toward the new and most fruitful regional axis and borders would "protect the world from the present threat of national conflicts."¹⁴² A page from *Prélude* republished by Le Corbusier

¹³⁹ Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City – Elements of a Doctrine of Urbanism to be Used as the Basis of our Machine-Age Civilization*, New York: The Orion Press, 1964 [1933], p. 331. The Radiant Farm and the Radiant Village (1933-34) can be found in pages 320 to 338; also published in Le Corbusier, *Oeuvre complète*, 1934-38, Zürich: Les Editions d' Architecture, 1970 [1953].

¹⁴⁰ For this section, see François Chaslin, *Un Corbusier*, Paris: Seuil, 2015; Mary McLeod, "La Ferme Radieuse, Le Village Radieux," in Marc Bédarida and Claude Prelorenzo (eds.), *Le Corbusier. La Nature*, Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier, 2004, pp. 128-49; Gilles Ragot, "La ferme et le village radieux de Le Corbusier. Nouvelle déclinaison du principe d'équilibre entre l'individuel et le collectif," *In Situ (Revue des patrimoines)*, n° 21, 2013, pp. 1-11.

¹⁴¹ Le Corbusier, p. 193. It is interesting to put this concept in parallel with the hydrographic zones in Spain (see early in this Chapter).

¹⁴² Le Corbusier, p. 194.

placed the movement “ni droite, ni gauche,” “ni capitalism, ni marxisme.”¹⁴³ In the tradition of the French utopian socialism, “they believed—and certainly this was part of the appeal for LC—that they could create a ‘new order’ now.”¹⁴⁴

Hughes Lagardère, one of the founders of “regional syndicalism” had since the beginning of the century been involved in the agrarian question, when he published *La question agraire et le socialisme* in 1899. Unsurprisingly, the movement intended to expand its principles to the countryside where new agricultural unions would be involved in government. In 1931 an agricultural laborer and veteran from the Sarthes region, Norbert Bézard, became involved in the regional syndicalist movement and later joined the *Prélude* group. In 1933 he wrote a passionate letter to Le Corbusier and pleaded for him to become involved in the life of rural France:

Do you know my village on the main road? ... it’s charming – for people who like old things. An old church, old houses... Last winter, the floods nearly caused a real disaster... It ought to be rebuilt... We need a new village, but not a heap of cardboard boxes “cheaper by the dozen.” So where is the architect who will build my village? We need people who know how to build.¹⁴⁵

Bézard further elaborated his ideas. Proposing to keep the 1000-old church in its place, he argued for a big central square that would be lined with the school, the community center—to contain the Council chamber, the radio station, a meeting hall, a movie house and a library—the Co-op, the mechanic, the cartwright, the smith.¹⁴⁶ Houses should be only family units, practical and comfortable, with a big garden: “We want houses on pilotis. Because we have had enough of standing with our feet in dung and mud... give us windows, wide windows, so that we get sun in our farm.” Likewise the farms along the communal roads should be rebuilt. He ended with a loud call to LC: “Make us a model of our future. You have created ‘The Radiant City’ all right. Now do something about the Village, the Farm.”¹⁴⁷ Beyond the dynamic of new planning and architecture, Bézard and the Syndicalist group were adamantly clear: the rural land had to remain in private hands and cultivated by individual families.

Le Corbusier responded quickly to that call and in 1933 he started to study and read about the French countryside, its history and its economy. In March 1934 he completed the drawings for the family-owned *ferme radieuse*. Early in the decade and impressed by the Soviet experience, Le Corbusier had been ambiguous about the individual and the collective ownership of land, calling “for the wholesale reorganization of land tenure in the country as a

¹⁴³ Reproduced in Le Corbusier, p. 174.

¹⁴⁴ Mary Mc Leod, “The Country Is the Other City of Tomorrow’ – Le Corbusier’s Ferme Radieuse and Village Radieux,” in Dorothée Imbert (ed.), *Food and the City – Histories of Culture and Cultivation*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2015, p. 104.

¹⁴⁵ Norbert Bézard, “My Village,” in Le Corbusier, p. 320.

¹⁴⁶ Le Corbusier, p. 320.

¹⁴⁷ Le Corbusier, p. 320-321.

whole and the cities in particular.”¹⁴⁸ On his trip to Moscow in 1928, he praised the Soviet collective and industrialized vision of agriculture. Yet, a couple of years later, in line with Regional Syndicalism he had embraced a more traditional vision of the farm property. He saw the “link between the peasant and the earth” so “indissoluble,” that, for him, it became “impossible to avoid the conclusion that we should attach the peasant to his land with the most fundamental bond: the family.”¹⁴⁹

The Radiant Farm was a new farm unit of about twenty hectares that would modernize and make the cultivation more profitable with the silo as its architectural symbol. Le Corbusier described it in symbolic terms as “a kind of geometrical plant that is as intimately linked to the landscape as a tree or a hill, yet as expressive of our human presence as a piece of furniture or a machine.”¹⁵⁰ In the radiant farm, the farmer was going to be an “other” man, a man who reads, listens to radio, gets connected through the airwaves, the car, the railroad, or the books. He would thrive on his modern individuality but partake in the collective of the radiant village or cooperative village, with the club as the center not only of the local and regional community but also of modern life, where modern life reaches all residents as equal as the city.

In Le Corbusier’s extensive drawings, the radiant farm was planned alongside two perpendicular axes. The first axis, the short one, was private, with the family house in its center facing the private road, with the orchard at the front and the kitchen garden, the poultry yard, and the flower house at the back. The house was on pilotis, because the farmers have had enough of the mud and the deplorable conditions of the land. The sketches show a light, open and airy structure which allowed to control all the farmland and in particular the productive units. From the house, the family could survey the orchard and kitchen garden, and find refuge underneath from the summer sun and rain. Its rectangular plan was simple and functional, with two bathrooms and a kitchen. An outside staircase gave access to the open gallery that preceded the entrance to the housing unit. The second axis was the public and productive one. From the outside, a densely planted road entered the farm with the house on axis deflecting the road in a bend. Passed the house, the working farm was organized within a walled courtyard, with the large barn on its end and on its side the animal enclosure, silos, and sheds. The sketches show a tall and light standardized steel structure, made up of a series of parallel low-vaulted sections. Flexibility, cleanliness, order, and structural elegance characterized the entire radiant farm.

Using the roadside village of Piacé in the Sarthes region as proposed example, Bénard and Le Corbusier placed the Radiant Village perpendicular to the road and more or less parallel to the principal village road, with the linear dimension of the Radiant village equal to the transversal size of the existing village, i.e. approximately 350 meters. The site was flat for

¹⁴⁸ Le Corbusier, p. 148.

¹⁴⁹ Le Corbusier, p. 191.

¹⁵⁰ Le Corbusier, p. 322.

easy transportation, on the edge of a river and with gentle hills in the distance. The village structure was similar to the farm: a linear plan, connected to the express road by a new service street along which would be aligned, on either side of the axial composition, the workshops, the cooperative building, the school, the post office, the collective housing block, the club and the town hall. In contrast with the picturesque structure of the road village of Piacé, the Radiant village harbored a monumental, axial, quasi-classical image. A linear entrance pavilion made up of the collective silos and accessory garages functioned as a modern gate, whose grandeur was emphasized by the height of the silos. At the other end of the axis and on slightly elevated terrain was the town hall or *mairie*. Unfortunately, in spite of his regional approach, Le Corbusier did not draw the relationship between the farm and the village, eventually leaving the impression of an atomized landscape, without a clear structure of public spaces.

Along with the concept of Rural Reorganization as part of the Radiant City global project, Le Corbusier developed very ambiguous concepts regarding what he called the “dead embers of men and homes and communities that have accumulated around the city’s bright furnaces...”¹⁵¹. These represented the poor and the desperate, who had flocked to the metropolis and crammed into it to the bursting point. He argued that Paris could contain more inhabitants within this wall but that, perhaps, it would be better to have less of them. “How to purge our cities of our inefficient populations” was the great planning question.¹⁵² In his proposal for de-urbanization, only a modernized countryside, a modern way of country life, and the radiant villages could attract the parasitic hundreds of thousands back to the soil, the earth, and nature.

As discussed by Marina Epstein-Plioutch and Tzafirir Fainholtz, Le Corbusier was very interested by the Palestine experience and had a follow-up correspondence with the most modern architects, Arie Sharon and others, but the connection gave no results.¹⁵³ Likewise, Le Corbusier pursued a multi-year effort, from 1931 to 1936, to meet Mussolini and to work for the Fascist regime, which represents for him the *Autorità* and thus a potential client. His relation to Italy was at that moment two-fold: first, he had various exchanges with the young generation of Italian architects that gravitated around the magazine *Quadrante*, including

¹⁵¹ Le Corbusier, p. 197.

¹⁵² Ibidem.

¹⁵³ Marina Epstein-Plioutch and Tzafirir Fainholtz, “Is the Kibbutz a 'Radiant Village'? Le Corbusier and the Zionist Movement,” in Andrew Ballantyne (ed.), *Rural and Urban: Architecture between Two Cultures*, London: Routledge, 2010, p. 162. In his dissertation (Technion Institute of Technology) “Le Corbusier and the Zionist Movement” (2015), Fainholtz Issues explored the common origins for the ideas and work of Le Corbusier and of the Zionist movement; the parallel cooperative rural projects of Le Corbusier and of Zionist architects: *The Radiant Village the Kibbutz and the Mohav*; connections between Le Corbusier and Jewish architects such as Sam Barkai and Julius Posener who were active in Palestine; the relationships between Le Corbusier, the Zionist movement and the publication of Zionist architecture in Europe through conferences, journals and international exhibitions; Le Corbusier's participation in attempts to resolve the “Jewish question” in the 1930s, and his connections with the Zionist Revisionist leader, Ze'ev Wolfgang von Weisl; and Le Corbusier's involvement in the question of immigration and Jewish settlement before and after World War II and in the years subsequent to the establishment of the State of Israel.

Bottoni e Pollini, Pietro Bardi, and the engineer Fiorini (inventor of the tensile structure employed by Le Corbusier for his project for Algiers in 1932); secondly, he attempted at getting in touch with the center of power, and thus Mussolini himself. Around the end of 1933, Pietro Maria Bardi and Massimo Bontempelli sent him an invitation to come to Italy and give two lectures in Rome along with an exhibition of projects.¹⁵⁴

While in Rome from June 4 to June 23, 1934, he encountered a wide range of architects from the young members of the BBPR group (Banfi, Barbiano de Belgiojoso, Peressutti, Rogers) to Marcello Piacentini and Luigi Piccinato, the porte-parole of the designers of Sabaudia. He visited the Agro Pontino and the new towns of Littoria and Sabaudia, which was inaugurated one month earlier. His criticism of Littoria was expectedly negative, "... a poor little town in the garden city manner, a garbage dump for the schools of architecture."¹⁵⁵ But, contrary to the Italian Rationalists who regarded him as a main reference, he was equally critical with Sabaudia, which in spite of many efforts was not "the village of modern times, but a dream, a sweet and somewhat romantic poem, a 'shepherds' dream...."¹⁵⁶

Right before his departure, he sent a short note to Giuseppe Bottai with destination to Mussolini. Therein he suggested that he be commissioned to design the third new town of Pontinia: "... what results most urgent following my passage to Rome appears to be a proposal for the town of Pontinia according to a program and a concept that reflect the apex of modern urbanism and architecture issues."¹⁵⁷ Obviously the timing was excellent as he was working on the Radiant farm and village projects. Unsurprisingly, Le Corbusier's interest and priority for the modern housing unit and its assemblage in "unités d'habitation" did not match the Fascist regime's interest in a modern monumentality, which gave neither place nor image for modern housing. His sketches for Pontinia showing two large housing bars and a series of modern farm facilities were directly inspired by his projects of 1934 for the Radiant Village and Farm. From the high floors of the apartments, farmers would have been able to admire the "ideal Fascist landscape" of the reclaimed lands.¹⁵⁸ In *The Radiant City*, he wrote further on Sabaudia:

The layout is sensitive and full of pretty intentions. But what I would like to show here, by comparing Sabaudia with Piacé, is that Sabaudia is merely an artistic imitation of 'lovely villages' all over the world, whereas Piacé is a piece of infrastructure, a strict, pure, efficient, necessary and adequate creation—a rigorously defined and useful function. The equipment this modern age of ours needs ... Sabaudia is "very nice,

¹⁵⁴ See Marida Talamona, "Roma 1934," in Marida Talamona (ed.), *L'Italia di Le Corbusier*, Milano: Electa, 2012, pp. 241-61; and Giorgio Ciucci, "A Roma con Bottai," *Rassegna*, n° 3-4, 1980, pp: 66-71. Giuseppe Bottai (1895-1959) was a journalist and politician. He was one of the first Fascist deputies, and held various important posts, including the ministries of corporations (1929–32) and education (1936–42). He worked hard to make Fascism a modernizing and reforming force in Italy and was responsible for some important cultural initiatives, some related to art and architecture.

¹⁵⁵ See Giorgio Ciucci, "A Roma con Bottai," op. cit.

¹⁵⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁷ Letter of Le Corbusier to Fiorini, 3 July 1934, cited by Giorgio Ciucci, p. 70.

¹⁵⁸ On the Fascist landscape, see Caprotti and Kaïka, op. cit.

charming; one can discuss about the style of architecture. But, in actuality, it represents at best the urbanism of today, certainly not that of tomorrow.¹⁵⁹

Le Corbusier's attempts at exporting the model of the Radiant Farm came to a halt with the onset of WWII, yet, as Mary McLeod has studied, his interest in the rural world took another direction, one that embodied "a significant transformation in both his social orientation and formal ideas during the 1930s and the Vichy period."¹⁶⁰ In 1940, Le Corbusier and his partner Pierre Jeanneret designed the construction system known as "Les Constructions Murondins" as a means to erect provisional housing and basic village infrastructure (school, club, youth center), rapidly and inexpensively. They imagined that these structures would be built as temporary shelters by local youths using rammed earth (*pisé*), tree trunks, and other readily available materials. The building type formed a rectangular one-story building which could be occupied as workshops, common rooms, and dormitories under the same gabled roof; the two slopes, inclined differently, did not intersect but created a ventilating and lighting section running the whole length of the structure. Urbanistically, the buildings were disposed haphazardly, parallel or perpendicular to each other.

Beyond housing those in need, he hoped that these new settlements would be the foundation of a new grassroots regional culture that would revitalize the French countryside. This concern was another facet of his participation in the Regional Syndicalism movement, some of whose members, including Le Corbusier himself, became involved with the Vichy government. In addition, the project can be seen as representing a shift in his work toward a more primitive, organic and vernacular aesthetic. For the following two years, he actively promoted the project, yet unsuccessfully, to the Vichy government both as a response to the early devastation of WW2 and as a means of mobilizing rural youth groups. Following the Liberation, he campaigned for it again as a solution for housing war victims. Later, in 1955, he proposed it to the Abbé Pierre and his association *Faim et Soif* as a solution for sheltering the homeless. Eight years later he offered it again as a means of housing Algerian Muslims fleeing to France after the Algerian war.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Le Corbusier, p. 336.

¹⁶⁰ Mary McLeod, "'To Make Something with Nothing': Le Corbusier's Proposal for Refugee Housing—Les Constructions 'Murondins'", *The Journal of Architecture* 23, n° 3, 2018, pp. 421-47.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

2.4. THE ZIONIST COLONIZATION OF PALESTINE

In 1862, German-French philosopher Moses Hess (1812-1875) argued in his book *Rom und Jerusalem, die letzte Nationalitätsfrage* (Rome and Jerusalem, The Last National Question) that European Jews should resettle in Palestine as a means of resolving the national question. Hess, who is often considered a founder of Labor Zionism, proposed a socialist state in which the Jews would become “agrarianized.” A process of “redemption of the soil” would transform the Jewish community into a true nation whose citizens would occupy the productive layers of society rather than being an intermediary non-productive merchant class.¹⁶² Thirty years later in a Vienna confronted with the rise of Karl Lueger’s anti-Semitism, Theodor Herzl published *Die Judendstaat*, where he advocated the unity of the Jewish people for a similar thesis. The new Jewish state for a “new Jew” would be constructed not through political diplomacy but rather from the base, i.e., by the resettled Jewish working class who would build a progressive society based upon a new rural society and land organization.¹⁶³ Herzl convened the first Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897. The adopted program (Basel Program) declared that Zionism aimed at establishing a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine for the Jewish people.¹⁶⁴

In 1902, Herzl embraced the idea that the new agrarian society would be the basis of the new socialist society. He imagined the cooperative village as the foundational element of the future state, and he referred to it as the *Neudorf* in his utopian novel titled *Altneuland* (1902). The book told the story of the positive transformations that Palestine would incur from 1902 to 1923. From a destitute and sparsely populated land as it appeared to Herzl on his visit in 1898, it would transform twenty years later into a productive and prosperous society. European Jews have rediscovered and re-inhabited their Altneuland, reclaiming their own destiny in the Land of Israel. Moreover, this utopian narrative described the future state of the Jews in Palestine through the eyes of an architect, an element that would clearly influence the future of Zionist colonization:

¹⁶² See Moses Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem, die letzte Nationalitätsfrage*, Leipzig, 1862; also see <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7649-hess-moses-moritz>

¹⁶³ Theodor Herzl, *Die Judendstaat – Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage* (Proposal of a modern solution for the Jewish question), Leipzig & Wien, 1896. See Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1980 (Chapter 3).

¹⁶⁴ For the attainment of this purpose, the Congress considered the promotion of the settlement of Jewish agriculturists, artisans, and tradesmen in Palestine; the federation of all Jews into local or general groups, according to the laws of the various countries; the strengthening of the Jewish feeling and consciousness; and the preparatory steps for the attainment of those governmental grants which were necessary to the achievement of the Zionist purpose. See: https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Zionism/First_Cong_&_Basel_Program.html

Thousands of white villas appeared, glowing amidst the green opulent gardens. From Akko to Carmel, it was as though a great garden had been planted, and the mountain itself also was crowned with gleaming structures.¹⁶⁵

While those important steps occurred in Central Europe, the first waves of immigration took place between 1882 and 1903 as a result of the persecution of Jews in Russia and Romania. It is usually considered that one hundred thousand Jewish people became farmers in Russia during the nineteenth century as a way to establish a more positive identity. Soon enough, “the ruralization of the Jewish people emerged as an effective device to turn the *Luftmensch* into a productive member of the modern nation.”¹⁶⁶ During the First Aliya, about 25,000 Jews came to Palestine, but many soon left the country again because of the extremely harsh living conditions. Those who remained founded the first agricultural settlements such as Zikhron Ya’akov. These first villages or *moshav* established between 1890 and 1900 were based upon a private enterprise system and were organized as a linear street faced with narrow and deep plots. Facing a crisis, the *moshavot* received financial and technical help from Baron de Rothschild (1845-1934) that involved the modernization of the agricultural means and methods. It also facilitated the modernization of the street village with the introduction of a public garden, landscape, and public facilities at its center.

The Second Aliyah happened between 1903 and 1914 following major pogroms in Russian cities. After the 1917 Russian Revolution and World War I, the Third Aliyah occurred between 1919 and 1923. This new wave of immigrants had a different urban background; they were more educated, secular and heavily influenced by utopian and Socialist ideas. Degania, the first self-managed commune in Eretz-Israel was established in 1909 as an experimental farm whose vital center was a large courtyard containing the laborers’ houses, whereas the administration and communal services were left outside of the precinct. Around the same time, Franz Oppenheimer (1864-1943), a Berlin doctor and sociologist, who established his first cooperative settlement in 1893 in Barenklau (Oranienburg) and was one of the founders of the *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung* (German Garden City Movement) propounded the idea of such cooperatives as a social solution among Zionists.¹⁶⁷ The first village established

¹⁶⁵ Theodor Herzl, *Altneuland*, Leipzig: Seemann, 1902. Quote from Herzl, *Old New Land*, Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1960, p. 58. The Hebrew title is Tel Aviv, the inspiration for the founding of the new city next to Jaffa.

¹⁶⁶ For these sections, see Axel Fisher, “Rurality, a playground for design?”, in Pieter Versteegh and Sophia Meeres (eds.), *AlterRurality: exploring representations and ‘repeasantations’*, Fribourg: Arena Architectural Research Network, 2014, pp. 171-204. The quote is on page 172 and note 2. *Luftmensch* is the Yiddish expression for a contemplative and visionary person, devoid of practical skill, profession and financial means, living of air, which obsessively haunts the works of Marc Chagall.

¹⁶⁷ Franz Oppenheimer was a passionate advocate of cooperative thinking and production, the Garden City movement, and the regeneration of the countryside. A strict opponent of Marx’s collective socialism, he was a supporter of Pietr Kropotkin. See Kristina Hartmann’s dissertation *Die städtebauliche Konzeption der Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung*, Berlin, 1977. Also see Emanuel Tal, “The Garden City Idea as adopted by the Zionist Establishment,” *Social Utopias of the Twenties: Bauhaus, Kibbutz and the Dream of a New Man*, Dessau: Stiftung Bauhaus, 1995, pp. 64-71; Jean-François Lejeune, “From HELLERAU to the Bauhaus: Memory and Modernity of the German Garden City,” *The New City*, n° 3 (1996), pp. 51-69. Oppenheimer was one of the instigators of the Garden City model for the new settlements in Palestine in the 1920s-1930s.

as a co-operative farm following Oppenheimer's concept was Merhavia at the beginning of 1911.¹⁶⁸ Merhavia marked the genuine beginning of the planned colonization of the Palestine countryside as a series of important architects moved to the new land to practice and develop a unique experience of town founding and planning. Jewish architect Alexander Baerwald (1877-1930) designed it as a series of interconnected buildings creating a U-shaped courtyard square with a water tower in its center.¹⁶⁹

Keren haYesod was established at the World Zionist Conference held in London on July 7–24, 1920, to provide the Zionist movement with resources needed for the Jewish people to return to the Land of Israel. It came in response to the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, in which the British government declared that “His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”¹⁷⁰ The main points in the program of the Keren haYesod, for which the cooperation of the entire Jewish people was sought, were to promote immigration to Palestine and the foundation of new agricultural settlements. The “return to the land” and the formation of a Jewish peasantry represented the noblest ambition of early Zionist ideology. Hence, the Jewish village was considered as the cornerstone of the future Jewish nation:

The emergence of Zionism introduced a radical shift in the previous attempts to reform Jewish identity, moving from the realm of charity to the political, secular, and public scene. The auto-emancipation of the Jewish people, Zionism claimed, depended on its capacity to turn into a Nation among the Nations, to establish a healthy national economy based on agriculture, and to settle within well-defined territorial boundaries, possibly in Palestine. There, the Jews would *build to be (re) built*, they would regenerate physically and morally and become a *New Jew*.¹⁷¹

Impressed by Zionism's political success, many young people went to Palestine, often without the appropriate preparation, to lend their physical efforts to the building of national homesteads. They were known in Hebrew as the *chalutzim*, or pioneers, and they energetically proceeded to settle the country with new *moshavot* and *kibbutzim*.¹⁷² The Fourth

¹⁶⁸ The founders had arrived in the area in 1910 and consisted of members of *Kvutzat Kibush* and workers of the Second Aliyah. It was supposed to operate as a cooperative farm with differential wages, and was founded with the assistance of Arthur Ruppin, native of Poland and head of the Palestine bureau that managed Zionist settling between 1908 and 1945 (Alon-Moses 60), and of the Anglo-Palestine Bank. In 1922 it was converted to a *moshav ovdim* after being joined by Polish immigrants and residents of Tel Aviv who wanted to work in agriculture.

¹⁶⁹ On Baerwald, see Myra Warhaftig, *They laid the foundation: lives and works of German-speaking Jewish architects in Palestine 1918-1948*, Tübingen/New York: Wasmuth, 2007.

¹⁷⁰ From the Balfour Declaration, November 2, 1917.

¹⁷¹ Axel Fisher, pp. 172-173.

¹⁷² The *moshav* is a cooperative village of farmers founded on the nuclear family; the *Kibbutz* is a collective and communitarian based on agriculture.

Aliya occurred between 1924 and 1928, primarily due to the economic collapse in Poland and other Eastern European countries that affected the livelihood of many Jews. In this case, most of the Fourth Aliya immigrants were members of the middle class and many went on to establish themselves as merchants and small factory owners in Tel Aviv. The persecution of European Jews under National Socialism in Germany and the outbreak of World War II brought mass immigration to Palestine from 1933 to 1945, the period of the Fifth Aliya: two hundred and thirty thousands moved to Palestine between 1933 and 1941 and by that date five hundred thousands Jews had immigrated in the Holy Land.

As Arthur Ruppin, director of the Settlement Department of the Zionist Executive and one of the founders of Tel Aviv, wrote in his book *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine*, the Jewish population outside of Palestine formed a pyramid whose base was made up with the merchants and their employees, followed by the professional classes, and the farmers and industrial workers at the top. He argued that in Palestine,

[...] the order of this pyramid must be exactly reversed, if agriculture is to be the foundation of economic life. That which forms the apex outside Palestine must now become the base.¹⁷³

Hence Ruppin understood that to entice and educate Jewish townsmen to the agricultural life in Palestine necessitated the application of new methods. In particular, it implied a new mode of urban and rural planning as well as a special response to the climate and the soil.

2.4.1. Richard Kauffmann and the Planning of the New Palestine

Architect Richard Kauffmann (1887-1958) joined the Yishuv in 1920-1921 at the initiative of Ruppin, and from then onwards, his career flourished under the institutions of the Zionist Federation.¹⁷⁴ He studied architecture in Darmstadt before expanding his studies at the Technische Universität in Munich under Theodor Fischer who was also the master of Bruno Taut, Ernst May, Bruno Häring, and many others. Under Fischer, he learnt about urban design, the garden city and the influence of Camillo Sitte, both in the urban and the suburban context. He worked for Georg Metzendorf in Essen and then in Christiana, Norway. The German architect entered the relatively close circles of middle-Eastern European intellectuals—he was a colleague of Erich Mendelsohn whom he helped move to Palestine—that became the elite of the emerging Jewish community in cosmopolitan Jerusalem. Out of

¹⁷³ Arthur Ruppin, *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine*, London: M. Hopkinson, 1926; quoted by Richard Kauffmann, "Planning of Jewish Settlements in Palestine: a brief Survey of Facts and Conditions," *The Town Planning Review* 12, n° 2, November 1926, p. 107.

¹⁷⁴ The Yishuv (Hebrew: ישוב, literally "settlement") or Ha-Yishuv (the Yishuv, Hebrew: הישוב) or Ha-Yishuv Ha-Ivri (the Hebrew Yishuv, Hebrew: העברי הישוב) is the term referring to the body of Jewish residents in the land of Israel (corresponding to Ottoman Syria until 1917, OETA South 1917–1920 and later Mandatory Palestine 1920–1948) prior to the establishment of the State of Israel.

his 282 projects, realized fully or partially, almost half were for new rural settlements in Palestine.

For more than two decades, Kauffmann had the privilege of planning every new village in detail and in the most practical way possible in regard to the social and cultural characteristics of the new immigrants as well as to the physical requirements of the place. The soil structure, the direction of wind and streams, and the distance from water springs: all had to be studied and taken into account. At the same time, the communal amenities had to be planned and designed, from the collective dining hall, which was also to serve as the meeting place for the whole settlement, the infants' and children's houses, the rooms for study and recreation, as well as the ordinary farm buildings and dwelling houses.¹⁷⁵ The very existence and power of the bare mountain region where most of the settlements would be built "call for a creative effort, which a genius might perhaps succeed in. Our task is to clear this way, to keep the summits of the mountains free for the monumental buildings of the future, to push settlements towards the higher regions."¹⁷⁶

Kauffmann's urban design activity in Palestine was intense and widespread in quantity, size, and type. It is in the issue of *The Town Planning Review* published in November 1926 that he was himself able to describe the scope and importance of its planning activities over the first six years. The article presented works that included garden suburbs (Jerusalem, Haifa, Migdal on the Lake of Tiberiade), urban works such as the radio-concentric new city of Afuleh in the Emek region, regional planning in Haifa, and more specific to this work, various agricultural settlements as kibbutz and moshavot. To introduce those settlements, he distinguished between the cluster model (the European village tradition) and the scattered settlement (the American example). He saw neither type adapted to the Palestine situation. The absolute decentralized type implied an expensive system of roads and water supply, difficulties of social intercourse and distance to public infrastructure. He argued that the ideal type would be a semi-centralized one, "combining the advantages of the scattered and collective settlement type, while avoiding its drawbacks as far as possible."¹⁷⁷ As for the site, the ideal place "would be in the midst of its cultivated fields on a moderate hill... if possible, [close to] a railway station, open to the cooling summer breezes from the west and at a distance from the swamps...."¹⁷⁸

Nahalal or the Promised Village (1921) located in the Plain of Esdraelon (Emek Jesreel) was Kauffmann's first designed village and certainly the most iconic one. The moshav was based

¹⁷⁵ See Richard Kauffmann, *From Planning to Reality—an Exhibition of Plans and Photographs representing the work of Richard Kauffmann, Architect and Town Planner*, Jerusalem: Bezalel Jewish Museum, 1947, pp. 4-5. Also see Alona Nitzan-Shifan and Marina Epstein-Plioutch, "Richard Kauffmann between Architectural and National Modernisms," *Docomomo: Modern Architecture in the Middle East*, n° 25, September 2006, pp. 48-53; Ines Sonder, *Gartenstädte für Erez Israel: Zionistische Stadtplanungs visionen von Theodor Herzl bis Richard Kauffmann*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2005.

¹⁷⁶ Kauffmann, "Planning of Jewish Settlements in Palestine," p. 95.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 109.

on a mixed economy and independent labor, principles that he translated into his combination of bi-axial and radial design in Nahalal. In this type of settlement, every family owned its homestead and it was critical to facilitate easy access to the communal center. In a quasi-circular diagram that harks back to the Ideal City and its modern Garden City version, a road follows the contours of a gentle hill, with the farmsteads on its outer side. The two axes of the oval (600 meter by 480 meter) intersect at the heart of the village where Kauffmann placed the most important and economic communal buildings “crowning the settlement and at the same time outwardly embodying the principles of cooperation”—the school, the stores, the sheds, etc.¹⁷⁹ Between the civic core and the ring he placed the houses for the artisans, teachers, and other employees. Kfar Jehezkel (1921, Jecheskiel in *Town Planning*) was based on the same geometric principles but the central irregular circle, almost an octagon, was smaller at about 300 meter in diameter. Here again the civic center was planned at the focal point and, in all cases, the farmstead was a complete entity with house, sheds, and its directly attached cultivated field. Yet there was a major difference. As Nahalal’s form suggested and prevented expansion (another village would have to be created), Jehezkel had multiple radial streets that opened into the landscape and provided for organic growth.¹⁸⁰

Other new villages planned by Kauffmann included Kfar Hittin, Kfar Gidon (called originally Transylvania Village as it was planned to settle residents from Central Europe Transylvania and was built on both sides of a major highway), Kfar Yehoshua (near Nahalal, 1927), and Kwutzah Geva made up of the two kibbutzim Ein Harod and Tel Yosef (circa 1921). According to Kauffmann, the essential principle of the kibbutz in contrast to the moshav was to keep the various zones apart and preserve the unity of the whole. Consequently, he separated the residential zone of the grown-ups, with their dining-hall and communal center, from that of the children with their school, also the workshops and storerooms, and both from the respective zones allotted for the animals:

Collectivism is the founding principle of the *kibbutz* life, and must find its expression in the kibbutz architecture.¹⁸¹

As Axel Fischer has shown, the kibbutzim responded indeed to a different formal pattern, usually that of “an open urban layout independent from the street network,” and in a certain sense a quite modernist one.¹⁸² As seen in the original design for Ein Harod & Tel Yosef, for instance, most structures were small barre buildings oriented more or less parallel to respond better to the climate and organized around a large-scale civic center usually organized on a symmetrical structure. The concept of street, already quite weak in most moshav given the deep setbacks of the houses, almost disappeared entirely, a paradoxical design as it

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 110.

¹⁸⁰ Fischer, p. 190.

¹⁸¹ Quoted by Fischer, p. 192, from Richard Kauffmann, “Twenty Years of Planning Agricultural Settlements” (Hebrew), in Allweill, A. (ed.), *haHistadruth - Agudat haMehandessim Adreikhalim vahaModedim* (Engineers, Architects and Surveyors Union), Tel Aviv, 1940, pp. 65-69.

¹⁸² Fisher, p. 191.

contrasted with the quite traditional Beaux-Arts symmetrical system of axis and park-like squares. In this particular case, the double spatial sequence was to culminate on the top of the hill, “crowned by communal buildings,” a planning strategy that also involved the symbolic hegemony of the Jewish settlers over the Arab Palestinian countryside.¹⁸³ As in Nahalal, his drawings suggest, without any doubt, the influence of Bruno Taut’s concept of the *Stadtkrone*.¹⁸⁴

From the point of view of planning history, Kauffmann’s ability to plan street patterns beautifully adapted to the topography, the views, and the natural resources was outstanding. The intellectual background and urban form was of course the Garden City that he had learnt to practice in Central Europe and Scandinavia even before leaving for Palestine. His understanding and practice of planning was imbued with the lessons of Sitte, Fisher, and other important urbanists including more modernist ones such as Ernst May, Bruno Taut, and Martin Wagner. Zionism and the Garden City were, in a way, intimately connected visions. From a socio-political point of view, both movements believed in the power of a new environment to change human conditions and human behavior. They saw mass migration as crucial to the creation of a ‘new society’ and a ‘new Jew’. Both movements shared a basic ‘humanistic socialism’ and were directly influenced by anarchist geographer Piotr Kropotkin. From an urban planning point of view, the Garden City solution served the Zionists well:

Its tendency towards low density and spread out nature was instrumental in establishing facts on the ground throughout Palestine, even with the small numbers of immigrants actually arriving. The green belts between cities and neighborhoods were used to separate the new settlements from the old cities housing both the Arab population and orthodox religious anti-Zionist Jews. The Garden City’s planned order, spaciousness, and green nature contrasted with the compact traditional Middle Eastern city. It became a symbol that contributed to building the new Zionist identity.¹⁸⁵

However, from planning to reality understood as real and verifiable urban form—to paraphrase the title of the major exhibition held in Jerusalem in 1947, *Planning to Reality: an Exhibition of Plans and Photographs representing the work of Richard Kauffmann Architect and Town-Planner to Mark his Sixtieth Birthday*, the implementation of Kauffmann’s schemes can be characterized as highly incomplete, making their analysis difficult and in many ways misleading. Indeed, the literature that has been published for decades regarding his works has relied primarily on his plans and 3-dimensional renderings, usually aerial drawings, and on early aerial photographs. Nowadays, thanks to Google Earth and Google View it is easier to analyze the settlements, their general form, and provide for a more accurate and less ideologically driven assessment.

¹⁸³ Kauffmann, “Planning of Jewish Settlements,” pp. 114-115.

¹⁸⁴ Bruno Taut, *Die Stadtkrone*, Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1919.

¹⁸⁵ Miki Zaidman & Ruth Kark, “Garden cities in the Jewish Yishuv of Palestine: Zionist ideology and practice 1905–1945,” *Planning Perspectives* 31, n° 1, 2016, p. 73.

- Plans: The overall street plans drawn by Kauffmann were generally implemented as published. Even if the dense landscape obscures at times the readability of the street and urban spaces system, the overall form of the moshavat and kibbutzim can be easily identified from the air within the landscape of the first colonized regions of Israel. There is in fact an interesting paradox in Kauffmann's work. In spite of all its pragmatism and functionalism, the beauty of his figurative planning can be best appreciated from the aerial point of view, whereas, on the ground, there were relatively few of the elements that made the tradition of the garden city alive and the understanding of the plan possible.
- Streets: Even within the landscape-based morphology of the Garden City, the streets and spaces of the moshavat and kibbutzim were never defined with architecture. The low density, the deep setbacks, and the density of the landscape transform the streets into roads immersed in the landscape. There is thus no townscape in Kauffmann's built plans. Landscape prevails, the buildings can barely be viewed and there is no real public space in the traditional sense. In practice, it makes the villages extremely suburban and more American than what Kauffmann must have intended in his designs.
- Civic centers: Kauffmann's plans for agricultural settlements, as for the middle-class and high-class garden suburbs that he designed for the outskirts of Jerusalem and Haifa, displayed very elaborate civic centers to provide for the public life and facilities. His drawings of the 1920s and early 1930s always delineate the structures and the public spaces. The aerial perspectives, published in *The Town Planning Review*, and many times republished over the years showed quite compact centers that many observers, in part due to their potential position uphill, referred to as Taut's *Stadtkrone*. In the context of Palestine, Kauffmann's drawings seemed also to make reference, albeit distant, to the massing of the Arab village and the vernacular settlements that still populated Palestine. Clearly, the modern analysis shows that these groupings of buildings were highly exaggerated in the renderings. When built in Nahalal, Jehezkel or Yekoshua for instance, all sense of place was lost in favor of a suburban one. In Palestine, landscape replaced townscape in almost all cases. Other examples like in Kfar Gidon that Kauffmann designed, reluctantly it seemed, on both sides of a highway, the center straddling the landscaped highway does not exist. Moreover, in many cases, ambitious compositions such as Kvar Hittim, Ein Harod, and Tel Yosef for instance, never materialized. In their locations, public services and buildings can be found but usually the arrangement of masses was essentially that of, at best, interconnected singular objects lost in the dense planted landscape; it is only within his renderings that a leftover of public space can be decoded.

Alex Fisher's analysis of the overall landscape is thus particularly important as it rejects the "mythical" quality of the plans in the history of planning:

A peculiar rural architecture did develop in Jewish agricultural villages, but never as meaningful and ripe as their landscape architecture. In coeval European urban parks and promenades, planting was used as an ornamental device, to foster passive contemplation, aesthetic pleasure, with hygienic and moralizing purposes. In modernist architecture, "greenery" evoked an abstract nature and set up a neutral background for isolated architectural objects. In Jewish agricultural villages, instead, public gardens always combined a landscape rationale - building and qualifying public space in the village - with productive and useful aims, while anticipating the transformation of the rural landscape as a whole. In this sense, the experience of Jewish rural planning can be seen as an early case study of vegetal urbanism.¹⁸⁶

2.4.2. The Arab Question and Arie Sharon's Regional Planning

Richard Kauffmann introduced the modern planning in Palestine but he was never integrated into the circle of the new generation, the group called the Chug, formed in 1932 by young architects—including Yoseph Neufeld, Ze'ev Rechter and Arie Sharon—who returned to Palestine after receiving a modernist education and apprenticeship in Europe. Neufeld worked with Mendelsohn and Taut, Rechter worked in France under the spell of Le Corbusier, and Sharon studied under and worked with Hannes Meyer. The Bauhaus-inspired architecture of the Chug would increasingly reflect the "ideology of the socialist leadership's Labor Zionism" inspired by Herzl's political vision of Zionism.¹⁸⁷

In the 1920s, a battle for national expression had opposed two German immigrants, Alex Baerwald who led the Orientalist camp by exploring the indigenous Arab architecture, and Richard Kauffmann who argued for Modernism and the importation of an architecture that would reflect the progressist tenets of the movement. Unsurprisingly, the Arab-based typologies and morphologies did not directly influence Kauffmann. None of the mosvah or kibbutz made use of any courtyard or patio-based types. By the 1930s, increasing tensions between the Jewish settlers and the local Palestinian inhabitants rendered the search for a modern identity based on local and regional forms more and more politically unsustainable.

With the creation of the Chug, the question of urban and architectural identity was openly discussed and debated. In the first issue of the new architecture magazine *Habinyan Bamisrah Hakarov* (December 1934), the question was clearly stated: 'The architect, newly arrived in Palestine, is confronted with the following problems: What experience, elements of construction, materials and building forms, should be adopted from the local methods of building, for the creation of the Jewish-Palestinian dwelling?'¹⁸⁸ For the magazine and the Chug, European modernism was the solution and the architects claimed cleanliness,

¹⁸⁶ Fisher, p. 198.

¹⁸⁷ Alona Nitzan-Shifan, "Contested Zionism – Alternative Modernism: Erich Mendelsohn and the Tel Aviv Chug in Mandate Palestine," *Architectural History* 39, 1996, p. 151.

¹⁸⁸ *Habinyan Bamisrah Hakarov*, n° 1, December 1934, English Supplement, p. 4.

simplicity and the white apartment or house as a “liberation from memories of the past,” a policy that included the rejection of Palestinian traditions, in this case Arab architecture and the Arab village.¹⁸⁹ The resulting society in Mandate Palestine enticed the rise or rather the creation of a “new Jew,” for whom the New Architecture would provide “a house free of past memories”¹⁹⁰: “a new Jew, a Nietzschean Superman, a secular man of nature who lives a productive life in the village and will lead the Jewish people on the path of national rejuvenation”¹⁹¹

The last issue of *Habinyan* (1938) was specifically dedicated to the “Villages in Palestine.” In his introduction, Julius Posener analyzed the pros and cons of the vernacular settlements. In what could be considered as early political correctness, he asked and suggested what could be learnt from them, from the specific response to climate, but also argued that they were “ancient” and “hardly changed,” meant un-modern and probably irrelevant. Posener who had worked with Mendelsohn and knew about his Mediterranean-leaning and Orientalist ideas did not take a strong position, but warned anyway:

Habinyan equally refrain from romantic glorification of the wholeness of the fellah village as well as from criticism and denunciation. We will not say: we should build in such a stable traditional manner, nor will we say it is forbidden to build in such an odd and bad way. The Arab village does not serve us as a model for imitation, nor is it a contradictory position to any alternative, which determines this or that, old or new style.¹⁹²

Overall, Posener and the leftist side of the architectural milieu emphasized the modernity of Kauffmann’s settlements, seeing them as “a scientific experiment which intended to forge something greater than agricultural efficiency.”¹⁹³ They respected Kauffmann’s oeuvre but were definitely interested into a more visible image of modernization through a more radical importation of the Bauhaus principles and esthetics.

With the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 and the following Arab-Jewish War, many Arab villages were either destroyed by war and deliberately left in ruins, rebuilt, or re-appropriated without any reference to their past. The pre-war policy of settlement accelerated with the immigration of hundreds of thousands of Jewish families escaping from Arab countries and having survived the Holocaust. Richard Kauffmann disappeared from sight and the new villages were implemented under the authority of Arie Sharon (1900-1984), the new head of Planning Division of the Prime Minister’s Office.

¹⁸⁹ Julius Posener, “The village in the Land of Israel,” (in Hebrew), *Habinyan* 1-2, 1938; quoted in Haim Yacobi and Hadas Shadar, “The Arab Village: A Genealogy of (Post)Colonial Imagination,” *The Journal of Architecture* 19, n° 6, 2014, pp. 977.

¹⁹⁰ Julius Posener, *Habinyan* 1,2, 1937, p. 1: quoted in Alona Nitzan-Shifan and Marina Epstein-Plioutch, “Richard Kauffmann,” p. 48.

¹⁹¹ Wolfgang Pehnt, “The ‘New Man’ and the Architecture of the Twenties,” in Jeannine Fiedler (ed.), *Social Utopias of the Twenties*, Wuppertal: Müller + Bussmann, 1995, pp. 14-15.

¹⁹² Julius Posener, “Villages in Palestine,” *Habinyan* 3, 1938.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*.

During the War of Independence, Arie Sharon and his staff initiated the work on the National Plan for Israel:

Our team was full of dash, imagination and enthusiasm. There was a fighting mood; we were determined to overcome vested interests, local ambitions and short-range emergency targets. Our spirits soared even higher when, in the spring of 1949, a new Government was formed, and the importance of national planning was acknowledged by attaching our department to the Prime Minister's office. From there we could work with the high authority of David Ben-Gurion behind us.¹⁹⁴

The objectives of the National plan implied the complete planning of the country in the strongest affirmation of the Labor's Zionism progressist-socialist doctrine. The Plan included the "siting of agricultural settlements and agricultural areas; determination of a rational and healthy distribution of urban centers; effective disposition of industry in the various regions of the country; indication of the road network and centers of communication, and provision of a chain of forests and national parks."¹⁹⁵ The Plan, first published in 1951 and entitled "Physical Planning in Israel," applied a full modernist approach to planning. Among the most important tenets were the functional zoning, the emphasis on the modernist housing barre (shikun) as primary equalizer of the immigrant integration within the new country, the concept of the neighborhood unit, the dispersion of housing within the landscape, and the elimination of the traditional Garden City street.¹⁹⁶

The plan consolidated the importance of agriculture by continuing the settlements of kibbutzim, but it regionally connected them to complete new towns—varying from 10,000 to 40,000 inhabitants—that were to function as larger administrative, service, distribution, industrial, and cultural centers. Those new towns followed modernist principles based upon division in self-sufficient neighborhoods units grouped around a more urban center. Most post-war kibbutzim were variations on the 1930s projects, with a strict division of functions, important greenbelts of separation between zones. Housing was now a combination of independent houses and modernist barres of collective housing, whose sterile penetration in the landscape was made modern and powerful in the set of black and white photographs that illustrated the full report and book. In most cases, single-family houses followed the contours of the hilly terrains, sort of marking the borderline between desert and town. Oftentimes they surrounded large plots of land that were to be developed with modernist barres of 3-4 story houses.

¹⁹⁴ See <https://www.ariesharon.org/NewLand/Introduction/>

¹⁹⁵ Arie Sharon, "Planning in Israel," *The Town Planning Review* 23, n° 1, April 1952, p. 66. Sharon headed the Planning Department which was attached directly to the office of the Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, and included about 150 diverse professionals: architects, town planners and mapping and land experts. See <https://www.ariesharon.org>

¹⁹⁶ Paradoxically, in spite of the policy of agrarian settlement, at the close of Mandatory rule, in May 1948, the Jewish population of the country was concentrated in the large towns of Jerusalem and Haifa, and to an even greater degree in Tel Aviv and its satellites (400,000 residents in TA, i.e, 60% of the total population). Jewish agriculture extended around a few dozen settlements, chiefly in the valleys, while the small towns were in state of gradual decline.

Overall, with the exception of Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem, early post-war planning in Israel acquired an image that was at once suburban and modernist. Apartment barers were objects in the landscape; single-family houses followed long and sinuous streets in the postwar American manner; all streets were eventually sized to the scale of the automobile and other moving vehicles. As in pre-war planning, only the abundant landscape was able to redeem the often desolate and sterile urban space created by this rigid series of planning principles. As Rosemary Wakeman has argued, this practice of utopia all but considered the towns and particularly in the Negev desert as a blank slate where all traces of history had been annihilated.¹⁹⁷ Propaganda films like *Song of the Negev* (1950) showed that optimistic vision of young people building a new land in threat of Arab populations and were not fundamentally different in terms of ideology from Mussolini or Franco's own apparatus of happy towns full of happy farmers. However, if planning in Franco's Spain was all about a national identity rooted in the vernacular and popular art, architecture and urbanism, the new land of Israel was started from scratch, modernity without memory.

Some exceptions to this rigid modernist planning appeared in the 1950s. In a neighborhood for new immigrants in Upper Nazareth, parallel lines of single-family rowhouses, combining local stone and concrete, were used to form terraced pedestrian streets, and in some areas, a type of atrium house was employed as well. In 1959, a "model neighborhood" was built in Be'er Sheva with groupings of modernist patio houses, which is referred to the "carpet settlement." The neighborhood was the first attempt to create an alternative to the standard public housing projects in Israel. Under the influence of Team X and projects such as George Candilis and Shadrach Woods for Casablanca, these experimental projects translated the structural qualities of the Arab villages into modernist architecture: straight lines and right angles, meticulous attention to natural lighting, residential units suited to modern nuclear families and adapted to western society. During the second decade of the State of Israel, the Arab village became "a target of educated reference and sensitive analytical examination, a source of abstract architectural qualities that were translated into modernist architecture."¹⁹⁸ Ram Karmi, Chief Architect of the Ministry of Construction and Housing, wrote in his canonical article "Human Values in Urban Architecture" of 1977, following the 1967 war and the taking over of East Jerusalem, about the "re-discovery" of the low-scale dense construction and inner courtyards: "we should therefore observe the traditional Mediterranean architecture that surrounds us, and examine the timeless values this architecture has developed, in order for us to learn some lessons about current architecture."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016, p. 110.

¹⁹⁸ Haim Yacobi and Hadas Shadar, p. 986.

¹⁹⁹ Haim Yacobi and Hadas Shadar, p. 988 from A. Harlap (ed.), *Israel Builds 1977*, Jerusalem: The State of Israel, Ministry of Housing, 1977, p 326.

2.5. THE FAILED PORTUGUESE COLONIZATION

In Portugal, agricultural development and colonization policies were discussed repeatedly across the country's history, mostly to confront demographic problems of population decline and to reduce the dependency on foreign wheat issues. Under the *Estado Novo* ("New State"), the corporatist authoritarian government that António de Oliveira Salazar established in 1932 and ruled until 1974, the country's common lands, known as *baldios* (literally "empty") were surveyed with the intention to reallocate them to poorer farmers.²⁰⁰ Although attempts were made in earlier years, it is only in 1936 that the *Junta de Colonização Interna* (J.C.I.) was established in response to productivity issues and increasing rural exodus. Originally part of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Junta was eventually transferred to the Ministry of Economy. This organism, with autonomous legal and operational administration, had the mission to study, purchase, and develop plans for the *baldios* or common lands, which were for sale and held promises for production and colonization. The Junta was also involved in coordinating settlements being developed by the private sector and that also benefited from new hydraulic infrastructures. Following the general survey led between 1939 and 1941, very few *baldios* were found to be adequate for agriculture and colonization and the Junta was only able to realize a few settlements—7 to 8 colonies—by the end of the 1950s.

From an urbanistic point of view, the new Portuguese *colonias* followed a radically different pattern than other examples of colonization in Italy and, as I will develop in the Chapter Three of this dissertation, Spain. Overall, there was no stated intention to urbanize the countryside. Each colony usually consisted of several hamlets, some organized as a group, and others as a dispersed pattern across the territory. The hamlets were made up of individualized family houses, located at the center of large parcels in a fully suburban mode, but whose gardens and surrounding green spaces were usually articulated by the use of low stone walls and in some cases agricultural outbuildings. At any rate, the houses were never attached together and thus were not generating the traditional courtyard space of old villages. Urbanistically, the plans were usually formal and symmetrical, with curvilinear streets adapting themselves to the topography. There were no real town centers, but each hamlet had a small chapel, usually detached and set up in a green space, a small school often in the typology of the house, and other small structures as needed. Among the most documented and relatively well preserved examples, the colonies of Montalegre, Boalhosa, and Pegões stand out as the most interesting.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ In the 1920s, a period of great political upheaval took place in Portugal, and it was with the coup d'état of May 28, 1926 that an era of dictatorship began. With the approval of the 1933 Constitution, the *Estado Novo* regime was instituted, an authoritarian political regime that lasted until April 25, 1974, constituting the longest dictatorial regime in Western Europe, prefacing a total of 48 uninterrupted years.

²⁰¹ The literature on the *colonias* is increasing. For this summary, I have used the dissertation by Ana das Mercês Oliveira, "Colónias Agrícolas da Junta de Colonização Interna no concelho de Montalegre - Modos de habitar a ruralidade," Universidade do Porto, 2018.

The colony of Montalegre, started in the 1940s, was laid out as a group of five distinct settlements and a separate social center, quite distant of each other and interspersed between existing rural habitat mostly organized along roads and country streets with Montalegre as historical and primary community center of the region. With its forty-six houses disposed symmetrically on both sides of a central axis, Aldea Nova de Barroso was the largest and the most iconic. Its oblong layout, gently curved at both short ends to better adapt to the climbing topography and its streets lined with interesting adaptations of the stone country houses of the region, led to a small hill topped by a tiny stone chapel. Overall, the most successful aspect of this type of settlements was the subtle and humble integration within the landscape. To the contrary of Montalegre, the colony of Boalhosa and its hamlet of Vascões were designed and built according to the concentrated model (1944-1966), in which all houses and limited public facilities were clustered in a single location and separated from the agricultural lands. This configuration was “aimed at rationalizing the infrastructural system and, at the same time, strengthening the sense of community, thus forming a small civic center and a socialization space.”²⁰² The symmetrical fan-shaped layout of Vascões is quite iconic and is not without reminding of the much larger and much more complex scheme of Esquivel (1952) by Alejandro de la Sota. The three curvilinear streets conform to the steep topography and establish a series of parallel terraces rising toward the public green that contains small public structures and terminates the central axis.

The colony of Pegões in the Montijo region east of Lisbon, was built according to a totally dispersed pattern, with most houses (207 in total) lined up along roads and streets in a territory quite geometrically organized.²⁰³ Its interest lies in the presence of a series of innovative modern buildings, mainly country churches. During the 1950s, the architect Eugénio Correia (1897-1985) designed the small civic area of the hamlet of San Isidro de Pegões. Located in a beautifully wooded area at the end of a short country road, it consists of a church, probably the best known and most idiosyncratic of the colonization, two symmetrical primary schools, and three houses for the priest and the professors. The rectangular nave of the church has a parabolic section supported by a series of concrete arches; three smaller parabolic volumes jut out of the façade and both sides.²⁰⁴ The two primary schools (boys and girls) are symmetrically placed on both sides of the main axis and consist of a long parabolic concrete vault with a series of smaller rooms attached on both sides. The three houses display a quasi-expressionist assemblage of vaults that seem to rise from the ground and its intense vegetation. The ensemble forms a surprising and formally bold composition, where

²⁰² Paolo Marcolin, “The Settlement’s Design of the Boalhosa’s Agricultural Colony. A Dialectical Perspective: between Tradition and the Construction of Modernity,” paper presented at the *Regionalism, Nationalism & Modern Architecture*, Porto, October 25-27, 2018, pp. 190-201 [192]. Also see Mercês Oliveira, op. cit.

²⁰³ The entire colonization of the JCI only constructed 500 houses, a fact that makes Pegões the most important realization of the failed program.

²⁰⁴ The churches were also interesting examples of synthesis of the arts. In the main chapel there is a grand fresco painting, the figure of Saint Isidro, by the well-known Severo Portela Júnior. Other churches and chapels have works by one of the major Portuguese painters of the second half of the twentieth century, Artur Bual (San Pedro de Bombel).

one could detect influences from Latin America, particularly Oscar Niemeyer and Eladio Dieste:

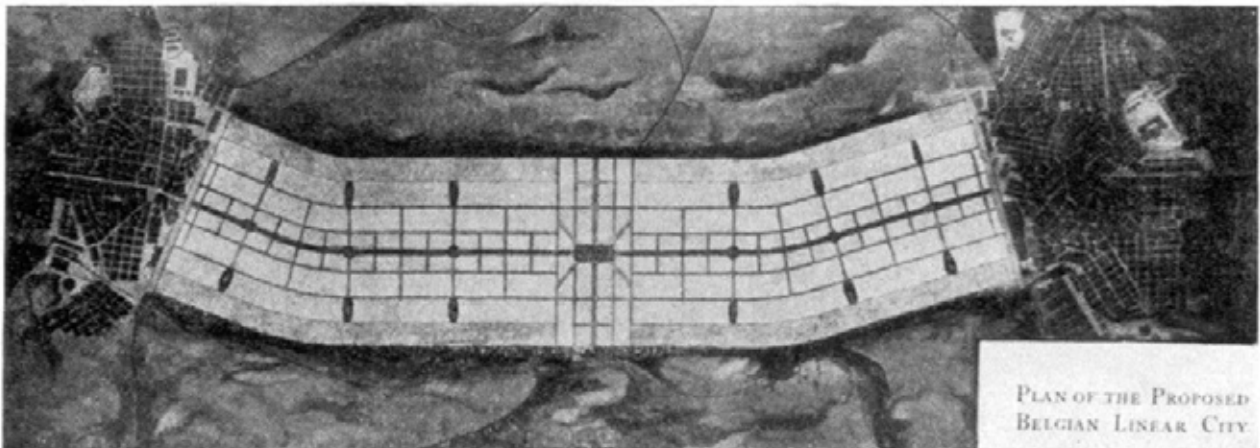
The works of Eugénio Correia, with their buildings made up of parabolic surfaces, constitute a radical scream of modernity that make them a unique case in the panorama of architecture in Portugal. (...) In addition, they use a rare constructive technique, based on ceramic spindles, that gives them an added originality.²⁰⁵

Overall, the agricultural development and colonization schemes promoted by the J.C.I. were a trial and experimentation process, which failed but nevertheless had an important impact on various aspects of the Portuguese society and identity. First, the common lands were mainly reforested, visibly changing the countryside. In parallel, new power stations and hydraulic infrastructures were implemented in preparation for an expected increase in agricultural production. Secondly, like in Italy and Spain, the J.C.I.'s works and propaganda embodied the regime's discourse about the 'New man', the values of the traditional family, and the role of the countryside as the authentic repository of Portuguese identity. Finally, and again in a manner similar to the impact of the I.N.C. in Spain and the *città di fondazione* in Italy, the Junta was an incubator for modern expert and professional cultures in the fields of agriculture, geography, anthropology and architecture, whose works strongly influenced the emergence of modern and contemporary Portuguese architecture and landscape architecture, as can be seen with the works of Correa in Pegões.²⁰⁶

* * *

²⁰⁵ Nuno Teotónio Pereira, quoted in Paulo Lima, *A Colónia Agrícola de Santo Isidro de Pegões (Montijo)*, Montijo: Câmara Municipal do Montijo, 2013, p. 27.

²⁰⁶ I have borrowed this paragraph from the Case Study Portugal 1920-1970s summary, to be found on the Internet site of the project MODSCAPES, <https://modscapes.eu/casestudies/portugal/> (last accessed November 25, 2018).



Arturo Soria y Mata. Drawings for the Ciudad Lineal, Madrid, c. 1882. From George R. Collins, "The Ciudad Lineal in Madrid," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 18, n° 2, May 1959.

H. G. del Castillo. *Cité Linéaire Belge*, 1919. From George Collins, *Arturo Soria y la Ciudad Ideal*, 1968.





Colonists in La Algaida, c. 1913. © *La Época*, 8 October 1913. Source Wikipedia.

Detail of a poster “100 años Tierra de Colonos - Monte Algaida,” 2013. Source Wikipedia.



Le Village Moderne

à l'Exposition Universelle
et Internationale de Gand
1913

NOTES - COMPTES RENDUS - VUES ET PLANS

PUBLIÉS PAR LE COMITÉ D'ÉTUDES DE « VILLAGE MODERNE »

SOUS LA DIRECTION DE

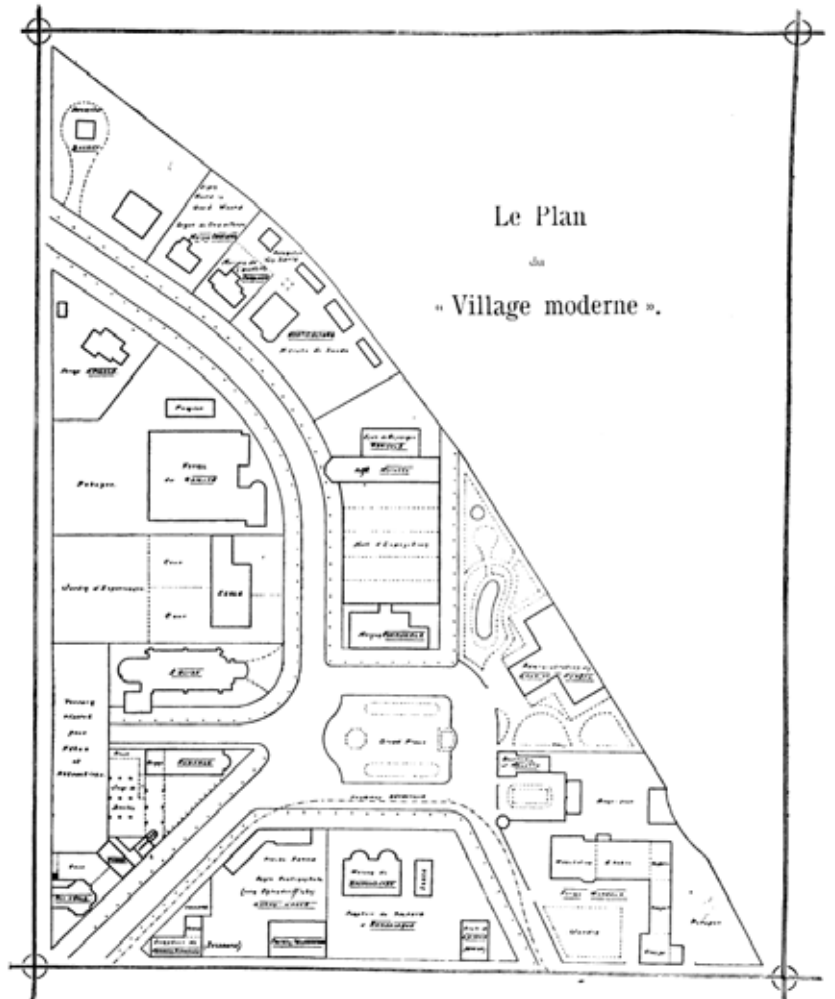
M. Paul DE VUYST

Ministre délégué au Ministère de l'Agriculture et des Travaux publics

PRÉFACE

par **M. Emile TIBBAUT**

*Maître de la Chambre des Représentants
Président du Conseil supérieur de l'Agriculture*



Plan and view of the Village Moderne at the International Exposition of Gand, 1913. From *Le village moderne*, 1913.



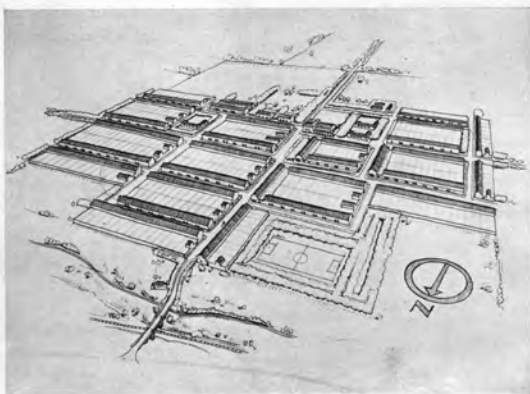
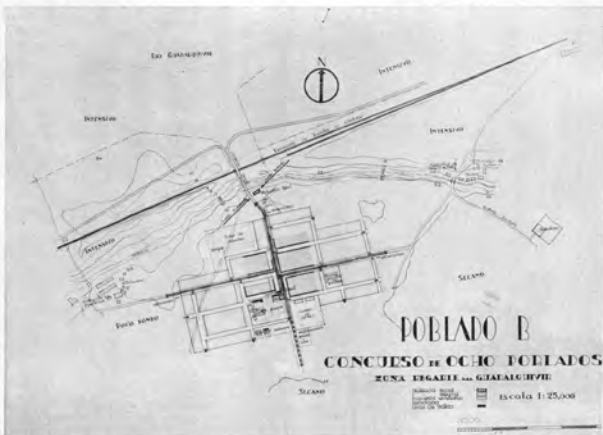
ARQUITECTURA

REVISTA DEL COLEGIO OFICIAL DE ARQUITECTOS DE MADRID

10
1934

Pages from *Arquitectura* 10, December 1934 displaying selected projects from the *Concurso de anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y del Guadalmeato*.

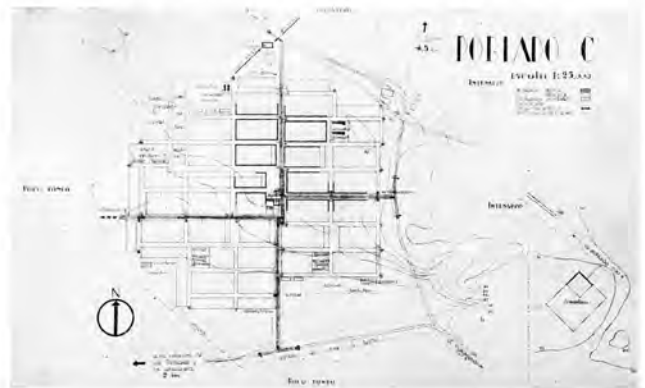
Anteproyecto de Fernando de la Cuadra, arquitecto (Zona del Guadalquivir).



Perspectiva del poblado B.

269

Anteproyecto de Fernando de la Cuadra, arquitecto (Zona del Guadalquivir).

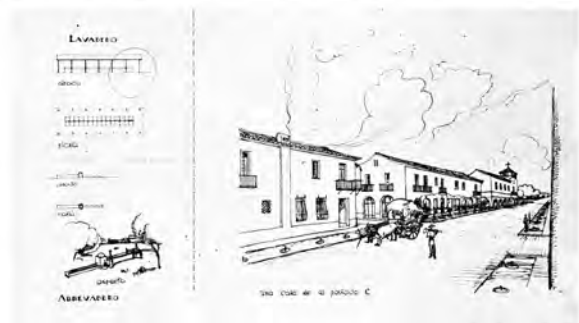


miliar, y al segundo, se le sitúa en la época en que la zona regable haya alcanzado un desarrollo tal que la tierra pueda sostener en dos hectáreas una familia, y se le denomina **momento integral**. Así pues, el desarrollo progresivo de la zona ha de verificarse durante el período comprendido entre dichos dos momentos. La duración de este período no se puede precisar.

Las obras necesarias para el arranque inicial serán las que ahora han de construirse; algunas de ellas por cuenta del Estado y otras por la de los

particulares; pero siempre con sujeción al Plan oficial, en el cual queda prevista el ulterior y ordenado desarrollo de la zona.

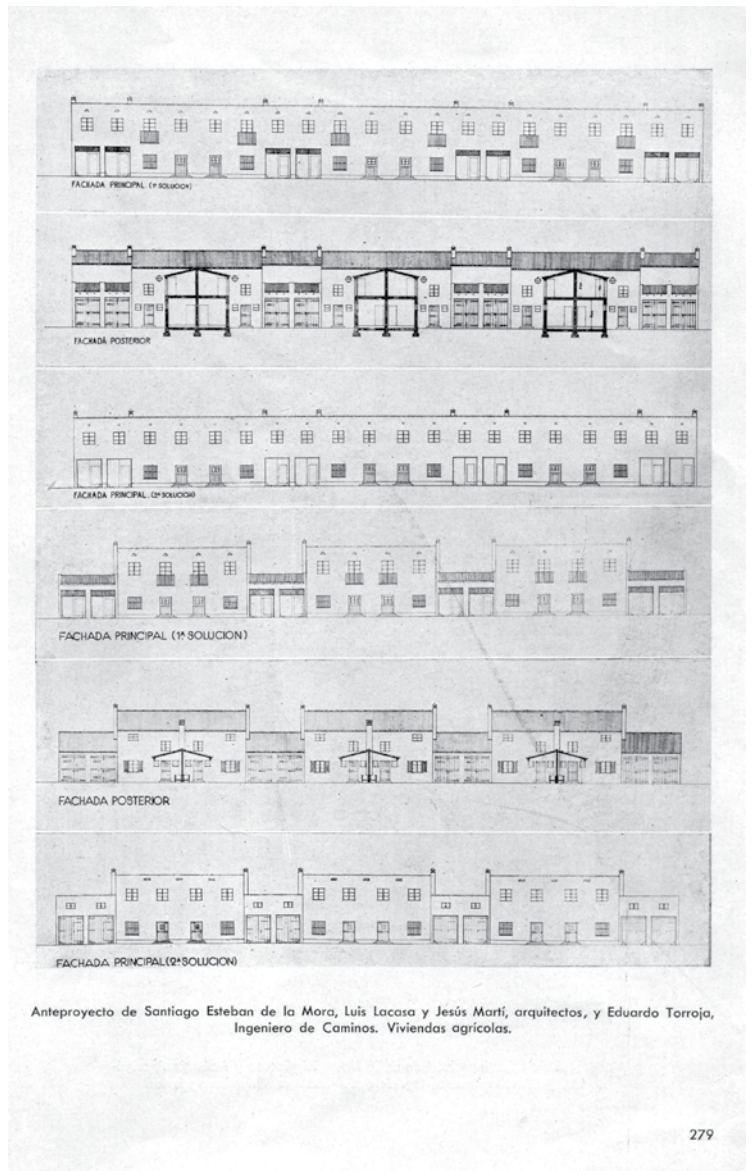
Terminadas las Obras de Puesto en Riego en el momento inicial, comienza el que hemos denominado **período de desarrollo**, durante el cual los particulares construirán, por su cuenta, y a medida que vaya siendo necesario, las obras que se precisen para el desarrollo integral, ya que construir las hoy en su totalidad sería no sólo antieconómico sino temerario.



Perspectiva de un poblado C.

270

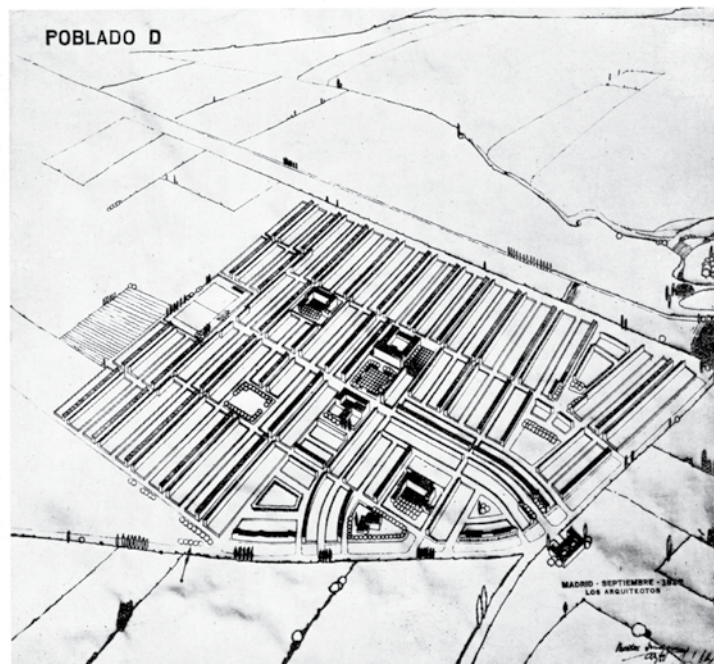
Pages from *Arquitectura* 10, December 1934 displaying selected projects from the *Concurso de anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y del Guadal-mellato*.



Anteproyecto de Santiago Esteban de la Mora, Luis Lacasa y Jesús Martí, arquitectos, y Eduardo Torroja, Ingeniero de Caminos (Zona del Guadalquivir). Perspectiva de poblado B.



Anteproyecto de José María Arrillaga, Juan de Zavala y Martín Domínguez, arquitectos. Perspectiva de un poblado A (Zona del Guadalquivir).

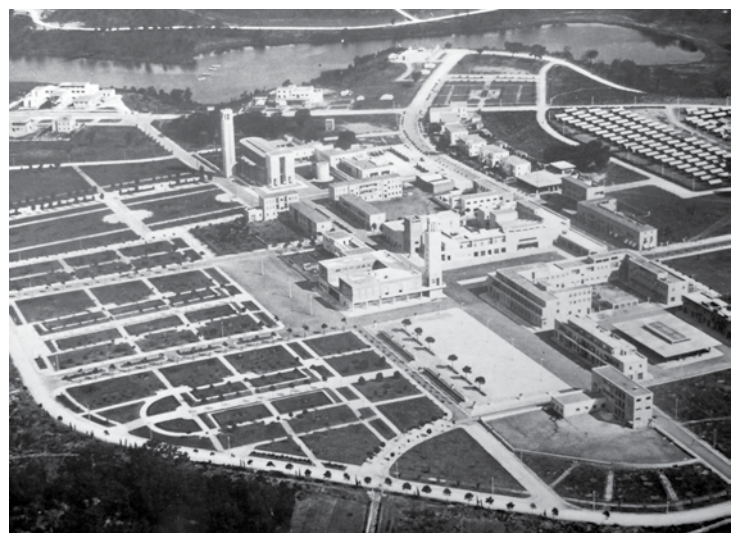




Top: General plan of the colonization of the Agro Pontino. Littoria is slightly at the center of the region (in black); Sabaudia is visible to its right along the coast (in black). From *Architettura*, June 1934.

Middle: Detail of the La Redenzione dell'Agro (The Redemption of the Pontine Area), painted at tempera on Eternit panels by Duilio Cambelotti in 1934. Photo J.F. Lejeune.

Right: Aerial view of Sabaudia, c. 1934. © Archivio Fotografico Touring Club Italiano (TCI).

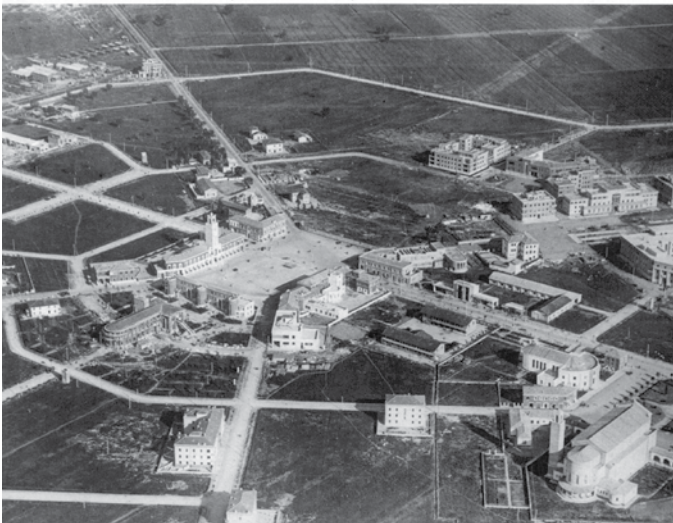




Littoria: veduta aerea della città in fase di costruzione, 1933. Archivio storico TCI, Milano



Littoria: Piazza del Littorio vista dalla Torre civica, sullo sfondo Piazza XXIII Marzo, architetto O. Frezzotti. Foto E. Biagini, Firenze. Archivio storico TCI, Milano

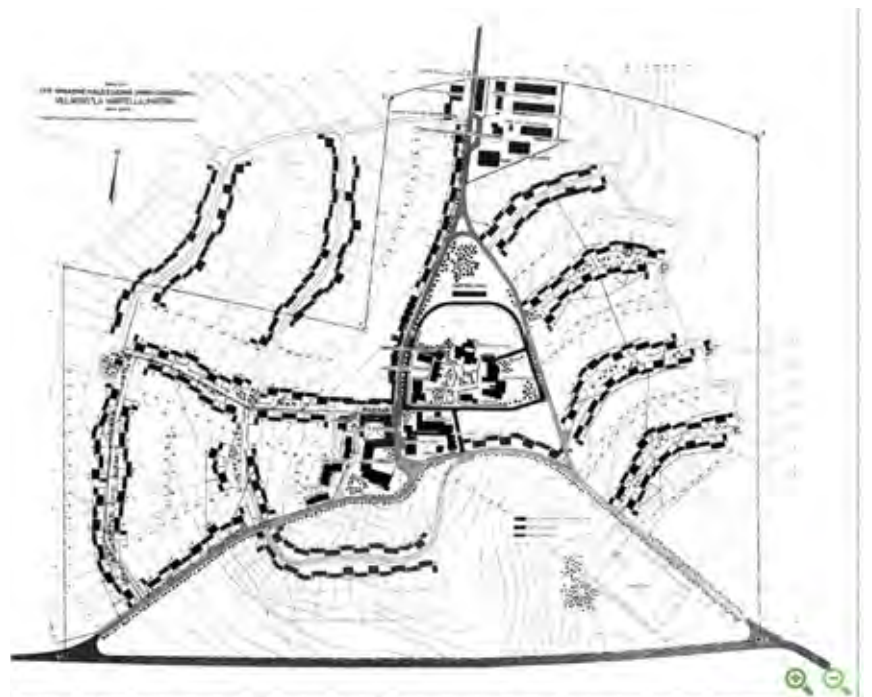


Gruppo Piccinato:
Generalbauungsplan
für Sabaudia.
Ausführungsplan,
1934
(Quelle: Piccinato
1934, S. 129)



Top: Aerial view and view of the central square of the first Pontine city, Littoria (now Latina), in 1934. © Archivio Fotografico TCI.

Bottom: Plan and view of Sabaudia as published after the competition. From *Architettura*, June 1934.



Arch: Ludovico Quaroni, Federico Gorio, Michele Valori, et. al. New rural village of Matera, 1952-. Perspective of the square, perspective of a street, and general plan. © Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Fondo Federico Gorio.



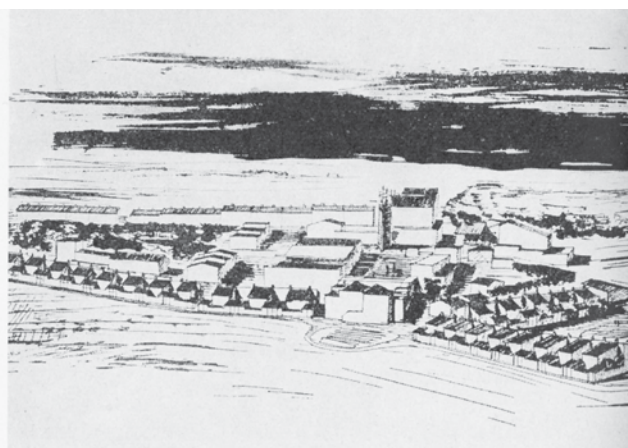
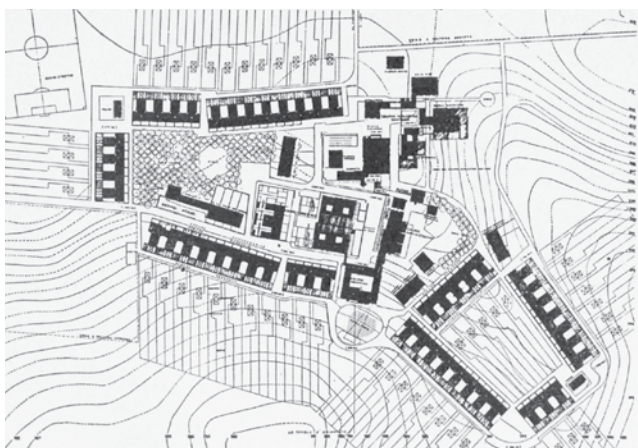
Top: Ludovico Quaroni, et. al. Church in La Martella, Matera, 1952. © INA-Casa.

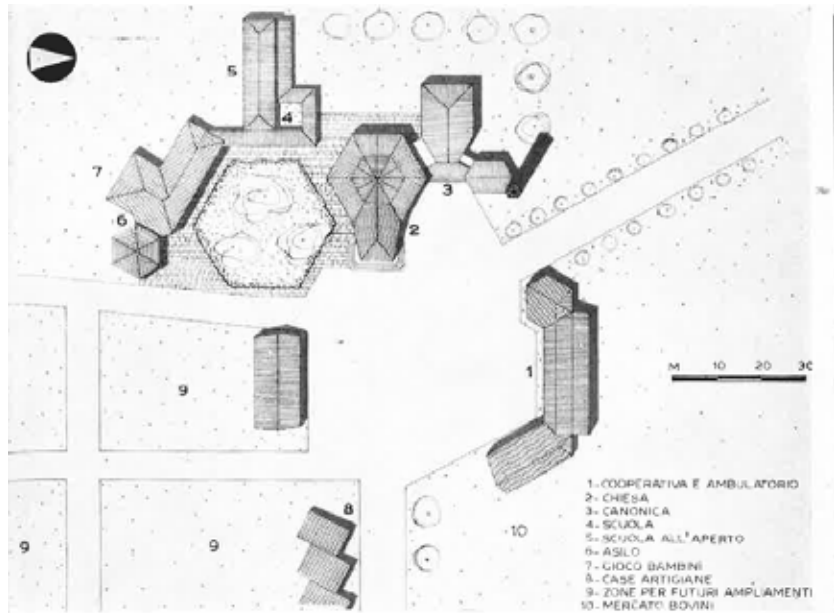
Middle: View of a street in the INA-Casa Tiburtino district in Rome, Lot B Lotto B, edificio 8, houses with open gallery. Mario Ridolfi, con L. Quaroni, C. Aymonino, C. Chiarini, M. Fiorentino, F. Gorio,



M. Lanza, S. Lenci, P.M. Lugli, C. Melograni, G.C. Menichetti, G. Rinaldi, M. Valori. 1949-54. © Archivio INA-Casa Roma.

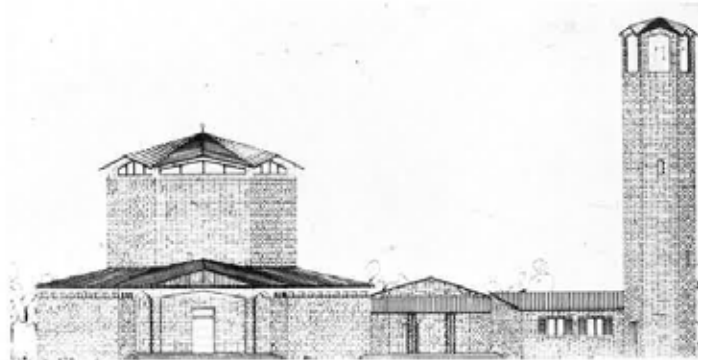
Bottom: Arch: Michele Valori and Stefano Gorio. Competition entry for Torre Spagnolo near Matera (unrealized). From *Casabella*, n° 31, 1959.





Arch. Carlo Boccianti. Plan, perspective and church elevation. New village of Pesca Romana, 1953. From Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (INU), *Nuove Esperienze Urbanistiche in Italia*, Roma: INU, 1956.

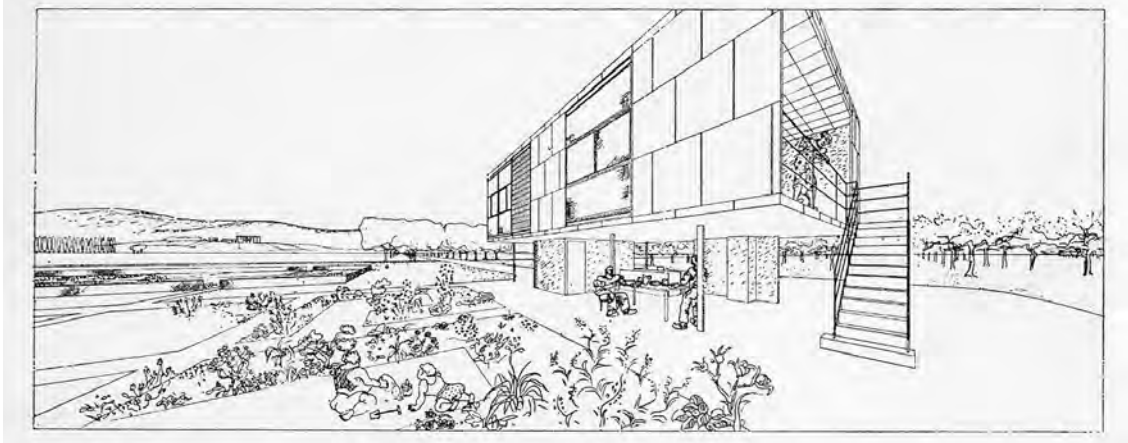
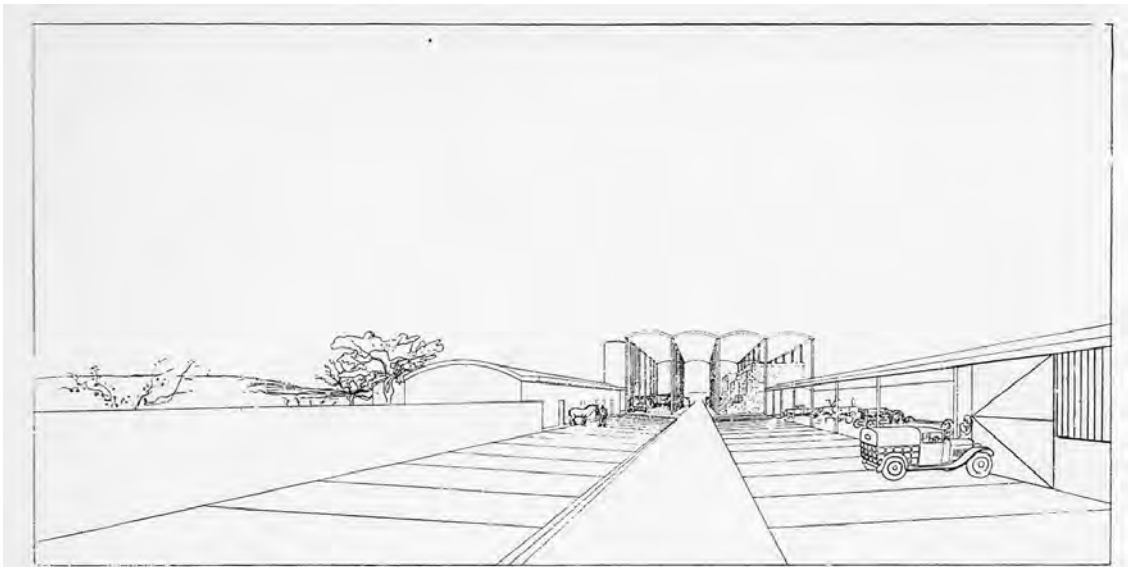
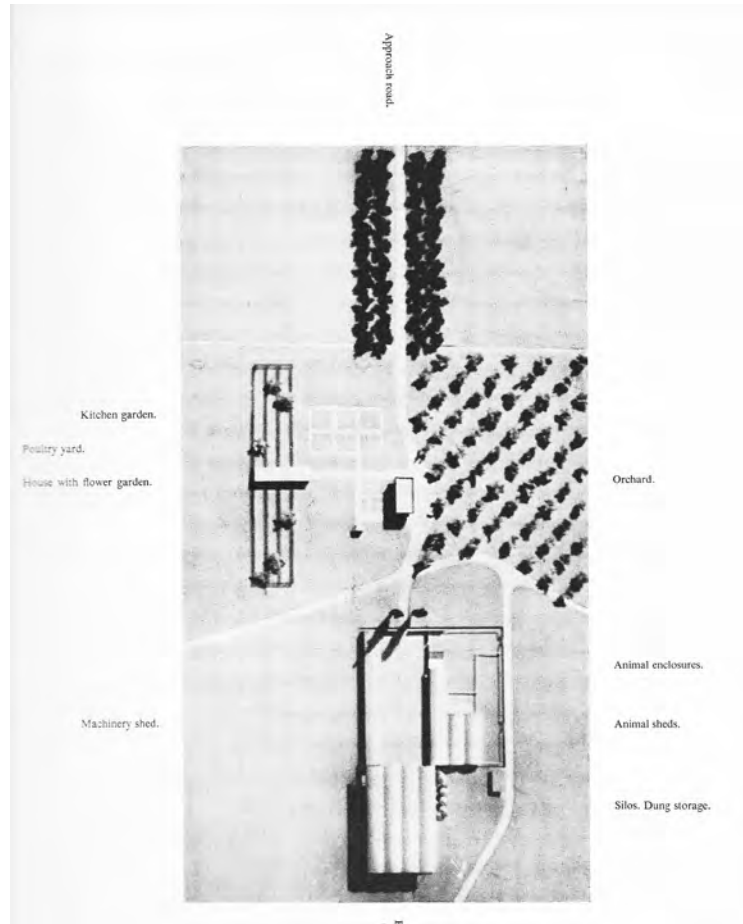
Views of the built village, c. 1955. From INU.

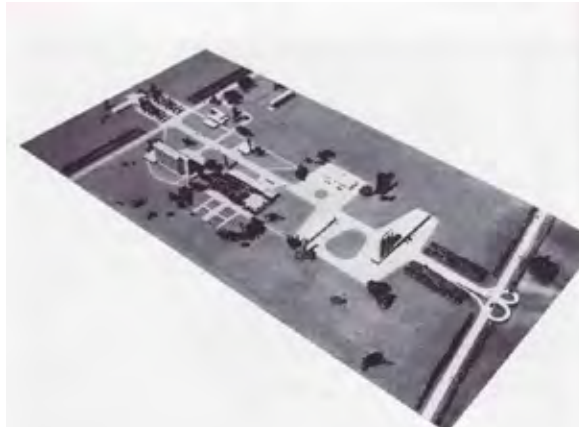
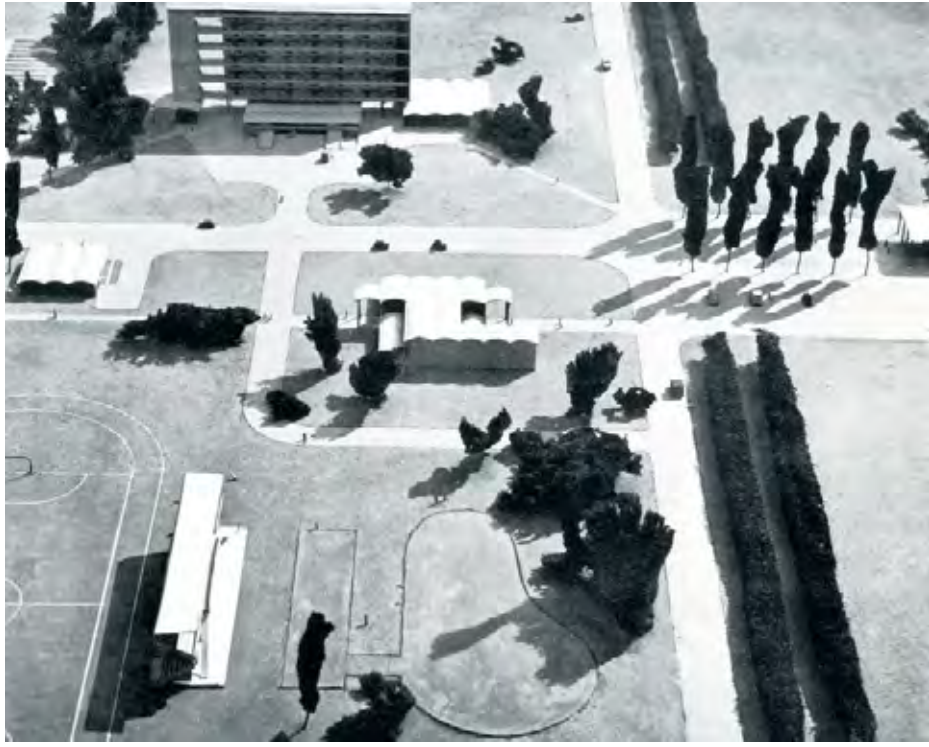


Figg. 135-137 - Pesca Romana (arch. Boccianti).



Le Corbusier. The Radiant Farm, 1933. From Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City*, New York: The Orion Press, 1964 [1933]. Site plan and perspectives.





Le Corbusier. The Radiant Village, 1933. From Le Corbusier, *The Radiant City*, New York: The Orion Press, 1964 [1933].

Le Corbusier. Cover of the manual "Les Constructions Murondins," Paris, 1941.

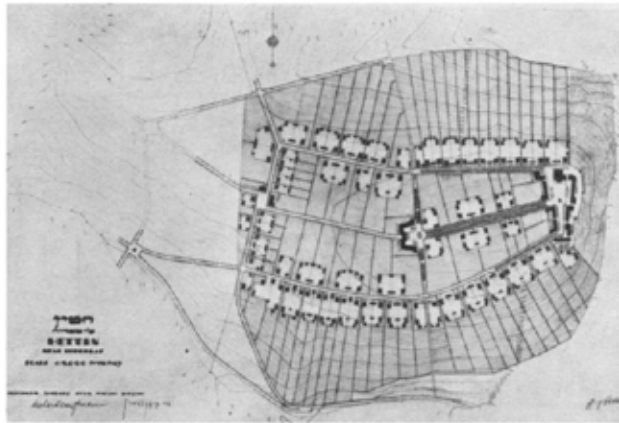


Top and middle: View and original sketch of the experimental farm of Kibbutz Merhavia, 1911. Arch: Alexander Baerwald. © National Photo Collection of Israel, 1946.



Aerial view of the Moshav Nahalal, 1921. Arch: Richard Kauffmann. Photo Wikipedia.





KFAR HITTIN



KFAR HITTIN



Top: Richard Kauffmann. Project for Kfar Hittin, c. 1922. Page from *The Town Planning Review* 12, no. 2 (November 1926).

Bottom: Richard Kauffmann. Scheme for the twin kibbutzim Ein Harod and Tel Yosef, 1927. From Axel Fisher, "Rurality, a playground for design?," 2012.



los tres elementos contiguos: lugar de estancia, cafetería y punto —un continuado al uno del otro, integrándose en un solo espacio cerrado—rubricado, abierto, apto para contener en sí y para defender el desarrollo de la vida doméstica.

El *Punto agrícola*. — Abierto al tránsito de los carros agrícolas y a los animales domésticos de corral, que pueden circular con libertad: sin dañar alguno.

En las casas de los agricultores-pescadores, las cuadras se hallan agrupadas en serie, dentro de construcciones especiales distanciadas de las habitacionales.

LA PLAZA Y LOS EDIFICIOS PÚBLICOS

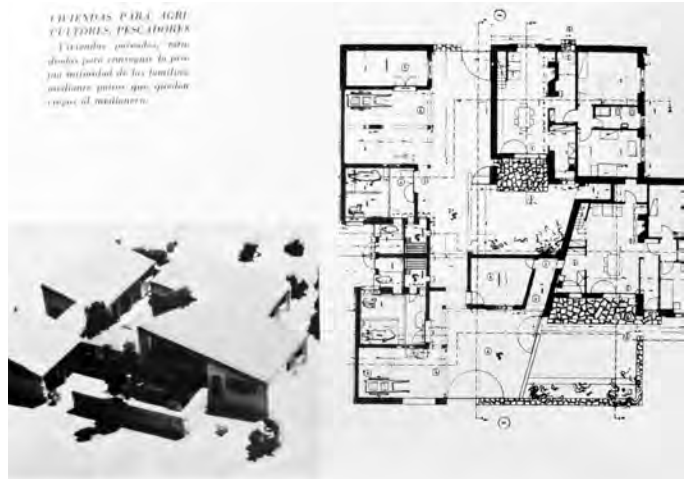
La plaza se presenta físicamente como un gran espacio cerrado por tres lados; el cuarto lado, abierto en profundidad, se cierra habitualmente por un paisaje compuesto de verde y de arquitectura hasta la cumbre de la falda, donde surge, al final

de una perspectiva oblicua de entrada, el complejo religioso parroquial-ortatorio.

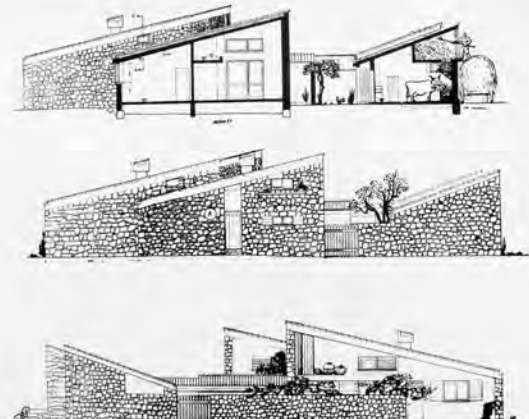
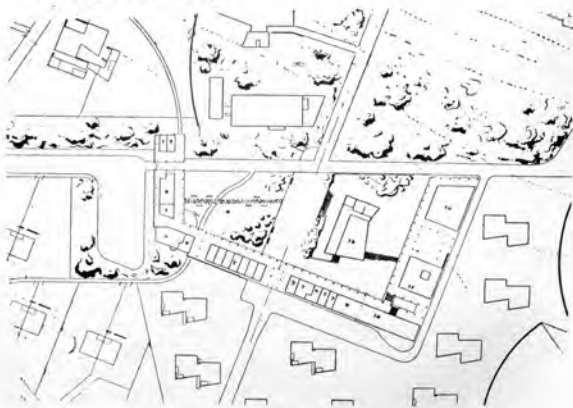
Sobre ese lado abierto de la plaza se hallan situados en partes distintas los tres edificios destinados a la infancia: Escuela, Asilo y Hogar; la superficie restante se destina a jardines públicos.

Los otros tres lados de la plaza se hallan limitados por un simple edificio de una sola planta, con un bajo pórtico continuo, que contiene las tiendas, el café-bar, la bottega, el horno de pan, las oficinas para

TIENDAS PARA AGRICULTORES, PESCADORES
 Tiendas, portadas, para donde podrá entrar la poca actividad de las familias medianas y altas que quedan cerca al mar.



Plano y vistas de la maqueta de la plaza.



Fachada del poblado.

Luigi Figini and Giorgio Pollini. The village of Porto Conte (unrealized). From *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, no. 188 (August 1957)



Maqueta del conjunto.



Vista del futuro po-

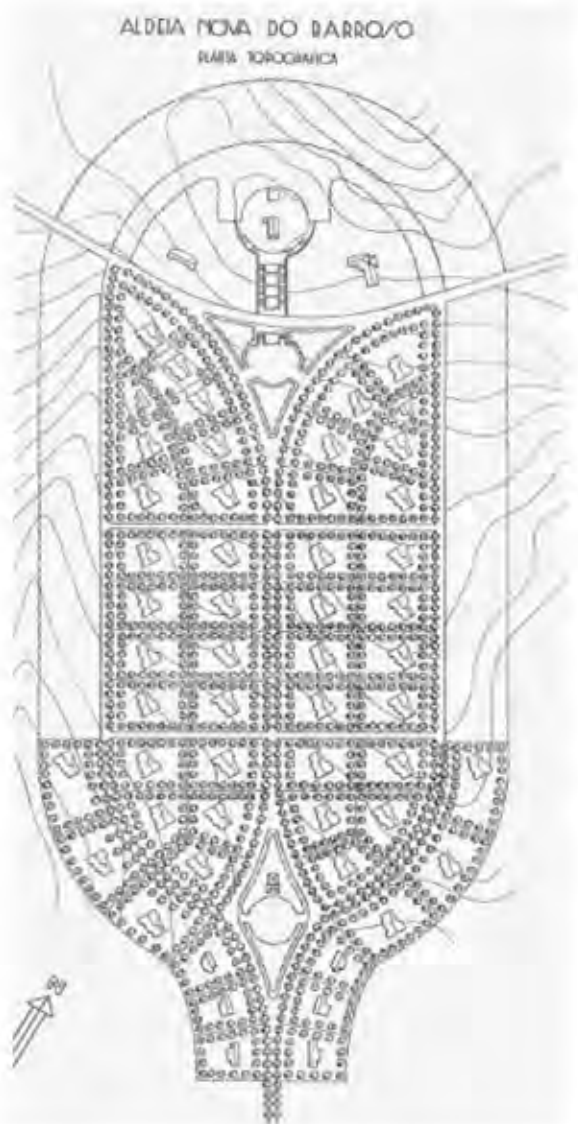


Top: Colónia agrícola de Santo Isidro de Pegões. (Municipality of Montijo, Portugal). Land preparation, 1950's. Photography by Mário Novais (1899-1967) © Calouste Gulbekian Foundation. From <http://modscapes.eu>.

Middle: Poster for the Junta de Colonização interna (Portugal).

Bottom left: Plan of the village Nova do Barroso, c. 1950.

Bottom right: Arch: Eugénio Correia. Church and school in Santo Isidro de Pegões. 1950s. From Paulo Lima, *A Colónia Agrícola de Santo Isidro de Pegões (Montijo)*, Montijo: Câmara Municipal do Montijo, 2013





D.G.R.D. Photomontage of the war destructions.
© Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares (AGA).

3:

The Ordered Town:

The Reconstruction of the Devastated Regions

Next to the heroic stones of the old Belchite, the cordial and welcoming layout of the new Belchite will rise; next to the rubble, the reconstruction; next to the heap of ruins that Marxism sowed as the unequivocal trace of its fleeting passage, the happy monument of peace that Franco's Spain builds.¹

Nowadays survive in Spain many towns and villages whose laments, curses, and tears tell us of a past of squalor and poverty. Spain used to live at the expense of its villages. At the best they served as the scenography of a picturesque drama, glimpsed through the window of a train or of an automobile... It is the war itself that eventually brought the city dwellers nearer to the countryside.²

Architecture has been captured by the cinematographic dynamism. Most neighborhoods and towns in construction nowadays in the regions of the Peninsula appear like movie sets, through which the architect can show to the world the singular character that distinguishes each of those people: nothing more joyful, more replete of gleaming whiteness than the small Andalusian houses; more nostalgic and more majestic than the residences of the northern regions; more suggestive of quiet shades and peace than new constructions in the Castilian country... Who inspired these works? Without doubt the movie pictures, the mentors of the synthesis and dynamism of modern life; these are the cities of the movies epoch. (...) We do not ignore that these works have a lot of detractors. Suffice to us to record their existence, anticipating the attention that scholars of the future will likely give to the urbanistic enterprise of our time.³

¹ Pedro Gomez Aparicio, "El símbolo de los dos Belchites," *Reconstrucción*, nº 1, April 1940, p. 6.

² Francisco de Cossio, "Muerte y reconstrucción de unos pueblos," *Reconstrucción*, 8, 1949, p 4: "Hoy quedan en España en pie muchos pueblos que nos dicen en lamentos, en imprecaciones, en lágrimas, todo un pasado de sordidez y de pobreza. España vivía absolutamente de espaldas a sus pueblos. A lo sumo servían de escenografía de una dramática pintoresca, entrevista de paso y a todo velocidad desde la ventanilla del tren y el automóvil. Los españoles pasaban deprisa por los pueblos, y si la atención penetraba a través de sus ventanillas encuadradas en tierra y de sus pobres humanos entre las junturas de sus tejas, bien pronto se disipaba en la lejanía del paisaje, quizá presintiendo el rigor de un remordimiento. Fué la guerra misma la que acercó a los pueblos los hombres de la ciudad."

³ Cecilio Barberán, "El Concepto de lo cinematográfico en las construcciones urbanas modernas," *Reconstrucción*, nº 97, January 1950, pp. 23-30.

Between General Franco's uprising of July 1936 and the fall of Madrid on April 1, 1939, Spanish combatants on both sides of the Civil War and their international allies damaged and destroyed more than 200 villages and towns. The periphery of the capital and the larger circle of Republican resistance that included the small town of Brunete and the historic center of Toledo laid in ruins with an estimated sixty thousand homeless residents living in the ruins of their houses. In the North, the symbols of devastation were Guernica, Oviedo, and a large section of Bilbao and its iron belt. In the East, destruction followed the front line of Aragón with Huesca, Belchite and Teruel, and the battle line at the Ebro River with Lérida and Tortosa. The South was hard hit as well, particularly Almería, Guadix and other towns between Córdoba and Granada.⁴

Like in many other countries during WWII, planning and structures of planning for the post-Civil War reconstruction were put in place during the year 1937-38.⁵ Under the supervision of the Servicio Técnicos de Falange, a series of architects and urbanists met multiple times in Burgos to start the process of reconstruction both from the theoretical and the technical point of view. Among those were Pedro Bidagor, Carlos de Miguel, Luis Moya, Muñoz Monasterio, José Tamés Alarcón, and many others, who met during the war in a "spirit disposed to work and sacrifice, a spirit of organized work that expected the moment when it could be realized."⁶ Likewise, during the last year of the Civil War in 1938-39, meetings were held in Burgos by the *Servicio Nacional de Reforma Económica y Social de la Tierra*. The participants analyzed the agro-social situation of the countryside, its causes, as well as a review of the colonizing policies of the last centuries with an emphasis on Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship and the Second Republic. Those discussions and debates—whether dealing with the metropolitan condition or with the rural environment—strongly reflected the ideology and program of the Falange, the movement of national-syndicalist character created in 1934 by the dictator's older son José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Following the first National Congress of the Falange, that took place in Madrid 4-7 October 1934, José Antonio commissioned the redaction of the operational program of the movement, which would appear as a short manifesto-like document titled *Los XXVII Puntos del Estado Español*. Three years later, when Franco

⁴ See for instance, Dacia Viejo-Rose, *Reconstructing Spain: Cultural Heritage and Memory after Civil War*, Brighton/Portland/Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2011; Olivia Muñoz-Rojas, *Ashes and Granite: Destruction and Reconstruction in the Spanish Civil War and Its Aftermath*, Cañada Blanch/Sussex Academic Studies on Contemporary Spain/Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2011.

⁵ Jean-Louis Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War*, Montreal: Canadian Center for Architecture, 2011. It must be noted that Cohen did not include Spain within his study.

⁶ Pedro Muguruza, "Ideas generales sobre ordenación y reconstrucción," in *Sesiones de la I Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos*, Madrid: Servicios Técnicos de FET y de la JONS, 1939, p. 4: "espíritu dispuesto al trabajo y al sacrificio, un espíritu de trabajo organizado que esperaba el momento en que éste pudiera realizarse." For the preparation of the reconstruction and, in particular, the Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid, see Sofía Diéguez Patao, "Pedro Bidagor. Dos contextos: los años de guerra y posguerra en Madrid. De la Sección de Arquitectura de CNT a la Junta de Reconstrucción," in Carlos Sambricio (ed.), *Plan Bidagor 1941-1946. Plan General De Ordenación De Madrid*, Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 2003, pp. 19-34.

consolidated the Falange Española y de la JONS, the 26 Points became the “vademecum” platform of the future regime.⁷

In his many texts and speeches held before the war, José Antonio argued that it was necessary “to put in place the Agrarian Reform in a revolutionary way; it means, to impose to the owners of large properties the sacrifice of handing over to the little farmers the land that they miss.” And this implied that compensating the landowners with the full price of their land “was an insult to the laborers.”⁸ To be sure, demagoguery ruled in those electoral times, and, immediately following the Civil War, the new regime embarked on rolling back most of the Republican agrarian reform. Yet, the fundamental goal of the Falange remained, i.e., to transform the economy by favoring the development of agriculture as prime source of national wealth. Most importantly, it implied the spatial reorganization of the agricultural land through a process of property fragmentation that would reduce social conflicts and create a more stable situation of work and individual property. Moreover, the manifesto directed to increase the living status of the farmers and agricultural workers, to ensure a minimum prize for the products from the earth, to rationalize the cultivation process, to stimulate the syndication of the workers, to move farmers from infertile grounds to better areas if needed, to expropriate properties acquired illegally, to accelerate the hydraulic public works, and to provide cheap credit for investment independent from the local corrupted structures:

The rules of work in the agricultural sector of the economy will be adjusted to their special characteristics and to the seasonal variations imposed by Nature. The State will take special care of the technical education of the agricultural producer, enabling him to carry out all the work required by each unit of exploitation. The embellishment of the rural life will be achieved, perfecting the peasant housing and improving the hygienic conditions of the villages and hamlets of Spain. The State will assure the stability of the tenants in the cultivation of the land through long-term contracts that guarantee them against unjustified eviction and ensure them the amortization of the improvements they would have made on the property. It is the aspiration of the State to arbitrate the means by which the land, under fair conditions, might become the property of those who directly exploit it.⁹

⁷ The Falange Española de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (Falange Española de la JONS) was an extreme nationalist political group founded in Spain in 1934 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Influenced by Italian fascism, the manifesto further repudiated the republican constitution, party politics, capitalism, Marxism, and clericalism, and proclaimed the necessity of a national-sindicalist state, a strong government, and Spanish imperialist expansion. During the Civil War, Franco merged the group with the *Comunión Tradicionalista* (one of the names of the Carlist movement since 1869), to form the *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista* (FET y de las JONS). It became the sole legal party after 1939, until its dissolution in 1977.

⁸ José Antonio Primo de Rivera, “*Labradores*,” *Arriba*, 1st of November 1935, quoted in Esther Almarcha Núñez-Herrador, *Nueve pueblos de colonización en la provincia de Ciudad Real*, Ciudad Real, 1996, p. 15.

⁹ Franco, “*El Fuero del Trabajo*,” cited on: <http://www.generalisimofranco.com/descargas/26%20puntos.pdf> (last accessed September 30, 2018): “Las normas de trabajo en la empresa agrícola se ajustarán a sus especiales características y a las variaciones estacionales impuestas por la naturaleza. El estado cuidará especialmente la educación

The material collected, examined, and discussed during the war became the basis of the doctrine that would coalesce in the two most important institutions of the first phase of Franco's regime: the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas (D.G.R.D.), which included the Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid) and the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (I.N.C.). The task of reconstruction was entrusted to the Department General of Devastated Regions, created within the Ministry of the Interior well before the end of the war, in January 1938. The Article 1 of the decree of March 25, 1938, ascribed to the D.G.R.D., "the direction and vigilance of any projects, general or particular, whose purpose is to restore or reconstruct properties of all kinds damaged by the effects of war."¹⁰ The Instituto Nacional de Colonización (I.N.C.) was created in 1939 to strengthen the overall strategy of modernization of the countryside and, more specifically, to implement a pro-active policy of rural settlement linked to the post-war program of drainage and irrigation in depressed agricultural areas around the country.

3.1. The Countryside as Locus of Modernization

Post-Civil War Spain used the countryside as *locus* and symbol for the economic reconstruction and the modernization of the State during the autarchic period (1939-1959).¹¹ The main rationale was the State's economic policy to bolster new agrarian development in order to give time for the necessary reorganization of private capital, at that time without opportunities for rapid investment and rebuilding of the industrial sector. The implicit objective was to stabilize the impoverished rural population away from the big cities and thus prevent rural flight, excessive urban expansion, and potentially explosive socio-economic conditions.¹² Altogether these priorities adjusted to the demands of the oligarchy, the primary supporter of Franco, whose immediate goal was to recuperate the land lost in the Republican agrarian reform; likewise, they were fueled by the low cost of labor in the countryside, and the international embargo on import and export.¹³ More importantly, the physical

técnica del productor agrícola, capacitándole para realizar todos los trabajos exigidos por cada unidad de explotación. Se conseguirá el embellecimiento de la vida rural, perfeccionando la vivienda campesina y mejorando las condiciones higiénicas de los pueblos y caseríos de España. El estado asegurará a los arrendatarios la estabilidad en el cultivo de la tierra por medio de contratos a largo plazo que les garanticen contra el desahucio injustificado y les asegure la amortización de las mejoras que hubieren realizado en el predio. Es aspiración del estado arbitrar los medios conducentes para que la tierra, en condiciones justas, pase a ser de quienes directamente la explotan."

¹⁰ Eugenia Llanos, "La Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas. Su organización administrativa," *Arquitectura en Regiones Devastadas*, Madrid: MOPU, 1987, p. 43: "la dirección y la vigilancia de cuantos proyectos, generales o particulares, tengan por objeto restaurar o reconstruir bienes de todas clases dañados por efecto de la guerra."

¹¹ On the Spanish economy and economic policies after 1939, see Carlos Barciela López, "Guerra Civil y primer franquismo (1936-1959)," in Francisco Comín, Mauro Hernández Benítez, Enrique Llopis Agelán (eds.), *Historia económica de España, siglos X-XX*, Crítica, 2010, pp. 331-368.

¹² Lluís Domènech, *Arquitectura de Siempre: Los años 40 en España*, Barcelona: Tusquets, 1978, pp. 23-24.

¹³ Luis Domènech, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

reconstruction of the destroyed towns and the program of interior colonization that would parallel it had a major objective in line with the macro-economic strategy of the regime:

The colonization has, for the Architects, a political and general interest, since its mission is to achieve the agricultural potential of Spain and to improve the quality of life of the farmer. As a result it will capacitate the industrial empowerment that he needs for his subsistence and the development of its Imperial Mission.¹⁴

Carlos Sambricio has pointed out that the integral process of reconstruction and colonization marked a critical moment in the development of an “agrarian economy of industrial type.” It was a transition from “a late feudalism to capitalism, taking advantage of a relative abundance of manpower in the countryside—and putting to use a low-salaried workforce and necessary improvement in the techniques of production—in such a way that the situation would generate sizeable savings that could be directed toward the process of industrialization.”¹⁵ The assumption was that the financial capital linked to the rural aristocracy, traditional engine of Spanish economic development and now revalorized through the cancellation of the Republican agrarian reform, would stabilize the economy of the countryside, limit the rural exodus, produce an agriculture capable to supply with its surplus, and for a limited period, a new industrial development.¹⁶ In other words, the Reconstruction was not only about the restoration of monuments and the redevelopment of destroyed towns and villages, but also the policy that intended to lay the foundations of a new economic structure that would reorganize, “not only the relations of production, but, and above all, the means, thus defining a new order of wealth.”¹⁷ The particular conditions of Spanish agriculture after the Civil War were thus at the basis of the modernization and industrialization of the economy from the mid-1950s onwards. The “true industrialization of Spain,” to which Jordi Nadal referred polemically regarding the 1960s was in fact inseparable from the agricultural phase.¹⁸ The savings and profits generated from the countryside were to

¹⁴ Germán Valentín Gamazo, “La reorganización general desde el Instituto Nacional de Colonización,” *Segunda Asamblea de Arquitectos*, Madrid, 1941, p. 30: “La colonización tiene por los arquitectos, en primer lugar, un interés político y general, por cuanto su misión es lograr la potencialización agrícola de España que permita mejorar el nivel de vida del agricultor y hacer posible la potenciación industrial que necesita para su defensa y el desarrollo de su misión imperial.”

¹⁵ Carlos Sambricio, “... *Que Coman República!*” Introducción a un estudio sobre la reconstrucción en la España de la posguerra,” *Cuando se quiso resucitar la arquitectura*, Murcia: Comisión de Cultura del Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos/Consejería de Cultura y Educación de la Comunidad Autónoma, 1983, p. 204. Also in *Arquitectura para después de una guerra*, Barcelona: Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Urbanismo, 1977: pp. 21-33. See José Luis García Delgado, “A propósito de la agricultura en el desarrollo capitalista español,” *La cuestión agraria en la España contemporánea*, VI Coloquio de Pau, Madrid, 1976.

¹⁶ Sambricio, “Que Coman,” p. 204.

¹⁷ Sambricio, *Que Coman*, p. 200: “Pero mientras que para unos la reconstrucción era una mera operación de restauración, para otros el concepto se entendió no tanto en términos arquitectónicos—de conservación de monumentos o de mantenimiento de ciudades—, sino como la actuación que tendía a sentar las bases de una estructura económica nueva de formal tal que se reorganizasen, no sólo las relaciones de producción, sino, y sobre todo, los medios, definiendo así una nueva ordenación de la riqueza.”

¹⁸ See Jordi Nadal, *El fracaso de la Revolución industrial en España 1814-1913*, Barcelona 1975, p. 23, quoted by Ignacio de Sola-Morales, “La arquitectura de la vivienda en los años de la Autarquía, 1939-1953,” in *Arquitectura* 199, April 1976, p. 24.

progressively feed the resurgence of capitalist accumulation necessary for the redeployment of the industrial sector, linked to the end of the autarchy period and the re-opening of the country to the American influence in the 1950s.

Propaganda was also instrumental in this politics. The schematic and often simplistic pre-war partition of the country between the Republican industrial cities and the Falangist towns and villages remained in the memory of the victors. Consequently, the New Spain not only thanked the agrarian man for his sacrifice during the war, but also strove to mythify and present him as the model of the New Spaniard, long-suffering and reserved, anchored in the old tradition of the individual courage in the face of daily labor. In a speech of 1959, Franco summarized the political and ideological substrate of those economic priorities:

Many Spanish people, and the ruling classes, believed that Spain was to be found in its capital and cities; they were unaware of the vivid reality of the small towns and hamlets, of all the smallest places [...]. And all of this is what the Movement has come to redeem: the incomparable creative capacity of the *pueblos* that our great national program is forging across all provinces.¹⁹

Franco's position was widely supported by ideologues of the regime, among which Onésimo Redondo—founder of the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (JONS) and promoter of an agrarian Fascism—, Rafael Sánchez Maza, and Eugenio d'Ors.²⁰ In his essay of 1939, *La civilización campesina*, D'Ors who had the vision of an imperial Catalonia and Spain, emphasizing the Roman classical tradition, adopted the revindication of the rural world: "If the proletarians and the 'rustics' of the world, united, make a perpetual guard of honor to the tomb of Lenin, why couldn't the 'fathers', the 'farmers' of the world go on a pilgrimage now, as September and the centenary of his peasant death approach, to the tomb of Federico Mistral, epic poet of the agricultural civilization?"²¹

And in *Vértice*, the periodical of the Falange in 1939, one could read some of the rare and most extreme anti-urban invectives:

The city devours man ... that is the great sin that must be fought against; and the towers of Babel will remain in our memory as examples of great crime. And all those who had honest peasants in their lineage, but fled to the city and stayed in their dirty

¹⁹ Speech given in Valladolid on the 29th of October 1959, in Franco Bahamonde Discourse of the Head of State, 3 November 1959, p. 492. Carlos Sambricio commented further: "La reconstrucción termina, por tanto, no cuando se eliminan las ruinas, sino cuando la aristocracia financiera consigue rehacer la infraestructura económica porque, a partir de ahí, la palabra "reconstrucción" será sustituida por la de especulación." ("Que coman Republica," pp. 242-3).

²⁰ On Eugenio d'Ors, see Chapter 1.

²¹ Quoted by Bibiana Treviño Carrillo, "La utopía ruralista del primer Franquismo en los planes de reconstrucción de la Posguerra," *Actas de la II Conferencia de Hispanistas de Rusia*, Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1999, n.p., from Eugeni d'Ors, *La Tradición*, Buenos Aires: Ed. Reunidos, 1939, p. 24: "Si los proletarios y los rústicos del mundo, unidos, dan perpetua guardia de honor a la tumba de Lenin—¿por qué los "padres", los "labradores" del mundo no irían en peregrinación—ahora, en la época del año, en que, al acercarse septiembre, se acerca el centenario de su muerte campesina—, a la tumba de Federico Mistral, poeta épico de la civilización agrícola?"

suburbs, engendering degeneration and abnormality, will lament that modern betrayal in the ruins of the city. They are the sad glories of time: cities like beehives, cold shelters of a wholly deviated humanity, which the friendly fields, the white villages, the joyful houses, the open air, and the clear skies that the colossal chimneys and the hundred floors of the skyscrapers do not cloud, impatiently await ... The city lies, lies in everything, and lies by virtue of its own vice.²²

However, in contrast to the virulent anti-urban attacks launched by the most reactionary supporters of the regime, it is important to emphasize the balanced approach to the relationship city/country that César Cort, Professor of Urbanología at the School of Architecture of the University of Madrid, published in 1941. Under the title *Campos urbanizados y ciudades rurizadas* [Urbanized countryside and ruralized cities], Cort proposed an agenda that eventually guided the urban program of Franco's regime, at least until the end of autarky.²³

Bringing the countryside to the city and the city to the countryside must be the anatreptic purpose of the new developers and planners, although the statement seems somewhat paradoxical. "Ruralize the cities and urbanize the fields", was the motto of the first Spanish book of urbanization, written by Cerdà, towards the middle of the last century, when still in Europe nobody was dealing doctrinally with these subjects. And in the urbanization of the fields; that is to say, in procuring to its inhabitants most of the advantages enjoyed by those of the city, and in ruralizing cities, which is as good as introducing into the cities as many rural sectors it is possible to locate, without losing the unity of the whole or the aspect of the city, we must seek the material improvement of daily life that influences both the maintenance of good morals and morals in the ordering of material activities.²⁴

²² "Babel o la ciudad," *Vértice*, 16 July 1939, reprinted in Gabriel Ureña, *Arquitectura y Urbanística Civil y Militar en el Período de la Autarquía (1936-1945). Análisis, cronología y textos*, Madrid: Ediciones ISTMO, 1979, p. 269: "La ciudad devora al hombre...el gran pecado que hay que combatir; quedarán babeles como recuerdo de un gran crimen. Y aquellos que tuvieron en su sangre labriegos honrados, que huyeron hacia la ciudad y se quedaron en sus arrabales sucios, engendrando degeneración y anomalía, se lamentarán en las ruinas de tanta ciudad por culpa de aquella traición moderna. Son las tristes glorias del tiempo: ciudades como colmenas, albergues fríos de toda una humanidad descarriada, a la que espera el campo compañero, las aldeas blancas, las villas alegres, el aire libre, el cielo claro que no enturbian chimeneas colosales, que no ocultan los cien pisos de los rascacielos. Ya puede disfrazarse la ciudad y hacer los diez halagos de la mujer adúltera. La ciudad miente, miente en todo y miente por propia virtud de su vicio."

²³ César Cort Botí, *Campos Urbanizados Y Ciudades Ruralizadas*. Madrid: Yagües, 1941.

²⁴ César Cort Botí, "Campos urbanizados y ciudades rurizadas," in *Campo Cerrado*, Madrid: Museo del Reina Sofía, 2016, p. 149: "Llevar el campo a la ciudad y la ciudad al campo ha de ser el propósito anatreptico de los nuevos urbanizadores, aunque el enunciado parezca un tanto paradójico. "Ruralizad las ciudades y urbanizad los campos", fue el lema del primer libro español de urbanización, escrito por Cerdá, hacia la mitad del siglo pasado, cuando todavía en Europa nadie se ocupaba doctrinalmente de estas materias. Y en la urbanización de los campos; es decir, en procurar a sus habitantes la mayoría de las ventajas que gozan los de la ciudad y en ruralizar las ciudades, que vale tanto como introducir en las urbes cuantos sectores rurales encuentren posible acoplamiento, sin perder por ello la unidad del conjunto ni el aspecto de ciudad, hay que buscar el mejoramiento material de la vida cotidiana que influye tanto en el mantenimiento de la buena moral, como la moral en el ordenamiento de las actividades materiales."

3.2. The *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas* (D.G.R.D.)

As its first director José Moreno Torres argued in his 1941 essay in *Reconstrucción*, the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas* was organized “in the form of a large private enterprise.”²⁵ The D.G.R.D. had no intention to compete with the private initiative, yet, Torres admitted that it was necessary “not only to promote it but also to orient it and give it the necessary support.”²⁶ Originally, the mission to rebuild the destroyed towns and villages that bore witness to “the holy and victorious Crusade of liberation or the irrefutable witnesses of the barbarous and cruel mercilessness of the hordes trained by Russia” was to orient, facilitate, and in some cases, directly implement the process.²⁷ First, the *Instituto de Crédito para la Reconstrucción Nacional* was put in place in March 1939 to provide credit with a low interest rate and a long period of amortization to individuals and institutions ready to embark on the reconstruction works, the whole being based upon the Italian model of 1919 and with mandatory participation of the mortgagee.²⁸ However, as the Department immediately ordered the field survey of already liberated towns and villages, it became clear that in light of the physical and economic condition of many towns and villages, the reconstruction could only proceed with a massive help from the State. For this purpose, Franco signed the decree of “adoption” of the most damaged areas on 23 September 1939: the reconstruction of towns and villages damaged at more than sixty per cent would be entirely financed by the State.

Under director Torres, the Department of the Devastated Regions initiated the planning and implementation of an ambitious program of reconstruction of the 192 towns and villages adopted by 1945.²⁹ A large staff of architects, engineers and other professionals (100 in 1940 reaching more than 200 in 1945) was assembled in twenty-eight regional offices to control and direct the process. The program included the reconstruction of damaged towns and cities, the construction of new towns to replace destroyed settlements, and a vast enterprise of restoration of civic and religious public buildings. In 1947, architect Gonzalo de Cárdenas replaced Moreno Torres at the head of the *Dirección*. De Cárdenas was a college graduate of the same promotion and collaborator of José Fonseca Llamedo at the Seminario de Urbanología de la Escuela de Madrid. Fonseca was named director of the Instituto de la Vivienda in 1940 and the two men kept a close collaboration during the 1940s, thus reinforcing the continuity of policy and interests between the Second Republic and the first period of Franco’s regime.

²⁵ José Moreno Torres, “Un organismo del Nuevo Estado: La Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas, *Reconstrucción*, 12, May 1941, p. 4.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ “Organismos del Nuevo Estado: La Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas y Reparaciones,” *Reconstrucción*, I, nº 1, p. 2: “[...] la santa y victoriosa Cruzada de liberación o testigos irrefutables del bárbaro y cruel ensañamiento de las hordas aleccionados por Rusia [...]”

²⁸ José Moreno Torres, *La Reconstrucción urbana en España*, Madrid: Artes gráficas Faure, 1945, unpaginated.

²⁹ José Moreno Torres left the direction in 1946 when he became the Mayor of Madrid. There were 148 towns and villages adopted by 1941 and eventually reached 227 in the mid-1940s.

During the first two years of the reconstruction it was often necessary to actuate directly in order to reach often remote villages and property owners; this was to be done quickly in order to avoid the much dreaded rural exodus toward the cities, a phenomenon obviously feared and ideologically opposed by Franco and the Falange. Necessary expropriations were regulated with the law of December 1939 and were paid by the Institute of Credit over five years with a 4% interest rate in order to stabilize population and avoid its abandoning the villages and towns. All affected persons were granted the right to solicit long-term loans at a low rate of interest, from the National Reconstruction Credit Institute. By 1944 no less than 18,700 workers were employed by the D.G.R.D., including a significant number of political prisoners who typically received a two-day reduction of imprisonment for one day of work.³⁰ By 1946, the D.G.R.D. had reconstructed 14,845 housing units, built 16,019 new dwellings, and intervened on more than 800 public structures, including churches, schools, markets, and others.³¹ In 1951, the Department counted 108 architects, 46 engineers and 180 civil servants distributed within the regional offices.³²

3.3. The First Exhibition of the Reconstruction

On June 14, 1940, in the Palacio de Bibliotecas y Museos in Madrid, General Franco inaugurated the first Exposition of the Reconstruction of Spain (*Exposición de la Reconstrucción de España*). The show was organized by the Department of Devastated Regions and mounted with the help of students and young graduates of the School of Architecture of the University of Madrid, including Aburto, Ayuso, Baselga, de Asis Cabrero, Calonge, Chapa, Cuevas, Fernández Del Amo, Marcide, Molíns, Pérez, Páramo, and San Millán. The curator of the design was the young Asturian architect José Gómez del Collado (1910-1995), a native of Cangas del Narcea, a town where he eventually built most of his architectural work.³³ Gómez del Collado was himself an alumnus of the School of Madrid. He graduated in 1940, having spent a year in Italy with a fellowship, where he was strongly influenced by the works of Terragni, Moretti, and Gardella. Also trained as an engineer, he worked for many years for the D.G.R.D., in particular for the installation of radio antennas from Brunete to Sevilla, and he collaborated in the design of new towns like Belchite.

Less than a year had passed since the end of the Civil War and the amount of design work produced was nothing short of exceptional in quantity, consistency, and quality. The

³⁰ José Moreno Torres, *La Reconstrucción urbana en España*, unpaginated.

³¹ José Rivero Serrano, "Regiones Devastadas: Figuración, Morfología y Tipología," in Carlos Sambricio (ed.), *La Vivienda Protegida*, Madrid: Ministerio de la Vivienda, 2009, p. 76.

³² Eugenia Llanos de la Plaza, "La Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas," Cayetana de la Cuadra Salcedo (ed.), *Villanueva de la Cañada: Historia de una reconstrucción*, Villanueva de la Cañada: Ayuntamiento, Concejalía de Cultura, 2001, p. 41.

³³ See the "Número extraordinario dedicado a la Exposición de la Reconstrucción de España," *Reconstrucción* nº 3, June-July 1940, and José Ramón Puerto Álvarez, "La obra arquitectónica de José Gómez del Collado" at <http://www.touspatous.es/index.php/arte/955-la-obra-arquitectonica-de-jose-gomez-del-collado.html>.

exposition itself was designed in less than two months and required hundreds of masons, painters and carpenters, working day and night. Along the walls of the three introductory rooms—Information, Statistics, and Conference—were tapestries, symbolic paintings, and frescoes that showed strong influences from El Greco and the Italian painters of the Novecento.³⁴ As an example, the fresco of the Destruction in the Information Room showed direct influences from Mario Sironi or one of the other artists working on the E42 exposition in Rome. They illustrated the ideological and socio-cultural process of reconstruction, in an exhibition environment where a great sense of symmetry, order, and color (which can only be guessed from the black and white photographs) gave those rooms the character of a vernacular *Gesamtkunstwerk*. In the pages of the special issue of *Reconstrucción*, Gómez de Collado and the young students and architects commented on the joyful spirit of the projects and the exhibition, while attacking pre-war modernists:

In the persistence of polychrome sculpture we can focus the most marked characteristic of our personality. Here, then, we have to face something inherent to ourselves, color, as a result of a way of conceiving the world ... Why then should we defect from such singular fidelity? Let those who embrace the ultra-Pyrenean philosophy do it and arrive at the unbearable monotony of false purity.³⁵

The colors, the abstracted decorations above the doors that recalled Gio Ponti, the alignment of all major plans at a lower level of the rooms, the low pedestals on which the large models were displayed, all of these exhibition devices created an impression of serenity that contrasted with the real state of the country. Another ten rooms contained the renderings, plans, and very detailed models of a dozen of towns and villages in the initial stage of reconstruction: among them, the heroic centers of Republican resistance and Falangist victories, Guernica, Toledo, Brunete (which had its own room), Nules and Belchite. For Moreno Torres, the exhibition primary goal was to show to the public “how a modern town should be, how it should be lived in the future. Notions about hygiene. Social type standards.”³⁶ In its reiteration in other cities of Spain like in Granada (see *Reconstrucción* June 1941), full-scale models of houses and interiors were even displayed amidst the drawings and other objects. In another venue, Bilbao (see *Reconstrucción* July-August 1941), the exhibition was presented in a modern industrial interior, which emphasized the horizontality of the space, and with a resolutely more modern graphic layout.

³⁴ The role of Francisco Cabrero must have been important in this artistic endeavour if one analyzes the manner of those iconographies in relation with his personal paintings. See for instance his self-portrait from 1942 and some of his travel sketches from the same period in Gabriel Cabrero, ed., *Francisco de Asís Cabrero*, Madrid: Fundación COAM, 2007.

³⁵ José Gómez del Collado, *Reconstrucción*, nº 3, Junio-Julio 1940, unpaginated: “En la persistencia de la escultura policroma podemos centrar la característica más acusada de nuestra personalidad. He aquí, pues, que hemos de enfrentarnos con algo consustancial nuestro, el color, como resultado de una manera de concebir el mundo... Por qué entonces hemos de desertar nosotros de tan singular fidelidad? Que lo hagan quienes por campos de filosofía ultra-pirenaica llegarán a la monotonía insoportable de la falsa pureza.”

³⁶ *Reconstrucción*, nº 3, Junio-Julio 1940, unpaginated: “Cómo debe ser un pueblo moderno, cómo se ha de vivir en el futuro. Nociones sobre la higiene. Normas de tipo social.”

In its issue of June 22, 1940, the periodical *El Tajo* made this situation very clear. Commenting on the lack of political unity in Spain in the last 100 years and its repercussion on the cultural condition, the newspaper emphasized how “the team spirit, the spirit of unity, preside over the execution of all the projects that are exhibited, in such a way that, beyond the individual temperaments of each executor, the existence of norms and plans is perceived without effort. This has been made possible only when the individual style has given way to a more noble collective vision; that is, when a professional aristocracy has been formed.”³⁷ Likewise, in the description made by Gonzalo de Cárdenas in 1940, “for the first time in the history of Spanish architecture, eighty-two architects, united and fused together, are realizing a unanimous and silent work, with a unique criteria, well defined and concrete, of what the reconstruction of Spain must consist of.”³⁸

Within the national-catholic ideological framework, modernization was a major concern. Reconstructing the towns and villages as they were before the war was neither the objective nor a direct motivation. For the Francoist planners and architects, most of the destroyed towns lacked hygiene, functional qualities, and their urban design and architecture was average if not mediocre. In all texts and speeches, a clear functionalist and hygienist discourse prevailed, a familiar tone since the beginning of the century, in most European countries and even more so in Spain:

The reconstruction does not aspire to bring back the *pueblos* of Spain to the state that they had yesterday. It aspires to improve them, and to infuse in them the breath of the National Revolution, since – and we are not afraid to proclaim this sad truth – in many of them the conditions of housing were sometimes incompatible with human dignity. We hope that these new houses will meet the demands of hygienic and cheerful homes, so that the children of those who sacrificed themselves may appreciate the fruit of so much effort.³⁹

In light of this assessment, it was logical that a completely new understanding of the urban structure be established. Its logic was to be found within the tradition of Spanish colonization but also within the international experience of the garden city and the modern village as discussed and implemented before the war. The medieval and organic character of most

³⁷ Ibidem: “El espíritu de equipo, de unidad, preside la ejecución de todos los proyectos que en aquella se exhiben, de tal manera que, por encima de los temperamentos individuales de cada executor, se perciben, sin esfuerzo, la existencia de normas y de planes. Esto sólo ha sido posible conseguirlo cuando el estilo individual ha sido vertido en otro más noble colectivo; es decir, cuando se ha formado una aristocracia profesional.”

³⁸ Gonzalo de Cárdenas Rodríguez, “La Reconstrucción Nacional vista desde la Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas,” in *Segunda Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos*, Madrid: Dirección General de Arquitectura, 1940, p. 154.

³⁹ *Reconstrucción*, nº 3, June-July 1940, unpaginated: “La reconstrucción no aspira a dejar los pueblos de España sobre los que opera en el estado que ayer tuvieron. Aspira a mejorarlos, llevandos a ellos el aliento de la Revolución Nacional, puesto que—no nos asusta proclamar esta triste verdad—en muchos las condiciones de la vivienda eran en ocasiones incompatibles con la dignidad humana. Aspiramos a que aquellas casas cumplan las exigencias de los hogares higiénicos y alegres, para que los hijos de los que se sacrificaron aprecien el fruto de tanto esfuerzo.”

destroyed towns might indulge some nostalgic appeal, but it was within a more logical and rational structure that urban diversity would be created. As stated by Joaquín Vaquero,

In the reconstruction of the towns devastated by the war, it would be neither possible nor convenient to achieve, unless with great prudence, the picturesque value that they previously displayed. It will be necessary to pursue another beauty, achieved by the rational organization of constructions and free spaces, adopting the whole to the climate and landscape of each place, and to the means of life not only of each town, but also to the future, after studying the possibilities of soils, crops, industries, etc.⁴⁰

Modernization for the Spanish planners was not limited to the morphology of the towns and the typology of their fabric, but presupposed a radical change in the social behavior of the countryside residents. This was necessary to guarantee that the residents would de facto abandon the destroyed villages and move to the new towns. In order to fulfill the first objective of the reconstruction, which was to maintain the impacted population within the countryside, it was necessary to understand and to combat the traditional inertia of the farmers, a community inertia that resulted from ancestral traditions, from cultural isolation from modernity, and more importantly from the scarce means of subsistence that made all traces of modern comfort either unachievable or undesired because of cost and associated inconvenience. In the words of Moreno Torres,

The first thing to reconstruct and transform is the idiosyncrasy. It is not enough to rebuild homes and clean up the rural areas of Spain. It is necessary that the habits change. We have no idea how the people in our fields have lived so far. I have recently been in a town that had no water ... Centuries have passed and this village does not know how to satisfy such a peremptory and elementary need as that of water. They are going to build a lift. They will have the water in their own town. But that naturally requires expenses and electricity. The neighbors cannot pay it. They would prefer to continue the uncomfortable and painful habit of carrying water.⁴¹

This particular condition, endemic to the countryside and to impoverished districts, was not unique to Spain but could be encountered across the world. It is significant that some of the

⁴⁰ Joaquín Vaquero, "Arquitectura popular española. Pintoresquismo en la reconstrucción," *Reconstrucción*, nº 16, nov. 1941, p. 13: "En la reconstrucción de los pueblos devastados por la guerra, ni sería posible ni conveniente lograr, sino en medida prudente, el valor pintoresco que anteriormente haya tenido el pueblo. Será necesario perseguir otra belleza, lograda por la ordenación racional de construcciones y espacios libres, adoptando el todo al clima y paisaje de cada lugar, y al medio de vida no solamente actual de cada pueblo, sino también al futuro, después de estudiar las posibilidades de subsuelos, cultivos, industrias, etc."

⁴¹ José Moreno Torres, "La significación moral de la Reconstrucción en España," *La Vanguardia Española*, 26 junio 1940; reprinted in "Noticario," *Reconstrucción* June-July 1940, unpaginated: "Lo primero que hay que reconstruir es la idiosincrasia. No basta con devolver hogares y sanear los medios rurales de España. Es necesario que cambien las costumbres. No se tiene idea de cómo ha vivido hasta ahora la gente de nuestros campos. He estado recientemente en un pueblo que no tiene agua.... Son siglos enteros en que este pueblo no conoce otro procedimiento para satisfacer necesidad tan perentoria y elemental como la del agua. Se les va a construir una elevadora. Tendrán el agua en su mismo pueblo. Pero eso requiere, naturalmente, un gasto, una utilización del fluido eléctrico. Los vecinos no pueden pagarlo. Preferirían seguir toda la vida con su incómodo y penoso acarreo."

architects of the D.G.R.D. quoted Karl Brunner, the well-known Austrian architect and planner active in Chile and Colombia, and author of the *Manual de Urbanismo* just published in 1939. Its author argued that, like many other inhabitants of towns, “the people living in the unhealthy sectors, because they are acclimated to their environment, do not long for other conditions or do not know how to adapt to them Perhaps the custom, the ignorance, the laziness and the discouragement produce these phenomena; but, if so, human civilization must consider these people as victims of a social malaise that awaits their relief from outside.”⁴²

This focus on modernity established a direct line of continuity with the theories and preoccupations that had been raised not only during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera but also the Second Republic. The role played by Fonseca and De Cárdenas was critical in establishing that continuity beyond the radical change of regime. Obviously, during the early 1940s, the time of the ideological discourses and highest intensity of propaganda, the imperialist rhetoric of early Francoism tended to mask how rational and how modern the program of reconstruction was in its planning essence. The emphasis on national sources and references for the urbanistic and architectural proposals were real but equally underscored the knowledge of international experiences that the architects in charge of reconstruction (and also of colonization) had acquired at the University of Madrid, in particular through the courses of César Cort. In the words of historian Lluís Domènech, “Brunete, Seseña, Esquivel, Nules, Montarrón, Los Blázquez, Villanova de la Barca... were names dispersed across the geography of Spain, which revealed serious experiments, never repeated, of rigorous planning.”⁴³ Likewise, as historian Llanos de la Plaza wrote in her discussion of the D.G.R.D., the reconstruction “produced some 'discrete' global results that were sometimes estimable and surprisingly positive when compared, over time, with the results, also globally speaking, that developmentalism and the speculative tide produced in the towns and cities of the 60s. The towns of the reconstruction have aged better, they withstand better the passage of time.”⁴⁴

⁴² Quoted in Luis Prieto Bances, “Estudio de un pueblo adoptado: Seseña,” *Reconstrucción*, no. 9, February 1941, p. 20: “la gente de los sectores malsanos, por estar aclimatados a su ambiente, no anhelan otras condiciones o no saben acomodarse a ellas.... Quizá la costumbre, la ignorancia, la pereza y el desaliento producen estos fenómenos; pero, de ser así, la civilización humana debe considerar a esas gentes como víctimas de un malestar social que espera su alivio de fuera.”

⁴³ Lluís Domènech, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴⁴ Eugenia Llanos de la Plaza, “La Dirección General De Regiones Devastadas,” in Cayetana de la Cuadra Salcedo (ed.), *Villanueva De La Cañada: Historia De Una Reconstrucción*, Villanueva de la Cañada: Ayuntamiento, Concejalía de Cultura, 2001, p. 44: “produjo unos resultados globales ‘discretos’ a veces estimables y sorprendentemente positivos al compararlos, pasado el tiempo, con los resultados, también globalmente hablando, que el desarrollismo y la marea especulativa produjo en los pueblos y ciudad de los años 60. Los pueblos de Regiones envejecen mejor, soportan mejor el paso del tiempo.”

3.4. Theorizing the Reconstruction

One year within the war and with the country already facing intense moral and physical devastation, Victor d'Ors — son of Eugeni d'Ors and architect — wrote an important article in the Falangist periodical *Vértice*.⁴⁵ For d'Ors, Spain had grown without proper planning. By that he meant that the countryside had remained quite isolated and lacked, in general, the basic infrastructures for modern life. At the same time, the cities had expanded in incoherent manner, particularly under the pressure of the rural-urban immigration. The reconstruction after the war needed to take these structural problems in consideration and he argued that a serious analysis should precede any attempt at any spontaneous reconstruction or new settlement, in order to transform not only the territory but also the socio-cultural reality:

"Urbanization must be a consequence, like the colonization in general, of the natural reality shaped by political intention, which, in order to justify itself, has to embody the spiritual reality of the world at the service of higher interests. And to a new politics, new urbanism."⁴⁶

For the architect, it was necessary to merge city and countryside in a "superior unit of organization": "if the countryside and the city could interpenetrate and embrace, losing their antagonism, in a superior unity of organization, man would live a more complete and harmonious life."⁴⁷ Reflecting the concept of *ciudad orgánica* that Pedro Bidagor would be developing and synthesizing in the Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid, he imagined that new cities would be formed by a redevelopment of the existing districts into functional and specialized social and economic units. The latter would be at once autonomous, mixed-use, and integrated into a system hierarchically superior. The city would thus become "multipolar in its conquest of the countryside", which, on its own turn, would penetrate into the urban cores with planted terraces, parks and recreational zones. All together city and country would thus form "an organic whole" that would go from the most remote hamlet that radio and book can reach until the Plaza Mayor of the capital."⁴⁸ Interestingly, the form and organization of the territory that he proposed had strong international roots, from the city-region of Luigi Piccinato in the planning of Sabaudia, Martin Wagner's *Trabantenstadt* concepts and diagrams, all away to the thesis of Kropotkin analyzed in the Chapter 2.

As I have alluded earlier, the preparation of the reconstruction started officially from Burgos in the 1938 where architects, planners, and other technicians could safely debate and propose

⁴⁵ Victor D'Ors, *Vértice*, June 1937, reprinted in Gabriel Ureña, *Arquitectura y Urbanística Civil y Militar en el Período de la Autarquía (1936-1945). Análisis, cronología y textos*, Madrid: ISTMO, 1979, pp. 249-253. *Vértice* was an illustrated periodical which was published from April 1937 to 1946 (83 issues) by the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S. See Julio Rodríguez Puértolas, *Historia de la literatura fascista española*, Madrid: Akal, 2008.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 249: "La urbanización debe ser consecuencia—como la colonización, en general—de la realidad natural moldeada por la intención política, que, a su vez, tiene que representar para justificarse la realidad espiritual del mundo al servicio de intereses superiores. Y a nueva política, nuevo urbanismo."

⁴⁷ Victor D'Ors, *Vértice*, p. 250.

⁴⁸ Victor D'Ors, *Vértice*, p. 251.

solutions for the future. It is thus unsurprising that, not even one month after the official end of the Civil War, the First National Assembly of Architects was convoked under the presidency of Pedro Muguruza Otaño (1893-1952) on June 26-29, 1939. The Reconstruction of the country was the central theme.⁴⁹ It was to be, both architectural and urbanistic, a “national revolution... with methods and technical disciplines absolutely Spanish” in contrast to the prewar experiments and “their exotic origins.”⁵⁰ Muguruza, recently appointed Director of the Dirección General de Arquitectura, gave confidence to his colleagues and rallied them to the task of reconstructing towns and cities, and of solving the problems of housing for the poorest classes in the country. If reconstruction was indeed to lift up what had been destroyed and rehabilitate what existed, He made clear that reconstruction had to be preceded by a precise analysis, i.e., “not to simply and simplistically rebuild automatically and mechanically what had disappeared and been destroyed.”⁵¹ Reconstruction had to be a well-studied process of “revision, elimination and selection” and adopt Philip II’s famous motto “Never will a country be great if one does not know its geography and all its characteristics.”⁵² The New Spain needed a plan of national reconstruction, well-coordinated, reflecting a perfect organization but capable of elasticity to adapt to the “tortuous path of realities.”⁵³ The plan of reconstruction had to start “with an inventory of agricultural wealth, to know perfectly the productive needs of the country, its capacity, the increase in production that was necessary, the places where it had to be applied, the intensity appropriate to each of those places, and, as solutions to all those issues, will follow the plans of colonization and all the communication processes to connect each center with the rest of the country... the industrial plans, the plans of repopulation, colonies and housing.”⁵⁴ Architects would work at this plan with precision, order and functionality, in the same way that they would design a house from the single cell to the whole organism. And “elasticity” was the speech’s theme, elasticity in the plan, in the professional organization of the architects, in the manner to build and put the plans into action and place. For Muguruza, improving the condition of housing—urban, rural, or suburban—was an absolute priority and the causes of its low quality should be studied and eliminated if possible. The premises were clearly stated:

It is absolutely indispensable to think that one critical element [to achieve the goal of eliminating the condition of poor housing] is to get rid of the purely material concept of making the housing unit a “machine for living.” This idea cannot but annihilate or negate the concept of place. By extension, the dwelling unit must be considered as

⁴⁹ For the complete transcript, see *Sesiones de la I Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos*, Madrid: Servicios técnicos de FET y de las JONS, Sección de arquitectura, 1939. For an analysis of the First Assembly, see Fernando de Terán, *Planeamiento urbano en la España contemporánea*, Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1982 [1978].

⁵⁰ Pedro Muguruza, “Ideas generales sobre Ordenación y Reconstrucción,” *Sesiones de la I Asamblea*, p. 6.

⁵¹ Pedro Muguruza, op. cit., p. 6.

⁵² Quoted by Pedro Muguruza, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵³ Pedro Muguruza, op. cit., p. 8.

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

the primary cell of the living organism that is the city. Thus we need to dissolve the inorganic groupings that surround the city and in part make it what it is; they asphyxiate it, make it a purely material environment where the city loses its essential meaning: to be a living body whose various organs provide vitality to the whole.⁵⁵

Muguruza's attack against Internationalism and the avant-garde during the Republican period can be interpreted as a reactionary statement by a conservative and pro-regime architect. Yet, a comparison with the Josep Lluís Sert's statements that followed the CIAM IV held on the Patris ship from Marseilles to Athens in 1933 is quite revealing. At that time, the so-called monolithic image of the avant-garde was already shattered: "The pure functionalism of the *"machine à habiter"* is dead, but it will kill, before its demise, the old styles and teachings at the schools of architecture. Architects and theorists, above all Germanic, carried functionalist experiments to absurd extremes."⁵⁶

In his speech titled *"Dignificación de la Vida (Vivienda, Esparcimiento y Deportes)"*, the architect Luis Gutiérrez Soto's (1900-1977) reflected a functionalist attitude, devoid of any international "rigidity" or "formalism," and anchored in a serious understanding of working-class life in poor families.⁵⁷ Under the title *"dignificación,"* he argued that improvement in the way of life was not only a technical issue, but that the architect and the urbanist had to be accompanied by the sociologist and the politician. Otherwise, their work would lack of all spiritual and traditional content. Dignify did not only mean the achievement of material comfort but to recover the maximal spiritual values, the feelings of fatherland, family, place and work.⁵⁸ The State would ultimately be responsible and its organization had to be "totalitarian, dictatorial, national" in the means of implementation.⁵⁹ As for the architects, their task would be to improve the dwelling, organize the cities and villages, in one word, "to urbanize the country."⁶⁰ After having divided the country in regions and districts, each city, town and village would eventually have its function within the whole: "we will know what must be preserved, created, enlarged or simply destroyed, because the word "urbanization" does not only refer to the city as center of gravity of the region; it refers also to the countryside, to the pueblos, to these Spanish villages, arid, dusty, full of misery and ugliness. One must humanize them, one has to penetrate them with roads and streets, until the bottom of their

⁵⁵ Pedro Muguruza, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵⁶ Josep Lluís Sert, "Arquitectura sense 'estil' i sense 'arquitecte'", *D'Ací i d'Allà* n° 179, December 1934. See Chapter One for more discussion of Sert's writings and speeches.

⁵⁷ A virtuoso of eclecticism and classical-modernism in his middleclass architecture before and after the War, Luis Gutiérrez Soto was one of those architects of the 1920s-1930s that historian Carlos de San Antonio has called "personalidades al margen." See Susan Larson, p. 58. Carlos de San Antonio, *Veinte años de arquitectura en Madrid. La edad de plata: 18-36*, Madrid: Comunidad Autónoma Madrid, 1996.

⁵⁸ Luis Gutiérrez Soto, "Dignificación de la vida (Vivienda, Esparcimiento y Deportes)," *Sesiones de la I Asamblea*, p. 40.

⁵⁹ Luis Gutiérrez Soto, op. cit., p. 41.

⁶⁰ Luis Gutiérrez Soto, op. cit., p. 42.

soul; give them life and minimum existence; one must colonize them; one has to urbanize the countryside.”⁶¹

Gutiérrez Soto’s speech contradicts the supposed isolation of Spain from the modern European tradition. Gutiérrez, who like Cort, Bidagor and d’Ors was one of the theoreticians of the new city, argued further that the housing unit was as “cell” the most critical element of the global organization. But it could not be considered as an isolated element that multiplies but rather as part of an organic whole that he called “*órgano de la vivienda* [organ of the dwelling unit]”⁶² Each of those districts would integrate all social classes, thus eliminating the roots of resistance and class struggles, and replacing the unplanned suburbs that had started to form around Madrid and all major cities. Each district would contain a network of churches, schools including professional ones, library, auditorium, healthcare offices, market and retail shops, as well as a full-fledged civic center. Behind its nationalist overtones—although it is important to note that Gutiérrez Soto used the term ‘spiritual’ rather than catholic or religious—this program reflected the international knowledge of those young planners, from Stübben to Howard to Geddes and the city-region. It also made reference to the Neighborhood Unit but imagined it as an intermediary echelon between city and district—he envisioned it with 20 to 50,000 residents, not unlike the “satellites” proposed by Zuazo-Jansen in their entry for the 1929 Madrid competition. Another proof was Soto’s discussion of the hierarchy of streets in the proposed districts and his statement that it was necessary “to bury the old concept of the street and the old concept of the block”: “the street is not a space for all uses, along which houses are aligned to the left and right.”⁶³ Hence, he argued for low-traffic streets, pedestrian streets, green areas, and other potential improvements.

In regard to the situation of housing, he attacked the bad conditions of housing in all areas of the country, the rampant speculation, the hygienic, functional and esthetic deficiencies. For Soto, the house was to be in relation with the landscape, the region, the climate, and the country where it is deployed. An international agenda was thus fundamentally absurd as climate and constructive materials differ from place to place. Yet, he made it clear that it was important to study what had been written and done outside of Spain as it provided for a huge amount of study and experience:

Let us do an architecture, fresh and adapted to our land, our spirit, our climate, but we have to work before create. Let us not pretend, in a very Spanish way, to diminish all the trends of functionalism, modern technique and tradition. Let us collect all fecund ideas and this from a high point of view [...] Tradition is spirit, not matter; the old house does not serve our modern requirements....⁶⁴

⁶¹ Luis Gutiérrez Soto, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ Luis Gutiérrez Soto, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶⁴ Luis Gutiérrez Soto, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

Likewise, he argued that the “international E-W orientation” of the bedrooms was not suitable for most regions of Spain and that it was important to adapt the housing orientation, the size of the windows, and the height of the rooms to the region and climate. Moreover, to the excessive decomposition of functions advocated by the Bauhaus, he opposed simple arrangements inspired by tradition:

In the minimum dwelling unit, only one zone living room is admissible; it must support multiple functions: eating, working, playing, family reunions, etc. Thus, the importance of a relatively large room that can be subdivided into its multiple functional areas. [...] The minimum dwelling does not depend on size and dimensions of rooms, but on a good organization of space.⁶⁵

Gutiérrez Soto concluded his impassioned speech with a summary in five points: a Plan General de Urbanización y Reconstrucción; each zone, region or district will have its housing types based upon customs, climate, materials, function and salaries; the “Órgano de la Vivienda” will be a complete and fully functional urban area; the minimum house, well studied, is not the same than the *casa barata*, because it has to fulfill a higher social role in the new State; architects must accept their responsibilities, not accuse the builders, speculators, or bankers, but organize the profession in order to develop a “dirigida arquitectura” [a coordinated architecture]. Another set of questions posed by Soto was particularly illuminating: Do we know with precision what will be the political orientation on these matters? What political criteria will exist in regard to private capital, real estate speculation and the bad construction in Madrid? Will the idea of subdividing the blocks in parcels, where everybody builds his house like he wants, remain alive, or will we go toward the unity of the block with construction of the whole block or grouped? Will the owner or the contractor continue to regard the housing unit as a speculative project or will he be enticed to see it as a social objective in service of the State, within the limits of economic exigencies?”⁶⁶

Pedro Bidagor, now the official leader of Spanish architecture and its primary theoretician, gave the fourth speech titled “Plan de Ciudades.” He reflected upon the national-syndicalist aspirations of the Falange, a program of socialist or national-corporatist overtones where the State would regulate and temper the excesses of unbridled capitalism, industrialization, and urbanization. For him, “the restricted scope of the urban reforms leads to speculation, and the vanity of the population is satisfied with obtaining a wide and straight street, exponent of modernity, with buildings higher than the old ones.”⁶⁷ And he pursued,

Urban civilization is measured in the width of the streets and the height of the buildings. It does not matter that behind the frivolous facades, and their accumulation of anachronistic motifs, which pervert the taste and the aesthetic sense of the people, the courtyards are increasingly reduced, the life more nervous, the work more

⁶⁵ Ibidem.

⁶⁶ Ibidem.

⁶⁷ Pedro Bidagor, “Plan de Ciudades,” *Sesiones de la I Asamblea*, pp. 52-53.

difficult. The result is the enthronement in the heart of our cities of rudeness, 'Yanquism,' and frivolity.⁶⁸

Like César Cort and Luis Gutiérrez Soto, Bidagor envisioned the plan of urbanization as the result of the scientific study of the regions, of their topography, climate and natural resources.⁶⁹ He pleaded for an "organic city" that would contrast with the chaotic development of the capitalist-industrial agglomerations and whose organization would depend of the interaction and the good functioning of the urban organisms in the manner of the human body. He suggested to "Imagine the possibilities of creation of urban organisms destined for the capital, with the gathering of all the monumental buildings in an enclosure in the manner of the acropolis, commercial markets in the manner of the Roman forums and our *plazas mayores*... housing neighborhoods, and professional sectors for industry and craft."⁷⁰ Behind the ideological thrill, Bidagor's "organic" city synthesized many international concepts of modern planning, including the American civic center, the regional visions of Unwin and Geddes, the Trabantenstadt and metropolitan park diagrams of Martin Wagner, the decentralized model and neighborhood unit of Clarence Stein, and others. Yet, at the same time, those theories had to adapt to a Spanish traditional way of doing things. Bidagor argued for a global decentralization and the "vertical" multi-functionality of each organ, in practice establishing the modernist theoretical concept of the Neighborhood Unit as basis of his urban and regional planning tenets. In synchrony with the national-corporatist vision of the Falange—a vision that would quickly be replaced by capitalist profit and then full-fledged urban speculation—it was necessary to radically transform the laws that guided private property and expropriation, "and not tolerate the absurdity of the fact that many urban parcels, equipped with all necessary services, remain unproductive because the owners have the freedom to use or not use them."⁷¹

Hence, in alternative to the "liberal" city, the "ciudad orgánica" or "la ciudad del Movimiento"—the one Bidagor will intent to promote to eventually fail in front of the capitalist vision of the second phase of Francoism—rejected the concept of separate workers' districts whose only finality was to make visible the differences between their residents and other neighborhoods, thus arguing that the "ideal would be that, on the different floors of the same house, could reside, without any distinction, people from different social ranks."⁷² For the Falange, the separation of classes within separate neighborhoods ultimately favored the class struggles and encouraged the development of radical positions. In that sense, the urban zoning

⁶⁸ Pedro Bidagor, op. cit., p. 60: "La civilización urbana se mide en metros de anchura de calles, y de altura de los edificios. No tiene importancia que tras las frívolas fachadas, amontonamiento de motivos anacrónicos, que pervierten el gusto y el sentido estético del pueblo, los patios sean cada vez más reducidos, la vida más nerviosa, el trabajo más difícil. El resultado es la entronización del corazón de nuestras ciudades de la grosería, del yanquismo, de la frivolidad."

⁶⁹ César Cort gave an additional speech during the Sesiones de la I Asamblea, see "División de España en Regiones y Comarcas naturales, *Sesiones de la I Asamblea*, pp. 14-38.

⁷⁰ Pedro Bidagor, op. cit., p. 63.

⁷¹ Pedro Bidagor, op. cit., p.66.

⁷² Pedro Bidagor, op. cit., p.67.

became the material translation of the socialist vision of class struggles that had to be banished. The “organic city” would thus be organized on the basis of groups of economic activities, between which all social conflicts would eventually be terminated. Within these neighborhoods, the family was to appear as the superior form of social organization. In this theoretical vision, the “Madrid orgánica” would be made up of the large, more or less existing, central sections surrounded by a series of new neighborhoods, separated from the core and each other by large green belts and that would be organized functionally and hierarchically related. In concordance with the regime’s priorities, those neighborhoods would have a primary agricultural function.

Bidagor’s speech was essentially an introduction to the Plan de Ordenación y Reconstrucción de Madrid, which he had been elaborating on behalf of the Falange since 1938. The plan of 1941 aimed to overcome the divisional system of the Ensanches and of the outlying suburbs that had been rising during the first decades of the twentieth century. For Bidagor, the Plan intended to substitute the geometric organization of the Ensanches with a functional organization that divided the city in areas of specialized functions. In particular, he proposed to locate the industrial working classes in satellite-cities, fully autonomous and in direct contact with the rural areas around the city.⁷³ The Plan was completed in 1941, published in 1942, and adopted in March 1946 for Madrid, and for twenty-eight municipalities in the region between 1948 and 1954. Eventually, the Plan became hostage of opposition forces on two fronts, which eventually conspired to make it fail. On the one hand, it was a continuous object of tensions between the Falangist vision and the conservative speculative vision of property owners in and around the city, thus preventing the implementation of the satellites and their green belts; on the other hand, the urbanistic basis on which he was drawn—a system of streets, blocks, squares, and various densities and typologies of housing—was increasingly under attack by the younger generation of architects eager to enter the international modernist movement in urbanism and housing.

3.5. *Trazados genuinamente españoles*

As a branch of the Ministry of the Interior, the Department of Devastated Regions was under political pressure to act quickly and adopt the most efficient methods of planning and construction. Spain was devastated, and its productive system was in shambles. Recovery was made difficult by the destructions of the Civil War (especially of the railway system and communications in general), by a loss of skilled labor, and by the restriction of imports on capital goods imposed by the advent of World War II and its aftermath. These difficulties were increased by the specific policies of autarky, particularly the state control of prices and

⁷³ See Fernando de Terán, *Historia del Urbanismo en España III. Siglos XIX y XX*, Madrid: Cátedra, 1999, p. 25 & sq. Also see Jesús López Díaz, “Vivienda social y Falange: Ideario y construcciones en la década de los 40,” in *Scripta Nova: revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, VII, no. 146, August 2003, pp. 1-18.

industrial development within a protected national economy cut off from the international market. Thus, in the short term, there were few architectural options possible. The return to tradition and to the vernacular forms of building was, first of all, a pragmatic solution imposed by the economic shortages and technical obstacles endemic in the country.⁷⁴ However, the architects benefited from a high degree of autonomy to improve the miserable conditions of housing, particularly in rural areas. This often included total reconstruction if deemed necessary. An order issued in 1938 forbade anyone to rebuild without prior authorization to be granted in accordance with the approved town-planning scheme of reconstruction or restoration:

It was seen at once that, since destruction was—alas—an accomplished fact, it should at least be turned to advantage in better planning to raise modern, healthy and cheerful towns and villages that should, nevertheless, retain their local character and their traditional architecture.⁷⁵

In order to receive the designation of “adopted” and the corresponding reconstruction budget by the D.G.R.D., towns and villages had to show a degree of destruction at least equal to 75% of the overall public and private fabric. As a result, the first major step in the process was to decide whether the town would be reconstructed in its previous location or whether it would be moved to a more convenient site. A famous photomontage, published in the first issue of the magazine *Reconstrucción* in 1940, epitomizes the spirit of the process. It shows General Franco in front of the ruins of the city of Belchite, arms up and swearing that “on the ruins of Belchite a city will be built, generous and beautiful, in homage to its unmatched heroism.”⁷⁶ In actuality, Belchite, like many other destroyed towns, was not rebuilt over the ruins, but rather displaced to an adjacent site, leaving the impressive ruins to stand—and they still do today—in the background of the modern town. As such, the reconstruction of Belchite referred obliquely to the “theory of the ruin-value”—a theory generally attributed to Albert Speer and Adolf Hitler, and frequently cited by Franco in his first postwar speeches.⁷⁷ Speer believed that the buildings of the Third Reich should be designed with the expectation that their ruins would have the value of Antiquity. In Belchite, the first symbol of reconstruction, the leftover ruins were seen as an ideological witness of Civil War—as would the ruins of the Frauenkirche in Dresden for the German Democratic Republic.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Carlos Sambricio, “L’architecture espagnole entre la IIème république et le franquisme,” in *Les années 30 – L’architecture et les arts de l’espace entre industrie et nostalgie*, Paris: Editions du patrimoine, 1997pp. 184-5. I found the expression “style of the devastated regions” in the special issue of *Reconstrucción*, November 1946, pp. 268-9.

⁷⁵ José Moreno Torres, *La reconstrucción urbana en España*, Madrid: Artes Gráficas Faure, 1945, unpaginated.

⁷⁶ General Franco, *Reconstrucción*, nº 1 (April 1940): p. 10.

⁷⁷ Manuel Blanco, “España Una,” *Arquitectura en Regiones devastadas*, pp. 20-21.

⁷⁸ See “A Theory of Ruin-Value,” on the internet site: <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/citd/holtorf/7.4.html> (accessed April 28, 2008), from Cornelius Holtorf, *Monumental Past* (Scarborough: CITD Press, University of Toronto at Scarborough, 2001).

In reality, in cases such as Seseña, Villanueva de la Cañada, Villanueva del Pardillo, Boadilla del Monte in the periphery of Madrid, as well as in Llers, Gajanejos, Montarrón, Villanueva de la Barca in the provinces of Guadalajara and Lérida, the decision to move from the existing location and establish a new town foundation on an adjacent or more distant site was related to a variety of technical factors, including the difficulty in clearing the site from the rubble because of the topography or other site conditions; the inadequacy of the old site location in regard to topography and sunshine; and the excessive distance to the fields and/or major roads. In Brunete, Titulcia, Las Rozas, Pitres, and Los Blazquez to mention the most important, only the church was reconstructed in its original location, but at the center of a complete or partial new town plan. In all instances, the ruin-value of the destroyed town—which was left untouched or used as reserve of construction material—was not a major factor in the decision process.

In his speech at the Second Assembly of Architects of 1940, Gonzalo de Cárdenas gave an executive description of the planning principles to be followed by the architects involved in the selection of the site and the process of reconstruction:

After having determined the size of the towns and their location, one must proceed with the study of the planning arrangement; planning for which it is necessary to dispense completely of all the principles that have come to us from over the borders. The reconstruction of our towns must be based solely according to the genuinely Spanish layouts, made according to our temperament and our way of living. To do so, all the techniques that may come from another country not only do not serve us, but they impede us.

The center of the town will always be the traditional and genuine *plaza mayor*. The *plaza mayor*, with its arcades, will be surrounded by the representative edifices of the Municipality, of the State, and of the Party. The streets that depart from it lead to the workplaces in the fields or in the factories. A second religious will consist of the *plaza de la Iglesia*, with its attached rector and catechesis house, its church and tower, dominated by a cross whose open arms will watch over the future life of the population. The schools, with their sports field, and the municipal buildings and other services for the population's life will be distributed in the villages, giving them their just importance and situation. These buildings and the dwellings will shape the general masterplan. Different types of houses will be studied, according to the function and profession of the families that should inhabit them.

It is important to remember that each region has its characteristic type of housing, which depends, most of the time, on the kind of cultivation of the land. The houses will always consist of, as a minimum, of the kitchen-dining room and three bedrooms, so that there may be a proper separation of sexes. The dwelling type will determine the type of block; the organization of the blocks establishes the general masterplan, which will be completed with the layout of the streets, their elevations, sections and

profiles; great care will be taken for the outside appearance of the blocks and town, so that they forms, within the variety of each type, a harmonious whole.⁷⁹

Given that the architect-urbanists of the Reconstruction generally made no reference to the sources of their works, whether Spanish or foreign, this particular section of De Cárdenas's discourse must be considered as the fundamental text of reference for the reconstruction works of the D.G.R.D. It allows us to understand the combination of tradition and modernity that shaped the reconstruction as well as its links to the fundamental history of Spanish urbanism from the Renaissance onwards. Let us examine the text in details and point out the parallels with other texts in the history of Spanish urbanism.

First of all, De Cárdenas's injunction to use "trazados genuinamente españoles" [layouts genuinely Spanish] and to reject "the techniques coming from other countries" reveals the obvious ideological and nationalistic tenets in the first phase of Franco's regime strongly under the influence of the Falange. However, neither De Cárdenas nor the architects employed by the D.G.R.D. made clear statements about the sources of their projects. Arguably, the program of reconstruction was not a creation *ex novo*. From the Reconquista and the Renaissance, Spain had forged a rich and brilliant tradition of new urban foundations, both in America and in the Peninsula itself.⁸⁰ I argue here that the experience of Latin America and its translation in the corpus of the Laws of the Indies, as well as the most important program of interior colonization during the enlightenment regime of Carlos III, the *Nuevas Poblaciones*, were indeed the most obvious Spanish references of the program. A rare allusion to these sources can be found in the document *Doctrina e Historia de la Revolución Nacional Española* (1939), where Pedro Muguruza mentions the ideal of Spanish

⁷⁹ Gonzalo de Cárdenas Rodríguez, "La Reconstrucción Nacional vista desde la Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas," in *Segunda Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos*, p. 151: Fijada la capacidad de los pueblos y su emplazamiento, viene el estudio de la ordenación; estudio de ordenación en el que hay que prescindir por completo de todas las normas que nos vengan de mas allá de las fronteras. La reconstrucción de nuestros pueblos hemos de basarla únicamente en los trazados genuinamente españoles, hechos con arreglo a nuestro temperamento y a nuestra manera de vivir, y en la que no nos sirven, sino que nos estorban, todas las técnicas que puedan venir de otro país.

El centro del pueblo será siempre la tradicional y genuina plaza mayor. Su plaza mayor, con soportales, en la que estén los edificios representativos del Ayuntamiento, del Estado y del Partido. De ella parten las calles que conducen a los lugares de trabajo del campo o de la industria.

Un segundo centro religioso, formado por la plaza de la Iglesia, con sus anexos de Casa Rectoral y Catequesis. Iglesia con torre, rematada con una cruz, bajo cuyos brazos abiertos se desenvuelva la vida futura del poblado. Se distribuyen en los poblados, dándoles su justo valor y situación, las escuelas, con su campo de deportes escolar, y los edificios y servicios municipales de vida de la población. Con estos elementos y las viviendas formamos el plan general de ordenación. De las viviendas se estudian distintos tipos, según la función y profesión de las familias que deban habitarlas. En esto no hace falta decir que cada comarca tiene su tipo de vivienda característico, que depende, la mayoría de las veces, de la clase de cultivo del terreno que labran. Las viviendas se componen siempre, como mínimo, de cocina-comedor y de tres dormitorios, para que pueda existir la debida separación de sexos. El tipo de viviendas nos da el tipo de manzana; la agrupación de todas ellas constituye el plan general de ordenación, completándose con el trazado de las calles, alzados, secciones y perfiles; cuidando el aspecto exterior de pueblo, para que forme, dentro de la variedad de cada tipo, un todo armónico."

⁸⁰ As we will see in Chapter Five, Tamés Alarcón in 1948 gave a detailed historical panorama of the Spanish and foreign tradition and influences for the new towns. See José Tamés Alarcón, "Proceso urbanístico de nuestra colonización interior," in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* VIII, no. 83, November 1948, pp. 413-424.

urbanism which must use as examples the design of cities of the Reconquista and the American colonization as “material particularly adapted to the genius of the race, eminently realistic, integrating and hierarchical, and which rejects the rationalist or opportunist French or English unilateralism.”⁸¹

The Laws of the Indies (1573)

Geometrically planned towns were founded in Spain since the beginning of the twelfth century, a systematic urban policy that continued in the 16th century at the end of the Reconquista and was reenergized in the 18th century under the Enlightenment policies of King Carlos III. The first examples were created in the northern regions of Navarra and Aragón, close to the French border, and thus quite similar to the French bastides.⁸² Most of these new towns or foundations were sponsored by a central government and implied a concept of regional planning. In general terms, they were “founded to give order to the region, to populate, to settle colonists, to reclaim agricultural land, and to establish new commercial centers.”⁸³ Military reasons were equally important but overall the concept of orderly planning, whether reticular or frankly orthogonal in contrast with the organic spaces that resulted from the transformation of the Arabic patterns of urbanization, was used in almost all cases. Among the earliest examples are Sangüesa and Puentelarreina both founded in 1122 by King Alfonso I and organized along three parallel streets; the 13th century Villas Reales established by Jaime I around Castellón, north of Valencia (Castellón de la Plana, Nules, Villareal); and the foundations near Cádiz from the 13th century such as Puerto de Santa María (1283) and Puerto Real established two centuries later in 1483 both with a similar distorted reticular grid. The *Ordinacions* (1300) of Jaime II on the island of Majorca established the legal basis and the formal principles for the foundation of a series of new urban nuclei in the relatively flat and scarcely inhabited eastern section of the island: Petra was the most concrete example with its regular grid centered on a square plaza. In all of these examples the plaza mayor followed a well-defined geometric definition that could be described as a square or rectangle, regular or slightly distorted in its early manifestation. Moreover, the square was at the roots of the urban plan and, in that sense, could be considered as the prime generator of the orthogonal plans. From the foundation of Santa Fe de Granada (1492), Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (1486), and San Cristóbal de la Laguna (1497) onwards, the concept of the central plaza or *plaza mayor* at the center of a checkerboard plan was consolidated as the fundamental and recurrent urban space in the

⁸¹ Mentioned in Jesús López Díaz, op. cit., p. 4. The reference is In the document FET y de las JONS, *Doctrina e Historia de la Revolución Nacional Española*, p. 23: “materia propicia el genio de la raza eminentemente realista, integrador y jerárquico, que repugna la unilateralidad racionalista u oportunista francesa o inglesa.”

⁸² On the bastides, see Philippe Panerai, et.a.l., *Les bastides d'Aquitaine, du Bas-Languedoc et du Béarn. Essai sur la régularité*, Brussels: Archives d'architecture moderne, 1985.

⁸³ On the towns of the Reconquista and Spanish America, see Graziano Gasparini, “The Spanish-American Grid Plan, an Urban Bureaucratic Form,” *The New City I* (Foundations), 1991, pp. 6-17. On eighteenth century foundations, see Carlos Sambricio, *Territorio y Ciudad en la España de la Ilustración*, Madrid: Ministerio de Obras Públicas y Transportes, Instituto del Territorio y Urbanismo, 1991.

history of Hispanic and Hispanic American urbanism.

From the 16th century onwards, Spanish urbanism was marked by the modernity of Renaissance thought and practice. The foundation of Santo Domingo and dozens of new cities in Central and Southern America initially responded to the limited ordinances of Carlos V and his request that “order” be the main element of the settlement. Many ordinances followed which emphasized the same concept of “order”. Enacted and signed in 1573 by Philip II, the “Ordinances for the Discovery, the new Population, and the Pacification of the Indies” consolidated the foundation strategy. They constitute one of the most remarkable documents of “modern” urbanism, a Hispanic utopia of the “ideal City,” to create a city perfect in its form and in its physical and symbolic order.⁸⁴ Accordingly, the conquest of the New World was the first phase of an European-induced process of globalization in America: the orderly checkerboard plan of foundation—with its memory of Roman settlement forms in Iberia and its abstraction of a cross—symbolized the rational organization of the territory combined with forced evangelization.

As John Charles Chasteen wrote in his introduction to the translation of Angel Rama’s *La ciudad letrada* (The Lettered City), “writing, urbanism, and the state have had a special relationship in Latin America.”⁸⁵ From the early years of the discovery and the founding of the outposts of what would become the first world global empire, the Spanish conquerors established a network of cities and towns carefully planned according to royal instructions, where institutional and legal powers were administered through a cadre of elite men called *letrados*. Rama’s *The Lettered City* provides an overview of the power of written discourse in the historical formation of Latin American societies, and highlights the central role of cities in deploying and reproducing that power. It is the urban nexus of lettered culture and state power that the Uruguayan scholar named “the lettered city.” Rama viewed the city both as a rational order of signs representative of Renaissance progress and as the site where the Old World is transformed—according to detailed written instructions—in the New:

There, native urbanistic values were blindly erased by the Iberian conquerors to create a supposedly ‘blank slate,’ though the outright denial of impressive indigenous cultures would not, of course, prevent them from surviving quietly to infiltrate the conquering culture later. (...) Having cleared the ground, the city builders erected an edifice that, even when imagined as a mere transposition of European antecedents,

⁸⁴ On the genesis and application of the Laws of the Indies, see Dora Crouch, et. al., *Spanish City Planning in America*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1982.

⁸⁵ This paragraph copied from my essay, Jean-François Lejeune, “The Ideal and the Real: Urban Codes in the Spanish-American Lettered City,” in Stephen Marshall (ed.), *Urban Coding and Planning*, London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 59-82. Quote from John Charles Chasteen, “Introduction” to Angel Rama, *The Lettered City*, Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1996, p. vii. Angel Rama (1926-1983) was a Uruguayan writer, academic and literary critic. His main work *La Ciudad Letrada* [The Lettered City] was published posthumously in 1984.

in fact represented the urban dream of a new age.⁸⁶

To some extent, the works of the D.G.R.D. (and in a lesser measure as we will see in Chapter 5 for the new towns of the I.N.C.) could be considered as a “blank slate” operation. If the reconstruction took place “in situ”, i.e. on the very site of the destroyed town, nothing was left of the old ‘dis-order,’ with the exception of the church that was rebuilt in place. Likewise, when the new town was built on another site, the abandonment of the old village reminded of the “new age” in the countryside.

Out of one hundred and forty-eight ordinances contained in the Laws of the Indies, the fifty-two articles that specifically refer to the urbanization process—site selection, layout, plan, square, location of the main buildings—confirmed what had become common practice in the Indies before 1573: the open checkerboard plan generated from the plaza mayor as political and social center and the establishment of secondary plazas for the churches. Urban historian Pierre Lavedan contended that the tenets that were established to found and consolidate the new towns in Latin America met the three criteria which make up the urban principles of the Renaissance: firstly, the organic connection between all parts of the city and the subordination to a clearly established center; secondly, the use of perspective as primary instrument of design, and thus the almost total priority given to the straight street; and, thirdly, the “program” in the sense that each foundation related to a specific number of colonist families and that the public infrastructure was not only defined but situated within the overall plan.⁸⁷ Those conditions were the primary elements of modernity of Renaissance planning and would be followed, albeit with less precision, by Olavide and his architects during the 18th century.

The parallels between De Cárdenas’s principles of the reconstruction and the New World principles as codified and idealized in the Laws of the Indies of 1573 can be outlined as follow:

- De Cárdenas’s description of the process of evaluating and choosing the site for the new town to be reconstructed involves the criteria of ordinances 32-41 of the Laws of the Indies that consider the fertility of the soils, the health status, the quality of air, water, accesses by land by way of roads, etc.
- *Fijada la capacidad de los pueblos y su emplazamiento, viene el estudio de la ordenación* (After having determined the size of the towns and their location, one must proceed with the study of the planning arrangement). This passage corresponds strongly to the ordinances 110-111 which read as follows: “Having made the

⁸⁶ Angel Rama, p. 2. “The Ordered City” is the title of his first chapter.

⁸⁷ Pierre Lavedan, *Histoire de l’urbanisme: Renaissance et temps modernes*, Paris: Henri Laurens, 1941, p.34. Also see Javier Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo Hispano-Americano Siglo XVI, XVII y XVIII: El modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su genesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*, Santafé de Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 1996; Javier Aguilera Rojas, *Fundación de ciudades hispanoamericanas*, Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1994; Fernando de Terán (ed.), *El Sueño de un orden: la ciudad hispanoamericana*, Madrid: CEHOPU, 1989.

discovery, selected the province, county, and area that is to be settled, and the site in the location where the new town is to be built, and having taken possession of it, those placed in charge of its execution are to do it in the following manner. On arriving at the place where the new settlement is to be founded... a plan for the site is to be made....”⁸⁸

- *El centro del pueblo será siempre la tradicional y genuina plaza mayor. Su plaza mayor, con soportales, en la que estén los edificios representativos del Ayuntamiento, del Estado y del Partido. De ella parten las calles que conducen a los lugares de trabajo del campo o de la industria.* (The center of the town will always be the traditional and genuine *plaza mayor*. The plaza, with its arcades, is faced by the representative edifices of the Municipality, of the State, and of the Party). This prescription follows closely the text of the Laws (Ordinance 110): “On arriving at the place where the new settlement is to be founded... a plan for the site is to be made, dividing it into squares, streets, and building lots, using cord and ruler, beginning with the *plaza mayor* from which streets are to run to the gates and principal roads and leaving sufficient open space so that even if the town grows, it can always spread in the same manner.” Moreover, the ordinance 115 mentions the portals (“115. Around the plaza as well as along the four principal streets which begin there, there shall be portals, for these are of considerable convenience to the merchants who generally gather there....”).⁸⁹
- *Un segundo centro religioso, formado por la plaza de la Iglesia, con sus anexos de Casa Rectoral y Catequesis, Iglesia con torre, rematada con una cruz, bajo cuyos brazos abiertos se desenvuelva la vida futura del poblado* (A second religious will consist of the plaza de la Iglesia, with its attached rectorate and catechesis house, its church and tower, dominated by a cross whose open arms will watch over the future life of the population). This recommendation corresponds to the ordinance 118 of the Law of the Indies, which requires that “Here and there in the town, smaller plazas of good proportion shall be laid out, where the temples associated with the principal church, the parish churches, and the monasteries can be built,” It must also be said that this duplication into two centers, one civil, one religious, was also historical

⁸⁸ For the text of the Laws in English, I use the “Transcription of the Ordinances for the Discovery, the Population and the Pacification of the Indies, enacted by King Philip II, the 13th of July 1573, in the Forest of Segovia, according to the original manuscript conserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla,” in Jean-François Lejeune, *Cruelty and Utopia: Cities and Landscapes of Latin America*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005, p. 21 [pp. 18-23]. The source is the Spanish facsimile edition, *El orden que se ha de tener en descubrir y poblar, transcripción de las ordenanzas de descubrimiento, nueva población y pacificación de las Indias, dadas por Felipe II, el 13 de Julio en el Bosque de Segovia, según el original que se conserva en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla*, Madrid: Ministerio de la Vivienda, 1973.

⁸⁹ Ibidem.

evolution of Spanish cities, especially when the concept of the purely geometric *plaza mayor* was introduced in the 16th century.⁹⁰

In actuality, one direct reference to the colonial model in Latin America was made by Francisco Echenique, architect of the reconstructed Montarrón (Guadalajara), who in an essay titled "Plazas mayores en las colonizaciones del Nuevo Mundo" published in 1942 made important remarks on the relation between the Laws of the Indies and the program of the D.G.R.D.: "There are many points of contact in the problems presented by the reconstruction of the pueblos of Spain and those that were offered to the colonizers of the New World at the dawn of the sixteenth century. In both cases there was a need to build new towns to replace the destroyed ones or found populations that were milestones of an Empire."⁹¹ He commented on the plazas mayores of America, which "represent a new concept and respond to the most refined urbanistic instinct ..."⁹² He expressed his thoughts on the individualism of the colonists, for whom "the most important is the work and the farm, and the least important, housing"—a paradox given that the quality of the dwelling was at the forefront of the preoccupations of the architect-urbanists in charge of the projects.⁹³

Nuevas Poblaciones (18th century)

Another program of particular importance in the planning history of rural Spain was the *Nuevas Poblaciones* of Andalucía and the Sierra Morena. Put in place by King Carlos III from 1767, the plan of interior colonization had a primary objective. It was to secure the transit of travelers and merchandises along the Camino Real de Andalucía (between Madrid, Seville, and Cádiz) in some dangerous and unpopulated areas where attacks were frequent: the desert of Sierra Morena (Province of Jaén), the desert of La Parrilla between Córdoba and Écija, and the desert of the Monclova between Écija and Carmona. The foundation of rural towns and villages would not only increase the security but jumpstart the agricultural and pre-industrial development of large territories, thus marking what could be considered the first large-scale program of interior colonization since the end of the Reconquista. Don Pablo Olavide was commissioned to direct the program that settled, with successes and failures, six thousand catholic German and Flemish as farmers and artisans in a series of new towns and hamlets.⁹⁴ The ordinances of *Nuevas Poblaciones* gave little detail regarding the layout of the

⁹⁰ Ibidem.

⁹¹ Francisco Echenique, "Plazas mayores en las colonizaciones del Nuevo Mundo," *Reconstrucción*, III, no. 25, August-September 1942, p. 299 [299-310]: "Existen muchos puntos de contactos en los problemas que presenta la reconstrucción de los pueblos de España y los que se ofrecían a los colonizadores del Nuevo Mundo en los albores del siglo XVI. En ambos casos hubo necesidad de levantar pueblos nuevos para sustituir a los destruidos o fundar poblaciones que fueran jalones de un Imperio."

⁹² Francisco Echenique, op. cit., p. 309: "constituyen una novedad y responden al más depurado sentido urbanístico...".

⁹³ Francisco Echenique, op. cit., pp. 305-306: lo principal es la labor y la hacienda y lo de menos la vivienda."

⁹⁴ Jordi Oliveras Samitier, *Nuevas poblaciones en la España de la ilustración*, Barcelona: Fundación Arquia, 1998; José L. García Fernández, *Urbanismo español e hispanoamericano 1700/1808*, Madrid: Ministerio de Vivienda, 2010; Cipriano Juárez Sánchez & Gregorio Canales Martínez Gregorio,

towns, but, in line with the eighteenth century rationalism and the experience of Latin America that Olavide knew well, being born in Lima and having worked on the reconstruction of the Peruvian capital after the earthquake of 1746, the towns were planned on irregular grid patterns with a *plaza mayor* of approximate square dimensions. The capital of La Carolina showed a strong Baroque influence, characterized with a regular grid, a strong axial organization in two directions, two rectangular plazas, two circular and one hexagonal plazas, and the presence of important fountains at both entrance of the main street. The other towns and villages were more informal and usually consisted a somewhat geometric nucleus of two or four blocks from which a small plaza would be carved out by removing the corners (La Isabela, Carboneros, Magaña).

The *poblaciones* established in the province of Córdoba demonstrated that “the authorities of the Absolutist regime did not only intend to demonstrate the expression of the courtly splendor” but also reflected the “fundamental desire to improve the conditions of the country, to search for the well-being of their subjects, to attend to their matters with modern institutions of beneficence, to impulse commerce with good roads, to increase wealth with the development of the agriculture, to put into cultivation wasted fields and facilitate a better distribution of property.”⁹⁵ The foundations of Andalusia reflected flawlessly those aspirations, with a generosity of ideas and spaces. Even in very small pueblos, the design of a simple terminated vista or the presence of a small hexagonally organized plaza gave “beauty and artistic dignity” to the most modest settlement. La Carlota as capital was the ultimate model: it featured an enclosed square plaza (averaging 50-meter square) terminating a short axis with the church and integrated in an unusually irregular grid. The real Baroque feature was usually the main road—becoming a street within the urbanized area—which was planned as a wide planted paseo or boulevard. The towns hosted all the public buildings and were surrounded by smaller hamlets located strategically in relation to the topography and the quality of the terrain. Houses were simple, usually two-story high with a central passage to lead to the patio/corral with one house or two dwellings on each side as in the town of El Arrecife. Agricultural workers got no corral but a simple house divided into two dwellings.

This policy emphasized the colonization as concentration and urbanization in contrast to the dispersed habitat that was, in this period of Enlightenment, a synonym of poverty.⁹⁶ Moreover, in contrast with existing towns and villages, the order that governed the planning of the towns—checkerboard or irregular grids, straight streets, geometric plazas, axis and double axis —could be identified with the process of urbanization. *Urbanizing the countryside*

"Colonización agraria y modelo de habitat (Siglos XVIII-XIX)," http://www.mapama.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/revistas/pdf_ays/a049_09.pdf : 333-51.

⁹⁵ Leopoldo Torres Balbas, Luis Cervera Vera, Fernando Chueca Goitia, and Pedro Bidagor, *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1954, and the chapter III by Chueca Goitia, “La época de los Borbones.”

⁹⁶ Cipriano Juárez Sánchez and Canales Martínez Gregorio, “Colonización agraria y modelo de habitat (Siglos XVIII-XX),” at: http://www.mapama.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/revistas/pdf_ays/a049_09.pdf: p. 335.

eventually meant bringing the signs of order as expression of the Enlightenment and the desired modernization of the countryside under Carlos III.

3.6. The Reconstructed Towns: Grid and Plaza Mayor

The codification of the reconstruction as interpreted from De Cárdenas text, its strong analogies with the Laws of the Indies and their physical resemblance to the *Nuevas Poblaciones* embodied a project of reconstruction and modernity that implied new practices of architecture and urbanism as much as a new way of life or new habits. Paradoxically, it was the destruction of the local order—the ravages of the Civil War and the decision to rebuild on the site but with a very different urban form or to move the town in a more favorable location—that sped up the process of modernization and the search for an urban form that would embody the new power of the State and the Church and be responsive to the functions and requirements of the modern bureaucratic structure. Within the Renaissance context of the early sixteenth century, urban modernity meant, not only to erase material evidence of unknown cultures and pagan religions and idols, but also to leave “behind the distribution of space and the way of life characteristic of the medieval Iberian cities, “organic” where they were born and raised, in favor of the “ordered city.”⁹⁷ In similar fashion, four centuries later, one can thus logically argue that the post-Civil War reconstruction implied the erasure of the old organic village, not only destroyed by the war but also now considered as an unacceptable model for reconstruction. This process of eradication and modernization introduced a new order, based on a higher level of hygiene, the ease of circulation, the functionalism of the street network, and the improvement of the rural typologies. It represented the end of the organic historical process and its replacement by a clearly ordered product that would be a reflection and mirror of urban progress, with the avowed goal that the emigration toward the big centers would not be necessary or would not appear—at least for a decade or two—necessary for the socio-economic and cultural well-being of the residents. The modernization of the countryside was thus equivalent to its “urbanization,” intended as the process to bring to it the elements that made urban life easier and more comfortable. As the architect of the reconstruction of Guadarrama commented, “With these towns that the D.G.R.D. reconstructed, it can be said that the maximum aspiration to make ‘cities in the countryside’ has been achieved.”⁹⁸ At the same time, it must be emphasized that the new rural order remained grounded on the concept of the tight community whose public spaces—the plaza, the streets, the arcades—remained critical to the daily life of the residents. In contrast with other urban strategies such as the garden city or garden district, which emphasized front gardens, setbacks, and landscape, the reconstruction—and in the following

⁹⁷ Ángel Rama, p. 1.

⁹⁸ José Martínez Cubells, “Reconstrucción del pueblo de Guadarrama,” *Reconstrucción*, nº 23, May 1942, p. 210: “Con estos pueblos que reconstruye la Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas podrá decirse que se ha conseguido la aspiración máxima de hacer “Ciudades en el campo.”

chapter, the colonization—maintained the familiarity and the characteristics of the traditional urban spaces, albeit modernized.

As in the colonies of America and the Peninsula, the geometric plan and the plaza were the effective solution to and the result of the political, religious, social, and bureaucratic needs of the new regime. In Franco's Spain, the *plaza mayor* was to embody the political ideal of civil life under the national-catholic regime. The latter could be summarized in the triad family/work/town and it was logical that the *plaza* became the point of crystallization of the reconstructed urban context and of its ideological substrate. Once again, I will show in the following pages that the introduction of the geometric grid and the orderly *plaza mayor* marked another level of 'urbanization of the countryside.' Those morphological elements of the Spanish grammar of making cities were essentially associated with the city. Bringing them in the reconstructed countryside, and in the very place of the destroyed organic order, could not but be seen as a deliberate and strong spatial affirmation of Spanish national identity. Whereas the garden city model was proposed and used to "ruralize the city," the traditional forms of city making were clearly applied to "urbanize the countryside."⁹⁹

Although the political ambitions of the program of reconstruction—and the parallel one of interior colonization—were quite obvious, it would be problematic to overemphasize the political motivations of the plaza at the center of the urbanization pattern. For centuries, the presence of the plaza mayor in the towns and cities of Spain had been a genuine cultural artifact that was indispensable to the Spanish way of life, as Erwin Gutkind has deftly commented:

Above all, there was the greatest gift of Spanish city planning: the *plaza mayor*, which has no equivalent in other countries. It was the most accomplished expression of the longing for absorption of the isolated home life into the gregariousness of the street, an irresistible urge to make streets and squares open-air interiors.¹⁰⁰

Selection of the site

A study of the reconstructed towns, from the air but also as a townscape, confirms the reality of those "tratados genuinamente españoles" in the definition given by De Cárdenas. First, considering the small scale of the settlements—scale which was in many cases not substantially different from many foundations in America—the towns of the reconstruction could be read as one organic whole, clearly subordinated to the *plaza mayor* as the main focal center but not always at its geometric center. As such the plaza was the point of departure of the most important streets, and the secondary squares, if any, were clearly interconnected. Secondly, as the grid was the dominant morphology used in the reconstruction, perspective was fundamental for the design. There was no trace of the Baroque type of long axis, but short terminated vistas were a current feature of the planning.

⁹⁹ See César Cort, *Campos urbanizados y ciudades ruralizadas*, Madrid: Yagües, 1941.

¹⁰⁰ Erwin Anton Gutkind, *International History of City Development*, Volume 3: Urban Development in Southern Europe, Spain & Portugal, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1967, p. 291.

Thirdly, each reconstructed town had to abide with a very specific program, dealing not only with the number of houses but also with their ascribed typology. Likewise, the public programs were carefully defined and positioned, with the town hall, the church, and the sport fields among the most important.

Based upon the analysis of the destruction patterns, the topography, the accessibility of the town to and from the fields, and other factors such as connection to main roads, the first decision was, either to rebuild the town on top of the ruins, or to relocate it and rebuild it at a certain distance from the past location. The first option was complex to achieve and was only implemented in five cases of complete reconstruction: Brunete (Madrid), Las Rozas (Madrid), Titulcia (Madrid), Majadahonda (Madrid), and Masegoso de Tajuña (Guadalajara). In case of partial destruction, this option was clearly the easier and most economical to achieve and was realized in Boadilla del Monte (Madrid), Guadarrama (Madrid), Los Blazquez (Cordoba), Pitres (Granada), Teresa and Viver (Valencia), Hita (Guadalajara), Lopera (Jaén). The second option of total reconstruction in a new location was the most often implemented: Seseña (Madrid), Villanueva del Pardillo (Madrid), Villanueva de la Cañada (Madrid), Aravaca (Madrid), Belchite, Gajanejos, Montarrón, Llers and Masegoso (all in the province of Guadalajara), and Villanueva de la Barca (Lérida).

The Grid

In all regions, whether the town was entirely rebuilt adjacent to the destroyed settlement or superimposed over it, the orthogonal or, less frequently, a distorted grid (Titulcia, Llers) or a hybrid combination of two grids (Belchite) was the common feature of the reconstructed towns by the Department of the Devastated Regions. The gridded morphology strongly contrasted with the medieval, often irregular and chaotic, organization of the blocks and lots in the destroyed towns and cities. Streets were wider, straighter, usually planted and allowing for better movement of air and ventilation. The blocks were functionally oriented according to modern solar charts; they were divided and dimensioned to accommodate a limited number of housing typologies that fit the needs of the agricultural or industrial population. An efficient system of land redistribution, inspired from the Belgian experience of reconstruction after WWI, permitted this complicated process of urban re-platting or transfer of property rights from the destroyed area to the new town.¹⁰¹

However, the various grids of Brunete, Gajanejos, Montarrón, Villanueva del Pardillo, Villanueva de La Cañada and others eventually differed greatly from each other. The grids were not generic templates as in Latin America or in the *Nuevas Poblaciones* of Andalucía but quite idiosyncratic in terms of urban form, size and disposition of the lots. Architects used the terminated perspective very often, particularly within the interior of the town, whereas many streets opened to the countryside on its edges. Contrary to the Latin American or eighteenth century model, the grid was not systematically deployed with a system of identical

¹⁰¹ See José Moreno Torres, unpaginated.

blocks; indeed, the architects used the various typologies to vary the size and form of the blocks, thus creating more variety and less monotony. However, the regular grid was used in Titulcia (slightly curvilinear), in Masegoso, in Seseña Nuevo, and in a polygonal way in Llers. At the same time, the towns were built as if they were “a single edifice,” that had a limited and fixed size and reflected the precise quantitative conditions of the reconstruction project. When available, the precise models and perspective drawings drawn and built in the early 1940s allowed for the ‘vision from afar’ that eventually reinforced the finite and autonomous edge of the foundations. Accordingly, the revalorization of the town’s silhouette was a concept introduced by Pedro Bidagor. In his opinion, the peripheral blocks should acquire the characteristics of genuine urban façades, thus expressing, from the very outskirts, the essence of the town’s content and identity epitomized in the emergence of the reconstructed church tower. At the same time, the town edges provided spaces for new programs such as parks, sport fields, small hospitals, and other necessary amenities for modern life. In line with the anti-urban diatribes of the recent victory, Gutiérrez Soto wrote:

We must think about giving the masses the means to entertain their hours outside of work, by means of spectacles and amusements for the youth, oriented in an instructive, moral and patriotic sense, and separating them from the pernicious influence of bars, cafes, taverns and other absurd places, which are unhygienic, decadent and immoral; to make man understand his role as a firm and vital agent of the transformation of the country, in which the human spirit affirms itself in collaboration with the forces of nature. We create sports and cultural circles, *Casas de España* that gather and guide the desires of our youth; we create healthy men of body and spirit, fit for work, for study and meditation.¹⁰²

The plaza mayor

Based upon the analysis of twenty fully or partially reconstructed towns across the whole territory of Spain, we can identify two major categories of *plazas*.¹⁰³ The first one was the regular *plaza mayor* conceived as a highly geometric, symmetrical, and articulated ensemble, the type which will be indicated here as *plaza mayor*. The other and less frequent type consisted of a geometric but less rigid plaza, oftentimes made up of distinct and hierarchically diverse sections. Within both categories, even if the squares were placed on an axis, the latter was not necessarily the structuring element of the plan. Moreover, squares were often placed asymmetrically within the plan, most often than not in order to have a more direct

¹⁰² Luis Gutiérrez Soto, *Sesiones de la I Asamblea*, p. 52: “Hay que pensar en dar medios a las masas para entretener sus horas fuera del trabajo, por medio de espectáculos y diversiones propias de la juventud, orientadas en sentido instructivo, moral y patriótico, apartándole de la influencia perniciosa de bares, cafes, tabernas y demás lugares absurdos, por antihigiénicos, decadentes e inmorales; hacer sentir al hombre al convertirse en agente firme y vital de esta transformación del país, en los cuales el espíritu humano se afirma en colaboración con las fuerzas de la naturaleza. Creemos círculos deportivos y culturales, *Casas de España* que recojan y orienten los anhelos de nuestra juventud; creemos hombres sanos de cuerpo y de espíritu, aptos para el trabajo, para el estudio y la meditación.”

¹⁰³ This analysis does not constitute the entire spectrum of the reconstructions, but covers the most significant cases of new town planning.

access from the access roads and to open directly to the surrounding greenbelt and countryside.

The geometric *plaza mayor* that appeared in Latin America, then in Spain during the reign of Philip II, was, by conception and functional organization, completely distinct of previous periods.¹⁰⁴ Following its destruction in a fire (1561), the *plaza mayor* of Valladolid was reconstructed as a large unified and arcaded rectangle, with the proportions proposed by Vitruvius and by the Laws of the Indies, i.e., 3 by 2 or in real size, 125 meters by 80 meters. From Valladolid, the type expended to Madrid, Salamanca, onwards to the 19th century. In the words of Antonio Bonet Correa, the *plaza mayor* “continued, with its unified space, to be the great urban theater, the place where the city, through time, conceptually recognized itself.”¹⁰⁵ That new morphology of the Spanish *plaza mayor* was usually carved out of the urban fabric and separated from the main transit streets, in contrast to the Latin American model which was created by the simple removal of a block from the grid. Moreover the Latin American square had no axial relationship to the town. The 18th century plaza of the *Nuevas Poblaciones* was a Baroque version of the Latin American one as it was organized symmetrically around a central axis terminating with the church or a municipal building, a feature that was absent from the cities founded in Latin America but can be found in the towns of the Reconstruction.

At the beginning of the war, when reconstruction was already a critical question for the future, D’Ors already discussed the type of square that would be most appropriate to be designed. For him, the Madrid-inspired *plaza mayor* was the most adapted type to the new and reconstructed towns:

This traditional Spanish urban component, which achieved creations of such high beauty, can be adjusted to the needs of today’s life and consolidated in the new environment ... It adapts better than any other kind of plaza to public life and to the habits of our people ... The magnificent reconstruction that we foresee has to be carried out in a new architectural style, both Spanish and modern.¹⁰⁶

Accordingly and in light of its appropriate reference to the “imperial” past, this type of square was predominantly used. In the region of Madrid, it can be found in Brunete, Villanueva del

¹⁰⁴ *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1954, and the chapter II by Cervera Vera, “Epoca de las Austrias,” pp. 150-151.

¹⁰⁵ Antonio Bonet Correa, Antonio, “Concepto de Plaza Mayor en España desde el siglo 16 hasta nuestros días,” *Storia della città* 15, n° 54-56, April-December 1990), p. 94: “con su espacio unificado continuó siendo el gran teatro, el lugar en donde la ciudad a través del tiempo, conceptualmente se reconocía a si misma.”

¹⁰⁶ Victor d’Ors, “Hacia la reconstrucción de las ciudades de España,” in *Vértice*, June 1937, reprinted in Gabriel Ureña, *Arquitectura u Urbanística Civil y Militar en el Período de la Autarquía (1936-1945) – Análisis, cronología y textos*, Madrid: Ediciones ISTMO, op. cit., p. 252: “Este elemento urbano tradicional en España, que consiguió creaciones de tanta belleza, adaptado a las necesidades de la vida actual y refundido en el nuevo espíritu debe constituir el tipo de núcleo central en los centros cívicos. Se adapta mejor que cualquier otro género de plaza a la vida pública y a las condiciones de nuestro pueblo... Esta magna reconstrucción que preveemos tiene que realizarse en un estilo arquitectónico nuevo. A la vez español y moderno.”

Pardillo, Las Rozas, Majadahonda, and in Guadarrama in a somewhat more open configuration. Other examples in the Guadalajara and Lérida regions include Masegoso de Tajuña, Gajanejos, Montarrón, and Villanueva de la Barca, whereas the plans for Aravaca and did not materialize. The squares built in those reconstructed towns follow the model that d'Ors referred to, i.e., they form a geometrically defined square, usually symmetrical relatively to two orthogonal axes, enclosed with a continuous sequence of mixed-use buildings, two to three floor high, and arcaded on most sides.¹⁰⁷ Most squares are U-shaped with shorter wings on the fourth side that allows for a larger entrance and open it toward the countryside. Their architecture is usually regular and integrates a public building as termination of one of the axis. In some cases, the building is a municipal one in the tradition of the Renaissance-born, municipal *plaza mayor* (Brunete, Las Rozas, Villanueva del Pardillo, Guadarrama). In other cases, it is the church that stands at the end of the entrance axis (Gajanejos, Montarrón). In many cases, the square is elevated on a small plinth with connecting steps; some squares are paved, others have a garden.

However, in spite of their morphological connection to the historic type of *plaza mayor*, all those squares are fundamentally new and modern creations. Indeed, they are made up of thin “bar-like” structures, attached together and following a similar architectural order. They were not created by carving the square out of the fabric (Renaissance *plaza mayor* as in Madrid, Salamanca, or Valladolid) or by making the sides of the squares function like the edges of the adjacent blocks (Baroque type of the Nuevas Poblaciones). On the contrary, they appear within the city fabric as “articulated buildings.” To some extent, the square is a building—a forum as a building as Vitruvius defined it.¹⁰⁸ Historically, this mode of constructing a square was rare. The most representative examples come from Germany and, in particular, the Baroque form of square making that created the three squares of Friedrichstadt in Berlin (Pariserplatz, Leipzigerplatz, Rondellplatz) and other cities like Stuttgart and Dresden. In Spain, an interesting precedent for such a building-like *plaza mayor* is the Plaza Nueva of Vitória, built by Juan Antonio de Olaguibel (1781-1791), 65-meter square, with two stories over the arcaded ground floor. It is the best example of neo-classical square designed as a building and as a square together, isolated on the edge of the historic city core as a large urban object.

Actually, the first half of the 20th century offers the most appropriate examples of the design method. As many of architects and planners of the reconstruction studied in Madrid under professors such as César Cort, Torres Balbás, and others, they were unambiguously aware of modern European planning, particularly of the Garden City movement, the Siedlung realizations of Bruno Taut and Martin Wagner in Germany, as well as the Fascist new towns in Italy. The horseshoe square of the Hufeisensiedlung (Berlin, Bruno Taut, 1926) and more

¹⁰⁷ Victor d'Ors, op. cit.

¹⁰⁸ On issues of typology in Fascist new towns, see Jean-François Lejeune, “Guidonia *città aerofuturista*: A Fascist and Rationalist Company Town” in *Proceedings of ACSA International Conference 1997—Architecture as Politics*, Washington DC, ACSA, 1998, pp. 73-78.

importantly the new foundations of Sabaudia and Aprilia and under Mussolini exhibited, albeit in a very different language and morphology, the strategy of creating a square by manipulating and assembling simple linear and thin buildings. The manner with which Luigi Piccinato and his colleagues used the thin bars typical of the Modern Movement to create well-defined public spaces was unique and distinguished their works from most of their European counterparts during the period. They shaped modern public spaces in a typologically new way, i.e., not as carved spaces out of a dense fabric but as skillful assemblages and articulations of thin and interconnected linear buildings.

In the context of the Reconstruction, the morphological modernity of the squares was, to some extent, masked by the architectural references to classical precedents, or to what early critics and historians of the period qualified as “imperial” aspirations. The plazas built in the periphery of Madrid with Brunete as its symbolic center were built in the classical style, the one seen in this first phase of the dictatorship, as the most appropriate to define the grandeur and unity of Spain. The Escorial and the historic *plaza mayor* became the paradigm of the very first years of the Reconstruction. To some extent, the Escorial was “vernacularized” and the first reconstructed squares appeared like a modernized recreation of the late sixteenth century classical type later established by the same Juan de Herrera in Valladolid. Yet, if one considers that the Herrerian style relies on a use of materials such as stone and brick, a detailed analysis reveals that only three towns—Brunete, Las Rozas, and Guadarrama—responded to that definition. For all the other reconstructed squares—see Villanueva del Pardillo, Villanueva de la Cañada, Titulcia, etc.—the architects adopted a more vernacular language and, in particular, the application of white stucco, at times outlined on the building angles with other materials. These differences in architectural language were particularly noticeable between two towns planned and built at the same time in the same area near Madrid, Brunete and Villanueva del Pardillo: the Herrerian one in the first case, a vernacularized version in the second whose architecture bore much similarity with the cover drawing of the *Arquitectura* issue of October 1934 dedicated to the results of the 1932 competition. As Diego Reina de la Muela argued, “an imperial style, though founded in an unique and essential idea, may present a grand plastic variety, or, simultaneously, as accidental forms of the same mode of expression, or through the influence of progressist factors: the communications, the technical progress, and the changes in ways of life...”¹⁰⁹

Other Squares

In order to understand the other morphologies and their differences with the *plaza mayor* type, it is important to distinguish between the squares that were created anew and those that were partially reconstructed. The first group includes Villanueva de la Cañada, Titulcia, Seseña Nuevo, Llers, and Belchite, all examples where the square was planned geometrically as a different type of place than the examples just studied. The second group

¹⁰⁹ Diego Reina de la Muela, “Divagaciones arquitectónicas – los imperios y su estilo,” *Reconstrucción*, nº 23, Mayo 1942, p. 194.

consists of Pitres, Teresa, Viver, Hita, and Los Blazquez. In all those cases, the square displayed a hybrid morphology resulting of the reconstruction and transformation of an existing public space.

In Belchite, Villanueva de la Cañada, and Titulcia, the main square presents a L-shaped form, arcaded on the ground floor, and usually up to two or three floors containing retail, dwellings, and administrative spaces. In most cases, the square was slightly elevated on a plinth, thus contributing to spatially enclosing the space. In Belchite, the L-shaped plaza contains the town hall; within the gentle curving grid of Titulcia, the town hall and the rebuilt church form the square.¹¹⁰ In Llers, the original masterplan made extensive use of bar-buildings to define not one but three very different plazas, yet only one square was built as a three-sided juxtaposition of a church and two groups of rowhouses. The original project for Villanueva de la Cañada was a hybrid version of the square as a building but eventually was not built. The existing and elegant square consists of three separate buildings or groups of buildings articulated as an irregular U around a slightly elevated public garden on one side of the main road. As for Masegoso and Los Blazquez, the squares are essentially open and rectangular, with free movement of traffic on some or all of their sides, and a large public space in the center.

Finally, it must be noted that De Cárdenas's injunction to separate the main church from the new Francoist civic square was very often part of the original project, but many masterplans (Villanueva de la Cañada, Gajanejos, Aravaca are good examples) turned out to be too complex to implement. In Brunete, Las Rozas and Villanueva del Pardillo, the church was reconstructed in its original location and separated from the plaza mayor; likewise in Montarrón, the plaza mayor was left incomplete with the town hall on the main axis, but the church maintained its location on a separate axis. The same situation is to be found in Gajanejos where the church was constructed on the side of the plaza mayor and attached to the town hall, which terminates the entrance axis. In Belchite, the church stands on the side of the civic plaza, but connects to its own elevated public space. In many cases, particularly those related to the Madrid region and Castile in general, the church was placed independently from the square even though a visual connection was usually maintained. In Llers, Pitres, and Los Blazquez, the church faces the square directly.

From an architectural point of view, none of the examples within this second category displayed the "new-Herrerian" image, a reality that demonstrates that the so-called "imperial" vision established in Brunete and the northern ring of towns around Madrid was essentially regional in vision and origin. Once distant from the center of power and the reference of the Escorial in proximity, the architects developed new forms that reflected the vernacular of the

¹¹⁰ The plaza is in fact part of a larger block which contains some houses and the school; the school recreation grounds and the garden behind the church form a second square within the block.

region, including in the architectural expression of the town hall, as can be seen in Villanueva de la Cañada, Titulcia, Seseña, and the reconstructed towns in Andalusia.¹¹¹

3.7. National or Foreign Influences

As we have just seen in this section, the morphological study unambiguously shows that the towns of the Reconstruction were absolutely Spanish creations. In particular, I have demonstrated that the use of the grid and the model of the enclosed square—*plaza mayor*—were definitive reflections of Spanish urban history and form. In my opinion, the intellectual position taken on this matter by Carlos Sambricio cannot be maintained. Although he was one of the first historians to recognize the importance of the Reconstruction led by the D.G.R.D., one of his arguments was to deny the authenticity and reality of the Spanish sources and to emphasize the process of borrowing and adapting foreign forms, which, as we have just seen, were authentically Spanish: “In the layout of cities, the design of a finished and organic city is of Central European influence; the civic center, converted into a hierarchical center, where the church, the town hall, the social services and the Guardia Civil barracks are grouped, derives from the Italian schemes, and the housing studies have as reference the work of architects before the war, reflection of a republican tradition.”¹¹² In other instances, Sambricio made reference to the rural population centers designed by Sverre Pedersen as well as the plans for the *Die neue Stadt* (1939) by Gottfried Feder.¹¹³ Those plans were well known to Spanish architects and urbanists as they were published in German periodicals like *Der Städtebau* or *Baumeister*, which were the primary reference for the Madrid circles.¹¹⁴ Undoubtedly, the organic city proposed by Pedro Bidagor—and in particular his concept of the autonomous neighborhoods (*órganos*) interconnected by green fingers and economically linked to the countryside—showed direct influences from Northern European examples, from

¹¹¹ This commentary is quite critical, given that the average opinion is the opposite.

¹¹² See Serrano, p. 80. Quote taken from F. Samaniego, “Debate sobre las influencias alemanas e italianas en los proyectos urbanos del franquismo”, *El País*, 7 febrero 1987, at the occasion of the exhibition *Arquitectura en Regiones Devastadas*. Sambricio is correct when he mentions the Republican origins of the dwelling studies, which contributes to the weakness of his argument. The Reconstruction is a Spanish process. Sambricio has also made serious arguments regarding the German influences on Pedro Bidagor’s Plan for Madrid: “En el trazado de las ciudades, el diseño de ciudad acabada y orgánica es de influencia centroeuropea; el centro cívico, convertido en centro jerárquico, donde se agrupan la iglesia, el ayuntamiento, los servicios sociales y el cuartel de la Guardia Civil procede de los esquemas italianos, y los estudios sobre viviendas tienen como referencia la obra de arquitectos anteriores a la guerra, reflejo de una tradición republicana.”

¹¹³ Carlos Sambricio, “On Urbanism in the Early Years of Franquism,” in Harald Bodenschatz, Piero Sassi and Max Welch Guerra (eds.), *Urbanism and Dictatorship – a European Perspective*, Basel: Birkhäuser, 2015, pp. 117-34.

¹¹⁴ In his article “Hermann Jansen y el concurso de Madrid de 1929” in *Arquitectura* 303 (1995): 8-15, Carlos Sambricio demonstrated the high readership of German periodicals such as *Baumeister* in Spain from the late 1920s. It is important to remember that Albert Speer presented the exhibition of the new German architecture in Madrid in 1941. The connection with Italy was equally important, particularly through the figure of Marcello Piacentini. According to historian Lluís Domènech, this “contradiction” resulted in fact into a long lasting but covert internal conflict between proponents of the populist trend and supporters of rationalist criteria closer to the Nordic and German experiments of the 1920s.

Theodor Fritsch to Bruno Taut to Gottfried Feder.¹¹⁵ Those schemes were somewhat interchangeable and deployed neo-Baroque features common to the Garden City movement, the presence of a higher density core, a semi-radial layout, wide landscaped axes, and a well-defined neighborhood structure tied together by a system of parks. Interestingly, the new town of Afuleh in Palestine, designed by Richard Kauffmann in the mid-1920s, anticipated most of Feder's proposals, both in terms of general urban design layout and its neighborhood structure. To some extent, this was a logical consequence of the predominance of German urban design theory and practice in the first decades of the twentieth century. It is also a demonstration that the references carried by Bidagor's projects were fundamentally related to the contemporary culture of urban design more than any specific ideological influence on Francoist planning during the first phase of the dictatorship.¹¹⁶

International exchanges of planning ideas and concepts were very important both before and after WWII, thanks to international actors such as Raymond Unwin and Werner Hegemann. Spain did not differ and logically adopted the most recognized urban practices. On the one hand, it must be said that the civic centers mentioned by Sambricio and that were to articulate the organic districts in the Plan Bidagor did not follow the Italian or German patterns, but were precisely modeled on the modernized concept of the homogenous, dense and urban *plaza mayor*. On the other hand, even though the cities of the Reconstruction presented very variable geometries and did not respond to a urban design template as simple as the one in Latin America and the *Nuevas Poblaciones*, the deployed forms of rational planning by the D.G.R.D. architects had no or very little connection with Italian experiments in the new towns of the 1930s, or Central European and Scandinavian plans by Feder, Pedersen, et al.¹¹⁷ Their limited size, the absence of suburban typologies and the equal density from center to periphery, as well as their enclosed *plazas mayores* were all features that could not be found in those international examples and were arguably the result of Spanish tradition and culture.

¹¹⁵ See Gottfried Feder, *Die neue Stadt ; Versuch der Begründung einer neuen Stadtplanungskunst aus der sozialen Struktur der Bevölkerung*, Berlin Springer, 1939: Gottfried Feder, one of the original members of the National Socialist German Workers's Parti, published a 480-page volume titled *Die neue Stadt* where he proposed and showed the design for model cities of 20000 residents organized as groupings of smaller agricultural districts that ranged from 3000 to 5000 people. Each city was to be fully autonomous and self-sufficient, with precise detailed plans for daily living and urban amenities. Feder's new city was founded on the decade-old concept of unifying the city and the village. Its core would be urban and concentrate public buildings and apartments, whereas single-family houses would make up the agricultural neighborhoods. Eventually the design became the staple for Himmler's Guidelines for the Planning and Design of Cities in the Annexed German Territories in the East. This policy was put into action in the middle of the war under the direction of Konrad Meyer, head of the SS planning division. It resulted in modern slavery, devastating massacres and genocide, but no real urban realizations. Based upon the central place theory by Walter Christaller, *Die neue Stadt* was instrumental in projects for regional planning across Germany after 1945 as well as for the reconstruction of Japan (cfr. Carola Hein, "Visionary Plans and Planners," in Nicolas Fiévé and Paul Waley (eds.), *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power, and Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo*, London: Routledge/Curzon, 2003.

¹¹⁶ Nevertheless it is important to recall the exhibition of National-Socialist architecture that was presented in Madrid and Barcelona in 1942: see for instance Francesc Vilanova I Vila-Abadal, "Bajo el signo de la esvástica. La Exposición de Arquitectura Moderna alemana en España (1942)," in *Diacronie – Studi di storia contemporanea*, nº 18, 2/2014, accessed on the internet (November 2018) at <https://journals.openedition.org/diacronie/1521>

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 5 and the discussion of foreign influences on the I.N.C.

Details in some plans (most often unrealized as the radial system proposed in Brunete) were common features of the garden city, but they were very rare and accessory to the overall urban form. As for the plaza as civic center, we have shown that the squares of the Reconstruction were clearly influenced by historic examples of historic colonization. If there was a formal relation between the towns of the reconstruction and the Fascist new towns, it was, as I explained earlier, similar mode of defining urban space with new typologies.

A case in point is the article published in *Reconstrucción* of June-July 1950, signed by that the Peruvian architect and urbanist Emilio Harth-Terré (1899-1983), who defended the “Cartesian ideal” in urban design, basing his reasoning upon the *Discours de la Méthode* by Descartes. For the architect, the “ideal of geometry and orthogonal order” was under attack and that a “new geometry of curves and loops” were increasingly seen as “a pseudo-modern solution for the layout of the new cities.”¹¹⁸ Harth-Terré proposed that the virtues of rational planning as “lieu commun” be rethought and refreshed, as Miguel de Unamuno suggested to be the best way to free ourselves from inertia. Harth-Terré recognized the importance of Camillo Sitte but rejected its traditional interpretation, arguing for a renewal of rational order, for the “modernity of Descartes,” and insisting on the significance of Latin American cities. It was probably not a coincidence that his article in *Reconstrucción* was followed by the presentation of Masegoso de Tajuña, perhaps the closest example of a rational new town according to the Latin American model.

In the towns of the Reconstruction, entirely regulated by geometry in contrast to the parallel experience of the colonization, there was no declared attempt to produce picturesque effects. For Joaquín Vaquero, the picturesque value of the traditional village was essentially linked to the anarchy of a construction and transformation process, which often took place over centuries. In other cases, quite frequent, the topography was the cause of the picturesque appearance of the town. Hence it would not be adequate to pursue, in the reconstruction of the devastated regions, the same type of picturesqueness. He argued in favor of a more balanced beauty, coupled to a major social purpose: “It will be necessary to pursue another kind of beauty, more balanced, achieved by the rational organization of constructions and free spaces, adapting the whole to the climate and landscape of each place and to the means of life not only of each town, but also to the future ... and at the same time with a better social purpose ... after studying the right type of room and the general layout, defining the situation of public buildings, ... well subject the plan to these already invariable conditions, we still have some slack to move lines, volumes and colors; work that would be necessary to do always in the field and on the progress of the work, as painting a picture.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Harth-Terré 1950, p. 185. Emilio Harth-Terré was a prominent Peruvian architect and researcher, historian of ancient, colonial and republican Peruvian art, urban planning theorist. An expert in urban planning, he was very involved in the development of Lima. As an architect he was involved in the reconstruction of the Palacio Municipal of Lima, as well as in the restoration of various historic buildings in the colonial center.

¹¹⁹ Joaquín Vaquero Palacios, “Pintoresquismo en la Reconstrucción,” *Reconstrucción*, n° 17, November 1941, p. 12: Será necesario perseguir otra clase de belleza, más equilibrada, lograda por la

In 1950, Cecilio Barberán, a writer and art critic, wrote an interesting essay titled “El concepto de lo cinematográfico en las construcciones urbanas modernas.”¹²⁰ Illustrating the essay with images of the reconstruction of Guernika, Las Rozas, Guadarrama, the Zocodover in Toledo, Almería, Guadix and Belchite, he wrote:

Architecture has been captured by the cinematographic dynamism. Most neighborhoods and towns in construction nowadays in the regions of the Peninsula appear like movies sets, through which the architect can show to the world the singular character that distinguishes each of those people: nothing more joyful, more replete of gleaming whiteness than the small Andalusian houses; more nostalgic and more majestic than the residences of the northern regions; more suggestive of quiet sturdiness and peace than new constructions in the Castilian country.

Who inspired these works? Without doubt the movie pictures, the mentors of the synthesis and dynamism of modern life; these are the cities of the “movies epoch. (...) We do not ignore that these works have a lot of detractors. Suffice to us to record their existence, anticipating the attention that scholars of the future will likely give to the urbanistic enterprise of our time.”¹²¹

3.8. Typology and style

Carlos Sambricio was one of the first to dismantle the comfortable myth of a fundamental rupture between the Republican period and Franco’s regime.¹²² He put into question the studies led in the 1960s by Oriol Bohigas, Alexandre Cirici Pellicer, or Antonio Fernández Alba, who argued that the architecture of the 1930s had been marked by an orthodox avant-garde, which was culturally monolithic, formally coherent, and politically correct.¹²³ He argued that the different architectural options proposed at the beginning of the 1940s were “the fruitful outcome of heterogeneous ideas, whose gestation can be traced back to the decade preceding the Civil War.”¹²⁴ Likewise, in an important article of 1976, Ignasi de Sola-Morales wrote that the Spanish situation of the immediate post-Civil War corresponded in fact to a “reinterpretation of the methodological postulates and goals of the ‘principles of modern

ordenación racional de construcciones y espacios libres, adaptando el todo al clima y paisaje de cada lugar y al medio de vida no solamente actual de cada pueblo, sino también al futuro...y a la par con mejor finalidad social... después de estudiar el tipo de habitación adecuada y el trazado general, definiendo situación de edificios públicos, ... bien sujeto el plan a estas condiciones ya invariables que se establezcan, aun tenemos una cierta holgura para mover líneas, volúmenes y colores; labor que sería necesario hacer siempre en el terreno y sobre la marcha de la obra, como se pinta un cuadro.

¹²⁰ Cecilio Barberán, “El Concepto de lo cinematográfico en las construcciones urbanas modernas,” *Reconstrucción*, nº 97, January 1950, pp. 23-30.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*.

¹²² See for instance Carlos Sambricio, “L’architecture espagnole entre la Deuxième République et le Franquisme,” in *Les années 30 – L’architecture et les arts de l’espace entre industrie et nostalgie*, Paris, Editions du patrimoine, 1997, p. 181.

¹²³ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*.

architecture,' [mostly] in matters of housing."¹²⁵ The autarchic regime inherited both the situation and the ideology based upon the social-democratic reformism of Germany and Central Europe: building in the periphery, cooperativism, architectural alternative to the bourgeois residence both in terms of type and methods of construction, modernization and rationalization of the urban and rural dwelling, as well as state and municipal control on the urban and rural development.¹²⁶

In April 1939 the National Institute of Housing / Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (I.N.V.) was created under the direction of the engineer Federico Mayo Gayarre with José Fonseca as director of architecture. This appointment signaled a high degree of continuity with the pre-Civil War Republican strategy. In particular, Fonseca's interest for the study and evolution of the rural dwelling was now institutionalized and codified as essential references for the work of the D.G.R.D. and later in the 1940s of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización. The same year, the I.N.V. enacted the *Ordenanzas de la Vivienda*, a set of regulations based upon pre-Civil War research that established all technical conditions necessary for the new rural dwelling unit and colonist house, including number and dimensions of rooms, orientation, preferred materials, and ventilation systems.¹²⁷ The D.G.R.D. adopted the ordinances of the I.N.V. and as a result the projects were strictly regulated. Floor areas, floor to ceiling heights, openings, and building types were standardized. Likewise, all basic constructive elements like windows, bars, balconies, and urban furniture were also codified and most of the times their construction was standardized. Houses were rationally conceived behind a vernacular mask. Generally speaking, the types, whether urban or rural, were the equivalent of the typical modern apartment type in the Siedlungen of Germany, with thin buildings and all rooms lighted and ventilated. At the Second Assembly of Architects of 1940, Fonseca explained the ordinances as both economic and architectural tools, while criticizing some of the modernist principles advocated before the Civil War:

Writing ordinances is something that is fundamental in Spain. We have no objection that the struggle between economy and minimum welfare should be required for [rural] housing.... We have tried to look for the minimum comfort; in order that homes have a technical isolation that ensures that they can be lived in winter and in summer (...) We have reduced, above all, and this has been a real fight against the spirit that was there before, the dimension of windows.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Ignasi de Sola-Morales, "La arquitectura de la vivienda en los años de la Autarquía, 1939-1953," in *Arquitectura* 199, April 1976, p. 20.

¹²⁶ Ignasi Sola-Morales, p. 22.

¹²⁷ José Fonseca, Director of the National Institute of Housing, was an important link between the pre-Civil War era and the reconstruction: see among others José Fonseca, "La vivienda rural en España: estudio técnico y jurídico para una actuación del Estado en la material," *Arquitectura* XVIII, nº 1, 1936, pp. 12-24. On the Housing Ordinances of 1939, see Manuel Calzada Pérez, "La vivienda rural en los pueblos de colonización," *PH. Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico* XIII, nº 52 (2005): 55-67; Ignacio de Sola-Morales, "La Arquitectura de la Vivienda en los Años de la Autarquía, 1939-1953," in *Arquitectura* 199, April 1976, pp. 19-30.

¹²⁸ Quoted from Fonseca, 1940, in *ph52*, Calzada Pérez, p. 059.

Designers systematically documented the architectonic elements of tradition (ironwork, balconies, doors, arches, etc.), and catalogued the different typologies in relation to the climate and other regional characteristics. At the same event of 1940, De Cárdenas makes clear the logic and rationality of the typological decisions:

These buildings and the dwellings will shape the general masterplan. Different types of houses will be studied, according to the function and profession of the families that should inhabit them. It is important to remember that each region has its characteristic type of housing, which depends, most of the time, on the kind of cultivation of the land. The houses will always consist of, as a minimum, of the kitchen-dining room and three bedrooms, so that there may be a proper separation of sexes.¹²⁹

This scientific labor was supported by a series of essays in *Reconstrucción*, the periodical that the D.G.R.D. published between 1940 and 1956 and, in spite of its propagandistic overtones, provided a well-documented review of the entire program. The 130 monthly issues of the periodical published detailed plans of major reconstruction projects and photographic reportages of the process of planning and construction. Examples of modern or foreign architecture were relatively few, but over the years, the editors increased their geographic gaze, particularly toward the end of the 1940s, in an obvious reflection of the changing nature of the architectural debate.¹³⁰ Whereas the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* of the early 1940s emphasized the urban endeavors of the regime, *Reconstrucción* emphasized narrative and photographic essays about popular architecture, which relied heavily on the seminal texts produced before the war, such as *La casa popular* (García Mercadal), *Arquitectura civil española* (Victor Lampérez), *La vivienda popular en España* (Torres Balbás). The focus was regional and corresponded to the decentralization of the Department into regional offices across the country. Clearly, the message was not, as Mercadal or Sert would have it in the 1930s, to use the rural vernacular to develop a modern Spanish architecture, but rather to make traditional architecture the expression of the new regime. This direction was exemplified in the beautifully drawn construction details, realized using the same graphic technique, and that were published on a quasi-monthly basis and printed on special paper within the periodicals. Their function, beyond documentation, was to serve as direct source of linguistic material for the architects of the Dirección General.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Quoted by De Terán, *Planeamiento*, p. 138 from Gustavo de Cárdenas, "La Reconstrucción Nacional vista desde la DGRD," *II Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectura*, Madrid, 1941, pp. 145-55, here p. 151.

¹³⁰ See Chapter Four.

¹³¹ See for instance, Gonzalo de Cárdenas, "Arquitectura popular española. La casa," *Reconstrucción* I, nº 8, 1941; Gonzalo de Cárdenas, "Arquitectura popular española. Las cuevas," *Reconstrucción* I, February 1941; Gonzalo de Cárdenas, "Arquitectura Popular Española. La casa de un pueblo andaluz," *Reconstrucción* II, nº 10, March 1941, pp. 26-34; Alejandro Allánegui, "Arquitectura popular del Alto Pirineo Aragonés," *Reconstrucción* II, nº 11, April 1941, pp. 15-28; Gonzalo de Cárdenas, "Arquitectura Popular Española. Las casas en la montaña leonesa," *Reconstrucción* II, nº 18, December 1941, pp. 3-10; Francisco Prieto Moreno, "Arquitectura Popular Mediterránea: Mojácar," *Reconstrucción* III, nº 19, January 1942, Francisco Prieto Moreno, "La vivienda en Andalucía Oriental," *Reconstrucción*, nº 30; José Rodríguez Mijares, "Arquitectura popular en Ibiza," *Reconstrucción* V, nº 40, February 1944, pp.

In the first years following the Civil War, Pedro Muguruza Otaño, actual director of the *Dirección General de Arquitectura*, led a major research and documentation team to investigate the traditional *pueblos de pescadores* [fishermen's villages] along the thousands of kilometers of Spanish coasts and islands.¹³² Published in three volumes (1942-1946) of exceptional graphic quality and density, the *Plan Nacional de los Poblados de Pescadores* studied the fisherman's dwelling and the urbanism of the pueblos along the entire Spanish littoral.¹³³ Texts, photographs, urban plans, figure grounds, and typological studies (plans, sections, elevations) provided a completely new mode of representation of a vernacular environment that had not been studied as well as the interior of the country—in the words of Sambricio, “a grand catalogue that summarized a singular part of Spanish architectural history.”¹³⁴ During the process of documentation, a series of projects for new fishermen's districts were studied, published, and partially implemented.¹³⁵

Rationalism

Period aerial photographs clearly make explicit the strong correspondence between the rational town layout and the housing typologies. A limited amount of party-wall types, generally with a patio or corral enclosed by high walls, established the fabric of the towns. In order of decreasing size, they were destined for farm owners, farm administrators, and agricultural workers. Other special types were planned around the squares and at some significant street corners, often with commercial ground floors. Those same views and plans show how the repetition of the types created an urban fabric that alluded to a quasi-mechanization of the typologies. Plans and volumes reveal that, behind the familiar and reassuring vernacular and regionalist architecture, the designers expressed a clear awareness of Spanish urban history and modern European planning. The result was, in some

53-60: “espíritu de maravilloso primitivismo” (p. 53), José María Ayxelá, “Arquitectura Popular Española. La vivienda modesta en Cataluña,” *Reconstrucción* IV, nº 38, December 1943, pp. 421-26.

¹³² As early as 1918-19, Muguruza published a series of essays on the rural constructions in the Basque country, see Pedro Muguruza, “Las construcciones civiles en el País Vasco”, en *Arquitectura*, nº 7, Año I, noviembre 1918, pp. 199-202; *Construcciones civiles. I Congreso de Estudios Vascos*. Bilbao, Bilbaína de Artes Gráficas, 1919, pp. 772-773.

¹³³ AA.VV under the direction of Pedro Muguruza, *Plan de mejoramiento de la vivienda en los poblados de pescadores*, 3 vols, Madrid: Dirección General de Arquitectura, 1942-46.

¹³⁴ Carlos Sambricio, *Cuando se quiso resucitar la arquitectura*, Murcia:Comision de Cultura del Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Tecnicos/Consejería de Cultura y Educacion de la Comunidad Autonoma, 1983, pp. 220-221: “un gran catálogo que resumía una parte singular de la historia de la arquitectura española.”

¹³⁵ See for instance Pedro Muguruza Otaño, “Proyecto de poblado. Residencia de pescadores en Fuenterrabia. Arquitecto Pedro Muguruza,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 2, nº 10-11, 1942; Carlos de Miguel, “Poblado de pescadores en Maliaño,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 2, nº 10-11, 1942; “Anteproyecto de poblados de pescadores en Pasajes de San Pedro, Pasajes de San Juan, Orio, Guetaria, y Motrico,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* II, nº 10-11, 1942; “Poblado de pescadores en Moaña (Pontedra),” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 21-22, 1943, pp. 328-32; “Poblado de pescadores en Lequeitio,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 21-22, 1943, pp. 333-35; Carlos López Romero, “Proyecto de poblado de pescadores en Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz),” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* IV, nº 42, June 1945; Pedro Muguruza Otaño, “Grupo de casas para pescadores en Fuenterrabia,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* VII, nº 64, April 1947.

sense, the expression of a fruitful compromise within the administration of Regiones Devastadas, between a rather populist architectural trend and the application of rationalist criteria applied to the urban form of the new settlements.¹³⁶

Moreover, those new building types—and this is valid for the D.G.R.D. as well as for the INC as we will see in Chapter Five—applied the concept of modern functionalism to an extreme rarely achieved elsewhere in Europe at that time. First of all, the modern Spanish rural house was not only a house, but rather a productive unit. Based upon years of discussion during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the Second Republic—see for instance in Chapter 2 the analysis of the competition of 1932—the rural house was seen as a fundamental element of the productive system:

The essence of the rural housing technique of Devastated Regions—that is, of the articulation between certain conceptions and mentalities and their practical expression through the project—falls within a broad functionalist vision, where the interest in the rationality of the plan converges with a concern of geographical particularity and agronomic economy already outlined in previous years [before the Civil War].¹³⁷

To some extent, the rural house served as a mini-farm, absolutely essential to the functioning of an agricultural system that rejected the isolated farm within the fields and promoted it as part of an urban core, complete with its patio, corral, grain storage, etc. Animals, machines, food, and all sorts of material were kept in the corral, which could also serve as productive garden. Contrary to the organization and economy of the large city that implied a separation of work from home (with exceptions of professional groups and small commercial owners), the modern village implied that dwelling and working were intricately interconnected. The patio house and its typological variations were the instruments of such as functional economy and system. The depth and the width of the lot implied a typological and dimensional systematization, which searched for the maximum functionality within the assigned budget.¹³⁸ In an article of *Reconstrucción* published in 1941, de Cárdenas exposed its conception of the rural dwelling, a product of region and function:

[The rural house is] the reflection of people's way of life, of their needs and their work; it responds to the physical conditions of the locality [...], the climate, the materials of

¹³⁶ Ignacio de Sola-Morales, "La arquitectura de la vivienda en los años de la autarquía, 1939-1953," *Arquitectura* 199, April 1976, pp. 19-30.

¹³⁷ José Rivero Serrano, "Regiones Devastadas: figuración, morfología y tipología," in Carlos Sambricio (ed.), *La Vivienda Protegida*, Madrid: Ministerio de la Vivienda, 2009, p. 86: "Lo esencial de la técnica de la vivienda rural de Regiones Devastadas—esto es, de la articulación entre determinadas concepciones y mentalidades y su plasmación práctica por medio del proyecto—cae pues dentro de una visión funcionalista amplia, donde el interés por la racionalidad de la planimetría confluye con una preocupación de particularidad geográfica y de economicismo agronómico ya esbozados en años anteriores."

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*.

the country and the constructive means. It is an integral part of our agricultural economy ... an instrument of work.”¹³⁹

“Tiempo productivo” and “Tiempo Histórico”

In an interview realized late in his career by Juan Daniel Fullaondo for the periodical *Nueva Forma*, Luis Gutiérrez Soto summarized the stylistic directions that the architects agreed to follow during the first years of the new regime: first, an architecture directly inspired from the popular and regional traditions of the countryside, and secondly, a more formal, even though simple, architecture to be used for the State architecture inspired by Juan de Villanueva and the Escorial:

During the war we came back to Spain again, to its battlefields, along its roads, in the drama and beauty of its towns and its Castilian churches, and we feel more than ever the full weight of the glory of a tradition and a history that, unfortunately, we had almost forgotten. Logically, at the end of our war, at the time of the reconstruction, this nationalist and traditionalist sentiment prevailed over all other considerations; two trends marked this period: one was based on popular and regional traditions, and the reconstruction of the destroyed villages; another was inspired by the architecture of the Habsburgs and Villanueva, and found in the Escorial a precursor of simplicity, that mark the path of a purely Spanish architecture of the State, exact exposure of the spiritual and political feeling of the nation.¹⁴⁰

Gutiérrez's comments about the “rediscovery” of the countryside and its architecture were, to some extent, inaccurate. I have shown, in Chapter First, how critical the study, documentation, and dissemination of the vernacular had shaped the architectural discourse and practice of the first decades of the twentieth century, from the regionalist movement to the vernacular as source of modernity in the case of Mercadal and the GATEPAC. The vernacular architecture was a major component of the movement of the *casas baratas* and it

¹³⁹ Gonzalo de Cardenas, “Arquitectura popular española. La casa,” *Reconstrucción* 8, 1941, p. 116: “...reflejo del modo de vivir de las gentes” de sus necesidades y de su trabajo, y responde a las condiciones físicas de la localidad [...], al clima, a los materiales del país y a los medios constructivos. It is “una parte integrante de nuestra economía agrícola..., un instrumento de trabajo.” The essay that introduced a series of “regional studies” of rural housing also masked a contradiction between the so-called “innate talent” of the campesino and the deplorable conditions that were reported everywhere.

¹⁴⁰ Declaration to architect Juan Daniel Fullaondo, in *Nueva Forma*, December 1971, also collected in *La obra de Luis Gutiérrez Soto*, Madrid: COAM, 1978: “Durante los tres años de duración de nuestro Movimiento Nacional, este sentimiento nacionalista fue incrementándose, hasta culminar en la más bella exaltación de nuestros sentimientos históricos y tradicionales. En la guerra volvimos a conocer nuevamente España, en sus campos de batalla, en el andar de sus caminos, en el dramatismo y belleza de sus pueblos y de sus iglesias castellanas, y sentimos más que nunca todo el peso de la gloria de una tradición y de una historia que, por desgracia, casi habíamos olvidado. Lógicamente, al fin de nuestra guerra, a la hora de la reconstrucción, este sentimiento nacionalista y tradicionalista se impuso a toda otra consideración; dos tendencias marcan este periodo, una se apoya en las tradiciones populares y regionales, en la reconstrucción de pueblos destruidos, y otra, que inspirándose en la arquitectura de los Austrias y de Villanueva, y en el Escorial como precursor de la sencillez, ha de marcar el camino de una arquitectura estatal netamente española, exposición exacta del sentimiento espiritual y político de la nación... porque a fuerza de sinceros, sentimos como un poder obsesionante de hacer una arquitectura ‘Así’, a la española, en abierto contraste con aquella otra que nuestros sentimientos, quizá equivocadamente, consideraron falsa y apátrida....”.

was also, although in a more bourgeois approach, a major part of the garden city image across the country and the world. Moreover, regionalism was an international movement during the 1920s-30s and it impacted Italy, Belgium, France, Germany, and the United States to mention only a few, as much as Spain. What was new after the Civil War was that the lessons and examples of popular architecture were not used in the suburbs of towns and cities, but in the very places where they were born, created, and studied, i.e., the countryside itself. This was a new territory that, with very rare exceptions, had not been touched earlier. The countryside was the locus of the “architecture without architects” and, suddenly architects were called on to reconstruct and, as will be analyzed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, to colonize the postwar countryside. Notwithstanding the amount of criticism that the actuation of the D.G.R.D. has received over the years, there was in fact no alternative but to apply the lessons compiled by Lampérez, Torres Balbás, or Mercadal, and to build, from scratch and with limited materials available, the new places in the countryside.

In his essay on the work of the *Regiones Devastadas*, José Rivero Serrano asked the question, alluded to by Gutiérrez in the paragraph quoted before, of the discrepancy between the official and “casticist” architectural image of the *plaza mayor*, and the vernacular-regionalist image of the streets and blocks. He emphasized what he called the “latent conflict between the productive actions and the symbolic proposals, as physical expression of the inconsistency between Economy and Language” or “the existing conflict between a *Productive Time* that counts and passes, and an arrested *Historical Time* that does not count.”¹⁴¹ Applied to the most published and discussed cases of Brunete, Las Rozas, Majadahonda, all examples where the *plaza mayor* appears as U-shaped form that at time seems to be imposed on the rational grid, Serrano emphasizes correctly the symbolic differences between the efficiency of the grid and the closed square in its relation to a conservative vision of imperial power. However, this reflection already seems less appropriate when the same *plaza* was not built in stone in the so-called style of Juan de Villanueva, but with simple masonry and white stucco, without any decorative apparatus like in Villanueva del Pardillo, Llers, Los Blazquez, and others. Even in the often-mentioned case of Belchite, the brick construction of the plaza has no connection to an Herrerian language but more to a modernized brick-based Mudéjar idiom.

As a matter of fact, there was fundamentally no real difference in the projected architectural images between the projects of the Reconstruction and the main results of the *Concurso de anteproyectos* realized in 1932. A case in point is indeed the cover of *Arquitectura* where the projects were published at the end of 1934. It exhibited a homogeneously designed, two-story high, arcaded square, whose regular and simple architecture with balconies and grills can be compared with the squares in Villanueva del Pardillo, Llers, Titulcia, and others. Even most striking, the administration building represented in the rendering of 1932 was very similar to

¹⁴¹ Serrano, p. 84: “conflicto latente entre las actuaciones productivas y las propuestas simbólicas, como parte del desajuste final entre Economía y Lenguaje” or “el conflicto existente entre un *Tiempo productivo* que se contabiliza y pasa, y un *Tiempo Histórico* detenido y que no cuenta.”

the town halls in Villanueva del Pardillo and Titulcia, with the same emphasis on a slightly projecting volume inserted between simple side wings and endowed with a small heraldic sculptural piece in its center. As architects from all political tendencies participated in the competition and that none of them included a church (not required in the program), one might assume that the process of design during the Republic and the early Franco years was, from the point of view of the discipline, analogous and independent from a political point of view. However, within the propagandistic framework of the period and the unavoidable subjective and personal reactions carried by the consequences of the war, questionable references to the Republican or “Red” period were inevitable. As the Aragón architect A. Allánegui wrote in 1941,

If for the architects of the D.G.R.D. the question of the external appearance of the houses never went beyond being a secondary issue that was only alluded to once the program, distribution and functionality had been demonstrated, it is no less true that the same technicians were also children of their time. It is well known that the historical spirit of the 1940s was especially reluctant to use bare volumes and reminiscences of rationalist architecture for the simple fact that they were associated with the Republican period.¹⁴²

To be sure, the criticism toward the functionalist approach to housing as developed in Central Europe had been widespread during the late 1920s and the 1930s, as part of an international movement of “return to order.”¹⁴³ Although it was launched as a direct reaction to the traumas of the First World war and to the perceived excesses of avant-garde modernism, the contemporary *return to order* in architecture has more often than not been associated with the conservative and dictatorial regimes that used and manipulated the original ideas in favor of nationalistic causes in Italy, Germany, Russia, and in the early years of Franco’s Spain. Yet, the movement was at once more open, more democratic, and more complex in terms of its premises, sources, and production. On the one hand it had its equivalent in democratic Scandinavia with the Nordic Classicism epitomized by Gunnar Asplund, Sigurd Lewerentz and others like Ivar Tengbom, as well as in North America with the abstract classicism that characterized the Depression era under the impulse of architects and educators such as Paul Cret. The modernist tenets of the avant-garde were thus under attack everywhere, for various and complex reasons, and the reaction increased at the end of WWII. Hence I argue that the anti-modern arguments made in Spanish context and which were primarily explained by the

¹⁴² Quoted by Oyon, p. 119 from A. Allánegui, *Reconstrucción*, nº 11, p. 16: “Si para los arquitectos de Regiones la cuestión de los signos externos de la vivienda no pasó casi nunca de ser una cuestión secundaria a la que siempre se aludía una vez justificadas las soluciones de programa, distribución y funcionalidad, no es menos cierto que los mismos técnicos fueron también hijos de una época. Y la especial coyuntura histórica de los cuarenta era, como se sabe, especialmente reacia a los volúmenes desnudos y a desear nada con apariencia de la arquitectura racionalista por el simple hecho de que ésta se asociaba al período republicano.”

¹⁴³ See Jean-François Lejeune, “A Short History,” in Carie Penabad (ed.), *Call to Order*, New York: ORO Editions, 2017, pp. 16-29; *Les Réalismes : entre révolution et réaction, 1919-1939*, Paris: Centre Pompidou, 1980.

ideology of the regime were in fact identical to the developing trends in international architecture during the 1930s-40s. On the other hand, the *return to order* did not strictly oppose modernism but attempted to expand the language of classicism by embracing the vernacular and by renewing its primary tenets associated with rhythm, proportions, and composition. *Return to order* meant to achieve a dialectic synthesis between tradition and modernity beyond the revolutionary declarations of GATEPAC. In the January 1941 issue of *Reconstrucción*, titled “Brunete: reconstrucción del hogar”, the author affirmed that the house had to be the material and spiritual center of the family, itself at the center of the new State. In the autarkic period, the small house often became a fully integrated dwelling unit where detached and integrated furniture, beds, kitchen, and objects of all sorts, were produced regionally and participated of the spirit of the place. Summarizing the debate about the modern dwelling, he added:

We cannot deny that in our Homeland, where the inhuman condition of humble housing is too frequent, we would have achieved much if we could simply extend to the needy the benefits of a hygienic room; but yes, we affirm that we would not have achieved enough. We aspire to something more, that does not suppose greater luxury nor excessive expenses; we intend to replace the housing model that seems to symbolize the inexorable vicious circle of materialism—to live to eat and eat to live—for the broader and more human spirit of the ‘home.’¹⁴⁴

3.9. The Village in the City: the Case of Almería

Far from Madrid, on the edge of the Mediterranean, the construction of the Regiones District (1943-1944) marked a unique moment in the history of Francoist urbanism. Indeed, all the ambitious plans, designed by the architects of the D.G.R.D. for the Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid, of building “satellite” cities and neighborhoods in the periphery of Madrid ended up as failures. Those plans followed the concept of “ciudad orgánica” developed by Pedro Bidagor and were centered on a geometric *plaza mayor* primarily anchored by the church. In the early 1950s, the plans were modified to reduce the ideological content of the projects and to adapt them to more modern housing typologies, but they remained based upon the principles of streets, blocks, and squares. It is only in the 1950s that those districts were eventually built following entirely different urbanistic modernist concepts.¹⁴⁵ Hence, Regiones,

¹⁴⁴ “Brunete: reconstrucción del hogar,” *Reconstrucción*, nº 13, June 1941, p. 12-14: “No podemos negar que en nuestra Patria, donde la condición inhumana de la vivienda humilde es demasiado frecuente, habríamos conseguido mucho si pudiéramos extender a los necesitados los beneficios de una habitación higiénica; pero si afirmamos que no lograríamos bastante. Aspiro a algo más, que no supone mayor lujo ni dispendio económico; pretendemos sustituir ese modelo de vivienda que parece simbolizar el inexorable círculo vicioso del materialismo “vivir para comer y comer para vivir: por el más amplio y humano del “hogar”.

¹⁴⁵ See Pedro Bidagor, “Primeros problemas de la Reconstrucción de Madrid,” *Reconstrucción* I, nº 1, April 1940, pp. 22-27; Pedro Bidagor, “Urbanización del barrio de Extremadura,” *Reconstrucción* I, nº 2, May 1940, pp. 34-40; Gaspar Blein, “La unidad urbana de Madrid, por Gaspar Blein,” *Reconstrucción* I, nº 3, December 1940, pp. 16-23; Pedro Bidagor, “La ordenación de las zonas adoptadas de Madrid,”

realized and designed by the D.G.R.D., was the only complete and auto-sufficient neighborhood, conceived urbanistically and architecturally as a 'village in the city,' that was built in Spain according to Bidagor's concepts. Although ninety per cent of its vernacular residential architecture—in continuation of Almería's image of a 'horizontal city'—has been lost to unsympathetic mid-rise development, the urbanism and the public buildings of Regiones remain as witness of the utopia of the urban village in the 1940s, the symbol of the "unión de campo y ciudad" [union of countryside and city] aiming at recreating the ideal community of the pueblo within the city. A short distance away, Guillermo Langle Rubio, the municipal architect of Almería, conceived and built the Ciudad Jardín Almería. Urbanistically, the district was very similar to its contemporary Regiones: both displayed the same small blocks, the irregular grid, and the civic center in connection with a paseo. However, Ciudad Jardín displayed very different residential typologies, which consisted of a Mediterranean variation of the garden city image, comparable in volume and architectural style to the oldest section of El Viso in Madrid. Notwithstanding, the rich network of public spaces and the combination of vernacular Arab-influenced architecture with a subdued rationalism achieved the same objective to create an "urban village," *trait d'union* between city and country.

Regiones

A deep social emergency impacted the Mediterranean city of Almería at the end of the Civil War. During the war the German Navy repeatedly shelled the city, and it surrendered in 1939, being the last Andalusian capital to fall to Franco's forces. In addition to these destructions, multiple factors accentuated the crisis: the 1930s exodus that saw the city grow from 54000 in 1930 to 79000 in 1940 as the urban environment appeared to offer more security, the post-Civil War rural-urban exodus, the overall aging of the residential fabric, and the necessity to end the precarious conditions of life within the *cuevas* and other poor areas around the city. The *cueva* or cave dwelling was a unique building type that could be found throughout Spain, with a special focus on the region of Levante and between Murcia and Granada, with a large concentration in Guadix. During the Moorish time, Guadix was an important trade town, as it was midway between the sea and the city of Granada. When the Catholic monarchs took Granada in 1492, many Moors were displaced and fled to the surrounding mountains and the town of Guadix. More people fled from 1568 to 1571 during the War of the Alpujarras. When they arrived and had nowhere to live, many refugees decided to build their homes

Reconstrucción I, nº 3, December 1940, pp. 35-44. Also see Carlos Sambricio and Concepción Lopezosa Aparicio (eds.), *Cartografía Histórica – Madrid Región Capital*, Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid Consejería de Obras Públicas, Urbanismo y Transportes / Arpegio, 2002; "Plan de creación de núcleos satélites para la edificación de vivienda modesta," *Gran Madrid*, nº 11, 1950; "Proyecto parcial de ordenación de Villaverde," *Gran Madrid*, nº 14, 1951. The radical change that took place in the Junta de Reconstrucción can be seen in "Plan parcial de ordenación del barrio de la estrella, Madrid," *Gran Madrid*, nº 21, 1953.

underground, primarily to escape the heat. Far from being natural caverns, the cuevas in Guadix, Purullena and other towns were actually chiseled out of the earth.¹⁴⁶

The article in *Reconstrucción* written by Gonzalo de Cárdenas as part of the series *Arquitectura popular española* gave a precise description of the geometry and section of the houses, lighted and ventilated, when they were deep in the ground, by tall chimneys that give a unique image to the hills where they stand. Originally built for mostly short-term protective reasons, they were progressively enlarged and improved to become a genuine vernacular type. Construction generally started with one main room later connected to a kitchen and to dormitories on the other side; a simple façade and front patio usually established the identity of the house. De Cárdenas emphasized the rationality of the housing typology, its flexibility for addition and transformation, and the overall climatic control that they provided: "When thinking about making a genuine national architecture, founding it in the essence of our tradition, we will have to turn our eyes towards these houses that constitute one of the most characteristic exponents of our popular architecture."¹⁴⁷

The origin of the D.G.R.D.'s involvement with Almería was the Governor's report about the living conditions in the cuevas, resulting in the adoption of the city by Franco and his first visit on May 9, 1943. The Francoist authorities intended to erase the image of the caves as fast as possible, and, in the press of 1943, one could read such titles as "The caves that surround the capital, subhuman dwellings, will be demolished, and healthy and cheerful homes will be built on their rubble. It is the end of the caves, the result of social injustice."¹⁴⁸ In June, *Reconstrucción* published the statistics that more than 18000 people lived in 2520 cave dwellings in the suburbs of the city, often in very difficult conditions. The article announced the construction of a new district of 800 dwelling units located to the northeast of the city and complete with a town hall, school, church, and other commercial and civic services. The schematic plan showed a hybrid grid of straight and curved streets, with all the public functions located along the perimeter of the neighborhood.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ See Alfonso Ruiz García, *Arquitectura, vivienda y reconstrucción en la Almería de posguerra (1939-59)*, Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses/Colegio de Arquitectos, 2007.

¹⁴⁷ Gonzalo de Cárdenas, "Arquitectura popular española: las cuevas," *Reconstrucción*, February 1941, pp. 30-36, p. 36. It is noteworthy that the tradition influenced the municipal architect Guillermo Langle Rubio for the underground war protection system that he designed under one mile of streets in Almería. See

http://www.culturandalucia.com/GCE/Guerra_Civil_Almer%C3%ADa/Refugios_de_la_ciudad_de_Almeria_INDICE.htm, last accessed September 5, 2018.

¹⁴⁸ *Yugo*, March 3, 1943, quoted by Ruiz García, p. 92: "Las cuevas que circundan la capital, viviendas infrahumanas, serán derribadas, y sobre sus escombros se edificarán hogares sanos y alegres. Es el fin de las cuevas, resultado de la injusticia social." The contradiction between the positive evaluation of de Cárdenas and the decision to solve the "social injustice" of the cuevas was essentially political and part of the modernizing propaganda of the regime. Thousands of cuevas remain inhabited today in Andalucía, mostly in the provinces of Granada and Almería, and some areas have become important tourist attractions.

¹⁴⁹ Antonio Cámara Niño, "Nuevas viviendas en Almería," *Reconstrucción*, nº 34, June-July 1943, pp. 221-28.

The same year and in the record time of nine months, a new district of 317 dwellings rose from the ground in 1943-1944 on a smaller site under the direction of Carlos Fernández de Castro, Francisco Prieto-Moreno Pardo, Antonio Cámara Niño and José Luis Fernández del Amo, all architects of the D.G.R.D. Delimited by the suburban road to Ronda and Níjar and the Avenida del Mediterráneo, the district was designed to be auto-sufficient. The smaller size of its blocks and the patio-based compactness of its urban fabric contrasted dramatically with the checkerboard districts, which had emerged years earlier on its western and southern sides. The results were urbanistically important and architecturally unique.¹⁵⁰ The final plan of what will be named Barrio Alto or more often Regiones, consisted of a hybrid ensemble of eighteen blocks, most of them rectangular and 26-meter wide by 70 to 80-meter long. The northern limit of the barrio formed a quarter of a circle boulevard, paralleled by a curved street—Calle Redonda—along which a series of covered passageways opened and connected to the boulevard and to the inner streets of the district. Streets were an average of 5 meter wide with the exception of the central paseo along which the church of San Isidro was built with its high tower-campanile and a large patio area to connect with the adjacent schools. On the southern side of the paseo, a rectangular market with a large interior courtyard occupied one of the blocks with a small square in its front. The symmetrical structure had an open ground floor with flat, quasi-Rationalist arcades that created a full transparency, from front to back and side-to-side, with a central fountain, and the second floor being occupied by services and administration. The flat roofs, the arcades, and the four cupolas on the corners of the structure made a direct reference to North African architecture on the other side of the Mediterranean. Likewise, the original architecture of the 317 homes was highly reminiscent of the districts climbing the hills of the Alcazaba in Almería and the Arab-inspired vernacular of the countryside. The pure and cubical houses, with their alternation of one and two floors, their large patios, and their Mediterranean facades, made of Regiones a neighborhood where light played with architecture, colors, and volumes. The flat roofs, the terraces, the narrow streets, and the covered passages brought glimpses of North-African urbanism and sustained, for the last time before the 1960s onslaught of speculative development, the unique image of Almería as 'horizontal city'. The outdoor staircases located in the courtyards and the outdoor ovens capped with the futuristic pyramidal chimneys brought ideal and practical traits of rural life for the populations transplanted from the *cuevas* to the growing city. The neighborhood was the work of a team of architects, but many architectural moments from the rationalist arcades of the market to the curved alignments of oven chimneys suggest the hand of José Luis Fernández del Amo and his capacity to abstract the vernacular to the essence of postwar Spanish modernity.¹⁵¹ In his article of 1945, Antonio Cámara praised the works, the joyfulness of the layout and of the design, the

¹⁵⁰ Antonio Cámara Niño, "El ejemplo de Almería," *Reconstrucción*, nº 57, November 1945, pp. 277-84; Francisco Prieto Moreno, Carlos Fernández de Castro and José Luis Fernández del Amo, "Iglesia, mercado y escuelas en el Barrio Alto de Almería," *Reconstrucción* VII, nº 65, August 1946, pp. 237-48.

¹⁵¹ See Chapters Five and Seven.

whiteness of the houses, the better life of the “same day laborers, farmers, masons or fishermen, yet more cheerful, coming back from work to a real living place.”¹⁵²

The nucleus of new housing is being completed; the public buildings already finished have been added to the perspectives of its streets, without mud, animated by the composition of heights, projections, corners, louvers and colors. The church with its slender tower presides over the composition of the whole; the domes of the market cut pure whites and ceramic finials on the indigo sky ... The neighborhood has been created with all the services need for the urbanization. It can already be lived! ... The stimulus for work is being born; discipline and order as well.¹⁵³

Ciudad Jardín

Built from 1941 to 1946, the district of Ciudad Jardín was entirely designed by municipal architect Guillermo Langle Rubio, one kilometer east from the city center and a short distance from the Mediterranean Sea.¹⁵⁴ Promoted by the municipality and the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (I.N.V.), the 245 housing units were theoretically planned, like the Regiones district, to accommodate residents of the *cuevas* but, in actuality, they were designed, in terms of density and size of houses, for middle-class residents. The heart of Ciudad Jardín was the 150-meter long and 40-meter wide paseo terminated by the district’s civic building, originally the headquarters of the Falangist party and hosting administrative functions as well as the post office. Langle Rubio designed a building characterized by a subtle mix of modernity and tradition, particularly the superposition of the horizontal line of simple arcades on the ground floor, and the long horizontal window on the second floor. In section, the upper floors were setback and thus created a small accumulation of masses reinforced by the protruding short tower beautifully breaking the symmetry. The link with prewar rationalism was obvious, and the use of the simple arches wrapping the ground floor on three sides referred to an idealized rural image and to the Casa de las Flores by Secundino Zuazo in Madrid. On the left side of the paseo, on axis with a street leading to the sea, Langle designed a traditional church with a short clock tower and an arcade surrounding the main nave on three sides:

¹⁵² Cámara Niño, “El ejemplo de Almería,” p. 279.

¹⁵³ Ibidem: “El núcleo de viviendas se completa; a las perspectivas de sus calles, sin barro!, movidas por la composición de alturas, salientes, rincones, celosías y colores, se unen los edificios públicos ya terminados. La iglesia con su esbelta torre, preside la composición del conjunto; las cúpulas del mercado recortan blancos puros y remates de cerámica sobre el cielo añil.... Se ha creado el barriado con servicios completos de urbanización. Ya puede vivirse!... Nace el estímulo por el trabajo; nace la disciplina y el orden...”

¹⁵⁴ Alfonso Ruiz García, *Ciudad Jardín, Almería, 1940-1947: Guillermo Langle Rubio*, Almería Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 1998; Alfonso Ruiz García, “Arquitectura y vivienda en Almería: urgencia social y compromiso político,” in M. Gutiérrez Navas and J. Rivera Menéndez (eds.), *Sociedad y política almeriense durante el régimen de Franco*, Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 2003, pp. 89-113. On the importance of Langle Rubio, see Juan Manuel Bonet (ed.), *Guillermo Lange Rubio: arquitecto de Almería (1895-1981)*, Sevilla: Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, Dirección General de Arquitectura y Vivienda, 2006.

I have tried to give some local flavor to the style of these constructions by developing large white surfaces with Arabic tile roof that remind of the small churches of the villages of this province, oftentimes of a naive and great rural beauty.”¹⁵⁵

The paseo formed the central spine of the irregular grid of long rectangular blocks that connected to the seafront avenue. The civic building served as hinges for a smaller section of the neighborhood parallel to the railroad lines and itself centered on a large market building. Typologically and architecturally, the arcaded patio-based structure, transparent front and back, was similar to the project designed by Fernández del Amo and his colleagues in the Regiones neighborhood. Behind the market, Langle designed the public college as a long and thin building whose horizontal window frames made direct reference to prewar Spanish rationalism. The Almería Ciudad Jardín demonstrated that, like in the case of the reconstruction of the Ciudad Universitaria in Madrid, early Francoist ideology was not incompatible with the rationalist esthetics, particularly if mixed with popular components.

Amidst the four building types that constituted the neighborhood, the types A and B were assembled as rowhouses, setback from the street edges with small-enclosed gardens. Designed for the middle-class category of civil servants—even though the propaganda mentioned that they provided much needed alternatives to the ring of *cuevas*—they were generously dimensioned and reached between 120 to 140-meter square. The Type A was a 2-story rowhouse entered through an open porch giving access to the living room with three bedrooms, bath and terrace on the second floor. The Type B was a townhouse, with two separate apartments on top of each other, and streets on both sides: the ground floor apartment can be entered through an elegant arcaded porch, whereas the top floor was accessed through a staircase tower reached from the back street. This unique solution provided large inner spaces and a minimum of circulation. All together, these building types and their variations defined a very modern landscape, one that was at once suburban—the setbacks on all fronts—and urban by virtue of the groupings of houses and the clear delineation of the public spaces. The overall esthetic was fully Rationalist with horizontal proportions, and the roof terraces on the second floor and on the top roofs as well, The Art Deco oculi for service rooms, and the vertical circulations created a rhythm of vertical volumes, contrasting with the continuous horizontal windows.¹⁵⁶ Ruiz García summarized the concept of the neighborhood:

[The architects] combined Falangist urbanism, popular architecture (church and market), the architectural avant-garde (school and housing, with exposed brick, the

¹⁵⁵ Ruiz García, *Ciudad Jardín*, p. 197: “El estilo de estas construcciones se ha procurado darle algún sabor local a base de grandes superficies blancas con tejado de teja árabe recordando las pequeñas iglesias de los pueblos de esta provincia, algunas de una ingenua y gran belleza rural.”

¹⁵⁶ Guillermo Langle Rubio designed the extension of the district toward the east in the 1950s. Even though it lacked the public quality of the original section, the extension prolonged the urban strategy and, to some extent, the residential typologies. Some streets maintained the section with trees and setbacks; another section develops as a more basic grid but maintains the idea of the two-story building types, therefore in a somewhat more urban landscape. The large roundabout functioned as an urban node, from which the most important direction made the connection to the neo-classical soccer stadium.

oculus, the continuous window, the horizontal rhythms...), and finally the Ebenezer Howard's utopia, in a mixture that reflects the accommodating character of the Francoist culture.¹⁵⁷

Although I cannot but agree with historian Ruiz García's overall interpretation of the district, I cannot but ask the question: what in the urban design of the district can be really catalogued as "*urbanismo falangista*"?

¹⁵⁷ Ruiz García, "Arquitectura y vivienda en Almería," p. 98: Se ha combinado el urbanismo falangista, la arquitectura popular (iglesia y mercado), el vanguardismo arquitectónico (colegio y viviendas, con el ladrillo visto, los óculos, la ventana continua, los ritmos horizontales...), y la utopia howardiana, en una mezcla que refleja el carácter acomodático de la cultura franquista..

3.10. Reconstruction around Madrid

1. Brunete

Brunete was a small medieval town, located in the midst of a farming region, thirty-one kilometers west from Madrid, at the crossing of two major roads. It lived a poor and languid life until its name entered history with the battle that led to its total destruction in July of 1937. At the time of the battle it counted about 1400 residents within 340 houses. Its organic medieval plan formed a system of four more or less radial roads terminating into streets and converging toward the triangle-shaped *plaza mayor or de la Constitución*, dominated by the Plateresque-style facade of the church and the town hall. As the town expended and grew closer to the main road, a chaotic system of streets was generated around a large depression, a sort of natural pond where running waters flowed and which served as water source for the cattle and other domestic uses. However, the floods that regularly filled the so-called *plaza de la Laguna* caused serious health hazards.¹⁵⁸

At the end of the Civil War, ninety-five per cent of the town fabric was destroyed, and the church was the only major structure to remain standing. In the meantime, a large section of the population had left or lived in improvised barracks. It took fifteen hundred days to rebuild the town. The new Brunete was inaugurated on the tenth anniversary of Franco's uprising, on 17th of July 1946. For functional reasons that included an advantageous topography, a good solar orientation, the abundance of water, and the proximity with regional roads, it was decided to reconstruct the town upon the very ruins of the former one. The organic and medieval plan of old Brunete was totally erased and, in its place, the architect Menéndez Pidal and Quijada laid out a rationalist grid of rectangular blocks, oriented NW-SE/SW-NE, with the U-shaped *plaza mayor* (37 x 46-meter in dimensions) slightly out-centered and open onto the landscape and the fields.¹⁵⁹ The only reference to the past was the church, which was severely damaged but rebuilt in situ. Whereas the former plaza marked the intersection of the main roads, the new square appeared like an idealized and modernized vision of the late sixteenth century classical *plaza mayor* first established by Juan de Herrera in Valladolid and then later in Madrid and other cities.¹⁶⁰ Built of local granite from the Sierra de Guadarrama, it featured a continuous arcade on the ground floor and boasted a "makeup of imperial tradition."¹⁶¹ Around the plaza were the town hall, the post and telegraph office, dwellings and some commercial spaces. A terraced

¹⁵⁸ See J. Menéndez Pidal and J. Quijada, "Estudio de un pueblo adoptado: Brunete," *Reconstrucción* I, n° 2, May 1940, pp. 25-33; Manuel Moreno Lacasa, "Brunete," *Reconstrucción*, IV, n°30, February 1943), pp. 57-64; the special issue, "Brunete," *Reconstrucción* VII, n° 67, November 1946, pp. 331-71; also see Esther Almarcha Núñez-Herrador, "Aproximación al urbanismo y arquitectura de Brunete (1939-1946): Lo pragmático y lo simbólico," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* XXX, 1991, pp. 679-97.

¹⁵⁹ The half-circular section of radial streets focusing on a monument to the Brunete battle as a votiv chapel in its center was never built and eventually developed as a large park.

¹⁶⁰ See earlier in this chapter and for instance Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera, Architect to Philip II of Spain*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

¹⁶¹ Luis Domènech, p. 23.

staircase interrupted the northern side and gave access to the church, accessed across a patio and fronted by an informal square elevated as a terrace over the adjacent street.

The concept of town façade, proposed by Pedro Bidagor as a fundamental element of the national strategy of reconstruction, was here carefully delineated by the architects and published in *Reconstrucción*. It included the elevations of the blocks, of the public buildings, and the gardens and sport fields around the town. Emerging out of his new façade, the church was completely reconstructed and redesigned by the architects to fit the new aesthetics of the town. The perimeter walls and the Renaissance portals were restored, but the nave and the transept were reconstructed. The Mudejar cupola of the tower was replaced by a pyramidal roof in the manner of the Escorial, much higher than the original one to make it more visible from all places in the municipality and around.

The church and the plaza served as departing points of the bi-directional grid of narrow streets, along which the houses were built according to plot dimensions in relation with the functional necessities of the residents.¹⁶² In replacement of the informal typologies of the pre-war houses, four building types were originally based upon the norms of the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, varying from 75 to 140-meter square. Houses for laborers were 9-meter wide and between 20 and 30-meter deep, with a patio-corral at the back; they included the kitchen-dining room, three bedrooms and outbuildings in the small back patio. Houses for farmers were wider, and organized around a courtyard with agricultural outbuildings. They had a large kitchen-dining, seen as the focus of the family life, and four bedrooms. The first version of the project included mostly one-story houses with a highly repetitive grouping of facades that distinguished the habitation volumes from the entrances. Eventually, the typological plans were revised and eight types of houses were included within the grid. As built, many of the lower types of the first planning, presented in 1941, were replaced by a more urban version where primary street corners were developed with two-story high houses and with prominent projecting balconies. The resulting effect of these changes was to increase the 'picturesque' and regionalist image of the town. Tapial, adobe, and brick reinforcements were used for the basic construction. All building elements (such as windows and doors) were standardized and fabricated in series:

Its architecture does not respond to any particular style, but is an original creation inspired by the traditional elements of the region; it resuscitates with full success an genuine Spanish type, at the opposite of the wrongly labeled rationalist or functionalist architecture and constitutes an ensemble commonly known as "the style of the devastated regions."¹⁶³

Contemporary photographs of the reconstructed town were impressive. They exposed the powerful contrast between the proto-rationalist morphology of the new town, and the populist interpretation of the vernacular of the region described in *Reconstrucción*. This contrast continues to fascinate today in a town that has maintained a beautiful balance between the formal but elegant plaza mayor and the simplicity of its streets.

¹⁶² "Brunete," *Reconstrucción*, 1946, p. 360.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*, pp. 365-369.

2. Villanueva del Pardillo

Like Brunete, Villanueva del Pardillo was completely destroyed.¹⁶⁴ Yet, in this case, the D.G.R.D. decided to rebuild the settlement in front of the abandoned ruins on the other side of the road Majahonda/Valdemorillo. This decision was meant to facilitate the process of reconstruction and avoid the prewar situation of the highway crossing in the middle of the town. Brunete was a regular grid, Villanueva was planned by architect Felipe Pérez Sommariba as an irregular grid based upon two perpendicular axes. In so doing, he created a discontinuous urban system that “avoided monotonies and multiplied the terminated vistas, obtaining in such a way variety and at the same time acknowledgement and protection from the dominant winds.”¹⁶⁵ Blocks varied in size and orientation in order to limit traffic movement. The plaza “responding to the traditional character of the Castilian square, eminently popular, with its arcades” followed the layout of Brunete.¹⁶⁶ It formed a small (22-meter x 30-meter) U-shaped plaza mayor with a larger opening on its fourth side and the town hall on axis. As in Brunete, the square was completely arcaded and, as rendered in its original architecture, presented a relatively severe architecture of stone and adobe. Interestingly, it was eventually redesigned as a more vernacular ensemble, with whitewashed walls and simplified architectural details. The balcony, originally reserved to the town hall, became a vernacular element that, repeated all around, humanized the overall image of the square. As often in the works of the D.G.R.D., the plan was modified, simplified, and eventually left incomplete. Here, the main axis was prolonged past the plaza mayor and the perpendicular street leading to the small church of San Lucas was widened to accommodate a narrow *alameda* and to have the church tower terminate the street. Six blocks of houses were eventually built by the D.G.R.D. with a rare typology of back-to-back L-shaped building with access to the patio-corral from the streets. As the architect wrote during the ideologically driven first years of the dictatorship, “one has completely rejected the internationalist architecture, so much in vogue during the harmful Republican period; to the contrary, one has renovated, at the time of studying them attentively, the glorious traditions of the country in order to be able to continue them without copying them.”¹⁶⁷ The town and its plaza took a long time to build. It was inaugurated only in 1955, a fact that might explain the radical and felicitous shift in the architectural image of the plaza as a bright and actively used space.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Felipe Pérez Somarriba, “Estudio y reconstrucción de un pueblos castellano, Villanueva del Pardillo,” *Reconstrucción* III, nº 27, Noviembre 1942, pp. 389-98; “Villanueva del Pardillo,” *Reconstrucción* XVI, nº 130, 1956, pp. 1-14.

¹⁶⁵ Pérez Somarriba, p. 391.

¹⁶⁶ It is the image that would become the norm across the country within the first generation of towns by the Instituto Nacional de Colonización. See Chapter Five.

¹⁶⁷ Pérez Somarriba, p. 398.

¹⁶⁸ “Villanueva Del Pardillo.” *Reconstrucción* XVI, nº 130, 1956, pp. 1-14.

3. Villanueva de la Cañada

Villanueva is another municipality whose history and historic heritage is now limited to the twentieth century and more specifically to the process of reconstruction that took place after the Civil War. The town, whose first mention appears in the fourteenth century, was totally destroyed in 1939, including town hall, church, and all local archives. Right before the war, about 700 hundred residents lived within 135 residential buildings, mostly one-floor high. Some houses had a separate corral but the majority showed no hygienic separation between the residents and the animals.

As the old village was heavily destroyed and its old main street in ruins, the D.G.R.D. and its architects Juan Castañón de Mena and Alfonso Fungairiño Nebot decided to rebuild the town on the west side of the new highway Brunete-Valdemorillo, with the intention to establish a 'propaganda' façade facing the ruins of the abandoned town.¹⁶⁹ According to the first project presented in September 1942, the new town was strictly orthogonal, oriented E-W/N-S, and planned "with the predominance of a linear character."¹⁷⁰ The fifteen blocks designed to contain 162 houses had different sizes and orientations, in order to "closing the perspectives of some of its streets and thus protecting them from the dominating winds."¹⁷¹ Contrary to Brunete or Villanueva del Pardillo where the central plaza corresponded more or less to one block in the grid, the original plan of the *plaza mayor* was here more complex. As originally planned, the square occupied the equivalent of two blocks in the grid and functioned as an asymmetrical super-block accessible from the road through a short street. Projecting into the space created by a long U-shaped building, the church separated the plaza itself into two fully arcaded sections, the civic one to the south with the town hall and the religious one to the north with the schools. A processional and religious axis, now the Calle Real, was traced parallel to the road and densely planted. It connected to the old chapel, the only witness of the former town.

As happened in many *pueblos* that were ambitiously planned, perhaps more as an ideal village rather than the real one necessitated by the demography and intensity of potential activities, the masterplan was dramatically changed and reduced in scope. A new version was reflected in a plan of 1945 whose public program and urban spaces were simplified. It is only in 1952 that the final plans were signed by Manuel Moreno Lacasa and published the following year in *Reconstrucción*.¹⁷² The series of blocks that separated the plaza from the road were eliminated and replaced by a green front. The plaza itself was fully redesigned and moved toward the north of the two housing blocks built in 1942, in the location of a seasonal

¹⁶⁹ Castañón de Meña and Alfonso Fungairiño Nebot, "Villanueva de la Cañada [Madrid]," *Reconstrucción* III, nº 29, December 1942, pp. 451-460. On the architects and the reconstruction, see Cayetana de la Quadra-Salcedo Capdevila (ed.), *Villanueva de la Cañada: Historia de una reconstrucción*, Villanueva de la Cañada: Ayuntamiento, Concejalía de Cultura, 2001.

¹⁷⁰ Castañón de Meña and Alfonso Fungairiño Nebot, p. 451

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷² Manuel Moreno Lacasa, "Plaza Mayor de Villanueva de la Cañada [Madrid]," *Reconstrucción*, nº 119, May 1953, pp. 171-82.

pond that was reclaimed and sanitized. Moreno Lacasa adapted the plans of the church, town hall and school as designed by Castañón de Mena and Fungairiño. Reduced in scope, the plaza remained a quite elegant complex made up of the three public buildings facing each other around in a depressed garden that reflected the former topography of the pond: the church for 1000 attendants, the town hall facing the road, and the school to the north. From an urban design point of view, the final plaza had a unique design, as the three structures were freestanding and not connected by arcades or any other device. In that sense, the plaza of Villanueva de la Cañada worked more as a large garden. As built, it is only a fraction of the original masterplan and yet, the beauty, quality and homogeneity of its architecture continue to make it the genuine center of the modern Villanueva de la Cañada.¹⁷³

4. *Las Rozas*

Before the war, the small agricultural town of Las Rozas, halfway between El Escorial and Madrid had started to evolve as a summer recreational area with a variety of small hotels and restaurants catering to Madrid residents. As a result, the town counted about 375 buildings for rural housing, agricultural work, and recreation. Although destroyed at about eighty per cent, Las Rozas was reconstructed according to the plans of architect Fernando García Rozas in 1941 “on its primitive location, for reasons of favorable situation, orientation and facility of communication with the capital.”¹⁷⁴ García Rozas maintained the former Calle Real, widened as a *paseo*, as the structuring axis of the town. It was terminated on its western end by the new *plaza mayor*, designed on the model of Brunete and Villanueva del Pardillo, with continuous arcades but in this case entirely open on its fourth side. Beyond its administrative, commercial and residential functions, the plaza also accommodated a cinema, whose volume projected out of the plaza and terminated the axis of the Calle Real, as well as a traditional fronton and associated summer gardens on its backside.

The church, located on a small elevation, was rebuilt in situ and some of its adjacent structures demolished to improve its view and access. A large staircase linked it to the grid of six new blocks of one-story rural houses with patios, while a series of steps and terraces connected it to the Calle Real. The masterplan—which was very partially followed—also included large green areas for sports and recreation in the prospect of an increased attraction for regional tourism. Three housing types were deployed to provide the new dwellings for the modest farmer, the agricultural worker, and the artisan. All dwellings were organized around an agricultural corral and their architecture followed the Castilian vernacular with limited ornamentation.

¹⁷³ On the particular use of the Catalan vaults during the first phase of the reconstruction, see José María De Churtichaga, “Uso de los sistemas de bóvedas tabicadas y su perspectiva histórica: Aspectos constructivos de la reconstrucción de Villanueva de La Cañada,” *Conarquitectura*, nº 8, June 2003, pp. 81-93.

¹⁷⁴ Fernando García Rozas, “Estudio de un pueblo adoptado, Las Rozas de Madrid,” *Reconstrucción II*, nº 8, January 1941, pp. 7-16, here pp. 13-14.

5. Guadarrama

Located in the foothills of the Sierra de Guadarrama and at little distance of the monastery of El Escorial, the town of Guadarrama was, before the war, a small agricultural center as well as a growing resort area for tourism. Located at an important crossroads of the sierra, the town grew slowly from the mid-13th century, with the railway connecting it in the late 1880s. The organically grown center, with its two squares—Plaza de las Cinco Calles and Plaza de la Fuente—was almost completely destroyed and, after adoption, reconstructed according to the plans of José Martínez Cubells. The area involved in reconstruction had a complex geometry and could be inscribed within a perimeter of 350-meter by 230-meter, anchored by the main road along which the town developed, the church, and a couple of blocks rescued from demolition. The masterplan focused on restoring the historic Fuente de los Caños (built under Carlos III to provide water to the travelers), building a new and more orderly square, reconstructing the church of San Miguel, and building an educational center. In between, Cubells planned a large green space to interconnect the new public buildings. Additionally, he included the renovation of the housing blocks and laid out two new blocks with a type of agricultural rowhouse to be built in local stone.¹⁷⁵

The symbolic heart of the plan was the half-decagonal plaza mayor with the city hall in its center. The paved square was two story high and fully arcaded, with the exception of the city hall which provided symmetrical passages to the streets at the back. With its three-story towers surmounted by the traditional Castilian pyramidal roof, the square definitely carried the style of the Escorial and of the “imperial” architecture to which the ideologue Diego Reina de la Muela was making reference in the same issue of *Reconstrucción*: “in summary, an imperial style must express, with majestic impetus, with a spirit of unity and sober directness, the ideal that projects his banners in the wind and the spirit which animates its creators.”¹⁷⁶ Stylistic considerations apart, the architect clearly strove to upgrade the rural town into a more urban center—i.e, a “city within the countryside” that would be capable of growing as a major tourist center. As he wrote,

With these towns that the D.G.R.D. reconstructs, it can be said that the maximum aspiration to make “Cities in the countryside” has been achieved.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ José María Martínez Cubells, “Reconstrucción del pueblo de Guadarrama,” *Reconstrucción*, nº 23, May 1942, pp. 195-210.

¹⁷⁶ Diego Reina de la Muela, “Divagaciones arquitectónicas – los Imperios y su estilo,” *Reconstrucción*, nº 23, May 1942, pp. 193-94.

¹⁷⁷ Martínez Cubells, p. 210.

6. Aravaca

The small town of Aravaca, now a district of Madrid adjoining the Moncloa area and the Ciudad Universitaria, was totally destroyed during the Civil War. In consultation with César Cort, the architect Mariano Nasarre elaborated the plan of reconstruction in close proximity to the old center. As published in *Cortijos y Rascacielos* in 1945, this project, built in an area away from the destroyed village and “which Camillo Sitte would not have neglected to reproduce in his book, now a classic, *Construcción de ciudades según principios artísticos*,” was the most sophisticated and the most ambitious to be designed within the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas.¹⁷⁸

The master plan was organized around two main squares. The first—and the only one very partially built—was the rectangular and arcaded plaza de la Iglesia facing the church, itself as an isolated monument within a large urban space. A main street, arcaded on its eastern side was to connect the church complex to the *plaza mayor* facing the sinuous Calle Real.¹⁷⁹ That plaza followed the traditional type in the Reconstruction, a three-sided rectangle with arcades on the ground floor. By building a market hall building within a block between two streets and connecting it to the main street with two arcades, the architects proposed a third square, *plaza del Mercado*. The eastern section of the town, heavily damaged, was to be rebuilt along existing streets with a very large park in its center. The latter was divided into three classical designed sections, each containing a public structure in its center. Considering that the town was not really agricultural but inhabited by industrial and construction workers, it is not surprising that the plan showed rowhouses with gardens and not the traditional courtyard type. Moreover, the introduction of isolated houses or villas pointed out to a potential transformation of the town toward a more suburban residential future. The plan of the new Aravaca displayed numerous “street intersections forming, in general, squares and terminations of perspectives, as well as green spaces and various groups of rowhouses and single-family houses.”¹⁸⁰ Although the overall urban structure of Aravaca shows similarities with the masterplan, only the church and its surroundings were realized within its spirit. Nowadays, they constitute the “historic” area of a town that has grown exponentially and without any architectural distinction during the last thirty years.

¹⁷⁸ “Resurrección del pueblo de Aravaca,” *Cortijos y Rascacielos: arquitectura, casas de campo, decoración*, nº 30, July-August 1945, pp. 15-20.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibidem*. In spirit, the plan of Aravaca showed a very clear influence from Camillo Sitte’s and his son Sigfried’s development plan for Marienberg (1904-1909). See Marco Pogacnik, “Camillo Sitte, Architect and Planner: The Project for the Civic Center of Privoz/Oderfurt, Moravia,” in Charles Bohl and Jean-François Lejeune, *Sitte, Hegemann and the Metropolis: Modern Civic Art and International Exchanges*, London: Routledge, 2009, pp. 53-68.

¹⁸⁰ “Resurrección del pueblo de Aravaca,” p. 17.

7. Titulcia

The small town of Titulcia, to the south of Madrid in the direction of Aranjuez, was fully destroyed in the bombings of February 1937. In 1940, architects Luis Díaz Guerra and Luis Prieto Bances proposed to reconstruct the town on its original site for a program of 170 families. The masterplan responded to two basic criteria: to adapt the edification to the topography and to conserve the church as symbol and basis of the composition. Accordingly, they kept the existing and gently curving Calle Grande as main axis and laid out fifteen rectangular blocks on both sides of the four-block long and beautifully planted main street. At the heart of the town (the western side was cut short and never completed according to plans), the architects interrupted the grid and left a super-block open to create a unified civic and religious center. Like in Brunete, the small 16th century church of Santa Maria Magdalena was restored in place, including its three-bay open loggia on the side. Adjacent to the main street, it divided the block in two main public areas.¹⁸¹

The first one, the Plaza Mayor formed a L-shaped urban space, elevated in terrace over the street. It was anchored by the church on its short side and by a two-story structure containing the town hall, shops, and the doctor's house on the long one. At the back of the elegant and partially arcaded building, Díaz Guerra located the houses for the teachers and the school, whose ensemble faced another square, less formal and designed as a garden. The looser combination of spaces and structures, associated with an architecture that was definitely more rural, broke away from the rigid type seen in Brunete, Guadarrama, and Las Rozas, and announced the type of 'organic' urban form that would eventually become the global norm for the new villages of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización. All housing blocks were one-story high with a characteristic typology of a recessed porch marked by three classical columns at the center of the unit. The only two-story section was built alongside the main street, exactly opposite to the civic center, thus contributing to its urban quality and definition.

¹⁸¹ See *Arquitectura y desarrollo urbano: Comunidad de Madrid*, volume 13, Madrid: Dirección General de Arquitectura y Vivienda/Fundación COAM: Fundación Caja de Madrid, 1991-2008.

8. Seseña Nuevo

Although the medieval town of Seseña was not fully destroyed, the decision not to restore it and choose another location for the reconstruction was debated. As architect Luis Prieto Bances argued in his essay in *Reconstrucción*, the town presented so many urban issues that it would have been economically unsuitable to reconstruct and improve it on its own site: “The fabric appears without order nor clear concept, along sinuous and hilly streets lacking in interest and, in most cases, impossible to rectify. It is Seseña, a town without character.”¹⁸² Unhealthy, without the modest privilege of a spectacular location dominating the fields, Seseña also missed “the plaza, the arcades, the nucleus by excellence of social life.”¹⁸³ Eventually, the new location was selected for its hygienic conditions and its proximity to the roads, railroad, and the most fertile fields in the valley. Along with the nearby Titulcia, the plans of Seseña Nuevo, signed by Luis Prieto Bances in collaboration with Luis Díaz-Guerra and Antonio Cámara Niño, displayed the most rational urban structure of the reconstruction. On a flat terrain without any topography or previous traces, “the orthogonal layout imposed itself as the simplest and most economical.”¹⁸⁴ It consisted of a regular grid of eighteen identical rectangular blocks aligned along eight parallel streets ranging from the buffer park along the road to the soccer fields at the other end. A central street, perpendicular to the access road and oriented East-West, led to the church placed on axis at the center of a garden. One block to the south, the architects laid out the civic center or *plaza mayor*. One housing block separated this rectangular square from the town’s axis, but a short street, arcaded on both sides, connected it to the Plaza de la Iglesia and served as a commercial and service center. The southern end of the town would have hosted an arcaded market, while, on the northern side, a bus terminal anchored the town. However, this sophisticated urban design project was overly ambitious in regard to the proposed size of 1500 inhabitants. As a result, the masterplan was simplified and only one square at the end of the main street was built. As an extended version of the Plaza de la Iglesia, Luis Prieto designed the church with its porticoed front and central tower; the two arcaded sides now housed the town hall, the shops and other social services. Traffic was eliminated and the whole square densely planted along with the main street and the edges of the town.

The architects developed a prototypical housing block made up of twelve contiguous patio houses, but commented that variations were possible in order to avoid potential monotony. The wider streets of 12 to 15-meter were built with two-story houses and landscaped, whereas the narrower ones were lined with one-story structures. A recessed front delimited by columns and arbors gave access to each group of two houses, with the advantage of widening the sidewalk area and creating a protected space where residents could work without impeding pedestrian movement. In absence of service streets, large doors and passages offered independent and direct access to the agricultural *corrales* between the houses.

¹⁸² Luis Prieto Bances, “Estudio de un pueblo adoptado: Seseña,” *Reconstrucción* II, nº 9, February 1941, pp. 18-29, here p. 18.

¹⁸³ Prieto Bances, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁸⁴ Prieto Bances, op. cit., p. 29.

3.11. Reconstruction in the North (Guadalajara and Lérida)

1. Belchite

I swear that on the ruins of Belchite a beautiful and spacious city will be built as a tribute to his heroism unparalleled.¹⁸⁵

The old town of Belchite was laid out on both sides of the Calle Mayor, which connected the two main gates, Arco de la Villa to the North-West to the Puerta del Pozo, which marked the southeastern entrance. At its heart were two quasi-identical triangular-shaped squares, the Plaza Vieja marked by the Torre del Reloj, the surviving section of a church transformed into a theater, and the Plaza Nueva with the Town Hall. Three other squares fronted the church of San Agustín, the former mosque, and the Mudéjar church of San Martín de Tours. The town was immersed in a beautiful countryside of orchards and fruit trees.¹⁸⁶ Belchite's character—according to architect Antonio Cámara Niño in *Reconstrucción*—was in urban form and details definitely Mudéjar, as a reflection of the Arab civilization that impregnated Spain with its culture and life: “The reason for the triumph and the survival of the Muslim art can be traced in its adaptation to the environment and to circumstances.”¹⁸⁷ In absence of expensive material, brick and adobe were the most logical means of construction, and “the Moor, with his legendary sobriety, worked more economically than the Christian man, thus imposing his technique and artistic sensitivity.”¹⁸⁸ Such a statement clearly reflected how much, even in Franco's Spain, the heritage of Islamic Spain was integrated within the culture and collective memory. Even more so, many architects saw in Mudéjar Spain an expression of constructive rationalism and functionalism that supported the thesis of the Falange. Yet, for all his praise, Cámara also made clear that the housing conditions were really inhuman, with small and low-ceiling rooms, few natural light, no separation of sexes in the houses, and unhygienic barn spaces on the third floor.

The battle of Belchite lasted from August 24 to September 7, 1936. The Republican army, strong of 80,000 men, 90 planes and more than one hundred tanks, launched the attack toward Zaragoza and took over Belchite in early September. One year later the town fell back to the Francoist forces. The density of the ruined town (more than 80% of built area), the difficulties at removing the rubble, and the ideological statements of Franco about the ruins as symbol favored the reconstruction on an nearby site, where “new towers will be erected, and farm houses of enjoyable layout, and parks and gardens, and sports fields, and squares....”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ General Franco, quoted by Antonio Cámara Niño, “Reconstrucción De Belchite,” *Reconstrucción* I, nº 1, April 1940, p. 10.

¹⁸⁶ On Belchite, see Pedro Gómez Aparicio, “El símbolo de los dos Belchites,” *Reconstrucción* I, nº 1, April 1940, pp. 6-9; Antonio Cámara Niño, “Reconstrucción de Belchite,” *Reconstrucción* I, nº 1, April 1940, pp. 10-16.; “La reconstrucción de Belchite,” *Reconstrucción* II, nº 16, October 1941, pp. 21-32.

¹⁸⁷ Cámara Niño, p. 13.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁹ Gómez Aparicio, p. 9.

Any visitor of the reconstructed town would clearly realize that the new Belchite has nothing of a “mausoleum that perpetuates the figure of the New Power” as Carlos Sambricio wrote in *Que coman República*.¹⁹⁰ For its modest size (1600 residents in 2015), Belchite is a modern town, equipped with all necessary infrastructures such as school, town hall, church, sport fields, public garden, and a good diversity of commercial spaces. Belchite’s masterplan—designed by Antonio Cámara Niño and the first project to be published in *Reconstrucción*—was one of the most complex of all reconstructed towns. Its plan deployed a hybrid system of streets that integrated a grid-like central section and two long curving streets that deformed the overall urban structure and adapted it to its geographic contours and the adjacent creeks. The streets of the town “were well proportioned, with an allusion to the Mudéjar spirit that knew how to adapt them to the climate, how to orient them to cut the winds and close the street perspectives.”¹⁹¹ The curved streets, the subtle shifts in their alignment, the ambitious town center, and many other details such as the bridge at the entrance of the central square, clearly reflected the influence of Camillo Sitte. At the heart of the town, Cámara designed two adjacent squares separated by a street. The L-shaped civic center consisted of the town hall, an open-air dance courtyard, a cinema, and a fronton, all connected by a continuous arcade. On the other side of the street, the religious center integrated two courtyards separated by the large church and connected by arcades as well. Across the Calle Mayor, he placed the Casa de España and a porticoed mixed-use building front. Next to the town hall, the bank building was meant to terminate Belchite’s main street.

As built, the town center and the overall structure of the city were eventually simplified, but Cámara and the other architects involved achieved a unique urban project, distinct in almost all aspects, from other centers built by the D.G.R.D. The two squares displayed a quite civil architecture of simple brick buildings, with little reference to the Herrera-influenced plazas around Madrid. Even though most of the blocks were built with one- and two-story rural patio houses, Belchite was the only agriculture-based new town, which displayed genuine urban typologies. Around the center, various three-story buildings and blocks without private courtyards give to the town the most urban character of all the reconstructed projects of the regime.

¹⁹⁰ Sambricio, “Que coman República,” in *Cuando se quiso resucitar la arquitectura*, p. 209.

¹⁹¹ Cámara Niño, p. 16.

2. Llers

On 8th of February 1939, the Republican troops that occupied the historic town of Llers near Figueras in the province of Gerona came under attack by the Nationalist troops. As they were forced to retreat they decided to set fire to a big charge of explosives warehoused in the late 18th century church of Sant Juliá, causing the complete destruction of the church, the town, and major damages to the medieval castle. The event was amply reported in the press and became a symbolic moment in the last phase of the ideological and propaganda war between the Falangist and the Republican sides. Llers was one of the first towns adopted by Franco who requested that some of the houses be left in ruins as part of the memory of the destruction. The ruins were initially conserved as monument, but eventually the old village was reconstructed. In August 1941 the construction of the new town, Nuevo Llers also known as Poblenu, started at about 500 meters of the old center.¹⁹²

The masterplan, designed by Antonio Cimadevila, formed an asymmetrical fan-like figure, made up of five angled streets on both sides of an ambitious civic center. The central street of the figure, or Calle Mayor, crossed the civic center in front of the church and between the two proposed arcaded squares: one on the side of the church, the other one in front of it and defined by a S-shaped assemblage of thin buildings with a continuous arcade. On the back of the square two long bars of housing with a central green led to the sport fields and the countryside, a unique urban idea that can be related to German planning of the 1920s. Typologies were unique. With the exception of the linear rows facing the various sides of the civic center, none of the building types addressed the street directly: every house was setback with a garden on one side and a patio closed by outbuildings on the other side, in such a way that the garden faced the outbuildings and vice-versa. Of great plastic interest were the exterior staircases, some of them semi-circular as in type C as well as the large second-floor open loggias of type D. Eventually, only one half of the housing fan was built while the civic center was only partially realized on the side of the church. Even though it was not completed, the design of Llers was remarkable for its unique layout and its typological and morphological innovations within the context of the D.G.R.D.

¹⁹² A. Cimadevila, "El Nuevo pueblo de Llers, [Gerona]," *Reconstrucción V*, nº 40, February 1944, pp. 69-80.

3. Montarrón

Located in the province of Guadalajara, on the slopes of a hill, the old village of Montarrón had a typical medieval configuration with a central triangular plaza mayor. Following its complete destruction, the village plan was rebuilt a couple of hundreds of meters away in the plain, close to a main road, on a flat terrain better oriented to the sun and the winds. Designed in November 1940 by architect Francisco Echenique, the town, planned for 100 households, has “as fundamental structure of its layout, and in the antique Roman manner, two main streets perpendicular to each other.”¹⁹³ The plaza mayor and the town hall terminated the first axis coming from the entrance street; the other one led to the church along a densely planted *alameda* before reaching the sport facilities and the fields.

The main plaza, in the traditional semi-enclosed U-shaped morphology familiar to the D.G.R.D. architects, contained, almost as a single urban object, the town hall, the house of the Falange (functioning as a hinge with the *alameda*), commercial and recreational spaces. If it had been built entirely, it would have resulted into a harmonious ensemble complete with a fronton in one of its backsides. On the other axis, at the end of the *alameda*, the church with the priest house and other locals were organized around a large patio, with a continuous arcade serving as front porch and screen to the ensemble made up of local stone recuperated from the ruins of the former village. All the blocks that surrounded or were inserted between the two civic centers had different dimensions but shared a small number of typologies. The modern farmhouse was the “expression of the soul and lifestyle of the town” with the kitchen at the center of family life and the agricultural patio immediately connected as a L-shaped unit.¹⁹⁴ The two major types of farmers’ houses were, on the one hand somewhat archaic as they put the house and the agricultural structure next to each other on the street. On the other hand, they were among the most rational to be planned by the D.G.R.D., avoiding any ‘picturesque’ assemblage in favor of the systematic repetition of tall dwelling volumes and lower service wings.

As Echenique wrote, “the new Montarrón, with its modesty and simplicity, responded to the traditional expression of the Spanish pueblo, giving the necessary importance to the social life between the humans—the church and the plaza—and to the family—the house as sanctuary—where man offers to God the homage of tradition and virtue.”¹⁹⁵ The town, however, was very partially built, and its few structures—the only existing part of the plaza is the town hall—give but a vague reflection of the ambitious foundational plan.

¹⁹³ Francisco Echenique, “Estudio de un pueblo adoptado: Montarrón,” *Reconstrucción* II, n° 14, July-August 1941, pp. 8-22, here p. 11.

¹⁹⁴ Francisco Echenique, p. 15.

¹⁹⁵ Francisco Echenique, p. 22.

4. Gajanejos

At short distance of Montarrón and close to the highway linking Madrid to Zaragoza, the small town of Gajanejos (350 habitants in 1935) was destroyed during the battle of Guadalajara in March of 1937. In 1940, the D.G.R.D. embarked on the reconstruction of a complete new town in walking distance of the destroyed area. The new Gajanejos was located on a quasi-horizontal terrain, close to the fields, and a shorter distance from the road. The original plan, signed by the architect Miguel Angel Ruiz Larrea, showed a somewhat confused design with two awkwardly articulated squares, the plaza mayor for the town hall and a religious square for the church, and a park-like area for the school along the main street. This scheme followed the instructions of the D.G.R.D. to build the church on a separate site but in light of the program, it would have been a difficult solution to build and to finance.¹⁹⁶

The realized plan of October 1943 simplified the scheme by putting all the main functions around one single square-shaped *plaza mayor* located at the very back, between fabric and fields. Contrary to many other towns (Brunete, Villanueva del Pardillo, Montarrón), the square did not present a uniform architecture but was made up of an assemblage of individual pieces, each one reflecting its specific function. The classical town hall stands at the end of the 150-meter long Calle Mayor and faces the square with a three-arch loggia. On its eastern side stands the new church of San Pedro Apóstol. The old Romanesque church whose ruins could be found north of the village served as model for the reconstruction in the new location. With its stone façade, its central semi-circular entry door and oculus, as well as an elegant front portico that frames the countryside, the church offered a renewed sense of history to the small village. The school and two L-shaped buildings for retail and housing completed the 30 x 30-meter square.

Overall, the town was made of four rectangular blocks, two on each side of the asymmetrically planted main street. Two types of houses with patio and outbuildings, entered through a recessed area, created a lively experience along the streets for 90 families. Both types of houses, in spite of their socio-economic disparities, aimed at "the revalorization of moral and material life in the fields, designing pleasant places with a minimum of habitable cells, and that permit an enjoyable life while resolving the old problem of gender promiscuity within the houses."¹⁹⁷ Eventually, the simple character of the place was according to the architect "joyful and traditionally Spanish... without trying to convert a simple village into the caricature of a city."¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Miguel Angel Ruiz Larrea, "Estudio de un pueblo adoptado, Gajanejos (Guadalajara)," *Reconstrucción* I, nº 4, August-September, 1940, pp. 19-27.

¹⁹⁷ "Un pueblo de nueva planta. Gajanejos (Guadalajara)," *Reconstrucción* VI, nº 56, October 1945, p. 266.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*.

5. *Masegoso de Tajuña*

Planned for 150 residents, the small village of Masegoso de Tajuña stands in the province of Guadalajara. The original village, completely destroyed, was rebuilt according to a quasi-symmetrical orthogonal plan, conceived by Antonio Labrada Chércoles, architect and collaborator of Leopold Torres Balbás. Located on a sloping terrain and measuring 180 meters by 150 meters, in close proximity to the former site, the town centers on an elegant and arcaded *plaza mayor*, which is slightly elevated on a low plinth and connected through gates to a short paseo. Across the street, the school closes the plaza and is surrounded by a large rectangular garden. Interestingly, the church terminates one of the streets, but it is not located within the plan itself. It stands at the top of a small and planted hill, looking away from the town and surrounded by a wall-enclosed cemetery—the only reminder of the destroyed village.¹⁹⁹

Fully symmetrical and made up of six housing blocks with the plaza at the center, the plan of Masegoso de Tajuña was the simplest of all the projects of the reconstruction. The rationality of its plan was definitely emphasized by the architect who explicitly made reference to the Latin American concept of the town as plaza:

It is the plaza that gives value to an urban ensemble; within it public services are exercised. It is the seat of authority, assembles the commercial life, and its scale establishes the most permanent relationship between neighbors ... it can be said that this village constituted a true foundation in the style of our American conquerors.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Antonio Labrada Chércoles, "Masegoso del Tajuña - Un nuevo pueblo en la provincia de Guadalajara," *Reconstrucción*, June 1950, pp. 189-96.

²⁰⁰ Antonio Labrada Chércoles, p. 190.

6. Villanueva de la Barca

Situated at ten kilometers of Lérida, Villanueva de la Barca stands twenty meter above the banks of the Rio Segre, on a plateau that was logically used by the Republican forces to control the region. Counting more than 200 houses, the town was completely destroyed and quickly adopted for reconstruction. Given the state of the ruins and the lack of urban interest of the former layout, the new town was located on the side of the destroyed village which was to be left in ruins as can be seen on the photograph of the model of the proposed new village. A new bridge was part of the plan signed by architect Antonio Pineda in September 1940.

Designed for a population of 1000 to 1500 residents, the masterplan showed a compact town surrounded by green spaces and organized on two orthogonal axes intersecting at the arcaded U-shaped plaza mayor, on the model of Las Rozas with the church protruding slightly on the main axis. Around the square were planned the town hall, the post office, a cinema-theater with garden, and some dwellings. On the other side of the plaza mayor was to stand a triangular block consisting of shop fronts on the street sides and an arcaded market square in the inner side of the block. This elegant arrangement and the housing blocks that were to sustain it were not built as most residents eventually stayed in the older part of town.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Antonio Pineda, Antonio. "Estudio de un pueblo adoptado: Villanueva de la Barca, por Antonio Pineda, arquitecto," *Reconstrucción I*, nº 5, October 1940, pp. 8-15.

3.12. Reconstruction in the South (Andalusia)

1. Los Blázquez (Cordoba)

Located in the province of Córdoba in Andalusia, the town of Los Blázquez (about 2000 residents) was the focus of intense battles during the whole period of the war. It was half destroyed in the spring of 1939 and promptly adopted by Franco for reconstruction. The project was presented in October 1940 and quite fully implemented. The western section of the old town was relatively “regular and with a certain urbanistic sense” whereas the eastern one was less orderly and “more anarchic in its structure and relation to topography.”²⁰² The architect Francisco Hernández-Rubio, working with José Rebollo Dicentea and Daniel Sánchez Puch, decided to keep the structure of the western section by rebuilding the damaged houses and adding some new linear streets. For the eastern section, more heavily destroyed, they decided to redesign it entirely with a small regular grid that adapted itself better to the sloping terrain. In-between they planned a new organization of the *plaza mayor* as a large agora faced by the town hall, the church and its adjacent structures, the house of the Falange, and the market, all connected by a continuous arcade. To recuperate the difference in level, the lower part of the plaza was elevated on a plinth. The sport fields and a paseo serving for fiestas and market were located in the southern section of the town.

In April 1944, *Reconstrucción* published the details of José Rebollo’s project of reconstruction of the *plaza mayor*: “We want the plaza to be just that: that of a town of small importance, a little isolated from the world, hardworking and lively.”²⁰³ In its final form, the hierarchies were clearly expressed. The church, reconstructed with some modifications, displayed the traits of an elegant Andalusian Baroque, with a new brick tower. The town hall presented a more classical image with its arcaded and symmetrical façade, halfway between domestic and civic.²⁰⁴ The market and continuous arcade that were to complete the composition were never built, and the plaza was raised on a plinth to make up for the topography. The simple houses that border the plaza on its eastern side completed an ensemble of great harmony and simplicity, which contrasted strongly with the works realized around and north of Madrid. While the older section of the town was eventually restored with a variety of building types, the new gridded section to the east displayed two specific house types, both with access to a corral for animals and agricultural equipment. The house for agricultural workers is one-story high whereas the houses for farmers, coupled two by two present the usual H-type with access to the full patio on either side. Unique to Los Blázquez is the architectural expression,

²⁰² Francisco Hernández Rubio, “Estudio de un pueblo adoptado, Los Blázquez [Córdoba],” *Reconstrucción* II, nº 10, March 1941, pp. 8-16.

²⁰³ José Rebollo Dicentea, “Proyecto de nuevo Ayuntamiento y ordenación de la Plaza Mayor de Los Blázquez (Córdoba),” *Reconstrucción* V, nº 42, April 1944, pp. 145-148.

²⁰⁴ On the architect José Rebollo Dicentea, see *La Vanguardia Imposible*, pp. 290-311. See photographs pp. 296-297. Also see *Reconstruction* no. 63, 1946.

in the façade, of the Catalan vaults (*bóvedas tabicadas*) that structured the ground floor, with the upper floor slightly setback, thus giving a strong and quasi-expressionist image to some of the new streets.²⁰⁵

2. Pitres (Granada)

The small town of Pitres, located at 1250 meter of altitude within the region of La Alpujarra, counted about 750 residents at the time of the war. Built in masonry with terrace roofs, the white houses were typical examples of Mediterranean architecture in Andalusia. They have sun terraces or balconies that tend to take place at street corners, between bedrooms, and constitute a particular typological element of the region. At the end of the war, about half of the town was destroyed or strongly damaged, in particular the entrance from the west around the plaza where the sixteenth-century church once stood. In light of the difficult topography, the lack of alternative terrain and the proximity to a new provincial road, the D.G.R.D. decided to rebuild the village in situ. The masterplan published in *Reconstrucción* in 1941 and signed by architect Francisco Robles Jiménez maintained the character and the general organization of the town, with the principal streets parallel to the contour lines, and a small amount of transversal streets or staircase connections between the different levels. The main street known as Calle de Palenque remained the principal artery with new connections to the provincial road running at a lower elevation. Aiming at improving the hygienic conditions of the fabric, the original plan included the reconstruction of the houses situated higher than the church and the main street as a series of parallel terraced streets and rows of houses. All those streets were to be arcaded and varied from 7.5 to 10 meters, arcades included. This arrangement—which would not be concretized—was presented in a beautiful rendering of the town.²⁰⁶ Eventually, about 50 new houses were built in the lower section and consisted of two types: a 3-story structure with arcade on the ground floor, dwelling and large terrace on the second, and storage on the top; the other one was two-floor high, similarly endowed with a terrace and sun roofs.

The parish church of Pitres originally built in 1530 was devastated in the War of Alpujarras and repaired later. Destroyed again during the Civil War, it was rebuilt in 1945 according to the plan in Latin cross by Robles Jiménez. The patio/plaza of the church opens on the main street and is separated from the U-shape plaza of the town hall by one of the arcaded wings of the municipal complex. On the other side of the street, Robles situated a more informal market square which today works as the entry space to the town. The main school building was also built along the Calle de Palenque and marked by a setback central section to form a small plaza.

²⁰⁵ "Viviendas en Los Blázquez (Córdoba)," *Reconstrucción* VIII, nº 71, March 1947, pp. 107-08.

²⁰⁶ Francisco Robles Jiménez, "Estudio de un pueblo adoptado: Pitres, por Francisco Robles Jiménez, arquitecto," *Reconstrucción* II, nº 15, September 1941, pp. 30-40.

3. *Tablones (Granada)*

About 10 kilometers southwest of Pitres, the old Tablones was a hamlet of Orgiva. Counting a little more than 500 residents, its habitat was entirely organic and unusually dispersed on very steep land facing some fertile slopes. Before its quasi-total destruction it had neither church nor chapel, and the one-story houses, made of cheap and unadorned materials, provided very inferior comfort and hygiene. As the topography of the existing site made it inadequate to the reconstruction in situ, architect Francisco Robles moved the new settlement on a lower slope near the river, at the very heart of the Alpurrajas on the southern side of the Sierra Nevada. From the urban point of view, Tablones stands in definite contrast with the traditional organic village of the region.²⁰⁷ Designed around 1941 to house the sixty families and respond to the requirements of both their private, civil, and religious way of life, Robles challenged the steepness of the site to design the modern village “in its minimal dimensions and as a complete and orderly ensemble.”²⁰⁸ At the highest point, he located a U-shaped pedestrian plaza, organized as a series of interconnected terraces and surrounded by the single-nave church in its center, the village hall to the east and the school on the other side. The well-designed ensemble developing along the street recalled the rebuilt center of Pitres, but here the new houses were organized rationally as a four-block grid. The three parallel streets that form the village were laid out according to the contour lines, and thus present a slight curvature that provides changing perspectives. They intersect in their center with the main street, on axis with the church entrance and cascading down toward the river and the fields. Compositionally, the grid is thus made up of two 80 x 80-meter squares on both sides of the central axis.

Typologically, Robles used two simple and economically viable building types. Both share the same two basic elements: the residential section itself accessed through an open-air patio and the outbuildings for agricultural uses entered from the same patio. At the intersection of the axis with the three parallel streets he placed two-story houses (type A, about 100-meter square) with prominent double-sided roofs. All other houses respond to the one-story type (type B, 63-meter square). In order to introduce movement in the succession of the houses, Robles grouped the entrances (one small and one large door) to adjacent patios in a recessed area that creates a plaza-like widening of the street, “which avoids the monotony that the aligned repetition of the same house would eventually create.”²⁰⁹ Like Los Blázquez, the towns of Pitres and Tablones marked a radical shift from the Madrid or even the Zaragoza regions. Here were put into experimentation the models, the types, and the stylistic direction that would mark the enterprise of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización south of the Madrid line in the regions of Extremadura, Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Francisco Robles Jiménez, “El nuevo pueblo de Tablones,” *Reconstrucción* VI, n° 53, May 1945, pp. 145-50.

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 147.

²⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 150.

²¹⁰ See Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

SUMMARY OF CASE STUDY ANALYSIS / RECONSTRUCTED TOWNS BY THE DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE REGIONES DEVASTADAS (D.G.R.D.)

| REGION | GRID <i>in situ</i> | GRID <i>relocated</i> | HYBRID <i>relocated</i> | OTHER <i>in situ</i> | Des- truc- tion | PLAZA MAYOR <i>U-shaped</i> | PLAZA <i>Other</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Madrid | BRUNETE | | | | D | • | |
| Madrid | | VILLANUEVA DEL PARDILLO | | | D | • | |
| Madrid | | VILLANUEVA DE LA CAÑADA | | | D | | • |
| Madrid | | | ARAVACA* | | D | • | |
| Madrid | LAS ROZAS | | | | D | • | |
| Madrid | TITULCIA (Distorted) | | | | D | | • |
| Madrid | | SESEÑA NUEVO | | | D | | • |
| Madrid | | | | GUADARRAMA | P | • | |
| Madrid | MAJADAHONDA | | | | P | • | |
| Guadalajara | | | BELCHITE | | D | | • |
| Guadalajara | | | LLERS | | D | | • |
| Guadalajara | | MONTARRÓN** | | | D | • | |
| Guadalajara | | GAJANEJOS** | | | D | • | |
| Guadalajara | | MASEGOSO DE TAJUÑA | | | D | • | |
| Guadalajara | | | | HITA | P | | • |
| Lérida | | VILLANUEVA DE LA BARCA | | | D | • | |
| Granada | | | | PITRES | P | | • |
| Córdoba | | | | LOS BLAZQUEZ | P | | • |
| Granada | | LOS TABLONES | | | D | • | |
| Almería | | | REGIONES (relocation of cuevas) | | New | | • |
| Valencia | | | | TERESA | P | | • |
| Valencia | | | | VIVER | P | | • |

D: Complete Destruction

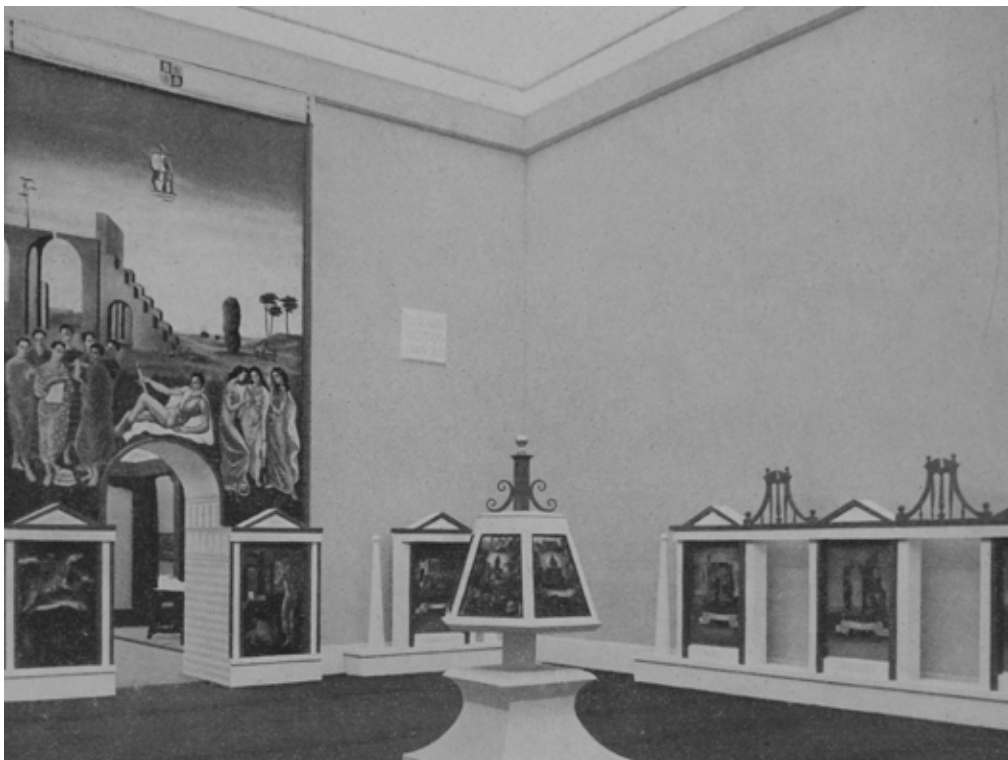
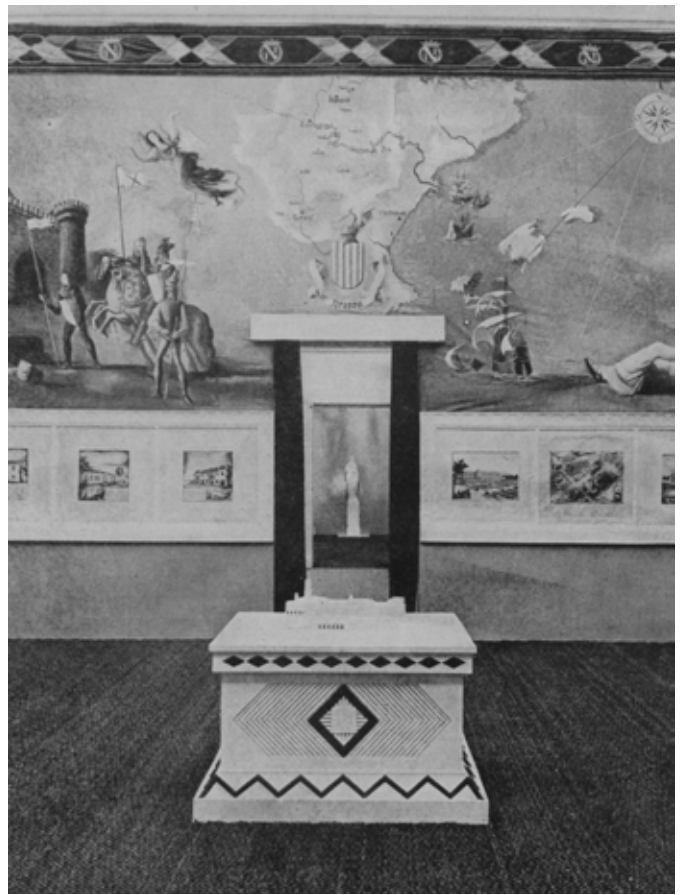
P: Partial Destruction

New: New District

(*) Unrealized

(**) Partially Realized

* * *

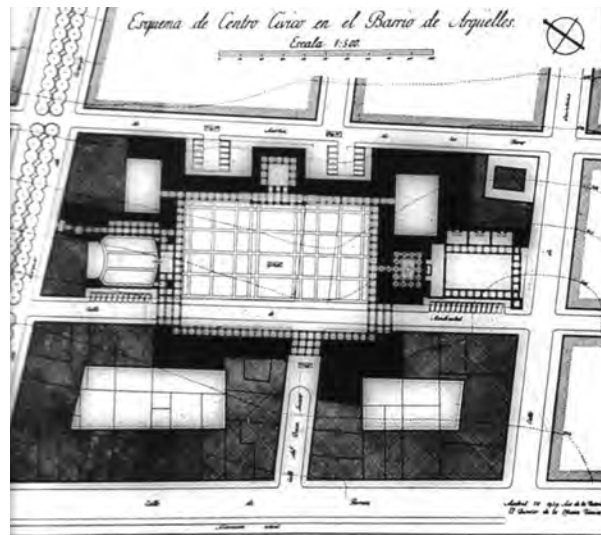
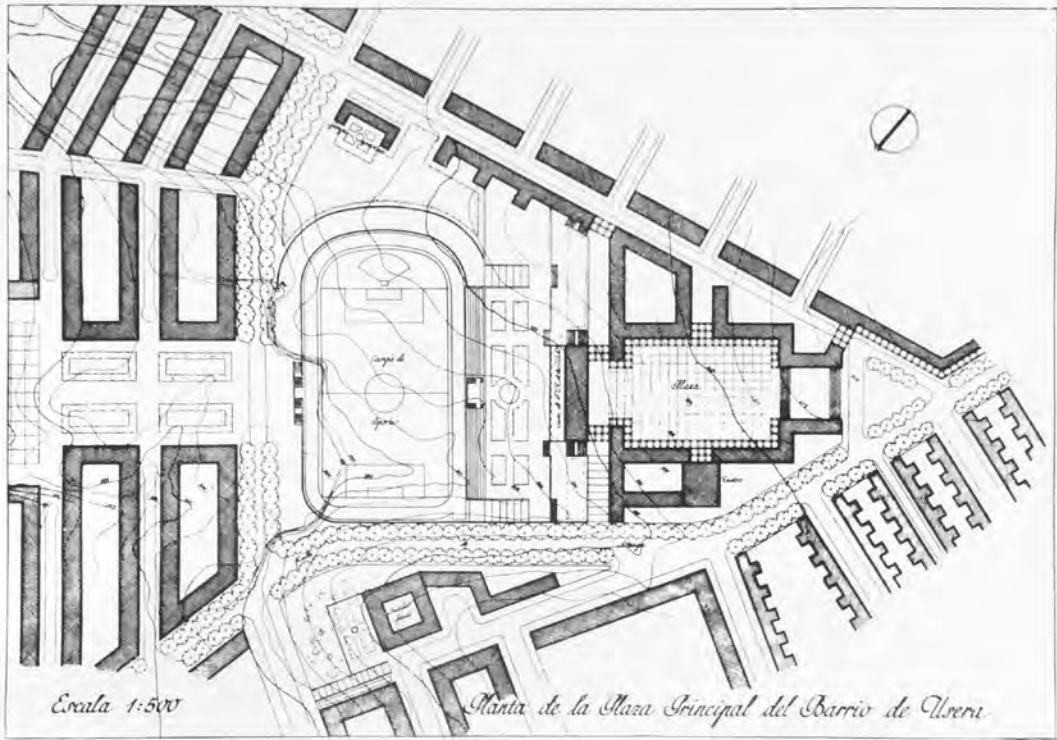


D.G.R.D. Photos of the Exposition of the Reconstruction, Madrid, 1940. From *Reconstrucción 3*, June-July 1940.

Top: D.G.R.D. Photo of the Exposition of the Reconstruction, Madrid, 1940. From *Reconstrucción* 3, June-July 1940.

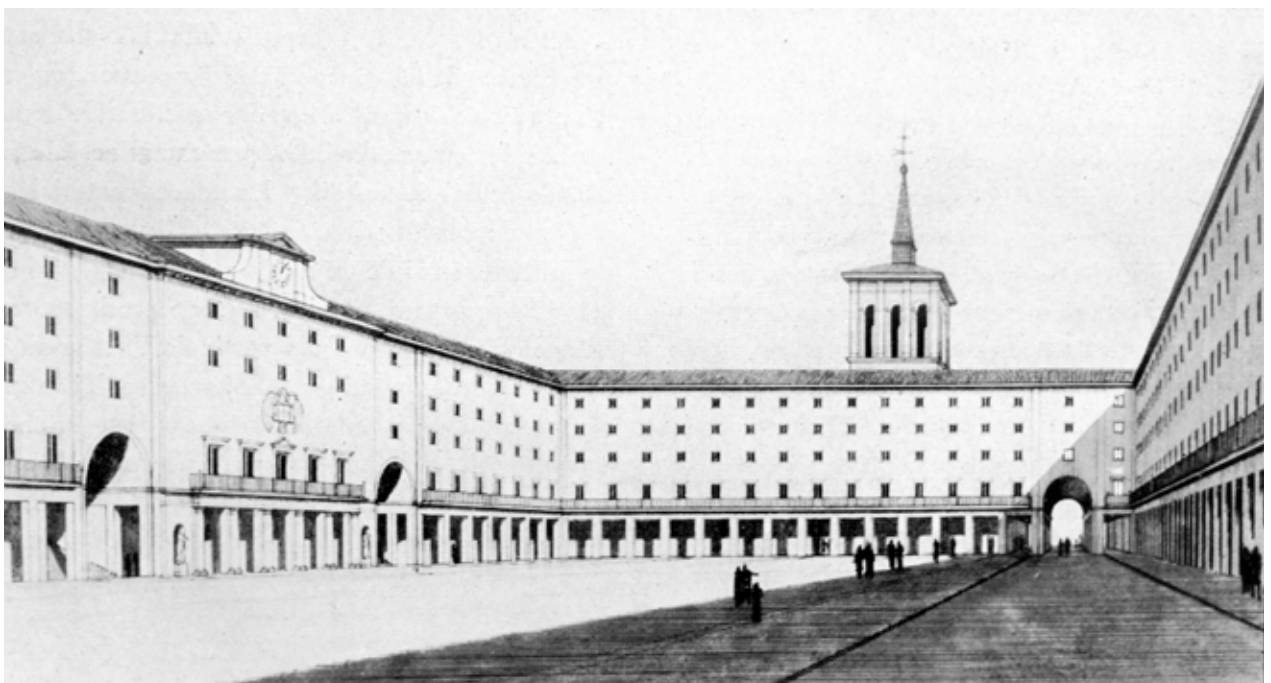
Bottom: Mode of the new Brunete within the exposition. © AGA.





Top: Pedro Bidagor. District of Usera, Madrid. Plan of the proposed Plaza Mayor. From *Reconstrucción* 10, March 1941.

Middle and bottom: Plan and perspective of the Civic center for the District of Argüelles, Madrid. From *Reconstrucción* 7, December 1940.





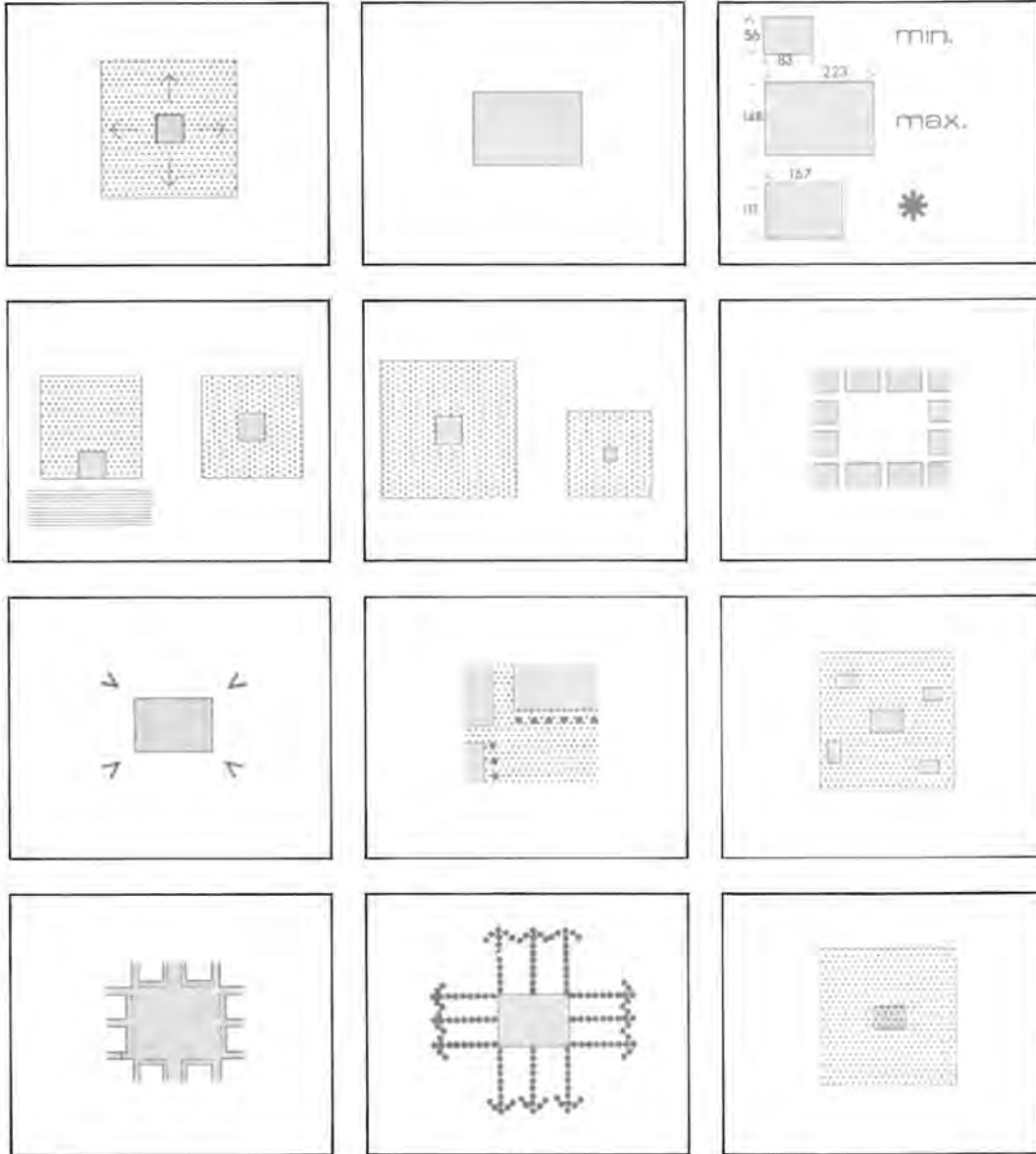
Top: Cover of the first issue of *Reconstrucción*, April 1940. Franco on the ruins of Belchite: from *Reconstrucción* 1, April 1940.

Bottom: View of the model of the new Belchite within the Exposition of the Reconstruction. © AGA.

«La plaza mayor, desde donde se ha de comenzar la población,... siendo en costa de mar se debe hacer al desembarcar del puerto; y siendo en lugar mediterráneo, en medio de población».

«La plaza sea en cuadro prolongado que por lo menos tenga de largo una vez y media de su ancho, porque de esta manera es mejor para las fiestas de a caballo y cualesquiera otras que se hayan de hacer. La grandeza de la plaza sea proporcionada a la cantidad de los vecinos,...»

... Y así se hará la elección de la plaza, y preveyendo que la población puede crecer, no sea menor de doscientos pies en ancho y trescientos de largo, ni mayor de ochocientos pies de largo y quinientos treinta pies de ancho. De mediana y buena proporción es de seiscientos pies de largo y cuatrocientos de ancho. De la plaza salga cuatro calles principales, una por medio de cada costado de la plaza y dos calles por cada esquina de la plaza».



«Las cuatro esquinas de la plaza miren a los cuatro vientos principales, porque de esta manera, saliendo las calles de la plaza, no estarán expuestas a los cuatro vientos principales que sería de mucho inconveniente. Toda la plaza a la redonda y las cuatro calles principales que de ella salen, tengan portales, porque son de mucha comodidad para los tratantes que aquí suelen concurrir».

«Las ocho calles que salen de la plaza por las cuatro esquinas, salgan libres a la plaza sin encontrarse con los portales, retrayéndolos de manera que quede alineada la acera de la calle y la plaza. Las calles se continúen desde la plaza mayor, de manera que aunque la población venga en mucho crecimiento, no vaya a encontrar algún inconveniente que sea causa de afeor lo que se haya edificado o perjudique su defensa y comodidad».

«A trechos de la población se vayan formando plazas menores en buena proporción, allí donde se vayan a edificar los templos de la iglesia mayor, parroquias y monasterios de manera que todo se reparta para buena proporción para la doctrina. En la plaza no se den solares para particulares. Que sean para fábrica de la iglesia, casas reales y propios de la ciudad. Y edifiquense tiendas y casas para tratantes y sea lo primero que se edifique».

Diagrams of the Laws of the Indies. From *La Ciudad Hispanoamericana: El Sueño de un Orden*, Madrid: CEHOPU, 1989, p. 51.

LA CAROLINA, UN POLIGONO DEL SIGLO XVIII

Julio Cano Lasso,
arquitecto.

La gran mayoría de los pueblos han tenido una formación lenta y espontánea, en la cual se ha acumulado la experiencia de generaciones. Lo popular encierra enseñanzas de valor permanente, porque sus soluciones son directas y se realizaron con la mayor simplicidad y economía de medios. Las formas populares han salido de raíces espontáneas y auténticas y han pasado por la prueba del tiempo, que ha eliminado todo lo que pudiera haber en ellas de caprichoso o inadecuado; por ello, lo popular tiene ese arraigamiento profundo con el medio y con los hombres, condicionantes fundamentales del urbanismo en todos los tiempos.

A nuestra generación ha correspondido la gran responsabilidad de crear urbanizaciones y viviendas a escala hasta ahora desconocida. Lo que hoy se realiza en el plazo de unos meses y muy pocos hombres, era en otros tiempos la tarea de muchas generaciones. Por otra parte, los medios de que disponemos y las exigencias y problemas a los que tenemos que dar solución, tampoco tienen precedentes; evidentemente estos

nuevos medios y nuevos problemas requieren nuevas soluciones, pero tampoco debemos olvidar que las dos grandes condicionantes del urbanismo, el hombre y el medio geográfico, en lo fundamental, siguen siendo los mismos.

Entre tantos magníficos ejemplos de urbanismo espontáneo como existen en España, presentamos como curiosidad un ejemplo de planeamiento urbanístico de hace dos siglos. La Carolina, centro de capitalidad de una extensa zona de colonización en Sierra Morena durante el siglo XVIII.

El interés del ejemplo reside en que La Carolina tiene actualmente una superficie y una población del orden de muchos de los polígonos que ahora se están realizando. La superficie es de unas 70 hectáreas y la población llegó a ser de 18.666 en 1920 y ha quedado reducida a 12.454 en el censo de 1960. Es decir, la densidad ha oscilado alrededor de 250 habitantes por hectárea, cifra media en los pueblos de Andalucía y La Mancha; corresponde por tanto más o menos a lo que hoy llamamos unidad de barrio.



1. Parroquia y Palacio de Intendencia.—2. Hospital.—3. Ayuntamiento.—4. Plaza de Toros.—5. Mercado.—6. Instituto Laboral.—7. Estación de Ferrocarril.—8. Parque.



Ante "Palacio Español", fotografías aéreas.

La Carolina es hoy un pueblo adaptado al carácter y forma de vida de la región andaluza, perfectamente encajado en su ambiente, en el que domina una agradable escala humana y en el que la regularidad del trazado es suficientemente variada para no resultar monótona.

La colonización de Sierra Morena se aprobó por Real Decreto en 1767 y abarcaba una extensa región en la que se establecieron unos veinte núcleos de población. A propuesta de don Gaspar de Thurriegal, Carlos III ordena la introducción de 6.000 colonos católicos, alemanes y flamencos, aunque se admite la posibilidad de aceptar otros extranjeros católicos, recomendándose, además, el establecimiento en cada núcleo de población de por lo menos dos familias españolas que no fueran de provincias andaluzas o manchegas. También se toman medidas para la asistencia de los niños a las escuelas, que aseguran en su tiempo la enseñanza de la doctrina y lengua española.

Los primeros colonos llegan por los puer-

tos de Almería y Málaga y son en su mayor parte desertores franceses y gentes desventuradas que apenas si conocen algún oficio.

Los primeros tiempos de todo planeamiento son siempre difíciles. En este caso, los colonos que iban llegando eran alojados en campamentos, dando escasez al agua y la situación sanitaria es lamentable. Los naturales de la región se enfrentaron con los extranjeros, éstos no trabajan las tierras, viven mal vestidos, son vagos, se dejan arrastrar por la propaganda subversiva y se dedican a la rapina. Lo que hoy nos parece un planeamiento brillante, tuvo ese origen tan triste y desalentador. Esto es en cierto modo un consuelo para los que hoy sufrimos viendo lo lejos que quedan nuestras realizaciones de nuestras ilusiones.

La Carolina, con una base agrícola, tuvo una vida relativamente lánguida, hasta la segunda mitad del siglo pasado, en que la puesta en explotación de las minas de plomo de la región produjo un rápido aumento



NEW SETTLEMENT AT AFULEH

Top: Pages of from Juan Cano Lasso, "La Carolina." From *Arquitectura* 53, May 1963.

Bottom left: Example of project for Die neue Stadt, 1930s. From Gottfried Feder, *Die neue Stadt*, Berlin: Springer, 1939.

Bottom right: Richard Kauffmann. Project for the new town of Afuleh, Palestine, c. 1925. From *The Town Planning Review* 12, no. 2 (November 1926).



Top: D.G.R.D. Perspective view of the reconstruction of Brunete, 1940. © AGA.

Bottom: Aerial views of the ruins of Brunete, 1939. © AGA.



Top: D.G.R.D. Plaza Mayor of the reconstructed Las Rozas. © AGA.

Middle: D.G.R.D. Model and view the Plaza Mayor of the reconstructed Brunete, 1940 & c. 1944. © AGA.

Bottom: D.G.R.D. Perspective of the Plaza Mayor of Majadahonda, 1940. Plan of the reconstruction (only red and orange were realized). © AGA.



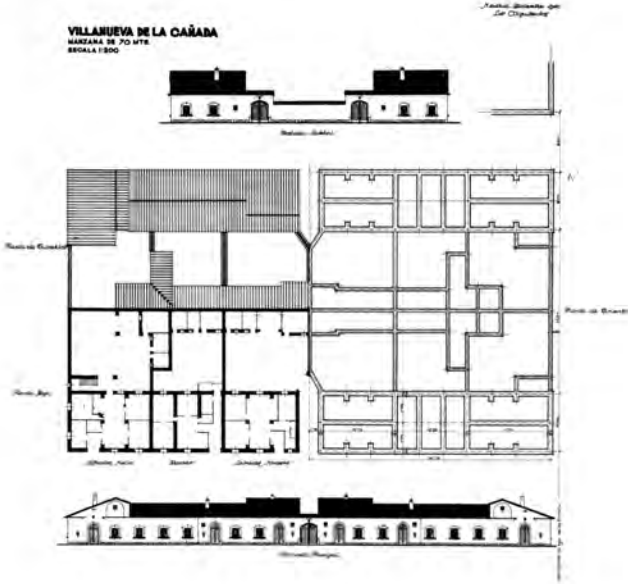
Top left: Plaza in Gajanejos, c. 1945. © AGA.

Middle: Plaza in Titulcia, c. 1945. Photo J.F. Lejeune.

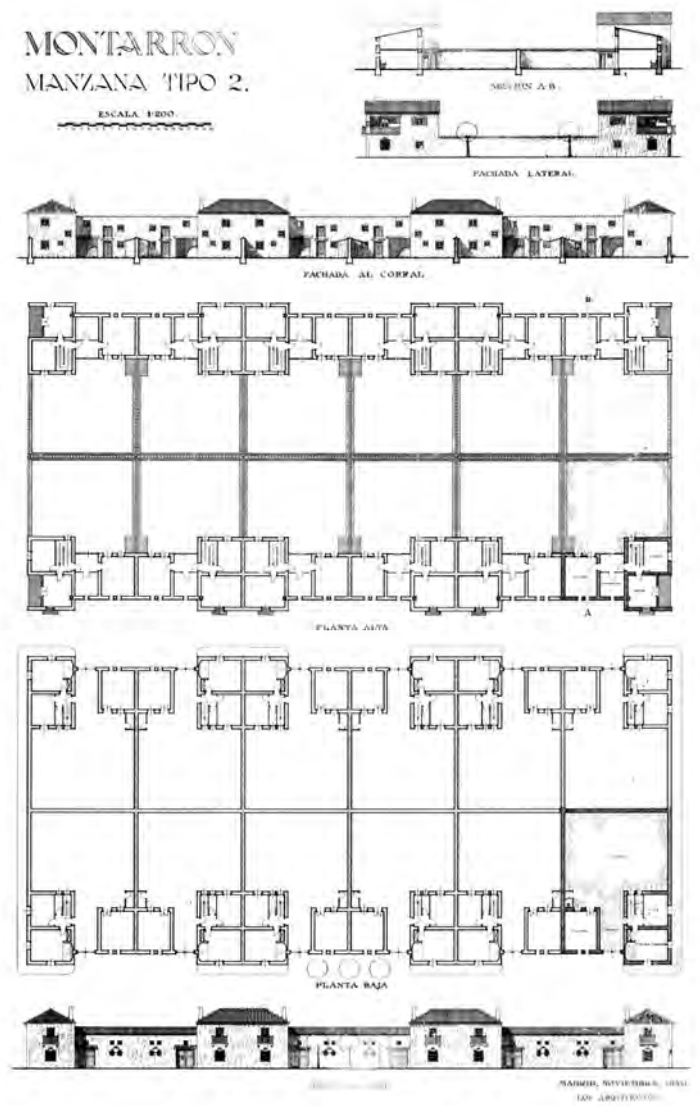
Top right: Plaza in Seseña Nuevo, c. 1945. © AGA.

Bottom: Plaza in Los Blazquéz, c. 1945. Photo J.F. Lejeune.

VILLANUEVA DE LA CAÑADA
MANZANA DE 70 UTE
ESCALA 1:200



MONTARRÓN
MANZANA TIPO 2.

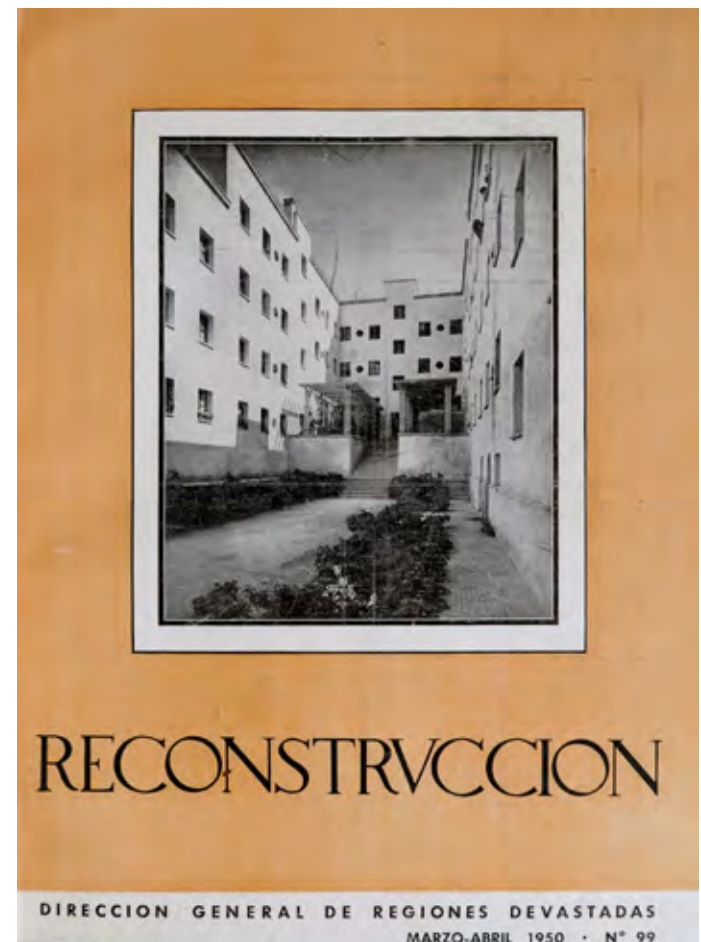
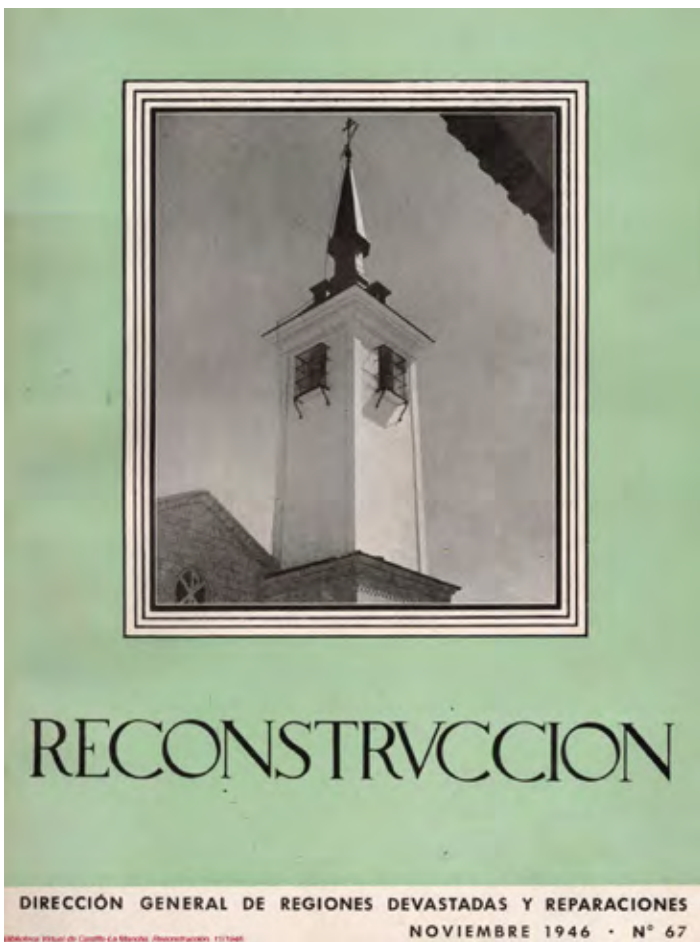


Top left: Building type in Villanueva de la Cañada.
From *Reconstrucción* 29, December 1942.

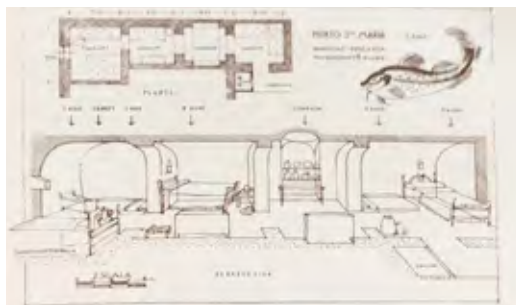
Middle left: Street in Brunete. © AGA.

Top right: Building type in Montarrón. From *Reconstrucción* 14, July-August, 1941.

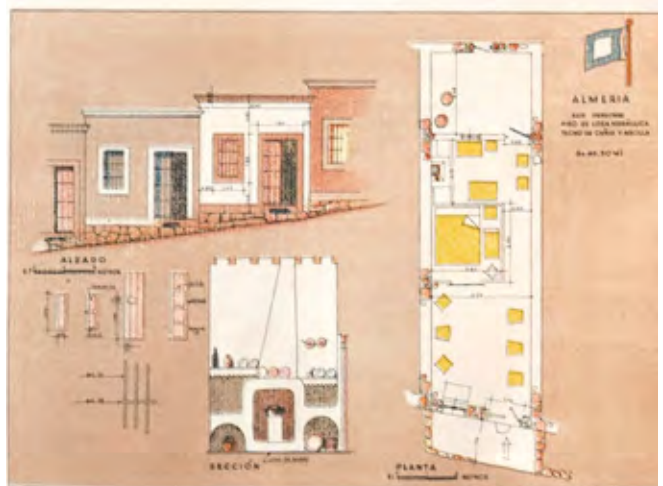
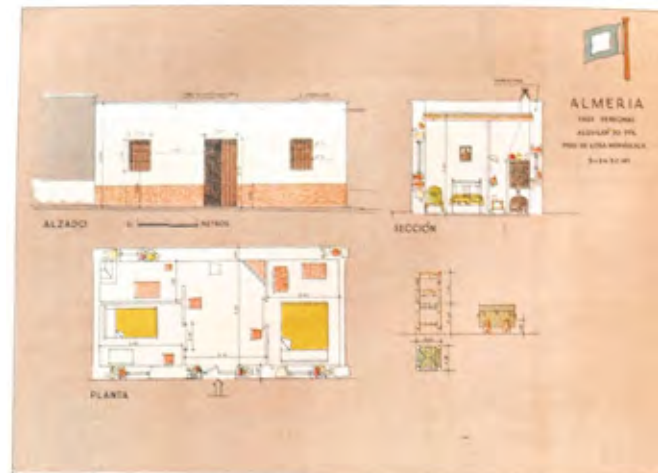
Bottom: Panoramic view of housing blocks. © AGA.



Examples of covers of the periodical *Reconstrucción*.
277



Viviendas de pescadores



Pages of Pedro Muguruza (under the direction of), Plan de mejoramiento de la vivienda en los poblados de pescadores. 3 vols, Madrid: Dirección General de Arquitectura, 1942-46.



Núcleo de nuevas viviendas en Almería. Arriba: Corte longitudinal por el eje de la calle principal. Abajo: Corte transversal por el eje de la Iglesia.



Top: Period photographs of the cuevas de Almería and their residents. © AGA.

Bottom: D.G.R.D. Axonometric and elevations of the first version of the Regiones district in Almería. From *Reconstrucción* 34, June-July 1943.

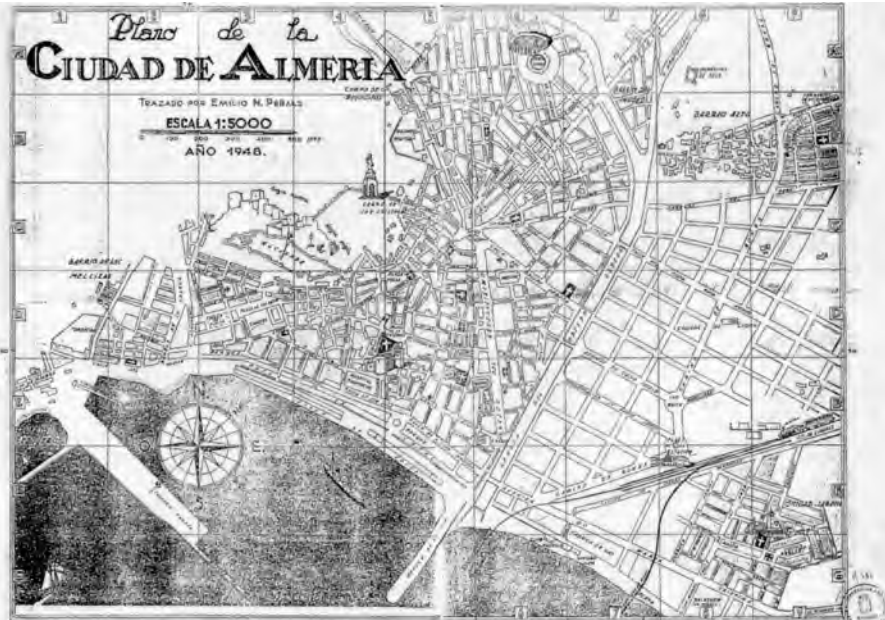


Top: D.G.R.D. Market in the new district of Regiones, Almería, 1943-46. © AGA.

Bottom: D.G.R.D. Model of the new district of Regiones, Almería, 1943-46. © AGA.



D.G.R.D. Streets in the new district of Regiones, Almería.
© AGA. 281



Vista general de la barriada de Ciudad Jardín con el mar en fondo.



Vista general de la plaza de España con la iglesia y el edificio de servicios públicos.

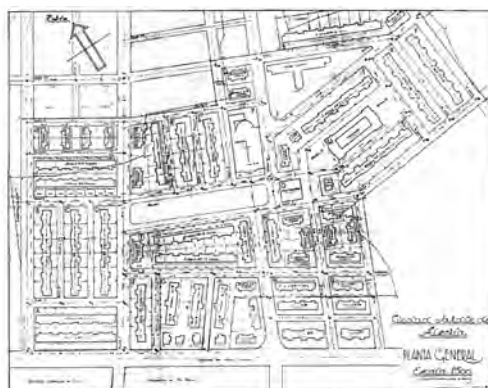


Vista general de la barriada.



Fachada principal del edificio de servicios públicos de la plaza de España.

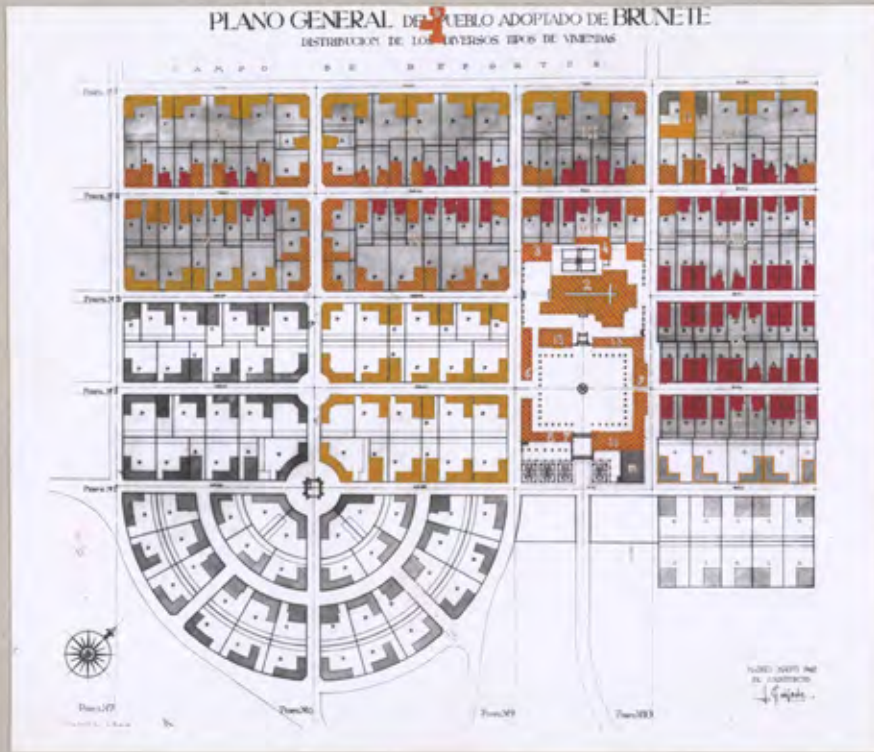
Top: Map of Almería with Regiones (top right) and Ciudad Jardín (bottom right). From Alfonso Ruiz García, *Ciudad Jardín, Almería, 1940-1947: Guillermo Langle Rubio*, Almería Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 1998.



Middle: Four views of Ciudad Jardín, Almería, c. 1945. From Ruiz García.

Bottom: Plan of Ciudad Jardín. From Ruiz García.

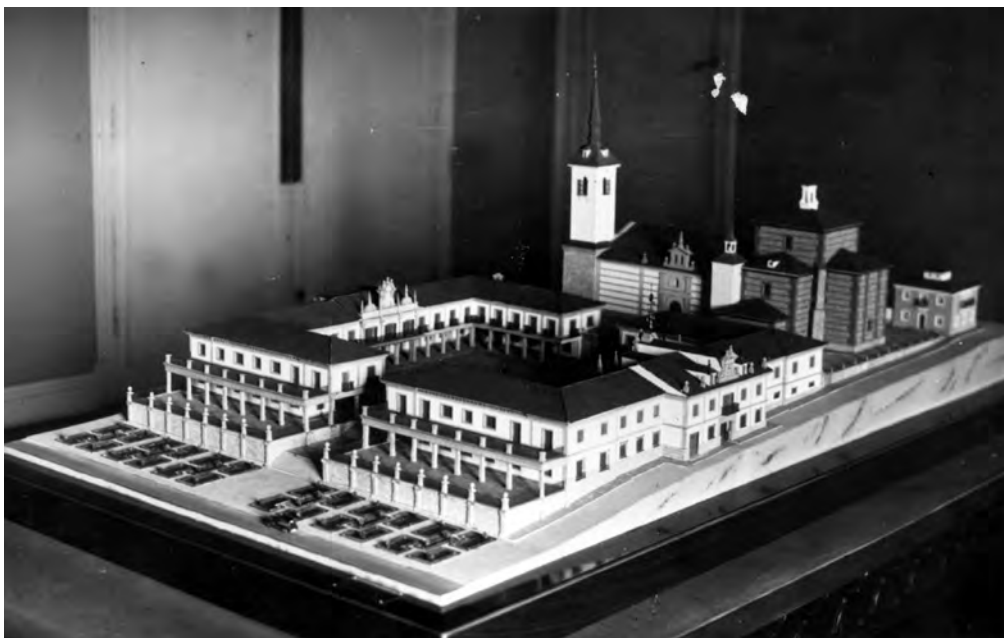
AGA
 Arch. rep. 4255 Brunete



- 1- Ermita.
 - 2- Iglesia
 - 3- Casa Rectoral y Archivo Paro.
 - 4- Casa Católica y Cataguis.
 - 5- Ayuntamiento y J. Municipal.
 - 6- Casa de F. E. E.
 - 7- Correos.
 - 8- Telégrafos.
 - 9- Escuelas.
 - 10- Parador.
 - 11- Locales de Rano.
 - 12- Panadería.
 - 13- Viviendas urbanas y Comercio.
 - I.- 37 casas.
 - II.- " "
 - III.- 36 "
 - IV.- 32 "
 - V.- 37 "
 - VI.- " "
 - VII.- 8 "
 - VIII.- 58 "
 - IX.- " "
 - X.- 9 "
- Tipos de viviendas*
 T.A.=5; T.B.=2; T.C.=3; T.E.=5
 T.D.=4; T.F.=5'



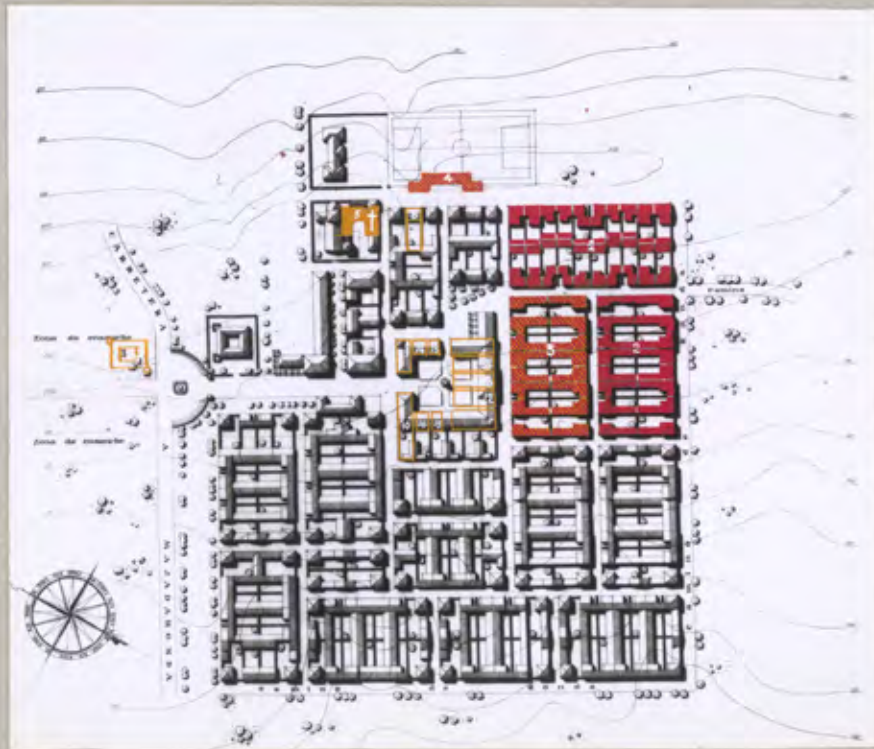
D.G.R.D. The new Brunete: plan, views of the ruins with surviving church, model of the Plaza Mayor. © AGA.



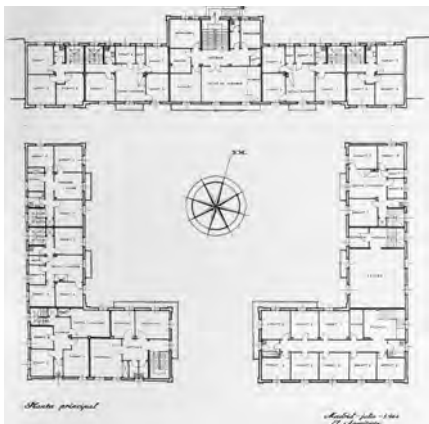


D.G.R.D. The new Brunete:
view of the Plaza Mayor, eleva-
tions of the city, street corner.
© AGA.

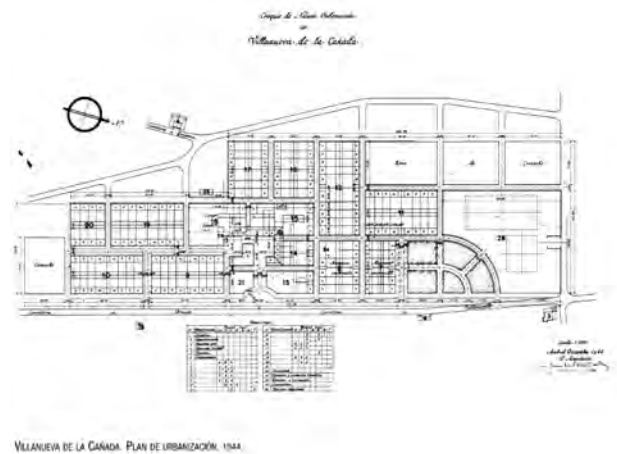




- 12.3. Viviendas.
- 4. Grupo Escolar.
- 5. Iglesia y edificios parroquiales.
- 6. Casa parroquiales.
- 7. Casa Cuartel de la G.C.
- 8. Ayuntamiento.
- 9. T.E.T. y de las T.O.N.E.
- 10. Porada
- 11. Correos, Telégrafos, y viviendas.
- 12, 13, 14 y 15. Comercios y viviendas.
- 16. Casino.



D.G.R.D. Villanueva del Pardillo. Recon-
 struction: plan, plan of
 the Plaza Mayor, aerial
 view of ruins, con-
 temporary view of the
 Plaza Mayor (photo J.F.
 Lejeune). © AGA.



Top: View of the Plaza of Villanueva de la Cañada. c. 1950.

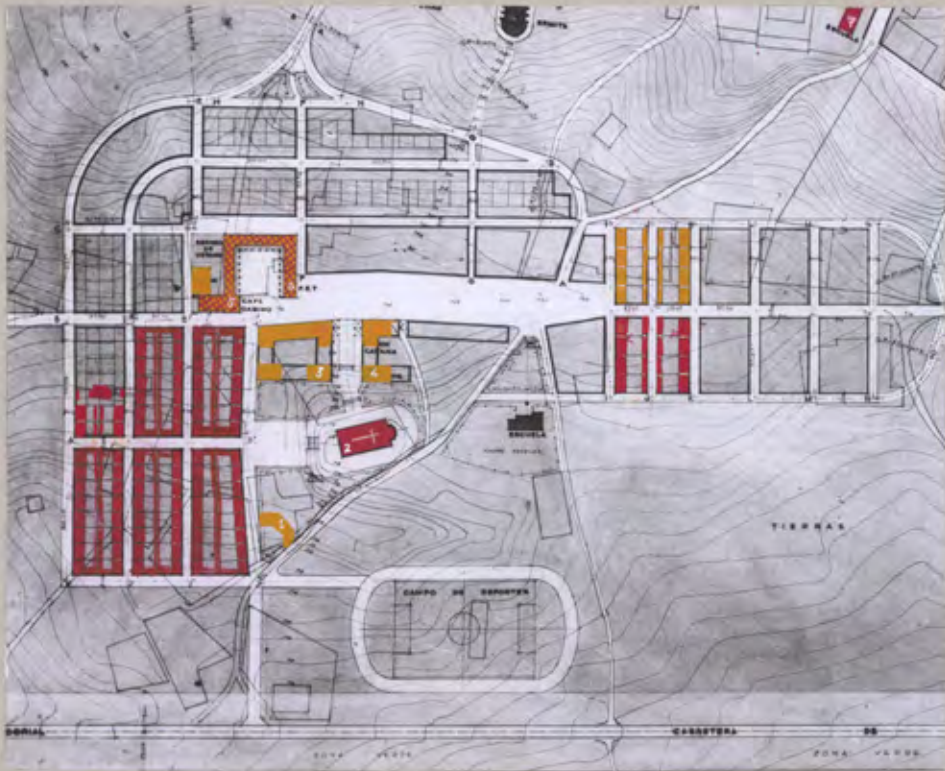
Middle left: D.G.R.D. Plan of the reconstructed town (first version). From *Reconstrucción* 29, Dec. 1942

Middle right: D.G.R.D. Plan of the reconstructed town (second version). From *Villanueva De La Cañada: Historia de una reconstrucción*, Villanueva de la Cañada: Ayuntamiento, Concejalía de Cultura, 2001

Bottom: Catalan vaults in the reconstruction of Villanueva de la Cañada. © AGA.

DIRECCION GENERAL DE REGIONES DEVASTADAS
 PROYECTOS

Las Rozas



- 1. Escuela.
- 2. Iglesia.
- 3. A. Católica.
- 4. Casa Parroquial.
- 5. Café, Carino.
- 6. F.E.C.
- 7. Escuelas.

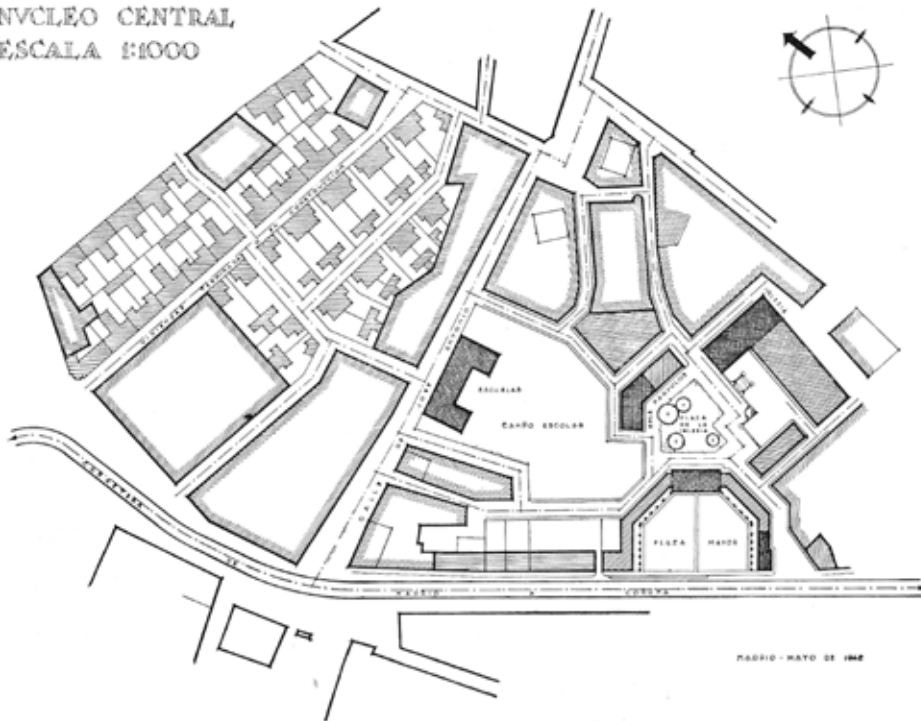


D.G.R.D. Reconstruction de Las Rozas: plan, aerial view of the ruins, aerial view of the new Plaza Mayor, aerial view of the new rural units. © AGA.



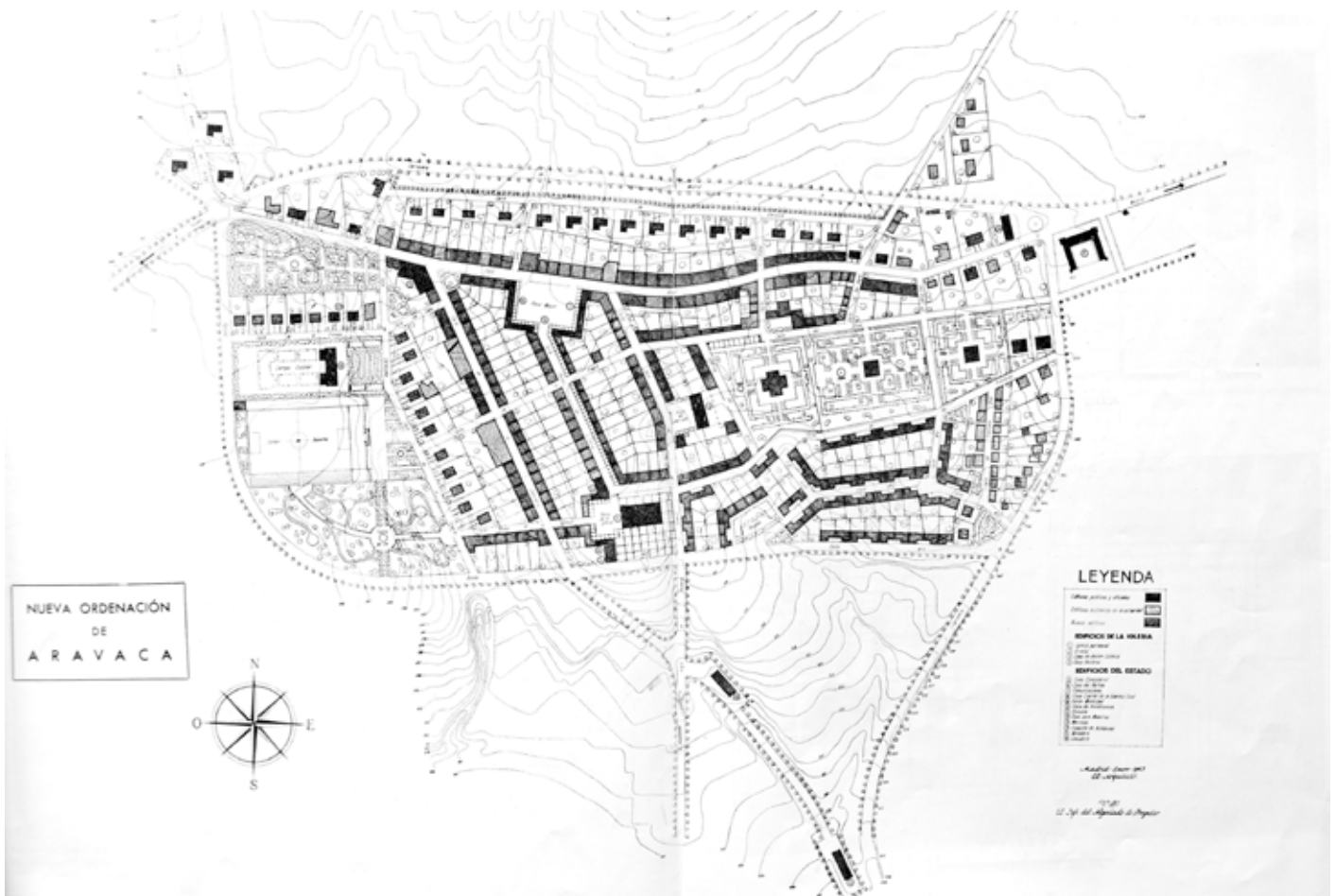


GVADARRAMA
NVCLEO CENTRAL,
ESCALA 1:1000



Top and bottom: ruins of Guadarrama and view of the reconstructed Plaza Mayor. © AGA.

Middle: D.G.R.D. Plan of the reconstruction of Guadarrama. From *Reconstrucción* 23, May 1942.



Top and bottom right: D.G.R.D. Plan of the reconstruction and street views of Aravaca. From *Cortijos y Rascacielos* 30, July-August 1945.

Bottom left: View of the new square. © AGA.



LA OBRA DE LA DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE REGIONES DEVASTADAS Y REPARACIONES

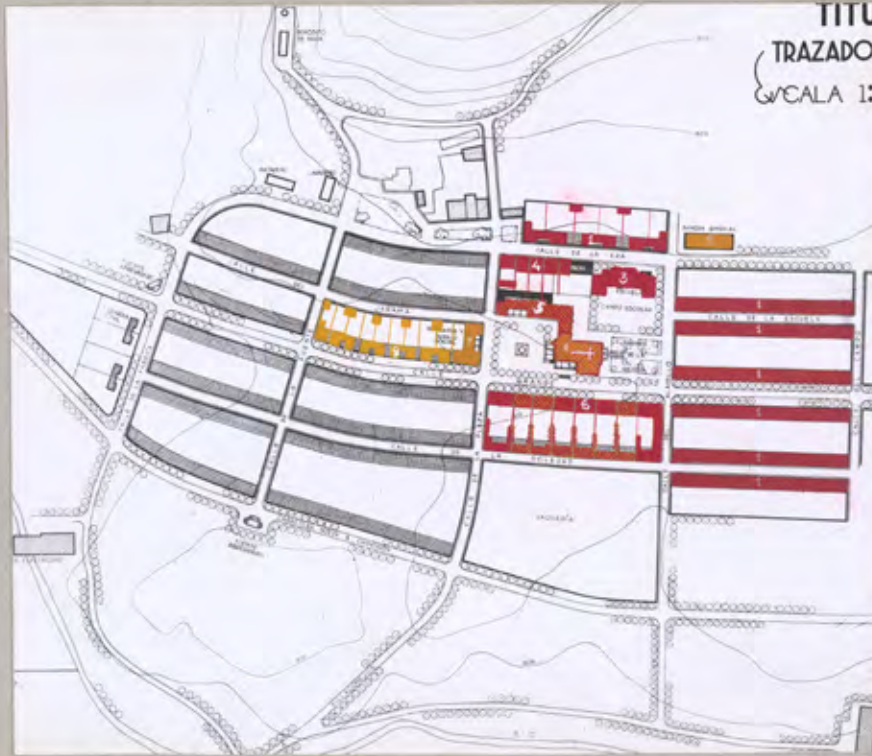
RESURRECCION DEL PUEBLO DE ARAVACA

EN nuestro deseo de dar preferencia a las cuestiones de urbanización, por considerar que del acierto de la urbanización, en la creación o en las reformas urbanas, depende el de todo un plan general de reconstrucción, nos dirigimos al profesor de esta asignatura en la Escuela Superior de Arquitectura, D. César Corti, en demanda de trabajos respaldados por su competencia y su autoridad. No obtuvimos lo que deseábamos por razones perfectamente justificadas; pero si escuchamos de labios del ilustre arquitecto una firme orientación, que confirmaba nuestro propio juicio: en lo hecho en Aravaca, en materia de urbanización, por "Regiones Devastadas", se halla una de las mejores tareas logradas en España en estos últimos años.

Ya la labor reconstructiva realizada hasta ahora, a la vista estaba de técnicos y profanos. Con alentadora frecuencia nos hemos venido enterando de que el ministro de la Gobernación, unas veces, y el director general de Arquitectura, otras, inauguraban importantes obras de reforma, ya concluidas; solemnizaban la feliz terminación de bloques de viviendas, barrios enteros y hasta nuevos pueblos, o iniciaban, aprobaban y



La travesía de los Españoles devastada en la composición de las calles de San Félix y del Arcángel.



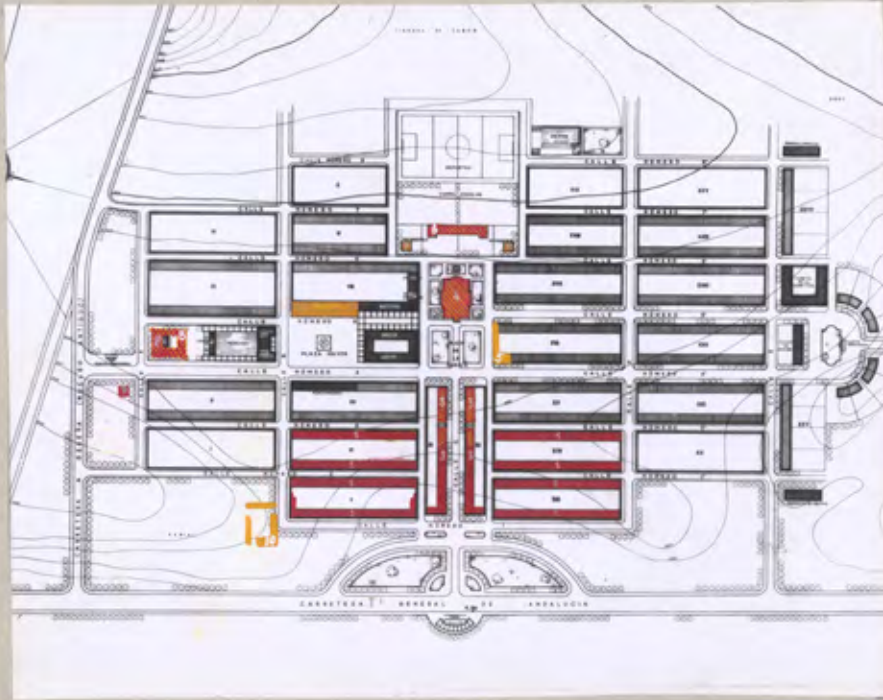
- TITU
TRAZADO
Escala 1:2000
- 1. Viviendas de una planta.
 - 2. Patrona Sindical.
 - 3. Escuela.
 - 4. Viviendas de Maestros.
 - 5. Ayuntamiento.
 - 6. Iglesia.
 - 7. Sindicatos y Auxilio Social.
 - 8. Viviendas. Circular 25.
 - 9. Viviendas 2 plantas.



D.G.R.D. Plan and aerial view of the reconstructed Titulcia, c. 1945. On the hill to the right, one can see the ruins of the old village. © AGA.
290

DIRECCION GENERAL DE REGIONES DEVASTADAS
PROYECTOS

Seseña



1. Viviendas de una planta.
2. Viviendas, Circular 25.
3. Viviendas de dos plantas.
4. Iglesia.
5. Ayuntamiento.
6. Escuelas.
7. Viviendas para Maestros.
8. Casa Cuartel de la G.C.
9. Transformador.
10. Granja Escuela.





Top: Street in new Belchite, c. 1945. © AGA.

Bottom left and right: D.G.R.D. Plan of New Belchite with plan of the ruins (in black). Plan of the reconstruction. From *Reconstrucción* 16, October 1941.



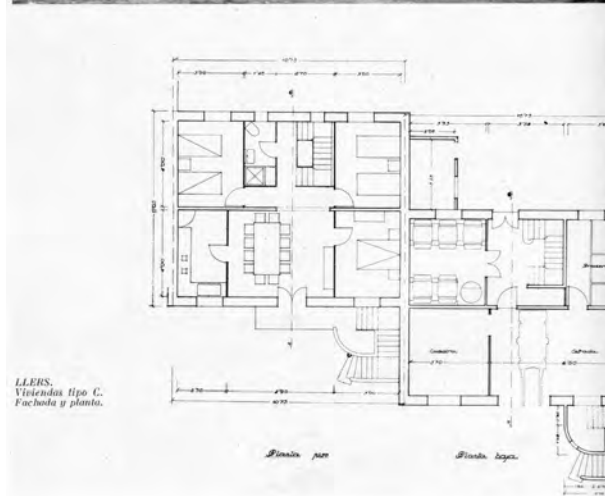
Top: Views of the Plaza in Belchite. Photos J.F. Lejeune.

Bottom: Frescoes in the Town Hall of Belchite. © AGA.
293



1. Iglesia Parroquial.
 2. Casa Parroquial.
 3. Colegiario.
 4. Viviendas Maestros.
 5. Grupo Escolar.
 6. Viviendas tipo A.
 7. " " B.
 8. " " C.
 9. " " D.
 10. " " E.
 11. " Plaza Ma.
- yor.

Proyecto de Reconstrucción del Poblado de Llers del Valle de Segura de la...



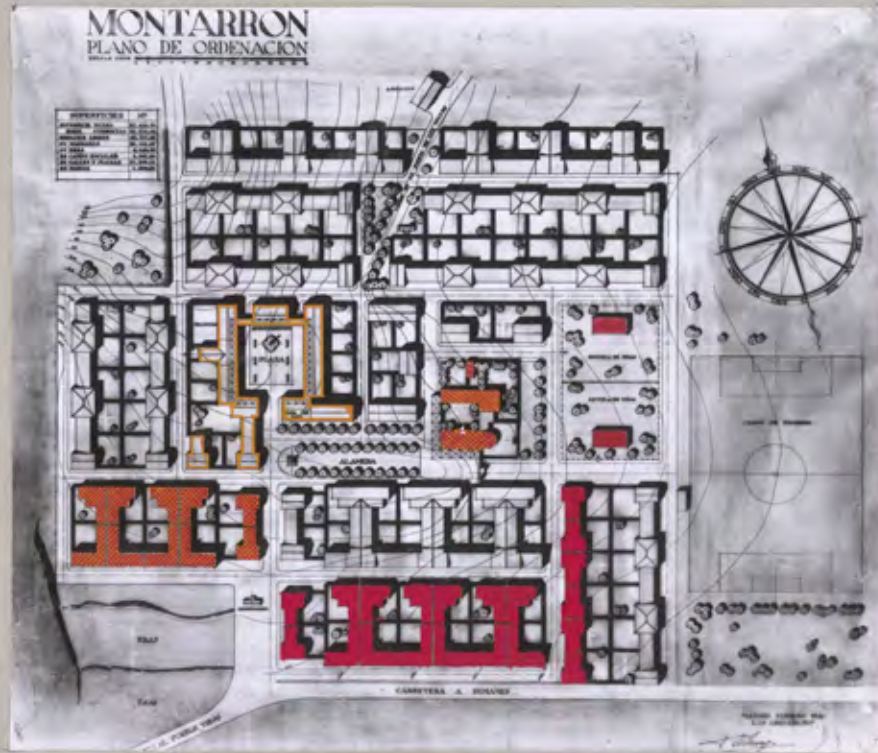
LLERS.
 Viviendas tipo C.
 Fachada y planta.

Planta por Planta baja.

Top: D.G.R.D. Plan of the reconstruction of Llers. © AGA.

Bottom left and right: Examples of building type. From *Reconstrucción* 40, February 1944.

Middle left: The new square of Llers. Photo J.F. Lejeune.



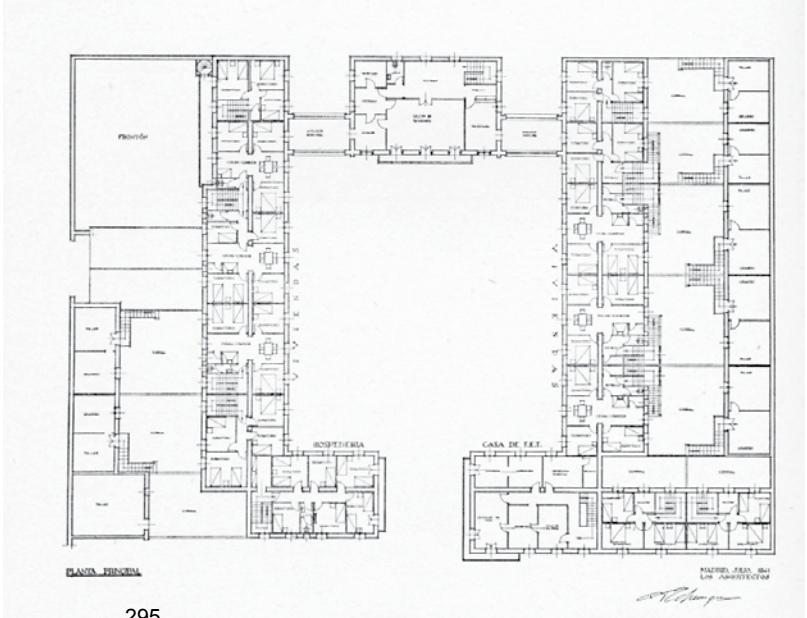
1. Iglesia Parroquial.



MONTARRON
PLAZA — MAYOR

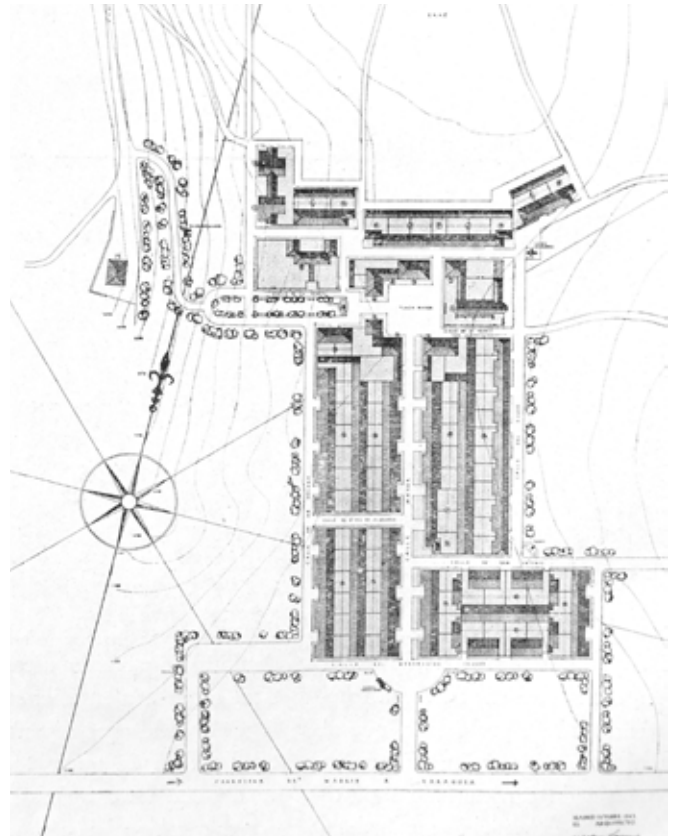
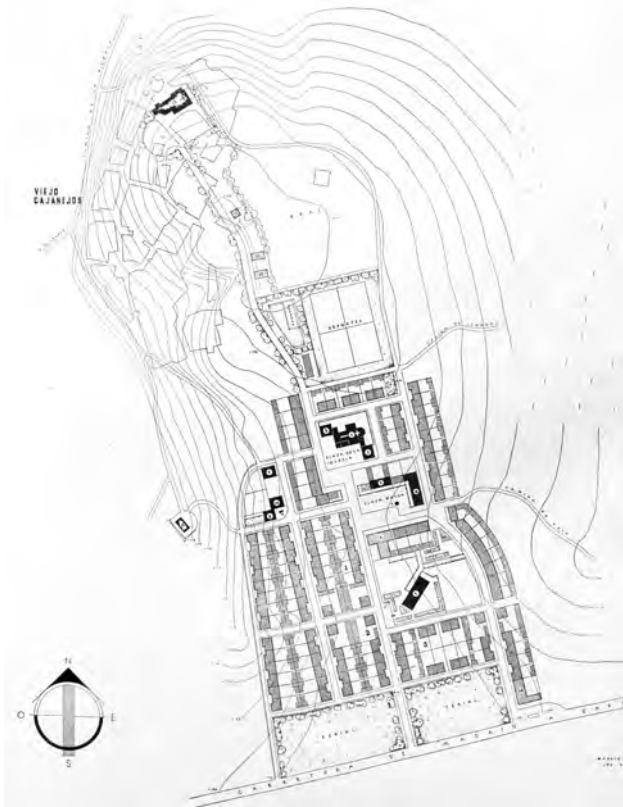


MONTARRON
PLAZA — MAYOR



D.G.R.D. Montarrón. Plan of the reconstruction, aerial view of the ruins. © AGA.

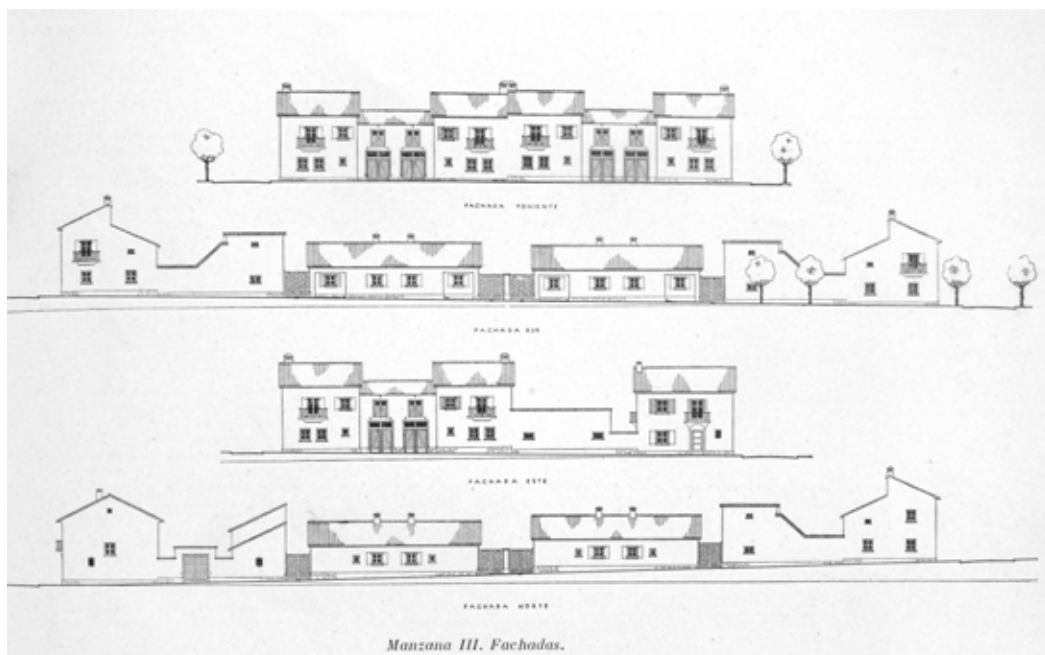
Montarrón. Section and plan of the square as planned (incomplete). From *Reconstrucción* 14, 1941.



Top left: D.G.R.D. Plan of the reconstruction of Gajanejos (first version). From *Reconstrucción* 4, Aug. Sept. 1940.

Top right and bottom: D.G.R.D. Plan of the reconstruction of Gajanejos (final version) and street elevation. From *Reconstrucción* 56, October 1945.

Middle: View of the plaza. © AGA.



DIRECCION GENERAL DE REGIONES DEVASTADAS
PROYECTOS

Gajanejos ⁽³³⁾



1. Iglesia parroquial.
2. Centro parroquial y A.C.
3. Casa Rectoral.
4. Ayuntamiento.
5. Casa de F.E.C.
6. Viviendas de Funcionarios.
7. Tiendas.
8. Escuelas.
9. Lavadero.
10. Horno.
11. Fragua Municipal.
12. Ermita.
13. Ruinas de la Agua. Iglesia.
14. Deposito de Agua.
15. Parador y C^o de Aut. ¹⁹
16. 36 viviendas Tipo B.
17. 8 " " C.



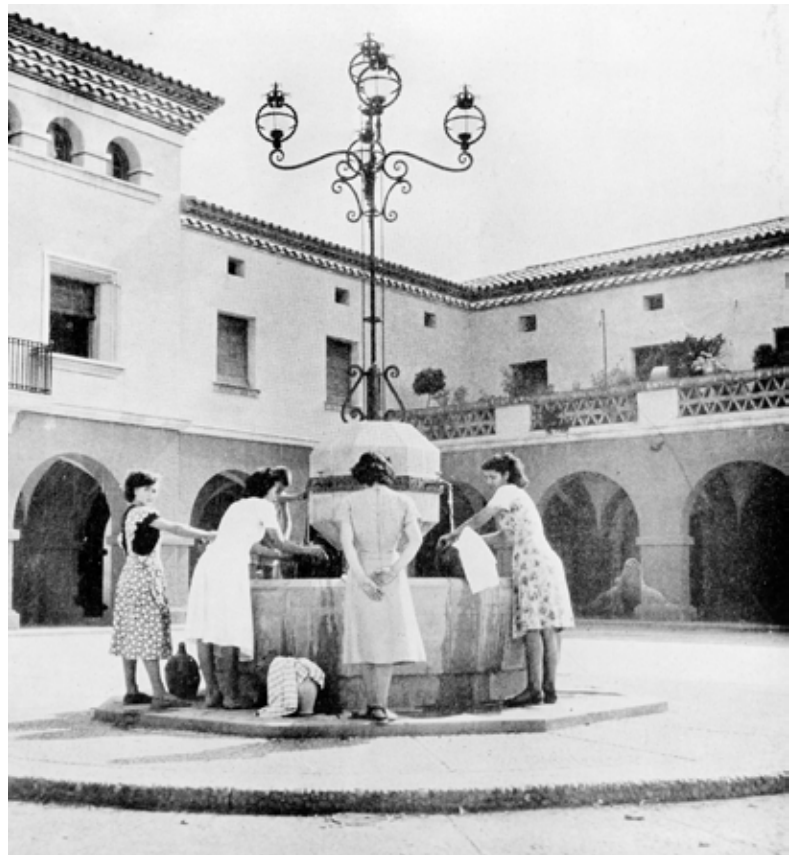
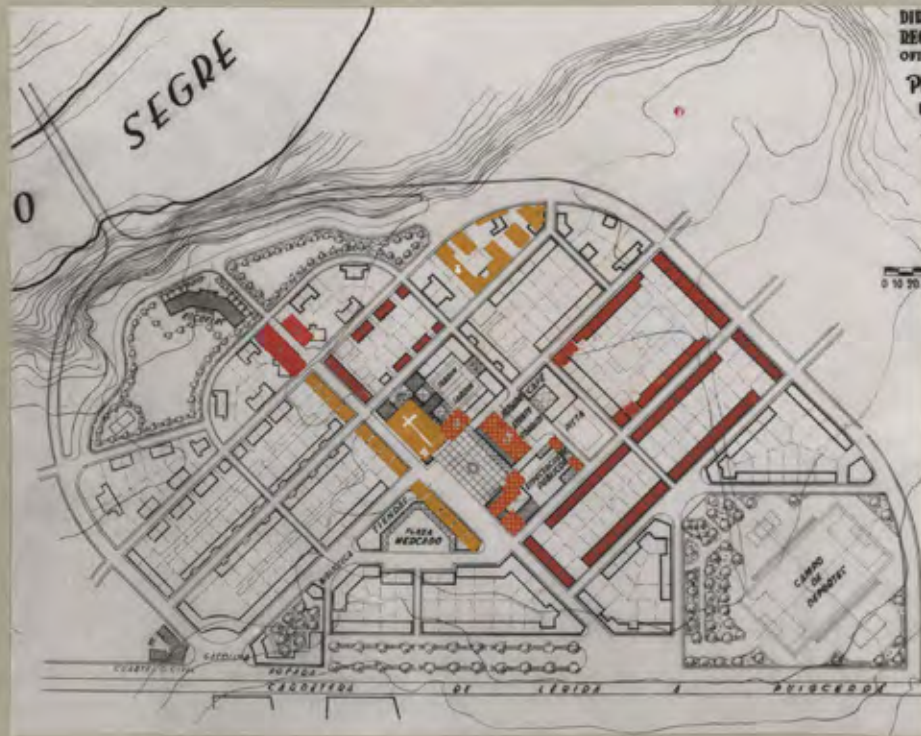
Top and middle: D.G.R.D. Final plan of the reconstruction of Gajanejos, ruins of the town, view of the new square. © AGA.

Bottom: Perspective of the final version of the reconstruction. From *Reconstrucción* 56, October 1945.

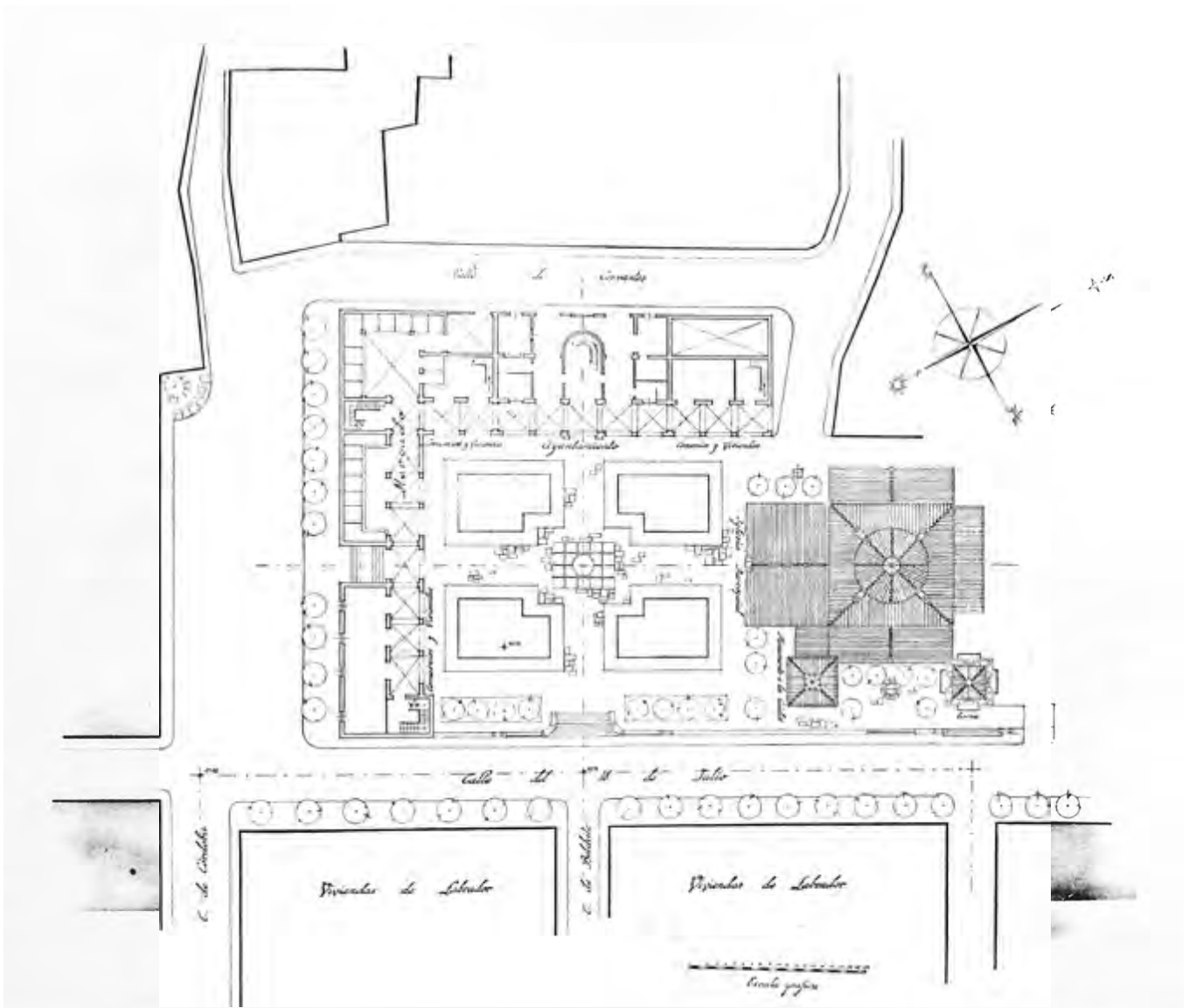




D.G.R.D. Plan and photographs of the reconstruction of Masegoso de Tajuña. © AGA and *Reconstrucción* 101, June-July 1950.



D.G.R.D. Plan, axonometric view, and view of the square of the reconstruction of Villanueva de la Barca. © AGA.

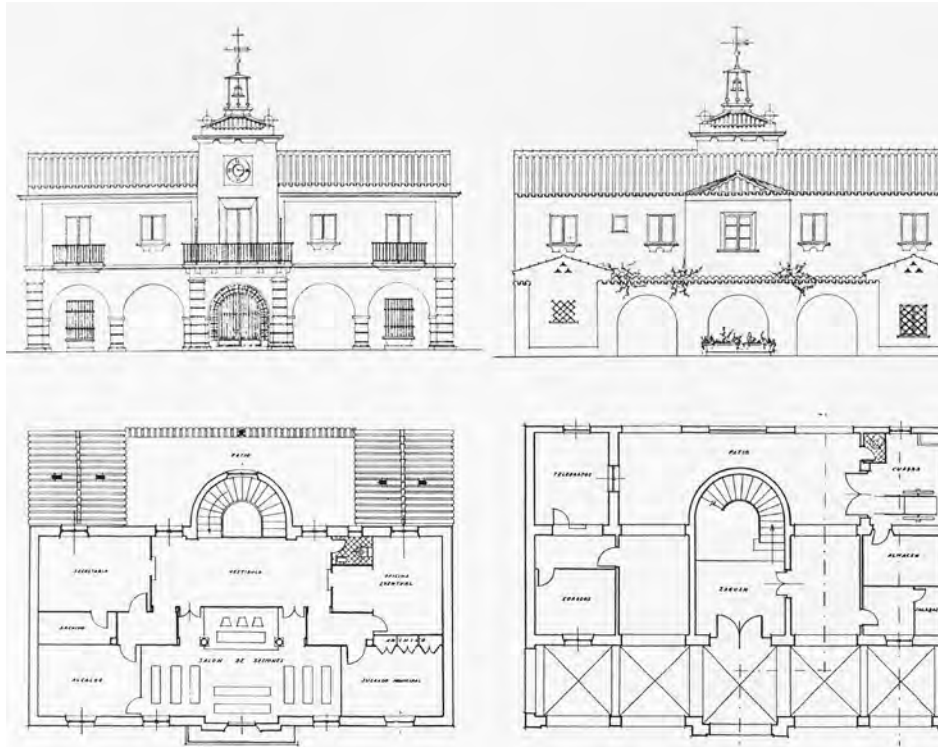


This page:
D.G.R.D. Plan of the reconstruction of the Plaza of Los Blázquez. From *Reconstrucción* 42, April 1944.

The square. Photo J.F. Lejeune.

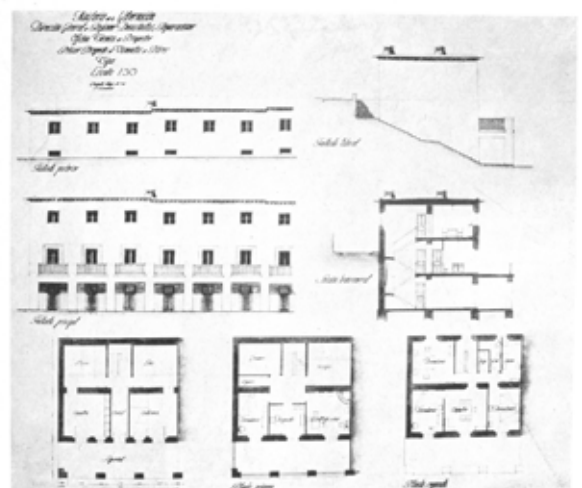
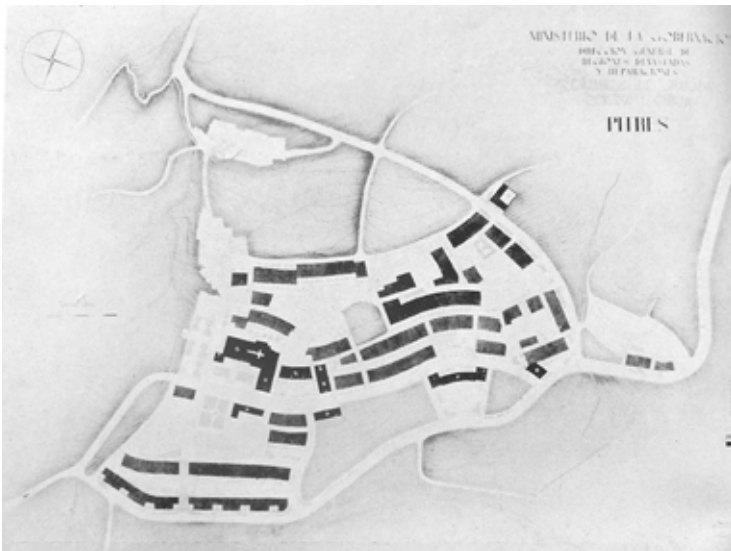
Next page:
Facades of the town hall. From *Reconstrucción* 42, April 1944. Photo J.F. Lejeune.

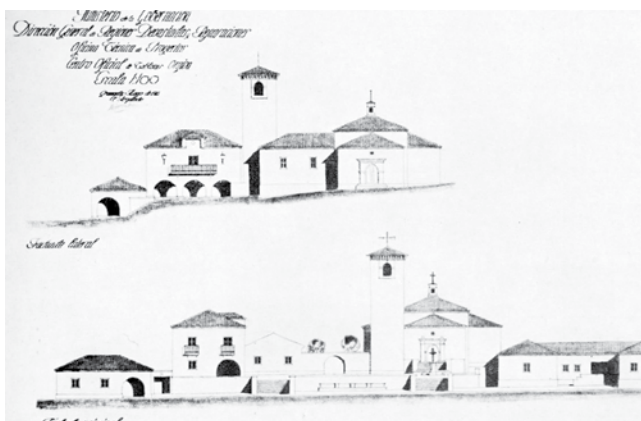
Housing type. © AGA.





D.G.R.D. Reconstruction of Pitres. New square, proposed new facade, plan, and typologies. The plan was only partially followed. © AGA and *Reconstrucción* 15, September 1941.





D.G.R.D. The reconstructed town of Tablones. Street and sections from *Reconstrucción* 53, May 1945.

Aerial view. Wikipedia.



Top: José Antonio Coderch and Manuel Vals. Apartment Building, Calle Sebastian Bach, Barcelona, 1958. Detail of the louvered facade. © Museo Nacional Reina Sofía. From: *J.A. Coderch de Sentmenat*, Barcelona: Editorial Gili, 1990.

4:

The Modern and the Vernacular: Postwar Continuities

We would arrive at the archetype of the Pueblo Español, whose power of attraction is today higher than when it was done in 1929. People go to experience it, fleeing our dehumanized and soulless residential developments. Here they encounter the scale of the man-person, not of the man-mass. The different places welcome him, but they do not shut him up, because they all have their escape to other areas and other perspectives. These perspectives are always limited, because the streets are curved to avoid excessively long views.¹

Popular architecture is the architecture that the people make. With greater rigor one could say that it is the architecture that the people and time make. Because popular architecture is the result of a unitary set of structures, enclosures, spaces and constructive solutions that through many generations of users have given testimony of their goodness. And the anonymous passing of many generations, with common idiosyncrasies, with common desires and aspirations, is what has brought out the hidden singularity of a social community, apparently gregarious, but which has, however, a pronounced personality.²

¹ Oriol Bohigas, "Comentarios al 'Pueblo Español' de Montjuich," *Arquitectura*, nº 35, November 1961, p. 16: "Se llegaría así a este arquetipo de Pueblo Español, cuya atracción se ejerce ahora más que cuando se hizo en 1929. Las gentes van a él huyendo de nuestras urbanizaciones deshumanizadas y desangeladas. Aquí se encuentra la escala del hombre-persona, no del hombre-masa. Los distintos ámbitos le acogen, pero no le encierran, porque todos ellos tienen sus escapes a otros ámbitos y otras perspectivas. Estas perspectivas son siempre limitadas, porque las calles se curvan para evitar las vistas desmesuradas."

² Miguel Fisac, "Arquitectura Popular Manchega," *Cuadernos de Estudios Manchegos*, nº 16, 1985, p. 17: "La arquitectura popular, es la arquitectura que hace el pueblo. Con mayor rigor se podría decir que es la arquitectura que hacen el pueblo y el tiempo. Porque la arquitectura popular es el resultado de conjunto unitario de estructuras cerramientos, espacios y soluciones constructivas que a través de muchas generaciones de usuarios, han dado testimonio de su bondad. Y el pasar anónimo de muchas gentes, con idiosincrasia común, con deseos y aspiraciones comunes, es el que ha hecho aflorar esta oculta singularidad de una colectividad social, aparentemente gregaria, que tiene, sin embargo, una acusada personalidad."

The Fifth National Assembly of Architects, held from the 10th to 18th of May 1949 in Barcelona, Palma de Majorca and Valencia, marked a seminal date for the Spanish architectural world. It opened to an international forum after ten years of isolation, and is generally seen as the starting point for the revival of modern architecture.³ In his speech “Las fuentes de la nueva arquitectura” [The sources of the new architecture], guest lecturer Alberto Sartoris (1901-1998) argued for a new architecture of “mediation” whose modernity would reflect “the rational and functional concept of the art of building... as old as the world and born on the coasts of the Mediterranean,” thus reconnecting with the pre-Civil War debates.⁴ Sartoris, who was familiarized with the Spanish context during the 1930s through an exchange of publications with Fernando García Mercadal, delivered a second lecture “Orientaciones de la arquitectura contemporánea” [Orientations of contemporary architecture] that reflected his recent publication *Ordre et climat méditerranéen* (1948) and that presented together the architecture of Pier Luigi Nervi, Carlo Cattaneo, and Antoni Gaudí along with the Romanesque Monasterio de Santa María de Pedralbes near Barcelona and sketches of houses in the Catalan fishing villages of Garraf. Sartoris warned about a purely technical approach to the new architecture and urbanism, and in particular that of the reconstruction, while advocating a healthy regionalism. For the Italian, the geographical differences should be at the basis of a functional and rational approach to modern architecture and construction. Hence, prefabrication and standardization should be approached with care and precaution.⁵

Sartoris prolonged his analysis in an important discussion of “La nueva arquitectura rural” [The New Rural Architecture]. Whether a productive unit as a farm or a residential country house, the rural house was well fitted to adopt the principles of the functional architecture: “The rural architecture, with its clearly regionalist tendency, finds in the rationalism of today the ideal environment and develops in practical forms those functional criteria that constitute the most important characteristic of the modern constructive methods.”⁶ With examples ranging from Greece (Aris Konstantidinis) to Switzerland (Sartoris) to Spain (Coderch, de Moragas) and a project for a farmer house in Estremadura (Carlos de Miguel), he advocated the use of modern systems of construction while encouraging the use of traditional materials when appropriate esthetically and economically.

³ *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, 1949, n° 10, pp. 2-5. The conference was accompanied with an exhibition of the works of the D.G.R.D. and the I.N.C. along with works from Latin America. A section of this essay was published in Jean-François Lejeune, “The modern, the Vernacular, and the Mediterranean in Spain: Sert, Coderch, De la Sota, Fernández del Amo, Bohigas,” in Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino (eds.), *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*, London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 65-94.

⁴ Antonio Pizza, “The Tradition and Universalism of a Domestic Project,” Antonio Pizza and Josep Rovira (eds.), *In Search of Home: Coderch 1940/1964*, Barcelona: Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, 2000, pp. 89-90. Quote from Alberto Sartoris, *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, n° 11-12, 1950, p. 40.

⁵ Alberto Sartoris, “Orientaciones de la Arquitectura contemporánea,” *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, n° 11-12, 1950, pp. 48-55.

⁶ Alberto Sartoris, “La nueva arquitectural rural,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, December 1949, p. 513.

During the same event and on the invitation of Francisco Prieto Moreno, head of the *Dirección General de Arquitectura* and the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas*, the Italian architect Gio Ponti (1891-1979) spoke about Antoni Gaudí and the traditional Catalan rural architecture—“the primitive popular house of Catalonia... that sprouts a fruit of spirituality of the greatest and most sacred importance”—as precursors and paradigms of a new modernity.⁷ He expressed optimism and invited Spanish architects to “bring a noble contribution to modern architecture without having to follow the style that dominates in the world.”⁸ He urged them to “make quietly, serenely and honestly, the architecture that comes out of yourselves.”⁹ Back in Italy, he wrote in the November 1949 issue of *Domus* a reportage titled “Dalla Spagna”:

At times, thinking back to Ibiza and Benicarló, I ponder with some affliction how difficult it is for us architects, in spite of all our theoretical and polemical baggage, ...to achieve a result as natural as that “architecture without architects,” that farmers and men of sea have always built with content unawareness. But Ibiza is a fascinating lesson for all and a reference for all the young Spanish architects who aspire at a pure expression of our architecture....¹⁰

4.1. Coderch: from Rural to Urban Vernacular

It is during the Fifth Assembly that José Antonio Coderch de Sentmenat (1913-1984) first met with Ponti. This encounter marked the grand entrance on the national and international scene of a Spanish architect of the post-Civil war era. Born in Barcelona, Coderch worked in Madrid from 1940 to 1942 for Secundino Zuazo. Back to Catalonia where he started his collaboration with Manuel Valls Vergés (1912-2000), he worked in Sitges and acquainted himself with the problems involved in the design of subsidized housing, an issue that will be at the heart of both his theoretical work and his professional activity. In 1945 he was appointed municipal architect in Sitges. During this period and often with major bureaucratic and financial difficulties, he designed a series of subsidized housing projects (*viviendas protegidas*) for the Obra Sindical del Hogar in Sitges (1944), La Roca del Vallès (1945), and Montcada i Reixach (1945), to mention a few. With the volumetric clarity, the repetition of the type, the placement of roofs parallel to the streets, and the absence of any ornament, Coderch’s grouping of

⁷ For this section, see Josep M. Rovira, “The Sea Never Had a Dream,” in *In Search of Home*, pp. 73-sq. On the relationship between Spain and Italy, see Antonio Pizza and Josep Rovira, *In Search of Home*, op. cit., and María Isabel Navarro, “La crítica italiana y la arquitectura española de los años 50. Pasajes de la arquitectura española en la segunda modernidad,” *Modelos alemanes e italianos para España en los años de la posguerra, U.N.A.V. 4*, Actas del Congreso Internacional, March 2004, Pamplona, T6 Ediciones, 2004, pp. 61-100 (Internet edition).

⁸ Gio Ponti, “El arquitecto Gio Ponti en la Asamblea,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* IX, n° 90, June 1949, p. 269. Also see the ambitious article that Gio Ponti published in *Reconstrucción*: Gio Ponti, “Política de la arquitectura,” *Reconstrucción* X, n° 95, October 1949, pp. 301-08.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ Gio Ponti, “Dalla Spagna,” *Domus* n° 240, 1949, quoted by Luigi Spinelli, *José Antonio Coderch: La cellula e la luce*, Torino: Universale di architettura, n° 134, 2003, p. 14.

houses made the more substantial reference to popular architecture of the Mediterranean since the concept arose in the late 1920s. These were not vacation houses for the bourgeoisie but real houses for farmers and fishermen. Not very well known and not always easy to identify following the transformations they have endured, the projects realized in the 1940s for the *Obra Sindical del Hogar* anticipated, by ten years, the best architecture of the *pueblos de colonización*. In 1945 he designed an ambitious project for a terrain overlooking the Mediterranean just outside of Sitges, the Les Forques housing development (1945). Conceived as a mini-utopia of sort, the project was supposed to contain houses for fishermen mixed with artist houses and richer families. In one suggestive aerial perspective that reminds of Ponti and Rudofsky's own project for a hotel in Capri, Coderch and Valls revealed the essence of a unique synthesis. On a series of terraces cascading down toward the sea, they combined the plans made up of thin and long rectangles—a system similar to the contemporary Case Studies houses in Los Angeles— with a volumetric architecture that undoubtedly suggests the houses of Ibiza. The project was never realized, with the exception of an elegant Mediterranean pavilion for a soccer field, but the overall architectonic composition anticipated their most significant architecture in the following decade.

At a larger scale, the fishermen houses designed for the Instituto Social de la Marina in the harbor of Tarragona built (1949, in collaboration with the architect Juan Zaragoza) were built as a four-story high, crescent-shaped segment of street with great formal economy and conceptual urban clarity.¹¹ Likewise, Coderch and Valls's most ambitious housing project of the period, a large group of *viviendas protegidas* (social housing) designed in 1950 for the town of Hospitalet de Llobregat outside of Barcelona, was unfortunately not pursued. A combination of three articulated *barres* of apartments, six-story high, with twelve circular buildings, eight-floor high and organized in three rows, created an irregular pentagonal superblock, which in spite of the disconnected building types, maintained an astonishing urban quality. Continuous articulated *barres* of housing defined two sides of the project, whereas the three other edges were marked by a highly plastic succession of volumetric objects. Moreover, asymmetrical interior streets maintained the flexibility of the urban structure while defining a series of topographical terraces:

Since the terrain is high, irregular, and sloping to the south, elongated blocks have been arranged to follow the contour lines. This configuration achieves, not only a large variety of points of view from all the entrances, but also create many varied views from inside the homes.¹²

¹¹ On Coderch's early work, see Antonio Pizza and Josep Rovira, *In Search of Home*, and Luigi Spinelli, *José Antonio Coderch*, op. cit.

¹² José Antonio Coderch, "Viviendas protegidas," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 116, August 1951, p. 26.

In the 1949 issue of *Domus*, Ponti published the Les Forques project along with their first family houses, the white and abstract patio of the Casa Perez Mañanet (1946), the house-studio of Coderch in Sant Gervasi (1946), and the Garriga-Nogués house in Sitges (1947), the latter illustrated with a detailed photograph of the wooden louvers that Coderch will use characteristically during his career. In May 1951, the IXth Triennale of Milan opened, with the Spanish pavilion designed by Coderch and Santos Torroella, “an exercise in synthesis intended to demonstrate the quintessence of Spanish ‘modernity....”¹³ The left wall of the U-shaped 70-square-meter pavilion, painted green, was made of a structure of wood shutters, within which Coderch inserted three rows of photographs of minor Ibiza architecture mixed with details of Gaudí’s buildings, all of them by photographer Joaquín Gomis in association with Juan Prats Vallés. The opposite wall was covered with straw and displayed a painting by Ángel Ferrant, *Muchachas*, a *Composition* by Miró, along a selection of objects (glass vase, popular ceramics and maiolicas, etc.) selected by Santos Torroella, one of the artisans of the renovation of Catalan art. The red center wall held a Romanesque painting of the Catalan School, a wooden Virgin Mary, and on an amoeba-shaped low table were exhibited the illustrated edition of García Lorca’s works by Guinovart, ceramic pots, mantillas and other handicraft objects. This return to the abstraction of the vernacular, the organic nature of typology and construction, and the use of traditional craft connected the pavilion back to the Republican period of the 1930s and especially to the article and essays published in *A.C.*, the periodical of the GATEPAC. According to a report written by Coderch, the pavilion generated a strong interest among the architects and artists from other countries, even those from “extremist” political sides: “With its shapes, colors and particular design, the pavilion denoted a strong Spanish and Mediterranean spirit, in stark contrast to other countries, both Nordic and Latin.”¹⁴

In the columns of *Spazio*, Luigi Moretti argued that “the vigor but also the terror and the liberating vehemence of Gaudí live from the same blood, and from the same substance that the men who have put up the walls of the houses on Ibiza.” And he added:

Both architectures are the extreme poles, linked by countless continuous passages, of the same drive that leads one to detach from, and to renounce, the things that are not completely controlled; in the case of Gaudí, renunciation to the voluble casuistry of nature, and refuge within the controlled world of the spirit; in the case of Ibiza, abandonment of the intellectual and spiritual casuistry in favor of traditional, as solid as the objects of nature... In sum, a particular architecture rejects what the other one

¹³ For this section, see Antonio Pizza, “The Tradition and Universalism of a Domestic Project,” p. 92ff, quote on p. 94.

¹⁴ José Luis Coderch, “Informe” on the Spanish pavilion, Triennale of Milan 1951, typewritten manuscript, p. 3, Museo Nacional de Reina Sofía (formerly at ETSAV, Sant Cugat).

assumes. This is in fact the law of true architecture in all the places, which truly bear the mark of the individual and the collective.¹⁵

Following the Triennale, the first iconic phase of Coderch-Valls's oeuvre involved a series of relatively small vacation residences on the Catalan coast. The first one, Casa Ugalde en Calldes d'Estrac near Sitges, whose first sketches date from October 1951, became an instant icon of Spanish modernity. Ponti wrote in *Domus* about its "informal and disjointed plan, in which the Mediterranean principle of the encounter with the landscape has been pushed to its limits: almost a labyrinth."¹⁶ Casa Ugalde was followed by the Casa Esteve (1953) in Garraf, the extension of Casa Torrents in Sitges (1954), and the Casa Catasús (56-59) also in Sitges, all projects that show an increasing typology-driven approach to the program and site, and the continuing influence of Richard Neutra's Californian houses. Beautifully photographed by Francesc Català-Roca, these buildings acquired an iconic aura that was for the early 1950s in Barcelona what the photographs of Julius Shulman were for the California of the Case Study Houses. With their white walls, their large glass sliding glass doors and shutters, and their "cell-like" typology (not unlike the way Ibiza houses grew by addition of well-defined rooms) those houses exalted "the syncretism they longed to illustrate between Mediterranean tradition and avant-garde culture."¹⁷

However, Coderch's work was not limited to the 'recreation' of the Catalonian bourgeoisie along the Mediterranean shores. To the contrary, during the same period, the firm pursued various works, in the very core of Barcelona, whose importance cannot be overemphasized. At a time of general urban crisis in Europe and the United States, Coderch-Valls' works respected the urban traditions and rules of the city, while at the same time developing a unique urban approach to the modernization of the vernacular. Their first building was a project of 150-working class units for the Instituto de la Marina in the popular district of La Barceloneta. On the site, bordered by very narrow eighteenth century streets, they designed an urban block centered on a large planted courtyard. In order to provide views toward the sea, the court, faced by the living rooms, was partially open on one of its narrow sides while the bedrooms facing the narrow streets projected out as triangular loggias with their windows oriented to the water. For the same Instituto de la Marina, Coderch and Valls built their masterwork in 1952-1953: the apartment house for Institute's employees, again at the heart of

¹⁵ Luigi Moretti, "Tradizione muraria a Ibiza," *Spazio* II, 1951, pp. 35-42. It is interesting to note that Sert, from the other side of the Atlantic, was equally interested in Gaudí, see José Luis Sert and James Johnson Sweeney, *Antoni Gaudí*, London, Architectural Press, 1960. Two years earlier, Le Corbusier prefaced a book dedicated to the Catalan architect with photographs by Joaquim Gomis and Joan Prats, *Gaudí*, Barcelona, Editorial RM, 1958.

¹⁶ "Casa sulla costa spagnola," *Domus* 289, December 1953.

¹⁷ Carlos Flores, "La arquitectura de José Antonio Coderch y Manuel Valls, 1942-60," in *De Roma a Nueva York: Itinerarios de la nueva arquitectura española 1950/1965*, UNAV 1, Actas del Congreso International, October 1988, Pamplona, T6 Ediciones, pp. 67-77, quote on p. 69. On Català-Roca and architectural photography in Spain, see Iñaki Bergera Serrano, *Photography & Modern Architecture in Spain, 1925-1965*, Madrid: Museo ICO, 2014. Also see Julius Shulman, *The photography of architecture and design : photographing buildings, interiors, and the visual arts*, New York: Whitney Library of Design; London: Architectural Press, 1977.

La Barceloneta on the Passeig de Joan de Borbó. In response to the tight site, a double street corner with three short facades, the architects made the upper floors float and 'undulate' freely above the ground floor aligned with the rest of the block. With its glazed plinth, its light facades of wood louvers and ceramic tiles, and its projecting attic, the apartment house was praised by Gio Ponti for its architecture "born from the interior" which proceeds from rational necessity and not from "odd and imitative spirits."¹⁸

Coderch & Valls's apartment house at La Barceloneta, and many other works that will follow, can thus be seen as a kind of environmental manifesto which inaugurated Coderch and Vall's approach to dealing with modern materials—large glazed windows—while responding to the extreme conditions of the climate. Whether in the city—see the apartment building at Calle Bach of 1958, the house for Tapiés of 1958, or Coderch's own townhouse in Cadaqués of 1956—or in the countryside—Casa Urlach, Casa Ugalde, etc.—they did use, repeatedly and for almost two decades, the so-called Llambí shutters to screen the interiors from the sun, and thus develop a sort of modern 'vernacular skin' whose combination of vertical divisions and horizontal louver lines permitted a capacity of integration in many historic contexts independently from the structural system and materials. As a matter of fact, Coderch, Valls, and Juan and José Llambí, the owners of the Llambí Company, filed the patent for the modern *persiana* in March 1953 by. Originally founded in 1940 as a wood carpentry shop, the Llambí company gradually evolved towards what became its main activity from 1950: the manufacture of wooden shutters, with both fixed and movable horizontal wood slats.¹⁹

Although used in many southern countries, the *persiana* had a rich Hispanic and Hispano-American tradition that originated in part from the Arab moucharabieh origins. The landscape of *persianas* was in fact a critical element of the urban vernacular of Spain and Hispanic colonies, creating "a metaphysic of the Mediterranean notion of intimacy."²⁰ The vernacular peasant houses documented in A.C. by Hausmann, Baeschlin and others did not use them, as they employed small openings, very thick walls, loggias and terraces to screen the rooms from excessive light. Interestingly, A.C. had precisely documented those differences in the 1930s, particularly in the issue 18. For instance, a set of six photographs from the streets of Tarifa and San Fernando in Andalusia emphasized the variety, rhythm of the large and screened windows of the streets:

¹⁸ Gio Ponti, "Casa a Barcelona," *Domus* 306, May 1955, p. 7-10. The concrete engineer for the project was Eustequio Ugalde, owner of the Ugalde house. On the entire career of Coderch and Valls, see Anton Capitel y Javier Ortega (eds.), *J. A. Coderch: 1945-1976*, Madrid: Xarait, D.L., 1978; *Coderch de Sentmenat: Exposición en el Museo Español de Arte Contemporáneo*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980; Carlos Fochs (ed.), *J. A. Coderch de Sentmenat: 1913-1984*, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1989.

¹⁹ See <http://llambi.com>, last accessed August 2018. On Coderch and Llambí, see in particular Antonio Armesto and Rafael Diez, *José Antonio Coderch*, Ediciones de Belloch, 2008.

²⁰ Carlos Garrido, "Paisaje de persianas," *Diario de Mallorca*, Feb. 21, 2008.

The *standard* elements, repeated to the infinite, instead of creating monotony—the one for which the professors of academic schools are so afraid—give a great impression of unity and ensemble to the Andalusian towns.²¹

4.2. Modernity in Madrid

Unsurprisingly, the visit of Alvar Aalto in Barcelona and Madrid marked another turning point for the architectural world. In April of 1951, invited by the Catalan architect Antoni de Moragas Gallissà, Aalto lectured at the Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña and at the Colegio de Arquitectos in Madrid.²² He stayed in Madrid for some time, visited the region, and participated in an important *Sesión de Crítica de Arquitectura* organized by Carlos de Miguel, director of the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*. In an anecdote largely discussed after a trip to the Escorial with Miguel Fisac, Luis Gutiérrez Soto, and others, he allegedly turned his back to the Escorial and refused to look at it. Fernando Chueca Goitia commented later that, during a conversation, the Finnish architect “told me that, in Italy, he closed his eyes when he passed in front of Renaissance and Baroque monuments, and that he was looking only for the essential Mediterranean architecture of the small peasant villages.”²³ Interestingly, the Finnish Museum of Architecture has conserved an important album of drawings made during his travels in Spain. Like in Italy, Morocco, Greece or Egypt, his focus was to understand and reveal the territory as a “cultural landscape”, i.e., the forms of nature as context of the human constructive activity.²⁴ His drawings showed villages, assemblages of buildings, gates and walls, and many other details—all elements of popular architecture and urbanism that “could not be indifferent to those [Spanish architects] who were also exploring the paths of vernacular architecture as an anti-monumental and sensitive way from which to operate.”²⁵

The same year, another important event took place in Barcelona: the foundation of Grup R. The group was made of a loose association of two generations of architects—the first one around Coderch and Valls, Joaquim Gili, Josep Maria Sostres, and Antoni de Moragas; and the younger one around Oriol Bohigas, Josep Maria Martorell, Josep Pratmarsó i Manuel Ribas i Piera Ribas. It was essentially an intellectual center of resistance, whose members, politically oriented in very diverse directions, intended to re-connect with the spirit of GATCPAC but were deeply indebted to Catalan gothic architecture, Gaudí, and the

²¹ See A.C. 18, 1935, p. 19.

²² De Moragas was instrumental to invite Sartoris (1949), Zevi (1950), Pevsner (1952), Gio Ponti (1953) y Alfred Roth (1955).

²³ Eduardo Delgado Orusco, *Alvar Aalto en España*, p. 56: “me dijo que en Italia cerraba los ojos cuando pasaba delante de monumentos renacentistas y barrocos, y que él iba buscando solo la esencial arquitectura mediterránea de los pequeños poblados campesinos.”

²⁴ Delgado Orusco, p. 11.

²⁵ José Luis Mateo, “Alvar Aalto y la arquitectura española,” *La Vanguardia*, November 18 1982, pp. 1-2: “no podían resultar indiferentes a aquellos [Spanish architects] que entonces también estaban explorando los caminos de la Arquitectura vernacular como vía antimonumentalista y sensible desde la que operar.” See Göran Schildt, *Alvar Aalto Sketches*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1979.

Mediterranean vernacular. Grup R never issued any theoretical platform or manifesto, but organized various architectural exhibitions, the first one in December 1952, that presented photographs of Catalá-Roca, models, drawings, and in some cases ceramic, sculptures, etc. Next to the works of Coderch & Valls already cited, the Casa Moratí (Barcelona, 1956-1957), the Casa Agustí (Sitges, 1953-1955) by Sostres, and the Casa Guardiola (Barcelona, 1954-1955) by Bohigas & Martorell displayed the clearest Mediterranean-modern image marked by clear white volumes and the intensive use of louvers. In the heart of Barcelona, the Ciné Fémina (1949-1951) and the Hotel Park (1950-1953), both by de Moragas, were representative of a modern esthetic that complemented the existing city fabric.²⁶

The Catalanian sphere, however, did not have the monopoly on modernity. In his Fifth Assembly speech of 1949, Madrid architect Miguel Fisac (1913-2006) paralleled the declarations of Sartoris and Ponti when he stated:

We all agreed on the necessity to abandon the road that we had been following, because it lacked any vital content... To copy the popular or classical Spanish art leads us to folklore or 'españolades.' To pull out its essence, to be able to extract the ingredients of truth, of modesty, of joy, of beauty—that is the way to open the path to a New Architecture."²⁷

With Rafael Aburto, Secundino Zuazo, Rafael Aburto, José Luis Fernández Del Amo, Alejandro de la Sota, Francisco de Asís Cabrero—to name a few—Fisac belonged to the informal group of regime-supporting Catholic-oriented architects who had moved to Madrid to work on the reconstruction. As Gabriel Cabrero wrote:

A very strong link united them: they all belonged to one precise faction among the many that had constituted the self-styled "national" camp. These were the Catholics, who had taken arms to defend their religion, interpreting the war as a crusade, and emerged from it convinced that only on the basis of a Catholic perception of life could society be regenerated. For them, architecture was above all an instrument for building the spaces in which society's ethical necessities could be renewed.²⁸

Fisac, known for his Swedish-influenced organic approach to architecture, also wrote an important essay, "La arquitectura popular española y su valor ante la del futuro" (The Popular Architecture in Spain and its Value for the Future) that was published in Madrid in 1952.²⁹ He contended that it was in popular art and architecture that Spanish craftsmen, artists and

²⁶ See Gabriel Ruiz Cabrero, *The Modern in Spain after 1948*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2001; Carmen Rodríguez and José Torres, *Grup R*, Barcelona: Gili, 1994.

²⁷ Miguel Fisac, "Estética de la Arquitectura," quoted by Antonio Piza, "Italia y la necesidad de la teoría en la arquitectura catalana de la postguerra: E.N. Rogers, O. Bohigas," in *De Roma a Nueva York: Itinerarios de la nueva arquitectura española 1950-1965*, p. 100. In that essay, Piza stresses the role of Bruno Zevi and Alvar Aalto who both lectured in Spain.

²⁸ Gabriel Cabrero, *The Modern in Spain—Architecture after 1948*, p. 13. It is worth noting that Coderch also fought on the Falangist side during the Civil War and was a dedicated Catholic as well.

²⁹ Miguel Fisac, *La arquitectura popular española y su valor ante la del futuro (Lecture of 1951)*, Madrid: Ateneo, 1952.

builders reached the level of simplicity and abstraction that other countries, like Italy for instance, only achieved in their “high art.” Photographs of Spanish pueblos and houses revealed the special essence of the *plazas mayores* and other inhabitable urban ensembles; the simplicity of the forms that, at times, border on the schematic; the spontaneity of the buildings and their disposition; the correlation between materials and the essential architectural forms; the harmony of the villages and their surrounding landscape; their dependence on their natural contexts; the respect to the materials of the region, to their colors, to the climate, and to a reality which is neither rationalized nor depersonalized. And he concluded, “in these ways begins the architecture of the future that we are beginning to build.”³⁰

In his first period, Fisac had been primarily active on the Colina de los Chopos in Madrid to develop the Center of Scientific Investigation (CSIC) in a modern-classical style clearly inspired by the Italian works of the 1930s, by Marcello Piacentini, Gio Ponti, and Enrico Del Debbio. Yet, by the end of the decade, Fisac had understood that the classical direction was a no-way street and that, like Coderch, a modern approach to the vernacular held the key to the re-opening of the architectural culture: among his most notable realizations were the Instituto Laboral de Daimiel (1950-1953), the Colegio Apostólico de Arcas Reales in Valladolid (1952-1953), and the Teologado de los PP Dominicos (1955-1958) and the Centro de Formación del Profesorado de la Universidad Complutense (1952-1957) both in Madrid.³¹

Francisco de Asís Cabrero Torres Quevedo (1912-2005) entered the School of Architecture of Madrid in 1934. During the Civil War, he was a lieutenant in Franco's army. Helped by his familial situation—he was a nephew of a civil servant in the Spanish embassy in Rome—he travelled to Italy in 1941.³² Rome, Florence, Assisi, Pisa, and Siena were some of the cities where he studied architecture and painting, as he had not yet decided to which activity to dedicate. He met with Giorgio de Chirico in his studio and admired “a mysterious painting, a figurative surrealism of warm colours...”³³ Likewise he visited Adalberto Libera and the works of Rationalism in construction at the site of the Esposizione Universale of 1942, which was

³⁰ Fisac, p. 25: “y conjuntos urbanos, en sí mismos habitables; sencillez de las formas, rayana, muchos veces, en el esquematismo; espontaneidad de los edificios y de su disposición; correlación entre los materiales y las formas arquitectónicas esenciales; armonía de los pueblos y el paisaje en torno; dependencia de la naturaleza en que está instalada; respeto a los materiales de la región, a su color, al clima, a la realidad no racionalizada ni depersonalizada en el sentido especial de las plazas mayores y conjuntos urbanos,.... Por vías así comienza a caminar la arquitectura del futuro, que estamos empezando a construir.”

³¹ See Carlos Asencio-Wandosell and Moisés Puente (eds.), *Fisac – De La Sota: Miradas en paralelo*, Madrid: La Fábrica/Museo ICO, 2014; Francisco Arques Soler, *Miguel Fisac*, Madrid: Pronaos, 1996; “Miguel Fisac,” *AV Monografías*, nº 101, 2003.

³² See the interview: Sara de la Mata y Enrique Sobejano, “Entrevista a Francisco de Asís Cabrero,” *Arquitectura*, nº 267, July-August 1987, pp. 110-115.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

cancelled due to WWII and is known today as EUR. He praised Italian rationalism for his national modernity: "There, concepts such as the flat roof, the smooth planes and cubic forms are real and adapted to the place, not formalistic and anti-functional as in Germany ... I suppose some of this was later seen in my architecture."³⁴ Back in Spain he graduated in 1942 and the same year started to work for the Obra Sindical del Hogar, along with Coderch and others like his brother-in-law Jaime Ruiz Ruiz. Logically, the Rationalist Italian influence appeared in most of his works of the 1940s: his self-portrait of 1942, the competition entry for the monumental cross of the Valle de los Caídos with its reminiscence of the Colosseo Quadrato but also of the aqueduct of Sevilla (1941), the housing district in Béjar (1942), the housing block known as Virgen del Pilar (1943), and his prominent masterpiece built in collaboration with Rafael Aburto across from the Prado Museum, the big "cube" and the reticular brick façade of the Casa Sindical (competition of 1949, completion in 1951).³⁵

In the footsteps of the Triennale of Milano, the First Bienal Hispanoamericana (1951) took place in Madrid with projects, among others, by de la Sota, Coderch and Valls, Vázquez Molezún, Francisco Cabrero and Rafael Aburto. In his review for the *Boletín de Información de la Dirección General de Arquitectura* of February 1952, which he accompanied with his suggestive sketches, Alejandro de la Sota praised the project for the open-air theatre (Monument to Gaudí) conceived by the young Ramón Molezún, but the last words were for Coderch and Valls:

Coderch and Valls love the simplicity of the house of the farmer and the fisherman in their works; they love this simplicity and infiltrate it, in order to find everything deep inside. Some of us who believe in this path, that of the lime and the clay, perhaps much more than in other, more read and studied.³⁶

When he wrote, "this candor and cleanliness of forms fills us with happiness," he could not be thinking about the work that he was designing at that very moment for the Instituto Nacional de Colonización, the new town of Esquivel near Seville.³⁷

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 111: "Allí, conceptos como la cubierta plana, los planos lisos y formas cúbicas son reales y adaptados al lugar, no formalistas y antifuncionales como en Alemania... Supongo que algo de esto se dejó ver posteriormente en mi arquitectura."

³⁵ See Alberto Grijalba Bengoetxea, *La arquitectura de Francisco Cabrero*, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1999; Gabriel Cabrero, *Francisco De Asís Cabrero*, Madrid: Fundación COAM, 2007.

³⁶ Alejandro de la Sota, *Boletín de Información de la Dirección General de Arquitectura*, February 1952, p. 18: Coderch y Valls aman la sencillez del campesino y del pescador en sus obras; aman esta sencillez y penetran en ella sabiendo encontrar todo lo profundo que encierran. Somos algunos los que creemos en este camino, el de la cal y del barro, tal vez mucho más que en otros más leídos y estudiados ... este candor y limpieza de formas nos llena de felicidad."

³⁷ See Chapter Five and Six.

4.3. The *Feria del Campo*: Bringing the Countryside to the City

The first *Feria del Campo* took place in Madrid in 1950 on the grounds of the historic Casa de Campo to the west of the city centre and the Manzanares River.³⁸ The origin of the Casa de Campo goes back to 1519 when the Court decided to build a country residence on the western banks of the river. Later in the 1560s, Philip II put in motion the creation of a landscaped connection between his residence at the Alcázar and the country house. Juan Bautista de Toledo was put in charge of the project and introduced the Renaissance garden to Madrid. During Carlos III's reign, major engineering works were realized under the direction of Francesco Sabatini; agriculture was introduced, and the recreation and hunting grounds expanded. There were small expositions of livestock in 1925 and 1930, before the Casa de Campo became open to the public under the Republic in 1931. In 1949 under the impulse of Diego Aparicio, the Franco government decided to re-establish the concept of the agricultural exposition and to expand it globally to all products and activities of the countryside.

Coordinated from 1948 by the team of architects Francisco de Asís Cabrero and Jaime Ruiz Ruiz, the *Feria* of 1950 was a somewhat undisciplined but rich assemblage of structures whose architecture reflected various and uneven attempts at modernizing both the classical of the autarky period and the vernacular tradition. Most structures were innovative in form and typology, in many cases quite abstract, but the development of the third dimension often diminished their overall interest. Ten years after the symbolically and politically charged Exposition of the Reconstruction of 1940, the *Feria del Campo* continued to reflect the agrarian focus of the regime but abandoned any pretence at imperial grandeur. The "ensemble of stands under the pines" as de la Sota described the ensemble was a paradoxical display of tradition and modernity in the middle of the metropolis.³⁹ On the one hand, it recalled rural structures that were familiar to the visitors; on the other hand, everything was reinvented and to a certain sense part of a surrealist game.

Modernism at the fair was primarily a 'plastic' affair, which, paradoxically, put into question the extreme rationality of both the pre-war modernism and of the 'imperial' neoclassicism of the 1940s. Both periods, radically opposed in style, ideology, and image shared in fact a rational system of composition. In architecture but even more so in urbanism, it involved clear geometry, repetition, adherence to axial vision, and assemblage of simple volumes. At the end of the 1940s, architectural modernity was slowly penetrating the environment of Madrid, whose most visible signs of change were Cabrero and Aburto's Casa Sindical on the Paseo

³⁸ For this section, see the dissertation by José Coca Leicher, "El recinto ferial de la Casa de Campo de Madrid (1950-75)," Doctoral Dissertation, ETSAM, Madrid, 2013. As a counterpoint in the very limited contemporary literature, the article by Josep Rovira in 2008 can be described as a monument of bad faith and critical distortion. It is very aggressive, not only with the character of Francisco Cabrero, but also in the discussion of his works, for instance the housing district of Bejar in which "il ordine politico imponeva la resa all'ordine produttivo": see Josep M. Rovira, "Architettura popolare e fascismo. Celebrazioni franchiste. Prima Fiera Nazionale dell'agricoltura. Casa De Campo. Madrid, 1950," *Casabella* 771, November 2008, pp. 88-97.

³⁹ For the Exposition of the Reconstruction, see Chapter Three. Alejandro de La Sota, "I Feria Nacional del Campo," *Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura* (BDGA), n° 16, 1950, p. 7.

del Prado and the early works of Miguel Fisac. What the fair brought to the heart of the capital was a new organic vision of architecture. Coming after a decade of neo-imperial vision, the Fair must have felt like a real liberation for all the architects involved and, perhaps, for the informed public. Cabrero, Ruiz, and their colleagues developed a catalogue of forms and volumes, which proposed a new aesthetic and a new relation to the landscape. Likewise, these new forms distanced themselves from the traditional vernacular. The latter, as we have seen, was primarily studied and promoted in relation to the rural and small-town dwelling. The challenge of the Fair's architects in 1950 and in the subsequent occurrences of the event was to develop a rural, vernacular-influenced architecture while inventing new forms and compositions for the new programs. At the same time, they anticipated the organic and landscape-related developments that were going to impact the work of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (I.N.C.) through the innovative projects of de la Sota, Fernández del Amo, Arniches, Borobio Ojeda, and others.

As its authors Cabrero and Ruiz explained in their description of the fair for the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (R.N.A.), two large-scale contextual elements influenced the masterplan. The first was "the façade of Madrid" (including the Real Palace and the Cathedral) that dominates the panorama of the city and which dictated the concept of horizontality of the fair with the exception of the Torre Restaurante. The second was the magnificent pine forest that occupied the overall site and that they architects attempted to protect as much as possible. Functionally, as the program of the Fair was not fully set up at the start and developed during the design process, it was necessary to give the plans a special functional and architectural flexibility.⁴⁰ Modern materials were still sparse and rare. In absence of steel (and in some cases even wood), stone, brick masonry, as well as the brick-based *bóveda tabicada* (generally known as Catalan vault) were the primary materials and methods of construction used throughout the fair.

Passed the unremarkable portal and information office, the visitor encountered the Obras Sindical de Colonización, a complex organized around a U-shaped courtyard that recalled an agricultural farmhouse. Clearly influenced by the Granja Escuela realized by Rafael Aburto in Talavera de la Reina in 1948, the architecture of the courtyard eliminated all regionalist references and used a system of flat lowered arches, counterbalanced by a cylindrical tower that, if one excepted its slightly wider top, brought to mind the rural towers that De Chirico painted in many of his works.⁴¹ Combined with simple volumes pierced by horizontal windows, the buildings exhibited a hybrid cohabitation of tradition and modernity. This character was even more apparent in the exhibition General Pavilion (Pabellón General), situated slightly outside of the courtyard. It housed the model of the Feria and various displays of information. Its most significant architectonic element was its single-slope

⁴⁰ Francisco de Asís Cabrero and Jaime Ruiz Ruiz, "I Feria Nacional del Campo," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 103, July 1950, p. 305.

⁴¹ See Rafael de Aburto, "Granja-escuela en Talavera de la Reina," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 80, August 1948), pp. 299-306.

concrete roof that projected upwards. Four inclined columns covered with granite stones supported the roof in a manner that suggested distant memories of Gaudí at the Parque Güell. Seen from the sides, two superimposed triangles—one of stone, one of white stucco—created a strong contrast of materials that reinforced the modern and bird-like image of the pavilion.⁴² In the words of de la Sota, “the use of dry granite masonry... and the Catalan vaults, the joy of the mural paintings, the graceful central stone fountain and the successful play of lights and shadows, made this square a truly successful set, that served to prepare the visitor well.”⁴³

The heart of the Feria was the circular plaza and the adjacent pavilions of the countryside products. Of an interior diameter of about 27 meters, the circular square was reached with a large set of granite stairs and had a large fountain in its centre. The highly compressed space was urban in nature and gave access through another staircase to the grid—one might use the word “mat”—of the country pavilions. For this section only, Cabrero and Ruiz adopted an urban, souk-like structure, fully orthogonal, and made up of small streets and squares.⁴⁴ On opposite sides of the circle were the trapezoid-shaped Sala de Convenciones and the Salón de Actos. The Catalan vaults (bóvedas tabicadas) that configured the arcades of the circular plaza and the grid of pavilions had been experimented in Talavera with the Granja Escuela, in Madrid with a housing block by Luis Moya and the thirty-six housing units of the Obra Sindical del Hogar, known as Virgen del Pilar, by Francisco Cabrero, and in Villanueva del Pardillo as part of the reconstruction of the devastated regions.⁴⁵ However, in all those cases, the vaults were completely or partially hidden, or seen from the interior. Their prominent display at the heart of the Fair marked a definitive moment of paradoxical modernity. On the one hand, the technique of construction was very traditional and had been used for centuries and more recently by Gaudí and Guastavino.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the circular form of the piazza, the strong expression of the columns as buttresses, the rhythmic repetition of the low arches were a genuine expression of the architects’ desire to go beyond the technique and propose a possible form of modernity that involved the extreme simplification of the techniques. They were the essence of the architectural idea and here they brought an air of lightness and white

⁴² Coca Leicher, p. 104.

⁴³ De la Sota, *Boletín*, p. 8: “el uso de mampostería de granito en seco en escalinata, el empleo de la bóveda tabicada de ladrillo repetida, formando el gracioso soportal circular, la alegría de pinturas murales, la graciosa fuente central de piedra y el conseguido juego de luz y sombra, hicieron de esta plaza un conjunto verdaderamente acertado, que sirvió para bien preparar al visitante.”

⁴⁴ Francisco de Asís Cabrero and Jaime Ruiz Ruiz, “Primera Feria del Campo,” *Informes de la construcción* III, no. 27, January 1951.

⁴⁵ On the use of the Catalan vault during the 1940s, see José María de Churtichaga, “Uso de los sistemas de bóvedas tabicadas y su perspectiva histórica: aspectos constructivos de la reconstrucción de Villanueva de la Cañada,” *Conarquitectura*, no. 8, June 2003, pp. 81-93. See Rafael de Aburto, “Granja-escuela en Talavera de la Reina,” *op. cit.*; Luis Moya, “Casas abovedadas en el Barrio de Usera: construidas por la Dirección General de Arquitectura,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 14, February 1943, pp. 52-57; Javier García-Gutiérrez Mosteiro, “Asís Cabrero y las viviendas en la colonia Virgen del Pilar,” in *Un siglo de vivienda social: 1903-2003*, Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, 2003, pp. 298-299.

⁴⁶ John Allen Ochsendorf, *Guastavino Vaulting: The Art of Structural Tiles*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010.

modernity that contrasted with the architecture of the past decade. This quality made them appear as a vernacular element, yet an invented one that suggested the architecture of the countryside but had little connection to it. It is thus interesting to notice that Alejandro de la Sota would soon use a similar but more Cartesian version in Entreríos (1953) whose arcades around the main plaza used the same technique and aesthetic. The same year, Carlos Sobrini Marín used it and repeated the circular form for the plaza mayor of Sancho Abarca, Zaragoza.⁴⁷

In the Salón de Convenciones, located to the left at entering the circular plaza, Cabrero and Ruiz made the most spectacular use of the brick-based vaults: the two interiors diaphragms made up of one circular and one parabolic arch, perforated with circular openings, made for an impressive space. This combination of arches and Catalan vaults supported a single-sloped roof and concluded with a large and inclined glass wall divided into nine sections by a thin concrete grid. Nearby, the building for agricultural machines also by Ruiz Ruiz and Cabrero formed an arc of circle made up of seventeen bays whose section, structure, and materials were similar. The curved edifice, entirely built in brick, deployed inclined buttresses to the front, whereas the backside was made of an undulating brick wall accentuating the organic quality of the building and clearly reinforcing its structural stability.⁴⁸

The ten murals realized around the atrium of the circular plaza, on the blind wall of the reception hall and within the hall itself, were realized by the artists Antonio Lago Rivera, Carlos Pascual de Lara, and Antonio Rodríguez Valdivieso. They embodied a moment of change in the official Spanish art and a clear trend toward abstraction of form and motifs of the deployed natural themes such as flora and fauna. For some artists like sculptor José Luis Sánchez, the new architecture, rational and devoid of ornaments, necessitated the participation of artists who would temper its abstraction and sometimes lack of character.⁴⁹ Unequivocally, these artistic interventions were the first manifestation in Madrid of the concept of synthesis of the arts. Initiated by architects such as Alberto Sartoris before WWII, it was revived in 1943, when Sigfried Giedion, the painter Fernand Léger, and Josep Lluís Sert wrote the manifesto known as “Nine Points on Monumentality.” The text was, on the one hand, an unapologetic endorsement of modern architecture and “its absence of frontier” with town planning. On the other hand, it addressed a major conceptual deficiency in the Charter of Athens by emphasizing the need for new monuments “that represent social and community life to give more than functional fulfilment.”⁵⁰ The authors commented further that people want

⁴⁷ See chapters Five and Eight.

⁴⁸ For a similar use of the undulating brick wall and Catalan vaults, see the works of Eladio Dieste in Uruguay.

⁴⁹ Ángel Cordero Ampuero, “Fernández Del Amo – aportaciones al arte y la arquitectura contemporáneas,” Dissertation, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid, 2014, p. 139. From an interview with José Luis Sánchez, 23 & 29.07.2010.

⁵⁰ Sigfried Giedion, Fernand Léger and Josep Lluís Sert, “Nine Points on Monumentality (1943),” in Sigfried Giedion, *architecture you and me: the diary of a development*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958, point 7, pp. 49-50. See Chapter 7 for Alberto Sartoris.

more than functionality and that “they want their aspiration for monumentality, joy, pride, and excitement to be satisfied.”⁵¹ New modern sites would have to be created to exploit the full potential of the joint work of architects, planners, painters, and other artists. Modern materials but also “the stones which have always been used,” and even more so landscape and elements of nature would be necessary to achieve the new monumentality: “In such monumental layouts, architecture and city planning could attain a new freedom and develop new creative possibilities, such as those that have begun to be felt in the last decades in the fields of painting, sculpture, music, and poetry.”⁵² At the Feria, as in the parallel works of the I.N.C. under the guidance of Fernández del Amo, Cabrero and Ruiz aimed at creating a modern unity of architecture, planning, and arts.⁵³ In the 1940s, the monuments of the autarky were all mostly about regime celebration and great urban visions. In the 1950s and particularly in the countryside, the monuments, churches, plazas, town halls, towers, would be about expressing the social and political substrate of the post-war rural utopia. The integration of the arts as reflected in the Feria and later on in the countryside itself, involved the creation of new public spaces for the civil society. The spaces and the applied arts were to replace the official art of the 1940s and associate it with “new national values that could be associated with experimentation and abstraction as ideal of modernity.”⁵⁴

Buried in the pines landscape in the middle of the fair, on axis with the entrance sequence, the Torre Restaurante designed by Cabrero stood at the back of the open-air theatre. Only vertical element of the whole ensemble, the tower rose above the landscape and offered a magnificent view toward the façade of Madrid dominating the Manzanares. Due to its height, the tower was built in reinforced concrete, covered with an apparatus of granite stones—in the description of de la Sota, “huge canvases of dry masonry, beams and slabs of whitewashed concrete, covered in the lower part of the restaurant in straw and brick pavement, all noble materials and perfectly chosen for their link to the composition.”⁵⁵ Concrete was only apparent in the triangular beams supporting the big cantilevered terrace in a grand engineering gesture of modernity, in the division of the floors, and the large vertical frame that bordered the four-story high vertical window, quasi-industrial in its detailing, that occupied the back of the tower-restaurant. The project showed direct influences from Italian rationalism, and more specifically from the Torre del Partito Nazionale Fascista, realized in 1940 by Venturino Ventura at the Mostra d’Oltremare in Naples.⁵⁶ Also inspired by Italian Rationalism, the grand concrete arch in front of the pavilion of the Obra Sindical del Hogar—

⁵¹ Ibidem.

⁵² Ibidem, point 9, pp. 50-51.

⁵³ See Chapters Five and Seven.

⁵⁴ Coca Leicher, p. 138.

⁵⁵ Alejandro de la Sota, *Boletín*, p.9: “lienzos enormes de mampostería en seco, vigas y losas de hormigón encalado, cubiertas de la parte baja del restaurant en paja, pavimentos de ladrillo, todos materiales nobles y perfectamente escogidos para su enlace en la composición.”

⁵⁶ See *Prima mostra triennale delle terre italiane d’oltremare, Napoli [9 Maggio-15 Ottobre 1940 XVIII]*, Napoli: S.A.I.G.A., 1940.

made of three intersecting vaults of thin concrete—indirectly recalled Libera’s unbuilt grand arch for the E42. Last but not least, the pavilion of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización, “well balanced in its masses and adjusted to its difficult site, succeeded, in spite of its measured size, in calling the attention of the visiting architect.”⁵⁷

Overall de la Sota praised the fair, in spite of its improvisation and the speed of design and construction that left a lot to be desired. He supplemented his article with a series of black and red pencil drawings that beautifully and with a good dose of visual humour summarized the best of the Fair. Paradoxically, he wrote that the entire project suffered from an excess of abstraction and lacked the presence of the reality of the Spanish countryside:

Perhaps we would have found more satisfaction in seeing a little more memory of our fields, the Spanish countryside, well sifted, well elaborated, with all its permanence and elegance... who knows if, by universalizing us in art, we are getting tired of so much abstraction and forgetting the purest and constants topics of healthiest inspiration.⁵⁸

During the spring of 1952, Francisco Cabrero and Rafael de Aburto were commissioned with the plan for the revision and the new installation of the Fair to open May 1953. As seen on the drawing published in *Gran Madrid*, the intention was to keep the core of the first Fair and expend it further west along the Paseo de Estremadura. The fair whose completion was once again slowed down by various bureaucratic issues and political indecision opened on time but some of the structures were only completed three years later for the III Feria of 1956. A new linear entrance conceived as an abstract wall gave access to the new grounds and led directly to a large hybrid and multi-functional structure, in the form of an S as it literally embraced an exhibition stadium for machines, animals, and other activities.⁵⁹ Built mostly of brick and concrete, the Exhibition Pavilion was a daring work by the two architects, which again reflected a modern and abstract interpretation of the rural vernacular. It demonstrated how a vernacular typology—the continuous arcade around the plaza of the pueblo or on the edge of the plaza de toros—could be reinterpreted and re-formed to create a completely new object while maintaining its value as urban structure. The attached tower originally planned for 1953 was not realized until 1956 when Cabrero and Aburto redesigned the project as a ‘metaphysical’ cube, fifteen-meter square with three facades of brick and one entirely glazed. Cabrero called the cube, el Dado, as a translation of *Al-Ka’ba*, the cube in stone that stands at

⁵⁷ De la Sota, *Boletín*, p. 10. According to Fernández del Amo, he was the architect of the structure, see José de Castro Arines, “José Luis Fernández del Amo: una vieja Amistad,” in *Fernández del Amo: Arquitecturas 1942-1982*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1983, p. 7.

⁵⁸ De la Sota, *Boletín*, p. 11: “tal vez hubiéramos encontrado mayor satisfacción en ver un poco el recuerdo de nuestro campo, el campo español, bien tamizado, bien elaborado, con toda la elegancia ... pues quién sabe si, a fuerza de universalizarnos en el arte, nos cansamos de tanta abstracción al olvidar los temas más puros y constantes de sanísima inspiración.”

⁵⁹ José María Muguza, “Sesión crítica de arquitectura sobre la II Feria Nacional del Campo,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, n° 145, January 1954, pp. 28-44. The circular square and the zoco remained.

the heart of Mecca as the major pilgrimage place of Islam.⁶⁰ Other modern structures were of great interest such as the International Pavilion conceived as a vast open exhibition hall of 42 by 82.5 meters, contained between two brick walls that flared open to invite the visitors and supported by circular concrete columns that bear a continuously undulating concrete roof.

The representative pavilions were overall regionalist and their 'picturesqueness' was strongly criticized by most architects. The white and plastically strong pavilion of Jaén (Guerrero, Iribarren, Prieto-Moreno, Romani) and even more so, the Pavilion of Ciudad Real, designed by the emerging figure of Miguel Fisac, were the true exceptions. Organized as a sequence of patios and passages of various widths, the pavilion of Ciudad Real was made of lime walls, glass, with some sections covered with straw:

What was taken from the tradition is not the shell, but the essential value found in the organization of the patios, the simple order of successive contrasts, and the general human scale linked to a way of living and feeling.⁶¹

Next to his own International Pavilion, that of Ciudad Real was for Cabrero, "modern architecture, and a demonstration of how the actual concepts of architecture, which are here particularly valid, point out to the paths that bring to truth."⁶² Although Fisac was never involved in the I.N.C., his pavilion to be seen by all at the Feria del Campo reflected the changes that were contemporaneously starting to impact the work developed within the fields and regions of Spain in the hands of de la Sota, Fernández del Amo, Arniches, and others.

4.4. The *Manifiesto de la Alhambra* (1953)

On October 14 and 15 of 1952, a two-day session of discussion and debate took place within the Alhambra in Granada. The periodical *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* had previously inquired about the opportunity to organize such a session within the walls of the monument and, in light of the positive response, put in place the organization of the meeting with the explicit goal to produce a written manifesto in relation to the actuality of La Alhambra.⁶³ The convocation was put forward in the *Boletín General de la Dirección de Arquitectura* of December 1952 under the title "La Alhambra y nosotros" (The Alhambra and us). It stated that, in a crucial moment for Spanish architecture and architects, it was critical to "not stay isolated from the universal modern movement in architecture" while making sure "not to

⁶⁰ Coca Leicher, pp. 240-sq.

⁶¹ Muguruza, 1954, p. 33: "se ha tomado de la tradición no la cáscara, sino su valor esencial en el trazado de patios, con un orden simple de contrastes sucesivos y en una escala humana general supeditada a la función marcada por una manera de vivir y sentir."

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 43.

⁶³ "Sesiones de crítica de Arquitectura. Sesiones celebradas en la Alhambra durante los días 14 y 15 de octubre de 1952," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XIII, nº 136, April 1953, pp. 13-49. The *Sesiones de crítica de arquitectura* became a feature of RNA from 1950 onwards and were signalled by a square Vitruvian logo. One architect or other expert would introduce a specific theme (building, public space, architect, and so on); following that presentation, invited guests would be debating the presentation. The entire event was published monthly in the periodical.

withdraw from our own personality.”⁶⁴ The explicit and, in a certain sense, pre-established goal was, first to analyse the Alhambra as an urban artefact from the point of view of modern architecture and urbanism, and secondly, to produce a manifesto that would “establish the spiritual bases of a new architecture genuinely Spanish.”⁶⁵ To some extent, it was to ask the question in the early 1950s Spain that the GATEPAC members had contemplated in the 1930s: how to be modern and be Spanish at the same time? For the organizers, under the strong influence of the organic movement epitomized in the writings of Bruno Zevi, Frank Lloyd Wright, and the works of Scandinavian architects, the Alhambra contained in itself the fundamental characteristics of modern architecture that could be defined in four groups:

- I. Human values;
- II. Natural values;
- III. Formal Values;
- IV. Mechanical values.”⁶⁶

The following architects, educated before or after the Civil War, participated, mostly from the Madrid area: Rafael Aburto, Pedro Bidagor, Francisco Cabrero, Eusebio Calonge, Fernando Chueca, José Antonion Domínguez Salazar, Rafael Fernández Huidobro, Miguel Fisac, Damián Galmés, Luis García Palencia, Fernando Lacasa, Emilio Larrodera, Manuel López Mateos, Ricardo Magdalena, Antonio Marsá, Carlos de Miguel, Francisco Moreno López, Juana Ontañón, José Luis Picardo, Francisco Prieto Moreno, Mariano Rodríguez Avial, Manuel Romero, Secundino Zuazo, and a student at the Escuela de Madrid, José Luis Aranguren.

The article published in the *Revista Nacional* of April 1953 illuminated the methodology that was followed to discuss and analyse the monumental ensemble. Francisco Prieto Moreno, architect in charge of the restoration of the Alhambra since 1937, explained how the first phase of the analysis took place in front of the model of La Alhambra. By virtue of its abstract nature, the model allowed the participants to “focus with absolute objectivity to the general lines of the monument”, leaving aside all historical details and personal assessment.⁶⁷ Prieto reminded his audience that the Alhambra was built during the last two centuries of Arab domination, that is to say when the Arab and Christians were in constant and intimate contact, thus producing a particular form of Hispano-Muslim art. In his description, he emphasized the significance of the Alcazaba, organized as a medieval castle “whose cubic forms link it to the classical Mediterranean tradition”⁶⁸; the architectonic identity of the three sections of the Alhambra itself and how their asymmetrical grouping maintained intact the

⁶⁴ Fernando Chueca Goitia, “La Alhambra y nosotros,” *Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura BDGA* VI, 1952, pp. 10-13.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 17: “pero manteniendo las formas cúbicas, que enlazan con la tradición clásica mediterránea”

main axes of the composition; and, eventually, the Alhambra as “a system of buildings that, in spite of their simple cubic forms, adapt themselves with absolute fidelity to the terrain, connect to each other with great spontaneity, and manifest themselves in volume according to their function.”⁶⁹ Moreover, he insisted on the equilibrium between individualism and collective vision in the development of the ensemble, and illustrated how the existence of multiple small axes shared a modern sensibility in contrast to the grand axis of many other projects of power.

The ensuing debate exposed the affirmations, the doubts, and at times the misconceptions of the finality of the enterprise, but overall, as Pedro Bidagor would state it, “in our opinion, in the Alhambra there is a preview of modern architecture.”⁷⁰ There was a global consensus that the lessons of the monument were invaluable at the particular moment in the development of Spanish architecture. The participants emphasized the introversion of the architecture, as well as the modernity of symmetry as long as it did not prevent the free and good conception of the plans. Paradoxically, it is Bidagor who better than anybody understood the typological and morphological value of the edifice and was able to develop a rational method of spatial analysis. He pointed out that the Alhambra had literally no facades but was organized internally around a series of patios, a century-long tradition in Spain. He argued that the masses of modern architecture conceived as objects could produce important buildings—he cited the O.N.U. headquarters in New York—but their repetition and juxtaposition would have very problematic consequences.⁷¹ Likewise, the Palace of Charles V on the Alhambra was highly problematic as its convex architecture conflicted with the rest of the structures. Indeed, the Alhambra formed an ensemble of concave spaces whose organization and spatial succession produced environments of high harmonic quality. In the last section of the discussion, he did bring the issue of the relationships and differences between Northern Europe and the Southern Mediterranean:

It is curious to observe that the North has always manifested itself with aesthetic formulas copied from the South. Now that the machinist North has taken over the world, it wants to retaliate and impose its own ideas. And it is curious to see how one of the most fundamental buildings of architecture of these times, the Stockholm City Hall, was built entirely according to Mediterranean formulas, as it should be.⁷²

⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 19: un sistema de edificios que, a pesar de sus simples formas cúbicas, se adapta con absoluta fidelidad al terreno, enlazándose entre sí con gran espontaneidad y manifestándose en volumen según su función.”

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 24: “a nuestro juicio, en la Alhambra hay un anticipo de la arquitectura moderna.”

⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 24. As Bidagor explained, the traditional street was a concave space defined by lines of buildings, whereas modern urbanism searched to terminate this urban composition in favour of a convex organization of objects.

⁷² Ibidem, p. 25: “Es curioso observar que siempre el Norte se ha manifestado con fórmulas estéticas copiadas del Sur. Ahora que el Norte maquinista ha tomado preponderancia en el mundo, quiere ir al desquite e imponernos sus ideas. Y es curioso comprobar cómo uno de los edificios más fundamentales de la arquitectura de estos tiempos, el Ayuntamiento de Estocolmo, está edificado todo él con fórmulas mediterráneas, como debe ser.”

Bidagor also argued that the concave spatial composition of the Alhambra would have produced a much better Ciudad Universitaria in Madrid than the Beaux-Arts planning of Modesto López Otero and his collaborators—an argument that resonated a couple of years later with new campus projects around the country and the development of modern civic centres at the heart of the new villages of the I.N.C.⁷³ Likewise, he urged Cabrero, who was busy designing the Second Feria del Campo, to apply the lessons of the Andalusian monument. On his side, Cabrero supported the arguments but argued that the architecture of the Alhambra was “primitive” and added that “nowadays the modern architecture has contributed the curved line, which is equally geometric but gives some possible solutions to the most complicated current problems that the orthogonal disposition cannot resolve.”⁷⁴

Fernando Chueca Goitia (1911-2004) coordinated the writing and the publication of the *Manifiesto of the Alhambra* in 1953, a logical decision as the historian was the prime initiator of the sessions.⁷⁵ Fifty pages long, it did not pretend to be a traditional manifesto of revolutionary ideas as some of its predecessors in the twentieth century. It was basically an evolutionary document that was theorizing the emerging concepts of modern Spanish architecture, within the Madrid circle with Cabrero, Fisac, and de la Sota, and within the Catalan one with Coderch, Sostres, and the Grup R.⁷⁶ Whereas the reference to the Escorial had dominated Spanish architecture during the 1940s, Chueca Goitia and his group saw in the Alhambra in Granada a more appropriate historical and multicultural reference to the modern condition and needs of post-war Spain:

The relationship between this edifice of the fourteenth century and the most advanced contemporary architecture is, in many ways, astonishing. They concur in their acceptance of human module; in the manner, asymmetrical yet organic, to organize the plans; in the purity and the sincerity of the resulting volumes; in the manner to incorporate the garden and the landscape to the edifice; in the strict and economic use—without any plastic “fat”—of the materials, and in so many other things....⁷⁷

To be sure, the Manifiesto was written to be a politically acceptable document within the

⁷³ Ibidem, p. 23. On the Ciudad Universitaria, see for instance Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid. Servicio Histórico, *Análisis histórico y urbanístico de la Ciudad Universitaria de Madrid*, Madrid: COAM, 1985.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 34: “ahora la arquitectura moderna aporta la línea curva igualmente geométrica, pero que da unas posibilidades de soluciones a los más complicados problemas actuales que no la tienen las disposiciones ortogonales.”

⁷⁵ Fernando Chueca Goitia was an architect, historian of architecture, and professor of the History of Art at the Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid. For a summary of his works and thinking, see the special issue of *Goya: revista de arte*, n° 264, May-June 1998, and, in particular, Carlos Sambricio, “Fernando Chueca Goitia, historiador de la arquitectura,” pp. 131-143.

⁷⁶ *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*, Madrid: Ministerio de la Gobernación, Dirección General de Arquitectura, 1953; Ángel Isac (ed.), *El Manifiesto de La Alhambra 50 años después: el monumento y la arquitectura contemporánea*, Granada: Patronato de La Alhambra y Generalife / TF Editores, 2006. It is important to note that no architect from Catalonia signed the official document.

⁷⁷ *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*, reprinted in Ángel Urrutia Núñez (ed.), *Arquitectura española contemporánea. Documentos, escritos, testimonios inéditos*, pp. 356-383, quote p. 361.

evolving context of Franco's dictatorship. Following only a three-line reference to the "internationalist" modernism of the 1930s, the manifesto discussed the "superior prudence" that the architects of the 1940s had shown in their works for the regime, "establishing an equation, somewhat ingenuous, between the current conditions and the spiritual projection of a past style... It was the hieratic attitude, the gravity, and the immobility of the political majesty that had to be restored."⁷⁸ At the same time, it was important to reiterate, without continuing in the pathway of nationalism, that Spain had to establish a Spanish way of being modern. Behind those cautious words, there was the honest criticism of a decade of public works, characterized by the unanimity of design, the material dignity of the constructions, and the sincere use of the materials. The reference to the Escorial in the 1940s did not only correspond to an ideological vision: the architecture of the complex was, in fact, a usable model for a ministry building or similar large program, and thus, "the reincorporation of the Escorial into our architecture revolved around substantial assumptions of immediate utility."⁷⁹

Almost fifteen years after the end of the Civil War, the Manifesto of La Alhambra reflected the end of an architectural period that could not be sustained further. Making reference to modern art and architecture, the author wrote:

In architecture, the essential forms, such as the pyramid and the mastaba, the baptisteries and Romanesque towers, and the white cubes that bloom along the Mediterranean, whether Latin or Islamic, have opened new avenues that stimulate the current architects and provide an exciting and creative impulse.⁸⁰

Clearly, the Alhambra and other masterworks of Mudéjar architecture had generated a significant number of good and rigorous buildings in neo-Mudéjar style in Spain and in other countries.⁸¹ However, the romantic orientalism of the nineteenth and early twentieth century had no more place in the modern society, even though the reality of the Arabic influence on Spanish culture, landscape, language, architecture, urbanism and society were and remained undeniable: "... no people are stronger than those who know others better. But, in addition, in Spain being an Arabist is to deepen our history and discover unexplored veins in our own lives."⁸² As a result, "if the romantics saw the Alhambra in a troubadour way... we see it in a cubist way and there is no danger that the Moorish attire would make us lose the clear and

⁷⁸ *Manifiesto*, p. 5.

⁷⁹ *Manifiesto*, p. 24: "la reincorporación de El Escorial a nuestra arquitectura se movía aún sobre supuestos de inmediata utilidad."

⁸⁰ *Manifiesto*, p. 17: "En la arquitectura, las formas esenciales, como la pirámide y la mastaba, lo baptisterios y torres románicas, y los cubes de cal que en el Mediterráneo florecen, sean latinos o islámicos, son otros caminos intactos que estimulan a los arquitectos actuales, excitando un fresco impulso creador."

⁸¹ Let us mention the United States, where the architecture of the Al-Andalus was very influential in the second half of the 19th century and the early 1900s, thanks to the *Tales of the Alhambra* by Washington Irving (1832, revised 1851) and the architect's travels to Spain during World War One (see for instance the writings and works of Bertram Goodhue).

⁸² *Manifiesto*, p. 25: "... ningún pueblo es más fuerte que el que conoce mejor a los otros. Pero es que, además, en España ser arabista es profundizar en nuestra historia y descubrir vetas inexploradas en nuestra propia vida."

concise vision of the volumes, as happened to the pupils that preceded us.”⁸³ It was simply a question of historical moment, and that moment had now come to re-analyse the monument from the point of view of its formal composition, construction, decoration, and landscape.

For Chueca Goitia, Spanish architecture and urbanism represented the fusion of Arabic and Christian culture. However, there was in this attitude no “orientalism” in the sense of Edward Said.⁸⁴ In his prologue to the second Spanish edition of his book *Orientalism*, Said acknowledged that the relations between Spain and Islam were exceedingly dense and complex, and that Spain offered a notable exception to his cultural analysis of French, British, and American Orientalism: Islam had for centuries been part of Spanish culture and not an external distant power.⁸⁵ Spain was different from its European neighbours and, during the first half of the twentieth century, those differences were directly exploited to anchor the national identity of the country. The Alhambra was in fact a pivotal hinge in the development of the Orientalist gaze during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Images of its derelict state spurred the romantic vision of a decadent, romantically cruel, and beautiful place where violence, power, beauty and eroticism co-existed in a titillating melange. Its abstract decoration, ceilings, azulejos, gardens were the real attraction more than the architecture or urban form of the monument. The three generations of the Contreras dynasty (don José, don Rafael, and don Mariano), which were in charge of the restoration of the Alhambra from 1824 onwards, aimed at preserving and restoring a national monument in a dramatic state of abandon at the end of the eighteenth century. Yet, they did eventually “orientalise” it to make it more romantically oriental and increase its fame. Copies of some rooms like the Sala Árabe were made in Madrid at the Cerralbo Palace. The “restorations” realized by Rafael Contreras and his successors were eventually undone in the archaeological work of Leopoldo Torres Balbás between 1923 and 1936 and his followers.⁸⁶

One of the most influential design theorists of the nineteenth century, the British architect Owen Jones (1809-1874) rose to prominence with his studies of Islamic decoration at the Alhambra, and the associated publication of his drawings. Jones was also responsible for the interior decoration and layout of exhibits for Paxton’s Exhibition building of 1851, and for its later incarnation at Sydenham. Jones passionately believed in the search for a modern style unique to the nineteenth century – one that was radically different to the prevailing aesthetics of Neo-Classicism and the Gothic Revival. He looked towards the Islamic world for much of

⁸³ Manifiesto, p. 18.

⁸⁴ See Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española*, Madrid/Buenos Aires: Dossat, 1947.

⁸⁵ On the issue of Spain and Orientalism, see Anna McSweeney and Claudia Hopkins (eds.), “Editorial: Spain and Orientalism,” in *Art in Translation*, Volume 9, nº 1, 2017, pp. 1–6. The journal makes clear that Spanish visual representations of Al-Andalus and Morocco, which King Alfonso XIII had dreams of making a new colony after the loss of the American ones, were both a complex and paradoxical phenomenon. Also see Edward Said, “Prólogo a la nueva edición española,” *Orientalismo*, Barcelona: DeBolsillo, 2008, pp. 9–10. Said’s prolog is dated from 2002

⁸⁶ See in particular Gabriel Cabrero (ed.), *Leopoldo Torres Balbás y la restauración científica: ensayos*, Granada: Patronato de La Alhambra y Generalife/Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, 2013.

this inspiration, using his carefully observed studies of Islamic decoration at the Alhambra to develop bold new theories on colours, flat patterning, geometry and abstraction in ornament.⁸⁷

In summary, the *Manifiesto* was organized in four different themes: forms, construction, decoration, and gardens. For the signatories, the Alhambra was, before all, “simple volumes topped in large horizontal lines silhouetted against the sky.”⁸⁸ As an organic assemblage, volumes were more important than mass; in other words, the three-dimensional presence of the volumes was seen as truly modern. They could be circumnavigated as plastic objects organized together organically. Moreover, those volumes were functionally and organically connected to the terrain and the topography. Their convex organization gave way to a concave inner world where the Islamic/Spanish patio organized all major elements. The *Manifiesto* contrasted those principles with the subordination to the traditional urban elements that dominated architecture and urbanism until then. However, by stating that “the orientation of modern architecture, which advocates the loose buildings with their own personality and unique volume, will necessarily lead to an urban composition that relates the single buildings to each other,” the *Manifiesto* took an ambiguous and problematic position at contrasting the monument with traditional urban space: “The architectural composition will evolve little by little towards the subordination of the convex to the concave. The formulas of the Alhambra will be the end.”⁸⁹ This plastic emphasis was potentially anti-urban as it tended to reject the street and the block in order to allow the volumes to be expressed. I will argue later (Chapter Five) that it is in the space of the countryside that those principles were easier to follow and to achieve results. It is also surprising that the compositional qualities of the complex, in plan and section, did not accompany the publication of the book. There were no plans, no sections, no elevations, but only relatively traditional photographs to illustrate the conceptual richness of the work.

On the construction front, the truth in selecting and applying the materials was the primary lesson of the complex. Each material was “precisely used in its particular location and responded to its function with evident and simple logic.”⁹⁰ The decoration was essentially a raiment, that is to say one of the most ancient and primitive way to understand decoration in the Semperian way—a decoration fundamentally respectful of the structural will of the

⁸⁷ Owen Jones and Jules Goury, *Plans, elevations, sections, and details of the Alhambra*, London: O. Jones, 1842-45; Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, London, 1856.

⁸⁸ *Manifiesto*, p. 30: “volúmenes simples rematados en grandes líneas horizontales recortadas contra el cielo.”

⁸⁹ *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*, p. 30-31: “La orientación de la arquitectura moderna, que propugna los edificios sueltos con personalidad propia y volumen singular, llevará necesariamente en la composición urbana a relacionar unos y otros edificios, estableciendo entre ellos condiciones de armonía y valorando el espacio libre intermedio, no como espacio inactivo y neutro, sino como lugar de convivencia y de complacencia estética. La composición arquitectónica evolucionará poco a poco hacia la supeditación de lo convexo a lo cóncavo. Las fórmulas de la Alhambra serán el final.”

⁹⁰ *Manifiesto*, p. 35.

architect.”⁹¹ The decoration at the Alhambra fully respected the spatial effect and construction of the rooms. It was not pictorial in the sense of telling a story, but fully abstract. Secondly, and at a certain distance, the decoration acquired a “texture, a quality and special vibration which enriches the surface of the walls,”⁹² rather than modifying, transforming it. This flatness and adequacy to the surface was of course a reflection of modernity.

The final section was related to the garden and more generally to the landscape. The manifesto fundamentally advocated the significance of the Arab garden in its intent to represent Paradise on Earth. Water and geometry were the fundamental ingredients of the Arab way of designing gardens. In absence of the rain-based landscape of Nordic countries, the Arabs had invented the garden of arid regions. Irrigation and control of water were indispensable in contrast with the organic nature of Northern regions. Here water had to be distributed and precisely channelled within the appropriate borders, making geometry a *sine qua non* condition of design and engineering together:

In Spain, we have the irrigation garden, since we do not have the garden of rain. If only for this reason, the Hispano-Muslim garden should be the starting point of our garden design.⁹³

In that sense, the manifesto re-expressed the theory that had been advanced by Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier and his follower Nicolás María Rubió i Tudurí, in the 1920s-30s.⁹⁴

4.5. In Praise of the Shanty

At the occasion of the First Hispano-American Biennale held in Madrid from October 1951 to February 1952, various architects including Mitjans, Sostres, and Coderch himself addressed the question of low-cost housing within the emerging context of renewed international relations, particularly with the United States. Like in the 1920s and the immediate post-Civil War period, the reality of the economic structure of the country favored standardization and relatively labor-intensive solutions. Acknowledging the reality of the spreading *chabolos* or slums in the periphery of Barcelona, Madrid and other large cities, Coderch studied a prefabrication system that would modernize and rationalize the future of these neighborhoods. His proposal, detailed in his “Memoria estudio sobre una posible solución

⁹¹ *Manifiesto*, p. 20.

⁹² *Manifiesto*, p. 42.

⁹³ *Manifiesto*, p. 49.

⁹⁴ Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, *Jardins, carnet de plans et de dessins*, Paris, 1920; English edition, *Gardens; a note-book of plans and sketches*, New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1928. Forestier's Luisa Park in Sevilla was the perfect illustration. Also see Mercè Rubio i Boada, *Nicolau María Rubió i Tudurí (1891-1981): Jardiner y urbanista*, Madrid: Doce Calles/Real Jardín Botánico, 1993; Helen Morgenthau, *Patio gardens*, New York: The Macmillan company, 1929. In July 1953 in the *Boletín*, Alberto Sartoris praised the manifesto and its methodology, in which he saw a welcome, Mediterranean-based, antidote to the excessively “romantic” influence of the organic architecture. A couple of months later in RNA (December 1953), Carlos de Miguel published the Casa Ugalde (1951) with the photographs of Català-Roca, accompanied by excerpts from the Manifesto.

del problema de las barracas” [Study report on a possible solution to the problems of the shanties] consisted of a housing unit in pre-stressed concrete. In section, the unit formed a U-shaped structure that included, in one single module, the ground slab, the vertical back section, and the inclined roof. The residents, in collaboration with the architect, were asked to build the side and front facades in masonry blocks, covered with colored stucco and windows of reduced size, “which would constitute an element of indubitable esthetic value.”⁹⁵ In doing so, Coderch attempted to recreate the articulated image of a traditional village, evoking echoes of “primitive culture” in his vision of combinatory assemblages of volumes that he illustrated in a famous photomontage he presented at the 1962 Team X meeting in Royaumont. The montage, also published in a special issue of *Arquitectura* dedicated to the anonymous architecture of Spain as well as in the Chilean periodical *Auca* n° 14 (1969), was a composition utilizing various and repeated photographs of shanties in the periphery of Madrid:

Some time ago I participated in a congress and presented a photograph, in fact a photomontage, ... there were houses in a small town outside of Madrid, whose name I do not remember, very humble houses, all of one floor; all had a large window, a small window and a door. I liked that very much, they were all the same; but, nevertheless, there was a great variety, they did not have this monotony of what we architects do, and it occurred to me that, perhaps, the changes that we introduce to the houses we design to create more variety and to avoid the monotony, result to be wrong; on the other hand, those that have been done with complete arbitrariness by those who were going to inhabit these houses, turned out very well; then I asked (because I supposed that this poetry could come from the interrelation of some houses with others) to cut all the photographs and I had them assembled, and it turned out to be a beautiful photograph.⁹⁶

On the 27th of January 1957, the young architect and critic Oriol Bohigas (1925-) wrote in *Solidaridad Nacional* his famous manifesto *Elogio de la barraca* [In praise of the shanty]. In this polemical text, he argued that the shanties had made it possible for waves of immigrants to settle in the periphery of Barcelona. They generated a spontaneous urbanism, rough and instable, but one that permitted the development of urban solidarity and neighborhood integration. He intuited that the “dormitory-type” housing projects (*polígonos* in Spanish) put in

⁹⁵ José Antonio Coderch in *Nueva Forma*, November 1974, pp. 65-66.

⁹⁶ José Luis Coderch, *Auca*, quoted by Carlos Flores, vol.1, p. 74: Hace ya tiempo presenté a un congreso una fotografía, un fotomontaje, que hice hacer por un no arquitecto porque había unas casas en un pueblecillo de las afueras de Madrid, cuyo nombre no recuerdo, casas muy humildes, todas de una planta; todas tenían una ventana grande, una ventana chica y una puerta. Aquello me gustaba mucho, todas eran iguales; pero, sin embargo, existía una gran variedad, no tenían esta monotonía de lo que nosotros hacemos, y se me ocurrió pensar que quizá los cambios que nosotros introducimos, en general, en las casas, por conseguir variedad, por evitar la monotonía, resultan falsos; en cambio, las que se han hecho con completa arbitrariedad por los que iban a habitar las casas, resultaban muy bien; entonces hice recortar (porque suponía que esta poesía podría venir de la interrelación de unas casas con otras) todas las casas y las hice montar, y resultó una fotografía preciosa.”

place by the developers in connection with the regime, segregated, badly built, with minimum infrastructure, and the absence of any genuine public spaces, were worse than the auto-construction neighborhoods. The latter should be maintained unless they could be replaced by superior projects:

We think that it is possible to 'redeem' the space of the shanties and add some value to it—an impossible task in our inorganic groups of mass housing. Likewise, we believe that the genuine qualities to be found in the shanties could offer lessons to our urbanists, and make them understand what are the authentic foundations and the sociological premises of a new neighborhood.⁹⁷

Three years later, in another manifesto titled *Elogio del ladrillo* (In praise of the brick, 1960), Bohigas provocatively ennobled both traditional construction techniques and self-construction process in contrast with the speculative blocks of the periphery. In practice, he suggested that traditional construction materials should be preferred to industrialization, particularly in a country where labor shortages and cost of labor made the use of the brick, a social, economic, and architectural alternative:

One must remember that the immediate problem is to provide houses for the countless families that have been rejected by our social structure. And, for the sake of those families, it is critical to renounce, at least for the time being, to our constant discussions: what style, opinions, principles, forms, etc. Including, if necessary, step down from the pedestal of the technicians of the industrial era, in order to work, manually, with "medieval" craftsmen and craftswomen.⁹⁸

To be sure, this theoretical position about urbanism and construction was not unprecedented. It took shape polemically at the CIAM IX held in Aix-en-Provence in 1953 under the impulse of a group of young architects working in Morocco and Algeria. The group CIAM-Morocco (among which were Michel Ecochard and Georges Candilis) and the group CIAM-Algiers under the direction of Roland Simounet and Michel Emery displayed investigations of various bidonvilles in Northern Africa in the format of the CIAM-grid. Sketches, photographs, collages, and other graphic analysis took the audience by surprise. As Tom Avermaete commented, "in these grids there was no reference to pure forms, appealing aesthetics, and rich architectural traditions, but rather to the messy everyday urban environment—the bidonville—that emerges from poverty and necessity."⁹⁹ The heated discussion that ensued, combined with the radical investigation of African vernacular in the Dogon villages by Aldo Van Eyck and friends, eventually led to the breakdown of CIAM and the creation of Team X in 1959.¹⁰⁰ There were

⁹⁷ Oriol Bohigas, "Elogi de la barraca," *Barcelona entre el Pla Cerdà i el barraquisme*, Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1963, pp. 154-155.

⁹⁸ Oriol Bohigas, "Elogi del Totxo, in *Barcelona entre el Pla Cerdà i el barraquisme*, p. 147.

⁹⁹ Tom Avermaete, "CIAM, Team X, and the Rediscovery of African Settlements between Dogon and Bidonville," in Jean-François Lejeune & Michelangelo Sabatino, p. 253.

¹⁰⁰ See Max Risselada, Dirk van den Heuvel, Tom Avermaete, et.al., *Team 10: 1953-81, in search of a utopia of the present*, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005.

no Spanish architects involved in the general debate, with the exception of Josep Lluís Sert who, two years earlier in the CIAM VIII in Hoddesdon, introduced the concept of the Heart of the City and presented his Latin American projects, such as his masterplan for Chimbote, Peru. In these works, he veered away from the modernist typologies to embrace a high-density fabric of patio houses, an approach that he developed in his well-known essay *Can Patios Make Cities?* To some extent, although he did not embrace Team X, Sert pioneered a revision of the housing tenets of the modern movement and anticipated projects such as ATBAT-Afrique's patio-based housing masterplan for the Carrières Centrales in Casablanca (1951-1955). Echoes of these discussions reached Spain in no time, but surprisingly the patio-based alternative did not really succeed outside of the colonization projects and some rare projects of social housing (see Chapter Five).¹⁰¹

Like his Italian mentor Ernesto Nathan Rogers, Bohigas believed in a double historical continuum: the tradition of the modern masters, and the spontaneous and popular tradition that forms the cultural structure of the large lower-class masses that were becoming the new protagonists of history in the post-war era.¹⁰² His *realist* position was also a response, or rather an extension, of the vernacular discourse that had until then concentrated on the countryside or the remote peripheries. His aim was to define a vernacular for the city, whose principles would oppose the ideological tenets of the modern movement. Buildings would take place within the traditional fabric of streets and blocks, use traditional materials like brick, and favour a labour intensive building process to advanced technological structures and methods.

In parallel with the works of Coderch in Barcelona, Bohigas's buildings took place in the very context of the metropolis. The apartment building at Calle Pallars (1958-59) for metallurgy workers consisted of 130 low-cost housing units of 60 square meter each. In order to break the full length of one Cerdà block, including the chamfered intersections, the architects divided the complex into a rhythmic series of six attached buildings connected together by the open-air vertical circulations. Interior patios provided light for two bedrooms, an anti-modernist solution which he commented as follows, "in spite of the clichés that modern architecture carries, and, in particular, its propaganda in favour of the isolated blocks and the absolute necessity of linear arrangements with direct ventilation for all rooms, a concentrated type of housing can still be developed and continues to provide many advantages."¹⁰³ If the Casa Pallars made indirect references to the pre-WWII Amsterdam School, Casa Meridiana

¹⁰¹ Paul Lester Wiener and José Luis Sert, "Can Patios Make Cities?", *Architectural Forum* 99, n° 2, August 1953), pp. 124-131. Also see Carola Barrios, *Can Patios Make Cities? Urban Traces of TPA in Brazil and Venezuela*, *ZARCH (Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies on Architecture and Urbanism)*, n° 1, 2013, pp. 70-81.

¹⁰² See Antonio Piza, "Italia y la necesidad de la teoría en la arquitectura catalana de la postguerra: E.N. Rogers, O. Bohigas," p. 107.

¹⁰³ Oriol Bohigas and Josep M. Martorell, "Grupo De Viviendas Obreras," *Arquitectura*, n° 28, April 1961, p. 20: "a pesar de los tópicos que maneja la arquitectura moderna y su propaganda en favor de los bloques aislados y de la necesidad absoluta de los conjuntos lineales con ventilación directa para todas las habitaciones pueden todavía mantenerse y facilitar un tipo de vivienda concentrada que tiene muchas ventajas."

(1959-65) was more specifically related to the idea of the Viennese worker's citadel. Socio-economically, it was planned to shelter the immigration from the countryside. Typologically, it was a linear bar-building, placed parallel to the Avenida Meridiana, the grand entrance artery coming from the north, and organized in two identical sections separated by the vertical circulations and four patios. The apartments were customized through alterations of the type that resulted in various arrangements of windows and rooms, achieving seven different types of facade for each dwelling. The planned disorder and vibrancy of the facades—that can be read as an urban reinterpretation of Coderch's photomontage discussed earlier—reflected the economy of resources in a positive manner, away from the repetitive typologies and compositional banality of typical low-cost housing.

Those realizations, along with others for the low and the middle classes, were Bohigas's and his partner Martorell's answer to the Italian neo-realism movement and to his interest in Rogers's approach to architecture as defined in the editorials and projects published in *Casabella-continuità*. Entirely built in bricks and traditional bearing walls, destined to immigrant classes as happened in Rome with projects like Quaroni's Tiburtino and others, they nevertheless rejected the building-block as object to embrace and inscribe themselves into the traditional city of streets, blocks, and patios. In a long article of 1962 titled "Granada hoy," Bohigas asserted that the Alhambra was of extreme utility in the definition of the new "realism":

In the new path of realist architecture there are two important themes: on the one hand, that of modesty and 'anti-polemic' and 'anti-dogmatic' authenticity in the architectural approach, and, on the other hand, the possible integration within modern architecture of those elements of the tradition that are still valid and have been displaced by rationalism only for controversial and dogmatic reasons. In the meditation of these two themes, the Alhambra in Granada lends us extraordinary possibilities.¹⁰⁴

Bohigas distinguished between the "idealists" who continued to believe in the rationalist tenets of the 1920s-1930s and the potential of industrialization, and the "realists" which intend to build within the exact conditions and possibilities of the moment. The latter were searching for an "integral" reality that involved not only the constructive aspect, but also the social and the political context and conditions.¹⁰⁵ Attacking the dogmatic, rigid—I would add to Bohigas's adjectives, puritan—tenets of rationalism and charging against all the architects who piled up prisms of glass on the entire Germany and London, he saw in the Alhambra the fields of freshness and passion of genuine architecture. Calling the 1953 *Manifiesto de la Alhambra* a

¹⁰⁴ Oriol Bohigas, "Granada hoy," in *Arquitectura* 4, nº 45, September 1962, p. 2: "En el nuevo camino de la arquitectura realista hay dos temas importantes: por un lado, el de la modestia y la autenticidad "antipolémica", "antidogmática" en el planteamiento arquitectónico, y, por otro, la posible integración a la arquitectura moderna de aquellos elementos aún válidos de la tradición que habían sido desplazados por el racionalismo solamente por motivos polémicos y dogmáticos. En la meditación de estos dos temas, la Alhambra de Granada nos presta unas extraordinarias posibilidades."

¹⁰⁵ Bohigas admitted that the industrialization process could eventually succeed but the social and technological conditions in Spain were not appropriate for its intensive use.

“text extraordinarily suggestive,”¹⁰⁶ he asserted that the manifesto had “more cultural transcendence” a decade later than at the time of its publication.¹⁰⁷ Continuing his attacks against “open urbanism,” he accused the architects and developers of new neighbourhoods in and around Granada to lack any realistic vision of life in a region where “the tradition of the street, of the patio, of the walls, and the flower pots are totally operant.”¹⁰⁸

It is interesting to reflect on how much the urbanistic interpretation of the Alhambra and its lessons for the future differed over the ten years. Chueca Goitia and the signatories used the Alhambra to position themselves against the traditional street, whereas Bohigas, well aware of the dramatic consequences of the open block and the refusal of the street, used it to propose a return to the century-old principles of Western urbanism. Likewise, it is important to point out that the new realism for Bohigas was both architectural and urbanistic. If it accepted the conditions of construction as they were, it did as well for the urban environment as it was, i.e., with its streets, alignment codes, etc. Ernesto Rogers and Giancarlo de Carlo were certainly sensitive to dismantling the simplistic urban tenets of modernism; yet, in practice it never formally advocated the principles of streets and squares in the same realist way than Bohigas.

One year earlier (1961), Bohigas had published his provocative *Comentarios sobre el Pueblo Español* in the periodical *Arquitectura*.¹⁰⁹ Let us recall that the exhibition village was the work of two architects, Ramón Reventós and Francisco Folguera, the painter Xavier Nogués, and the art critic and first proponent of the project, Miguel Utrillo.¹¹⁰ Following its initial success, both public and touristic, but also from the specialized critic, the reputation of the Pueblo Español expectedly collapsed under the indirect attacks of the functional city, the new traffic systems, the rejection of the rue-corridor, and of the so-called ‘scenographic’ design. Attacking modern urbanism for the built “realities where to suffer,” Bohigas set up to dismantle the tenets and even more so the results of the functionalist urbanism and its hygienic, anti-urban, and technological biases. In his article, the Pueblo became the symbol of all the pueblos of Spain, many of which were either abandoned or submitted to an uncontrolled abuse of modernization. Most significantly and coming from an architect with modern credentials, the essay was an advocacy in favor of the street and the block—two

¹⁰⁶ Oriol Bohigas, “Granada hoy,” p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ Even though Coderch and Grup R were certainly influencing the Madrid scene, this absence reflected the division line between the capital and the Catalan region. Likewise, architects from the region were primarily absent from public works such as the DGRD and the INC. Bohigas pointed out and lamented the depreciation that the text had given to both the Modernism and the experiments of the GATEPAC, while regretting that the sessions did not include any architect from Catalonia

¹⁰⁸ Oriol Bohigas, “Granada hoy,” p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ Oriol Bohigas, “Comentarios al “Pueblo Español” de Montjuich,” *Arquitectura* nº 35, November 1961, pp. 15-23.

¹¹⁰ See Jordana Mendelson, “El Poble Espanyol/El Pueblo Español (1929),” *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929-39*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005, pp. 1-37.

fundamental tenets of urban design which he would use for the program of the Olympic Games of 1992:

We are convinced that its most spectacular accomplishment [of the Pueblo Español] can be found in the successful weaving of its streets and that, on the other hand, the absence of streets is one important reason of the formal and psychological failure of the modern urbanism.¹¹¹

As for the traditional urban block, he lamented its unjustified abandon and praised, at the same time, its unmatched capacity to serve as the “basis of human attraction on our Mediterranean cities.”¹¹² Here was the key of his argument: Mediterranean cities and their residents had another relationship to public space and public life than in northern European and American ones, and as such it was entirely conceivable, in fact necessary, to develop a Mediterranean vision of modern urbanism. That is what, to some extent, the GATEPAC and Zuazo/Jansen had imagined for Barcelona and Madrid in the 1930s. That is what Bohigas would eventually achieve and demonstrate in the Renaissance of Barcelona as Olympic city and further.

4.6. Villages in the City

As I have discussed in Chapter One, the Zuazo-Jansen *Anteproyecto del trazado viario y urbanización de Madrid* placed first in the competition of 1929 for the planning of Madrid. In contrast with the Plan Macià in Barcelona, the *Anteproyecto* clearly limited the extension of the city with the use of a large green belt and “the development of satellite-cities which, new or superimposed on existing urban or rural nuclei would absorb the surplus of urban growth.”¹¹³ Those satellite-cities would be built between the greenbelt and the countryside, usually in connection with important access roads, and a system of parks would make connections between all the areas and the consolidated city.

At the end of the Civil War, at the occasion of the First Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos in October 1939, Chief Planner Pedro Bidagor presented the urban principles that were at the basis of the Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid. He conceived an organic vision of a Gran Madrid structured as an archipelago of rural-based towns or *poblados* around the historic city. The city was to become multipolar in its conquest of the countryside, which, on its own turn, would penetrate into the urban core in a reinterpretation of the system of parks developed in the United States, Germany and France. All together city and country would

¹¹¹ Oriol Bohigas, “Comentarios sobre el pueblo español,” p. 21: “Estamos convencidos que en el acertado tejido de calles se encuentra uno de sus más espectaculares éxitos y que, en cambio, en la ausencia de calles está uno de los aspectos de fracaso—formal y psicológico, por lo menos—del nuevo urbanismo.”

¹¹² Oriol Bohigas, “Comentarios sobre el pueblo español,” p. 22.

¹¹³ Lilia Maure Rubio, Lilia, *Anteproyecto del trazado viario y urbanización de Madrid: Zuazo-Jansen, 1929-30*, Madrid: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1986, p. xxiv.

thus form “an organic whole.”¹¹⁴ The beautifully drawn plan maintained the principles of the continuous city of streets and blocks, but with potential typological innovations deriving mostly from German examples of the 1920s. The plan was completed in 1941 but his approval delayed until 1946. In the early 1950s, detailed plans and models for the new *poblados* of Manoteras, Canillas, San Blas, Palomeras, and Villaverde were elaborated and published in the periodical *Gran Madrid*.¹¹⁵ Consequence of these constant delays, political and bureaucratic, but also urbanistic as the chorus of dissenting voices in favor of a more modernist urbanism got louder, Madrid faced a major housing crisis in the early 1950s. On the one hand, the consolidated center of the city was slowly revitalized and the real estate speculative forces were recuperating a level of activity equivalent to the 1930s. On the other hand, the *chabolas* or bidonvilles were growing quickly in the outskirts of the city, a situation that the activism of a local Jesuit priest helped denounce. The link between these two realities was the rural immigration, in great part driven by the construction market that demanded cheap labor in Madrid and thus spurred the arrival of thousands of rural residents looking for better opportunities and social integration in the city.¹¹⁶

1954 marked the beginning of a radical change in urbanistic concepts. Until then, under the leadership of Pedro Muguruza, director of the Dirección General de Arquitectura and Francisco Prieto Moreno, Comisariato General para la Ordenación Urbana de Madrid, with the technical direction of Pedro Bidagor, the concept of streets and closed blocks had dominated Spanish urbanism even though one could observe a subtle evolution within the new ordinances toward higher structures, the consideration of the open block, etc. That year, Prieto Moreno asked Julián Laguna, an architect but also a private developer, to take over the Comisariato. Laguna’s main task was to start confronting the serious housing crisis and launch the program of large-scale social housing that Madrid had been expecting for quite some years. He accepted the mission with the expectation that he would be able to act “efficiently, brutally, and solve a problem that is a shame for a regime and for the professionals who are called to fix it.”¹¹⁷ His brash style, his pragmatic approach to the social problems which he definitely intended to solve, and his modernist agenda shouldered by the generation of young architects that he would empower clashed dramatically with Bidagor,

¹¹⁴ See Pedro Bidagor, “Plan de ciudades,” *Sesiones de la I Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos, Madrid: Servicios Técnicos de FET y de la JONS*, 1939, p. 57-67.

¹¹⁵ See *Grand Madrid*, nº 11, 1950; Carlos Sambricio and Concepción Lopezosa Aparicio, *Cartografía Histórica – Madrid Región Capital*, Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid Consejería de Obras Públicas, Urbanismo y Transportes / Arpegio, 2002.

¹¹⁶ Rafael Moneo, “Madrid: los últimos veinticinco años,” *Hogar y Arquitectura* 75, p. 57.

¹¹⁷ See Luis Fernández Galiano, Justo F. Isasi, and Antonio Lopera. *La quimera moderna: los poblados dirigidos de Madrid en la arquitectura de los 50*, Madrid: Hermann Blume, 1989, p. 19.

whose concept of urban form was radically different. Soon Laguna went to search for a more adequate director for his vision and it is Antonio Perpiña, winner of the competition for a new commercial center at the Paseo Castellana (Avenida del Generalísimo) with a modernist civic center design, who took the place of Bidagor in 1956.¹¹⁸

The first phase of the emergency reaction to the increasing crisis (1955-1956) consisted in building a series of *poblados de absorción* (villages of absorption) to relocate the residents of the chabolas after demolition.¹¹⁹ Although eight were built, two of them—Fuencarral A by Francisco Sáenz de Oiza and Fuencarral B by Alejandro de la Sota—exemplified the dilemma and the urbanistic choices that the program managers were eventually confronted with. De la Sota's project consisted of 532 dwellings organized in blocks of back-to-back single-family houses (some one floor, some one floor and a half), small five-story high towers and linear bars of the same height. When he described them later, he alluded to “the popular architectural influences of his previous work, dedicated to the construction of villages for the National Institute of Colonization of the Ministry of Agriculture; the plastic period of the author, with esthetic preoccupations.”¹²⁰ The overall arrangement followed the topography, but in contrast to his works at the I.N.C., the streets virtually disappeared and the whole ensemble appeared more like a collage of buildings rather than a real plan. However, the clever articulation of the single-family blocks along the access street created a series of small plazas, which served as entrance to the houses in the manner that he was experimenting in the contemporary pueblos of Valungo and La Bazaña.¹²¹ Displaying “the plastic of a village,”¹²² the small houses looked definitely rural with the white lime walls, the corral at the back, the tiled roofs, and the colored wooden doors. In contrast, the collective buildings displayed the economy of construction epitomized by the use of brick and small windows, and the modernity of their typologies and collective circulation. Overall, they recalled the neo-realist Italian projects in Tuscolana by Mario Ridolfi and Adalberto Libera, but some of the sketches by the architect reflecting the stepped up topography brought to mind Coderch's photomontage mentioned earlier.

Sáenz de Oiza's scheme included 500 housing units, sixty per cent of them being one-family houses and the rest in four-story towers and bars. Like de la Sota, he used the collective buildings to mark the edges of the site and, to some extent, “protect” the individual houses, which he laid out on a two-axis perpendicular system. Here however, the articulation of the

¹¹⁸ See *Gran Madrid*, nº 28, 1954.

¹¹⁹ See Luis Fernández Galiano, Justo F. Isasi, and Antonio Lopera, *La quimera moderna: los poblados dirigidos de Madrid en la arquitectura de los 50*, Madrid: Hermann Blume, 1989.

¹²⁰ See the quote on the website of the Fundación Alejandro de la Sota: <https://www.alejandrodelasota.org>. Also see Teresa Couceiro, *Urbanización y poblado de absorción Fuencarral B*, Madrid: Fundación Alejandro de la Sota, 2006.

¹²¹ See Chapter Six and the potential influence of Alejandro Herrero's article, “15 normas para la composición de conjunto en barriadas de vivienda unifamiliar,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 168, 1955, pp. 17-28.

¹²² *Hogar y Arquitectura*, March-April 1956, p. 14.

blocks did not produce genuine public spaces, even though the publication in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* compared, quite misleadingly, the groups of brick houses with the vernacular fabric of Mojácar. At Fuencarral A, Saenz de Oiza substituted de la Sota's poetics of rural dwelling with a technical and mechanical approach that conformed better with the techno-bureaucratic evolution of the regime and the growing desire of the young architects to be, without further delay, as modern as their colleagues on the other side of the Pyreneans.¹²³

Second phase of the emergency program designed by Julian Laguna and Luis Valero, director of the I.N.V., the seven Poblados Dirigidos (Directed Districts) were built from 1957 to the early 1960s. Mixing vernacular-based techniques of auto-construction for single-family units and standardized typologies of multi-family mid-rise blocks, the seven teams of young architects exhibited a lot of talent and imagination in the design of modern typologies of social housing. To some extent, they were model neighborhoods designed to create alternatives to the standard housing projects enshrined in the Charter of Athens and its multiple applications around Europe. However, the social experience resulted in problematic urban districts, dominated by an abstract urbanistic approach that produced an alienating environment mostly devoid of any genuine public spaces. Of the seven *poblados*, Caño Roto (1957-1963) was the only district to succeed in developing an urban and architectural identity beyond the quantitative and qualitative response to the housing program. Here, José Luis Iñiguez de Onzoño and Antonio Vázquez de Castro attempted to create a new type of modern village for the immigrants from the countryside. Like Mario Ridolfi and his team ten years earlier in the Tiburtino quarter in Rome, they looked for an urban model that would sociologically and urbanistically function as transition from country to town. In that sense, the district of Caño Roto was the best translation of Italian neo-realism in a Spanish periphery. The 1600 housing units were distributed on a north-south grid in small blocks of single-family houses, cascading down the hill along narrow pedestrian lanes, combined with 4-story high linear blocks and small towers of apartments. Unfortunately, the planned civic center at the heart of the village was never built, which resulted in a lack of civic activity and identity beyond the small plazas primarily designed for children. The brick facades of the two-story houses, the pedestrian alleys, and the 'metaphysical' playgrounds populated by the sculptures of Ángel Ferrant made it the most village-like and the most photogenic of all the districts—it is not surprising that its best interpreter was Joaquín del Palacio Kindel, who was also the official photographer of Fernández del Amo's works for the I.N.C.¹²⁴

Beyond its urbanistic appeal, Caño Roto was morphologically and typologically the most innovative project of the 1950s. Iñiguez de Onzoño and Vázquez de Castro introduced the

¹²³ "Poblado de absorción "A": Fuencarral, Madrid (España)," *Hogar y Arquitectura*, nº 6, September-October 1956, pp. 3-10.

¹²⁴ See chapter 7. On Caño Roto, see Andrés Cánovas Alcaraz and Fernando Ruiz Bernal, *Poblado dirigido de Caño Roto (fases I y II): Vázquez de Castro e Iñiguez de Onzoño / proyecto y edición*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios y Experimentación de Obras Públicas (CEDEX)/Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, Departamento de Proyectos, 2013

concept of the 'carpet settlement' or 'mat-housing' by grouping patio-based houses into dense clusters separated by pedestrian alleyways. To be sure, the architects of the D.G.R.D. and the Instituto Nacional de Colonización used the patio-house type repeatedly in the countryside from the early 1940s. Yet, given the large size of the parcel and the primary agricultural use of the corral/patio, the typology itself rarely integrated the patio within its architectural distribution. At Fuencarral B, de la Sota designed blocks of single-family houses with corrals but here as well they were not genuine patio houses. At Caño Roto, the 80 square meter patio houses were L-shaped and embraced the courtyard enclosed by a high wall. Both the house plan and the layout of the "carpet" clusters resembled the structures designed and developed from the early 1950s by Adalberto Libera at the Tuscolana in Rome, Josep Lluís Sert in Latin America, and Michel Ecochard in Casablanca, among others. Iñiguez de Onzoño and Vázquez de Castro designed other projects with the same morphology—they were invited to participate in the Previ District competition in Lima—but, overall, the experiment remained isolated and did not have a real follow up. In spite of its faults and partial incompleteness, Caño Roto was the last link in a continuous 60-year chain of projects and experiments that connected the rural vernacular to the modern.¹²⁵

In 1958, the last remnants of the Falange's utopia of a corporatist city were removed in a major governmental reshuffling. Julián Laguna resigned. Under the influence of the Opus Dei, the responsibility to implement the Plan de Urgencia Social was transferred to the private sector through a system of State subsidies. The Francoist regime, now out of its international isolation, would soon embark upon a frenzy of modernist mass housing that would irremediably endanger the urban peripheries and damage the Mediterranean shores.

4.7. Diffusion, Dissemination, Expansion

The critical importance that this chapter has given to the most significant events and moments of reflection regarding the relationship between the modern, the vernacular, and the Mediterranean from the late 1940s onwards, should not make us forget the long-distance work of dissemination realized by the professional architectural press. As we have seen in the Chapter Three, the periodical *Reconstrucción*, organ of the D.G.R.D. published from 1940 to 1956, dedicated substantial editorial space to the analysis and the promotion of popular architecture, often through the lens of the regional approach corresponding to the organization of the reconstruction process. On the contrary, the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, which replaced *Arquitectura* from 1941, consecrated most of its articles to large-scale urban planning often in the neo-classical or neo-Herrerian style, although one has to mention the specific focus on the projects of fishermen villages promoted by Pedro Muguruza.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ See Peter Land, *The Experimental Housing Project (PREVI), Lima: design and technology in a new neighbourhood*, Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes: Universidad de los Andes, 2015.

¹²⁶ See Chapter 3.

In the mid-1940s, when the classical tides were starting to recede, the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* followed by the *Boletín de Información de la Dirección General de Arquitectura* and *Cortijos y Rascacielos* implemented a major editorial shift. They started to embrace the vernacular and popular architecture as a politically correct strategy to open architecture again to modernity. Essays, debates, and publications of modern projects strongly influenced by popular architecture, brought the issue to the forefront in repeated fashion.¹²⁷ Among the most relevant was the essay of 1953 by Gabriel Alomar, "Valor actual de las arquitecturas populares (Aplicación particular a la arquitectura popular de los tipos mediterráneos)."¹²⁸ Alomar, an important urbanist born and active professionally in the Balears made a clear distinction between popular architecture of mountainous areas (North Mediterranean) built in stone with sloping roofs versus the Southern Mediterranean of Arab and African origin of which Ibiza was an extreme representative limit. He argued for a rational, simple, and esthetic approach, because "the villages are beautiful until the cinema and the architect arrive."¹²⁹ Fernando Chueca Goitia went further and contended that, "it is possible to write off an artistic style, because it is history; but one cannot cancel what is intrahistory."¹³⁰ The discussion also focused on the issue of southern light and the systems of solar protection known as blinds, shutters, or brise-soleils.¹³¹

A key character in this effort was certainly Alberto Sartoris who regularly contributed in the early 1950s:¹³²

The history of architecture, which began in Libya sixty centuries before our era, does not end with the neurosis of nineteenth-century styles, but continues its geometric and linear potential with the functional architecture, i.e., the architecture that has found its development on the shores of the Mediterranean: the architecture of genius and the sun, the architecture of light and intelligence.¹³³

In this essay, Sartoris continued his role of instigator of a return to the primacy of the Mediterranean in the development of modern architecture. He argued for the synthesis of the arts, the coexistence of styles within modernity, and for the use of mathematical proportions

¹²⁷ See the publication of the early works by Coderch and Valls, such as "Casa en Cala D'or (Mallorca)," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* VII, n° 67-68 (July-August 1947); Carlos de Miguel, "Villa en Caldeas (Casa Ugalde)—Coderch and Vals," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, December 1953, pp. 25-29; and the critical session about the Alhambra, "Sesiones de crítica de Arquitectura. Sesiones celebradas en La Alhambra durante los días 14 y 15 de octubre 1952." op. cit.

¹²⁸ Gabriel Alomar, "Valor actual de las arquitecturas populares (Aplicación particular a la arquitectura popular de los tipos mediterráneos)," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, May 1953, pp. 35-50.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 49. For the concept of "intrahistory," see Chapter One.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*.

¹³² Alberto Sartoris, "Ir y venir de la arquitectura," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, n° 146, February 1954, pp. 10-19.

¹³³ Sartoris, p. 19: "La historia de la arquitectura, que comenzó en Libia sesenta siglos antes de nuestra era, no se termina con la neurosis de los estilos del siglo XIX, sino que continua su potencial geométrica y lineal con la arquitectura funcional, la arquitectura que ha encontrado su desarrollo en las orillas del Mediterráneo: la arquitectura del genio y del sol, la arquitectura de la luz y de la inteligencia."

such as the Golden Section. He used illustrations of modern Brazilian work, Luigi Moretti, Paul Rudolph in Florida, and more. In parallel to the discussion of vernacular architecture, director Carlos de Miguel extended the reflection to the urban context with important *Sesiones de Crítica* about Plazas, the Barrio de Santa Cruz, and many others.¹³⁴ Another example was his essay "Patios de vecindad" of November 1955, where he advocated the continuing use of patio-based urban blocks in contrast with the isolated bars, "beautiful in models," in use in Nordic countries and the Italy of the 1950s.¹³⁵ Likewise, after many articles emphasizing the "white" modernity of the Mediterranean, in June 1954, Carlos de Miguel extended the debate relative to the urban context and the definition of the "street architecture" of Madrid and other cities like Toledo. Following a debate about whether brick could be used as facing material, Catalan architect Mariano Guarrigues brought the core of the question, i.e., the architectural making of the urban environment, and anticipated the issue of "realism" that Oriol Bohigas brought forward a couple of years later:

It is amusing to think that, in these times of vaunted standardization and industrial prefabrication, brick remains the most human and rationalized building material, perhaps because it is more ancient and humble. Its size is determined by the size of our own hand and the strength of our own arm.¹³⁶

Among many examples of modern works directly derived from an abstraction of the vernacular, the publication of the new towns of Esquivel, Villafranco del Delta, and especially Vegaviana were instrumental to propagate the evolution of the work of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización toward a more radical understanding of traditional urbanism and architecture.¹³⁷ Likewise, photographs of vernacular architecture and traditional towns, many of them by photographers like Palacios Kindel, occupied the front covers of the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (R.N.A.).

The R.N.A. ceased to exist at the end of the 1958 and January 1959 saw the first issue of the reborn *Arquitectura*, now again under the leadership of the Colegio de Arquitectos and with Carlos de Miguel continuing as editor. The new periodical diversified its architectural and urban interests, but the emphasis on *arquitectura popular* continued throughout the 1960s and the 1970s. A case in point was the exceptional issue on the *Arquitectura anónima de*

¹³⁴ See for instance, Carlos de Miguel, "El barrio de Santa Cruz en Sevilla," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XIII, nº 136, April 1953, pp. 9-11, an article about the urban vernacular which will lead to the discussed Sesión de Crítica, "Posibilidades que tienen los barrios típicos andaluces para el urbanismo actual," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* nº 155, 1954.

¹³⁵ Carlos de Miguel, "Patios de vecindad." *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XV, nº 167, November 1955, pp. 22-26: "Much of the success of the neo-realist Italian films is due, putting aside the indubitable and efficient collaboration of Gina Lollobrigida, to the grime of the lonely isolated blocks" (p. 22).

¹³⁶ Carlos De Miguel, et. al., "Sesión de crítica: defensa del ladrillo," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XIV, June 1954, pp. 19-31, quote on p. 31: divierte pensar que, en estos tiempos de tan cacareada tipificación y prefabricación industrial, sea el ladrillo el material de construcción más humano y racionalizado, quizá por más antiguo y humilde. Su medida está determinada por el tamaño de nuestra propia mano y la fuerza de nuestro propio brazo. Al mismo tiempo que plantea a la inteligencia del hombre la geometría de su aparejo, razonado en la necesidad constructiva de quebrar la junta."

¹³⁷ See Chapter Five, Six, Seven, Eight in this dissertation.

España (October 1962), edited by architects of the new generation Antonio Fernández Alba and Francisco de Inza Campos, along with the veteran Luis Moya, and with a spectacular cover image by Kindel and the photomontage of vernacular houses by Coderch discussed earlier in this chapter. Moreover, the new medium continued the practice of devoting the periodical covers to suggestive images of popular architecture.¹³⁸ Interestingly, in August 1960, *Arquitectura* published a short essay by Josep Lluís Sert describing his private house in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In “Una casa con patio,” he wrote in perfect alignment with the Spanish discourse: “it is increasingly necessary to pay more attention to the concepts of the Mediterranean house.”¹³⁹

Developed as a debate and commentaries on a series of impactful photographs of popular architecture in the La Mancha region, the essay of 1963, “Laguardia, pueblo manchego” repeated, with the arrival on the scene of younger architects such as Javier Carvajal, the same arguments about the beauty, functionality, and modernity of popular architecture and urbanism in the Spanish pueblos. Carvajal placed them in the context of rural emigration and the need to imagine a compatible modernization of an old fabric. At the same time he criticized the influence of the Nordic open patterns of urbanization, alien to the Spanish spirit and tradition:

The Nordics are people who live in and have always related to the forest... then why do the Latin copy urban schemes that go against their pure essence? ... Another Finn praised the narrow streets of our old neighborhoods. I found them delicious and functional, he said. And we, our new neighborhoods, we build them in the Nordic Way!¹⁴⁰

In 1961, the young architect, critic, and historian of architecture, Carlos Flores López (1928-) published his seminal *Arquitectura española contemporánea*. With this work he contributed not only to reinforce an emerging modern architecture in the context of Franco regime, but also to open the new Spanish modernity to the attention of the international milieu.¹⁴¹ The

¹³⁸ Antonio Fernández Alba, Luis Moya, and Francisco de Inza Campos, “Arquitectura anónima de España,” *Arquitectura* 4, nº 46, October 1962, pp. 6-47. Among other articles, let us mention Carlos de Miguel, Carlos. “Arquitectura Popular: Arcos De La Frontera.” *Arquitectura* 3, nº 18, June 1960, pp. 44-46; José M. Sostres, “Casa en Sitges,” *Arquitectura* 3, nº 35, November 1961, pp. 2-4; Secundino Zuazo, “La Casa De Las Flores (reprinted from *Arquitectura* XV, January 1933),” *Arquitectura* 1, nº 12, December 1959, pp. 29-35.

¹³⁹ Josep Lluís Sert, “Una casa con patio,” *Arquitectura*, nº 20, August 1960, pp. 7-13, here p. 7. The first article on Sert in a Spanish periodical was Josep Lluís Sert, “Taller del pintor Joan Miró [Palma de Mallorca],” *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, nº 33, 1957, pp. 29-31 (445-447).

¹⁴⁰ AA.VV., “La Guardia: Pueblo Manchego,” *Arquitectura* 5, nº 53, May 1963: “los Nórdicos son gentes de vida y tradición de bosque... por qué los latinos copian unos esquemas urbanísticos que van contra su pura esencia?... Otro finlandés elogiaba nuestras calles estrechas de nuestros barrios antiguos. Las encontraba deliciosas y funcionales. Y nosotros, en los barrios nuevos, a lo nórdico.”

¹⁴¹ On Carlos Flores, see the important essay by María Ángeles Layuno Rosas, “La historización de la arquitectura del movimiento moderno: Carlos Flores,” pp. 203-38, read at: <https://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/31/29/11layuno.pdf>, last accessed October 4, 2018. As reported by Layuno Rosas, see for instance “The Spain of Carlos Flores” in *The Architectural Review*, nº 781, London, 1962, pp. 187-189.

book was divided into two sections. The first one was a history of Spanish and modern architecture abroad organized in nine chapters, a vision relatively orthodox of Northern inspiration—his major references were Pevsner, Giedion, Behrendt, and Zevi—but that opened a narrow window toward a more Southern vision and interpretation. In particular, he praised Fernando García Mercadal and Torres Balbás, not only for their role of divulgators of European modernism, but also for their efforts to ascertain the vernacular as the starting block of a new Spanish modernity.¹⁴² The second section presented in a serial manner, a “iconographic catalogue of projects,” with no and very little commentaries, all relevant in the last ten years of Spanish modern architecture between 1950 and 1960.¹⁴³ Among the suggestive black & white images, the projects by Fernández del Amo, Fisac, Bohigas, and Íñiguez de Onzoño and Vázquez de Castro—some of them made even more iconic by Kindel’s photography—demonstrated the interrelation between the first decade of postwar modern and popular architecture. Over the years, his first interest in the preservation of that heritage will evolve into the advocacy of interrelations between the “popular architecture and the modern cultured architecture, with the aim of seeking alternative and valid solutions to the housing problem, following a tradition led by architects such as Torres Balbás, Fernández Balbuena, Ámos Salvador, Anasagasti, Mercadal or Sert, who, like Flores, saw in the invariants of this architecture a catalog of lessons that inspire the modern project both at the conceptual and formal level.”¹⁴⁴

From the 1960s onwards, Flores embarked on a two-decade-long investigation and documentation of Spanish popular architecture across all regions of the peninsula. His encyclopedic research was published from 1973 to 1977 in five volumes, a titanic work resulting in more than 2300 pages and 5000 illustrations, mostly his own.¹⁴⁵ Luis Martínez Feduchi (1901-1975), architect of the Edificio Capitol on the Gran Vía (with Vicente Eced, 1931-33) and the Castellana Hilton (1953), undertook a similar enterprise of research and documentation, which will be published, partially posthumously from 1974 to 1984. Feduchi’s approach was more technical in the sense that he, with the help of his students, accompanied his photographs with hundreds of urban plans and typological studies of towns and

¹⁴² Layuno Rosas, pp. 213-sq.: the author stresses the importance of Torres Balbás’s articles in *Arquitectura* as Flores’s fundamental references for his introduction to Spanish modernity.

¹⁴³ Quoted from Layuno Rosas, p. 229 with reference to Javier Martínez González, *Historiografía de la arquitectura española moderna (1945-1978)*, Dissertation, ETSA de Navarra, pp. 203-209.

¹⁴⁴ Layuno Rosas, p. 225: arquitectura culta moderna y la arquitectura popular, con el objetivo de buscar soluciones alternativas y válidas al problema de la vivienda, siguiendo una tradición encabezada por arquitectos de la talla de Torres Balbás, Fernández Balbuena, Ámos Salvador, Anasagasti, Mercadal o Sert, quienes, como Flores, vieron en las constantes de esta arquitectura un catálogo de enseñanzas tanto a nivel conceptual como formal para inspirar el proyecto moderno.”

¹⁴⁵ See Carlos Flores, *Arquitectura Popular Española* (5 vols.), Madrid: Aguilar, 1973-1977; Volume 1. General y Pirineo / Prepirineo (1973, 428 pages); Volume 2: País Vasco, Cantabria, Asturias, Galicia (1973, 542 pages); Volume 3: Meseta Norte, Meseta Sur, Sistema Central, Extremadura (1973, 553 pages); Volume 4: Andalucía, Murcia, Valencia (1976, 403 pages); Volume 5: Valle del Ebro, Cataluña, Baleares, Canarias (1977, 427 pages). Other works by Flores López include: *La España popular: raíces de una arquitectura vernácula* (1979), *Gaudí, Jujol y el modernismo catalán* (1982), *Introducción a Gaudí* (1983), *Pueblos y lugares de España* (1991), *La Pedrera: Arquitectura e historia* (1999).

villages.¹⁴⁶ Unsurprisingly, these monumental editorial ventures echoed in both exceptional issues of *Arquitectura* (December 1974 and January 1975), titled *Arquitectura popular en España*, with the participation of, among others, Luis Feduchi, Carlos Flores, Fernando García Mercadal, Junio Cano Lasso, Fernández del Amo, and Juan Daniel Fullaondo.¹⁴⁷

In 1968, the young architect Lluís Domènech Girbau (1940-) extended the survey of the new Spanish architecture in another important work to which he gave the same title than Flores's: *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*, the Spanish equivalent of the *Italy Builds* published in 1955 by G.E. Kidder Smith.¹⁴⁸ Whereas the architecture of *cal* [lime] and white-washed walls dominated the new modernity of the 1950s in Flores's book, the 1960s edited by Domènech mirrored a shift toward more urban interventions in Madrid, Barcelona, and the Basque Country. The exposed brick became the mode of expression of a new vernacular, the one announced by Oriol Bohigas in the 1950s and now in full development—an architecture that dared not to hide the roofs, single or double sloped, and used them to create new rhythms and new modes of inscription in the urban and natural landscape. Buildings like the Maravillas Gymnasium by Alejandro de la Sota (Madrid, 1960-62), the Casa Tapiés and its facades entirely louvered by José Antonio Coderch (Barcelona, 1960-63), the plastic Unidad Vecinal Pío XII that inscribed itself beautifully in Segovia's skyline (José Joaquín Aracil Bellod, Segovia, 1963-66), two modern but urbanistically coherent neighborhoods in the suburbs of Madrid—Barrio Loyola (Francisco Sáenz-Oiza, Madrid, 1960-62) and Barrio Juan XXIII (José Luis Romany, 1962-63)—, the Colegio Monfort by Antonio Fernández Alba (Madrid, 1963-65), and the Fábrica de Embutidos in Segovia by Francisco de Inza (1962-66) were great examples of this Spanish architectural iconicity. Domènech also included examples from the new generation of architects, like Ricardo Bofill and the apartment building Calle Nicaragua (Barcelona, 1962-64), the powerful Fábrica Diestre by the young Rafael Moneo (1964-67) that already showed his ability at dealing with zenithal light, the Unidad Vecinal de Absorción Hortaleza (1961-63) and the Wright-inspired concrete Casa Lucio Muñoz by Fernando Higueras (1962-63), and Brutalist experiment by Francisco Sáenz-Oiza, the Torres Blancas (Madrid, 1961-68). The last generation of *pueblos de colonización* (see Chapter 5) was notably absent, but the author published the 916-unit Unidad Exa, an avant-garde prefabricated village in the outskirts of Granada conceived as a series of interconnected hexagons that created a radical interpretation of the traditional village and its open patios.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Luis Martínez Feduchi Ruiz, *Itinerarios de arquitectura popular española* (5 volumes), Barcelona: Blume, 1974-1984: La Meseta septentrional (1974); La Orla cantábrica: la España del hórreo, 1975; Los antiguos reinos de las cuatro barras: Cataluña, Aragón, Levante y Baleares (1976); Los pueblos blancos (1978); La Mancha, del Guadiana al mar (1984).

¹⁴⁷ See *Arquitectura* 16, nº 192 (Special issue: *Arquitectura popular en España*, Part I), December 1974, and *Arquitectura* 17, nº 193 (Special issue: *Arquitectura popular en España*, Part 2), January 1975.

¹⁴⁸ Lluís Domènech Girbau, *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*. Barcelona: Editorial Blume, 1968.

¹⁴⁹ Seven architects were involved: José Antonio Alba Carreras, José Luis Aranguren Enterría, Santiago de la Fuente Viqueira, Luis Regidor de Vicuña, Cruz López Müller, Miguel Seisdedos González, and Antonio Vallejo Acevedo. On the Unidad Exa and its genesis, see Tomás Andreo Sánchez, "La

Boldly asserting that the economic and social conditions of the third world were ideal starting points for an avant-garde architecture, thus implying that Franco's Spain was closer to these conditions than to the northern part of Europe, Oriol Bohigas rightly wrote in his introduction to the book that in the last ten years, Spain had succeeded in developing a new architectural culture:

It is not risky to say, therefore, that perhaps Spain presents currently an exemplary architectural panorama, in spite of all the brakes and the apparently negative circumstances. And that it is a germ of positive revision in the midst of the stationary crisis in which the architecture of the whole world finds itself, with questionable exceptions.¹⁵⁰

From the mid-1960s onwards, French sociologist Henri Lefebvre had extensive exchanges with Spanish architects. The context was the last period of Franco's regime and the speculative and functionalist state of urban planning and architecture dominant in the country. In collaboration with sociologist Mario Gaviria, he set out to analyze the urbanism of tourism along the Mediterranean Coast as a critical response to the failure of the purely pragmatic and functionalist configurations that the intense capitalist development of the 1960-70s (known as *desarrollismo* or Spanish miracle) made surge all over Spain in the formless character of the peripheries and their absence of public urban space. For Lefebvre and Gaviria, the "urbanism of leisure" embodied both promises of social modernity and imminent dangers of alienation. It is within this intellectual context that Ricardo Bofill (who participated in seminars led by Lefebvre) and his Taller de Arquitectura embarked on projects of tourism and multi-family housing along the Mediterranean coast from Barcelona to Alicante.¹⁵¹

Highly influenced by the Mediterranean vernacular, the built complex of La Manzanera in Calpe near Alicante—including the Muralla Roja (Red Walls, 1966-68) and Xanadu (1968-70)—formed a set of variations on the spaces of leisure, destined not only to exalt a post-productivist and hedonist "architecture of enjoyment," but also to suggest new directions for the growth of the city. This "tourist utopia" spurred the Taller's theoretical investigations in new forms of planning for social housing as experimented in El Castell (1966-68) and Reus (Barrio Gaudi, 1964-68). The conceptual and mathematical/geometrical fusion between

Virgencica: una intervención de urgencia para un urbanismo vivo," Dissertation, Universidad de Granada Facultad de Bellas Artes Alonso Cano, 2015.

¹⁵⁰ Oriol Bohigas, "Prólogo," in Domènech Girbau, p. 9: "No es aventurado decir, por tanto, que quizás ahora España presenta un panorama arquitectónico ejemplarizante, a pesar de todos los frenos y las circunstancias aparentemente negativas. Y que hay un germen de revisión positiva en medio de la crisis estacionaria en que se encuentra, con excepciones discutibles, la arquitectura de todo el mundo."

¹⁵¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, Lukasz Stanek (ed.), Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014; Lukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space – Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Space*, Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. Also see "De la utopía a la realidad: La Ciudad en Espacio, una respuesta española a los problemas urbanos," *Triunfo*, 14 December 1968: pp. 39-51.

Islamic-Mediterranean morphology and typology, the structuralist vision of megastructure, the research into flexible forms of industrialization, and the reigning libertarian spirit culminated in the research *Hacia una formalización de la Ciudad en el Espacio* [Toward a Formalization of the City in Space, 1968-1970]. Developed in collaboration with Anna Bofill's theoretical research, the City in Space was the culmination of years of typological and geometric experiments to reproduce, within a single structure, the experiential and spatial qualities of traditional Mediterranean towns, what Bofill also referred to as the "*pueblo vertical*" (vertical village). The theoretical project was the conceptual framework for the politically aborted urban planning project for the district of Moratalaz (Madrid, 1970-74), and the futurist Kasbah of the Walden 7 social complex, designed and partially built between 1970 and 1975 in the outskirts of Barcelona.¹⁵²

4.8. A Mediterranean Epilogue

In 1959, Coderch became a member of CIAM on the recommendation of José Lluís Sert, who had just initiated his return to the Mediterranean with the design of the Joan Miró studio in Palma de Majorca. He attended the 11th Congress of Otterlo and immediately joined the ranks of the newborn Team X. In the issue n° 9 of the Dutch periodical *Forum*, director Aldo van Eyck published a selection of the projects displayed in Otterlo, including the ambitious project of Urbanization Torre Valentina on the Costa Brava by Coderch & Valls.¹⁵³ Referring to this unbuilt design for 131 patio houses and a 80-room hotel laid out as an intense urban experience according to the mat-building strategy, Ignasi de Solà-Morales wrote that "when José Antonio Coderch signed the Team X program in 1962 ... he was not a mind-blowing character or a gentleman who builds second homes for bourgeois families in Barcelona, but rather an architect who shares his friends' preoccupation with re-founding the shape of the modern city, technologically complex, massive, and dynamically growing."¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Antoni Banyuls i Pérez, "Arquitectura per al turismo: la utopia urbana de Bofill i el Taller d'Arquitectura a La Manzanera (1962-1985)," *Aguaitz*, no. 19-20, pp. 129-61; Anna Bofill Levi, *Generation of Forms: Space to Inhabit, Time to Think. The Schelling Lectures*, Berlin Munich: Deutsche Kunstverlag – Akademie der Bildenden Künste München, 2009; Ricardo Bofill and Taller de Arquitectura, *Hacia una formalización de la Ciudad en el Espacio*, Barcelona: Blume, 1968; Ricardo Bofill and Warren A. James, *Ricardo Bofill: Taller De Arquitectura – Edificios Y Proyectos 1960-1985*, Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1987; Ricardo Bofill, *Espaces d'une vie*, Paris: Editions Odile Jacobs, 1989.

¹⁵³ José Antonio Coderch de Sentmenat and Manuel Valls, "Hotel y apartamentos en Torre Valentina (Costa Brava), España," *Arquitectura*, n° 15, March 1960, pp. 47-56; Gerardo García-Ventosa López, Xavier Llobet Ribeiro, and Isabel Ruiz Castrillo, *José Antonio Coderch – Torre Valentina: Un proyecto de paisaje, 1959. Arquitecturas Ausentes Del Siglo XX*, Madrid: Editorial Rueda, 2004; Pizza, *In Search of Home: Coderch 1940/1964*, op. cit., pp. 136-sq.; Luigi Spinelli, *José Antonio Coderch. La cellula e la luce*, op. cit., p. 74 & sq.

¹⁵⁴ Quoted by Luigi Spinelli, p. 75 from Ignasi Solà-Morales, "José Antonio Coderch en la cultura arquitectónica europea," in Carles Fochs (ed.), *J. A. Coderch de Sentmenat: 1913-1984*, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1989, p. 6-7: "Quando José Antonio Coderch firma il programma del Team X nel 1962... non è un personaggio strabiliante o un signore che costruisce seconde case per borghesi barcellonesi, ma un architetto che condivide la preoccupazione dei suoi amici a rifondare di nuovo la forma della città moderna, tecnologicamente complessa, massiva, dinamicamente crescente."

In 1961 he sent a manifesto-letter to the Team X mailbox in Rotterdam (Post Box for the Development of Habitat, B.P.H.) at the attention of secretary Jacob B. Bakema: in it he manifested his pessimism in front of the increased commercialism, the destruction of the coasts, and the degenerating quality of the urban and rural environment. Under the title *No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora*, [It is not geniuses that we need nowadays] he wrote:

No, I do not believe that it is geniuses that we need today. I believe that geniuses just happened, they are neither means nor ends. Neither do I think that we need Popes of architecture, nor great doctrinaires and prophets (I am always doubtful of those)... I think that above all we need good schools and good professors. We must take advantage of what remains of our constructive tradition, and particularly of our moral one, in this epoch when our most beautiful words have lost their true meaning... We must make it so that thousands and thousands of architects think less about Architecture, money, and the cities of the next millennium, and more about the very fact of being an architect. We need them to work with a rope attached to their feet, so that they cannot drift too far away from the land in which they have roots, nor from the men and women that they know best....¹⁵⁵

With this statement, a disillusioned Coderch summed up and reiterated the constant and critical role played by Spain's 'constructive tradition' in order to frame an architectural modernity that challenged the status quo and the looming architectural prospects in the new capitalistic phase of Franco's regime.¹⁵⁶ Likewise, even though Spanish architecture would soon enter a period of qualitative and programmatic effervescence that would propel it to major international fame, the 1970s were not exempt of pessimistic prospects, particularly in regard to the touristic explosion.¹⁵⁷

In 1969, on the other side of the ocean, Sert stepped down as Dean of the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University. His practice was thriving. In the following years he designed the large-scale housing projects for Ithaca, Yonkers and especially Roosevelt Island, and thus returned to his first preoccupations, the collective dwelling and its typological organization.¹⁵⁸ The 150-acre "new town" amidst the East River was a salient contribution to postwar

¹⁵⁵ Antonio Coderch, "No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora," published in *Domus* 384, November 1961, and *Arquitectura* nº 38, February 1962, pp. 21-26; reprinted in Ángel Urrutia Núñez (ed.), *Arquitectura española contemporáneo*, pp. 303-305; revised version of 1977, pp. 306-309. Also see José Antonio Coderch de Sentmenat, *Espiritualidad de la arquitectura – Discurso de Ingreso del Académico electo leído en la Sala de Actos de la Academia el martes 31 de mayo 1977*, Madrid: COAM, 1977.

¹⁵⁶ Coderch's manifesto was promptly endorsed by Jaap Bakema, Eduard Sekler, José Luis Sert, Carlos de Miguel, Antonio Fernández Alba, and many others. See Pizza, p. 87. Also see the commentaries by Luis Moya, Francisco de Inza Campos, Juan Ramírez de Lucas, Alfonso López Quintás, in *Arquitectura*, no. 38 (February 1962): 21-26.

¹⁵⁷ See for instance the discussion of Fernando García Mercadal's accusations in Layuno Rosas, pp. 93-94.

¹⁵⁸ See Jaume Freixa, *Josep Lluís Sert: Obras y proyectos*, Barcelona: Gili, 1997, pp. 206 & sq. Also see Jean-François Lejeune (with José Gelabert-Navia), "Los arquitectos españoles y la construcción de la ciudad moderna: Sert, Moneo, Harvard y América," *Pamplona Metrópolis 1930-modernidad & futuro*, Pamplona: Colegio Oficial de arquitectos Vasco Navarro, 2006, pp. 18-39.

urbanism, a step toward the redefinition of traditional public space in the wake of Jane Jacob's polemical *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961).¹⁵⁹ One of the most interesting features was the transformation of the pre-war freestanding linear block, and specifically the Casa Bloc of Barcelona, to the concept of the closed city block, thus making possible the recovery of the traditional urban morphology. With the Roosevelt Island project, Sert designed and built one of the most urban projects of contemporary postwar America. He had closed the ring and did the same in Ibiza during the same years with the superb *urbanización* en Punta Martinet, Ibiza (1966-1971), in collaboration with Broner, Illescas, and Rodríguez Arias. There he built his own house in a dialogue between the typical rural architecture of the island and a modern system inspired by the golden section and Corbusier's Modulor.¹⁶⁰ As he wrote, "the only thing we have done in this subdivision was to attempt to perpetuate a language, a system of forms that have existed for centuries, and adapt them to the uses and needs of today's men and women."¹⁶¹

On April 26, 1982, a short time before his death, Sert gave his last speech at a symposium about *Creatividad Mediterránea* held in Sitges. Denouncing the ravages of modern architecture and urbanism along the Spanish coasts and those of his beloved Ibiza, he harangued the audience:

Currently, the Latin sea imports all the horrors, without measure, scale and harmony, that arrive from a world foreign to our own, a world dominated by the sole profit and the cult of a misunderstood technology... You, the young architects, urbanists, economists, politicians and citizens, all cognizant in general, you are the persons who hold in their hands the great human and civic task of protecting and rescuing what the past has bequeathed us.¹⁶²

Sert was not alone. The constant deterioration of the historic substance of the pueblos in the interior of the country was not as blatant as that along the coasts, yet, its alarmed architects and historians—a situation that Miguel Fisac denounced in the conference *Arquitectura popular manchega* at the Instituto de Estudios Manchegos in 1985:

I am not a notary, nor a forensic doctor to testify and bring a death certificate. But the popular architecture of La Mancha is not an unburied corpse. It has been carefully incinerated and its ashes have been scattered to the wind.

¹⁵⁹ See Robert Stern, Thomas Mellins & David Fishman, *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Second World War and the Bicentennial*, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1997, chapter 8.

¹⁶⁰ See Josep M. Rovira, *Urbanización en Punta Martinet, Ibiza, 1966-1971*, Almería: Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 1996.

¹⁶¹ Quoted by Rovira, *Urbanización en Punta Martinet*, p. 105, from an intervention by Sert at the occasion of the exhibition of his works in the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Ibiza, on May 25, 1973. See *Arquitecturas en Ibiza* (Ibiza: COAB, 1983), 105.

¹⁶² From Rovira, *Urbanización en Punta Martinet*, p. 109: José Lluís Sert, "Características constants en les arquitectures i urbanisme mediterranis," typewritten lecture, 26 April 1982, Sert Collection, Harvard University, E24.

Let's reconsider this reality. Perhaps this is the logical end of an ordinary life cycle. Its extinction, the natural limit of that cycle, is the expression, the humble expression, of a society that lives and dies without leaving traces in history and that can only be resurrected in the mind of artists and poets.¹⁶³

* * *

¹⁶³ Miguel Fisac, *Arquitectura popular manchega*, Ciudad Real: Centro de Estudios Castilla-La Mancha, 1985, p. 49: "No soy notario, ni medico forense para dar fe y levantar acta de defunción. Pero la arquitectura popular manchega no es que sea un cadáver insepulto, sino que ha sido cuidadosamente incinerada y sus cenizas se han esparcido al viento. Recapacitemos sobre esta realidad. Tal vez este sea el lógico final de un ciclo vital ordinario y su extinción, el límite natural de ese ciclo es la expresión, la humilde expresión, de una sociedad que vive y muere sin dejar huellas en la historia y que solo podrá resucitar en la mente de los artistas y de los poetas."



José Antonio Coderch and Santos Torroella. Partial view of the Spanish pavilion at the IX Triennale of Milan, 1951. Inserted within the Llambí louvers are photographs of Ibiza's popular architecture and Antoni Gaudí (photos by Joaquín Gomis). © Museo Nacional Reina Sofía. From: *In Search of Home: Coderch 1940/1964*. Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2000.

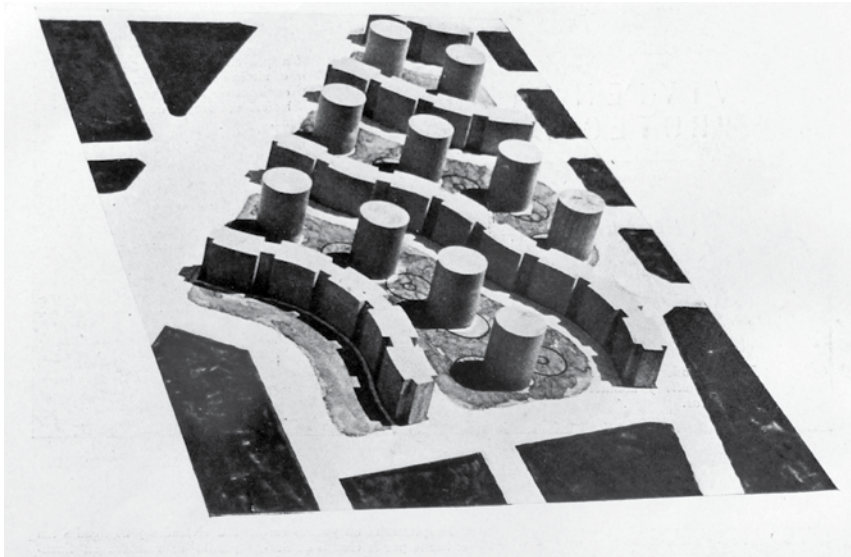


Top: José Antonio Coderch. Las Forcas Housing Development (unrealized), Sitges, 1945. © Museo Nacional Reina Sofía. From: *In Search of Home: Coderch 1940/1964*, Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2000.



Right: José Antonio Coderch. Obra Sindical del Hohan (OHS), Sitges, 1944. Plan, street elevation, and photographs. © Museo Nacional Reina Sofía. From: *In Search of Home: Coderch 1940/1964*, Barcelona, 2000.

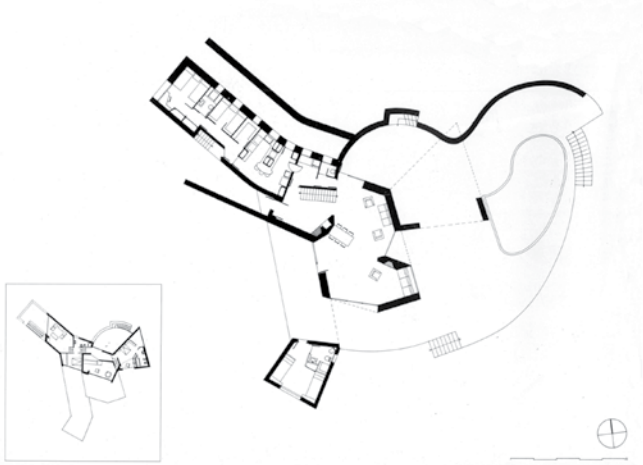




Top: José Antonio Coderch and Manuel Vals. OHS Housing Development, 1950 (unrealized). © Museo Nacional Reina Sofia. From: *In Search of Home: Coderch 1940/1964*. Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2000.

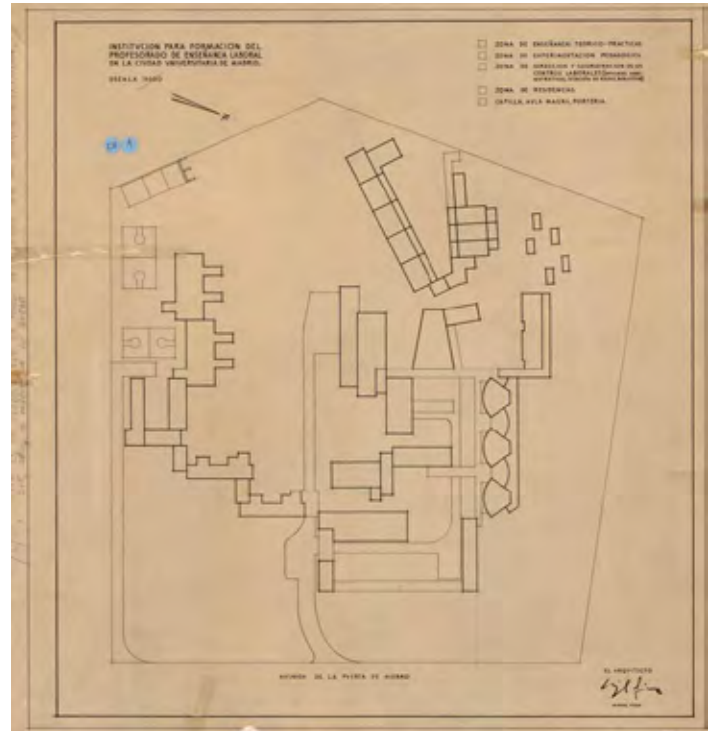
Bottom: Luigi Moretti. Pages from essay "Tradizione muraria a Ibiza," published in *Spazio II*, 1951.





Top: José Antonio Coderch and Manuel Vals. Casa Ugalde, Caldes de Estrach, 1951. Plans and photograph by Francesc Català-Roca. © Museo Nacional Reina Sofía. From: *J.A. Coderch de Sentmenat*, Barcelona: Editorial Gili, 1990.

Bottom: Luigi Moretti. Pages from essay "Tradizione muraria a Ibiza," published in *Spazio II*, 1951.
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Top: Miguel Fisac. Instituto Laboral, Daimiel (Ciudad Real), 1950-53. Plans and exterior facade. © Fundación Miguel Fisac. From *AV Monografía* 101, 2003.

Middle: Miguel Fisac. Centro de Formación del Profesorado, Madrid, 1954-57. Site plan and entrance. © Fundación Miguel Fisac. From *AV Monografía* 101, 2003.

Bottom: Miguel Fisac. Colegio Apostólico de Arcas Reales, Valladolid, 1952-53. Facade of the church. © Fundación Miguel Fisac. From *AV Monografía* 101, 2003.





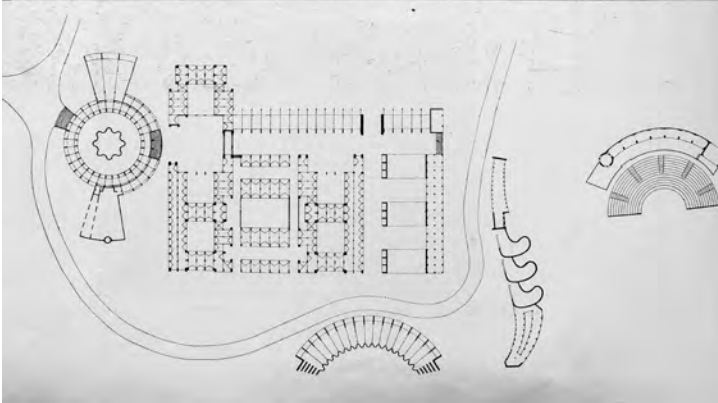
Top: Francisco de Asís Cabrero. OSH, Housing Development Virgén del Pilar, Madrid, 1944. © Fundación COAM, Servicio Histórico. From *Francisco de Asís Cabrero*, Fundación COAM, 2007.

Right: Francisco de Asís Cabrero. Perspective for the competition of the Casa Sindical, Madrid, 1949 (realized). © Fundación COAM, Servicio Histórico. From *Francisco de Asís Cabrero*, Fundación COAM, 2007.





Francisco de Asís Cabrero & Jaime Ruiz Ruiz, coordinators. Feria del Campo, Madrid, 1950. Perspective from above, aerial view of central plaza and adjacent areas, view from the plaza. From *Informes de la construcción* 27, January 1951 and still (bottom right) from newsreel rtve.es.



Francisco de As6s Cabrero & Jaime Ruiz Ruiz. Feria del Campo, Madrid, 1950. Central plaza and pavilions, plan of the Feria, Sal6n de Arcos, fresco on the central plaza, tower restaurant. From *Informes de la construcci6n* 27, January 1951.

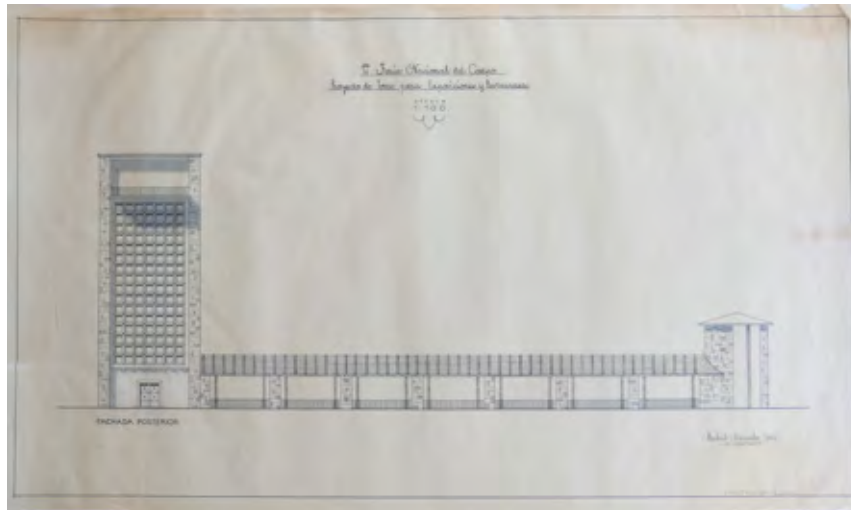
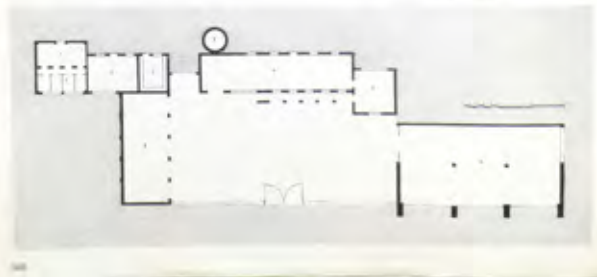


Foto de archivo

Obra Sindical de Colonización.

Arquitectos: Francisco de Asís Cabrero y Jaime Ruiz Ruiz

El Proyecto: F. Carbajal, J. Gual, M. de Asís, J. López, J. Sáez y J. Ferrer. El Construido: F. Carbajal y Cabrero y F. Ruiz Ruiz.



Fábrica de maquinaria agrícola. Elementos perennes del espacio y del tiempo.



Foto del pabellón durante su construcción.



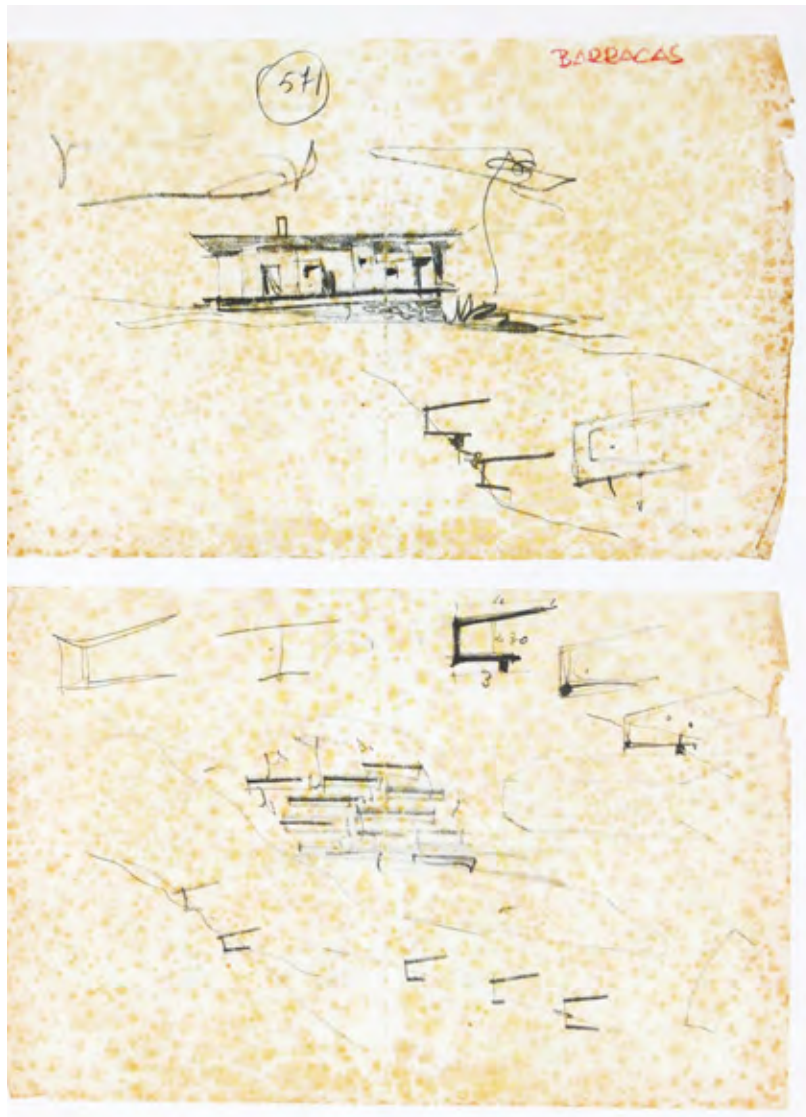
313

Top: Francisco de Asís Cabrero & Jaime Ruiz Ruiz. Feria del Campo, Madrid, 1950. Drawing of the elevation of the tower-restaurant. © Fundación COAM, Servicio Histórico.

Middle: Francisco de Asís Cabrero & Jaime Ruiz Ruiz. Feria del Campo, Madrid, 1950. Pavilion of the Obra Sindical de Colonización and Agricultural Machinery. From *Informes de la construcción* 27, January 1951.

Bottom: Miguel Fisac. Pavilion of Ciudad Real, Feria del Campo, Madrid, 1953. © Fundación Miguel Fisac. From *AV Monografía* 101, 2003.





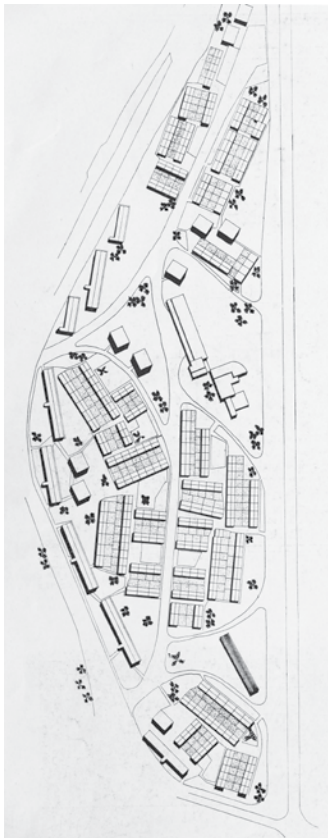
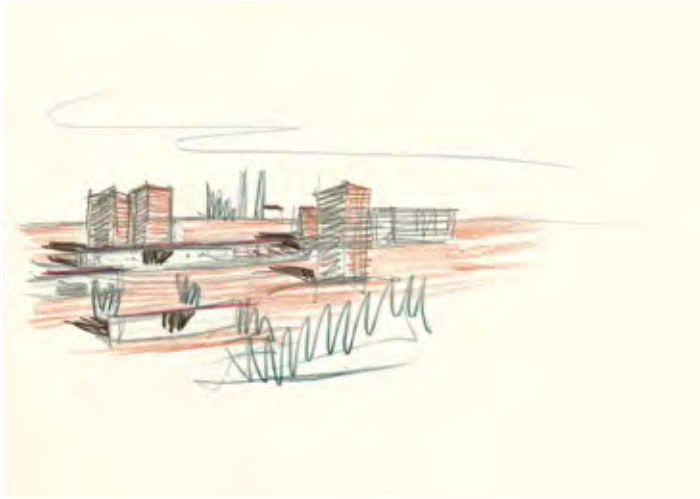
Top: José Antonio Coderch. Photomontage. From: Cover of *Auca 14*, Santiago de Chile, 1969, in *In Search of Home: Coderch 1940/1964*. Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2000.

Bottom: José Antonio Coderch. Sketches for shanty houses. © Museo Nacional Reina Sofía. From *In Search of Home: Coderch 1940/1964*. Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2000.



Top: Oriol Bohigas. Cover of book *Barcelona entre el Pla Cerdà i el Barraquisme*, Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1963. "Comentarios al "Pueblo Español" de Montjuïc, from *Arquitectura* 35, November 1961.

Middle and bottom: Oriol Bohigas & Martorell / Mckay. Housing block on Avenida Meridiana, Barcelona, 1959-65. Social Housing block, Calle Pallars, Barcelona, 1955-59 (detail and full facade). From Carlos Flores, *Arquitectura española contemporánea*, Bilbao, 1961

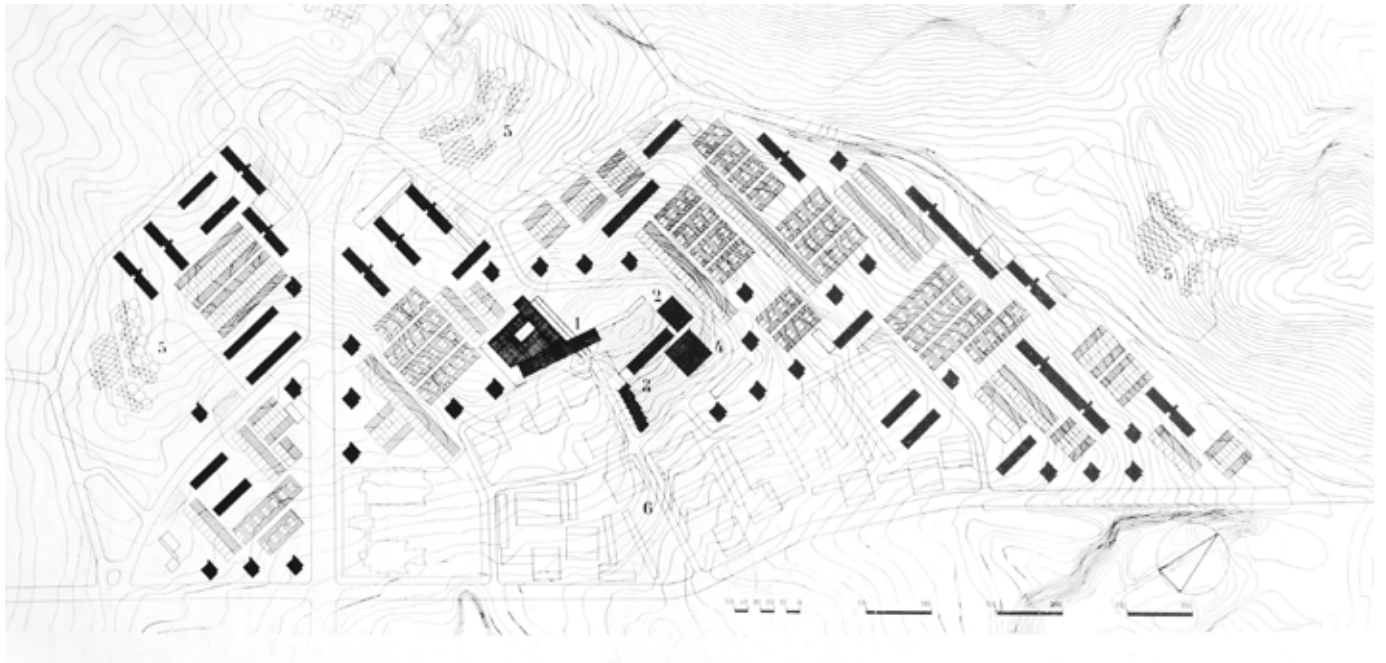


El poblado de Fuencarral A, de traza y concepto tan actuales, está en la misma línea del pueblo de Mojácar, en la provincia de Almería. Continuidad no buscada ni pretendida, y que se logra sólo por la pura condición de equal de su autor, al pensar, con absoluta libertad y sin ningún prejuicio, sus ideas sobre la arquitectura de nuestro tiempo. (Foto Ortiz Echagüe.)



Top and middle: Alejandro de la Sota. Poblado de absorción Fuencarral B, Madrid, 1955-56. Small plaza, sketches for apartment block and single-family houses. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

Bottom: Left: Alejandro de la Sota. Masterplan Fuencarral B, Madrid, 1955-56. Middle: Francisco Saenz de Oiza. Masterplan Fuencarral A, Madrid, 1955-56. Right: Fuencarral A compared with the town of Mojácar. From *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 176-177, Aug.-Sept. 1956.



9



10

- 1 Eingang
- 2 Schlafzimmer Ehegatten
- 3 Schlafzimmer
- 4 Waschraum/Bad
- 5 Küche
- 6 Speiseraum
- 7 Aufenthalts- und Wohnraum
- 8 Innenhof
- 9 Terrasse

- 9 Straße zwischen Reihenhäusern
Rue entre deux rangées de maisons
Street between row of houses
- 10 Zum Vergleich: Typische spanische Dorfstraße
A comparer: ruelle typique d'un village espagnol
In comparison: typical Spanish village street



11

- 11 Grundrisse der zweigeschossigen Reihenhäuser mit Innenhof
Plans des maisons en rangées à deux étages avec patio
Groundplans of two-storied row houses with patios

- 12 Blick auf die zweigeschossige Reihenhausbauung
Vue du lotissement en rangées (maisons à deux étages)
View onto two-storied row houses

Photos: 1, 9, 12 Focco, Madrid; 3 Kindel, Madrid; 10 J. Ortiz-Echagüe, Madrid



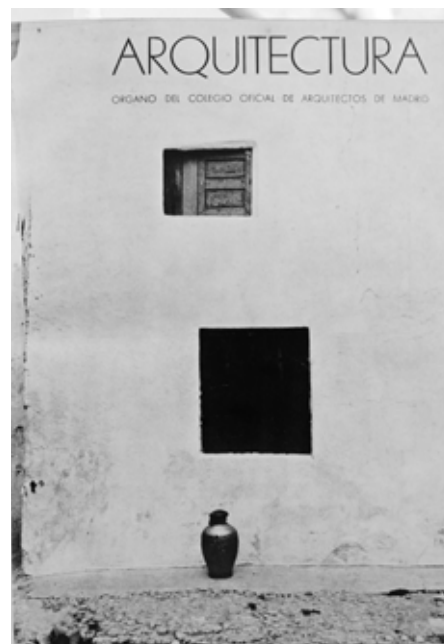
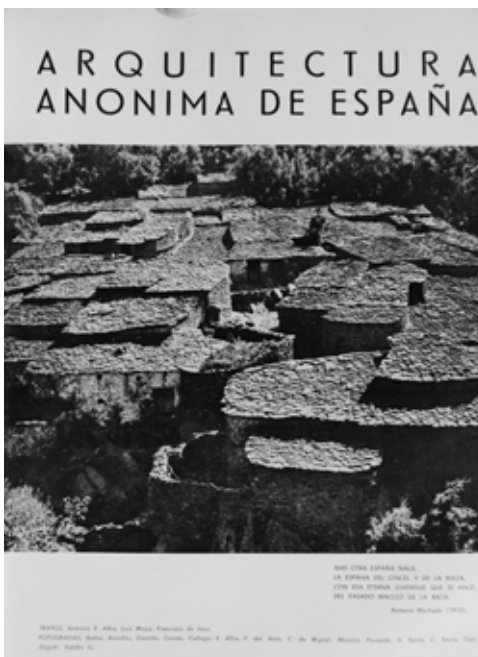
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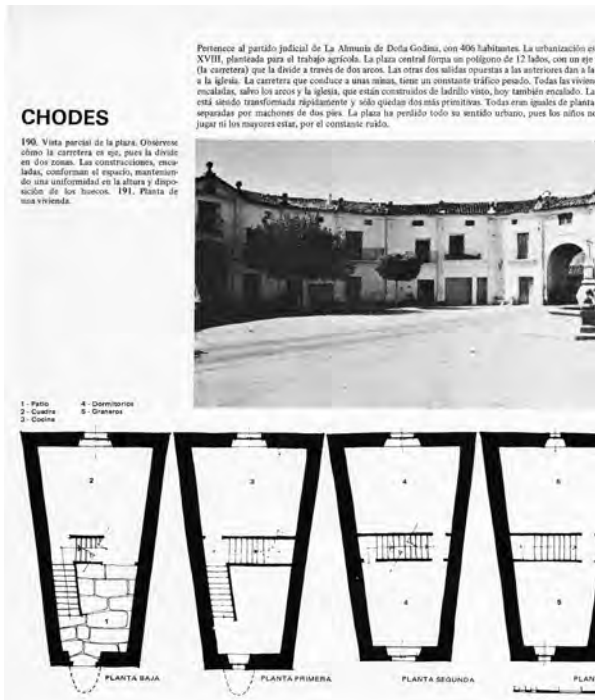
José Luis Iñiguez de Onzoño & Antonio Vázquez de Castro.
Poblado dirigido of Caño Roto, Madrid, 1957-59. Masterplan
and page from German periodical *Werk*, June 1962 (Spanish
Architektur und Kunst) showing Caño Roto and comparisons
with a traditional pueblo.



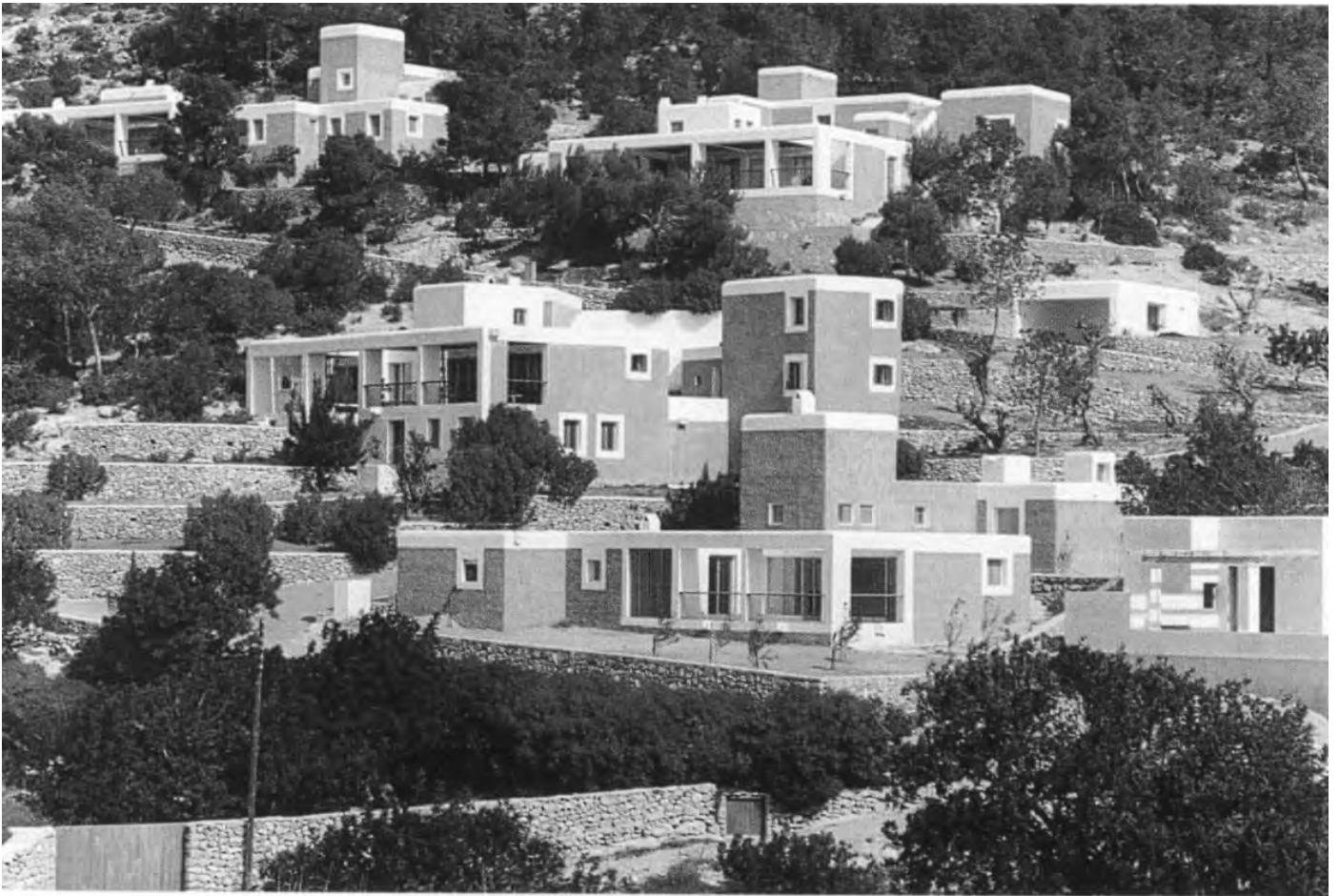
José Luis Iñiguez de Onzoño & Antonio Vázquez de Castro. Poblado dirigido of Caño Roto, Madrid, 1957-59. Pedestrian street, children playground (with the collaboration of Ángel Ferrant), blocks of courtyard houses. From Luis Fernández-Galiano, Justo F. Isasi, and Antonio Lopera, *La quimera moderna: los Poblados Dirigidos de Madrid en la arquitectura de los 50*, Madrid, 1989.

Next page: Covers of *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* and *Arquitectura* with vernacular fabric and landscapes.

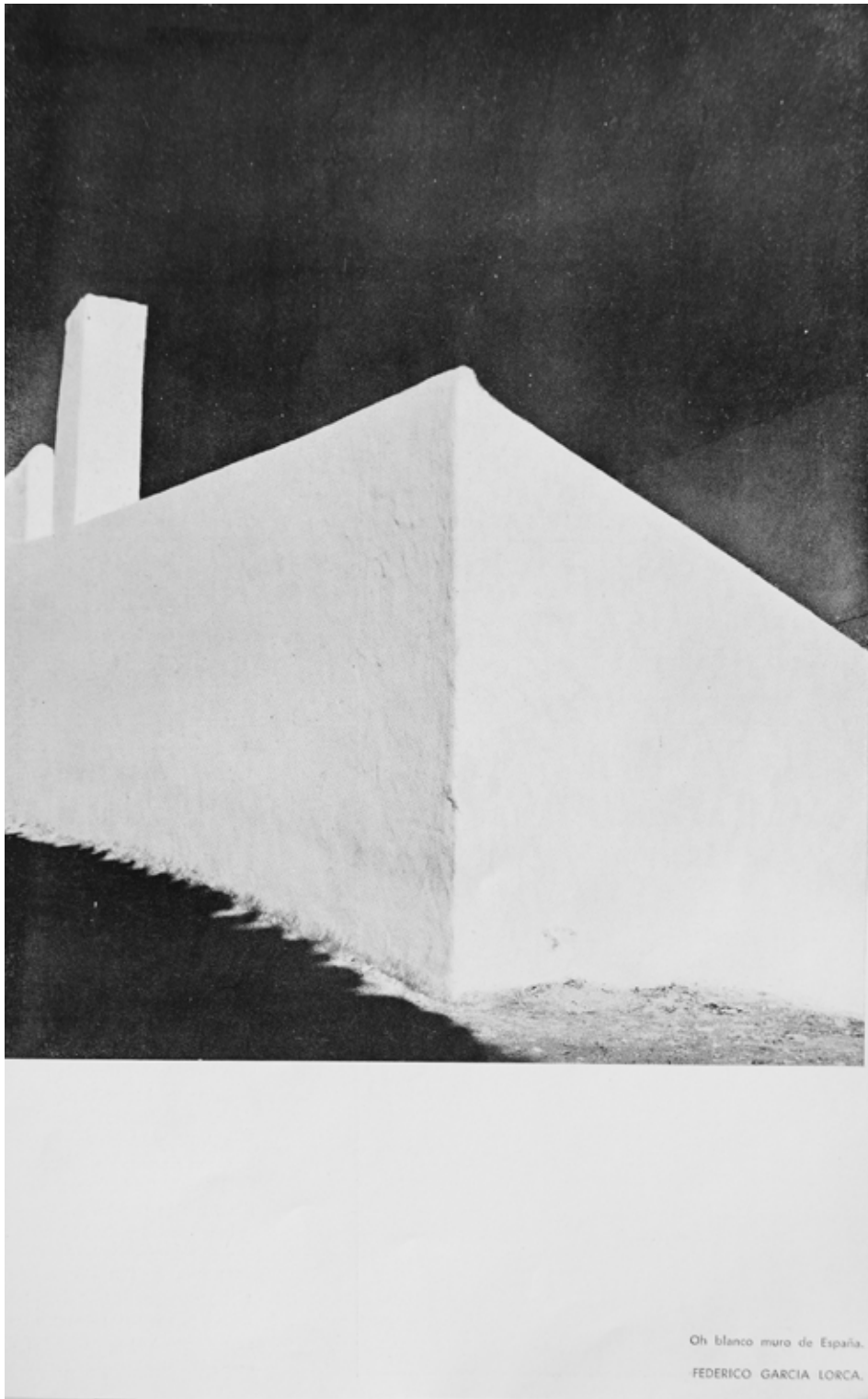




Carlos Flores. Pages from *Arquitectura Popular Española*, 5 vols. Madrid: Aguilar, 1973.



José Luis Sert, Erwin Broner, S. Illescas, G. Rodríguez Arias.
Photo of housing development in Punta Martinet, Ibiza, 1966-
1971. From Josep M. Rovira, *Urbanización in Punta Martinet,*
Ibiza, 1966-1971, Almería, 1996.



Oh blanco muro de España.
FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA.

Oh blanco muro de España
(Oh white wall of Spain).

Federico Garcia Lorca

From *Arquitectura* 53, May 1963.

5:

Rural Utopia and Modernity: The *Pueblos de Colonización*, 1939-71

O blanco muro de España [O white wall of Spain].¹

There is no landscape that the hand of man, well guided, cannot embellish. In a few cases, the absolute naturalness is justified, as in other extremes, the total transformation into contrived scenarios.²

I have run across the Spanish land and have learnt, in all its corners, what an anonymous architecture could teach me. I did not take with the pencil, any notes of all that scenery that has been so much lavished on the anecdote of the popular. I just filled my eyes with all that man has made for himself, with the wisdom of its needs, supported by the tradition of the place. Surprisingly, I guessed the measure and the function of the spaces that he built to shelter his life and his work, and how he set up with respect an environment for social life. So were born, and so were made the towns that I have admired and from which I have gathered the hidden laws of spontaneous organization.³

¹ Federico Garcia Lorca, *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, Madrid: Ciclo Editorial, 1989 [1936].

² Victor d'Ors, "La estética en el paisaje, preservación y realce de las condiciones naturales de las comarcas: Conferencia pronunciada por el arquitecto Victor d'Ors con ocasión de la III reunión de técnicos urbanistas en el Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 85, 1949, p. 19: No hay paisaje que la mano del hombre, bien guiada, no pueda embellecer. En unos pocos casos, la absoluta naturalidad está justificada, como en otros extremos, la transformación total en escenarios artificiosos."

³ José Luis Fernández del Amo, "Del hacer de unos pueblos de colonización," *Palabra y obra: escritos reunidos*, Madrid, COAM, 1995, p. 77. All translations are by the author, unless otherwise noted. "He corrido las tierras de España y aprendí en sus rincones lo que una arquitectura anónima me enseñaba. No tomé con el lápiz, apuntes de toda esa escenografía que tanto se ha prodigado en la anécdota de lo popular. Se me llenaban los ojos con eso que el hombre hace para sí, con la sabiduría de su necesidad amparada por la tradición del lugar. De sorpresa adiviné la medida y la función de los espacios que edificó para cobijar su vida y su trabajo y cómo presentía con respeto los entornos para la convivencia. Así nacían, así se hicieron los pueblos que yo admiraba y de los que aprendí la ley oculta de su ordenación espontánea."

5.1. IDEOLOGY, LEGISLATION, AND STRUCTURE OF THE COLONIZATION

5.1.1. Franco's Hydro-Social Dream

As we have analyzed in Chapter Two, modernity in 20th Spain was, in the words of British geographer Erik Swyngedouw, “a geographical and environmental project or, more accurately, about how the production of new geographies and new ‘natures,’ both materially and symbolically, constituted both the basis of and condition for modernity, a process both sublime and horrific, emancipatory and oppressive, poetic and violent.”⁴ In the footsteps of Primo de Rivera and the Republic, but with an inflection toward self-reliance within the programmatic conditions of autarky, General Franco was quick to embrace the decades-long agenda of hydrographic modernization of the country. Now influenced by the international experiences of Mussolini’s program of reclamation of the Pontine Marshes and Roosevelt’s Tennessee Valley Authority in Depression-era United States, large-scale irrigation, a national program of dam construction, electrification, and foundation of new settlements was seen as an indispensable solution to the improvement of rural life and overall political stability of the new regime. During the Civil War, in 1937 already, Franco instructed engineer Peña Boeuf with the preparation of a General Plan for Public Works, with a large budget dedicated to water-related infrastructures. His proposals were officially approved in 1941, and provided the backbone for the improvement of hydraulic infrastructure during the subsequent decades.⁵ As a result, the creation of a new ‘socio-nature’ that would remedy the persistent lack of water and support the development of the countryside was staged as one of the vital projects for realizing what Swyngedouw has labeled “Franco’s Hydro-Social Dream.”⁶ Even though, the Plan followed the outline of the preceding plan of 1933 and continued to rely on the Hydrographic Confederations, Franco’s ideological-political mission was predicated upon national territorial integration, the eradication of regionalist or autonomist aspirations, and a concerted process of cultural and material, national and nationalist, homogenization and modernization. Thus, the political, democratic and participative construction of the Confederations was practically

⁴ Erik Swyngedouw, *Liquid Power*, p. 2.

⁵ See the important references made in Chapter 2 to Erik Swyngedouw, 1999, pp. 443-465; Joaquín Melgarejo Moreno, 2000, pp. 275-319; Barciela López & López Ortiz 2000, pp. 325-363.

⁶ Erik Swyngedouw, “*Technonatural Revolutions: The Scalar Politics of Franco’s Hydro-Social Dream for Spain, 1939-1975*,” *Transactions – Institute of British Geographers* 32, n° 1, 2007, pp. 9-28. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Human Geography*, the socio-nature is the indissoluble connections between what we call nature and what we call society. Like social nature, it reflects a non-dualist way of thinking. Erik Swyngedouw argued that analyzing ‘nature’ and ‘society’ in abstraction from one another gives us a false picture. Inspired by Karl Marx’s metaphor of ‘metabolism’ and Bruno Latour’s notions of ‘ontological symmetry’ and ‘actants’, Swyngedouw favoured the neologism ‘socio-nature’ to focus attention on the ‘missing middle’ between society and nature. This was not a return to environmental determinism, but it did challenge the claims about nature being simply a social construction. Unlike some research in which the term social nature was favored, that utilizing the term socio-nature paid attention to the material agency of the non-human world.

abolished and replaced by a national administration—the Dirección General de Obras Públicas—of which the regional organizations were simple instruments of production.

The first phase of Franco's hydro-social project took place from 1939 to 1955 during the autarkic period. In spite of the intense propaganda, the lack of raw materials and equipment slowed down the program and only 106 new dams were built to 1955, and the reservoir capacity only doubled. During the next 25 years, with the opening of the country to the international world and economy, 276 dams were built and the total capacity got almost six times larger.⁷ The major impetus for this dramatic intensification of the hydraulic works was the progressive end of autarky and the increasing influence of the United States. The production of the technonatural material infrastructures of Franco's modernizing program was predicated upon re-scaling the 'networks of interest' on which his power rested "from a national visionary to an internationalist geo-economic and geo-political imagination, articulated through Spain's integration in the US-led Western Alliance."⁸ The Fascist elite understood that the new world order or *pax americana* had modified the cards and that the internationalization of the regime, but also of the economy, the arts, and eventually architecture would be necessary to the modernization and the stable continuity of the regime. A new capitalist and Catholic-bureaucratic vision under the aegis of the Opus Dei took the upper hand, aided by massive financial investments from the United States for the military, new technical equipment for agriculture, steel imports and production, with the clear intent of maintaining Spain within the anti-Communist strategic orbit.

With the full support of the Falange, the Church, and the large property owners, the propaganda machine of the new State was instrumental to make of water not only the primary cause of Spain's problems but also the primary solution to the challenges facing the nation, thus diverting attention from other issues equally critical such as the ownership of the land and the need of an effective agrarian reform. The *Revista de Obras Públicas* (R.O.P.) became the unanimous voice of the engineering profession and regularly published the full record of the engineers' and the regime's accomplishments in building dams, roads, and new infrastructures. Films, photographs, and press articles did month by month reflect the construction of the new nature or "the technonatural edifice of Spain."⁹ Water, dams, towns, and other infrastructures were regularly inaugurated with Franco's appearance and speeches— a popular nickname for Franco was coined at that time, Paco Rana or Frankie the Frog:

We have come to visit your province, to inaugurate various important works . . . and with this to satisfy the thirst of your fields, to regulate your irrigations, which shall increase your welfare and multiply production . . . The whole of Spain has to be redeemed, sealing the brotherhood between the land and the men of Spain.¹⁰

⁷ Swyngedouw, "Technonatural Revolutions," pp. 14-15.

⁸ Swyngedouw, "Technonatural Revolutions," p. 9.

⁹ Swyngedouw, "Technonatural Revolutions," p. 10.

¹⁰ Franco, at the inauguration of thworks in Lérida, *Diario ABC*, 1 July 1959, p. 1.

At the end of 1942, Franco's government created the NO-DO agency, acronym for *Noticiarios y Documentales*, whose mission was to produce, control and divulge the national cinematographic information platform. The documentaries produced in the 1950s-1960s offered an optimistic and propagandistic insight into the Francoist "idea of a town" in a reinvented countryside. Reels of films produced by the NO-DO operators showed the transformation of the landscape, the labor in the fields, the streets of the pueblos and other civic and religious fiestas. The films extolled the virtues of Spanish traditional cultural values, and mythologized the 'crusade' for a 'regenerated catholic Spain'.¹¹ As Swyngebouw wrote,

NO-DO's newsreels conveyed an image of inauguration sites and rites as geographical symbols of and material referents to the unmitigated success of the fascist project, embodiments of a technocratic developmentalism and emblems of the beauty, unity and tradition of the Spanish landscape. The newsreel images celebrated the solidaristic, spiritual and moral values of traditional Spain, the tenacity of its workers, the power of the regime and the virtues of technical modernization.¹²

Accordingly, Franco's hydro-social program was not only seen as a necessary socio-economic engine, but its symbolic and ideological implications were markedly stronger than in all previous endeavors:

To protect the rural environment is the secret of the future. It is the manner to protect the race, to produce strong human beings, for the countryside is the fruitful quarry where the mass of men necessary for the life of the nation will be sought. The industry does not generate people, it consumes them, it burns them [...] Agriculture is the [human activity] which is capable, in all the latitudes and in all regions, of engendering laborious, patient, strong people, dominated by the best patriotic spirit, refractory to the dissolving ideas from the outside, inspired by traditional precepts that have been created in an atmosphere of Christian family.¹³

5.1.2. The *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (I.N.C.), the Legislation, and the Program

The *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (I.N.C.) was created by decree on 18th of October 1939 within the Ministry of Agriculture to "implement the extensive colonization schemes to be carried

¹¹ Swyngebouw, "Technonatural Revolutions," p. 20.

¹² Ibidem. See Rafael R. Tranche and Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, *NO-DO. El tiempo y la memoria*, Madrid: Cátedra/Filmoteca Española, 2002; Gabriel Cardona and Rafael Abella, *Los años del NO-DO*, Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 2008.

¹³ Antonio de Souza Cámara, *Ruralismo peninsular*, Madrid: Ateneo de Madrid, 1952, p. 25: Quoted by Flores Soto, Plaza, p. 124: "Proteger el medio rural es el secreto del futuro. Es la manera de proteger la propia raza, de asegurar gente sólida, pues él es la cantera fecunda donde se va a buscar la masa de los hombres necesarios para la vida de la nación. La industria no engendra gente, la consume, la quema [...] La agricultura es la que se muestra capaz en todas las latitudes, en todas las regiones, de engendrar gente laboriosa, paciente, robusta, dominada por el mejor espíritu patriótico, refractaria a las ideas disolventes del exterior, inspirada por los preceptos tradicionales, creándose en un ambiente de familia cristiana."

out in accordance with the program rules of the [Falangist] Movement.”¹⁴ In order to radically transform the agro-social environment, the Institute was asked to impulse and, if necessary, supplement the private initiative, “to the extent required by the resolution of complex technical problems.”¹⁵ The I.N.C. was actually born during the Civil War as the *Servicio Nacional para la Reforma Económica y Social de la Tierra*, under the leadership of agronomist engineer Ángel Zorrilla Dorrnsoro, who was appointed first director of the I.N.C. During 1938 and 1939, important meetings took place in Burgos to analyze the situation of the Spanish countryside, the causes of its problems, the six-century long history of interior colonization, and the general direction that the Falange intended to follow.¹⁶ Acting on the principles of the Falange, of which Zorrilla was an active participant, the Institute of Interior Colonization was made the technical instrument of agrarian reform under the tenets of the *Nuevo Estado*. The Francoist agrarian reform was, in fact, a counter-reformation effort in as much as its first objective was to undo the small achievements of the Second Republic, and, in particular, to give back the expropriated land to its former owners with some new advantages that would make it more usable and profitable.¹⁷ Yet, at the same time, the Falange pretended to rebalance the spatial distribution of agricultural land from large-scale properties and latifundia toward a more fragmented pattern of ownership, with the objective to reduce the continuing risk of social conflicts in many regions of Spain. This exercise in political equilibrium—maintain the support of the wealthy landowners while promoting the Falange’s populist vision of a more egalitarian society—was reflected in the official discourses and exposed at length in 1940 during the 2nd session of the Reconstruction. Architect Germán Valentín summarized the political program of the new regime and insisted that the regions to be irrigated thanks to the program of hydraulic infrastructures would be the ones where the best opportunities existed for distributing the land adequately:

The conclusions are: 1. That the ideal units of cultivation are only implementable in the irrigated areas [...] 3. That the social reform in the irrigated lands cannot be done at a

¹⁴ On the INC and its actuation, see the most important books: Javier Monclús and José Luis Oyón, *Historia y evolución de la colonización agraria en España. Volume 1: Políticas y técnicas en la ordenación del espacio rural*, Madrid: MAP/MAPA/MOPU, 1988; *Historia y evolución de la colonización agraria en España. Volume 2: Políticas administrativas y economía de la colonización agraria*, Madrid: MAP/MAPA/MOPU, 1990; and especially Alfredo Villanueva Paredes Jesús Leal Maldonado, *Historia y evolución de la colonización agraria en España. Volume 3: La planificación del regadío y los pueblos de colonización*, Madrid: MAP/MAPA/MOPT, 2001; *Pueblos de colonización durante el Franquismo: La arquitectura en la modernización del territorio rural*, Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura / Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, 2008; Miguel Centellas Soler, Alfonso Ruiz García and Pablo García-Pellicer López, Centellas Soler, *Los pueblos de colonización en Almería: Arquitectura y desarrollo para una nueva agricultura*, Almería: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Almería/Instituto de Estudios Almerienses/Fundación Cajamar, 2009; Eduardo Delgado Orusco, *Imagen y memoria – Fondos del Archivo Fotográfico del Instituto Nacional de Colonización 1939-1973*, Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente, 2013; *Pueblos de colonización 2: Guadiana y Tajo*, Córdoba: Fundación Arquitectura Contemporánea, 2007; *Pueblos de colonización 3: Ebro, Duero, Norte y Levante*, Córdoba: Fundación Arquitectura Contemporánea, 2007.

¹⁵ General Franco and the Minister of Agriculture Joaquín Benjumea Burín signed the law: see *Historia y evolución de la colonización agraria en España. Volume 2*, pp. 481-485.

¹⁶ See Chapter 3 for more details about the meetings held in Burgos.

¹⁷ Carlos Barciela López, “La contrarreforma agraria y la política de colonización del primer franquismo, 1936-1959,” https://www.mapama.gob.es/ministerio/pags/Biblioteca/fondo/pdf/17080_10.pdf (last accessed August 25, 2018).

slow rhythm without political consequences, nor can it be done at a revolutionary one, in which case it would damage the economy.¹⁸

To pursue the ideological-political program of the New State, the I.N.C. planned to address three specific issues that resulted directly from all the programs established in the country since the beginning of the twentieth century: first, the lack of capital to complete the networks of irrigation already initiated by the *Dirección General de Obras Hidráulicas* and the *Confederaciones Hidrográficas* but not made operational; the lack of capital to exploit the newly irrigated terrains and provide all necessary works to allow for the permanent settlement of the land; and the lack of qualified farmers able to work in the newly irrigated zones.¹⁹

Two months later, the government voted the *Ley de Bases del 26 de diciembre 1939 para la Colonización de Grandes Zonas*.²⁰ In the virulent and nationalistic language of the winners, the law was to become the first legal instrument of action of the I.N.C. to “implement, with accelerated rhythm, the colonization of the large irrigated zones, of the immense areas of marshes and the realization of other works of high national interest in the dry lands, with the result of a significant increase in the productivity of Spanish land, and the creation of thousands of family-based parcels where the farmer, free, uses his liberty to sustain and defend, if necessary, the freedom of the fatherland, and collaborating to his enlargement.”²¹ The law implied the concept of integral reclamation as Mussolini had defined it in 1930s Fascist Italy (*bonifica integrale*), but, as crafted by Zorrilla, it depended primarily on the private initiative of the so-called *sociedades de colonización* (associations of colonization).²² This basic legislation, complemented by the law of 25 November 1940 that allowed the I.N.C. to finance projects of transformation of dry upland areas into irrigated ones, had little impact because the recourse to private action met with serious passivity for both sociological—the individualist tradition of countryside Spain—and technical reasons—the uncertainties about the role of the Institute. Likewise, the difficult process of acquisition hampered the authority that the law gave to the I.N.C. to participate in those groups. Three years later, the decree of 23 July 1942—who emulated a law signed by Primo de Rivera on 7 January 1927 with a similar intent—facilitated the procedure of acquisition by allowing the Institute to take control of large private estates put up for sale by their owners and start the process of their colonization by creating a new nucleus of population that would encourage private initiative.²³ In the long historical tradition of Spain,

¹⁸ German Valentin Gamazo, “La reorganización general desde el Instituto Nacional de Colonización,” in *Segunda Asamblea de Arquitectos*, Madrid, 1941, p. 38.

¹⁹ Villanueva Paredes and Leal Maldonado, 1991, p. 22.

²⁰ Ley de Bases de 26 de diciembre de 1939 para la Colonización de Grandes Zonas: <http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1940/025/A00628-00634.pdf> (last accessed August 24, 2018).

²¹ *Historia y evolución de la colonización agraria en España. Volume 2*, p. 506: “para llevar a cabo, con ritmo acelerado, la colonización de grandes zonas regables, de inmensas extensiones de marismas y la realización de otros trabajos de interés nacional en el secano, que han de tener por consecuencia un ingente aumento de productividad del suelo español y la creación de miles de lotes familiares donde el campesino, libre, emplee esta libertad en sostener y defender, si es preciso, la de la Patria, colaborando a la vez con el trabajo a su engrandecimiento.”

²² Villanueva Paredes and Leal Maldonado 1990, p. 23. On Mussolini’s Italy, see Chapter 2.

²³ Villanueva Paredes & Leal Maldonado 1990, S. 24.

the *pueblos*, as cultural, geographic and urbanistic expressions of the rural ideal, were seen as exemplary and indispensable communities for the development of the New Spain.²⁴

The first years of the I.N.C. activities were marked by further adjustments in the legislative structure and, in spite of the tedious response from the private landowners and other difficulties, the Institute was able to finalize the purchase of some large estates (*fincas*) in the Ebro region as well as in Andalusia. As a result, Gimennells (1943, Lérida), El Torno and La Barca de La Florida (1943, Cádiz), Bernuy (1944, Toledo), Ontinar de Salz (1944, Zaragoza), Suchs (1945, Lérida), and Tahivilla (1946, Cádiz) were among the first *pueblos* to be designed. During the same period, the engineers of the Ministry of Public Works and of the Institute developed the overall regional planning of the program on the basis of the nine *Confederaciones Hidrográficas* and their hydrographic basins as initiated by Primo de Rivera with the law of 1926 and continued by the Republic. The planners targeted nine hydrographic *cuencas* (basins or regions) whose reclamation would spur both agricultural development and improvement of the rural way of life: the Confederation of the Cantábrico consisting of all the rivers merging into the northern coast of the Atlantic; the Confederation of the Duero River between Salamanca and Palencia; the Confederation of the Ebro River between Huesca and Lérida; the Confederation of the Guadalquivir and its associate rivers such as the Viar; the Confederation of the Guadiana River that would be the backbone of the Plan Badajoz from Badajoz to Ciudad Real; the Confederation of the Júcar River from Cuenca to the Gulf of Valencia; the Confederation of the Miño-Sil in Galicia from Lugo to the Portuguese border; the Confederation of the Segura River; and the Confederation of the Tagus River from the Portuguese border to Toledo.²⁵ Additionally, the development of the Campo de Dalías and Nijar in the region of Almería, where fourteen new towns were built from 1954 to 1968, presented the unique particularity that their settlement became the sole responsibility of the National Institute of Colonization. Contrary to the rest of Spain the irrigation necessary to the increase of agricultural production did not involve the construction of dams, irrigation canals, and other swamps, all heavy infrastructures that were the competence of the Ministry of Public Works. In these regions located close to the sea and at the foot of the Sierra de Gádor, the I.N.C. was able to invest into a system of deep wells and water derricks that became part of that particular landscape of colonization.²⁶

In December of 1945, at the occasion of a visit to the city of Badajoz and a subsequent one to the area of the Canal de Montijo within the Guadiana basin in Extremadura, General Franco made critical remarks about the delays in the improvement of the region. His speech was amply reported:

I have come to this province because it is the one with the deeper social problem among all Spanish regions [...] I did not come to see you earlier, when we took over

²⁴ José Antonio Flores Soto, "La construcción del lugar," p. 125.

²⁵ See the website of the Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, <https://www.mapama.gob.es/es/ministerio/funciones-estructura/organizacion-organismos/organismos-publicos/confederaciones-hidrograficas/default.aspx> (last accessed August 24, 2018).

²⁶ See Centellas Soler, Ruiz García and García-Pellicer López, op. cit.

the city, nor immediately following our victory, because I could not bring in my hands the suitable instrument for the implementation of justice [...]. I have to announce now to these magnificent farmers, to these courageous farmers of these dry and brown lands of Extremadura, that we will begin the work of redemption.²⁷

Franco's recognition of the slowness of the process and the lack of progress in one of the most impoverished areas of the nation marked a significant moment of crisis and propelled the redaction of a new law. Voted and signed in 1946, the *Ley de Expropiación de fincas rústicas por causa de interés social* [Law of Expropriation of Country Estates for reasons of Social Interest] enabled the I.N.C. to expropriate land with reasonable compensation to the landowners. The legislation applied to all the areas that were already put into irrigation and held the basic hydraulic infrastructure.²⁸ Director Zorrilla, opposed to the increased role of the State, resigned and was replaced by Fernando Montero. However, the law that would definitely launch the program of colonization at the large scale was promulgated in April 1949 under the title *Ley de Colonización y Distribución de la Propiedad de las Zonas Regables*. Basically, it allowed the State to fully substitute the private sector through its increased power of expropriation and to take charge of the reclamation with all necessary hydraulic works. It also allowed and facilitated the establishment of the new *pueblos de colonización*.²⁹ In 1951, the arrival of Rafael Cavestany at the head of the Ministry of Agriculture and the strengthening of the I.N.C. with the agronomist engineer Alejandro Torrejón y Montero as new director guaranteed that the benefits of the law would be fully exploited and that the program would start in earnest. Cavestany's influence on Franco was decisive to create the spirit of action. In a speech held in the early 1950s, the dictator admitted that "if the rhythm of colonization is still far from our ambitions, one has to recognize that the matter is not simple, and that it affects the critical sector of agricultural economy, which a previous reform, erroneous or realized with too much precipitation, had fundamentally impaired."³⁰

5.1.3. The Regional Plans: Plan Badajoz (1952) and Plan Jaén (1953)

The towns of the I.N.C. that were built in the 1940s were, in general, relatively isolated from each other and the overall program of colonization uncoordinated. This situation reflected a

²⁷ *Diario ABC*, 20th of December 1945, <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1945/12/20/048.html> (last accessed August 24, 2018).

²⁸ Ley de 27 de abril de 1946 sobre expropiación forzosa de fincas rústicas, con la debida indemnización, previa declaración de interés social: http://www.bibliotecavirtualmadrid.org/bvmadrid_publicacion/i18n/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.cmd?path=1115006

²⁹ Ley de 21 de abril de 1949: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/2127791.pdf>. The law divided the irrigated land into two categories: the "reserved" land which remained in the hands of former owners, the land "in excess" that would be expropriated by the I.N.C.

³⁰ Franco Bahamonde, *Discursos y mensajes del Jefe del Estado, 1951-1954*, Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1955, p.13, quoted in Esther Almarcha Núñez-Herrador, *Nueve pueblos de colonización en la provincia de Ciudad Real*, Ciudad Real: Centro de Estudios de Castilla-La Mancha, p. 22: "Si el ritmo de colonización está todavía muy lejos de nuestras ambiciones, hemos de reconocer que la materia no es fácil que afecta al trascendente sector de la economía agrícola, a la que una reforma errónea o precipitadamente llevada, había de menoscabar."

fragmentary process that was due to the weakness of the legal structure and the difficulty of applying the laws, the random process of acquiring *fincas* (agricultural estates) for sale by their owners, as well as the lack of experience in coordinated and regional planning. In some cases like in the area of the Canal de Aragón y Catalonia where the development of the hydraulic infrastructures was more advanced than in the rest of the country, the colonization was declared of national interest in November 1940, and a relatively integrated grouping of towns was planned and implemented.³¹ Consequently, and in response to the unsatisfactory results of this first phase of domestic colonization, the slowness of the implementation process, and the emergency situations like the one experienced in Extremadura, the regime sought to prepare a new coherent strategy. This was expressed through the adoption of new laws and, in particular, the development of new regional development plans. Their goal was to overcome the fragmentation that had marked the planning of the first *pueblos de colonización*. Hence, all aspects of domestic colonization, from the construction of new infrastructures such as dams, roads and railways, the management of the land, to the construction of new villages and the settlement of their inhabitants should be coordinated on the basis of new development plans at the regional level. The most important regional plans were prepared in the early 1950s: the Plan Badajoz (1952) and the Plan Jaén Plan (1953).

Both plans represented the regime's attempt to acquire a new legitimacy through a serious socio-economic program of reform and improvement of living conditions that, to some extent, paralleled the post-WWII welfare policy of many European countries. Both regional development plans were based on the theory of Paul Rosenstein-Rodan (1902-1985), a Jewish Polish-born economist, who was the author of the 1943 article "Problems of Industrialization of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe" in which he discussed the necessity of State-sponsored large-scale and planned programs of industrialization in countries with a large surplus workforce in agriculture. Accordingly, the Plan Badajoz and the Plan Jaén were conceived with a threefold objective: firstly, the increase in irrigated areas through the implementation of the policy of colonization; secondly, the improvement of the communication infrastructure and the reduction of the agricultural seasonal unemployment; and, thirdly, in the long run, the industrialization of the provinces and the transfer of farm workers to industry, with the result of highest income per capita and the reduction of spatial mobility of workers to other provinces.³²

On the outset of the Civil War, the region of Extremadura had been one of the poorest of Spain—a geographic, socioeconomic, and climatic condition denounced by Joaquín Costa and many others throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Following the war, the region's economy fell further into crisis as farmers were unable to sustain their livelihood and, at best, worked in conditions of agriculture of survival. Governor Joaquín López Tienda ordered to study

³¹ See the early works and villages realized in Aragón (Chapter 6).

³² María Angeles Sánchez Domínguez, "Fundamentos teóricos y efectos económicos del Plan Jaén de 1953," *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, nº 179, 2001, pp. 269-305; Paul Rosenstein-Rodan, "Problems of Industrialization of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe," *The Economic Journal* 53, nº 210/211, June-September 1943), pp. 202-211.

various solutions, which resulted in the *Plan de Ordenación Económico-Social de la Provincia de Badajoz*, with a concentration on the edges of the Guadiana River (1948). An equivalent plan had already been analyzed and proposed during the Second Republic by the engineer Lorenzo Pardo, but did not receive any official approval. The study, that would eventually result in the Law of 1952 known as *Plan Badajoz*, concluded that the situation of extreme poverty had the potential to provoke a serious social explosion that the regime needed to head off and resolve through the implementation of an aggressive hydraulic policymaking complemented with a socially oriented program of colonization, albeit clearly within the parameters of the Falangist vision.³³

The *Plan Badajoz* of 1952 was an early achievement of the new Minister of Agriculture Cavestany, which inaugurated 'the Golden Age' of the I.N.C.³⁴ From 1948 until the 1960s, 41 new villages were established within the basin of the Guadiana River from the Portuguese border and Badajoz to the west to the large Orellana and Zujar Dams, seventy kilometers east of Mérida. The villages ranged from 100 to 250 houses and, like previous realizations of the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización*, benefited from a full infrastructure of church, town hall, school, and sport facilities. Together, they provided more than 7,000 modern housing units in connection to 8,000 family-based exploitations across 100,000 reclaimed hectares. Implicit in this new regional policy was the polycentric structure of the reclaimed territory and landscape as well as the absence of hierarchy between the new villages, even when there were differences in their size and the number of farmer families. José Fonseca had advocated this regional strategy within the Seminars of Urbanology that he led at the University of Madrid from 1935 until the beginning of the war. There he had argued for a non-hierarchical polynuclear system in contrast to the strategy applied in the Pontine region of Italy which consisted of building relatively large towns surrounded by small and dispersed hamlets and isolated farmhouses. Tamés Alarcón would later explain the process in a series of diagrams that eventually shaped the colonization of the region.³⁵

As in Extremadura, the postwar conditions in the province of Jaén, Andalusia, were marked by poverty and a backward agricultural economy. In 1953, just over a year after the Badajoz Plan, the Plan Jaén (*Plan Coordinado de Obras, Colonización, Industrialización y Electrificación de la Provincia de Jaén*), developed by a commission of technicians from various ministries, was

³³ See the *Ley de 7 de abril de 1952*, Instituto Nacional de Colonización, *Memoria: octubre 1939 - diciembre 1965*, Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Colonización, 1967. Also see Sara Espina Hidalgo and Rubén Cabecera Soriano, *Pueblos de Colonización en Extremadura*, Badajoz: Junta de Extremadura, Consejería de Agricultura y Desarrollo Rural, 2010; Rubén Cabecera Soriano, *Los pueblos de colonización extremeños de Alejandro de La Sota*, Badajoz: Gobierno de Extremadura, Consejería de Educación y de Cultura, 2014; Hans-Jürgen Ruckert, *Die Kulturlandschaft am mittleren Guadiana; Junge Wandlungen durch den Plan Badajoz*, Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1970.

³⁴ See Cabecera Soriano, pp. 113-126.

³⁵ See later in this Chapter. The I.N.C. ordinances set the distance from the center to the village to the fields at 3.5 kms in northern regions and at 2.5 kms in southern ones: see I.N.C., Circular 246, 22 de Julio de 1949.

adopted to combat the high unemployment.³⁶ The plan consisted of an "integral development project"³⁷ whose measures included not only the domestic colonization, but also the comprehensive modernization of the region.³⁸ With regard to the internal colonization, the settlement of about 2,000 families was planned, to which almost 4,100 hectares of land should have been distributed.³⁹ Even though this enterprise could only be implemented incompletely, twenty-three villages rose between 1953 and 1971 in the landscape of the region. The new settlement structure extended along the basin of the Guadalquivir and some of its tributaries, from the western boundary of the province of Jaén to the foot of the Sierra de Segura mountain area in the eastern part. Far from the existing centers of the province, the villages—ranging from 50 to 150 families—were relatively self-sufficient due to their extensive social infrastructure.⁴⁰ Another important achievement of the Plan Jaén plan was the expansion of the water infrastructure, which allowed for a considerable improvement in the supply of electricity and drinking water in the region.⁴¹ With regard to the agricultural production, the Plan Badajoz and Plan Jaén attracted thousands of colonists, who came sometimes from far away. Each one had to confront the hard task to start from zero. Often, instructed by foremen and experts of the I.N.V., they had to learn a new profession. As every colon had to survive managing the four hectares that were assigned to each,

Today we can say that from the Plan Badajoz and the other plans of colonization a new culture arose that was unknown until then in the region and that expanded quickly within the homogeneous shadow of the colonization towns. This culture can be synthesized in three pillars: effort, experimentation and competitiveness.⁴²

Yet, the Plans did not fundamentally alter the general conditions. Although extensive areas of land were expropriated and distributed to the new settlers, the landlords kept most of their privileged role. As for the planned industrialization of both regions, it remained largely absent.⁴³

³⁶ See Konrad Tyrakowski, *Agrarkolonisation und Regionalentwicklung am Oberen Guadalquivir / Spanien, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der agrarsozialen Wandlungen im Rahmen des 'Plan Jaén' (1953-1980)*, Frank-Verlag 1987, pp. 94-101. Also see Vicente José Gallego Simón, *El Plan Jaén de 1953 y sus antecedentes: una oportunidad perdida para el desarrollo de la Provincia de Jaén en el Siglo XX*, Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2013.

³⁷ Tyrakowski, p. 242. See the *Ley de 17 de julio de 1953*, Instituto Nacional de Colonización, p. 92.

³⁸ Tyrakowski, pp. 102-103.

³⁹ Tyrakowski 1987, S. 242.

⁴⁰ Tyrakowski, p. 130.

⁴¹ Tyrakowski, pp. 107-108.

⁴² Alberto Sabio Alcutén (ed.), *Colonos, territorio y estado. Los pueblos del agua de Bardenas*, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico (C.S.I.C.), 2010, pp. 7-8: "Hoy podemos decir que del Plan Badajoz y de los otros planes de colonización que se llevaron a cabo en Extremadura surgió una nueva cultura desconocida hasta entonces en la región y que se fue expandiendo, con rapidez, a la homogénea sombra de los pueblos de colonización. Esta cultura puede sintetizarse en tres pilares: esfuerzo, experimentación y competitividad."

⁴³ Tyrakowski, p. 109. On the achievements of the Plan Badajoz, see Manuel Martín Lobo, *El Plan Badajoz, ¿éxito o fracaso?*, Badajoz: M. Martín, 2002. In the 1960s, two other regional plans were put in place, the Plan of Tierra de Campos (1965) and the Plan of the Campo de Gibraltar (1965): see *Ley Decreto 2755 1965 (23 de septiembre)* and the *Ley Decreto 3223/1965 (28 de octubre)*, Instituto Nacional de Colonización, 1967, p. 92.

Thanks to the legislation in place, the experience acquired over ten years, and the new leadership at the head of the Ministry, the Institute, which was created to incentivize the action of the private sector, had evolved in a major instrument of State's action in parallel with the huge investment in hydraulic works. The 1950s was the golden decade of the I.N.C. Following the 23 new towns (3,072 dwellings) of the 1943-1949 period the Institute was responsible for the planning and construction of 144 new pueblos containing about 17,650 housing units.

5.1.4. The Last Decade

In 1962, a report of the World Bank on the economic development of Spain made furious waves within the Institute. In its section dealing with the agrarian politics, the international experts did not put into question the program of irrigation but expressed doubts and criticism about the territorial mode of colonization, in particular the foundation of new villages, applied by the I.N.C. since the 1940s. The technocratic and developmentalist tone of the authors argued for more "modesty" in the rural constructions—more specifically in the early phase of settlement.⁴⁴ The response of engineer Leopoldo Ridruejo was highly critical of the argument and particularly of the ambiguous concept of "modesty": "the fact of the matter is that the comfort of the villages must be correct, with no frills of any kind, but enough to keep in the countryside those residents who tend to flee today [...] there are many degrees of modesty."⁴⁵ Another critic Lamo de Espinosa wrote against the prevalence of the economic criteria and asserted that "agriculture is the prime support of the Spanish political freedom [...] the farmers account for the vast reserve that assures the social stability of a country."⁴⁶ Likewise, the aggressive response of Zorrilla Dorronsoro, the first director of the I.N.C. who resigned in 1946, went back to the fundamentals of the interior colonization and the original objectives of the Falange:

To colonize is to provide to an area or region that has fallen behind in its social evolution a set of material and spiritual means to raise both its standard of living as well as its moral and intellectual level, thus ushering in new possibilities of all kinds, not only in the agricultural sector, but also in industry, in trade, in services, and even in the manifestations of art.⁴⁷

In spite of this controversy, the program continued unabated with about 96 new towns for a total of 9,300 dwellings by the end of the 1960s.⁴⁸ However, with the emphasis of the regime on American-influenced modernization and industrialization, the establishment of the new pueblos lost most of its social impetus to resist rural exodus and maintain the countryside as

⁴⁴ World Bank. *The Economic Development of Spain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press (1963). On the report and the reactions to it, see Nicolás Ortega Cantero, "La política agraria en la 'Revista de Estudios Agrosociales' (1952-1984), *Revista de Estudios Agro-sociales*, nº 133, 1985, pp. 199-239;

⁴⁵ Nuñez-Herrador 1997, S. 238, quoted from Leopoldo Ridruejo 1962, n.p.

⁴⁶ Cited by Ortega Cantero, p. 220.

⁴⁷ Zorrilla Dorronsoro, "Inversiones en colonización," *Revista de Estudios Agro-Sociales*, nº 41, 1962, p. 69

⁴⁸ Villanueva Paredes and Leal Maldonado. P. 344.

the bedrock of the regime. The institute was officially dismantled in 1971 and merged within the Instituto Nacional de Reforma y Desarrollo Agrario (I.R.Y.D.A.). Although the overall efficiency of the global program of colonization was strongly debated among economists, agronomists and other rural experts, the balance sheet was impressive from the urbanistic and demographic point of view. According to the inventory realized in 1981-1982, ten years after the end of the program, the number of residents in the *pueblos de colonización* reached the number of 131,069; the number of inventoried houses was 30,144 of which 28,084 were within the villages and 2,060 around them.⁴⁹ Plans included the improvement of 1,403,000 hectares of land, out of which only 600-700,000 were eventually implemented, with 264,600 hectares on state-owned land. In total, the country's irrigated land surface increased by 50%. The colonization affected all the regions of Spain, with an emphasis on the latifundia regions of Andalusia and Extremadura, and the area with important needs of a radical hydraulic policy such as Aragón. Overall, those regions covered more than 50% of the transformed land and 70% of the new villages and resettled population.

5.1.5. The Architects of the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (I.N.C.)

The administration of the Institute was structured in four sections dealing with the education of the colonists, the preparation of the land and rural engineering, the exploitation itself, and “the embellishment of rural life.” The latter included all matters that dealt with the human and physical process of colonization, i.e., the settlements, housing, recreation, sports, and transportation—in summary, “... the improvement of the rural life and of its hygienic and esthetic conditions through the use of general projects for entire areas in all its aspects, including gardens and ornamentation, and, in collaboration with the *Instituto de la Vivienda* the specific types and groups of rural dwellings, propagating and constructing them in relation to the economic means of farmers, municipalities and other institutions.”⁵⁰ The urban and architectonic program was also propagandistic in the sense that the Institute and other Francoist administrations were asked “to bring to the most remote corners of the countryside all amenities and pleasures of urban life, through radio transmissions, projections, sports, cultural centers, fiestas and popular songs.”⁵¹

The Servicio de Arquitectura was established in June 1941 under the direction of Germán Valentín Gamazo, an architect who had worked previously with the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas (D.G.R.D.). As he had argued in his speech of 1940, it was “necessary to avoid the defects of centralism” and, accordingly, Valentín organized the service in regional

⁴⁹ Villanueva Paredes & Leal Maldonado, p. *.

⁵⁰ *Historia y evolución de la colonización agraria en España. Volume 2*, p. 483: “...inclusos los de jardinería y ornamentación, y en colaboración con el Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda los específicos de diferentes tipos de éstas y toda clase de construcciones rurales, difundiendo y poniendo su ejecución al alcance de los medios económicos de los agricultores, ayuntamientos y entidades.”

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 483-4: “de llevar al último rincón del campo las comodidades de la vida ciudadana, por medio de la radiodifusión, proyecciones, deportes, centros culturales, fiestas y cantos populares...”

entities which, like the D.G.R.D. and the I.N.V., could thus work “in short distance from its objectives and adapt the regulations to the specificity of each region.”⁵² The first architects entered the service in October: Manuel Rosado Gonzalo, Pedro Castañeda Cagigas, José Tamés Alarcón, Víctor d’Ors, and Alejandro de la Sota. In March 1943, José Tamés Alarcón replaced Valentín Gamazo as director and he remained in charge for twenty-eight years until the eventual dissolution of the I.N.C. within the I.R.Y.D.A. in 1971. Víctor d’Ors, son of the Catalan writer Eugenio d’Ors Rovira and author with Valentín Gamazo of the *Plan de Urbanismo de Salamanca* (from 1938), designed the villages of La Barca de la Florida (1943) and El Torno (1943), both of them near Cádiz. Even though he left the I.N.C. at the arrival of the new director Tamés Alarcón, he continued to participate in important discussions and meetings to defend the role of the urbanist-architect to counteract the technocratic influence of the agronomists and establish the theoretical bases of the Institute’s program. Alejandro de la Sota designed the village that would become the model for the 1940s, Gimennells (1943), but left in 1946. Following the decree of July 1942, José Borobio Ojeda, a well-established architect from Zaragoza, entered the Institute, shadowed by a group of young architects, among them Manuel Jiménez Varea, Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo, Manuel Rosado Gonzalo, José Subirana Rodríguez, and José García Nieto. Francisco Jiménez de la Cruz joined in 1945, and Aníbal Gonzalez Gómez and José Luis Fernandez Del Amo in 1947. Among those first employees, Ayuso Tejerizo and Fernández del Amo had worked previously for the D.G.R.D.⁵³

Until 1971, a total of thirty-three architects were employed as civil servants in the I.N.C. under the supervision of director Tamés Alarcón. Each of them designed one or several villages, but nine architects were responsible for 127 villages, more than a third of the overall number.⁵⁴ The central administration in Madrid counted on a core group that included Pedro Castañeda Cagigas, José Luis Fernández del Amo, and Manuel Jiménez Varea, The other architects were linked to the various territorial delegations established in December 1943, with José Borobio Ojeda for the Ebro basin, Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo for the Duero, Santiago Mesalles García for the region of Salamanca, Manuel Rosado Gonzalo for the Guadiana, José García Nieto in the Levante, and Francisco Jiménez de la Cruz in Andalusia. Every architect was usually responsible for the full design of the pueblo, including the masterplan and the design of all

⁵² Germán Valentín, p. 42.

⁵³ For this section, see Manuel Calzada Pérez, “Bases para una nueva cronología del Servicio de Arquitectura del I.N.C.,” in *Pueblos de colonización durante el Franquismo*, 97-112; Manuel Calzada Pérez “Cronología: Los Arquitectos del INC,” in *Pueblos de colonización 2*, 2007, pp.1-5). Other architects who had experience in the D.G.R.D. included Domingo Ariz Armendáriz, José Beltrán Navarro, Fernando de la Cuadra Irizar, Máximo Fernández Baanantes, José Gómez Luengo, José González Valcárcel, Santiago Lagunas Mayandía, Francisco Moreno López, Felipe Pérez Somarriba y Carlos Sobrini Marín.

⁵⁴ According to Calzada Pérez, *Pueblos de colonización*, p. 2, Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo designed 15 villages and three enlargement plans; José Borobio Ojeda designed 16 villages and 17 enlargement plans; Pedro Castañeda Cagigas designed 14 villages and one enlargement plan; José Luis Fernández del Amo designed 16 villages and 7 enlargement plans; José García Nieto Gascón designed 13 villages and two enlargement plans; Francisco Jiménez de la Cruz designed 12 villages and one enlargement plan; Manuel Jiménez Varea designed 18 villages and ten enlargement plans; Santiago Mesalles García designed 12 villages and one enlargement plan; and Manuel Rosado Gonzalo designed 11 villages and 6 enlargement plans.

public buildings and residential buildings.

Following the new legislation of 1949 and the approval of the Plan Badajoz and Plan Jaén in the early 1950s, the Institute had to reorganize and expend. As a result, Tamés Alarcón commissioned a significant number of independent architects. They included renowned figures like Carlos Arniches Moltó, Fernando de la Cuadra, the returning Alejandro de la Sota, as well as some promising members of a younger generation like José Antonio Corrales, Luis Vázquez de Castro, Antonio Fernández Alba, and Fernando de Terán later to become a prominent planning historian. Even though those architects were required to design the entire village, the implementation was, with rare exceptions, followed by the permanent architects of the Institute and more specifically three architects of higher responsibility at the regional level, i.e., the regional director, an inspector and a project manager.⁵⁵ This group of younger and more experimental architects introduced significant innovations both in the morphology and the typology of the towns. However, this innovative current represented a relatively low percentage of the overall program. What happened from the mid-1950s onwards was not a substitution from the early models of urban design and building types, but rather a significant diversification of the program's image that would eventually contribute to the increased professional and editorial interest into the programs of colonization.

Unsurprisingly, the headquarters of the I.N.C. were built at a strategic location of the postwar Madrid, on the Paseo de la Castellana, diagonally across the Nuevos Ministerios. Designed in 1948 by director José Tamés and completed with significant delays in 1956, the classical-modern structure was laid out around a large courtyard treated as a garden. The rationalist façade clad with large square tiles of stone, the proportions and rhythm of the windows, their slightly projecting window frames, and the horizontality of the attic floor made a direct connection to Secundino Zuazo's Nuevos Ministerios. The wing parallel to the Castellana was six-story high with the main entrance and a recessed attic that contained the restaurant and cafeteria. The tower, shaped at the intersection of Calle Joaquín Costa by a small reset of both facades and the addition of a glazed lantern-like section on the top, also suggested references to Italian Rationalism of the interwar years. The other administrative wings varied between four and six floors, and a secondary entrance was placed on Calle Costa. Nothing in the architecture directly evoked the task and practice of the institute, but Tamés used the Institute to advertise the principles of the synthesis of the arts that the I.N.C. was implementing within the countryside.⁵⁶ The program, designed in collaboration with José Luis Fernández del Amo, included sculptures and murals by some of the most important avant-garde artists of post-Civil War Spain. The four abstract high reliefs situated at the level of the piano nobile on top of the three-bay entrance portico on the Paseo de la Castellana were carved by the sculptor Ángel

⁵⁵ Fernando de Terán, "El proyecto de los pueblos de colonización," in *Pueblos de colonización durante el franquismo*, p. 319.

⁵⁶ For the application of the synthesis of the arts in the pueblos of the I.N.C., see Chapter Seven.

Ferrant and represent the Four Seasons.⁵⁷ Other bas-reliefs showing plants and flowers on the facades were by Eduardo Carretero, another important sculptor of the postwar era; Amadeo Gabino painted the murals in the entrance hall and José Lapayese, the Map of Spain in the Council Room. The cycle of paintings within the main staircase leading to the direction, was the work of Manuel Rivera Hernández, an artist who became one of the founders of the group *El Paso* in 1957 and worked for a couple of years for the I.N.C. on the recommendation of Del Amo. Laid out on top of the Colmenar stone, the oil paintings depict “the ends and the social mission of the Institute, both in the transformation of the countryside and the material and moral elevation of the people of the countryside.”⁵⁸ Rivera painted working farmers, men and women, with hoes and shears in an environment of horses, tractors and other machines. He depicted an architect designing the plans of a pueblo, a chiseling stonecutter, and a painter busy working on completing a mural—a genuine allegory of the program and the actors of the interior colonization.

⁵⁷ José Tamés Alarcón, “Edificio social del Instituto Nacional de Colonización en Madrid,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 178, October 1956, pp. 7-16.

⁵⁸ See Moisés Bazán de Huerta, “Rivera antes de Rivera. Los trabajos pictóricos de Manuel Rivera para el Instituto Nacional de Colonización,” *Arte y Ciudad – Revista de Investigación*, April 2016, pp. 75-76: “los fines y la misión social del Instituto, tanto en la transformación del campo como la elevación material y moral del pueblo campesino.”

5.2. PRINCIPLES, DEBATES, AND REGULATIONS

As discussed in Chapter Three, the D.G.R.D. was under heavy pressure, both socially and politically, to act quickly and initiate the plans of reconstruction. The speed of planning in the year that followed the end of the Civil War to the opening of the Exposition of the Reconstruction in June 1940 was the primary reason for many common features between the reconstructed towns. Even though the plans were in fact different, most of them shared the orthogonal grid and the plaza mayor shaped as a unified U-shaped building. To be sure, the I.N.C. benefited from that ongoing experience, particularly from the typological point of view, and the first experiments with the modern rural house. Yet, from the very start of the Institute, the general tone was less ideological, more subdued, and without references to the imperial past and the “trazados genuinamente españoles” of the Regiones Devastadas. In his speech at the Second Assembly of Architects in 1940, “La reorganización general desde el Instituto de Colonización,” Germán Valentín invited the architects to design the new towns “with the heart more than with the head:”

They are simple problems; the technique to be used in them is very specific, very precise, elementary; but there are many things that the technique, which is brain activity, misses but that the heart perceives: such are, for instance, the feelings, the psychology of those men in the fields who are true gentlemen. Under their humble cloak, they reveal themselves as people of rustic ideology, who do not make an excessive gesture or pronounce an idle word. As miserable their house can be, it is for them a palace.⁵⁹

And he added that the new “palaces” should be designed with the “appropriate pondering of its spaces, in the balanced disposition of its passages and voids, in that indefinable human scale that we should never forget, and whose oblivion is, in my opinion, the greatest defect and the clearest index of the monstrosity that the big cities have become.”⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Germán Valentín, p. 42: “Son problemas sencillos; la técnica a emplear en ellos es muy concreta, muy precisa, elemental; pero a la técnica, que es actividad cerebral, se le escapan cosas que el corazón percibe, como son los sentimientos, la psicología de esos hombres del campo que son verdaderos señores, en los que, bajo una capa humilde, se descubren gentes de ideología rústica que no tiene un gesto excesivo ni una palabra ociosa, que, por mísera que sea su casa, es para ellos un palacio.”

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

5.2.1. “The Urbanistic Process of our Interior Colonization”

Whereas the labor of the D.G.R.D. was, for obvious propaganda reasons, examined in details in its periodical *Reconstrucción*, the I.N.C. did not benefit from a similar professional opportunity.⁶¹ Yet, a couple of articles published in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* during the 1940s offered a mirror of the questions and debates in progress within the Institute. In 1948, the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura (R.N.A.)* published a special issue about the colonization program.⁶² Edited and written by Tamés Alarcón, the periodical contained a historical review of former Spanish programs of colonization and a description of the process followed by the Institute of Colonization during the first years. Arguably, the program of interior colonization was not an experiment *ex-novo* and, from the Reconquista, Spain had forged a rich and brilliant tradition of urban foundation, both in America and in the Peninsula itself. In his presentation, Tamés focused in details on the already discussed program of *Nuevas Poblaciones* in Andalusia and Sierra Morena initiated by King Carlos III in 1767. Actually, this six-century-long history of interior colonization had been mentioned by the Caudillo himself in his speech on *Unificación*, a fact that Germán Valentín had discussed at the 2nd assembly of 1940.⁶³ Last but not least, he mentioned the eighteen villages established following the Law of Colonization of 1907 but had to concede that they had been a failure in terms of quality of dwellings and infrastructures.

In summarizing this centuries-old experience of new town planning, Tamés intended to argue that the systematic and rational planning of towns was a fundamental attribute of Spanish urban and rural culture. The architects of the I.N.C. were well aware of that heritage, but they were equally cognizant of the most modern experiences of urban planning in Belgium, Germany, and Fascist Italy. Likewise, the new village of New Gournah, work of Hassan Fathy in the Nile valley in Egypt, had just been built and published in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, three months before Tamés's article.⁶⁴ As the Italian experience was the most relevant in terms of program, Tamés published plans and images of Sabaudia, the most iconic of the Pontine new towns (Gruppo degli Urbanisti Romani, 1934), as well as of Segezia in Puglia (Concezio Petrucci, 1938).⁶⁵ On the other hand, he did not mention the *Concurso de Anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir*, the competition held at the end of 1932 and that we have discussed in Chapter Two. The fact that it was held under the Republican period probably played a role; likewise, the absence of any religious structure in the drawings and programs posted a clear ideological and political issue. However, as the

⁶¹ From 1944, the periodical *Agricultura* published a supplement titled *Colonización* which reported on the issues and work of the Institute. Yet, even though it published some plans and quite a lot of photographs of the towns in construction and inaugurated, it was essentially designed for farmers and other professional of agriculture.

⁶² José Tamés Alarcón, “Proceso urbanístico de nuestra colonización interior,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 83, November 1948, pp. 413-24.

⁶³ Germán Valentín, p. 31.

⁶⁴ Hassan Fathy, “El nuevo poblado de Gournah en Egipto,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* VIII, nº 80, agosto 1948, pp. 281-94. This was the first international publication of the project.

⁶⁵ Tamés Alarcón, pp. 414-424.

results were extensively published in *Arquitectura* of December 1934, the projects were not only well known but would end up being highly influential.⁶⁶

Addressing the actuation of the I.N.C., Tamés placed the most critical question at the center of the article:

Should [the new colonist houses] be isolated on the agricultural parcels or should they be grouped to form pueblos or rural nuclei?⁶⁷

The question was not new as it was already discussed during the wartime meetings in Burgos. Likewise, Germán Valentín and José Fonseca raised the issue at the occasion of the Second Assembly of Architects in 1940.⁶⁸ The debate was in fact intense as the main element of reference for those who supported what could be called the “atomization of the residential settlements” was, and Fonseca had already analyzed it in his report of 1935, the Italian experience of the *bonifica integrale*. In the Pontine Marshes, the most publicized program in Italy and abroad, the planners had systematically promoted the concept of the *casa colonica*, a farm unit often two-story high and isolated within the fields, whereas the towns were mostly populated by workers in the administration or the commercial sector.

In the same issue of the *R.N.A.*, Tamés presented three types of urbanization that illustrated the extent of experimentation on density that the institute had been working with during the first years. Las Torres (Germán Valentin-Gamazo, 1944) was a dispersed settlement of about one hundred houses on a former Andalusian *finca*.⁶⁹ The semi-dispersed *poblado* of El Torno (José Subirana and Victor d’Ors, 1943) was a rural adaptation of the garden city principles with detached family houses setback along three curvilinear streets, and the absence of any genuine urban environment. Fundamentally, El Torno was not a village, but a well-designed suburban neighborhood, which could have been built in Southern California in the 1920s-1930s. Only the plaza provided a sense of urbanity: it appeared as an arcaded L-shaped structure of shops and apartments placed on one side of the central street with a church and its patio attached on the short side.⁷⁰ The third case was Gimennells, designed from December 1943 by Alejandro de la Sota, and the first model of the concentrated village with a compact plan and a *plaza mayor* at the intersection of the two main streets.⁷¹

Tamés made clear that the I.N.C. had come to the conclusion that the concept of the

⁶⁶ “Concurso de anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y del Guadalmellato,” *Arquitectura* 1934, S. 267-298. Also see José Tamés Alarcón, “Actuaciones del Instituto Nacional de Colonización 1939-1970,” *Urbanismo*, COAM 3, 1988, pp. 4-18, where he referred directly to Sabaudia, Segezia, and Nahalal, the kibbutz-village designed in 1921 by Richard Kauffmann.

⁶⁷ Tamés Alarcón, p. 420.

⁶⁸ See José Fonseca, “La mejora de la vivienda, vista desde el Instituto Nacional de Colonización,” *li Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos*, Madrid: 1940, pp. 5-27; and the detailed discussion in Chapter Three.

⁶⁹ “Vivienda diseminada: finca ‘Las Torres’,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 83, November 1948, pp. 425-430.

⁷⁰ “Vivienda Semi-Agrupada: Poblado ‘El E’,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 83, pp. 431-438.

⁷¹ “Vivienda agrupada: pueblo de Gimennells,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 83, November 1948, pp. 439-443.

concentrated village or *pueblo* containing all the farmers' houses was the most satisfactory solution. On the one hand, the arguments in favor of the dispersed settlement were the direct connection between residence and field that reduced the loss of time in movement of people and goods, the higher yield of the labor animals, the security of the fields especially in period of harvest, and a reduction in the expenses of street paving. On the other hand, the advantages of the concentrated model were the physical and urbanistic pattern that facilitated the religious, medical and education services as well as social life and communication, the economic advantages due to the lesser cost of house construction and infrastructure, the better environmental response to temperature and inclement weather by virtue of the denser fabric, and the decoupling of the house from the fields, considering how difficult it was to predict the size of the latter. To be sure, beyond the economic and functional advantages, the concept of the compact village organized around its *plaza mayor* helped reinforce the regime's ideological tenets and the critical importance of the Church for its stability. Yet, the most critical argument was eventually the 'cultural one.' Streets and squares were indispensable to Spanish life and were at the heart of its Mediterranean culture. Interestingly, Tamés cited the Italian architect and urbanist Amos Edallo who published in Milan his 1946 book *Ruralistica, urbanistica rurale*. The passage quoted from Amos Edallo reflected the new vision of rural urbanism in post-WWII Italy and the convictions of the I.N.C. director:

The distribution system of the farm dwellings to be located at the agricultural center of the plots, has, as an ideal concept, its rationale in regard to the economy of the parcel itself; but under the social aspect it is an outdated and unfair concept, which obliges a large mass of agricultural workers into a confined life. Today, the general social conditions have changed, and generally will likely improve in the future... The small town, under the aspect of the organization of life and collective infrastructures, offers its inhabitants incalculably greater opportunities than isolated houses.⁷²

Moreover, the dense village was more prone to meet "the needs of social order, surrounding the man's attentions and amenities to compensate their efforts, making the movement of reflux of the city to the countryside restored, and seeking to annul the exodus from the countryside to the city."⁷³ Implicit in this policy, which Tamés later made clear in the confrontation of the

⁷² Quoted by Tamés, p. 422, from Amos Edallo, *Ruralistica, urbanistica rurale, con particolare riferimento alle valle padana: il paese rurale, l'azienda rurale, la casa rurale in funzione dell'organizzazione agricola attuale e futura*, Milano: U. Hoepli, 1946. On Spanish urban culture in comparative studies, see Erwin Anton Gutkind, *International history of city development*, Volume 3 Spain and Italy, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964-72. See Chapter Two for a discussion of new Italian villages after WWII.

⁷³ Tamés Alarcón, p. 424: "ya que satisface las necesidades de orden social, rodeando al hombre de las atenciones y comodidades que le compense de sus esfuerzos, haciendo se restablezca el movimiento de reflujo de la ciudad al campo, y procurando anular el éxodo del campo a la ciudad." For an extended discussion of the debate, including some later experiences of semi-dispersed settlements in Aragón, see José María Alagón Laste, *¿Viviendas aisladas o núcleos urbanos? Modelos Urbanísticos del Instituto Nacional de Colonización en Aragón: la zona de Monegros-Flumen (Huesca)*, *NORBA, Revista de Arte*, vol. XXXIV, 2014, pp. 221-247: in this essay, the author explains that the debate was not entirely over abandoned in the late 1940s. His detailed research has shown that a series of semi-dispersed projects in the basin of the Ebro River were rejected by the I.N.C. and had to be redesigned following the official directives.

Spanish diagram of settlement with the Italian one of the Pontine Marshes, was the polycentric structure of the new territories and landscapes as well as the absence of hierarchy between the new towns, even when they were differences in area and number of farmer families. Implicit as well was the symbolic, ideological but primarily national-cultural value to be attributed to living in community and to providing the adequate urban spaces to perform that civic life. As the political ideal of civil life under the national-catholic regime could be summarized in the triad family/work/town, it was thus logical that the *plaza mayor* became the point of crystallization of the village context. This ideological strategy had been at the heart of the work of the D.G.R.D., but in contrast to the towns of the reconstruction, the I.N.C. architects and urbanists were able to employ a much looser approach both urbanistically and architecturally. The public role of the church, both in terms of the urban layout and the vision from afar—the church tower acting as a propaganda campanile within the landscape—sustained the symbolic value of the plaza. As Tamés wrote, “The State cannot, by humanity and Christian spirit, ignore the social inconveniences of the isolated dwelling.”⁷⁴ Likewise, in an article written by a priest for the periodical *Colonización*,

An institute of colonization had the duty to carry, like all the actions of the government, the seal of the authentically Spanish, i.e., the seal of the authentically Catholic. The Caudillo was the same man, wasn't he who, in a memorable occasion, declared that 'if the activities of any organism of Spain limit themselves to the field of material needs, without the scope and the vision of the spiritual, that same institute would realize a mutilated and incomplete work?'⁷⁵

Second in community importance after the church were the schools, which held an important future role within the towns. Instruction was critical in the countryside areas where illiteracy was rampant before and after the Civil War. Moreover, the regime hoped to use civic education as a way to reinforce the ideological infrastructure of the national-catholic regime. The visible presence of religion and education in the construction of the villages of colonization was indispensable to the regime's achievement of its global objectives of the colonization process.⁷⁶ Schools were, from the earlier days of the colonization process, the most modern structures to be built. They could be easily recognized, as they displayed simple modern facades with large horizontal windows; oftentimes, they were placed diagonally in relation to the streets in order to create green buffered zones, benefit from the most adequate solar conditions, and distinguish their presence within the overall layout of the towns.

⁷⁴ José Tamés Alarcón, “Disposición de la vivienda en los nuevos regadíos,” *Colonización*, nº 6, 1947, p.18.

⁷⁵ R. P. Vicente Sordo, *Colonización*, January 1950, p.3. The author—a priest—admitted that they were not enough priests in the region to maintain the churches and thus argued further for a direct educational and if possible physical of the church and the school. Tamés Alarcón argued that those farmer families who live more than four kilometers away from a village tended to be less religious and that more analphabetism reigned; likewise, farmers away from social life would at times move their family closer and eventually live in low-quality settlements devoid of infrastructure on the outside of towns.

⁷⁶ Quoted from the exhibition panels for the 50th anniversary of the town of Valdelacalzada, unpublished.

In the final section of the 1948 article, Tamés Alarcón summarized the principles that were to govern the design of the I.N.C. villages.⁷⁷ In a general way, the program of each town was determined by a relatively simple calculation. For each specifically defined zone, once the amount of land to remain in the hands of the landowners had been determined, the excess was divided and allowed to determine how many colonists would be needed on the basis of four to eight hectares per family exploitation. In addition, the number of agricultural workers working on those new parcels had to be determined and specific apartments and smaller houses provided for them.⁷⁸ Once those numbers were determined, the project of each *pueblo* was in the hands of an architect and consisted of the overall master plan with the necessary division into plots and the distribution of building types, the street sections, the plans, facades and sections of every house type, the design of the *plaza mayor* and all other public spaces or equipment like fountains, the church and its accessory structures, the town hall, the schools and other civic structures such as clubs, cinema, and sport fields. Each *pueblo* was planned for an average of eighty to one hundred fifty houses for farmers and farmworkers, with additional houses (usually ten per cent of the agricultural dwellings) for professionals such as schoolteachers, artisans, shop owners, and the house of the priest.⁷⁹

The description of the urban design method and criteria was precise, but, eventually, allowed for a large range of interpretation from the point of view of urban form:

The [town] structure must always obey the principle of maximum adaptation to the ground, placing public buildings and shops clustered around the square, and organically related them to the residential buildings, in order to facilitate the functioning of the town, give easy access to all places of work, and create a logical disposition of streets and lots. The latter should be at least 350m², an area sufficient to build the dwelling, the agricultural outbuildings and the corral. In some regions the patio should be introduced as an essential element, in addition to and independent of the corral. Lots should be narrow and elongated in order to limit the cost of facades and urbanization in general, but they should be a minimum of eleven meters wide to allow the linear disposition of the outbuildings along the corral.”⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Also see Instituto Nacional de Colonización, Circular 246, 22 de Julio 1949, signed by Tamés Alarcón. The article in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* was surely an attempt at informing and raising interest amidst the architectural community at large.

⁷⁸ The general ratio was 15 dwellings for agricultural workers for 80 to 100 colonist dwellings. In the 1960s, the ratio increased due to the increased size of the family properties.

⁷⁹ Tamés Alarcón, p. 423: “En el pueblo se parte de 80 a 150 casas de colonos, construyéndose como servicios la iglesia, con la vivienda del cura; Ayuntamiento, escuelas unitarias, edificio sindical, local de recreo, cine, posada, café, casas para profesionales, médico, maestros, secretario de Ayuntamiento y, aproximadamente, un 10 por 100 de artesanos y comerciantes: herrero, carpintero, electricista, ultramarinos, tahona, estanco, carnicería, pescadería, peluquería y zapatería.”

⁸⁰ Tamés Alarcón 1948, p. 423. “Su estructuración debe obedecer siempre al principio de máxima adaptación al terreno, situando los edificios oficiales y comercios, agrupados en la plaza, relacionados con el resto de las construcciones con un sentido orgánico, para que cumplan fielmente su cometido, con acceso fácil a los lugares de trabajo, procurando en su trazado una lógica disposición de solares y calles, teniendo en cuenta que las superficies de aquellos deben ser, como mínimo de 350 m², donde puedan desahogadamente situarse la vivienda, dependencias agrícolas y el corral. En algunas regiones

Moreover, the streets had to be differentiated according to their overall function, which led the author to embrace Alejandro Herrero's thesis of separation of traffic, i.e.,

It is very useful to plan for vehicular streets, which permit the access to the corral independently from the dwelling areas, and, in some cases, for streets exclusively reserved for pedestrians, which are so typical and practical in many of our cities.⁸¹

Indeed, a couple of months earlier, the young architect Alejandro Herrero published an important essay in the *R.N.A.* titled "Independencia de circulaciones y trazado de poblados" [Independence of circulation and layout of towns].⁸² In that article, he argued that the separation of human and animal traffic was a tradition in many Spanish villages and he referred to some of the entries in the competition of 1932, those of Domínguez, Arrillaga, Zavala and of Pérez Minguea, Ortiz and Lino Vaamonde, which provided access to the house lots from two separate sides, thus allowing for separate traffic between animals, vehicles and residents. Herrero's modern reference was the cul-de-sac of early British Garden Cities as well as the Radburn development of 1929.⁸³

The additional requirements and suggestions made by Tamés involved the issue of size and disposition of the *plaza mayor* in regard to the potential increase in population, the necessity of landscaping, and the overall location of the villages at the center of the agricultural areas, keeping into account the topography, the distribution of drinkable water, and the distance to the fields estimated at 2,5 kilometers in the south and 3,5 in the north and center of the country. Eventually, the recommendations issued by Tamés in his article and the equivalent ordinances for use by the architects were otherwise devoid of any specific requirements relative to urban

debe introducirse el patio como elemento indispensable, con independencia del corral. Conviene que los solares sean estrechos y alargados para ahorrar fachadas y urbanización, pero con un mínimo de 11 metros de frente, pudiendo disponerse las dependencias agrícolas en línea a lo largo del corral. Es interesante el estudio. tanto en viviendas como en dependencias agrícolas, de tipos crecederos, para que puedan ampliarse a medida que aumenten las necesidades y las posibilidades del colono lo permitan, debiendo tenerse previsto en el proyecto la totalidad del mismo para evitar luego la falta de espacio. Generalmente, el Instituto de Colonización, en lo que se refiere a las dependencias agrícolas, no construye en su fase inicial más que las cuadras, establos, el granero y el pajar en algunas zonas, construyéndose el colono el resto de las dependencias con arreglo a los planos facilitados acogándose a la Ley de Colonizaciones de Interés Local, por virtud de la cual el Instituto de Colonización les anticipa un préstamo del 40 por 100 de su valor sin interés."

⁸¹ Tamés Alarcón, p. 423: "Las calles habrán de diferenciarse según su cometido; es muy útil la disposición de calles de carros, que permite el acceso al corral con independencia de la zona de viviendas, debiendo adoptarse en algunos casos las exclusivamente destinadas a peatones, que tan típicas y prácticas son en muchas de nuestras ciudades."

⁸² For the separation of traffic, see Alejandro Herrero, "Independencia de circulaciones y trazado de pueblos," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, n° 81, September 1948, pp. 348-358. Along with the technical considerations, Herrero presented a series of schemes for new colonization villages (see later in this chapter).

⁸³ Although he was not involved in the Institute, Alejandro Herrero continued to be an important voice for urban design. In an essay of 1955 that echoed the townscape debate in England under the title "15 Normas para la composición de conjunto en barriadas de vivienda unifamiliar" he issued a series of urban design rules to create groups of houses and neighborhoods with a focus on Andalucía. See Alejandro Herrero Molina and José Ramón Moreno García (eds.), *Centenario del arquitecto Alejandro Herrero Aylló*, Huelva: Consejería de Obras Públicas y Vivienda, 2011; and Alejandro Herrero, "15 Normas para la composición de conjunto en barriadas de vivienda unifamiliar," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, n° 168, 1955, pp. 17-28.

form, even though the analysis of the projects suggests that there were additional informal rules to be respected for the design of each village, such as the frequent rupture of street perspectives, the presence of a *Calle Mayor* with a termination on the town hall or, more frequently, the church and/or its tower. Likewise, the presence of small woodlands and modern sport facilities in the perimeter had the potential to create a protective green belt, which was carefully designed and sited in order to permit the town extension without incurring the destruction of its green and recreational areas.

5.2.2. The Modern Rural Dwelling and the Street as Project

As we have seen in Chapter Two and Three, the improvement of the rural dwelling was debated in Spain during the first decades of the twentieth century, but it is the competition for the new towns in Andalusia of 1932 that actualized the discussion to the new socioeconomic and international architectural context. In April 1939 the *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* (I.N.V. or National Institute of Housing) was created under the direction of engineer Federico Mayo Gayarre with José Fonseca as director of architecture. This appointment signaled another high degree of continuity with the pre-Civil War Republican strategy. The same year, the I.N.V. enacted the *Ordenanzas de la Vivienda*, a set of regulations based upon pre-Civil War research that established all technical conditions necessary for the new rural dwelling and colonist house, and that reflected “the struggle between economy and minimum welfare for rural housing.”⁸⁴ Included in the ordinances were the number and dimensions of rooms per unit, orientation and natural lighting, preferred materials, and ventilation systems. The types, whether urban or rural, were the equivalent of the typical modern apartment type in the *Siedlungen* of Germany, with thin buildings and all rooms lighted and ventilated. The National Institute of Colonization adopted the housing ordinances of the I.N.V. in 1939, and as a result floor areas, floor to ceiling heights, openings, and building types were fully standardized. Likewise, all basic constructive elements like windows, bars, balconies, and urban furniture were also codified and, in many cases, prefabricated. The D.G.R.D. had adopted the same ordinances and it is obvious that the architects of the I.N.C. benefited from the on-going experience of the reconstruction. The models and drawings of the first projects—Brunete, Belchite, Villanueva del Pardillo, and others—were very precise in the typological construction of the blocks. As we have seen earlier, the I.N.C. stayed away from the planning principles of the D.G.R.D. and its orthogonal plans and *plazas*, but the two Institutes definitely collaborated on the typological aspects of their respective programs.

In order to promote the modernization of the rural housing and establish some of the criteria that were to be applied widely within the Institute, the very first project to be published in the

⁸⁴ See Manuel Calzada Pérez, “La vivienda rural en los pueblos de colonización,” *PH*, nº 52, 2005, pp. 055-065, quote p. 059 from José Fonseca, “La mejora de la vivienda, vista desde el Instituto Nacional de Colonización,” in *II Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos*, Madrid, 1940, p. 14. Also see José Fonseca, José, “La vivienda rural en España: Estudio técnico y jurídico para una actuación del estado en la materia,” in *Arquitectura* XVIII, nº 1, 1936, pp. 12-24; Ignacio de Sola Morales 1976, pp. 19-30.

R.N.A. of September/October 1943 was the addition of a small housing district to the existing pueblo of Láchar in the Granada region. Designed by Tamés Alarcón, the project consolidated the somewhat amorphous structure of the town by including the construction of a new religious center at the intersection of the two main streets. Yet, the project, in part realized, was first of all an attempt at launching a process of rationalization of the rural dwelling by presenting in great details two modern types with a large patio, aligned along new streets on the edge of the town.⁸⁵ One year later, the *R.N.A.* published a similar example for the regularization and enlargement of the village of Malpica de Tajo in the region of Toledo. The project included two separate sections: first, the layout of a new rectangular square surrounded by rectangular blocks that were made up of four types of L-shaped houses with garden patio at the back; secondly, a new village for forty colonists to be built on the same finca. Drawn up by Pedro Castañeda Cagigas, the published plan was just the diagram of the future settlement of Bernuy: a regular *plaza mayor* at the intersection of three country roads, with a chapel and a small administrative building.⁸⁶

Given the rising number of new rural foundations, the limited number of types and their systematic repetition, standardization at the I.N.C. became “such a natural process that [architects] had to redouble their efforts to avoid it.”⁸⁷ Homogeneous streets of one-floor or two-floor houses, streets made up of a combination of one-floor and two-floor types, alternation of walls, garden walls and patios, the marking of street corners with double-level houses, houses placed in diagonal: all these strategies were studied and expanded over the years. As Tamés mentioned in his article of 1948:

In every project we recommend to study multiple types of dwelling units adapted to the needs of settlers with all the needed variations; likewise, it is critical to examine the longitudinal profiles of every street where the composition can be seen in elevation, thus avoiding the ‘village-surprise’ which often arises as a consequence of incomplete planning. A thorough examination of the architecture of the region, absorbing and interpreting what is good in both constructive and esthetic order is necessary. Emphasizing the punctual widening of streets and the small squares with architectural details... introducing the vegetation as part of utility and aesthetics of the first order, either as tree-lined streets, in loose groups or simply hovering over a whitewashed wall.⁸⁸

In 1948, Victor D’Ors lectured at the III Conference of Urbanists, where he also argued that it

⁸⁵ José Tamés Alarcón, “Ordenación del pueblo de Láchar (Granada) por el Instituto Nacional de Colonización,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 21-22, September-October 1943, pp. 322-27.

⁸⁶ Pedro Castañeda Cagigas, “Proyecto de colonización de la Finca Valdepusa: ordenación del pueblo de Malpica de Tajo y de un nuevo núcleo,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 28, April 1944, pp. 137-51. See later in this chapter for the final project.

⁸⁷ Calzada Pérez, p. 061.

⁸⁸ Tamés Alarcón, p. 423.

was necessary “to aesthetically explore the block, and even the entire street, as a unit.”⁸⁹ He denounced the typical garden district and “that anarchic feudalism that converts such urbanized nuclei into an exhibition of turrets, and samples of styles and fences...” and other “scenographic frivolities.” This type of planning was not only “frivolous, but immoral.”⁹⁰ As he wrote, “when things are tight, when living space is limited ... they should be totally standardized. The regulated and arbitrary variety, which is not born of real necessity, is a conceptual monster.”⁹¹

Both Tamés and D’Ors statements reveal that, although they favored a traditional architecture, their vision of urban design favored the logic of typological and constructive development and was thus fundamentally modern. The composition of streets became a fundamental design tool for the towns of the Institute and as the years progressed, an increasing process of architectural abstraction made the issue of repetition more and more important and challenging in design. In the 1950s, by eliminating all ornamentation and “folkloric” references, the architects like de La Sota, Corrales, and particularly Fernández del Amo increasingly used the pure volumes of the houses to produce the rationalism to which D’Ors was making indirect reference a couple of years earlier.

⁸⁹ Victor D’Ors, “La estética en el paisaje. Preservación y realce de las condiciones naturales de las comarcas: Conferencia pronunciada por el arquitecto Victor D’Ors con ocasión de la III Reunión de Técnicos Urbanistas en el Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 85, 1949, pp. 15-26. Here, p. 23: “Hay que tratar de estudiar estéticamente la manzana, y aún la calle entera, como unidad.”

⁹⁰ Victor d’Ors, p. 23: “Hay que hacer todo lo contrario de esas frivolidades escenográficas El hacer esto no es solamente frívolo, es immoral. Esthetics “like a military defile”; “no, cuando las cosas apretadas, sin espacio vital, tienen una igualdad de condiciones deben uniformarse totalmente. La variedad reglamentada y arbitraria, que no nace de la auténtica necesidad, es un monstruo conceptual.”

⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

5.3. THREE DECADES OF COLONIZATION: TRADITION AND MODERNITY

5.3.1. The 1940s: the Monocentric Model or the Plaza as Urban Void

Morphologically, the town of Gimenells, designed by Alejandro de la Sota from 1943, and the similar villages designed at the same time in Aragón by José Borobio Ojeda, Suchs (1945) and El Temple (1947), embodied the urban form of the first generation of towns, i.e., those which were designed and built between 1943 and 1949. The generating system of those villages was the *plaza mayor* located at the center, or place of intersection, of the primary streets—in actuality, the most traditional model of public space in the western world that I will call, within the production of the I.N.C., the monocentric model.⁹² In other words, the monocentric model categorizes the towns where the plaza mayor constitutes the geometric heart of the town and functions as the generator of the street system—the plaza as womb or *matrix*. Additionally, it implies that the plaza itself appears by the simple juxtaposition of the primary civic buildings (mostly the church and the town hall) and civil structures (shops, housing), thus constituting a void within the urban pattern. Moreover, the plaza is not only the structuring element of the plans, but it is organically connected to the surrounding territory, its roads, paths, and its division in agricultural parcels. Socially and politically, the central square was representative of the State and the Church, as well as the place to congregate for shopping activities and fiestas, usually identifiable with the protective arcades on all mixed-use sides.⁹³ Dwellings for the schoolteachers and artisans often faced the square on top of the stores. The schools were located somewhat away from the *plaza mayor* and a small green belt, containing the sport facilities, wrapped around the compact village plan.

By 1949-1950, twenty-four towns were in planning and/or construction. Most of them— Suchs (1945, José Borobio, Lérida), El Temple (1947, José Borobio, Lérida), Bernuy (1944-1945, Pedro Castañeda Cagigas, Toledo), Guadalema de los Quinteros (1947, Anibal González Gómez, Sevilla), San Antonio de Benagever (1949, Pedro Castañeda Cagigas, Valencia), Belvis de Jarama (1949, José Luis Fernández del Amo, Toledo)—were laid out around a central plaza that was the generating matrix of the multi-directional grid network, or, depending on the territorial conditions, the place of convergence of the different sectors of the plan.⁹⁴ With the exception of Gimenells and Suchs, the access roads ran at a tangent with the towns rather than penetrate them—a modern strategy devised to limit interior traffic that became the primary and logical one in most towns of the I.N.C. Some other towns like Encinarejo de los Frailes (now de

⁹² For a somewhat similar discussion of the monocentric and polycentric morphology of the I.N.C. towns, see José Antonio Flores Soto, "Aprendiendo de una arquitectura anónima: influencias y relaciones en la Arquitectura Española Contemporánea: el I.N.C. en Extremadura," Dissertation, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2013.

⁹³ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁴ From this section onwards, the towns will be identified by: Date of masterplan, name of the architect, province.

Córdoba, 1948, Francisco G3mez de la Cruz, Córdoba), Foncast3n (1946, Jes3s Ayuso Tejerizo, Valladolid), La Rinconada (1949, C3sar Casado de Pablos, Toledo), and 3gueda del Caudillo (1949, Santiago Garc3a Mesalles & Jes3s Ayuso Tejerizo, Salamanca), displayed the central plaza at the center of a fully orthogonal network of streets. The square *plaza mayor* of 3gueda del Caudillo brought to mind the examples of Latin America and of the *Nuevas Poblaciones*, but its relation to and along the main street echoed the winning Poblado E scheme by Fernando de la Cuadra in the 1932 competition.⁹⁵ De la Cuadra, who was the municipal architect of J3rez de la Frontera from 1935 to 1971, collaborated with the Institute and his most important project was the small town of Tahivilla (1943, Fernando de la Cuadra, C3diz). The gridded town with a rectangular turbine square in the manner discussed by Sitte and St3bben (also visible in Foncast3n) referred directly to the winning scheme of the Poblado B. Most significant was the abstraction of its architecture, perhaps the most abstract before the works of de la Sota and del Amo after 1952, and characterized in particular with the systematic use of flat roofs.⁹⁶

The first town of the Plan Badajoz in preparation on both sides of the Guadiana River, Valdelacalzada (1947, Manuel Gonzalo Rosado and Jos3 Borobio Ojeda, Badajoz) followed the Gimennells diagram as well, even though the town was much larger in size and displayed a series of small triangular squares that absorbed the intersection of the three grid sections. Guadiana del Caudillo (1948, Francisco G3mez de la Cruz, Badajoz) provided a unique variation on the central scheme: the town was laid out regularly along two perpendicular axes meeting at the central rectangular plaza, with the entrance axis being slightly deviated to focus on the church tower. The plaza was divided in two sections, one L-shaped arcaded section with the town hall and the church, and on the other side of the street, a long paseo created by recessing the building frontage of the retail area.

Last but not least of this first generation of towns, a couple of projects were built in relation with preexisting agricultural nuclei, a relatively unusual fact of the colonization. In the vicinity of Jerez de la Frontera between Seville and C3diz, Jos3 Subirana, again in collaboration with Victor d'Ors, designed La Barca de la Florida (1943-47, C3diz). Like El Torno, the project was atypical and unique. First, its site was already occupied by a dozen of *chozas* (shacks), a couple of houses and a school built by the municipality. Secondly, in contrast with the close form of all I.N.C. villages, La Barca presented an open plan made up of two sinuous streets on one side of the highway and another straight one on the other side. The three streets intersected with the regional highway where the architects planned the civic center in the tradition of historic towns, i.e., at a crossroad in the countryside. The design of La Barca was never repeated in the history of the I.N.C. but it gave place to a surprisingly well-designed example of organic—but planned—growth. The church faced the intersection, opposite the town hall square that

⁹⁵ Concurso de anteproyectos, p. 271.

⁹⁶ On Fernando de la Cuadra's career, see Eduardo Mosquera Adell and Maria Teresa P3rez Cano, *La Vanguardia Imposible – Quince visiones de arquitectura contempor3nea andaluza*, Sevilla: Consejer3a de Obras P3blicas y Transportes, 1990.

followed the model of the D.G.R.D., i.e., a homogeneous, U-shaped arcaded building here bisected by a street—the only obvious sign of a planned settlement.⁹⁷ Another village, Villanueva de Franco (now Consolación, 1949, Arturo Roldán Palomo, Ciudad Real), was not related to any hydraulic program but rather to General Franco's desire to establish a settlement in a deserted area between Madrid and Jaén. Roldán designed the town as a half-section of a symmetrical octagon separated from the busy highway by a large park. In an anticipation of what de la Sota would plan in Esquivel in the early 1950s, he placed the church on the central axis in the middle of the park, facing the town hall and the road.

La Vid and the Real Cortijo de San Isidro were even more distinct as they involved existing historic structures around which the villages were developed. La Vid (1946-52, Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo, Burgos) was built as a long and narrow rectangular village, with a regular arcaded plaza mayor facing the road, next to the Renaissance-Baroque Monastery of Santa María de la Vid in the Duero region.⁹⁸ Near Aranjuez, the I.N.C. restored the historic Cortijo de San Isidro, an experimental agricultural village built from 1766 under King Carlos III, and expanded it with about 100 houses (1948, Manuel Jiménez Varea, Madrid). Working in direct collaboration with the D.G.R.D., Manuel Jiménez transformed the remaining farm and housing structures into a full-fledged *pueblo*, whose fully symmetrical plan remained truthful to the Baroque planning principles characteristic of the period and the territory around Aranjuez.⁹⁹

From the architectural point of view, the first generation of villages was characterized by the traditional architecture of its public buildings. Until Esquivel whose construction started in late 1952, the central churches epitomized the traditional—and for many critics, an excessively ideological Francoist-conservative—image of the I.N.C. pueblos. Churches in Suchs, Valdelacalzada, Guadiana del Caudillo, Las Torres, El Temple, Tahivilla, and many others demonstrated the talent of their architects in developing a simple but traditional architecture, whose presence reassured the regime and its proponents of the conservative goals of the program and their symbolic integration within the Spanish landscape of roads and villages. Their rectangular plan followed the single-nave typology, often vaulted, covered with a large double-sloped roof, whose expression in façade was usually dressed up behind a large gable front with Renaissance or Baroque elements, and an often protruding and decorated portal. The facades were always symmetrical, but with the single and tall tower jutting out on one side. The tower concentrated the stylistic character of the villages, with prominent pyramidal or

⁹⁷ Pablo, Collado Ávila, "Poblados de colonización franquista: los casos de El Torno y La Barca de la Florida," Master's Thesis, Universidad de Sevilla, 2017.

⁹⁸ On the monastery founded in 1152, see Inocencio Cadiñanos Bardeci, "Proceso constructivo del Monasterio de La Vid (Burgos), in *Archivo Español de Arte*, nº 241, January-March 1998, pp. 21-36. The church, cloister, and the library are the most important architectonic elements of the multi-secular complex.

⁹⁹ Muñoz Jiménez, José Miguel, "El Real Cortijo de San Isidro de Aranjuez," *Goya: revista de arte*, nº 238, January-February 1994, pp. 211-220. Also see Vicente Patón, "Poblado y cementerio del Real Cortijo de San Isidro [Aranjuez]," in *Arquitectura y desarrollo urbano: Comunidad de Madrid zona sur*, Madrid: Consejería de Medio Ambiente y Ordenación del Territorio, Dirección General de Arquitectura y Vivienda/Fundación Caja Madrid/ Fundación COAM, D.L. 2004, Tomo IX, pp. 321-330.

cupola-like tops, framed with pinnacles and often covered with a colored skin of ceramic tiles. The attached services like the Acción Católica were usually placed on one side or at the back of the church around a simple and arcaded patio. The town halls were equally traditional but more subdued. They were usually integrated within one side of the square, habitually at the end of a two-story row of arcaded shops with apartments above. In that corner location, they often displayed a representative square tower marked by a heraldic relief, large balconies, and corner pinnacles. Evidenced by its dense set of windows and arcades, the third floor was at times a void, a panoramic room, a circulation volume, or a loggia.

To be sure, the urban design tenets dictated by director Tamés Alarcón during the first years explain the relative consistency between the projects. However, they differed quite radically from the parallel experience of the reconstruction in the hands of the D.G.R.D. To some extent, the urban form of Brunete, Guadarrama, Villanueva del Pardillo, or Las Rozas reflected a high degree of design artificiality—an expression of the deliberate act of design with limited connection to the territory. They seemed to be imposed on the territory more than emerging from it. On the contrary, the villages of the I.N.C. appeared to be born from their natural environment, adapting themselves from the start to the reality of the landscape, the roads, the form of the property, the division of parcels, and the location of the hydraulic infrastructures.¹⁰⁰ Functionally, the plaza integrated the church, which occupied one side of the public space; morphologically, the plaza was not constructed as a single building, but constituted a void between the buildings that occupied its edges. Moreover, the plazas of the I.N.C. showed no influence from the Escorial or, in general, from the neoclassical language of Juan de Herrera. In contrast with the public architecture, the residential fabric was, overall, quite simple. It remained influenced by the regionalist approach of the D.G.R.D., but, in most towns, the architects already simplified and eliminated unnecessary elements while maintaining important features such as balconies, window grills, etc. Period aerial photographs showed how architects deployed an undisputable sense of urban space as they repeated, combined, and alternated the limited amount of building types that made up the towns' repertory. Likewise, by aligning, combining, and standardizing the outbuildings behind the houses, they developed a pattern of patios that gave depth and complexity to the mixed-use housing blocks.

¹⁰⁰ The relation between the towns and the landscape is best seen from the air in the period aerial photographs of *Paisajes españoles* and can be analyzed nowadays with even more precision through the Google Earth platform.

5.3.2. The 1950s: Modernization and Diversification

In Chapter Four, we have analyzed how from the end of the 1940s to the early 1950s, a series of events, publications, debates, and built works dramatically reoriented the course of Spanish architecture and urbanism. The Vth National Assembly of Architects of 1949, the foundation of Grup R in 1951, the Spanish pavilion at the Triennale of Milano of 1951, the visits of Gio Ponti, Alberto Sartoris and Alvar Aalto, as well as the first edition of the Feria del Campo in Madrid, were some of the events we have studied.¹⁰¹ All together they enticed architects to abandon the references to classicism and regionalism that had dominated the 1940s in favor of an abstract vernacular as a politically acceptable form of Spanish modernity. At the urban and architectural level, the study and the reevaluation of La Alhambra, published under the title *Manifiesto de la Alhambra* in 1953, provided another impulse to set up a new and less rigid relational system between buildings and their environment.

These new developments had an important impact on the architects and the realizations of the Institute. Following the new legal framework that was established at the end of the 1940s, the program of colonization slowed down from 1949 to 1952 when the Plan Badajoz was officially approved. From the point of view of urban design, the Plan Badajoz, the Plan Jaén, and, to a lesser extent, the Guadalquivir basin of Andalusia became the genuine laboratory of the I.N.C. The intensity of development, the proximity of the towns, and the informal spirit of design competition gave the impetus for a wave of innovation in urban design. The towns planned and built as part of the Plan Badajoz were fully representative of the morphological diversity and invention that the Institute's civil servants, aided by a group of specially commissioned independent architects, were able to implement and to develop. It is thus within this network of about forty towns over a little more than ten years—and in parallel with the largest enterprise of new foundations in Andalusia (113 pueblos officially catalogued)—that the architects, from the most traditional to the most modern, experimented with the form of the plaza and its overall articulation to the town plan, the form of the overall street network and its relation to the landscape, as well the modernization of the block through the increased abstraction of the rural dwelling.

From the early 1950s and the foundation of Esquivel onwards, a more experimental generation of new villages sprang up from the drawing boards of Alejandro de la Sota, José Luis Fernández del Amo, Miguel Herrero, Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo, Carlos Arniches, Antonio Fernández Alba, José Antonio Corrales, as well as from more established architects in the I.N.C. like José Borobio and Manuel Gonzalo. The search for a more abstract urban form to match the modernized vernacular implied that the grid and the block could lose their absolute character and be substituted by more organic plans and relationships between city and nature. In many of these examples, the plaza or civic center lost its traditional edges to merge within the inner

¹⁰¹ See Gabriel Ruiz Cabrero, *The Modern in Spain after 1948*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2001; Carmen Rodríguez and José Torres, *Grup R*, Barcelona, Gili, 1994. For the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra* see *El Manifiesto de la Alhambra 50 años después: el monumento y la arquitectura contemporánea*, Granada, Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2006; and the bibliography listed in Chapter Four.

or outer landscape. In other cases, the traditional four-sided square muted into a complex grouping of building that generated a variety of pedestrian interconnected public spaces, immersed into a park-like structure that would connect all the elements. Camillo Sitte's tenets of urban composition, which provided a traditional sense of identity to the villages built in the 1940s and early 1950s, were not rejected. They remained critical, although in a reinterpreted manner, to the implementation of that novel dialectic between tradition and modernity.

From 1952 onwards, architects like Alejandro de la Sota abandoned most of the regionalist references in the architecture of the dwellings, therefore emphasizing the overall volumes, stressing the contrast between the white walls and the void of the openings, and increasingly using one-sloped roofs to emphasize and play with the height of the walls and the scenographic effect of repetition. As he wrote,

A few of us love and feel the simple architecture, that without apparent science and which has cost us a lot to reach, because it is arrived at only with much sacrifice and discipline... We believe that to start from this *philosophy* of popular architecture is a valid direction... Starting from this *almost nothing* everything is to be done ... Now we feel and we want to reduce the architecture to its minimal essence, so that that the one that comes out of the test is a pure extract. We defend *poverty* in a fatuous and vain world, and for the record, it is not a comfortable position...¹⁰²

Esquivel or the Civic Center as Landscape

The architect of Gimenez was the one who first broke all formal and typological rules with the new town of Esquivel, a short distance from Seville. De la Sota designed Esquivel (1952) as a symmetrical fan-shaped figure, whose "rigidity" reflected the fact that "it was born all at once on a flat terrain."¹⁰³ An extensive system of pedestrian-only streets—*callejones* of 3,5 meters—and small squares—*plazoletas* of 14 x 14 and 14 x 17-meter—gave access to the front of the patio houses, whereas another system of streets, wider and bordered by high courtyard walls, concentrated all the agricultural traffic. The real innovation of Esquivel was the long, symmetrical and curved façade that faced the regional road across a large park, within which stood the town hall, a garden pavilion, and the church complex with its own patio. For the first time in the I.N.C. experience, church and town hall did not contribute urbanistically as the walls

¹⁰² Moisés Puente (ed.), *Alejandro De La Sota: Escritos, Conversaciones, Conferencias*, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2002, p. 26; quote from "Carta a la dirección de la *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, unpublished dactylographic document at the Fundación Alejandro de la Sota, Madrid: "Unos cuantos amamos y sentimos la arquitectura simple, sin ciencia aparente, a la que nos ha costado mucho llegar, porque se llega a ella solamente con mucho sacrificio y disciplina... Creemos que también es un camino partir de esta *filosofía* de la arquitectura popular; las formas son aparte. Esperamos, saliendo de aquí, llegar a algo; partiendo de esta *casi nada*, hay que crearlo todo, y ya se sabe que solo hay arte cuando hay creación... Ahora sentimos y deseamos reducir al mínimo la arquitectura para que, la que salga de la prueba, sea puro extracto. Defendemos la *pobreza* en un mundo fatuo y engreído, y que conste que no es una posición cómoda..."

¹⁰³ Alejandro de la Sota, "El Nuevo Pueblo de Esquivel," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 133, January 1953, p. 16.

of the square, but rather rose as a corporeal, freestanding, and somewhat surrealist complex within the landscape. The enclosed *plaza mayor* that defined the first generation of 1940s towns had morphed into a kind of *open plaza* or *plaza as landscape*. De la Sota, in an ambiguous way, concluded, “in the end, the good impression that Esquivel has to give from the main road is completely assured; and that is the point of propaganda.”¹⁰⁴ In the first generation of villages, the distinct architectonic element of the plaza was the high church tower that formed an integral part of the church and functioned as a visual symbol identifying the towns from afar. In Esquivel, for the first time, the tower was detached from the church and treated like a separate element of the composition.

Some historians and critics have attempted to set up the design history of Esquivel as a sort of battle between reactionary and progressive thinking within the I.N.C. In essence, they have emphasized the negative criticism that José Tamés issued regarding the project as reactionary in contrast with de la Sota's progressive arguments. They also derided Tamés's own and contemporary project of Torre de la Reina as being excessively traditional and imbued with, negative in their eyes, a Sitte-based urban design approach.¹⁰⁵ Torre de la Reina, built less than ten kilometers away, was indeed more traditional in urban form with its monocentric layout and its arcaded, in actuality very beautiful, square. However, it was, at the same time than Esquivel, the first town to feature the full concept of separation of traffic and to adopt at the appropriate scale the diagrams that Alejandro Herrero had published in *R.N.A.* in 1948.¹⁰⁶ Manuel Gonzalo Rosado had partially applied the concept in the town of Valdelacalzada (1947), but de la Sota and Tamés made the separation of traffic an integral part of their town design, both in the organization of the fabric and in the design of the streets. As a result, the two villages presented the narrowest and most pedestrian-friendly streets of the entire colonization.

Actually, Esquivel was equally influenced by Sitte's theories, albeit in a new way. Like Herrero, de la Sota was a participant in the 1954 *Sesión de Crítica* held by the periodical *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* under the title “Possibilities that the typical neighborhoods of Andalusia can offer to contemporary urbanism”?¹⁰⁷ Following a historic introduction that emphasized the Muslim roots of both the morphological and typological characteristics of the old neighborhoods of Seville, the participants discussed the quality of the streets, the separation of traffic and functions, the advantage of the patio house, and other aspects such as the perspective of the streets, the terminating vistas, and in general the application of urban principles that Camillo Sitte had described and theorized in his *Der Städtebau*. The session was heavily disputed, but most participants reinforced the importance of the principles whose

¹⁰⁴ Alejandro de la Sota, “Memoria – Esquivel,” Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, September 4, 1952, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ See Manuel Calzada Pérez and Víctor Pérez Escolano, *Pueblo de Esquivel, Sevilla: 1952-55*, Almería: Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 2009.

¹⁰⁶ Alejandro Herrero, op. cit.

¹⁰⁷ See “Posibilidades que tienen los barrios típicos andaluces para el urbanismo actual: sesión de crítica de arquitectura celebrada en Sevilla,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 155, November 1954, pp. 19-48.

applications had generated the Andalusian neighborhood, and their potential modernity. The intervention of Alejandro Herrero also shed light upon the level of knowledge and references that permeated the Spanish architectural culture. He published the plans of the Quartiere Q.T.9 (R. Pontecorvo, for 1,057 residences), the competition for the Quartiere Saint Gobain in Pisa (R. Nicolini), the residential unit Falchera in Turin (Astengo, Molli Boffa, Passanti, et al.), and the residential unit of Marghera-Mestre (Samoná, Piccinato, et al.). He commented on the new understanding of picturesque design being experimented in Europe:

... the current trend is to abandon the design of repetitive and unlimited streets, and to look for alternative layouts, with closed perspectives and angled intersections corner, as in these pleasant examples of Falchera (Turin) or Vällingby (Stockholm), with the goal of achieving much more pleasant neighborhoods to live than those of the current cities.¹⁰⁸

In contrast with these large-scale and international examples that reflected the desire to move away from pre-war rationalist principles of urban design as advocated by the CIAM, de la Sota discussed Esquivel, the only mentioned *pueblo* in the conversation, stating that he had “analyzed and revealed the essence of those neighborhoods [of Seville] and that the new town was a “contemporary translation thereof.”¹⁰⁹ Likewise, in his description of the design process for Esquivel, de la Sota made clear that the tenets of Camillo Sitte were of fundamental importance:

...tortuous streets, we make them curved, geometrically curved, because the rope and the compass were invented to regularize the curves designed ‘sentimentally’; the goal, at any rate, is to achieve constantly changing and closed perspectives.¹¹⁰

Furthermore, he insisted on the need for peace and tranquility achieved by the total separation of traffic:

We were all concerned with the peace that is enjoyed in so many neighborhoods of Seville. There is no other peace than that born from the separation of traffic.... [In Esquivel] the two traffics were rigidly separated, and apart from the immense advantages of such a peace, it has the other great one of allowing us to use in the pedestrian streets carefully chosen pavements that we know must endure....¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, p. 35: “Creo que puede decirse que la tendencia actual es abandonar las calles indefinidas, repetidas, y buscar las disposiciones recogidas con perspectivas cerradas, la rinconada, como en estos agradables ejemplos de Falchera (Turín) o Vällingby (Stockholm), logrando unos barrios mucho más agradables de vivir que los de las ciudades actuales.”

¹⁰⁹ “Posibilidades que tienen los barrios,” p. 43.

¹¹⁰ Ibidem: “Calles estrechas, las hacemos de 3,5 metros, y en pequeños ramales, entre tapias de dos metros de anchura; la sombra en esta Andalucía es imprescindible como el pan. Calles tortuosas, las hacemos curvas, pues la cuerda y el compás nacieron para regular las curvas hechas al sentimiento; el fin, en cualquier caso, es conseguir perspectivas cambiantes y cerradas.” Obviously, de la Sota interpreted Sitte in a more liberal way but his insistence on these principles give the lie to the critics and historians who have systematically accused architects who used Sitte’s principles to be conservative slaves of the picturesque.

¹¹¹ Ibidem.

Written within the administrative context of the I.N.C. those comments could have been suspicious, but here in a published *Sesión de Crítica* he was free to vent his ideas clearly and without reservation. He went further and suggested that the solutions adopted could be tailored to residential urban neighborhoods: “Of course, this is a small and humble agricultural town, full of corrals; but if we substitute the name (and the concept) of corral by garden and carriage ... by car, we could make Esquivel a neighborhood of gentlemen.”¹¹² Moreover he defended the symmetry of Esquivel against the critics of some participants: “on this level land, it is more an architect’s work to draw curves with the compass than to invent sinuous lines and picturesque towns; of these already have been enough trials in Spain.”¹¹³ Thus, de la Sota’s own words made clear that Sitte’s principles were valid for his own practice but needed to be reinvented. Moreover, full symmetry was a design choice relevant in some cases but in no way contradictory with modernity. In the same 1954 *Sesión de Crítica*, Pedro Bidagor advocated the use of urban rules that avoided the excess of geometric systems:

The street, as scenario of life, has esthetic requirements that must be taken into account as circulation and ventilation. A straight and horizontal street without end is inexpressive and esthetically to be rejected [...] In order not to abuse the principle of the terminated vista nor exceed the esthetic distance, streets should break or curve.¹¹⁴

Likewise, he mentioned that “triangular and funnel-shaped squares are particularly appropriate, as are plazas divided into various sections or constituted as a succession of smaller spaces. It is useful here to remember the laws established by Camillo Sitte.”¹¹⁵ The conclusions of the session advocated a new approach to the design of urban neighborhoods with a clear separation of traffic, a uniform concept of the block that allowed for private and public life and, if possible, allowing a connection between the street and the interior for public interaction, an esthetic approach to the design of the streets taking into account their width and their heights as well as necessary deviations to create changing and terminated vistas, as well as a similar concern for the squares. Furthermore, the participants discussed the modern patio dwelling as a “fundamental element to organize the interior of the blocks, with its double character of individuality for the private house and collective for the groupings of dwellings.”¹¹⁶ It is to be noted that, at the same time and on the other side of the Atlantic, the Spanish exiled architect José Luis Sert was, from Harvard University, advocating the same approach with his essay “Can Patios Make Cities?” published in 1953. The similarity of the arguments and even of the

¹¹² Ibidem, p. 44: Claro es que éste es un pequeño y humilde pueblo agrícola, lleno de corrales; pero si sustituimos el nombre (y el concepto) de corral por jardín y el de carro... por automóvil, podríamos hacer de Esquivel un barrio de señores.”

¹¹³ Ibidem, p. 46: “es más de arquitecto, sobre este terreno llano, el trazar curvas de compás que inventarse líneas sinuosas y pueblos pintorescos; de éstos ya se han hecho bastantes ensayos en España.”

¹¹⁴ Ibidem, pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 29. Bidagor also argued in favor of the insertion of elements and moments of modernity, “If the use of abstraction avoids being abtruse and ‘snob,’ it could be an objective, simple but not devoid of interest”: pp. 25-26.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem.

references to potential new suburban neighborhoods is striking and reinforces the fact of a strong continuity not only between prewar and postwar concepts in postwar Civil War, but also between the so-called conservative and progressive camps.¹¹⁷

Designed by de la Sota himself while he was developing the project, the extensive and beautiful publication of Esquivel in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* sent a signal that the monocentric pattern deployed until then was up for review and reinterpretation.¹¹⁸ The plaza, conceived as a landscape of interconnected objects, became de la Sota's signature and he applied it in very inventive ways to his other pueblos. If Esquivel's fan design could be understood as a section of a potential circle, Entrerríos—also a work by de la Sota as part of the Plan Badajoz in 1953-1954—showed itself clearly as 'utopian.' An early sketch shows the town fully circular as a modern reinterpretation of the Renaissance diagram of the Ideal City. He maintained the concept partially and organized the plan around "a square in elliptical form"—in actuality a park—within which he located a circular church and its attached rectory.¹¹⁹ In Entrerríos, Esquivel and the other villages of La Bazana (1954) and Valuengo (1954), he introduced a subtle and playful commentary on the social or physical context within which those villages were being built. The public architecture reinterpreted, often with quirky details that suggest a serious touch of irony, the simple white volumes of the public buildings of the region.¹²⁰

Fernández del Amo: Landscape and Abstraction

Like de la Sota, José Luis Fernández del Amo did not participate in the *Sesiones de la Alhambra* and he did not sign the Manifiesto published in 1953. However, he had worked for the D.G.R.D. between 1942 and 1947 and in that position worked for more than one year within the perimeter of the Alhambra under the direction of Prieto Moreno. From there he traveled a lot in the countryside and impregnated himself of the value of popular architecture. Unsurprisingly, Fernández Alba recalled Fernández del Amo's familiarity with the monument and his description of the complex could be applied directly to the twelve villages he designed between 1951 and 1968:

¹¹⁷ Paul Lester Wiener and José Luis Sert, "Can Patios Make Cities?", *Architectural Forum* 99, n° 2, August 1953), pp. 124-131. Also see Carola Barrios, Can Patios Make Cities? Urban Traces of TPA in Brazil and Venezuela," *ZARCH (Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies on Architecture and Urbanism)*, n° 1, 2013, pp. 70-81.

¹¹⁸ Alejandro de la Sota, "El Nuevo Pueblo de Esquivel," pp. 15-22.

¹¹⁹ Alejandro de la Sota, "Memoria – Entrerríos," Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, December 1, 1953, p. 1.

¹²⁰ See chapter Seven for a full discussion of de la Sota's pueblos. Also see Rubén Cabecera Soriano, *Los pueblos de colonización extremeños de Alejandro de la Sota*, Badajoz: Gobierno de Extremadura, Consejería de Educación y de Cultura, 2014. Between 1956 and 1957, de la Sota was also involved in the design of dispersed houses in the region of Lugo. The existence of this project, like others in Aragón, reflect the continuity of the debate between the concentrated (pueblo) and dispersed model (influenced by Italy with isolated houses and a small uninhabited civic center. See E. Zas Gómez, "A Terra Chá de Lugo, un caso atípico de poblado I.N.C.," in *Arquitectura, ciudad e ideología antiurbana*, 2002, pp. 197-203.

There one could discover the constructive rationality of the spaces, the organic repertory in the flow of its plan organization, the overcoming of the distinction between exterior and interior, the adequation to the natural environment, the functionality of its materials, the formal freedom and a box-like interpretation of space that matched the tenets that cubism had established as indispensable to develop the modern project in architecture.¹²¹

In actuality, it was his 50-house village of Belvis del Jarama near Madrid (1951) that showed the very first signs of change and architectural modernity at the I.N.C. Making a subtle use of the first hillside location in the colonization, Fernández del Amo made clear that, in his desire to capture the essence of the vernacular, he intended to renew the architectural language of the houses and public structures, moving quickly toward abstraction.¹²² To be sure, his ability to reinvent not only the form of each village, the dwelling typologies, and the relationship with the landscape was unique within the context of the Institute and within the international history of small town urban design. Making a very inspired use of topography and interpretation of the geography, his 1950s designs included the 'landscape' projects of Torre de Salinas (1951, unbuilt, Toledo) and Vegaviana (1954, Cáceres); the *Siedlung*-influenced grid pattern of San Isidro de Albaterra (1953, Alicante); the *cardo/decumanus* of El Realengo (1957, Alicante) and Las Marinas (1958, Almería); the diamond-like grid pattern of Villalba de Calatrava (1955, Ciudad Real); and the distorted checkerboard of Campohermoso (1958, Almería).¹²³

With Vegaviana, Fernández del Amo challenged all the principles that the I.N.C., and even de la Sota had followed until then. He planned the settlement of 180 houses in the midst of a thousand-year old landscape of oak trees. Aware that the countryside would disappear over time for cultivation, he decided to conserve the oak groves throughout the town as natural relics and monuments. He allowed the landscape to penetrate the whole organism, and made it indispensable to the loose definition of the streets and squares. Blocks become like groupings of attached patio houses that could be read as large-scale objects or urban fragments within the urban context. The *plaza mayor* with its church, town hall, and shops still came into view but its edges mutated into an informal and poetic mix of built fabric and landscape. Thanks to the poetic photographs of Joaquín del Palacio Kindel, Vegaviana became the iconic manifesto of the Institute of Colonization, as well as the most published and commented of all I.N.C. pueblos. Following its exhibition at the U.I.A. 1958 Congress in Moscow, Vegaviana received the Gold Medal of Architecture at the São Paulo Biennale of 1961. Oscar Niemeyer, who presided the deliberations of the jury, wrote in the catalogue:

¹²¹ Antonio Fernández Alba, "Arquitecturas para una sonata de primavera," in José Luis Fernández del Amo, *Fernández del Amo, Arquitectura 1942-1982*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1983, pp. 5.

¹²² For a detailed analysis of Fernández del Amo's works at the I.N.C., see Chapter Seven.

¹²³ On the works of Fernández del Amo, see Miguel Centellas Soler, *Los pueblos de colonización de Fernando del Amo: Arte, arquitectura y urbanismo*, Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2010; *Fernández del Amo: Arquitecturas 1942-1982*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1983.

His best work of architecture is the one he realized with this module of humanity and direct action that the work for the National Colonization Institute has given him. He has seen in the simple dwelling of the settler the archetype of an architecture that was born from man and helps him to live his life fully ... The urbanistic concept of his settlements derives from that particular premise of living one's life better."¹²⁴

The Plaza Re-conceptualised

De la Sota and Fernández del Amo were undoubtedly the most inventive, and the most published, architects and urbanists in the history of the I.N.C. Their morphological and typological experiments were unique and quite idiosyncratic, yet they opened the way to a full-fledged reconceptualization of the general urban form and, more importantly, of the concept of plaza. In Esquivel and Entrerríos, the traditional four-sided square as a void within the town plan morphed into a grouping of buildings immersed into a park; in San Isidro de Albaterra, Fernández del Amo replaced the plaza by the alignment of the public buildings along a linear avenue-park; in Villalba de Calatrava he emphasized the complete artificiality—the man-made—of the layout in front of the—natural—landscape, and laid out eight identical plazas including the plaza mayor.

In the hands of other architects, a series of new concepts, some of them quite radical, emerged during the same decade. A comparison of Esquivel with the contemporary town of Coto de Bornos (1952, Fernando Cavestany, Cádiz) was particularly striking. The plan in *abanico* was quite similar to Esquivel, but the plaza was reabsorbed at the back of the town fabric. There, Cavestany designed a spectacular grouping of buildings that can be entirely circumnavigated: the church sits on axis, in the center with a large courtyard structure housing services and commercial spaces to its left and the school organized in two parallel bars to its right. Likewise, in Valdebótoa (1957, Manuel Gonzalo Rosado, Badajoz), El Bayo (1954, José Beltrán Navarro, Zaragoza), Torviscal (1957, Victor D'Ors, Badajoz), Vegas Altas del Guadiana (1957, Badajoz), and Gargaligas (1956, Manuel Bastarreche, Badajoz), to mention some of the earliest examples, the plaza as a void disappeared to be replaced by a civic center designed as a grouping of buildings located with one or more full blocks, interconnected by porticoes, arcades, patios and landscape as essential elements of spatial cohesion. In rare cases, the civic center consisted of one single building shaped and articulated around a garden, a strategy that José

¹²⁴ Oscar Niemeyer, catalogue of the 1961 Biennale of São Paulo where Del Amo received the Gold Medal, quoted by José de Castro Arines, "José Luis Fernández Del Amo: una vieja amistad," in *Fernández Del Amo: Arquitecturas 1942-1982*, pp. 12-13: "Su mayor obra de arquitectura es la realizada con ese módulo humano y de acción directa que la labor del Instituto Nacional de Colonización le ha brindado. Ha visto en la simple vivienda de un colono el arquetipo de una arquitectura que parte del hombre y sirve para su plena expansión vital. Este criterio ha marcado la personalidad de su obra, y de manera muy destacada en las viviendas unifamiliares de encargo privado. El concepto urbanístico de sus pueblos parte de esa premisa del mejor vivir individual."

Borobio explored beautifully in Valfonda de Santa Ana (1957, José Borobio, Huesca) and in Alera (1960, José Borobio, Zaragoza).

The young architect José Antonio Corrales, also to become one of the champions of modern architecture in association with Ramón Vázquez Molezún, designed and built three pueblos. Guadalimar (1954, Jaén) was relatively traditional in urban form, but his innovations were essentially typological and architectural, with the generic use of a dimensional module. Villafranco del Gadiana (1955, Badajoz) was the first linear village, with a “propagandistic” 460 meters long façade, at the center of which the architect planned the civic center as a grouping of volumes and patios that can be interpreted as a consequence of the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*. Llanos del Sotillo (1956, Jaén) was perhaps the most radical proposal of all I.N.C. villages. Corrales replaced the traditional streets with linear groupings of two-story houses, separated by a pedestrian alley and connected at intervals with bridge-houses. He aligned six groups symmetrically on both sides of a linear and narrow civic building that contains the town administration, the school classrooms, a slightly sunken covered plaza with pilotis, and the church.¹²⁵ Interestingly, Llanos del Sotillo became a village-machine: the linear building is an *edificio-espacio*, i.e., a building that is simultaneously both a public building and a public space. One year later, another group of future leaders of Spanish modern architecture, José Luis Iñiguez de Onzono, Joaquín Ruiz, Antonio Vázquez de Castro, and Rafael Leoz designed the village of Santa María de las Lomas (1957, Cáceres). Even though it was not completed as planned, the village—a small scale and rural version of Le Corbusier’s St. Dié reconstruction plan of 1946—stands as an important experiment in abstract composition and prefabricated construction.

Continuity

Ultimately, all the architects of the I.N.C. responded to the changes that were occurring within the Spanish architectural milieu, even though the innovations brought in by the newer breed of architects did not fundamentally modify the general directions of urban design. The grid or more frequently the articulation of various gridded fields continued to be used as the generic model of urban form. At the same time, architects increasingly introduced curvilinear patterns of streets that hybridized the layout and responded to topographically more challenging terrains. The plaza as matrix lost its preponderance, but the model continued to produce some beautiful towns, among which it is worth mentioning Alberche del Caudillo (1952, Manuel Jiménez Varea, Toledo), Talavera la Nueva (1952, César Casado de Pablos, Toledo), Puebla de Argeme (1957, Germán Valentín-Gamazo, Cáceres), Rosalejo (1956, José Manuel González Valcárcel, Cáceres), Guadalcaçín del Caudillo (1953, Manuel Lacasa y Suárez-Inclán, Cádiz), and Los Guadalperales (1956, Julián Manzano-Monis, Badajoz). As it appears within the straight grid

¹²⁵ José Antonio Corrales, “Memoria – Llanos del Sotillo,” Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, December 1956, p. 2.

of the town, the plaza of Los Guadalperales, square, densely planted and faced with the traditional public structures, was reminiscent of the town of La Luisiana, one of the *Nuevas Poblaciones* in the province of Seville. The curved façade of the church even suggested a modern version of the Baroque tradition. Noteworthy were the school buildings that Manzano-Monis staggered obliquely from the central plaza to the perimeter road to benefit from the best orientation—a configuration that was repeated in many town plans. In other villages, the introduction of curved streets and more organic patterns of streets and squares produced diversification within continuity: San Ignacio del Viar (1954, Aníbal Gonzalez Gómez, Sevilla) with its quarter circle of curved streets, Santa Engracia (1954, Antonio Barbany Ballo, Zaragoza), and Valsalada (1954 José Borobio, Huesca) were interesting examples of this design strategy.

In an isolated location west of the highway Mérida-Seville, Carlos Sobrini Marín designed Rincón de Ballesteros (1953, Cáceres), a small village organized symmetrically on an axis perpendicular to the main road that separates the church and the school from the square and the town itself. Most remarkable is the rigorously geometric square bordered on two sides by the town hall, shops and non-agricultural worker dwellings, whereas the third side facing the church overlooks and connects to the lower section of the village with a large staircase. The pure and abstract arcades that surround the square bring to mind the Italian painter Giorgio De Chirico as a rare transplant of the metaphysical image of Italian Pontine towns near Rome. One year later, Sobrini conceived the town of Sáncho Abarca (1954, Zaragoza) with, at its heart, a circular *plaza mayor* that made a direct reference to the traditional *plaza de toros*. José Subirana used another unusual geometry when he designed the ambitious masterplan for the village of Alagón del Caudillo (1957, Cáceres). The helix structure of the plan was not completed, but its center was built as a triangular village organized symmetrically on two sides of a triangular *plaza mayor* containing the church and some large-scale agricultural silos.

During the 1950s, a variation on the mono-centric model appeared with more frequency: the Open Plaza. The square or civic center remained the primary public space of representation for the community, but its position within the town plan was radically changed. Instead of occupying the center, the plaza was located on the edge of the town, usually in relationship with the primary access road and separated from it with a paseo or linear park. This pattern, frequent in the towns of the Plan Badajoz and Plan Jaén, had the advantage of eliminating a lot of interior traffic and creating a more visible and “propagandistic” image from the road. El Chaparral (1957, José García-Nieto Gascón, Granada), Cinco Casas (1960, Pedro Castañeda Cagigas, Ciudad Real), Alvarado (1961, Jesús Ayuso, Badajoz), and La Alcazaba (1956, Manuel Rosado Gonzalo, Badajoz) were some of the clearest examples of this morphology. In his design for Estella del Marqués (1954, Fernando Cavestany, Cádiz), Cavestany followed strictly the separation of circulation and produced a very human-scale checkerboard of pedestrian streets and passages dominated by the acropolis-like civic plaza whose arcades provided a panoramic view over the town and its countryside.

The Polycentric Model

In an important formal alternative, some architects decided to separate the town hall and the church, or to separate the representative square (town hall and church) from the more active and commercial one. In doing so, they developed a more complex organization of public spaces, which generally relied on a *paseo* as connecting element within the grammar of Spanish urban spaces. The early town of Ontinar de Salz in Aragón, designed by José Borobio in 1944, was articulated around two differentiated squares—the church square on one end and the plaza mayor with its town hall with commercial structures on the other end—linked together by a large *paseo*.¹²⁶ Yet, it is in the 1950s and 1960s that the polycentric model was applied with more frequency. Pueblo Nuevo de Gadiana (1952, Miguel Herrero Urgel, Badajoz) featured an elegant curved tree-planted boulevard articulating a rectangular church plaza, located on the entrance side of the town, and a town hall and commercial square, at the other end. In Sagrajas (1954, Alfonso García Noreña, Badajoz), the freestanding tower of the church articulates the vistas and the two plazas of the gridded village. In the same area, Novelda del Gadiana (1954, Julián Luis Manzano-Monis, Badajoz) consists of a regular grid and a couple of curvilinear streets that make the blocks align with the irregular edge of the fields, but its main features are the three generously scaled plazas articulated by a prominent church and connected by the main street and a short boulevard. South of Badajoz, San Francisco de Olivenza and San Rafael de Olivenza form a duet of interesting villages whose layouts follow the contour lines of the topographically complex sites. The church of San Francisco (1954, Manuel Jiménez Varea, Badajoz) stands on a beautiful L-shaped plaza as a vernacular acropolis at the higher point of the town; a pedestrian staircase located in a small park connects it to the residential and commercial center. For San Rafael de Olivenza (1954, Badajoz), the same architect Manuel Jiménez Varea designed the village on a similar pattern, with the modern church and its slender tower in a panoramic situation.

In 1954, Carlos Arniches Moltó, an architect known for the Hippodrome of the Zarzuela in Madrid realized in collaboration with Martín Domínguez and Eduardo Torroja (1931), designed the village of Gévora del Caudillo (1954, Badajoz). Because of the narrowness of the site—an elongated plateau dominating an important road and a river near Badajoz—the fully symmetrical town plan was structured on both sides of a single main street whose unique geometrical pattern create unexpected spatial effects of dilation and compression as one progresses through the town. Like in Gévora, Arniches also designed Algallarín (1953, Córdoba) along a prominent central axis. At the point of intersection with two diagonal streets, it opens on a rectangular square that hosts mixed-use buildings. At its western end, the street dissolves into a circular square, fronted by the church and town hall, and establishes the transition with the countryside.

¹²⁶ José Borobio Ojeda, "Pueblo de Ontinar de Salz (Zaragoza) – Instituto Nacional de Colonización," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 125, May 1952, pp. 14-16.

5.3.3. The 1960s: Toward a more Mechanistic Modernity

The 1960s continued to bring new urban design and architectural energy. All of the urban principles that characterized the 1950s continued to be applied simultaneously, but the polycentric model and the civic center conceived of as an assemblage of urban objects connected by landscape, arcades, patios and other urban devices were gradually preferred. Due to the intensive use of more powerful mechanical equipment (cars, trucks and tractors), the cultivation radius of most villages increased from 2,5 to about 5 kilometers, often resulting in larger towns and the need for larger and more diversified public spaces. At the same time, the marked transition toward a 'business' model increased efficiency versus community, the standardization of the building types, and wider facilities for traffic often transformed the tight fabric of the villages of the previous decades into a more traditional network of wider streets and the progressive abandonment of the narrow pedestrian lanes that had marked many projects in the 1950s.

As we have seen earlier, the "street as a project" was a fundamental design concept of the first phase of colonization, that of the 1940s and the early 1950s. Architects strove to produce the greatest diversity by combining various building types, mixing single-story with double-story buildings or sections of buildings, alternating single-slope with double-slope roofs as well as their orientation to the streets, recessing sections of the streets to create front patios, and generally speaking avoiding long rows and perspectives. Most towns were conceived as an architectural-urbanistic unit, without differentiation between these two aspects. Each element of the town being at the service of the whole, each house did not represent an independent volume, but was part of the greater unit that was the block; the block, in turn, became an integral element of the superior unit of the town. From the mid-1950s and especially during the 1960s, this extraordinary equilibrium between tradition and modernity, between functionality and ideology, started to evolve. New trends surfaced that pointed toward a less "social" and to some extent more "mechanistic" approach to town design.

First of all, the presence of larger mechanical equipment and especially the automobile became a novel feature in the design process. Architects started to include larger vehicular streets, wider intersections, and, in some cases, a reduction of the pedestrian-only spaces. As a result, the network of streets and spaces as in El Trobal (1962, Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo with Fernández del Amo, Seville), Nuevo Tous (1962, Antonio de Aroziegui, Valencia), or Hernán Cortes (1962, Manuel Rosado Gonzalo, Badajoz) acquired a less rural—and thus less urban—character. This is not a paradox, but the reflection of the fact that most *pueblos de colonización* were designed according to "urban" models transported to the rural world. In the 1960s, many streets started to lose some of their intimate character in favor of a more suburban or garden-city like atmosphere. Secondly, the 1960s marked the return to the orthogonal grid as primary layout. Towns like Aguas Nuevas (1963, Pedro Castañeda Cagigas, Albacete), Las Norias (1958, Manuel Jiménez Varea, Almería), Trajano (1963, Alberto Balbotín Polledo, Sevilla), Nuevo Tous (1962, Antonio de Aroziegui, Valencia), or Solanillo (1968, Francisco Langle Granados,

Almería) epitomized the rationalized approach of the 1960s with the elimination of the spatial effects (distortions of the streets, curvilinear patterns, etc.) that were experimented earlier. More importantly, this newly found rationality was emphasized with the reduced number of building types and their unabashedly repetitive use. The aerial photographs of those towns reveal a quasi-mechanical approach to the repetition of the building types, particularly along the edges facing the fields. By eliminating the variations within the blocks and favoring instead the systematic repetition of the types (often without inversion), the architects made a potent statement of modernity, even though the buildings continued to be constructed in a traditional manner. Perhaps, they were trying to unambiguously recall some of most advanced *Siedlungen* of the 1920s from Gropius to May. To some extent, one can argue that this design strategy reinforced the effect of the facades as a “negation of the fields” to quote Ortega y Gasset, thus bringing abstraction to the very definition of the town edges and the interface with the countryside.

The New Generation

The experimental disposition of a new group of young architects was critical to this extremely resourceful last decade of colonization, yet, Fernández del Amo remained the leading figure of the 1960s, inventing new solutions like the ‘rings’ of farmhouses of La Vereda (1963, Sevilla) and Miraelrío (1964, Jaén), and especially Cañada de Agra (1962, Albacete). There in Cañada, the hilly landscape penetrates the town in the manner of densely planted fingers, which provide access to the residential section of the houses, with narrow landscaped streets connecting the back entrances to the agricultural patios. As for the civic center, he designed it in two separated parts: a regular arcaded plaza near the circumvallation road and the church complex with its tall brick tower on a hilly promontory, a scheme clearly influenced by Alvar Aalto’s urban works. Interestingly, it is Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo, one of the best and most versatile designers of the I.N.C. team, who designed the first village organized as a “ring” figure containing a civic center in the middle of a large green: as a matter of fact, Casar de Miajadas (Cáceres) was conceived in 1962, two years before its more famous follower, Miraelrío.

On Fernández del Amo’s recommendation, the young architect and architecture critic, Antonio Fernández Alba (1927-), was commissioned to design three villages. For El Priorato (1964, Sevilla), he laid out a linear plan 700-meter long by 250-meter in depth, symmetrically centered on the access street and its adjacent park. The town was fully pedestrian, and at its heart contained a civic center, scenographically conceived as a system of alleys and small patios to provide constantly changing views on the church, the town hall and the long and narrow streets, and whose inspiration was clearly the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*. One year later in Santa Rosalía near Málaga (1965, Málaga), he designed a completely different town, with a large program, consisting of two curvilinear sections, on both sides of an ample paseo containing a water canal. In Doñana now Torrealquería (1965, Málaga) and Cerralba (1962, Málaga), he made beautiful use of the topography: Torrealquería functions as a series of residential terraces

dominated by an acropolis-like the civic center; Cerralba, designed in collaboration with Fernández del Amo, was also crowned by the civic center, with a series of large vehicular streets and interior picturesque alleyways going down the hills.

Another young architect, Fernando de Terán, later to become a major historian of Spanish urbanism and urban planning, planned two villages in Andalusia, Sacramento (1965, Seville) and Setefilla (1965, Seville). De Terán was critical of what he considers a lack of true urban spaces in many villages and he conceived both projects accordingly. Sacramento was designed as a square-shaped super-block, one hundred per cent pedestrian, fully orthogonal with a diagonal symmetry revolving around two large public squares (church and town hall) placed diagonally at the center of the village, and two smaller residential squares equally distributed diagonally on the outskirts. In order to achieve the maximum civic interaction, de Terán used long facades of constant height that act as screens to set up the space of the very intimate streets and the sequence of squares. In Setefilla, also conceived as a pedestrian super-block, the public life was organized along a paseo that linked two pedestrian squares and the town hall with the church. The resulting urban arrangements suggested the appearance of “the large farms, closed to the outside but organized around large interior courtyards.”¹²⁷

As the Catholic Church was the official and uncritical pillar of Franco’s regime, the new churches played an important symbolic role in the planning of the new State. Their role in the countryside, particularly within the actuation of the I.N.C., was even more critical. The tall and increasingly modern and abstract campaniles that dotted the new landscapes of Franco’s hydro-social dream became important markers along the old and new country roads. From José Borobio’s El Temple to Fernández del Amo’s Cañada de Agra, the church and other public buildings—the schools have always made exception—were generally emphasized vertically and volumetrically, to distinguish them from the general fabric. This method of design of the 1940s and 1950s undoubtedly highlighted the political importance of church and state within the political moment. In the following decade, with the bureaucratization and progressive ideological liberalization of the regime, some architects like Antonio Fernández Alba and Fernando de Terán reversed the trend and initiated a process of further simplification of the public buildings. To some extent, they became increasingly organically designed and as such more and more an extension of the residential vernacular. Single slope roofs increasingly covered both sections of houses and public buildings; the height of the church nave, and of the tower as well, were dramatically reduced to make the scale of the public realm an increased extension of the private’s one.

Amidst this last phase of foundations, it is worth including the more traditional Valdivia (1963, Perfecto Gómez Álvarez, Badajoz) which is a large town organized around a generously sized plaza that extends linearly thanks to a large paseo, Villafranco del Guadalhorce (1962, Víctor López Morales, Málaga) and its exceptional arcaded center, Loriguilla (1961, Águstin Delgado

¹²⁷ Fernando de Terán, Memoria Pueblo de Sacramento, 1965, Dactylographic manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo San Fernando de Henares, p. 2.

de Robles, Valencia) and its scenic civic center on a hill connected by a large staircase to the main street, the polycentric, almond-shaped Fayón (1965, José Borobio Ojeda, Zaragoza), Pizarro (1961, Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo, Badajoz), and Hernán Cortés with its double-tower church facing straight on the road (1962, Manuel Rosado Gonzalo, Badajoz). Marismillas (1965, Jesús Hernández Arcos, Sevilla) and Chapatales (1968, Alberto Balbotín Polledo, Agustín Delgado Robles & Pablo Arias García, Sevilla), separated by less than 5 kilometers, feature two of the most sophisticated civic centers. Chapatales has three modernist plazas and one enclosed patio connected by a network of arcades supported by thin metallic columns; Marismillas has four green squares, also connected by arcades, and one of the most plastic churches of the colonization.

Built next to the Tous dam, Nuevo Tous (1962, Avelino de Arozieguí, Valencia) represented a new direction in planning that recognized the growing importance of vehicular traffic, both agricultural and residential, within rural life. Like in many other towns of the 1960s, the pedestrian-only streets disappeared and most lots were platted back to back without an alleyway. A new type of wider lot was established, characterized by a setback garage entrance accessing the working patio on the side of the dwelling proper. In Tous, the reliance on the larger streets in a fully orthogonal layout was mitigated by a T-shape system of planted avenues, connecting the main entrance, the town hall and the shops, the church and the rural offices, all immersed into green parks. Built near Gibraltar, Castellar de la Frontera (1967, José Tamés Alarcón and Manuel Rosado, Cádiz) embodied the twenty-five years of development, while bringing in changes in block design (many houses now have a front garden) and public spaces, within a context that reflected the international trends of suburbanization. Like in Tous, the streets are large, beautifully planted of orange trees, and the refined treatment of the interior landscape, both at the town level and at the parcel, suggests a transition toward a middle-class esthetic, away from the fully rural image of the first decades. The primary avenue of the town has the profile of a boulevard with residential lanes on both sides of the main transit areas. Taking advantage of the sloping terrain, the architects imagined an impressive civic center organized on two levels with a large terrace dominating the large central green. Entirely framed with arcaded galleries at every level, the center appears less rural and brings back memories of forgotten typologies connected to the plaza as the stage for the theater of life—the *corrales* of Lavapié in Madrid of those of Triana, Sevilla, admired by Aldo Rossi, and the plaza mayor of Chinchón.

5.4. THE HEART OF THE TOWN: FROM PLAZA MAYOR TO CIVIC CENTER:

5.4.1. Sources and Influences

According to the records of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (I.N.C.), 302 pueblos were built and catalogued between 1943 and 1971 when the Institute was dissolved. For a long time, many historians and critics have argued that the director of the Institute, José Tamés Alarcón imposed extreme order and criteria on the design of the towns and that the creativity of the architects was formally stifled. Nothing could be further from the truth. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the official norms that were issued in 1949 did not address the form of the villages but rather some general principles such as the importance of the plaza, the program of the town, and the number of housing units of each type. Most norms referred to functional requirements in relation to the expected size of the villages and their potential to expand if deemed likely or necessary. As a result, the architects benefited from a large degree of liberty in the search for an urban form that fulfilled the strict typological requirements. To be sure, the comments made by José Tamés and his administration regarding the most audacious and different projects were not always positive, but in actuality, the projects eventually came to fruition with, overall, limited modifications: that was the case for all modern architects that were involved and that will be discussed in details in the following page. In fact, no two towns were built alike. Some patterns were clearly distinguishable during the 1940s, but dimensions, plaza, organization and orientation of the streets, edges of the towns, system of access, etc., were unique for each project. Even though, at least during the first years, the steady power of Tamés was significant in trying to achieve a certain organic unity that would stay away from the regular grid of the colonization history and from the towns of the reconstruction led by the D.G.R.D. while continuing to enforce the ideology of the regime, the individual capacity of urban expression of each architect remained a fundamental tenet of the program.¹²⁸As Fernando de

¹²⁸ José Tamés's retrospective view of the actuation of the Institute as published in the periodical *Urbanismo* in 1988 must be mentioned. In collaboration with architect Luis Rodríguez-Avial, later to become director of the periodical and dean of the Colegio de Arquitectos in Madrid, he selected twelve towns, which by and large epitomized the evolution of town design from the *plaza mayor* model (El Torno, Torre de la Reina, Alberche del Caudillo) to towns organized around modern civic centers, with an emphasis on their relation to landscape and the use of curvilinear urban plans (Gévora del Caudillo, Vegaviana, Entrerríos, Casar de Miajadas, Valdebótoa, and Guadajira), and the polycentric examples of Gévora del Caudillo and Tous, one of the largest towns of the entire program already impacted by automobile design. The overall selection was quite balanced but the comments related to the housing typologies were intriguing. If Las Torres and El Torno remained the references for the first two models, they used the village of Miraelrío with its circle of houses around the civic center as example of a system—radial—that was only used twice. This was undoubtedly a huge distortion of what had been the main practice, placing the exceptional as rule. Likewise, in the description of the system of streets, Esquivel was used to explain the independence of circulation following Herrero's article, and even more strangely, the village-factory of Llanos del Sotillo with its semi-covered streets was used as pedestrian examples (only one out of so many). At the typological level, the article included a diagram of a colonist house of the latest generation. Although organized in relation to a patio and a corral, the selection was particularly banal as it showed a one-story house of unremarkable architecture. See José Tamés Alarcón, "Actuaciones del Instituto Nacional de Colonización, 1939-1970," *Urbanismo COAM*, nº 3, 1988, p. 4-12.

Terán wrote,

The creation of new settlements provided abundant opportunities for testing all kinds of arrangements that, coinciding sometimes with the forms adopted by Devastated Regions, generally occurred with greater freedom, moving between a certain type of clear geometric composition and the search for picturesque effects through fragmentary twists, sinuosities, asymmetries and false irregularities. All these techniques demonstrated the impossibility of the alleged recreation of traditional essences, which, on the other hand, was not the subject of serious and systematic investigation.”¹²⁹

De Terán’s remarks are particularly useful as they come from an architect who was involved in the program, albeit late and peripherally, but also developed his career as historian. They confirm that, in actuality, the new villages were modern creations that did not aspire at being replicates of traditional villages. However, their architects used some of their ingrained formal strategies in order to, in the general absence of the significant geographical features that have characterized the traditional *pueblos*, create the equivalent of their organic diversity. Squares as urban rooms of irregular or regular shape, irregular grids of streets and assemblages of grids, churches and town halls terminating vistas, a main street or *Calle Mayor*, deflected streets, arcades, covered passages, typological accentuation of the street corners: these were the primary elements of the grammar and the art of making cities that were deployed by the architects of the I.N.C. during the first phase of town design practice and genuine urbanistic experimentation. In order to achieve this degree of organic connection with the man-made and natural landscape of colonization, the architects used the described formal features that could be directly related to the principles put forth by Camillo Sitte in *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* of 1889.

Sitte’s first translation in Spanish by Emilio Canosa (*Construcción de ciudades según principios artísticos*) was published in 1927, but, in light of the important connections between Spanish and German architects, his ideas and concepts were more widespread than expected from the limited diffusion of the Spanish version.¹³⁰ As Carlos Sambricio pointed out, the German

¹²⁹ Fernando de Terán, “Los pueblos que no tenían historia: tradición y modernidad en la obra del Instituto Nacional de Colonización,” in *El pasado activo – del uso interesado de la historia para el entendimiento y la construcción de la ciudad*, Madrid: Akai, 2009, pp. 149-160 [155]: La creación de poblados nuevos proporcionó oportunidades abundantes para ensayar todo tipo de ordenaciones que, coincidentes a veces con las formas adoptadas por Regiones Devastadas, se produjeron en general con mayor libertad, moviéndose entre un cierto tipo de composición geométrica clara y la búsqueda de efectos pintoresquistas fragmentarios, a través de quiebras, sinuosidades, asimetrías y falsas irregularidades, sirviendo la experiencia para demostrar la imposibilidad de la pretendida recreación de las esencias tradicionales, lo que, por otra parte, no fue, en realidad, objeto de investigación seria y sistemática.

¹³⁰ See Victor Pérez Escolano, “La diffusione dei principi sittiani in Spagna e nell’America Ispanica,” in Guido Zucconi (ed.), *Camillo Sitte e i suoi interpreti*, Milano: FrancoAngeli, 1992, pp. 156-61. However, Pérez Escolano does not discuss the application of Sitte’s principles in post-Civil War Spain. For a more complete study of Sitte’s influence, it is important to refer to the role of César Cort: see María Cristina García González, “César Cort y la cultura urbanística de su tiempo - Redes internacionales y canales de difusión del urbanismo en la Europa de entreguerras,” *Cuadernos de Investigación urbanística*, nº 87, March-April 2013, pp. 6-68; María Cristina García González, *César Cort (1893-1978) y la cultura urbanística de su tiempo*, Madrid: Abada Editores, 2018.

influence dominated the School of Architecture in Madrid. In the field of urbanism, Camillo Sitte's book, the periodical *Der Städtebau*, and the treatise of Josef Stübben were the primary references used by César Cort, architect-urbanist and professor of Urbanology at the University of Madrid. In her dissertation titled "César Cort y la cultura urbanística de su tiempo" (2011), María Cristina García González emphasized the critical role of "pioneer of urbanism" that the Spanish architect and urbanist played within the first half of the 20th century. Cort entered the School of Madrid in 1918 and became the Chair of the special course title "Proyecto, trazado y saneamiento de poblaciones" which he reconfigured as "Urbanologia." Through his contacts and participation in the Interallied Congress of Paris of 1919 and London in 1920, he also introduced other actors such Eugène Hénard, John Nolen, Alfred Agache and Raymond Unwin among others. He was also a friend of George Burdett Ford, the American architect who worked in France after WW1 and was influential on the concept of reconstruction and Renaissance des Villes. As most of the architects involved in the I.N.C. were graduates from Madrid, the principles of Sitte were clearly influential to the burgeoning work even though he was never mentioned by name in documents related to the colonization.¹³¹

As we have seen earlier, the plaza at the center of the town plan was the first generic urban pattern of the entire I.N.C. process of colonization. I call it here the monocentric model, the *plaza mayor* type, or to use the term developed by Flores Soto, the *plaza as matrix*.¹³² In this model, the plaza constitutes the heart of the town and functions as the generator or matrix of the street system. Additionally, it implies that the plaza itself appears by the simple juxtaposition of the primary civic buildings (mostly the church and the town hall) and civil structures (shops, housing), thus constituting a void within the urban pattern. Undoubtedly and as discussed in Chapter 3, this morphology connects to the Spanish century-old practice of colonization and new foundations in Latin America and in the peninsula itself during the reign of Carlos III. However, the general conception of the first plazas mayores of the 1940s—including Gimeneles (1945), El Temple (1947) and Suchs (1945)—was often different. Depending on the specific street system that surrounds the square—grid, assemblage of grids, curvilinear, or hybrid—the square at the center of the I.N.C. acquired or generated diverse geometries.¹³³ To some extent, one can argue that one of the models was the pre-Renaissance plaza whose design resulted from preexisting patterns and subsequent urban transformations as could be seen, for instance, in Segovia, Pamplona, or Trujillo. Those plazas were definitely irregular and their very form could often be related to the particular contextual conditions, such as topography, connection to existing roads, and so on. In the 1950s, this morphology continued to develop, particularly in relation to the more frequent use of curvilinear or hybrid plans; yet, in the 1960s, the regular

¹³¹ Sitte's principles, based upon the personal physical experience of urban space that the Viennese historian and urbanist had experimented along his various travels in Central Europe and Italy, were at the basis of most of Spanish urbanism, even though Sitte never traveled to the peninsula.

¹³² See the already cited dissertation by José Antonio Flores Soto, "Aprendiendo de una arquitectura anónima: influencias y relaciones en la arquitectura española contemporánea – El I.N.C. en Extremadura," Dissertation, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2013.

¹³³ See Chapter Eight in this dissertation.

grid became again the predominant geometry in connection with the new rationalization and repetition of building types.¹³⁴

The monocentric model or *plaza as matrix* was the morphology that appeared in the majority of entries for the 1932 competition for agricultural towns in the Guadalquivir and Guadalhorce regions.¹³⁵ The premiated projects by Fernando de la Cuadra, the team Esteban de la Mora with Lacasa, Martí and Torroja, and the team Martín Domínguez with Arrillaga and de Zavala were all based upon an orthogonal grid and thus the proposed *plazas* were squares or rectangular. Some occupy an entire block, some a section of a block, some others were created by displacement of the grid in order to create a turbine effect. In some of their alternative solutions, the plan proposed an assemblage of grids and, therefore, the shape of the plaza was more irregular and resulted from the intersection of the street networks.¹³⁶ In general, It is quite obvious that the projects that resulted from the competition were a major influence on the first generation of towns of the I.N.C., in particular those which deployed the grid and the assemblage of grids as urban structure around the traditional *plaza mayor*.

To be sure, the urban design tenets dictated by director Tamés during the first years explain the relative consistency between the projects. However, their monocentric model differed quite radically from the one applied in the towns reconstructed by D.G.R.D. In the Chapter Three titled "The Ordered City: the Reconstruction of the Devastated Regions, I have analyzed in details what the planners of the D.G.R.D. intended as "trazados genuinamente españoles," the connections with the Laws of the Indies and the Nuevas Poblaciones, and how the architects of the Direction had applied those principles. The reconstructed towns by the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas adopted a relatively rigid model of grid and *plaza mayor*. Highly influenced by the neo-imperial vision of the first years of Franco's regime, the square or U-shaped plaza type dominated the projects of reconstruction. The fact that this type of square as a building did not appear once within the three hundred pueblos of the I.N.C. constitutes a demonstration of the independence of the I.N.C. architects from the rigid tenets of the early phase of the regime.

¹³⁴ It must be noted that the architects often referred to the central plaza as civic center (centro cívico). In our morphological classification, we will refer to those public spaces as plazas and will reserve the appellation of civic center for the distinctively modern and new morphology of the Open Plaza and Grouping of Buildings.

¹³⁵ See "Concurso de anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y del Guadalquivir," *Arquitectura* XVI, nº 10, December 1934, pp. 267-98.

¹³⁶ Although he did not mention the competition, Tamés Alarcón referred to it in an interview given to Delgado Orusco, see his essay Eduardo Delgado Orusco, "La experiencia del I.N.C. Una colonización de la modernidad (1939-1973)," in *Actas del congreso internacional "Arquitectura, ciudad e ideología antiurbana"* (Pamplona, 14 y 15 de marzo de 2002), Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, p. 88.

Italian Influences?

As Tamés Alarcón was the director and the official voice of the Institute, the discussion of the influences on the colonization process has been unavoidably framed within the terms of his own and limited writings. His first article of November 1948 published in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* emphasized the tradition of town foundations in Spain with a focus on the *Nuevas Poblaciones* of the 18th century, and briefly discussed the types of settlements established in Mussolini's Italy in the Pontine Marshes and other regions of *bonifica integrale*. In regard to that fundamental resource, he published the masterplan and an aerial view of Sabaudia (1934, Gruppo degli Urbanisti Romani), as well as the plan of the small town of Segezia (1938, Concezio Petrucci) in the Puglia region.¹³⁷ In 1988, almost two decades after his retirement from an Institute that he had led efficiently from 1943, he published a summary of the activities of the Institute and the principles that it had followed over its twenty-five years of activity. In this illustrated essay in *Urbanismo COAM*, he recapitulated the sources of the program:

At the beginning of the work of the Institute, no other foreign experiences were known than those of the colonization carried out by Mussolini, during the years 1931 to 1938, especially in the Italian Agro Pontino, and the moshavs and kibbutzs built in what was later to be the new State of Israel.¹³⁸

For Italy, he included illustrations of the regional plan of the Pontine reclamation, and the plan of Daunilia (D. Ortensi, 1936), a new settlement in the Puglia region, whose civic area formed a quite sophisticated assemblages of buildings and urban patios.

Many authors have discussed the potential influence of the Italian foundations on the designs of the I.N.C. The most systematic analysis was the work of José Antonio Flores Soto who, in his doctorate dissertation and some published articles, discussed the foreign influences on the practice of the I.N.C. Pablo Rabasco Pozuelo essay on the "Las influencias extranjeras en la Arquitectura y urbanismo del Instituto Nacional de Colonización" was also important, as well as similar discussions in Miguel Centellas Soler's monograph on the work of Fernández del Amo.¹³⁹ It is uncontested that the Italian experience of new foundations in reclaimed areas was very well known in Spain and that its impact—particularly in ideological, political, and

¹³⁷ See José Tamés Alarcón, "Proceso urbanístico de nuestra colonización interior," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 83, November 1948, pp. 413-24.

¹³⁸ See José Tamés Alarcón, "Actuaciones del Instituto Nacional de Colonización, 1939-1970," *Urbanismo COAM*, nº 3, 1988, p. 6.

¹³⁹ See José Antonio Flores Soto, "Pueblos de nueva fundación en la colonización de posguerra: comparación con las ciudades de la bonifica italiana del Ventennio," *Ciudad y Territorio* XLV, nº 178, 2013, pp. 731-50; José Antonio Flores Soto, *Aprendiendo de una arquitectura anónima: influencias y relaciones en la arquitectura española contemporánea: el I.N.C. en Extremadura*, Dissertation, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2013; José Antonio Flores Soto, "La construcción del lugar. La plaza en los pueblos del Instituto Nacional de Colonización," *Historia Agraria* nº 60, August 2013, pp. 119-54; Miguel Centellas Soler, *Los pueblos de colonización de Fernández del Amo: Arte, arquitectura y urbanismo*, Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2010; Pablo Rabasco Pozuelo, "Las influencias extranjeras en la arquitectura y urbanismo del Instituto Nacional de Colonización," *Goya: Revista de Arte*, nº 336, July-September 2011, pp. 254-269.

economical terms—was fundamental in the debate and organization of Franquist interior colonization. However, I contend that their influence on urban form was minimal and not comparable to the generic models provided by genuine Spanish sources, including the competition of 1932. Rabasco Pozuelo, who discussed the main elements of the international context, came to a relatively similar conclusion.¹⁴⁰

All Italian new towns of the 1930s had a monocentric, or in some cases, polycentric urban structure. Analyzing the new foundations in the Pontine Marshes, the Puglia region, and in Sardegna, it is difficult to detect real connections. Latina, originally Littoria, was conceived as a provincial capital. As such it has a complex radial and multipolar urban structure, similar to the schemes of the Ideal City, which was more urban in nature and, definitely, could not be influential. Most other *città di fondazione* like Sabaudia, Pontinia, Segezia, Pomezia, Aprilia, and others like Segezia and Daunilia were planned on a strict, orthogonal, Roman-based cardo-decumanus system with two axes intersecting at a central square. This strict and systematic concept was almost inexistent in the I.N.C. practice, even where a potential relation to Roman urbanism could have been warranted like in Valdelacalzada.¹⁴¹ Sabaudia's plan was structured around two squares connected by a central street: this polycentric model was used once in 1944 by José Borobio for the project of Ontinar de Salz, however it did not reappear until the 1950s and in a quite different formal organization. Flores Soto mentioned the case of Guidonia (1935, Alberto Calza Bini, Gino Cancellotti, Giuseppe Nicolosi) for his distinctive placement of the church on top of a hill overlooking the main section of the town, which he compared with the I.N.C. village of San Rafael de Olivenza (Badajoz). Strangely, the strict orthogonal layout of the Italian example of social housing reflects the mechanical and scientific background of the town, in full contrast with the organic and somewhat polygonal plan of the Spanish village. The only parallel between the two cases is the topography and the location of the church on higher ground.¹⁴²

In an analysis of three types of I.N.C. layouts—the monocentric at the intersection of streets, the displaced *plaza* on the edge of town, and the curvilinear—Flores Soto detected three examples of comparison. He established a formal connection between Segezia and the town of Puebla de Argeme (1957, Germán Valentín-Gamazo, Badajoz).¹⁴³ Their elongated squares show some similarities and have almost the same dimensions, but Puebla de Argeme was barely prototypical and only the monumental core of Segezia was built twenty years earlier, leaving in doubt any real influence beyond an abstract reading of the plan. More problematic even is Flores Soto's comparison between Villafranco del Guadiana, a work of José Antonio

¹⁴⁰ For a discussion of contacts and travels between Spain and Italy regarding the respective process, see Pablo Rabasco Pozuelo, *op. cit.*

¹⁴¹ See Ángel Jacinto Traver Vera, *Historia Cotidiana de Valdelacalzada* (Badajoz: Ayuntamiento de Valdelacalzada, 1998), and chapter Eight in this dissertation.

¹⁴² See Flores Soto, "La construcción del lugar," pp. 147-148. I believe that Flores Soto intended to compare San Francisco de Olivenza, which, like in Guidonia, has the church on the hill connected to the lower part of the town with a staircase. Even if correct, the comparison remains totally unconvincing.

¹⁴³ Flores Soto, "La construcción del lugar," p. 148 (illustration 8).

Corrales, and Daunilia in the Puglia region. First of all, Daunilia was never built; secondly, its symmetrical structure anchored by a building on axis could not be further distant from Corrales's highly modernist concept of series of public structures, conceived as self-centered objects and aligned along a park. There is of course one element of similarity, which is the fact that all public buildings were aligned and defined a long façade along the road, but beyond that monumental edge, there is nothing similar in design. Last but not least, it is difficult to imagine why Corrales, self avowed avant-garde architect would imitate an unbuilt project in Italy which was never published.¹⁴⁴ In the third example, Flores Soto parallels the village of La Bazana (Alejandro de la Sota) with the industrial town of Arsia in Italy (Pulitzer Finali, 1936, now located in Croatia under the name of Raša). Both towns have indeed an elongated curvilinear structure that respond to their geographic location, a narrow linear valley in Arsia and a small plateau in La Bazana. Yet beyond that fact, they share no common aspect in terms of layout and typology. Actually, in conclusion, these are forced comparisons that seem intent to deny the intellectual autonomy of the I.N.C. architects.¹⁴⁵

Eventually, even if one wants to admit a connection in isolated cases and decides to only consider the morphology of the monocentric model, the major discrepancy between the I.N.C. diversity and the relatively repetitive aspect of the Italian foundations would prevent us of considering it an acceptable influence one at the urbanistic level. Moreover, as already mentioned, the Italian towns projected the image of their small and monumental centers with little or, more often than not, no presence of the residential quarters even when they were planned as part of the original masterplan. To the contrary, the modern village in Spain was first of all a question of modernizing the dwelling situation and there is no doubt that the quality and esthetics of the streets and blocks gave to the pueblos what lacked in the Italian equivalents, i.e., a real small-town fabric. Hundreds of aerial photographs realized by *Paisajes españoles* made clear that it was the town as a whole that was the primary focus, with the *plaza* or civic center playing a secondary role in this medium. It is the modern concept of repetition—repetition of building types, streets, and other elements—that those images emphasized versus the static role of the Italian centers.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Interestingly, Flores Soto does not discuss the unique structure of Daunilia's town center whose assemblage of buildings, gardens, and urban patios offers some similarities with the advanced projects.

¹⁴⁵ Flores Soto remarks correctly in his drawings that both towns have a civic center at their entrance, but their respective scales and organization are so different that the comparison is nothing but weak.

¹⁴⁶ In his essay of 2015, "On Urbanism in the Early Years of Francoism," Sambricio again intuits that the Italian *città di fondazione* were the models for the D.G.R.D. and the I.N.C.: see Carlos Sambricio, in *Urbanism and Dictatorship – a European Perspective*, Harald Bodenschatz, Piero Sassi and Max (eds.) Welch Guerra, p. 130. In my opinión, they were sources of inspiration but not models.

Influences from Palestine?

Returning to Tamés's essay of 1970, it is important to note the publication of four views of Zionist settlements: the plan and aerial view of the multi-unit moshav of Omen, the moshav of Nahalal, and a plan showing Nahalal within a regional network of moshav Be'it Shearim, Kefar Yehoshua, and Ramat David.¹⁴⁷ All those examples shared a type of radial, semi-radial or triangulated geometry that imprinted the organic division of the territory in private and highly individualistic cultivation fields, i.e., the villages were a reflection of the land subdivision. Rabasco Pozuelo wrote that the first publication in Spain of Palestine's new settlements was in a reproduction of an aerial photograph of an unnamed moshav (in fact Nahalal) in *Informe de la Construcción* in February 1950. The image was published as well as *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* (1949) but the architects of the I.N.C. may have been familiar with earlier publications of Kauffmann's works in the *Town Planning Review* of 1927 and *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* of September 1937, issue concurrent with the Paris Exhibition of 1937 and the pavilion of Palestine.¹⁴⁸

The apparent similarity between Nahalal and the pueblo of Miraelrío has been mentioned repeatedly to position Fernández del Amo's work within the international context. Indeed, it is likely that the Spanish architect was aware of Kauffmann's project and realization. However, even if the two towns shared a similar "image" from an aerial point of view, there were major differences that, in my opinion, make Fernández del Amo's work—thirty-five years after Kauffmann's—autonomous and unique. First, whereas the site of Nahalal was fundamentally flat, Miraelrío was placed according to the architect on "the most elevated zone of the meseta located within the interior of curved formed by the Guadalén and Guadalcacín rivers" and offers "a magnificent panoramic view over the rivers and the agricultural parcels."¹⁴⁹ The drawing showing the location within the curves of level demonstrates that there was no "ideal" vision similar to Kauffmann's but rather an intelligent and refined response to topography and landscape (see Chapter Seven). Furthermore, the center of Nahalal was located at the intersection of a major cross-axis and a minor one, whereas Miraelrío, whose diameter was shorter, contained the circulation on the exterior ring. Likewise, Miraelrío's ring constitutes a thick crown around the central green where Fernández del Amo developed a sophisticated typological organization with no direct connection to the land, in contrast to Nahalal where the farm units were directly connected to their agricultural parcels.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ The article spells the architect's name erroneously as Richard *Kaujman* [sic].

¹⁴⁸ Rabasco, "La construcción del lugar," p. 256, from *Informes de la Construcción* II, nº 18 – February 1950, "Algunas ideas sobre Arquitectura rural," p. 5; *Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, nº 22, 1949.

¹⁴⁹ José Luis Fernández del Amo, Memoria, Proyecto del pueblo de Miraelrío (Jaén), MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, December 1963, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Rabasco, p. 257. If Rabasco rightly confirms that Miraelrío comes more from a process of design than a copy of Nahalal, his attempt to correlate the design of Esquivel with Ein Harod and Tel Yosef is in my opinion completely irrelevant. There are no comparisons to be made between the urban plans, nor in the design of the streets (narrow in Esquivel, inexistent in Kauffmann's works), nor in the specific placement of the church and town hall in front of the town façade.

As we have seen in Chapter Two, Richard Kauffmann designed sophisticated plans for central plazas and central greens. Axel Fisher pointed out that, “concerning each core’s central open space, it is significant that Kauffmann alternatively uses different terms to define it: forum, lawn or communal park, central square, hearth, crown. This hesitation can be read as an attempt to incorporate the entire Western urban tradition—from Ancient Rome to Bruno Taut’s utopian visions—in the kibbutz’s unprecedented architecture.”¹⁵¹ Most of those central spaces, whether in a monocentric (Nahalal) or polycentric configuration (Kfar Kittin), were, in actuality, realized as a landscape vision in which buildings did not really participate in the making of the urban form. Likewise, even though Kauffmann’s street systems were well established on the land, the deep setbacks and the discontinuity of the building fabric created a suburban or garden-city like environment, that was the antithesis of the works of the Spanish planners. Finally, with the dramatic evolution of the settlements’ design under the Plan Sharon following 1945—a modernist vision of total dissolution of urban form—there was definitely no other possible connection between the two large-scale programs.

Hassan Fathy’s New Gournah

Originally trained as an agronomy engineer, Hassan Fathy (1900-1989) graduated as an architect in 1930. He then began experimenting with mud-brick buildings for rural projects and an unsuccessful project of a model village near Cairo. In 1945 he got the commission for the village of New Gournah in Luxor (also named Kurna). The goal was to use local materials and techniques to relocate Old Gournah, a community of amateur archeologists and robbers that had sprung up near the ancient sites, and in doing so, curtail damage and looting at nearby archeological sites as well as facilitate tourism development. Political and financial complications as well as residents’ opposition to relocation eventually prevented its full completion. The *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* of August 1948 was the first major publication on the village of New Gournah; it contained a richly illustrated article, signed by Fathy that detailed at length all elements of design, construction techniques, and construction process.¹⁵² This publication was not a casual affair: indeed, Fathy’s essay was accompanied by articles about Francisco Cabrero’s Residencia de Trabajadores in San Rafael (Segovia) and

¹⁵¹ Axel Fisher, "Rurality, a Playground for Design? Architectural Design Issues in the Definition of the Forms and Features of the Zionist Rural Village, 1870-1929," in Pieter Versteegh and Sophia Meeres (eds.), *Alter Rurality: Exploring Representations and 'Repeasantations'*, Fribourg: ARENA, 2012, p. 192.

¹⁵² Hassan Fathy, "El nuevo poblado de Gournah en Egipto." *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* VIII, n° 80, August 1948, pp. 281-94. In the same issue, Alejandro Herrero published his influential article on the separation of traffic. In 1957, frustrated with bureaucracy and convinced that buildings designed with traditional methods appropriate to the climate of the area would speak louder than words, he moved to Athens to collaborate with international planners evolving the principles of ekistics under the direction of Constantinos Doxiadis. He served as the advocate of traditional natural-energy solutions in major community projects for Iraq and Pakistan and undertook extended travel and research for the "Cities of the Future" program in Africa. Partially abandoned, New Gournah remains an active living settlement, with housing and public facilities, though nearly 40 percent of the original buildings have been lost. For Doxiadis’s own projects of rural communities, see Phokaidis, Petros. "Rural Networks and Planned Communities: Doxiadis Associates' Plans for Rural Settlements in Post-Independence Zambia." *Journal of Architecture* 23, n° 3, 2018, pp. 471-97.

the Granja Escuela in Talavera de la Reina by his office partner Rafael Aburto. Both complexes were hybrid architectural compositions that combined classical elements—such as the U-shaped symmetrical courtyard—and the use of vernacular elements such as roofs and circular towers. However, it is their shared technique of construction, the century-old Catalan vault or *bóveda tabicada*, that made a comparison with New Gournah's mud-brick vaulting relevant. Likewise, Fathy's use of traditional courtyard houses, with their thick walls, brought to mind the Spanish vernacular in general, and Ibiza in particular. New Gournah's plan, focusing on a central public space anchored by the mosque and the *kahn*, was, to some extent, the equivalent of the arcaded plaza mayor faced with the traditional church. New Gournah corroborated the "Proceso urbanístico de nuestra colonización Interior" to which the *R.N.A.* dedicated its special issue of November 1948, under the direction of Tamés Alarcón.¹⁵³

CIAM X in Dubrovnik (1956)

In his essay "Dwelling in the Middle Landscape: Rethinking the Architecture of Rural Communities at CIAM 10," Nelson Mota analyzed the rural projects displayed and discussed at the Tenth CIAM congress in 1956.¹⁵⁴ The MARS Group guided by John Voelcker presented the Village Extension Grid, a hamlet of ten houses articulated in two sections—a short street and a courtyard. More developed was the Portuguese proposal designed by Viana de Lima, Fernando Távora, and Octávio Lixa Figueiras. The architects presented a project for a new rural community located in the northeast borderlands of Portugal, between Bragança and the small village of Rio de Onor. According to the authors, the project sought to contribute towards the formulation of the Charter of Habitat: "If it intends its proposals to be truly universal, CIAM cannot ignore the importance of the Habitat Rural."¹⁵⁵ The study of vernacular references initiated in the process of the *Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture (1955-1961)* was the basis for the design of dwellings. Inspired by the configuration of the existing settlements along the valley, the new community of forty dwellings was settled on both margins of a little river, using two serpentine streets as residential anchors; in-between and in direct connection with the river was the civic center made up of three buildings organized around a courtyard space, an isolated church and an agricultural cooperative.¹⁵⁶ As Távora recalled in 1971, the plan became "an extremely specific, regionalized and in no way international project."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Tamés Alarcón, op. cit.

¹⁵⁴ Nelson Mota, "Dwelling in the Middle Landscape: Rethinking the Architecture of Rural Communities at CIAM 10," in Ákos Moravánszky and Judith Hopfengärtner (eds.), *Re-Humanizing Architecture: New Forms of Community, 1950-1970*, Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017, pp. 311-24.

¹⁵⁵ For these references, see Pedro Baia, "Il vernacolare del 'Habitat Rural' al programma SAAL. La ricezione portoghese del Team X," in Lejeune and Sabatino, pp. 177-202. Viana de Lima, Fernando Távora, Octávio Lixa Figueiras, "Tese ao X Congresso dos CIAM," *Arquitettura* 64, January/February 1959, p.24.

¹⁵⁶ The *Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa* was a multi-volume research and publication about vernacular architecture and urbanism in Portugal. Started in 1955, it was eventually published in 1961 under the title, Lisboa: Ordem Dos Arquitectos, 1961.

¹⁵⁷ Fernando Távora, "Entrevista," *Arquitettura*, 123, September/October 1971, p.153.

In spite of their intrinsic interest, these proposals paled when compared with the villages designed at the same time by de la Sota, Fernández del Amo, and José Luis Corrales to mention a few. Architecturally and urbanistically, they did not bring any new concept. It is thus unfortunate for the history of the rural movement that no Spanish architects involved in the I.N.C. participated in the CIAM X congress.

To sum up the discussion, I argued in the Chapter Three that the examples coming from Germany and Scandinavia had to be discarded as irrelevant in terms of urban form, size, and urbanity. In particular any reference to Nazi planning such as *Die neue Stadt* can be considered as ideologically motivated but could not be demonstrated in the towns of the D.G.R.D. My argument is the same as regards the *pueblos* of the I.N.C. Likewise, the influences from Mussolini's *città di fondazione* and Richard Kauffmann's collective villages in Palestine were mostly "infrastructural" and "economical," whereas at the formal and urban level, they were practically anecdotic or non-existent. Moreover, their premises were entirely conflicting. The Italian new towns were highly urban in their urban landscape but the housing was mostly dispersed and not integrated in the towns. The Zionist project was socialist, yet, the socialization of collectivity expressed itself in the disappearance of the housing fabric and the dissolution of the public places into landscape, whereas in the United States, the same result was achieved with extreme individualism. Never mentioned, the publication of New Gournah was, in my opinion, a highly relevant one as there were many potential elements of positive comparison such as the plan, the plaza, the use of traditional materials, and, eventually, the only example whose urban character ranged from the civic to private realm. Too often criticized as propagandistic of the national-catholic regime, the Spanish new towns gave the image of a careful balance between the individualism of the Spanish farmer within a highly collective and public society where gathering at a café, on a bench facing the street and the school, belonged to a Mediterranean way of life that transcended any ideological or political elucidation.

5.4.2. The Heart of the Town: the Modern Civic Center

The town of Esquivel (1952, see earlier and Chapter Six) was the first fully innovative project in the early production of the I.N.C. Esquivel like the unbuilt Torre de Salinas (1951, Fernández del Amo), Vegaviana (1953-1954, Fernández del Amo), Coto de Bornos (1952, Fernando Cavestany), and Sabinar (1953, José Beltrán Navarro and José Borobio)—to mention the towns where the new concept of square appeared chronologically—did not include a traditional central *plaza*, but deployed different variations on a new concept of civic center. Within the first generation of towns, the programmatic public buildings and additional mixed-use structures surrounded the *plaza* conceived as a void within the urban fabric. In the new approach, the programmatic elements of the I.N.C. towns do not enclose a geometrically defined open space as *plaza*. To the contrary, they constitute an assemblage or grouping of buildings, which are interconnected by and designed around landscape, courtyards, and patios. In other words, the

civic center does not constitute an architectonically defined void within the urban pattern, but rather occupies a void in the urban network. The void is designed as park-like public space within which buildings, usually the church, the town hall, and some times a mixed-use complex, are organized and interconnected together, giving a new role, albeit radically different in all cases, to the landscape. Landscape was no more conceived as an element to be contained within the design of the *plazas* as we have seen in the monocentric model, but rather an environment within which the civic structures were to be merged and through which they would be connected.

Secondly, and from a phenomenological point of view, the civic center, conceived as grouping of building within a landscape setting, is radically different from the plaza as matrix. On the one hand, the *plaza* as matrix constitutes an urban environment that is the outdoor equivalent of the room and thus responds to the traditional concept of square from Roman antiquity to the early twentieth century. The sides of the *plaza* form a sequence of walls that surround the spectator and the user. It is a public space that can be comprehended as a whole, with rare exceptions, from any point within the space. It is an urban space that surrounds the user and visitor, of which Camillo Sitte described the quality in minute details in chapter 3 of *Der Städtebau* when he wrote that “Public Squares Should be Enclosed Entities.” To the contrary, the civic center as developed from the early 1950s cannot be understood as a whole from any single point of space. In fact, movement becomes a necessary action in order to understand the way by which the different buildings, gardens, patios, etc., are arranged and interconnected. Hence the real quality of this urban organization is the diversity of the spatial experience engendered by movement, the constantly changing perspectives, and the capacity to circumnavigate buildings as interconnected objects in space.

Scores of this new type of civic centers were eventually realized within the program of the I.N.C., a reality that epitomized a radical transformation of the traditional concept of *plaza* as contained space.¹⁵⁸ These new urban compositions were without any real equivalent in twentieth century urbanism, not only within the history of Spain but more generally in worldwide urbanism. It prompts to ask the questions: what were the sources or influences in Spain? What were the international influences that were used as sources of theory and design? In response, I suggest here that this particular morphology of the civic center was primarily the result of two direct sources: the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*; secondly, the international concept of the Civic Center and the CIAM debate about the concept of Core of the City. The connection is important as both events, the CIAM 8, held in Hoddesdon, England (1951) and the Sessions at the Alhambra (1952), took place at a couple of months distance.

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter Eight for a more complete overview of the morphology and a selection of case studies in the evolution of town design. Chapters Six and Seven focus on the works of Alejandro de la Sota and José Luis Fernández del Amo and their respective approach to the civic center.

The Spanish Example: the Manifiesto de la Alhambra

As discussed by Fernando Chueca Goitia in the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*, the formal organization of the Alhambra produced a concave inner world kept together by the systematic use of the Islamic/Spanish patio.¹⁵⁹ At the same time, it stood as an architectonic ensemble that could only be appreciated by the movement of the spectator. The *Manifiesto's* insistence on the arrangement of spaces with multiple points of views and transparencies brings to mind the emergence of the concept of space in architecture theory. Space (*Raum*) did not appear in architectural treatises as an essential concept until the second half of the 19th century, when Gottfried Semper introduced the three spatial moments of aesthetic perception linked to the human body: height, breadth, and depth. From these extensions, he derived symmetry, proportion, and direction.¹⁶⁰ At the same time Semper emphasized the role of architectural enclosure, the wall, along with the roof, the platform earthwork, and the hearth. As Semper made spatial enclosure the fundamental property of architecture, Sitte extended the notion in *Der Städtebau* and made spatial enclosure the essential consideration of exterior space whose boundaries were equally defined by walls with their own characteristics.¹⁶¹

Art historian August Schmarsow (1853-1936) further developed Semper's ideas, explicitly linking the idea of space to architecture in his inaugural address to the University of Leipzig in 1893, "The Essence of Architectural Creation."¹⁶² As the succession and overlap of historical styles was becoming a fundamental problem and debate for architectural theorists, the emerging "idea of space" became a means "to de-emphasize the employment of historical sites" while capping "the century-old attempts in aesthetics to define beauty."¹⁶³ Based on "perceptual empiricism" he argued that, "bodily movement through space rather than the stationary perception of form was the essence of architecture."¹⁶⁴ For Schmarsow, "space exists because we have a body. It is a structure of our corporeal existence in the world around

¹⁵⁹ See *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*, Madrid: Ministerio de la Gobernación, Dirección General de Arquitectura, 1953 and Chapter Four in this dissertation.

¹⁶⁰ For this entire section, see Tonkao Panin, *Space-Art: the Dialectic between the Concepts of Raum and Bekleidung*, Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2003. Also see Peter Collins's discussion of the concepts of space in Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950*, London, Faber & Faber, 1965, pp. 285-293.

¹⁶¹ This section of the essay is borrowed from Jean-François Lejeune, "Schinkel, Sitte, and Loos: The 'Body in the Visible,'" in Jean-François Lejeune and Charles Bohl (eds.), *Sitte, Hegemann and the Metropolis – Modern Civic Art and International Exchanges*, London: Routledge, 2009, pp. 69-97.

¹⁶² See Mitchell Schwarzer, "The Emergence of Architectural Space: August Schmarsow's Theory of Raumgestaltung," in *Assemblage* 15, 1991, pp. 49-61. August Schmarsow, "Das Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung," first given as a lecture in 1893 and published one year later by Karl Hiesermann, Leipzig. The English translation is found as "The essence of Architectural Creation" in *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problem in German Aesthetic, 1873-1893*, with an introduction by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleferios Ikononou, Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities, Santa Monica CA, 1994, pp. 281-216. He developed the theme in "Über den Wert der Dimensionen in Menschlichen Raumgebilde" (1896) and his treatise *Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft am Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter, kritisch erörtert und in systematischem zusammenhange dargestellt*, Leipzig, Berlin, B.G. Teubner, 1905.

¹⁶³ Tonkao Panin, pp. 2-3ff.

¹⁶⁴ Tonkao Panin, p. 43.

us, which is a spatial field emanating from our body.”¹⁶⁵ Our capacity to understand space also gets combined with our capacity to “invent” space:

Our sense of space [*Raumgefühl*] and spatial imagination [*Raumphantasie*] press toward spatial creation [*Raumgestaltung*]; they seek their satisfaction in art. We call this art architecture; in plain words it is the *creatress of space* [*Raumgestalterin*].¹⁶⁶

In the end architecture creates both enclosed space and the creation of its boundaries. On the philosophical ground, it is useful to relate Schmarsow’s theories to the philosophy of phenomenology launched by Edmund Husserl (*Ideen*, 1913) and prolonged by French Maurice Merleau-Ponty with his seminal *Phénoménologie de la perception* (1945) and later *Le visible et l’invisible, suivi de notes de travail* (1964). If space according to Sitte involved both perception and corporeality, Merleau-Ponty’s words resonate in a particular light:

“It is [depth] that gives flesh to things: that means that they oppose obstacles to my inspection, a resistance which is precisely their reality, their “opening,” their totum simul. The gaze does not vanquish depth, it turns it around.”¹⁶⁷

Although he alluded to uncovered spaces such as those contained in a courtyard or an enclosed urban space, Schmarsow did not have the city as focus. It is Sitte who, shortly before, translated Semper’s theme of spatial enclosure from architecture into exterior space.¹⁶⁸ As he relied on a majority of Italian and German examples of medieval and Renaissance periods, it is interesting to note that the vast majority of Sitte’s squares emphasized the body of the main church as a fully or partially detached structure within the urban space. It means that, most of the times, the movement of the body was necessary to understand the space and its wealth of effects and perspectives. For Sitte, exterior space was considered as a volume delimited by the substance of its boundaries. The outer surface of architecture is the factor that allows one to perceive the volume of the exterior space—as a *Raumkunst* (the term was used by Siegfried Sitte to describe his father’s idea and city planner Joseph Stübben made wide use of it as well). In this modern sense, the full building as a mass, and even a transitional space made of columns for instance, does create inner and outer public space.¹⁶⁹ Schmarsow’s direct influence on architects and urban designers may be difficult to evaluate, but his theory did certainly impact, albeit mainly through intermediary critics, the development of modern architecture. Based upon the movement of the body, his work implied that “the essence of

¹⁶⁵ Tonkao Panin, p. 54.

¹⁶⁶ Schmarsow, p. 287.

¹⁶⁷ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible; followed by working notes*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968, p. 271.

¹⁶⁸ Tonkao Panin, p. 62 & ff. Schmarsow reference to the open spaces is in *Grundbegriffe*, p. 183.

¹⁶⁹ Sitte’s own works used that device to great advantage and effect, as can be seen in his most accomplished project, the expansion plan of 1894 for Olmütz/Olomouc. On the plans for Olmütz and Marienber see Rudolf Wurzer, “Franz, Camillo und Siegfried Sitte: ein langer Weg von der Architektur bis Stadtplanung,” in *Berichte zur Raumforschung und Raumplanung* 33, 1989, pp. 9-33. For the analysis of another plan by Sitte, see Andrew Herscher, “Städtebau as Imperial Culture: Camillo Sitte’s Urban Plan for Ljubljana,” in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62, No. 2, June 2003), pp. 212-227.

architecture resides in the generation of culturally stimulated rhythmic patterns of movement through enclosed inner rooms, passages, and courtyards.”¹⁷⁰ This implied the “exceptional importance” of transitional spaces. Moreover, spatial openings, to one or more sides, marked by walls or by columns, increase relations by linking and combining inner spaces.¹⁷¹

Seen within this theoretical perspective, the complex of the Alhambra reflected quite closely the tenets of Schmarsow’s concept of modern space and arrangement of space. Its organization as a succession of enclosed rooms, transparent passages, and open-air rooms is not only geometric, but responds to functional and organic concepts of adaptation to the ground:

The various elements that define an environment are arranged according to geometrical standards, with great subordination to axes and regular provisions. That is to say, the plants of free and open type conserve an original nucleus (the patio) of great formal stability. The effects of contrast, between different environments, with those of rhythm, proportions and harmony within each environment are wisely conjugated.”¹⁷²

Writing in 1983 in the catalogue of Fernández del Amo’s exhibition, Antonio Fernández Alba recalled the role that the Alhambra had played from the mid-1950s in the search for a modern Spanish architecture:

Whereas the Escorial was intuited as style in the 1940s, the Alhambra could be contemplated as a method; ... The Alhambra offered the opportunity to provide, from an estranged reading of the romantic system of vision, a permissive encounter with the axioms and postulates of the European rationalist modernity.... There one could discover the constructive rationality of the spaces, the organic repertory in the flow of its plan organization, the courtly overcoming of the distinction between exterior and interior, the adequation to the natural environment, the functionality of its materials, the formal freedom and a box-like interpretation of space that matched the tenets that cubism had established as indispensable to develop the modern project in architecture.¹⁷³

Those comments referred directly to Fernández del Amo’s oeuvre, both to his urban design

¹⁷⁰ Mitchell Schwarzer, p. 56.

¹⁷¹ Within the cultural context of Central Europe, Panin and Mitchell Schwarzer have argued, correctly in my opinion, that there is a potential connection between Schmarsow’s theory and Adolf Loos’s concept and application of the *Raumplan* from the 1920s. Thus, if the *Raumplan* is based upon the interpenetration and flow of space from room to room, it is conceivable to draw parallels between the *Raumplan* and the type of urban space that Sitte emphasized in the early Antique and medieval city, as well as in special projects such as Semper’s Fora: urban space, although clearly bounded, tends to flow from street to street, square to street, etc., always suggesting what is behind the means of transition between spaces. Thus, as Panin wrote, “*Raumplan* can be considered as an assembly of interior spatial volume, while *Raumkunst* is an assembly of exterior spatial volume” (see Tonkao Panin, p. 37).

¹⁷² *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*, p. 30: “Los diversos elementos que definen un ambiente se disponen con arreglo a normas geométricas, con gran subordinación a ejes y disposiciones regulares. Es decir, las plantas de tipo libre y abierto conservan un núcleo original (el patio) de gran estabilidad formal. Se hallan sabiamente conjugados los efectos de contraste, entre ambientes diferentes, con los de ritmo, proporciones y armonía dentro de cada ambiente.”

¹⁷³ Fernández Alba, “Arquitecturas para una sonata de primavera,” pp. 5-6.

and the spatiality of his residential and religious architecture. For Alba, the influence of the Alhambra could be particularly detected in the I.N.C. architect's strategy of conceiving his pueblos as additions of volumes rather than as complex of masses. Their spatiality was visible and comprehensible both from the inside and the outside, meaning that its primary elements could be understood as urban objects of distinct dimensions that could be navigated from all sides, thus revealing their intimate plastic character. To be sure, Fernández del Amo did not participate in the *Sesiones de la Alhambra*, but his stay in Almería and the south of Spain at the time of his work for the D.G.R.D. and the intensive travels that he organized, with photographer Joaquín del Palacio, across the towns and villages of Andalusia, made it clear that he had an intimate knowledge of the Alhambra. The spirit of La Alhambra is definitely present in the public spaces planned for Torre de Salinas and supremely realized in Vegaviana. However, it is difficult to find in Fernández del Amo's projects, nor in those of de la Sota, any real formal or typological connection to La Alhambra. In part, this is due to the absence of clear axes and the organic system of streets, but more fundamentally, the Alhambra is not made up of dispersed elements like in Esquivel or Vegaviana, but rather forms a dense and quite concentrated grouping of buildings, where landscape is used to connect the parts—often with the use of water—within a system of patios and other connections. To be sure, it is surrounded by landscape and can be navigated around, but it is the cohesion of the ensemble that is critical to its spatiality.

Consequently, I contend that the real influence of the Alhambra in the interior colonization of the countryside resided in the elaborate civic centers that architects started to produce in the 1950s. Undoubtedly, a more direct relation to the Alhambra as a system of articulated spaces could eventually be found in the already cited examples (Coto de Bornos, Valdeboña, El Torsviscal, Loriguilla, Chapatales), but also in towns like Alvarado (1961, Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo, Badajoz), El Realengo (1957, José Luis Fernández del Amo, Alicante), Miraelrío (1964, José Luis Fernández del Amo), Villafranco del Guadalhorce (1962, Victor López Morales, Málaga) and others. Interestingly, it is Fernando Alba himself who designed the civic centers in closer connection with the formal structure of the Alhambra: Cerralba, Doñana, and more particularly El Priorato.

The Civic Center as the Heart of the City: CIAM VIII (Hoddesdon)

Historically, the concept of grouping a series of public structures together on one specific urban site as a civic center can be traced back to the nineteenth century, the development of the Worlds Fairs in Paris and later in the United States. In 1922, the year of Le Corbusier's *Cité Contemporaine pour Trois Millions d'Habitants*, Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets published in New York *The American Vitruvius - an Architect's Handbook of Civic Art*, the only comprehensive survey of an American art of building cities. In Chapter III of their critical encyclopedia, conceived not as a treatise but as an "atlas for imaginary travelling," they summarized their vision: "To modern civic art America has made important contributions with her world's fairs, the evolution of the university campus, the civic center movement..."

Furthermore, since the introduction of the skyscraper and the conception of the park system idea, great promises of original civic design are held forth.¹⁷⁴

In their chapter 3, Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets devoted significant space and examples to the modern concept of civic centers, of European origin but whose development within the neutral American grid system started with the White Fair of Chicago of 1893 to culminate within the following three decades as the City Beautiful Movement. Hegemann and Peets acknowledged the European roots in Baroque design especially in Paris; however, they clearly demonstrated that the idea of grouping public structures within a specific city area, often independently of the street system and interconnected by landscape, was part of a unique American tradition, that of the college campus. From the early campuses of Harvard University and University of Virginia to early twentieth century projects such as the University of Texas, University of Berkeley, and Caltech in Pasadena, a genuine American urbanism developed. Most of those campuses and civic centers remained defined by the principles of the Beaux-Arts composition exemplified in the City Beautiful Movement which involves symmetry of urban design, Baroque perspectives, bi-axial organization, stepped up relation to topography, integration within or on the edge of systems of parks, etc. The San Diego Fair of 1915 broke some of the rules, driven by a more romantic and picturesque approach directly influenced by the travels of American architects to Spain during and after the First World War. As a result, the 1920s witnessed a change in design strategy that now involved some asymmetries both in urban design and volumetric composition of major buildings, as can be seen for example in a series of new campuses in California like Scripps College in Claremont and the Occidental College.¹⁷⁵ In Spain, the most important project to be influenced by the Beaux Arts international civic center movement were undoubtedly the 1929 International Exposition of Barcelona under the direction of Puig i Cadafalch and the Ciudad Universitaria of Madrid, a monumental enterprise under the direction of Modesto López Otero from 1927.

At a smaller scale, the Garden City movement deployed many variations on the central public space that emphasized the grouping of public buildings around a central green. This principle eventually became the source of Clarence Perry's diagram of the Neighborhood Unit in 1929. Based upon the incomplete settlement of Radburn, N.J., it advocated six principles that included the specific size to be determined in relation to a specific population, the clear delimitation of the edges, the integration of green spaces and other public spaces, the central location of the institutional buildings, and the pedestrian-only interior circulation. Those tenets were intended to establish the neighborhood as the primary unit in the construction of the region.¹⁷⁶ The primary reason to concentrate all public functions, and in particular the school,

¹⁷⁴ The reference to the "atlas for imaginary travelling" comes from Christiane Crasemann Collins's essay, "Hegemann and Peets: Cartographers of an Imaginary Atlas," in Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988, p. xx. The other reference is on page 99.

¹⁷⁵ See for instance Stefanos Polyzoides and Peter de Bretteville, "Eight California Campuses to 1945: An American Culture of Place-Making," *The New City*, n° 2, 1994, pp. 52-95.

¹⁷⁶ On the Neighborhood Unit, see Clarence Perry (ed.), "The neighborhood unit. In Committee on Regional Plan of New York and its Environs," in *Neighborhood and Community Planning. Regional Survey*

at the center of the neighborhood was to provide the best conditions for face-to-face relationships and a family-based community. During the war, Walter Gropius and Martin Wagner, from Harvard University, espoused the neighborhood unit and prefabrication as the primary tools of the city reconstruction.¹⁷⁷ The school remained at the center of their concept, but by then, the urban form had morphed away from streets and blocks to be replaced by unconnected housing bars within green spaces. Following a hiatus of twenty years, marked by the Charter of Athens of 1933 and its disregard for the civic functions and the neighborhood as well, the concept of Civic Center came back to life in the late 1940s to be formally reintroduced at the CIAM 8 in Hoddesdon. The debates, lectures, and results of the congress received ample distribution thanks to the volume *The Heart of the City* published in 1952 and edited by Ernesto Rogers, José Luis Sert, and Jacqueline Tyrwhitt.¹⁷⁸ The Italian edition was issued in 1954, and, in the following year, the Spanish edition.

Following the exposition in Paris of 1937, José Luis Sert took the path to exile. He spends a couple of months in Cuba before landing in New York on June 26, 1939 where he started to work on a monograph of Antonio Gaudí which he would eventually publish fourteen years later in collaboration with James Johnson Sweeney. As Sert had few personal contacts in the United States and did not yet own the architectural license, he started his career, not as an architect but as an urbanist. In August 1941, he met Paul Lester Wiener, an architect married with Alma Morgenthau, the daughter of the Secretary of Treasury, Henry Morgenthau. This connection was particularly useful and with Wiener he founded Town Planning Associates.¹⁷⁹

When José Luis Sert asked Lewis Mumford to write the preface of *Can Our Cities Survive?* based upon the material presented at CIAM IV in Athens, the American critic rejected the offer. While sympathetic to CIAM's objectives in general he saw a "serious flaw" in their general outline of the four functions of housing, recreation, transportation and industry.¹⁸⁰ "What—he complained in a letter to Frederic Osborn—of the political, educational, and cultural functions of the city? What of the part played by the disposition and plan of buildings concerned with these functions in the whole evolution of city design?"¹⁸¹ Without Mumford, Sert went on

VII, New York: Regional Plan of New York and its Environs, 1929, pp. 20-140; Clarence Perry, *Housing for the Machine Age*, New York; Russell Sage Foundation, 1939; see Nicholas Patricios, "The Neighborhood Concept: A Retrospective of Physical Design and Social Interaction," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 19, n° 1, Spring 2002, pp. 70-90.

¹⁷⁷ Walter Gropius and Martin Wagner, "A Program for a City Construction," *Architectural Forum*, 79, 1943, pp. 75-82.

¹⁷⁸ See Ernesto Nathan Rogers, José Luis Sert, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (ed.), *The Heart of the City: towards the Humanization of Urban Life* (CIAM 8, Hoddesdon), New York, Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952. In Spanish, *El corazón de la ciudad: por una vida más humana de la comunidad*, Barcelona: Hoepli, 1955.

¹⁷⁹ See Josep M. Rovira, *José Luis Sert, 1901-1983*, Milano: Electa, 2000. A recommendation by the Secretary of State Cordell Hull opened TPA the doors to Latin America with a travel grant connected to the Good Neighbor Policy. President Roosevelt established the Good Neighbor Policy in the 1930s. The policy intended to keep Latin American countries from Fascist tendencies, to be adapted later to counter Cold War fears of seeing the socio-economically troubled continent tip into the communist camp.

¹⁸⁰ See Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000), pp. 130 & sq.

¹⁸¹ Mumford, p.133.

publishing the book in 1942, a hybrid and somewhat abstract work that shied away from precise solutions (no mention of the New Deal) and eventually did little to position the CIAM group within the complex reality of American cities and suburbs. Yet, Sert's position about civic life, community values and the importance of the urban plan would quickly evolve during those war times. At the time that he and Wiener were designing the Cidade dos motores in Brazil, he signed with Sigfried Giedion and Fernand Léger the manifesto "Nine Points on Monumentality" (1943). Going against the socially driven attacks against monuments and grand-scale civic architecture as expressions of the "rich and the powerful," the authors asserted the need for a modern artistic and architectonic expression that would represent the postwar values of democracy and community.¹⁸²

If the Mediterranean determined the direction of Sert's vision of modern architecture from the 1930s onwards, the cities of Latin America greatly influenced his postwar humanist conception of urbanism and his progressive return to the basic principles of the street, the block, the square and the civic center. For Sert, as for Le Corbusier and Gropius as well, the encounter with Latin America's authentic urban life and genuine public spaces allowing for social interaction across the society spectrum—what one could call the "Mediterranean" side of urban life in contrast to the monumentalized and Northern European or American counterpart—was a major turning point in the development of his ideas about the modern city. The plans developed for Chimbote, Perú, in 1947 illustrated a concern with local conditions, and a willingness to study smaller-scale alternatives, particularly the patio-houses, instead of the multi-story blocks that most CIAM planners preferred but would have been inappropriate in the desert climate of the region: "As outside experts linked to the economic and military power of the United States and the artistic prestige of Le Corbusier—Eric Mumford wrote—Sert and his collaborators sought to make modernism more acceptable by appealing to local urban traditions."¹⁸³ The Chimbote patio house and its extension, the carpet housing, hinted also at possibilities of do-it-yourself construction and prefabrication, two key elements of future schemes of housing to be developed later by Team X members in Northern Africa and other third world countries.¹⁸⁴

When the project was presented at the CIAM VIII in Hoddesdon, Sert emphasized the role that municipal *plazas* could play in the democratic life of a country, not only as a stage for commerce, but as a place for discussion and assembly. Chimbote was, indeed, the theater of Sert's most intense experiment with the concept of the "integration of the arts." In the ninth point of the *Nine Points on Monumentality*, Sert, Léger and Giedion discussed how blind walls or large plane surfaces "with the use of color and movement in a new spirit would offer unexplored

¹⁸²Mumford, p.180; Sert, Giedion & Léger, "Nine Points on Monumentality," reproduced in *Sert arquitecto en Nueva York* (Barcelona: MACBA, 1997), pp. 14-17.

¹⁸³ See Eric Mumford, "CIAM and Latin America," *Sert arquitecto en Nueva York* (Barcelona: MACBA, 1997, p. 52.

¹⁸⁴ Sert advocated the use of the patio in the American context as well. His house in Cambridge was centered on a patio and he published an important article "Can Patios Make Cities" in *Architectural Forum* (Aug. 1953), 124-131, where he attempts to demonstrate the practical application of the patio house and urban plaza as patio for the making of the new American suburbs and districts.

fields to mural painters and sculptors.”¹⁸⁵ For the civic *plaza*, the painter, teacher and theorist Hans Hofmann—a leader of Abstract Expressionism—made various studies for murals and, particularly, a mosaic at the foot of the campanile (itself to be covered with murals) that Sert had planned within the square conceived as a tentative to reinterpret the antique tradition of the *plaza de armas*.¹⁸⁶

As reflected in the mentioned publication, the CIAM 8 held in July of 1951 marked a radical shift from the exclusively functionalist agenda of the previous discussions and presentations. In the published version of his speech on “Centers of Community Life,” Sert introduced his talk with a quotation from José Ortega y Gasset on the deliberate and enclosed separation of the public square of the classical polis from the “geo-botanic cosmos” of the countryside:

The square, thanks to the walls which enclose it, is a portion of the countryside which turns its back on the rest, eliminates the rest, and sets up in opposition to it. This lesser rebellious field, which secedes from the limitless one, and keeps to itself, is a space *sui generis*, of the most novel kind, in which man frees himself from the community of the plant and the animal, leaves them outside, and creates an enclosure apart which is purely human, a civil space.¹⁸⁷

Sert, like Ortega, believed that a square was necessary for the people to interact and develop a full civic life. Likewise, Ortega’s call for “national elites” in times of devaluation of the global historical and political knowledge among the masses—a natural cause for Fascism as he argued—found echo in Sert’s vision of the new role of CIAM as a planning elite concerned with shaping a more complete urban and suburban environment. All participants from Rogers to Gropius and Le Corbusier acknowledged the importance of the plaza and more generally of a new vision of modern civic center adapted to the necessary recentralization of the city and the metropolis. Examples abounded from the Milan Galleria to the Italian squares (to which a complete debate was dedicated with Gropius, Paulsson, Sert, Johnson, Peressutti, and Giedion). Sert and Jacqueline Tyrwhitt introduced five scales of attention: the village or the small group of houses in the city, the rural market town or the urban neighborhood, the rural town or the urban district, the city, the metropolis. The civic centers should be the responsibility of the public authorities, pedestrian-focused, and be the centers of the integration of the arts and architecture. The civic center was to be added, at all scales of urbanization, to the four functions of the Charter of Athens. The presented projects were catalogued according to the five categories. All of them, from the new village of Nagele to Chimbote and Chandigahr showed proposals for various sizes of civic centers, all conceived as a plastic grouping of public

¹⁸⁵ Sert, Giedion & Léger, “Nine Points on Monumentality,” reproduced in *Sert arquitecto en Nueva York* (Barcelona: MACBA, 1997), 16.

¹⁸⁶ See Hans Hofmann, *El proyecto Chimbote: la promesa sinérgica del arte moderno y la arquitectura urbana*, Barcelona: MACBA, 2004. Town Planning Associates dissociated themselves from the project in the early 1950s and nothing was ever built.

¹⁸⁷ José Luis Sert, “Centers of Community Life,” *CIAM 8: The Heart of the City*, New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952, p. 3. Quoted from José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, New York: Norton, 1932, pp. 164-5.

buildings where the concave principles of the Alhambra were omnipresent. Often separated from the rest of the fabric, in some cases destroyed and to be reconstructed, those civic centers form plastic compositions, which could be circumnavigated from the outside and in the inside. As discussed earlier, in contrast to the traditional plaza as a room, these centers were made of multiple interconnected elements, as a sort of modern reinterpretation of the system of squares of traditional cities. The traditional symmetry of the pre-WWII civic centers was abandoned in favor of a plastic—even graphic—composition that emphasized asymmetries and specific views across arcades to towers and other urban elements.

To be sure, this design strategy—obviously shared by all the architects who presented works at the congress—marked a return to Sitte and his vision of corporeal architecture. In his essay “The Pack Donkey’s Revenge: Sitte and Modernist Urbanism,” Alan Plattus put in evidence Sitte’s influence on formal strategies deployed by architects like Eero Saarinen for the Yale University Morse and Stiles Colleges (1961), the Smithsonian at the Cherry Garden Pier (1972), or Giancarlo de Carlo in Urbino (1958-1976). Perhaps even more obvious in spite of the scale was Le Corbusier’s project for the reconstruction of St. Dié in France (1946), one of the most prominent examples to be discussed at *The Heart of the City* CIAM 8:

The offset symmetries and asymmetrical displacements of the plan for the reconstruction of St. Dié are inescapably linked to his own early study, absorption, and embrace of Sitte’s lessons and methodology: allowing for the change of scale, building type and admittedly wide-open transitional spaces, it is after all a Turbineplatz, in both form and, I believe, intention. How to delineate an unmistakably modernist civic realm, open, free-flowing, and accommodating of both the speed and mass scale of the modern city, while at the same time locating buildings and monuments to be seen to the greatest effect, seems a problem worthy of Le Corbusier’s characteristically dialectical sensibility. That it may not have been satisfactorily resolved does not diminish the clear contribution that Sitte would have made, or might still make, to the endeavor.¹⁸⁸

How influential was the debate around the Heart of the City for the evolution of the I.N.C.’s work and production? Were the architects aware of the potential evolution of the traditional concept of *plaza* into the modern and more flexible concept of the civic center? How much resonance did Sert’s urban design projects like Chimbote or articles like *Can Patios Make Cities?* have in the architectural milieu? My analysis is based upon a process of visual and spatial comparison. It cannot, unfortunately, be backed by any primary sources, not even from the most vocal architects, Alejandro de la Sota and José Luis Fernández del Amo. However, with the opening of the architectural milieu to international contacts and realizations at the beginning of the 1950s, it can be assumed that, in general, most architects were increasingly aware of the new trends, thanks to events like the Triennale of Milan, the distribution of periodicals such as

¹⁸⁸ Alan Plattus, “The Pack’s Donkey’s Revenge: Sitte and Modernist Urbanism,” in Charles Bohl and Jean-François Lejeune (eds.), *Sitte, Hegemann and the Metropolis*, pp. 147.

Casabella Continuità and *Urbanistica*, Aalto's visit, and their own travel abroad.¹⁸⁹

A section of the Triennale of 1951—where José Antonio Coderch was the author of the Spanish pavilion, which was visited by many Spanish architects—was dedicated to the Q.T.8 project for the periphery of Milan. Directed by Piero Bottoni, the masterplan included a neighborhood core that reflected the new trend, and to some extent, anticipated the new concept of the core as discussed in the 1950s. In the important and already mentioned discussion about the “Possibilities offered by the typical Andalusian neighborhoods,” the intervention of Alejandro Herrero sheds light upon the level of knowledge and references that permeated the Spanish architectural culture. He published the plans of the Quartiere Q.T.9 (R. Pontecorvo, for 1,057 residences), the competition for the Quartiere Saint Gobain in Pisa (R. Nicolini), the residential unit Falchera in Turin (Astengo, Molli Boffa, Passanti, et al.), and the residential unit of Marghera-Mestre (Samoná, Piccinato, et al.). None of these examples showed a traditional form of *plaza* but rather various compositions of public structures, generally lacking in compactness, merged into the landscape.

It must be recalled here that Herrero himself, in his proposals of 1947 for the design of new pueblos, had reimagined the *plaza* as a combination of volumes interconnected by landscape formations. Herrero presented practical schemes for rural towns of 1,000 to 5,000 residents, that he had conceived as a student under Fonseca at the Seminario de Urbanología in 1939. Those schemes were structured along a wide paseo-like axis, bordered by a series of long blocks whose lots could be accessed by humans at the front, and animals through linear back alleys connected by a ring road around the town. In one scheme, the civic center (church and town hall) was located at the head of the paseo; in another one, it was placed in the middle. Both projects, however, relied primarily on a landscape structure to define the public spaces, thus anticipating the strategy that would eventually be used by José Fernández del Amo for Torre de Salinas and Vegaviana, and, more generally the evolution of the traditional *plaza* at the center of town to a new concept of civic center integrated within the landscape.

In his detailed introduction to the *Sesión de crítica* of 1957 on the theme of the *Plaza*, the young architect José Luis Picardo attempted to summarize and classify the concept of *plaza* since Antiquity and explore its development and transformations.¹⁹⁰ The debate in which participated Miguel Fisac, Luis Moya, Pedro Bidagor, and others focused on whether the concept of square continued to make sense in the modern life, whether citizens understood and needed it in the modern life and mentality. The discussion oscillated between strong pessimist and optimist opinions that confronted each other. To some extent, the session was more interesting for the illustrations that accompanied Picardo's essay and the pages dedicated to the debate. Next to the expected views of the *plaza mayor* de Madrid and Salamanca, San Marco in Venice, *plazas*

¹⁸⁹ See the references made by Alejandro Herrero in the “Posibilidades que tienen los barrios típicos andaluces para el urbanismo actual: Sesión de crítica de arquitectura celebrada en Sevilla,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 155, November 1954, p. 33.

¹⁹⁰ See José Luis Picardo, et al, “Sesión de crítica: Plazas,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 181, January 1957, pp. 19-46.

in Sevilla and small towns like Turégano, the article confronted the Plaza de Oriente in Madrid with the complex and interconnected network of small *plazas* in Jerez de la Frontera; the project of Civic Center by José Luis Sert in Cali, Colombia, next to the *plaza* of Trujillo; and the Puerta del Sol, with the Pompeii forum and the future commercial heart on the side of the prolongation of the Paseo de la Castellana north of the Nuevos Ministerios. The project by Antonio Perpiña, developed in alternative to the Zuazo and Bidagor projects for the same area, was undoubtedly the most important application of the new concept of civic center at the metropolitan scale in Spain.

Finally, it is important to mention the extensive publication of La Martella (Matera) in *Casabella continuità*. The heart of La Martella was not a *plaza* as in the Pontine cities, but rather followed the concept of the modern civic center in liaison with the inner and outer landscape. The project was not published in Spanish periodicals, but it is likely that his impact was important, not as an example to follow but rather as it demonstrated that the new directions of design being pursued by the I.N.C. were not only in line with the international trends but to some extent preceded them at the small scale of the village. Likewise, the publication in August of 1957 of the unbuilt project of Porto Conte by Figini & Pollini showed the architects' design for a civic center that combined the traditional elements of the Italian square (a U-shaped structure with continuous arcades) connected through the landscape to the monumental church dominating the village.¹⁹¹ Connecting their architectural investigative methods to the sociological work of the Instituto Nazionale di Urbanistica, Figini and Pollini collected a vast documentation on spontaneous architecture of the region and published some of the photographs within the article. The architects advocated the humble approach both to architecture and to the urban setting as well in a couple of lines that echoed de la Sota's and del Amo's own writings:

How many lessons can we draw (we, individualistic constructors of our time) from the anonymous 'spontaneous architecture' of the place, outside of time, and how should we fear of offending with uncontrolled solutions the surrounding 'religious sense of Nature'. These ideas have advised us to maintain a joint scale with the Mediterranean country and with man.¹⁹²

In conclusion of this discussion of sources and influences, I have contended that the development of the rural civic centers during the 1950s and 1960s in Spain represents a unique experience in the history of urban design and planning, one that unfortunately did not have an equivalent within the denser urban contexts where the functionalist vision dominated with no or little reference to the socio-cultural heritage of the Spanish plaza within the construction of the identity of the country.

¹⁹¹ Interestingly, the project was published in great details in the Spanish periodical press: Luigi Figini and Giorgio Pollini, "El poblado de Porto Conte," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 188, August 1957, pp. 23-30.

¹⁹² Ibidem, p. 27: Cuántas enseñanzas podemos sacar (nosotros, constructores individualistas de nuestro tiempo) de la anónima 'arquitectura espontánea' del lugar, fuera de época, y cómo debemos temer de offender con soluciones incontroladas el 'sentido religioso de la Naturaleza' circunstante. Estas ideas nos han aconsejado mantenernos en junta de escala con el país mediterráneo y con el hombre." See Chapter Five, Six, and Seven in this dissertation.

5.4.3. Cinematic Epilogue

Irvine: It is an extraordinary place.

Peploe: Yes.

Irvine: Where is this?

Peploe: This is in the South of Spain... very typical you might say from Luciano Tovoli, the production designer who worked with Michelangelo on several films including L'avventura I think... This was particularly Antonionesque you might say... A no man's land that Michelangelo turns into wonderful movie stuff... a nowhere space...."

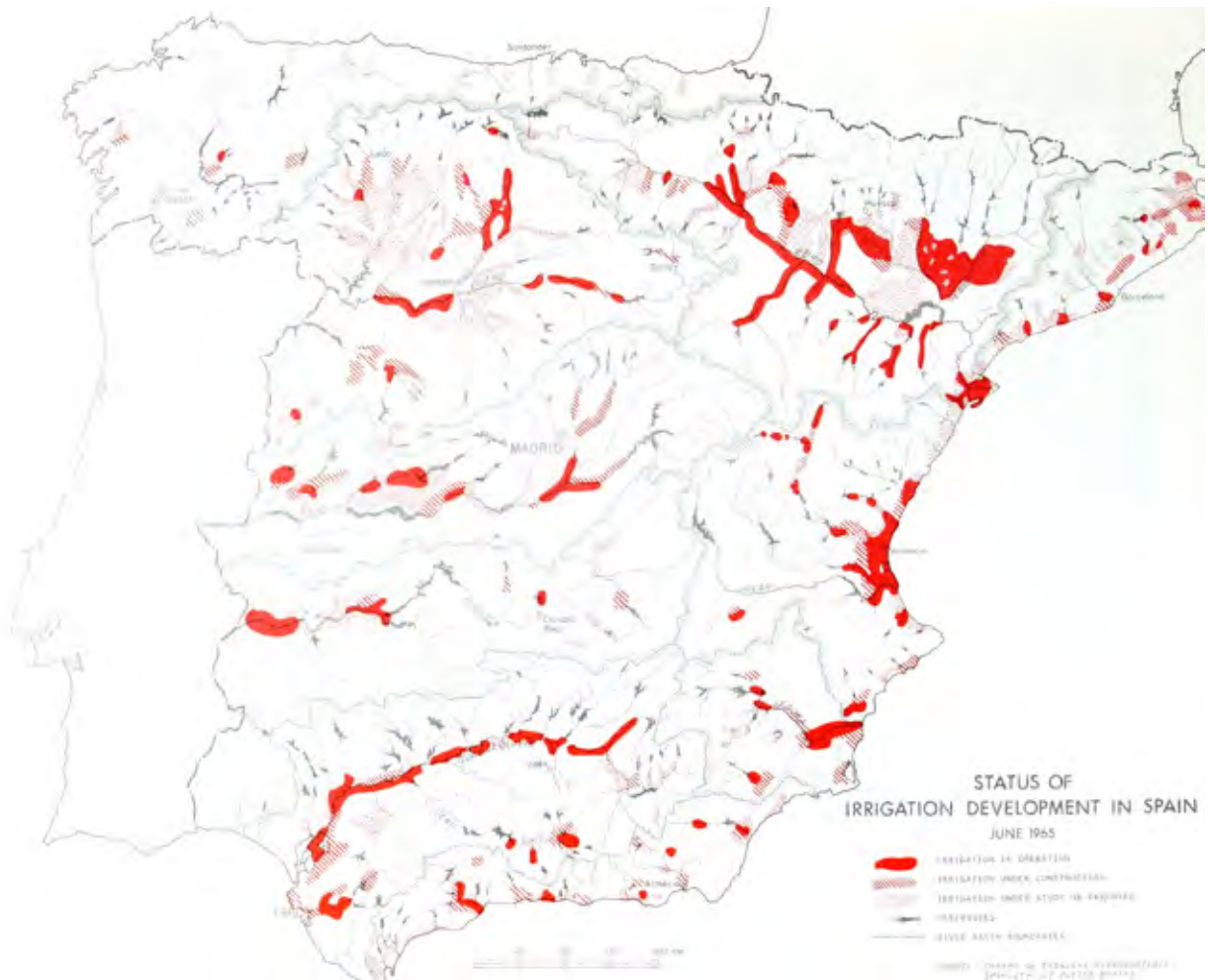
Solanillo (1968, Francisco Langle Granados, Almería) was the last pueblo planned and built by the I.N.C. Its architect was the son of Guillermo Langle Rubio (1895-1981), the most important architect of 20th century Almería and known in particular for the 1940s neighborhood, *Ciudad Jardín*. In the late 1960s, the I.N.C. villages were increasingly designed with the automobile in mind, with larger streets and more ample plazas. Langle integrated these new trends in his project, with a large open park replacing the enclosed square but also framed by the modernist church and village hall. In their original pristine condition, the cubical houses, white with flat roofs, reminded of the Arab quarter of Almería at the foot of the Alcazaba. In the mid-1970s, Italian filmmaker Michelangelo Antonioni discovered the town while searching locations for his 1975 film *The Passenger*. One hour 26 minutes and 25 seconds into Antonioni's *Professione Reporter* (1975), Jack Nicholson alias David alias Locke and Maria Schneider, the Girl, enter a sun-scorched and quite empty Andalusian town. Forty seconds of film were enough to capture the metaphysical, or rather surrealist, qualities of the last village of the I.N.C. At time of shooting, Solanillo was not deserted nor abandoned. The town, planned for 44 houses and about 250 persons, was more or less completed, but in midday Andalusia, farmers were in the fields. In his commentary on the DVD edition of the film, Jack Nicholson mentions:

The surrealist painter De Chirico, that is all I could think about when we were filming these scenes in this place plopped in the middle of the [desert] Andalusian Spain. I wondered if De Chirico came here, but it wasn't surreal, it was just reality, with a little more emphasis."¹⁹³

Forty-two years after *Luis Buñuel's Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan*, the image of the Spanish village had changed dramatically. That year marked the end of Franco's regime and the return to democracy.

* * *

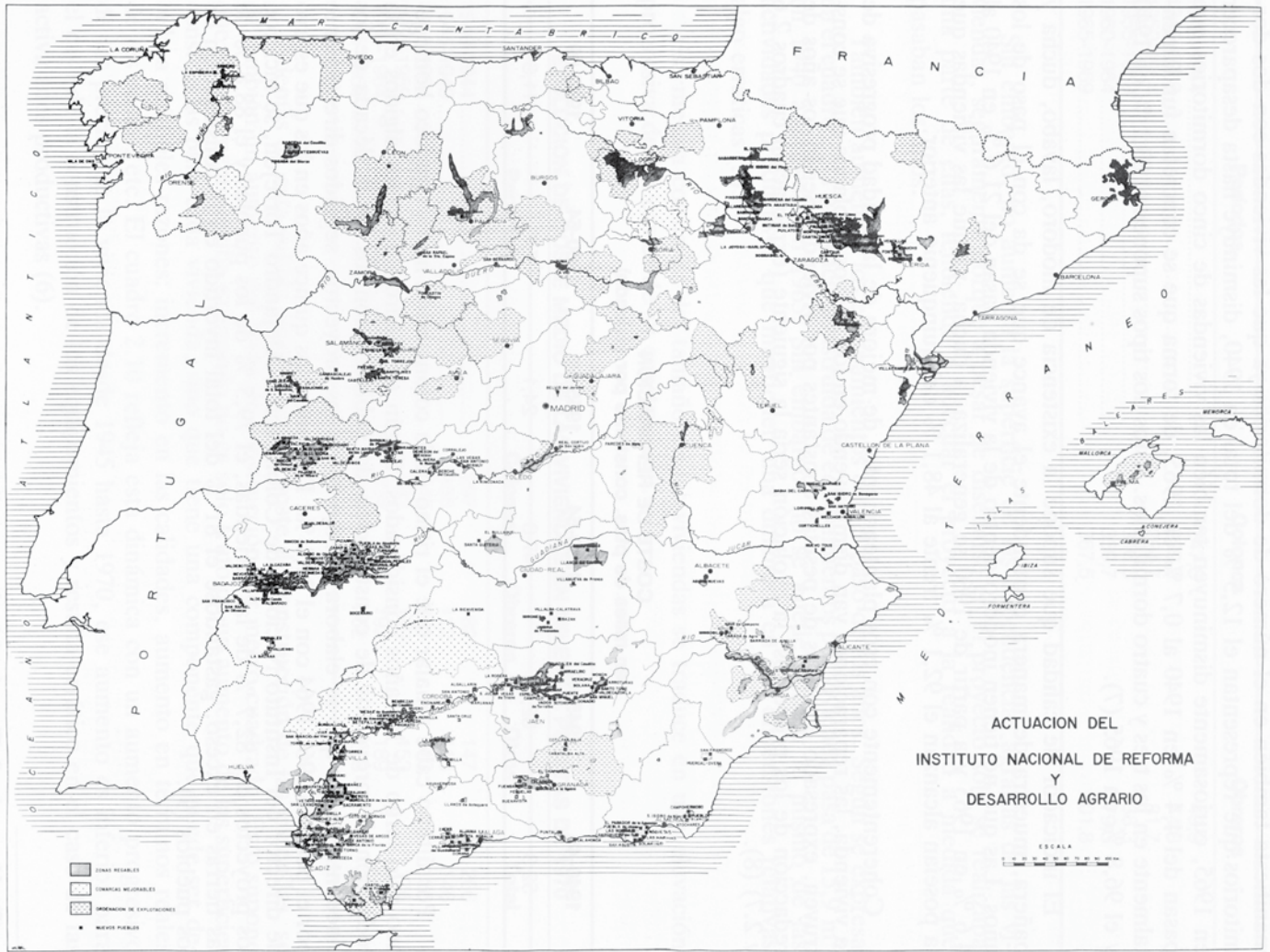
¹⁹³ See Jean-François Lejeune, "Pueblos modernos," *Teatro Marítimo* 6, 2017, pp. 42-51.



Top: Status of Irrigation Development in Spain (June 1965). From Centro de Estudios Hidrográficos, Ministry of Public Works. See next page for the correspondence with the interior colonization.

Bottom left: Dam and retention lake in the Alberche River basin. From *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 147, March 1954.

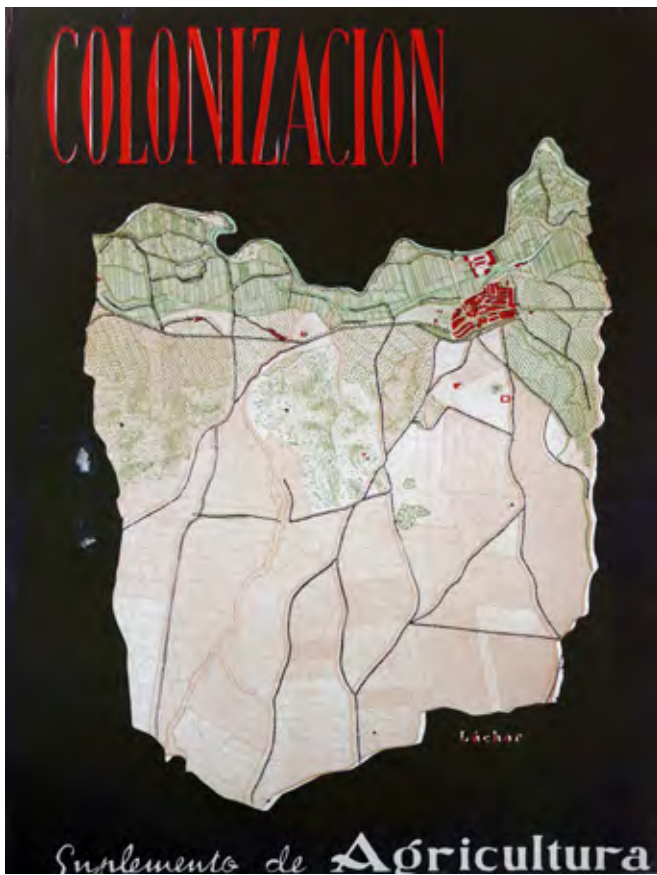
Bottom right: Cover of the special issue of *RNA* dedicated to the hydraulic infrastructures.



Top: Plan of the complete interior colonization with the hydrographic watersheds and all built new towns. From Instituto Nacional de Reforma y Desarrollo Agrario (I.R.Y.D.A.) / *Historia y Evolución de la Colonización Agraria en España*, Vol. III, Madrid, 1991, p. 106.



Left: Water distribution aqueduct near Badajoz. From Instituto Nacional de Colonización, *Memoria*, 1967, p. 141.



Covers of Colonización, monthly supplement to *Agricultura*. © MAPAMA.

PROCESO URBANISTICO DE NUESTRA COLONIZACION INTERIOR

Por José Tamés Alarcón, Arquitecto

I. - ESTUDIO HISTORICO

La Intervención del Estado en los asuntos agrarios se inicia en el siglo XVI, durante el reinado de doña Juana, con la repoblación de la sierra de Jaén, continuada posteriormente por Felipe II. Así, después de la Reconquista, se cultivaba intensamente todo el valle del Guadalquivir, pero existía una gran zona entre Jaén a Granada de terreno accidentado, apto en gran parte para la explotación agrícola, por lo que se decide su colonización, construyéndose, como consecuencia de ella, los pueblos de Carchel, Carchelejo, Campillo de Arenas, Mancha Real (hoy cabeza de partido), Los Villares y Valdepeñas de Jaén.

Es interesante la Real Cédula fundacional de este último, puesto que nos da idea de la estructuración primitiva de estos poblados, así se dice: «A los veintiséis días del mes de abril de 1539, comparecieron ante el señor Juez y escribano Juan de Requena, Juan de Reolid, entallador, y Juan de Molina, medidor, e interrogados dijeron que de todos cuantos sitios había, les parece el más dispuesto para la población el llamado de los Osarros, pues es el lugar más sano, teniendo despedida todas las aguas y el sol a Levante, pues parece, por ciertos indicios, que hubo población en la antigüedad.

»A los veintinueve días del mismo mes y año, se procedió por los alarifes Juan de Requena y Sebastián Ruiz al trazo de ciento cincuenta solares de casa, cada una

de veinte varas en delantera por treinta de fondo, formando sus correspondientes calles, trazando además la iglesia, situada en la plaza, ésta última de 54 varas de largo por 47 varas de ancho. Las calles eran de treinta pies, las principales, y de veinte, las que menos. También a la redonda de la plaza se señalaron los solares para casa del Concejo, Carnicerías y tiendas, y asimismo, en la traza de la iglesia dejaron para sacristía y torre todo lo necesario, además de un solar para casa del clérigo, y que donde estaba señalada la capilla mayor, pusieron una cruz grande, señalando para cementerio a dicha iglesia.»

Una colonización anterior fué la iniciada en 1571, en la Alpujarra, al quedar despoblados centenares de lugares y sin cultivar grandes extensiones de tierras fértiles, con motivo del internamiento de los moriscos que las cultivaban, a causa de las sucesivas rebeliones que desde 1499 habían provocado.

La repoblación se llevó a efecto mediante el traslado de familias del NE. de nuestra península, Asturias, Galicia y montañas de Burgos y León que, en número de 12.000 ocuparon 259 lugares.

Pero donde verdaderamente alcanzó una importancia extraordinaria la creación de los nuevos núcleos rurales fué en la época de Carlos III, con las colonizaciones efectuadas en Sierra Morena y en los desiertos de la

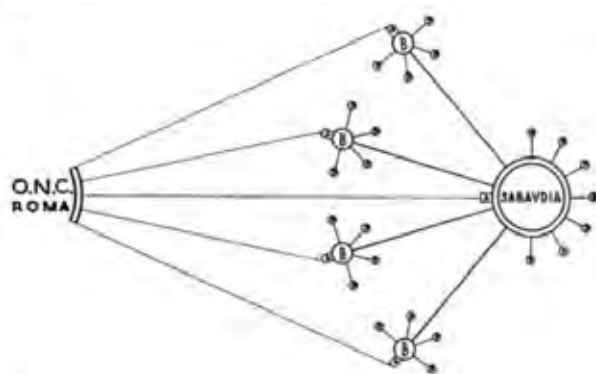
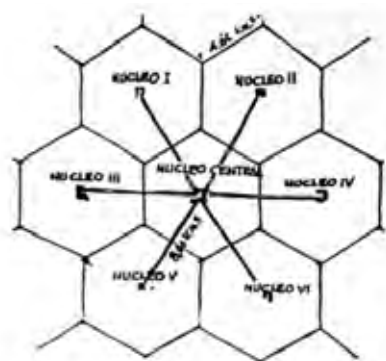
REPOBLACION DE LA SIERRA DE JAEN SIGLO XVI





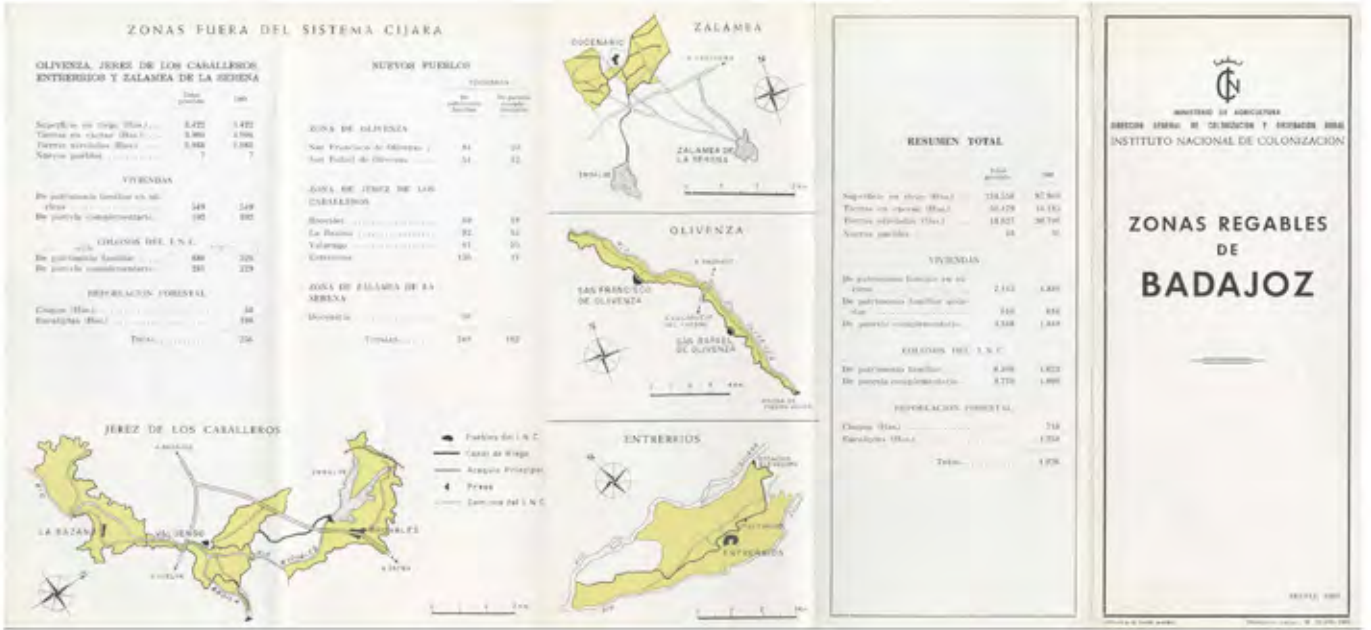
Aspecto exterior de la Iglesia de La Carlota.

COLONIZACIÓN DE CARLOS III
2º DEPARTAMENTO •• SIGLO XVIII



Top: Page from *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura (RNA)*, 83, November 1948, discussing the Nuevas Poblaciones of Carlos III.

Bottom: Comparative diagrams of the polycentric model of Spanish colonization under Franco (Plan Badajoz) and the hierarchical Italian model under Mussolini. From "Actuaciones del Instituto Nacional de Colonización 1939-1970." *Urbanismo COAM* 3 (1988): 4-12.



Top (both): Watersheds within the Plan Badajoz with location of all new towns of colonization. From Leaflets "Zonas regables de Badajoz", I.N.C., May 1969 / Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPA-MA.

Cover of the brochure *Plan Badajoz*, Madrid, Publicaciones españolas, 1956

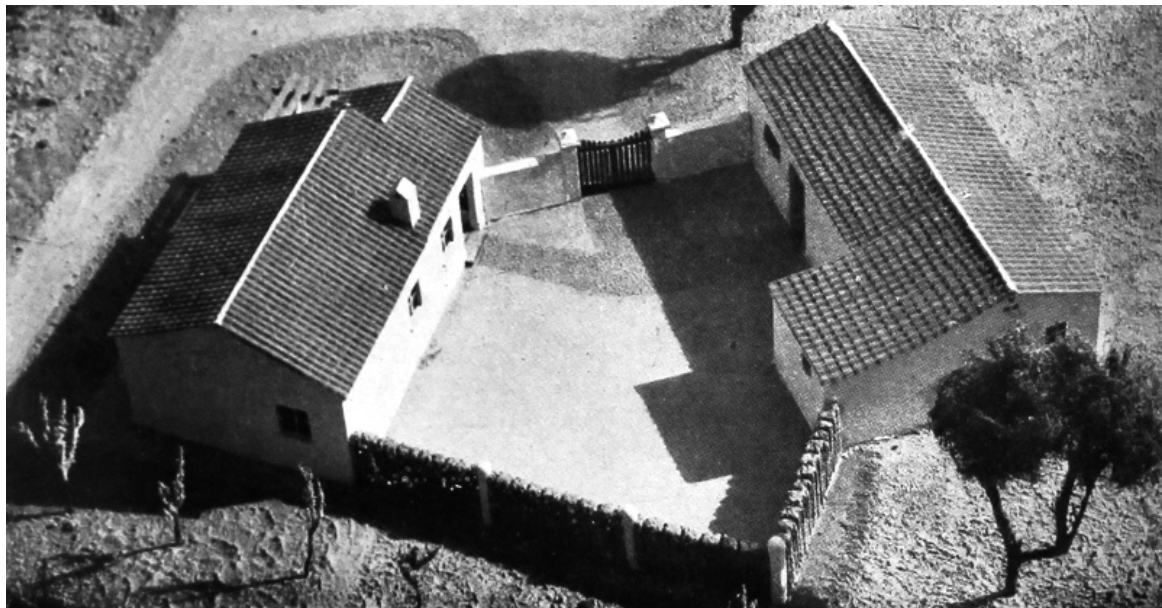
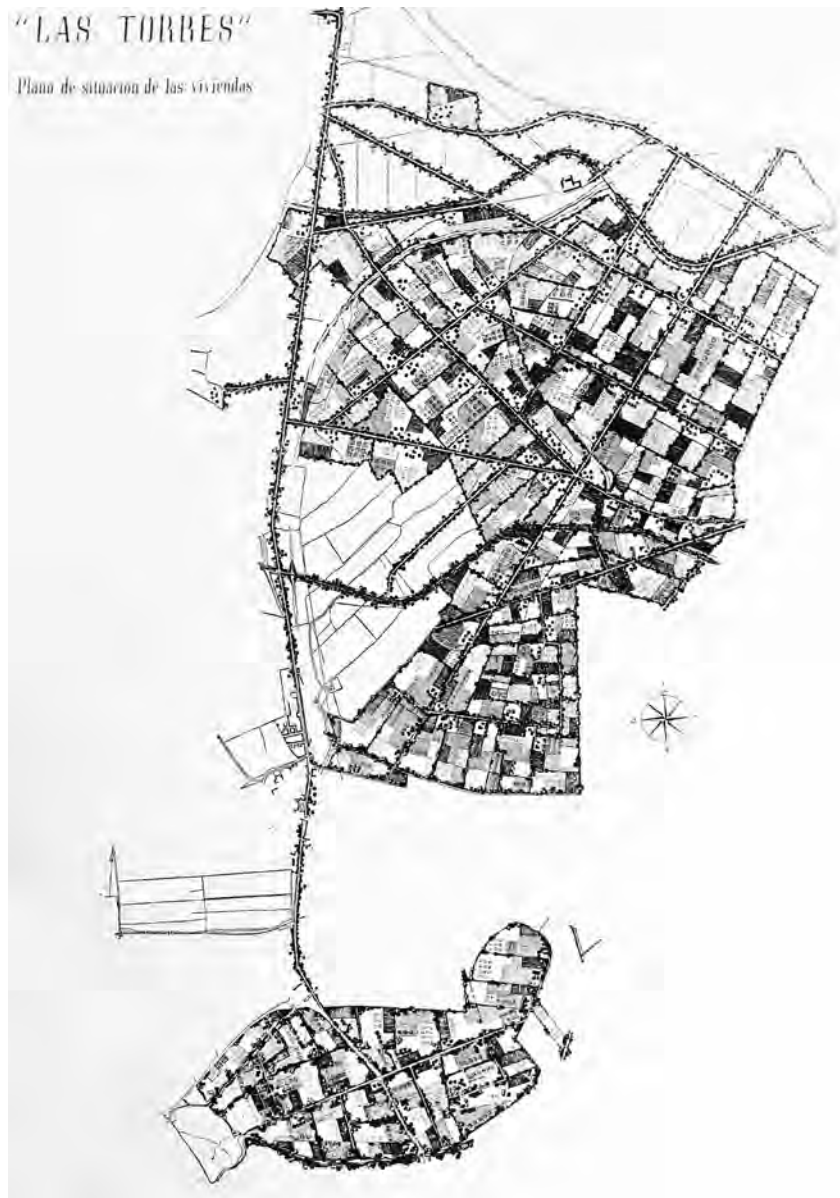


I.N.C. Plan Badajoz: Realized and planned projects, 1965. From I.N.C., Memoria, 1967, p. 93.



I.N.C. Plan Jaén: Realized and planned projects, 1965. From I.N.C., Memoria, 1967, p. 93.





Top: I.N.C. Germán Valentín & Castañeda Cagigas. Plan for Las Torres, 1947. From *RNA 83*, November 1948.

Bottom: Las Torres, model of house Type B, 1947. From *RNA 83*, November 1948.



I.N.C. Victor d'Ors and José Subirana. Aerial view and masterplan for El Torno, 1943. From *RNA* 83, November 1948.



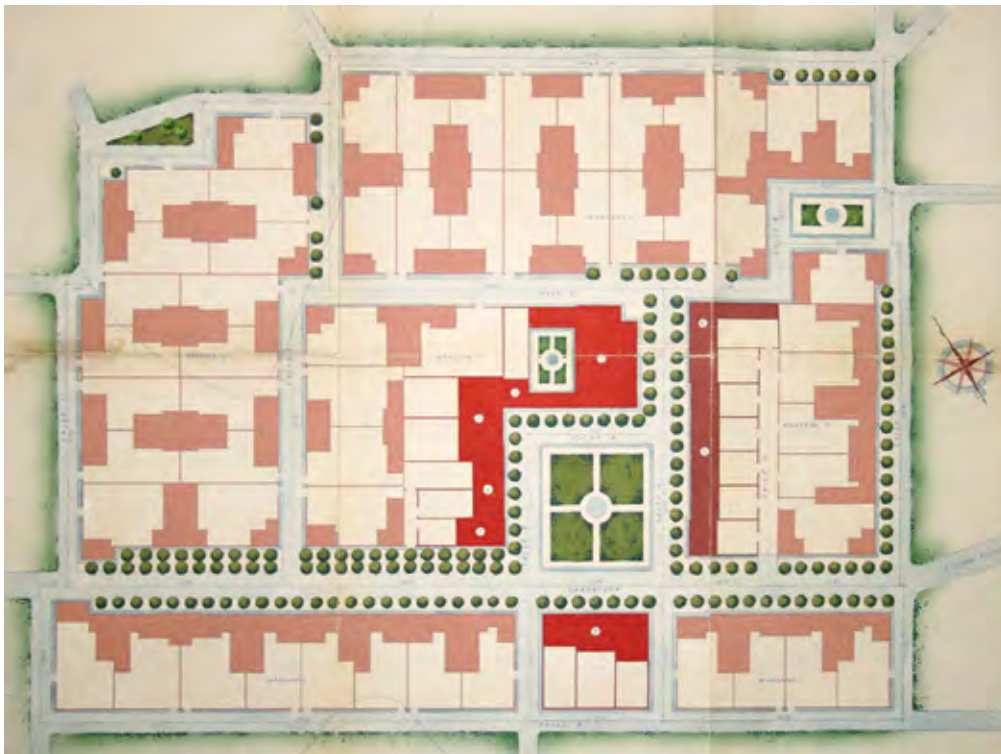
I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. New town of Giménez, 1945. Entrance to the plaza mayor and aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



Top left: I.N.C. Pedro Castañeda Cagigas. First sketch for the village of Bernuy, 1944. From *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 28, April 1944.

Top right: I.N.C. Pedro Castañeda Cagigas. First sketch for the village of Bernuy, 1944. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

Bottom: Aerial view of Bernuy. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



Top: I.N.C. Aníbal Gonzalez Gómez. Guadalema de los Quinteros, 1947. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: I.N.C. Santiago García Mesalles & Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo. Águeda del Caudillo, 1949. Colored masterplan. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



Top left: I.N.C. Fernando de la Cuadra. Masterplan for Tahivilla, 1946. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

Middle: Elevation of a block in Tahivilla. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

Top right: Plaza at Tahivilla. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: Manuel Rosado Gonzalo & José Borobio Ojeda. Masterplan for Valdelacalzada (inverted), 1947. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

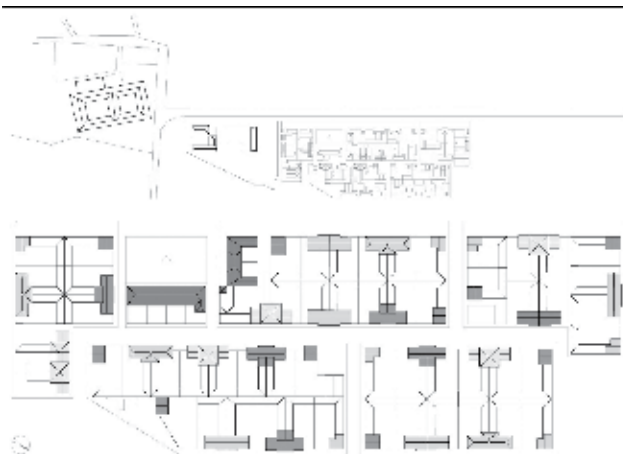




Top: I.N.C. Aerial view of the town center and plaza of Valdelacalzada. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



I.N.C. Francisco G3mez de la Cruz Guadiana del Caudillo, 1948. Aerial view of the town center and plaza. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

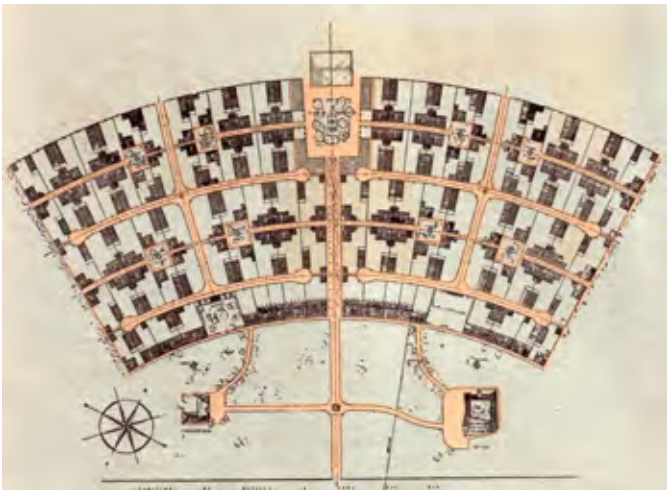


Top left: I.N.C. Victor d'Ors. La Barca de la Florida, 1943. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Top right: La Barca de la Florida. View of the plaza mayor. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Middle: I.N.C. Arturo Roldán Palomo. Villanueva de Franco (now Consolación), 1949. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: I.N.C. Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo. La Vid, 1946. Masterplan and view of the monastery. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



Plano de conjunto.

El trazado es rígido; es rígido porque, como antes digo, Esquivel nació de una vez, de un solo golpe y, además, sobre un terreno llano como la palma de la mano, sin accidentes algunos, con orientación casi idéntica respecto a la carretera, y, en estas cosas, hace falta ser muy lozano y tener para, por espíritu, hacer retorcidos. Se desarrolló en plaza-forma de abanico proporcional—en abanico hacia la carretera de Sevilla a Lora; así caminó al que para sus mejores formas, lo mejor que domo: en primer día del pueblo, el médico, el secretario del Ayuntamiento, los maestros, comerciantes y demás gente importante; al fondo, todo el pueblo, la plaza de la Armería o de los Olivos, recogida para que trabajen los artesanos andaluces. La madurez de sus vecinos han de vivir en casas que forman líneas y anchos calles y más íntimas viviendas.

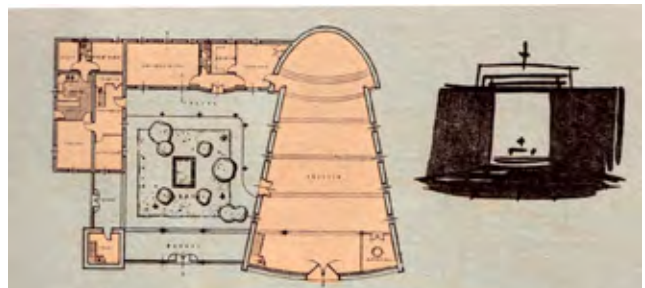
No hay pueblo agrícola que haya una heredad que tenga para todas y cada una de sus casas un parcelo de a él de amplias dimensiones; los que necesitan ha-

cerlos han de tenerlo; entre, de principio, en el progreso. Con partes distintas no podremos hacer todos iguales; en trazados, pues, no podremos hacer los posibles de siempre.

Se trató de conseguir en Esquivel que sus viviendas "sean humanas": las calles o vías estrechas, sus casas bajas, los huecos pequeños, lo más posible del tamaño del hombre. Digo, como antes, que aun delantito llegar a más; hay que vivir a gusto, en todo el pueblo como en casa.

Seguimos determinando detalles, se dividieron las calles, rigidamente, en calles para hombres a pie y calles para hombres con carro. Esta disposición, con sus pequeños inconvenientes, tiene bastantes ventajas que no hablo más en la elección. Así, la "zona residencial" puede ser un conjunto "salvo" pedregal y caudales.

Se buscó en todo el pueblo la sencillez—en el detalle de la casa, con una simplicidad absoluta; lo más posible, con la menor decoración.



Plano.

Fachada lateral.



Fachada principal.



IGLESIA

La iglesia, por su mayor importancia, puede ser ya "tema del arquitecto" como tal, sus formas pueden ser nuevas. En éste se intentan estas formas sencillas, modernas, con elementos nuevos: col y barro.

En el interior trata de conseguir un efecto de claroscuro para disponer el ánimo al recogimiento y a la adoración, con la forma en que el presbiterio se ilumina.

Toda es en la iglesia de arquitecto, menos el remate de la torre, que ha de ser del taller más experto y artista que trabaje en las almas.

La totalidad de la fachada principal es de sencillez, y todo el frente del presbiterio va cubierto con un gran mural.



Vivienda en una planta.

Vivienda en dos plantas.

VIVIENDAS



Fachada de viviendas en dos plantas.



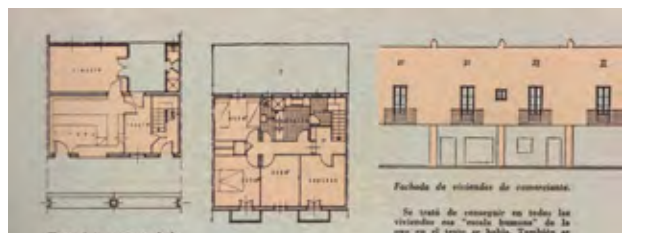
Fachada de viviendas en una planta.



AVENIDA DE LA BARBITERA

AVENIDA DE LA CALLE PRINCIPAL

RECORRIDO DEL AVANZO DE LA BARBITERA



Fachada de viviendas de comerciante.

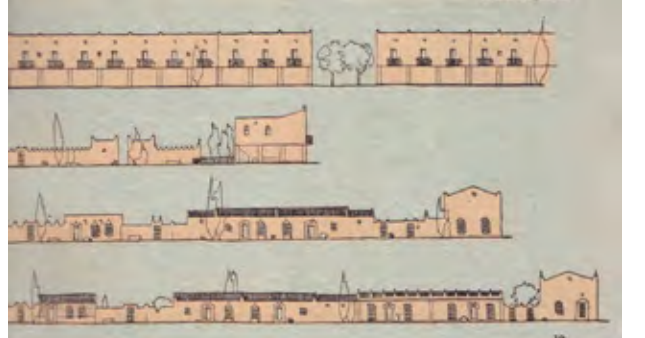
Se trató de conseguir en todas las viviendas que "sean humanas" de la que en el texto se habla. También se intentó el sentir el peso del arquitecto en la presencia de las cosas, la sencillez a una superior vigilancia.

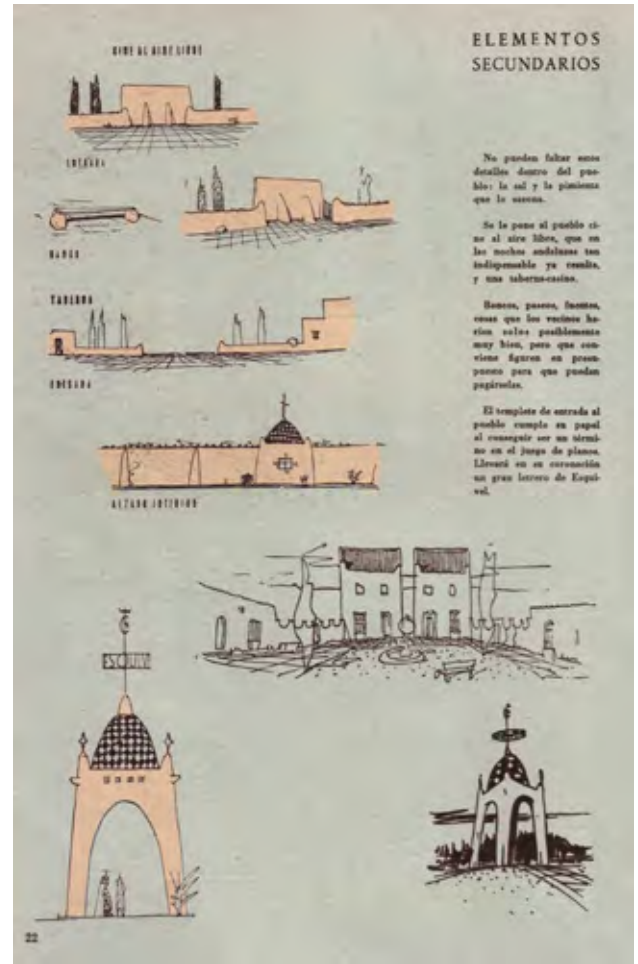
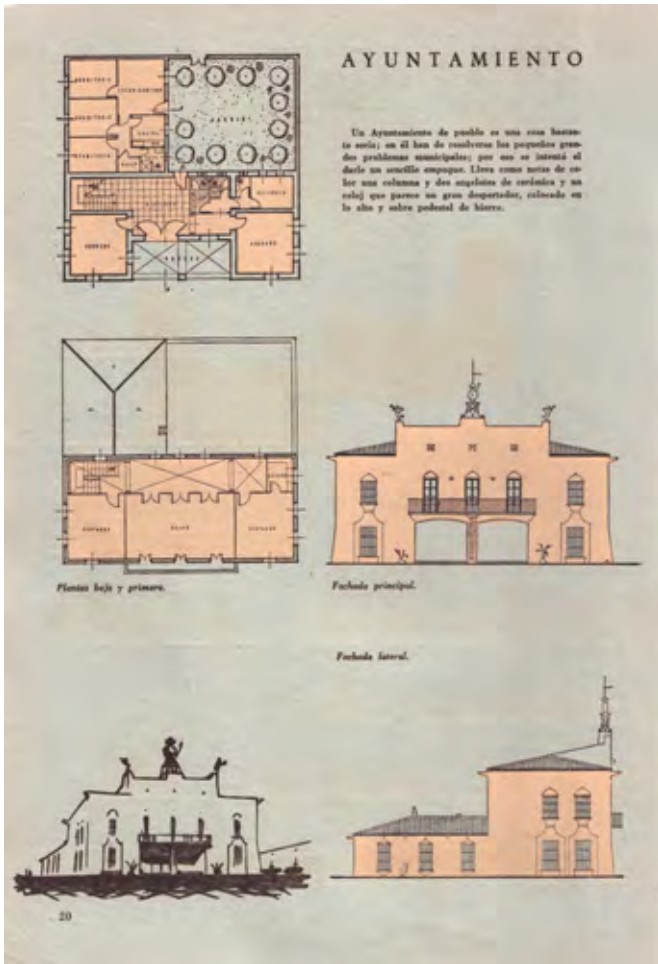


Plano de la vivienda y primera de la vivienda del comerciante.



Detalle de fachada.

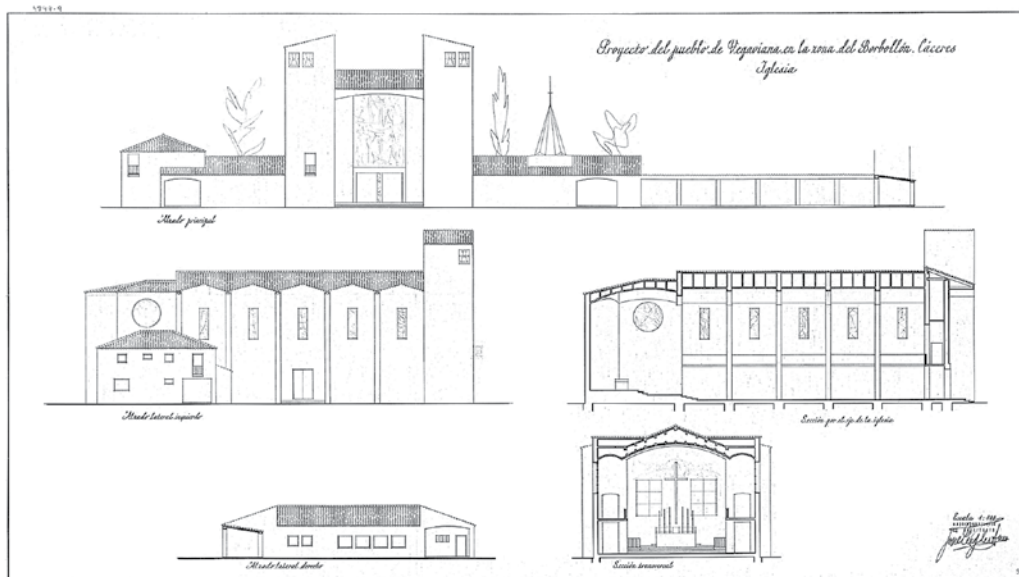
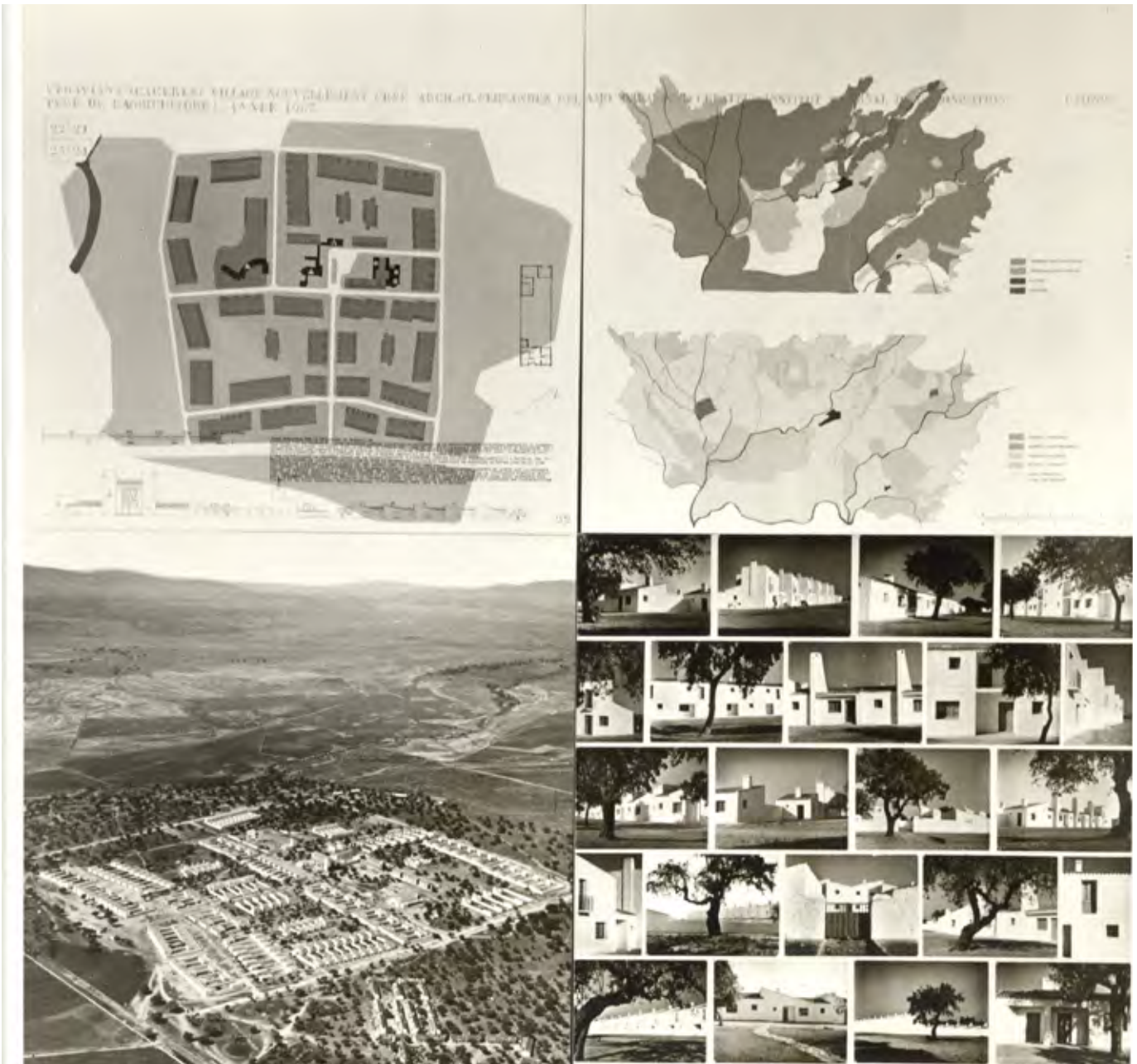




Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Publication in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 133, January 1953, pp. 15-22 [from previous page].

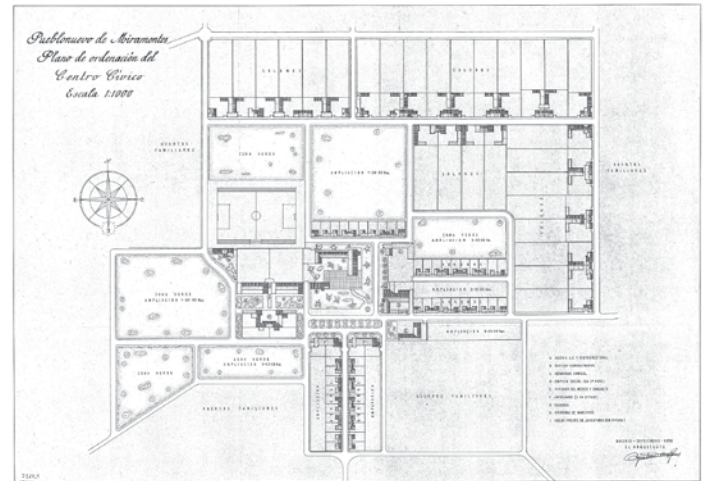
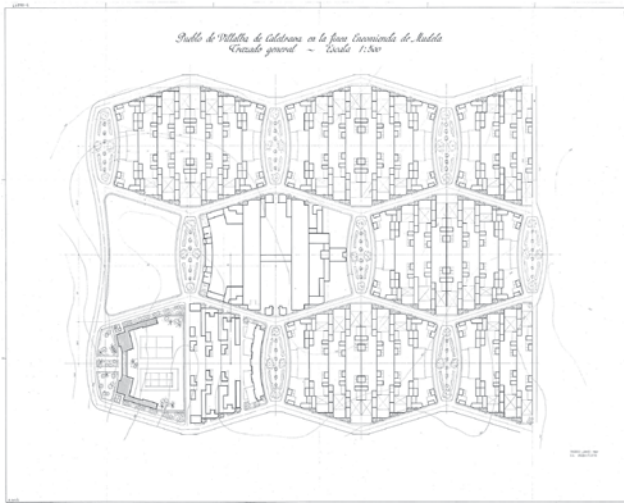
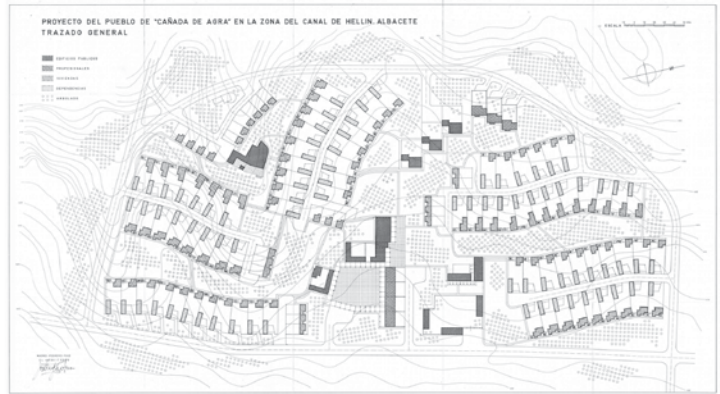
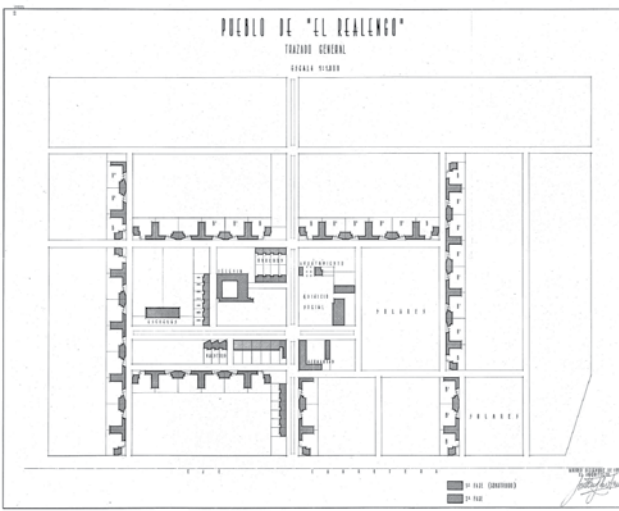
Right: I.N.C. José Tamés Alarcón. Torre de la Reina, 1952. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





Top: José Luis Fernández del Amo. Vegaviana, 1954. Panels presented at the U.I.A. conference in Moscow (1958). © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: Elevations and sections of the church in Vegaviana, 1954. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



Top four: I.N.C. Fernández del Amo. El Realengo, 1957; Cañada de Agra, 1962; Villalba de Calatrava, 1955; Miraelrío, 1964.

Middle left: I.N.C. José Beltrán Navarro. El Bayo, 1954. Middle right: I.N.C. Agustín Delgado de Robles. Pueblo Nuevo de Miramontes, 1956.

Bottom: I.N.C. Víctor d'Ors. Torviscal, 1957.

All plans from © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.





Top left: I.N.C. Victor d'Ors. Torviscal, 1957. Aerial view. Top right: José Antonio Corrales. Llanos de Sotillo, 1956. View of the civic building and church.

Middle: I.N.C. José Antonio Corrales. Llanos de Sotillo, 1956. Elevation of the civic building and church.

Bottom: I.N.C. José Antonio Corrales. Villafranco del Gadiana, 1955. Aerial view of civic center with houses in the background.

All documents from © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





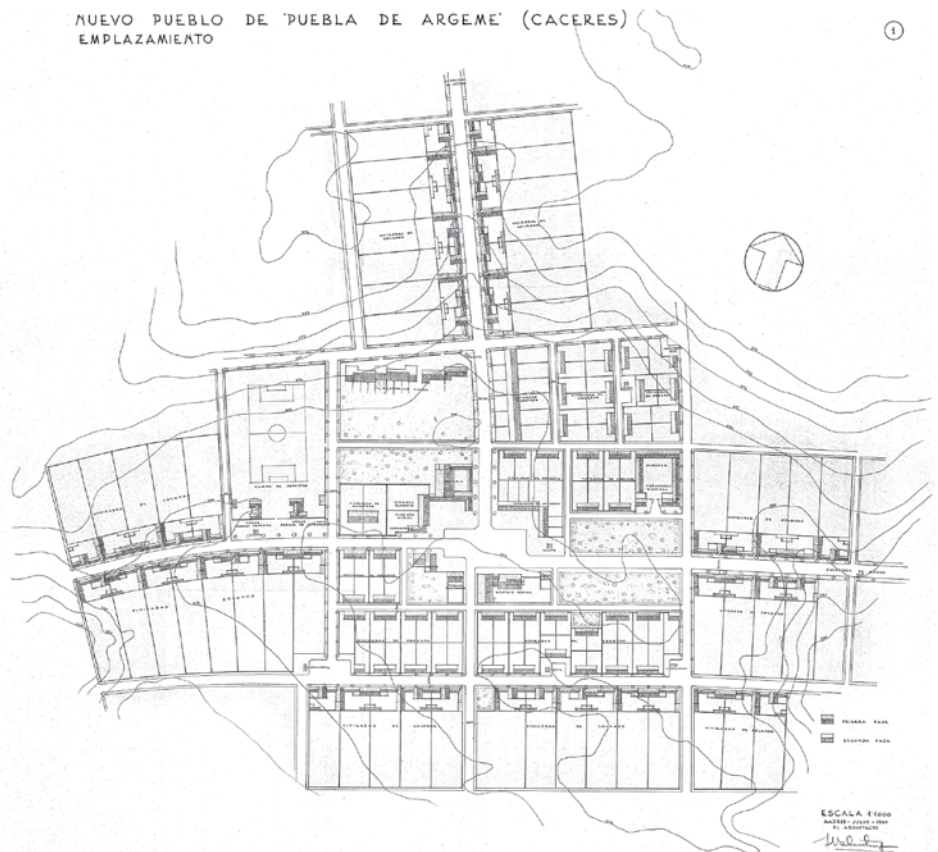
NUEVO PUEBLO DE 'PUEBLA DE ARGEME' (CACERES)
EMPLAZAMIENTO

①

Top left: I.N.C. César Casado de Pablos. Talavera la Nueva, 1952. Aerial view of town and plaza. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

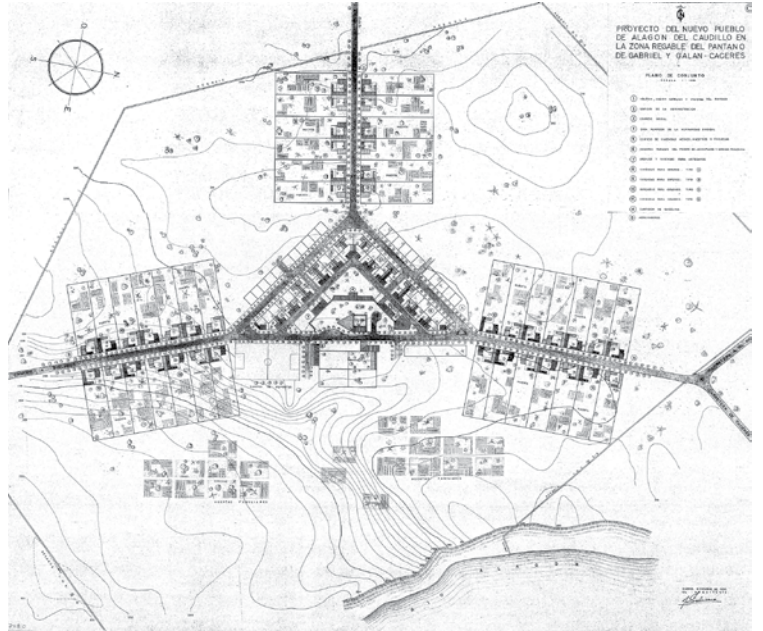
Top right: I.N.C. Juan Luis Manzano Monis. Guadalperales, 1956. Aerial view © Google Earth.

Right: I.N.C. Germán Valentín-Gamazo. Masterplan for Puebla de Argeme, 1957. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.





Top left: I.N.C. Carlos Sobrini Marín. Rincón de Ballesteros, 1953. View of the church from the plaza arcades.



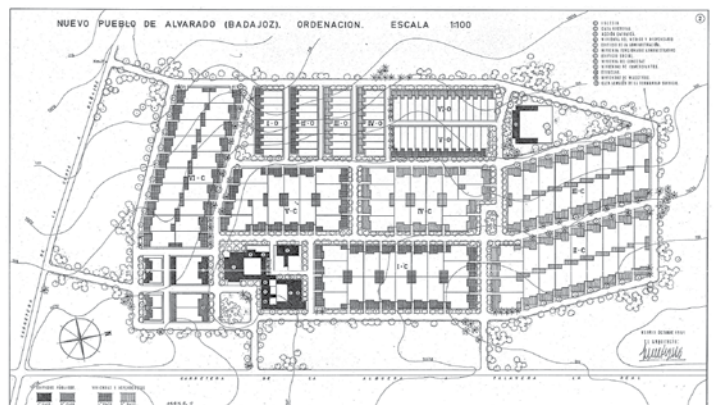
Top right: I.N.C. José Subirana. Masterplan for Alagón del Caudillo, 1957 (incomplete).



Right: I.N.C. Manuel Rosado Gonzalo. La Alcazaba, 1956. Aerial view.

Bottom: I.N.C. Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo. Alvarado, 1961. Aerial view and masterplan.

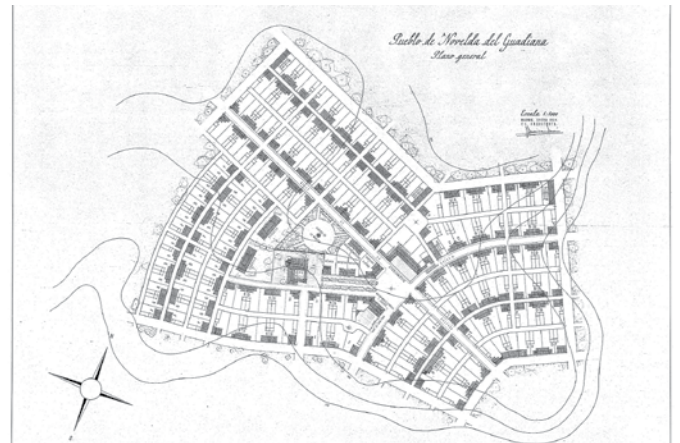
All documents from © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





The reconstructed town of Tablones. Street and sections from *Reconstrucción* 53, May 1945.

Aerial view. Wikipedia.

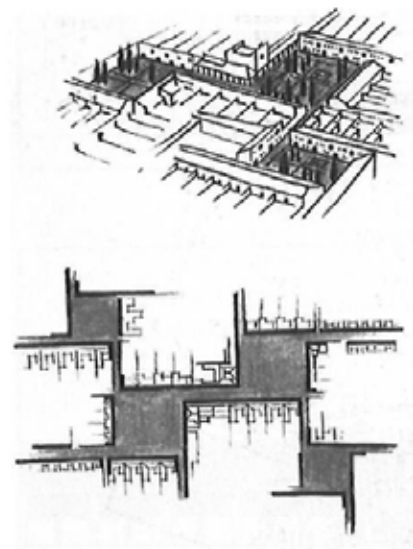
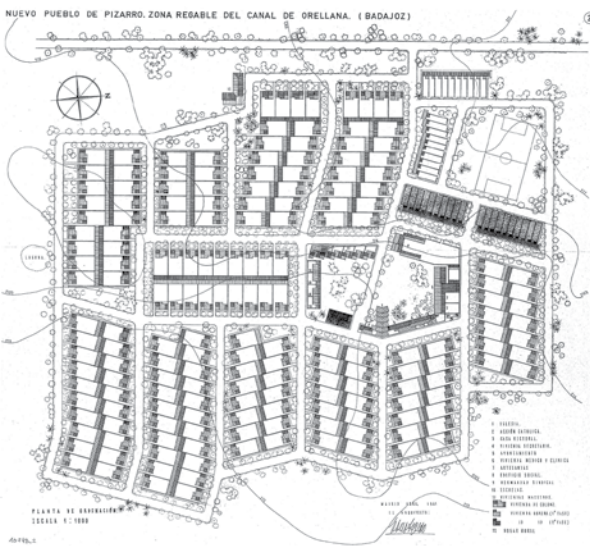


Top and middle right:
I.N.C. Juan Luis Manzano Monis.
Novedad del Guadiana,
1954. Aerial view and
masterplan.

Middle left and bottom:
I.N.C. Manuel Jiménez Varea.
San Francisco de Olivenza,
1954.
Masterplan and street
view.



All documents from ©
Archivo fotográfico del
I.N.C., MAPAMA.



Top: I.N.C. Carlos Arniches. Gévora del Caudillo, 1954. Aerial view of the center. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom right: I.N.C. Fernando de Terán-Sketches for Sacramento, 1965. From *Pueblos de colonización durante el Franquismo*, Sevilla, 2008.

Bottom left: I.N.C. Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo. Masterplan for Pizarro, 1961. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



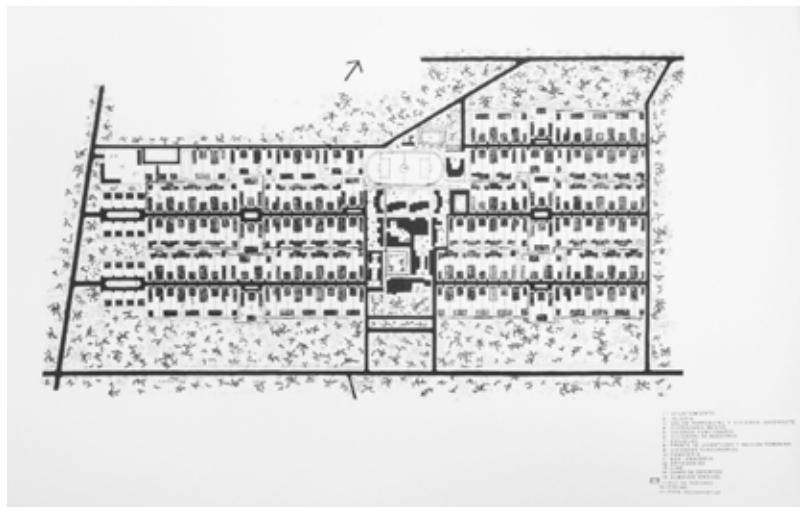
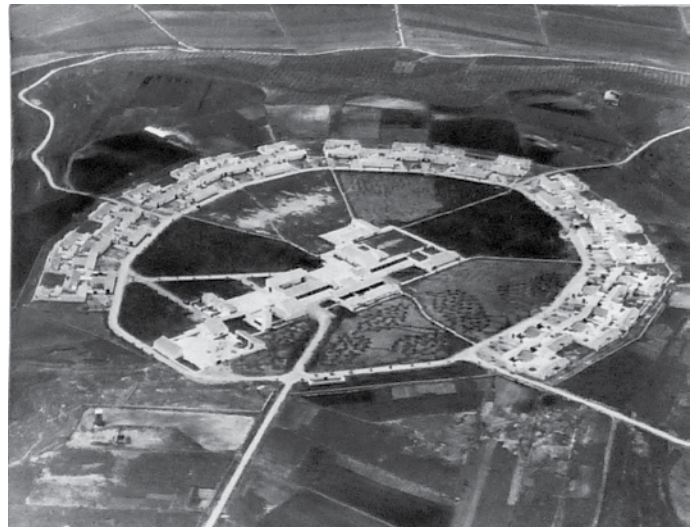
Top: I.N.C. Antonio de Aroziegui. Tous (Nuevo), 1962. Aerial view.

Bottom: I.N.C. Pedro Castañeda Cagigas. Aguas Nuevas, 1963. Aerial view.

Right: I.N.C. Manuel Jiménez Varea. Las Norias, 1958. Aerial view.

All views from © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





Middle left: I.N.C. Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo. Casar de Miajadas, 1962. Aerial view.

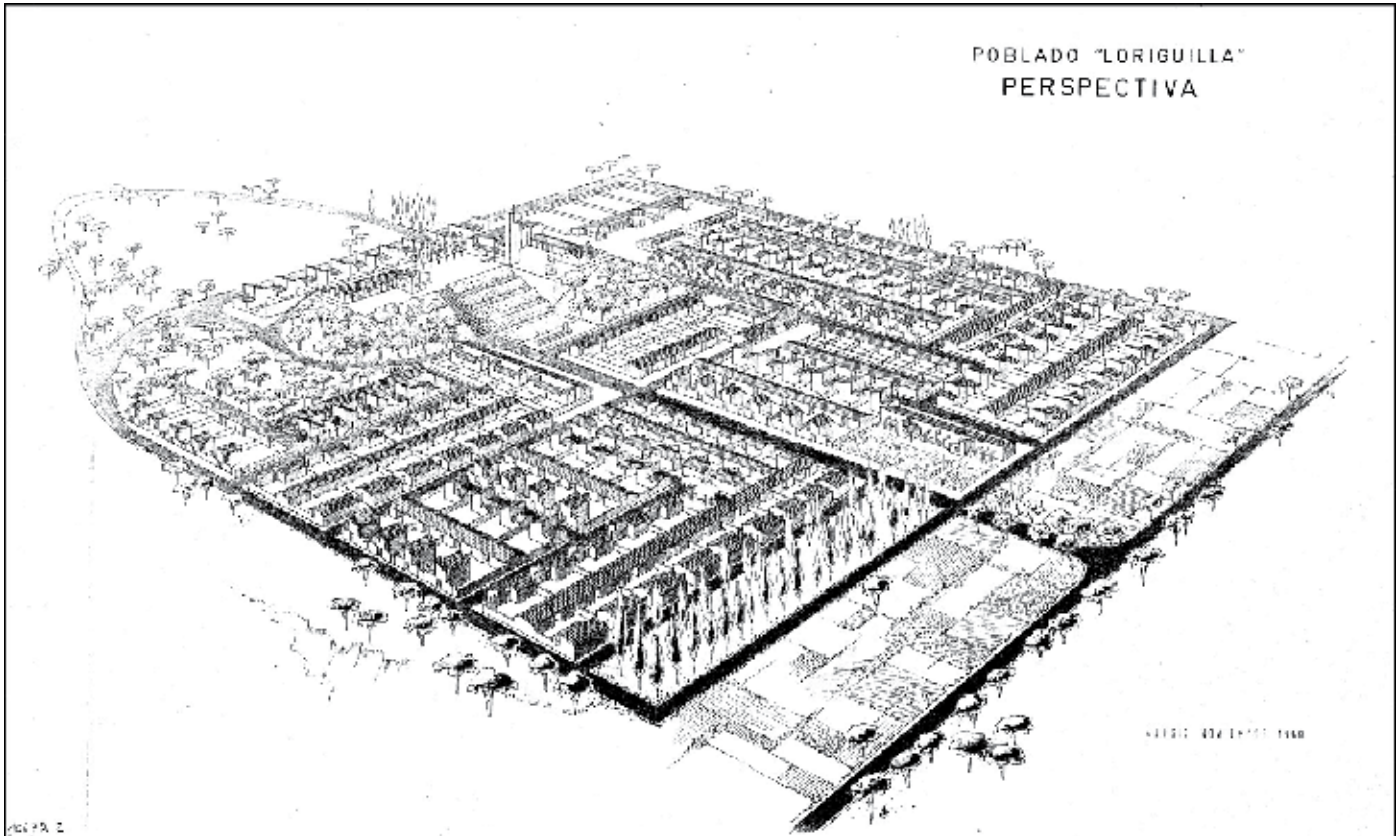
Top: Perfecto Gómez Alvarez. Valdivia, 1963, Aerial view.

Middle right: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Miraelrío, 1964. Aerial view.

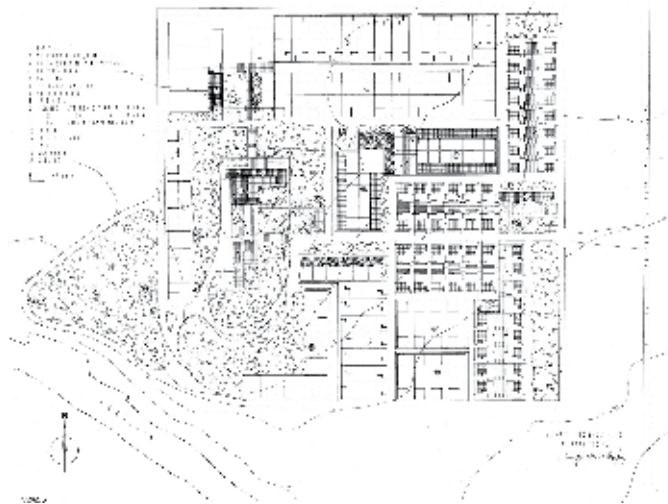
Bottom: Antonio Fernández Alba. El Priorato, 1964. Plan and view of civic center. Photo J.F. Lejeune.



POBLADO "LORIGUILLA"
PERSPECTIVA



PLANO DE DISTRIBUCION GENERAL DE POBLADO "LORIGUILLA" EN PLANTA. ESCALA 1:1000



I.N.C. Agustín Delgado de Robles.
View, axonometric view, and masterplan of Loriguilla, 1961. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



Top: I.N.C. Alberto Balbotín Polledo, Agustín Delgado Robles & Pablo Arias García. Pedestrian street view and aerial of the civic center, Chapatales, 1968. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Middle and bottom: I.N.C. José Tamés Alarcón and Manuel Rosado. Masterplan and view of the central plaza, Castellar de la Frontera, 1967. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





Top: Fiat 500 in a colonization vil-
lage © I.N.C., Memoria, 1967.

Bottom: Commemorative medals
for the 25th Anniversary of the
I.N.C. (1939-1964). © I.N.C., Me-
moria, 1967.

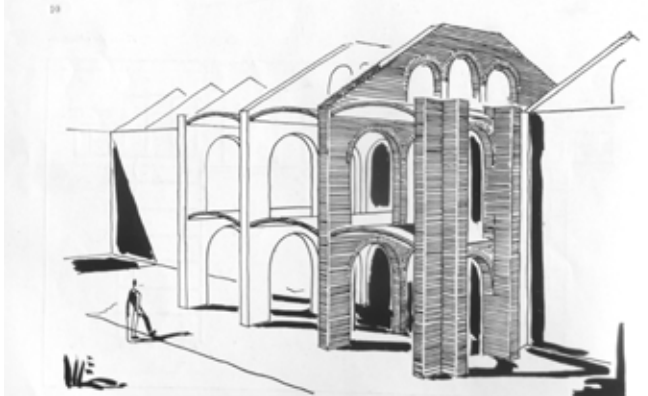


1. Cuerpo central de acceso.

2. Vista lateral de separación con compañeros para abaratar los costes de las bóvedas.

3. Detalle estructural, donde se aprecian las muros transversales (fabrica de bóveda) con muros longitudinales separados por arcos y en donde aparecen los bloques de columnas (apoyos) sobre de suelo con yeso y segunda de ladrillo sencilla, tomada con mortero rico de cemento. En el edificio de construcción y algunas otras partes de fábrica sencilla se emplea la masa con cemento.

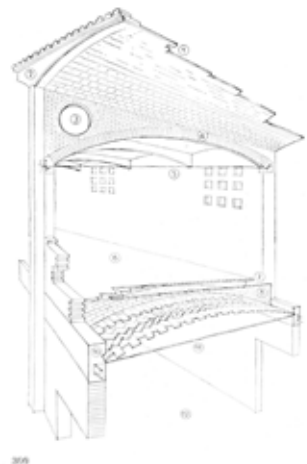
4



5. Sala, comedor y abanico, visto desde el Este.

1. Bóveda cubierta de yeso. 2. Seta de bóveda de hormigón para cubrir con yeso. 3. Bóveda de abanico del resto del arco. 4. Arco de 6 m. de luz de ladrillo o sardinet para apoyo de las bóvedas de 1,20 m. de luz. 5. Tercera formada por dos voladros de 20 mm. de diámetro, unidos a dos elementos de hormigón que sirven de apoyo del arco. 6. Pivote del arco calculado para una sobrecarga de 1.000 kg./m.². 7. Bóveda tubular de yeso. 8. Táfico monocoque que protege el sistema. 9. Dos cajas de ladrillo huro y sin de yeso. 10. Cálculo de hormigón armado con rielito para el arranque de la bóveda. 11. Tronco de tronco de 20 mm. cada 80 cm. 12. Suela de la zapatera.

3



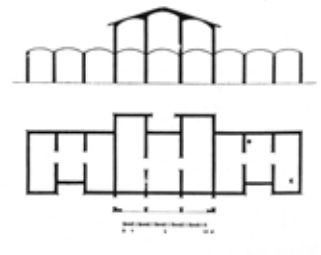
otro empuje más agradecido. No somos, desde luego, partidarios del herrónas inútil. Y si es verdad que el hombre tiene la arquitectura que se merece, en este caso, en que el herrónas me divide las condiciones mínimas que ha de vivir, sino que le sea inspirada, se ha de procurar en lo posible que la arquitectura haga el hombre.

Todo esto que apuntamos tendrá la justificación complementaria con la construcción de la segunda fase, que constituirá el Internado de Aprendizaje, por otra importancia, y el encontrarse en periodo de iniciación, dejaremos su descripción para fecha posterior.

De la construcción de la Granja diremos que, en su principio, fue proyectada su estructura totalmente en hormigón armado; pero con objeto de dar mayor impulso a las obras, fué sustituida en la marcha de las mismas por un sistema de bóvedas, distintas para cada caso. Vamos a hacer la descripción del sistema adoptado para la Zapatería, ya que éste es un compendio de todos los demás. Y con esto recibo la invitación hecha en su libro *Módulos tabicados* por nuestro compañero Luis Moya, cuando en esto, como en todas las disciplinas de la Arquitectura.

Se trata de salvar una luz de seis metros con un forjado que soporte una sobrecarga de 1.000 kilos por metro cuadrado y correspondiente al Huelil superior.

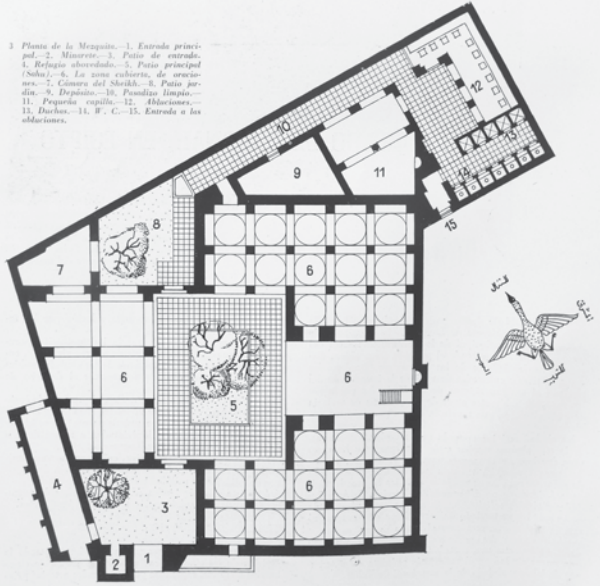
4. Cuerpo central.



Fachada de la Mezquita.

principales, que convergen en el Centro Cívico formado por la Mezquita, el Bazar y la Alcaldía. Cada barrio lleva calles de importancia secundaria para el servicio de las manzanas de casas que se han agrupado

por simpatías de vecindad o proximidad familiar. En el interior de estas manzanas, calles particulares y pequeñas plazas aseguran la intimidad y confort y la tranquilidad de sus habitantes.



3. Planta de la Mezquita. 1. Entrada principal. 2. Muebles. 3. Patio de entrada. 4. Bóveda abovedada. 5. Patio principal (Sala). 6. La zona cubierta de arcadas. 7. Cámara del Sheikh. 8. Patio jardín. 9. Depósito. 10. Pasadizo lineal. 11. Pequeña capilla. 12. Habitaciones. 13. Duchas. 14. W. C. 15. Entrada a las abdiciones.

LOS EDIFICIOS DE UTILIDAD PÚBLICA.

La Mezquita se compone de un patio central sobre el que dan cuatro Iwan. Tiene capacidad suficiente para albergar los viernes la totalidad de la población. En el edificio se ha respetado el estilo local. Se ha construido un minarete con una escalera interior dominando todo el conjunto. Los locales tienen todas las comodidades para sus abdiciones, disponiendo para ello de instalaciones de duchas.

La Alcaldía. Una serie de arcadas cubiertas por cúpulas constituyen el recinto del público, y las oficinas comprenden todos los servicios públicos, como Correos, Teléfonos, Oficinas municipales, etc. La sala de espera exterior puede servir de lugar de reuniones públicas en ocasiones excepcionales. En el interior se disponen la sala de audiencia del Oméla, su despacho particular, el de la cooperativa y sus principales servicios.

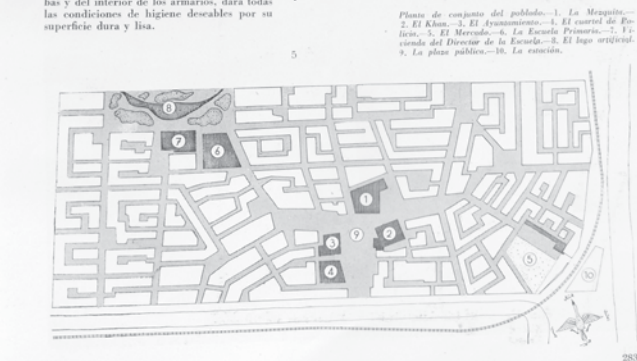
El Khan. La superficie cultivable dependiente del Zimam de Gournah y las pequeñas industrias artesanas actualmente existentes, no permitirán al nuevo pueblo bastarse a sí mismo. Por esto, se va a procurar crear un artesanado que pueda reemplazar la fuente de ingresos obtenidos antes por sus habitantes de la explotación, más o menos lícita, de las antigüedades.

En el centro de la ciudad se dispone un Khan, comprendiendo talleres y locales de habitaciones destinados a los artesanos que vengan de fuera para iniciar a los habitantes de la nueva ciudad en la fabricación de objetos para el consumo local y para la exportación. Entre estos artesanos se cuenta con los de las industrias de hilados, tintes del lino y de la lana, y trabajos de madera.

La cerámica, compuesta de arena y sal de sodio, será de un precio de venta módico y su decoración por los niños del pueblo pondrá una idea del arte regional. El empleo de esta cerámica como revestimiento de las mamparas y del interior de los armarios, dará todas las condiciones de higiene deseables por su superficie dura y lisa.



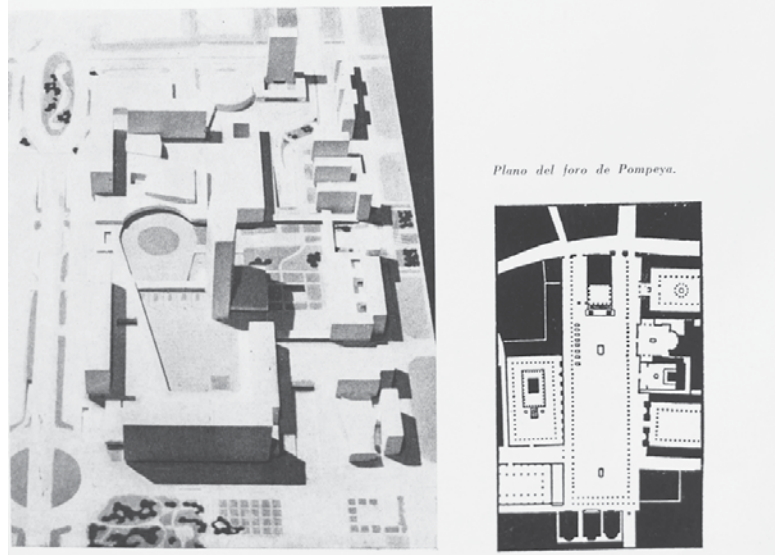
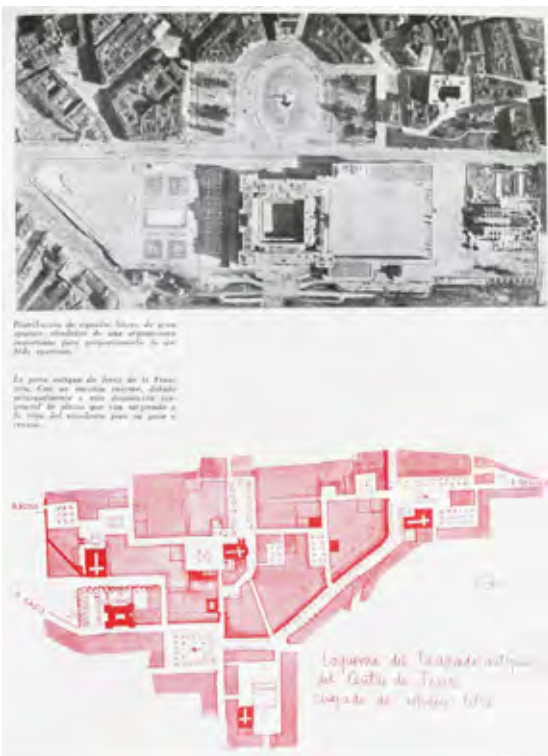
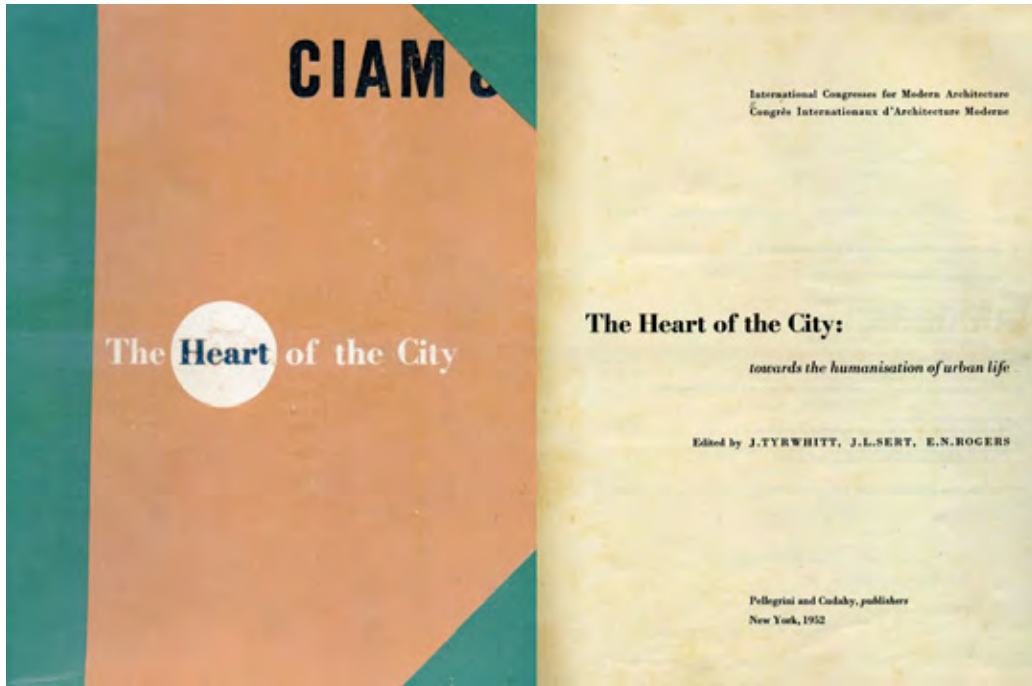
El Mercado. Vista de uno de los arcos abovedados.



Planta de conjunto del poblado. 1. La Mezquita. 2. El Khan. 3. El Ayuntamiento. 4. El courtel de Fomento. 5. El Mercado. 6. La Escuela Primaria. 7. Vivienda del Director de la Escuela. 8. El lago artificial. 9. La plaza pública. 10. La estación.

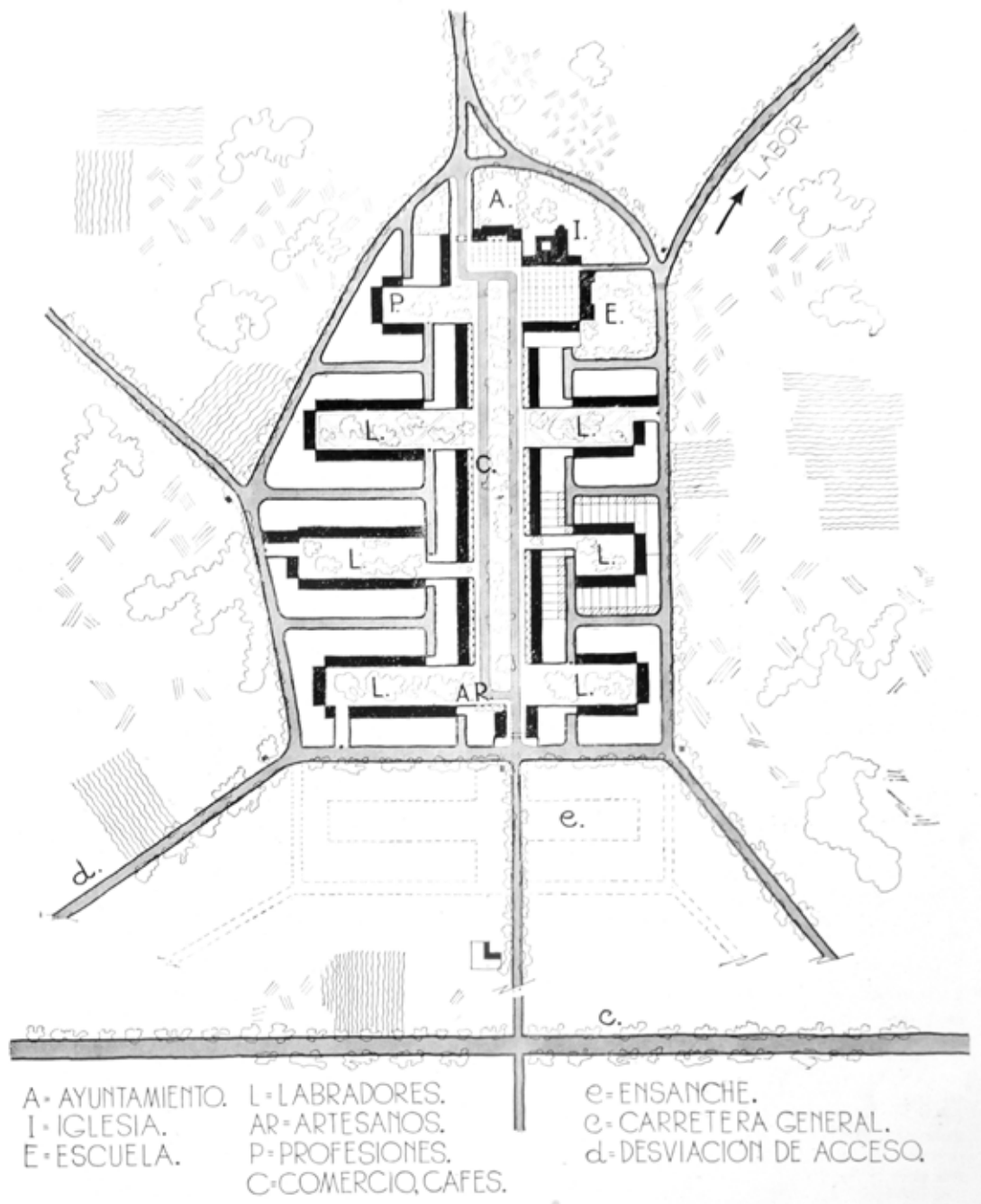
Top: Francisco Cabrero. Residencia de Trabajadores, San Rafael (Segovia), c. 1947; Rafael Aburto. Granja-Escuela in Talavera de la Reina (Toledo), c. 1947. Both used the Catalan vaults. From *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 80, August 1948.

Bottom: Hassan Fathy. New village of Gournah, Egypt, c. 1940s. From *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 80, August 1948.



Top: Cover of CIAM 8, *The Heart of the City*, New York, 1952.

Bottom: Pages from José Luis Picardo, "Sesión de crítica: Plazas," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 181, January 1957.



Alejandro Herrero. Sketch for a small pueblo with separation of circulation. From Alejandro Herrero, "Independencia de circulaciones y trazado de pueblos." *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 81 (September 1948): 348-58.



I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, Sevilla, 1952. Pedestrian street. Alejandro de la Sota (I. N. C.). Pedestrian street, Esquivel, Sevilla, 1952. Source: © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota, Madrid.

6:

Five Modern Villages by Alejandro de la Sota: Vernacular and Surrealist Modernity

I graduated [from the School of Architecture] and entered the National Institute of Colonization, where I had to design villages. I did not know how to do it differently, because for me the good architecture was then popular architecture. At that time I travelled across a lot of towns; I did not sketch nor take pictures, but when I came back from the villages I remembered what I had seen. I even think that by remembering and drawing them I invented something.¹

I knew that the things I was going to try to do were much simpler ... I had to imbue myself in the environment of one of those towns, understand it, feel it, and, without copying that type of architecture, handle the elegant spirit that exists in the Andalusian towns ... Thus, the first works I did in Madrid were influenced by the popular architecture of my work in the villages; that popular architecture is very good. In music we have the example of Manuel de Falla, Béla Bartók, great musicians, or Igor Stravinsky himself.²

There have been times when architecture was a somewhat coarse art, that we Spaniards were better at. Today... architecture, I repeat, is quality, exquisiteness, abstraction. It is necessary to be at this level in order to produce works of dignified architecture that are products of architects and the environment.³

¹ Alejandro de la Sota, "Interview with Martha Thorne," *Quaderns d'Arquitectura i Urbanisme*, April-May 1983, p. 106: "Terminé la carrera y entré en el INC, en donde tenía que hacer pueblos; yo no sabía cómo hacerlos de otra manera porque para mí el bien total estaba entonces en la arquitectura popular. En aquella época me recorrí gran cantidad de pueblos, no copiando ni haciendo fotografías, sino que al volver de los pueblos recordaba lo que había visto e incluso creo que al recordarlos y dibujarlos inventé algo."

² Alejandro de la Sota, "El espíritu de un verdadero moderno," *Lápiz*, 42, 1987, reprinted in Moisés Puente (ed.), *Alejandro De La Sota: Escritos, Conversaciones, Conferencias*, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2002, p. 111: "Yo sabía que las cosas que iba a tratar de hacer eran mucho más sencillas... imbuirme en el ambiente de un pueblo de éstos, entenderlo, sentirlo y, sin copiar ese tipo de arquitectura, manejar este espíritu elegante que hay en los pueblos andaluces... Así, las primeras obras que hice en Madrid estaban influenciadas por la arquitectura popular de mi trabajo en los pueblos y es que la arquitectura popular es buenísima. En música tenemos el ejemplo de Manuel de Falla, Béla Bartók, músicos geniales, o Igor Stravinsky mismo."

³ Alejandro de la Sota, "La arquitectura y nosotros," Conference in Santiago de Compostela, August 30, 1955, reprinted in Moisés Puente, p. 142: "Ha habido épocas en que la arquitectura fue un arte basto que a nosotros los españoles nos iba mejor; hoy... la arquitectura, repito, es altura, abstracción. Es necesario estar a esta altura para que obras de Arquitectura digna, producto de arquitectos y del ambiente, se produzcan."

Alejandro de la Sota (1913-1996) was one of the most important modern architects of the post-Civil War period in Spain. Following his graduation from the Escuela Técnica de Arquitectura de Madrid in 1941, he was admitted as one of five architects at the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (I.N.C.) along with José Tamés Alarcón, Pedro Castañeda Cagigas, Víctor D'Ors, and Manuel Jiménez Varea. There he planned Giménells (1943, Lérida) before leaving the Institute. He rejoined into the 1950s to design and build four new villages: Esquivel (1952, Seville), Entrerríos (1954, Badajoz), Valuengo (1954, Badajoz) and La Bazana (1954, Badajoz). His first independent work of architecture was the Gobierno Civil of Terragona that he built from 1956-1963, and the Gymnasium of Maravillas School (Madrid, 1960-1962), considered as two of the most significant works of modern Spanish Architecture during the Francoist period. Other major works included the Clesa Dairy Plant (Madrid, 1960-1963), the apartments at Calle Prior in Salamanca (1963), as well as important unbuilt projects in Madrid, Murcia, and Alcudía, Mallorca.⁴

6.1. Five *pueblos*

Based on extensive research within the archives of the Fundación Alejandro de la Sota and the Ministry of Agriculture at San Fernando de Henares, this chapter summarizes the urbanistic and architectonic modernity of the five pueblos—Giménells, Esquivel, Entrerríos, La Bazana and Valuengo—in particular, the pioneering features of the separation of traffic, the propagandistic concept of the open plaza, the volumetric abstraction of the vernacular house, as well as his “ironic” use of the Spanish classical or *casticista* architecture. Most importantly the research emphasizes how the architect transcended those “functionalist” elements of modernity in order to mobilize memories of the real and produce, in his last four pueblos, an “invented” or “surreal” reality. In so doing, de la Sota reversed the fundamental reference to the countryside that characterizes Spanish surrealism to bring surrealism within the process of rural modernization in Franco’s Spain.⁵

Giménells, 1943 (Lérida)

Aragón was one of the Spanish regions where the I.N.C. acted most extensively and expediently, due to the urgent need to improve the water resources and the advanced state of realization in which the most important hydraulic works were at the end of the Civil War. On 25 November 1940, the colonization of the irrigable area of the Canal de Aragón y Catalonia

⁴ See the most important monographs, Miguel Ángel Baldellou, *Alejandro de la Sota*, Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1976; Alejandro de la Sota, *Alejandro de la Sota: arquitecto*, Madrid: Pronaos, 1989; Pamela Johnston (ed.), *Alejandro de la Sota: The Architecture of Imperfection*, London: Architectural Association, 1997; “Alejandro De La Sota,” in *AV Monografía*, November-December 1997; Iñaki Abalos, Josep Llinàs, Moisés Puente, et.al, *Alejandro de la Sota*, Madrid: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2009; Carlos Asencio-Wandosell and Moisés Puente (eds.), *Fisac – De la Sota: miradas en paralelo*, Madrid: Fundación ICO/La Fábrica, 2014.

⁵ For this chapter, see Rubén Cabecera Soriano, *Los pueblos de colonización extremeños de Alejandro de la Sota*, Badajoz: Gobierno de Extremadura, Consejería de Educación y de Cultura, 2014; Manuel Calzada Pérez and Víctor Pérez Escolano, *Pueblo de Esquivel, Sevilla: 1952-55*, Almería: Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 2009.

was declared of national interest. The I.N.C. decided to intensify the irrigation crops over the more than 7,000 hectares that were uncultivated or abandoned because of salinization or lack of water. Given the deficit of houses, their bad condition, and the absence of public services, the Institute moved to provide housing for 600 families—each would be given an exploitation of 7 to 12 hectares—within a series of new villages established within a radius of action inferior to 3 kilometers: the first village was to be Gimeneles, to be followed by Suchs (1945, José Borobio Ojeda).⁶

In his Memoria for Gimeneles, dated December 1943, Alejandro de la Sota discussed how “villages which sprang up and subsequently expanded in a totally natural manner almost always provide clues as to what influenced their origin and determined the site on which they were built.”⁷ Some have a purely historical, geographic, military or even touristic origin, but for most villages, towns and cities, the intersection of country roads or the head of a bridge over a river constitute their very reason of being where they are. He used this argument in order to locate and design the village of Gimeneles in a manner as natural in origin and growth than historic ones: “no site could be found more ideal and more adapted than the intersection of the two roads that cross the area.”⁸ Moreover, they intersected “naturally,” it means without the preoccupation for the “right angle.”⁹ Accordingly, he laid out the new town at the intersection of the two roads, on a site completely flat and without any vegetation worthy of being protected. Its perimeter was determined by the presence of the existing system of irrigation and drainage channels, with the result that its urban form “although it cannot be said to be extremely irregular, nevertheless liberates the layout from the gridiron rigidity it would otherwise display.”¹⁰

For de la Sota, the compositional issues of symmetry versus asymmetry, of the grid versus the irregular or organic, and of the man-made versus the natural, were a major dilemma in the development of his career, particularly for the I.N.C., and this question arose in the planning of each of his pueblos. In the case of Gimeneles, the evolution and the doubts regarding the design of the square reflected this anxiety. In the first version of the plan dated December 1943, he opened the arms of the square to 97 degrees in order to provide for a more natural composition. As a result, the intersection of the roads gave to the main square “a gracious

⁶ Gimeneles (Alejandro de la Sota, 1945), Suchs (José Borobio, 1948), Pla de la Font (José Borobio, 1956) y Vencillón (Manuel Jiménez Varea, 1961).

⁷ Alejandro de la Sota, “Memoria – Pueblo de Gimeneles, Lérida,” Dactylographic report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, December 1943, p. 1-3 (translation *Pueblos de Colonización III*, IN16): “En un pueblo que haya nacido y seguido su crecimiento de una manera natural, es casi siempre sencillo el encontrar las causas que influyeron en su origen para que su emplazamiento fuese perfectamente definido.”

⁸ Ibidem: “no se ha podido encontrar emplazamiento más claro y definido que el lugar donde se cruzan los dos caminos o carreteras que atraviesan la zona en que El Plá ha de ir situado.

⁹ Ibidem: “ángulo recto.”

¹⁰ Ibidem. Also see Alejandro de la Sota, “Vivienda agrupada. Pueblo de Gimeneles,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, November 1948, pp. 439-441. As planned and built, the village included 96 housing units, including five shops, and the two houses for school teachers.

irregularity.”¹¹ However, in the Memoria of August 1946 related to the construction of the square, he rectified the project with a fully orthogonal *plaza*. The publication in the R.N.A. of November 1948 reflected this ambiguity: the plan of the square and the aerial perspective clearly showed a 90° scheme. Two months later, José Tamés Alarcón requested that the square be reopened again to improve the terminated vistas as well as the traffic along the main street. Even though some historians have seen in this episode the excessively picturesque-driven hand of the I.N.C. director, it actually highlights de la Sota’s evolution as an urban designer, and his aptitude and intellectual anxiety at planning a village from scratch. As built, the square (+/- 50 x 40-meter) functions as an integrated unit of space, bordered on the western side by three-story buildings of shops and residences for shop-owners, connected by a bridge over the street in order for the square “not to lose its unity.”¹² The northern and western wing have an open loggia on the top which “recalls a type of house of the region” to serve as balconies on holidays. The northern side has arcades and integrates the town hall which terminates the vista from the southern entrance to the town. The southern side was reduced to a two-story structure to give “more variety” and permit more insolation. To the east was the church with its characteristic tower and a small plaza on its side, terminating the view from the northern entrance of the village. Using building types common to small and medium-size towns, de la Sota was able to give a strong and definitely urban character to the square, one that continues to distinguish the first village of the I.N.C. from its successors.

De la Sota’s restlessness to define or to disguise the natural from the man-made, hence his insistence on how geometry could be used to produce a “rather” natural work and avoid rigidity was reinforced by his approach to the overall street network as a hybrid assemblages of small grids, irregular, and seemingly arranged in pin-wheel fashion around the central square:

With regard to the facades in the new village, the aim... is to give the squares and streets in the interior of the village the appearance of having developed over time ‘fairly’ naturally; that is to say, to avoid, wherever possible, the unbecoming sense of rigidity seen in houses built ‘straight from the drawing board’ as opposed to those built as part of the natural development of the settlement.¹³

However, the architect perceived the potential danger of this strategy, which, in his mind, could only be compensated by the simplicity of house design. The village was not a residential neighborhood, but, by definition, “an agricultural colony created to provide

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ Ibidem: “Se ha tratado, como se ha dicho ya de conseguir en su interior, a la vista de sus plazas y calles, el producir una sensación de obra “bastante” natural, es decir, de evitar en lo posible, una impresión ingrata de rigidez que tienen las casas que salen de un tablero y que no se producen naturalmente.”

accommodation for those who work the surrounding land.”¹⁴ Thus simplicity was critical for its success. All main streets were tree-lined, mostly made up of one-story structures “whose facades comprise a series of barely distinguishable building types.” A series of two-story houses were carefully placed and reserved “for those instances in which they are deemed necessary – either to achieve greater variation in facades or to emphasize the corner of a block or provide focal points for perspectives.” In contrast to the projects of the D.G.R.D., which provided a single entrance to the patios, de la Sota introduced what he called the “calles de carros”, alleyways of sort, which permitted the entrance within the corral from the back. However, this solution still appeared in a somewhat anecdotic way. He concluded his Memoria with the usual humble approach to the task that he would continue to demonstrate all along his career:

With this project, accompanied by the very best supervision, a vital factor in any building project, and more so in those concerning a whole settlement, perspectives, details, corners, etc. – it is hoped that the new village will enjoy all the prosperity desirable in any project with such noble social objectives and on which we have worked with so much dedication.¹⁵

Esquivel, 1952 (Seville)

On March 1, 1946, Alejandro de la Sota made a rare decision for a civil servant: he resigned from his position at the I.N.C., one year later than his friend and companion Victor d’Ors. A period of personal crisis followed during which, as he explained in a 1980 lecture in Barcelona, “I had the chance to have sufficient strength not to work” and in his own memory he remained at least three years in that situation. The crisis was looming, and the perceived isolation and lack of information about what was happening in the world made the situation more difficult: “we were totally isolated and, as a result, we were doing things without deeply believing in them. Without a real conviction, ... we did the best possible; it was an architecture based in tradition, an architecture based in the popular, an architecture developed from the inside.”¹⁶ At the same time, as we have seen earlier, the publication of New Gournah in 1948, the early works of Coderch, the establishment of Grup R in Barcelona, the Manifesto of La Alhambra (to which he did not participate), the Casa Sindical in front of the Prado by Cabrero, the first works of Fisac, the Spanish Pavilion at the Triennale of Milan, the visits by Ponti, Zevi, Aalto, and Sartoris had started to shake up the situation and confirmed the importance

¹⁴ Ibidem: “el aspecto de “una nueva colonia” que, como si de un nuevo negocio de explotación se tratase, (así es en realidad).”

¹⁵ Ibidem: “Con el proyecto presente y con una mejor dirección de obra, parte muy interesante en toda obra, más en estas de conjunto, de perspectivas, detalles, rincones, etc. es de esperar que en el nuevo pueblo nazca con la prosperidad que es de desear para toda obra de tan alto fin social y en la que depositamos todo nuestro interés.”

¹⁶ Alejandro de la Sota, “Conferencia,” Primera Semana cultural, Barcelona, 28 January/2 February 1980, in Moisés Puente (ed.), *Alejandro De La Sota: Escritos, Conversaciones, Conferencias*, p. 170.

of the popular and the vernacular.¹⁷

In March 1952, as the I.N.C. program intensified—in part because of the adoption of the Plan Badajoz—and necessitated the opening to new architects, Alejandro de la Sota was invited to return to the Institute. A couple of months earlier, in December 1951, Aníbal González had signed a Memoria and the preliminary plans for the new pueblo of Esquivel, to be located east of Seville, on a site to the north of the highway to Alcalá del Río in direction of Córdoba. The project was schematic, badly resolved, and made clear the inability of its author to work within the constraints of the site—quite long in the east-west direction but lacking depth in its north-south axis—and of the program. The town was articulated around a central square accessed from the highway through a main street that terminated on the side of a very large church. The gridded blocks and the public structures (including church, school, club) were ill conceived, both in their dimensions and in their connections with the edges of the site. In spite of its traditional layout and architecture, José Tamés flatly rejected the project, and following Gonzalez’s sickness transferred the project to de la Sota.¹⁸

In Gimenezells, the compositional dilemma had resided in the geometry of the *plaza mayor*, but it did not impact the overall ‘organic’ composition. In Esquivel, it is the entire layout that will become the subject of de la Sota’s self-questioning. In what way does the homogeneity of the site—its flatness, absence of vegetation, and lack of pre-existing territorial connection—require or warrant a composition whose artificiality resides in pure geometry? Since Camillo Sitte had for the first time contested the dominance of the gridiron and the Renaissance one-point perspective, the issue was at the core of the urban design practice. De la Sota’s response was, as in most pueblo projects, to be found in the relationship between town and landscape. In this case, the road and possibly the moving vehicle were seen as the most important point of view. He knew that his proposal was going to be controversial and he used a double-edge sword: on the one hand, to assert that his solution was uncontested and unequivocal; on the other hand, that his strategy was a strong response to the political content of the town. From the start of his Memoria, signed in September 1952, and somewhat defensively, de la Sota made it clear that Esquivel would be a very different village, and first of all a functional place: “one has studied a functional scheme for the pueblo, for the entire pueblo, and one has built upon it, as it is, as one did not discover any reason that would prevent of doing it as planned, nor would suggest a distancing from or modification of the scheme.”¹⁹ Functionality it meant that the proposal would be a precise response to factors

¹⁷ See Chapters Four and Five.

¹⁸ Cabecera Soriano, p. 168-170.

¹⁹ Alejandro de la Sota, “Memoria – Esquivel,” Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, September 4, 1952, p. 1: “Se estudio un esquema funcional del pueblo, de todo el pueblo, y se edificó sobre él, tal cual, por no haber encontrado motivos que impidieran el hacerlo o aconsejaran un apartamiento o retorcimiento de este esquema.”

such as location, topography, “good to see and good to live,” and here the most innovative element, the “*intención propagandística*” or “propagandistic intent.”²⁰

On a sheet of early sketches, de la Sota imagined a circular diagram that bears a strong resemblance to the Ideal City schemes from Vitruvius to the Renaissance and Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City diagrams.²¹ It shows a large central square from which a series of radial streets terminate in the countryside; one of them seems to connect to a clone, probably an early strategy to deal with a town that was scheduled to expand from 100 housing units to 400. Between the radial streets he sketched a tight network of smaller streets or passages. Another sketch on the sheet already suggested what he would call the “*façade*” of the square as well as a schematic plan of its arcaded ground floor.²² Eventually, the plan of Esquivel maintained the spirit of this diagrammatical concept, but de la Sota reduced it to a section of circle, to be read more poetically as an *abanico* or fan in the Andalusian tradition. According to the author, the “rigidity” of its symmetrical fan-shaped figure reflected the fact that “it was born all at once, in a single gesture, and, moreover, on a terrain flat like the palm of the hand, within any accident, fully symmetrical in relation to the road.”²³ To deviate from that concept would imply that the architect was “either very Baroque or a fool.”²⁴ In the ideal city diagram discussed above, the geometric center was to contain all elements of a civic center, made up of public structures integrated at the center of the plaza or park. De la Sota maintained the concept for Esquivel, but he displaced the traditional plaza from the core of the fabric toward the entrance and the road. He explained that design strategy clearly in his descriptive memoir:

All the *pueblos* have their important part; usually it is the *plaza* that they jealously hide inside. If we do not penetrate into them, we will not get to see it. If we pass by on the edge of the town, the *plaza* appears to us, but more like in the “*mêlées*” of a rugby game, where it is difficult to see the heads of the players. When the small towns are agricultural in nature, nothing but the walls of the patios can be seen. If this happens in existing villages, do we need to do the same in the new ones? We intend to add to the good organization and the beauty of the town another quality, often very interesting in public works of the State: I mean, the function of propaganda that they seem obligated to fulfill... Following these thoughts, one can imagine a new

²⁰ Ibidem.

²¹ See Helen Rosenau, *The Ideal City: its Architectural Evolution in Europe*, London/New York: Methuen, 1983.

²² See Calzada Pérez & Pérez Escolano, p. 57.

²³ Alejandro de la Sota, “El Nuevo pueblo de Esquivel, cerca de Sevilla,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 133, December 1953, p. 16; “Pueblo para el Instituto de Colonización, 1952-1956, Esquivel, Sevilla,” *AV: Monografías (Alejandro de la Sota)* 68 (November-December 1997): 38-45. Interestingly, Esquivel recalls, at a smaller scale, Ernst May’s unrealized project for Siedlung Bornheimer Hang in Frankfurt (1926). Rare are the INC towns, which display a full symmetry, and with one exception they were the works of some of the most modern architects like Carlos Arniches in Gévora and Algallarín, or Fernando Cavestany in Coto de Bornos: “El trazado es rígido; es rígido porque, como antes digo, Esquivel nació de una vez, de un solo golpe y además, sobre un terreno llano como la palma de la mano, sin accidente alguno, con orientación simétrica respecto a la carretera.”

²⁴ Ibidem.

conception of the village, which would precisely highlight everything we have indicated as the best in town, the *plaza*, which, well designed, will allow us to create a good and well-defined exterior façade.²⁵

In the following sentence, he described the architectural process of unfolding a traditional square and transforming it into a new type of public space—a remarkable except of writing that visualized the act of designing as an act of drawing:

The plaza, as it unrolls and unwinds its edges, expels from its womb the freestanding buildings that are the church and the town hall; they peel away, and find themselves standing, as detached objects, at the most impressive place of the village, i.e., in front of the linear façade that was formed by the stretching of the square.²⁶

The traditional *pueblo*, and the new ones created by the I.N.C., as de la Sota argued, had no façade, but rather a silhouette, or a skyline, crowned by the church campanile. But in Esquivel, he proposed to build a genuine “façade”: “In Esquivel there is rationalism and, also, a singular attraction for the road towards which the facade of the town looks. I believe that a town has usually no façade, it can be seen in the distance, it has a silhouette, but not a facade. Esquivel had a facade and that is one of its characteristics.”²⁷ As a result of this spatial operation, the church and the town hall do not appear as the walls of a square, but rather rise as a corporeal, freestanding, and as a somewhat surrealist complex at the edge of the park that separated the curved town façade from the regional road. For the architect, it was the ultimate form of “propaganda,” setting up the town like an urban and modern scenography with, in the park, the town hall to the left, the pavilion or *templete* at the center, and the church complex to the right. In a somewhat ambiguous way, that obviously meant to coax a positive reaction from the I.N.C.’s direction, he concluded, “in the end, the good impression that Esquivel has to give us from the road is completely assured; and that is the point of propaganda.”²⁸

Behind the three public structures in the park, the fully symmetrical façade was conceived of in three sections. Firstly, on both sides of the main pedestrian street separating the town in two equal parts, one finds a continuous arcade with retail stores on the ground floor and the modern housing units on the second floor for the doctors, the secretaries, the professors, the shop-owners and all other people not directly working in the fields. The long structure

²⁵ Alejandro de la Sota, “Memoria – Esquivel,” Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, September 4, 1952, p. 1.

²⁶ Ibidem: “La plaza al desarrollarse, al desenroscarse, echa fuera de su seno edificios exentos que dentro de ella están y así se nos despegan la Iglesia y el Ayuntamiento que se sitúan, solos, en el lugar más lucido de este pueblo, delante de esta fachada que la plaza, en su estirarse, formó.”

²⁷ Alejandro de la Sota, “Una conversación,” in Moisés Puente, p. 126-127, first published in “Unha conversa...,” *Grial*, 109, 1991: “En Esquivel hay racionalismo y, también, una atracción singular por la carretera hacia la que mira la fachada del pueblo. Creo que un pueblo no tiene fachada, tiene lejanía, silueta, pero no fachada. Esquivel si tenía fachada y esa es una de sus características.”

²⁸ Alejandro de la Sota, “Memoria – Esquivel,” Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, September 4, 1952, p. 2: “En fin, la buena impresión que desde la carretera ha de producirnos Esquivel, está asegurada; punto de la propaganda.”

presents all the traditional elements of the I.N.C. *plaza* as developed over a couple of years. However, by placing a one-sided roof sloping toward the back, de la Sota increased the height and the urbanity of the curved structure; moreover, he abstracted the design into a quasi-rationalist front: trabeated arcades, high vertical windows with metal railings, and a small ventilation window in the upper sections. The arcade, set up a couple of steps lower than the street, provides a generous and well-proportioned pedestrian area. Secondly, the curved commercial facade continues on both side, but in the reduced profile of the one-story housing units for the priest and special residents. Thirdly, in-between those two sections, de la Sota designed two open recreation areas: the bar or *taberna* to the left, and the open-air cinema to the right.

Alejandro Herrero's principles of the separation of traffic, published in the R.N.A. of September 1948, had been already tried in some pueblos, but de la Sota pushed its principles to the limit.²⁹ An extensive and fully symmetrical system of pedestrian-only streets, alleys, and small squares gave access to the front of the houses, whereas another network of streets, wider and bordered by high courtyard walls, concentrated all the agricultural traffic and the commercial movement. All streets kept the same curved pattern but Sota rigorously adapted the street widths to this new disposition—"the vehicles destroy the pueblos" and further—"the good life of a town is born from the sensation of tranquility and appeasement that the atmosphere of its streets and squares produces."³⁰ The houses with larger than usual patio-corral were built along "intimate streets, narrow, like the good ones of Andalusia, with gardens on the sides, and that terminate in small but comfortable *plazoletas* [small squares] with a fountain in their center."³¹ The medium dimensions of those streets and squares contributed to create "that particular human scale that usually make our pueblos welcoming." Carefully located benches, trees, fountains and other elements of urban furniture contributed "to the street well-being which we are looking for in Esquivel: one has to live at ease, in the town like at home."³² Overall, Esquivel's urban spaces were traditional, yet, as William Curtis wrote, "they were abstracted in order to adapt them to a new order and a new landscape."³³

De la Sota designed Esquivel as a symmetrical figure, whose "rigidity" reflected the fact that "it was born all at once on a flat terrain."³⁴ Here, contrary to the strategy he adopted in

²⁹ Alejandro Herrero, "Independencia de circulaciones y trazado de pueblos," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 81, September 1948, pp. 348-358; also see Chapter Five.

³⁰ Alejandro de la Sota, "Memoria – Esquivel," p. 2: "el buen vivir de un pueblo nace de la sensación de tranquilidad y sosiego que el ambiente de sus calles y plazas nos produce." De la Sota mentions a Viennese architect who, in October of that year, proposed the rigid separation of circulations. It is likely to be the architect Victor Gruen (1903-1980) who developed early concepts of pedestrian open-air malls.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² Alejandro de la Sota, "El nuevo pueblo de Esquivel," p. 16.

³³ William Curtis, "Dúas obras," *Grial*, 109, 1991, p. 17, quoted in Pedro de Llano, *Alejandro de la Sota: O nacimiento dunha Arquitectura*, Pontevedra: Deputación Provincial de Pontevedra, 1994, p. 41.

³⁴ Alejandro de la Sota, "El nuevo pueblo de Esquivel," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 133, January 1953, p. 16.

Gimenells and in absence of any pre-existing elements such as a path or a crossing, he emphasized the complete artificiality of the layout:

A new pueblo designed as a whole possesses well-defined characteristics that differ fundamentally from those which were formed over the centuries; the picturesque, natural in those villages that were born and grew haphazardly, must be measured, almost canceled out in those that, in one shot, rise out of our drawing board.³⁵

Esquivel was thus conceived as a complete object, as a 'unitary organism,' of which de la Sota precisely designed the possibility of extension by closing the fan on itself, to reach a quasi-semi-circular form. The first phase was planned for 100 houses with the possibility to expend to 250 and then 400 in the final phase. He designed himself the narrow expansion on both sides of the *abanico* [fan] but the later additions, by other architects, did not follow the proposed pattern. Moreover a comparison between the aerial photographs of the 1950s and the current situation reveals that many public spaces (particularly the service diagonals on both sides of the central axis) were eventually privatized and built. Even more problematic was the elimination of the taberna and open-air cinema along the park. Likewise, the *plaza de la artesanía* on the field end of the main pedestrian axis, and for which the architect had projected a roofed cinema and performance space, did not materialize as a real public space. De la Sota had imagined it as a traditional artisanal *plaza*, similar to those that can often be found at the entrance of towns. However, one might speculate that de la Sota's front façade of Esquivel, with its attractive arcades and shops eventually concentrated the public life as in a modern theatrical space in front of the park. In so doing, the *plaza de la artesanía* turned out to be too far on the other side of the town.

Some historians have attempted to see the design history of Esquivel as a sort of battle between reactionary and progressive thinking within the I.N.C.³⁶ As we have shown, de la Sota himself understood the radical nature of his project and tried to pre-empt it astutely. José Tamés, in his written evaluation of the Memoria of December 1952, expressed mitigated reactions from the Direction of Architecture. His critique focused on the proposed plaza/park in front of the village. He recognized its value in terms of public propaganda, but criticized the potential pollution and dust from the road. He proposed, without real conviction, "to form a classic square, fronted by the representative buildings, rather than making it lineal."³⁷ In another report, Tamés contended that Esquivel was not about "a new concept of the pueblo" and that there were only issues of details and specific questions about the traffic that should

³⁵ Alejandro de la Sota, "El nuevo pueblo de Esquivel," p. 15: "Un pueblo de nueva planta tiene unas características bien definidas y diferentes de aquel que se formó en siglos; el pintoresquismo, natural en estos pueblos que nacieron y crecieron a la ventura, ha de ser muy medido, casi anulado en los que, de una vez, salgan de nuestro tablero."

³⁶ See in particular Calzada Pérez & Pérez Escolano, *op. cit.*

³⁷ José Tamés Alarcón, "Informe del Servicio de Arquitectura – Pueblo de Esquivel," Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, 9 January 1953, p. 2: "Por este motivo, entendemos más interesante el formar una plaza clásica, donde se sitúen los edificios representativos, que esta idea de hacerla lineal."

be somewhat reorganized to avoid interfering with the pedestrian circulation.³⁸ Conclusively, the Direction suggested that the important details of esthetic order, “will require the tight vigilance of the works by its very author, from which the success or failure of his interpretation will depend.”³⁹ It was a professional concession that innovation was possible but it needed to be carefully monitored by its authors. As it turned out, de la Sota made no changes to the plan, which was built exactly as proposed without any modification. The very detailed publication within the R.N.A. in January 1953, laid out by the architect himself, was a timely and obviously programmed action to influence the direction of the I.N.C. and secure the development of the project. It was also a unique ‘political’ occurrence in the history of the program and its professional advancement. As Ruben Cabecera wrote in his study of de la Sota’s pueblos in Extremadura:

But, at the same time, [Esquivel] constitutes a conceptual innovation in itself; it shows itself, as it was intended by the Institute, open to all, and for those who circulate around its perimeter, an evident reflection of the society of the moment. It is a town that was thought territorially to be seen from a distance; from within, it appears as a perfectly orchestrated urban whole, in which the richness of the architectural nuances challenges the viewer to differentiate the uses within the apparent homogeneity and manifest hierarchy of the entire village.⁴⁰

Entrerrios, 1953 (Badajoz)

On 23 of June 1953, the I.N.C. commissioned Alejandro de la Sota with the redaction of a project for the new town of Entrerrios, located on the territory of Villanueva de la Serena within the Plan Badajoz, at the center of an expropriated estate de 948 hectares, adjacent to the Guadiana River. The first project was dated December 1953 and reviewed by Tamés in February 1954. Like in Esquivel, Sota deviated from the traditional urban scheme by analyzing the geographic context of the town. In the first paragraph of his Memoria, he wrote:

³⁸ José Tamés Alarcón “Informe del Servicio de Arquitectura – Pueblo de Esquivel,” Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, 16 December 1952, p. 2: “[...] estimamos que aunque su autor afirma en la Memoria que se trata de “una nueva concepción de Pueblo” no encontramos en su desarrollo más que algunos detalles aislados que se aparten de la tónica general que se viene manteniendo en los trazados de los mismos.”

³⁹ Ibidem, p.6: “Como este proyecto dada la cantidad de detalles de orden estético con que han sido estudiados o imaginados por su autor necesitará una vigilancia de obra por parte del mismo muy estrecha, ya que de ello depende el éxito o fracaso en su interpretación, proponemos que la dirección de obra se encargue al autor del proyecto o que por lo menos tenga en la misma una gran participación.”

⁴⁰ Cabecera Soriano, p. 193: “Pero, al mismo tiempo, constituye una novación conceptual en sí misma generando un pueblo que se muestra, tal y como se pretendía desde el Instituto, abierto a todos, que se quiere enseñar a quienes circulen por el entorno con un evidente reflejo de la sociedad del momento. Es un pueblo pensado territorialmente para verse desde la distancia y que urbanamente se entiende como un todo perfectamente orquestado en el que la riqueza de matices provoca inquietudes en el espectador que le permiten diferenciar los usos dentro de la aparente homogeneidad concebida para el conjunto con una jerarquía manifiesta.”

There are villages that you pass through and others that you go to and enter; in both cases it is natural to live. This distinction involves different ways of making their urban plans: in the first type, the plazas will be open; in the second, they will be enclosed and concave.⁴¹

Entrerríos belonged to the second type, as it was planned for a very isolated place, difficult to reach and far from the tourist or passerby's gaze that Esquivel permitted along a well-traveled road. As for Esquivel, de la Sota started with the preliminary sketches of a circular diagram. Here the scheme appeared complete and the relation to the historic precedents—the Renaissance Ideal City or Howard's Garden City—was even less accidental. I would argue further that, in light of the economic basis of the town, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux's Royal Saltworks at Arc-et-Senans comes to mind as well. A large circular *plaza* occupies the center from which eight radials lead to a ring road that borders the fields. Between the radials, the sketch intuits one of the great innovations of de la Sota at the I.N.C.: each segment of the pie contains a landscaped plaza, here located at the back of the houses. The sheet included other important sketches: the commercial plaza that he included in the final town plan; circled in red, the town façade, seen from the fields, made up of urban voids and *tapia* walls; and a very basic sketch of the circular church that he will eventually construct in the middle of the central *plaza* as a park:

With this, we aim to achieve the profile of a village. When one contemplates it at a distance, as there are so many villages that exist and that are so pleasing, it appears as a series of horizontal planes, with dark rooflines and the mass of the Church dominating everything. As it is frequent in the countryside, it has to be constructed using apparent materials: its heaviness will thus be more patent.⁴²

As built, the final plan reflected these diagrams quite closely, but de la Sota distorted and adapted them to the topography of the site. Whereas Esquivel and Giménells were essentially built on flat lands, in Entrerríos he was physically involved in understanding and selecting the site. As Jorge Crespo Zacarías wrote, "...we can deduce that the architect visited the place ... de la Sota took advantage of the occasion that the undulating topography gave him and he anchored the project in its territory, in contrast with the usual situation of territorial flatness."⁴³ Henceforth the plaza morphed into a pear-shaped oval, a form that he considered ideal for its

⁴¹ Alejandro de la Sota, "Memoria – Proyecto del pueblo de Entrerríos," Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA 4502 Archives, San Fernando de Henares, December 1953, p. 1: "Hay pueblos que se pasa y pueblos a los que se va; en los dos como es natural se vive. Esta distinción lleva consigo también distintos modos de hacer sus plantas: los primeros tendrán plantas abiertas; cerradas cóncavas, los segundos."

⁴² Ibidem, p. 2: "Con esto se pretende conseguir un paisaje de pueblo, al contemplarlo a distancia, como tantos que existen y que tanto agradan, formado por una serie de blancos horizontales, listas oscuras de cubiertas y la mole de la Iglesia dominando todo y que, como también es frecuente, se ha de construir de fábrica vista: su pesadez ha de ser así más patente."

⁴³ Zacarías de Jorge Crespo, "Alejandro de la Sota. Cinco poblados de colonización," in *Pueblos de colonización durante el franquismo*, p. 364: "... se puede deducir que el arquitecto visita el lugar... de la Sota aprovecha la ocasión que le brinda una topografía ondulada y fija el proyecto en el territorio, frente a la situación habitual de planeidad territorial..."

location—a small *meseta* or plateau—from which he projected six radial or semi-radial streets sloping downward toward the fields. Like in Esquivel, the *plaza* was designed as a large and densely planted park, closed on most of its perimeter by an urban façade and accessed from the south through a large gap in the built fabric as well as from the north through one of the radial streets open to traffic. Entrerrios's inner façade wraps around the *plaza* but was divided into two functionally and typologically diverse sections. On its western and northern side, the façade is uninterrupted on the ground floor. A generous portico starts at a freestanding *taberna* at the entrance of the *plaza*, continues to the town hall—here part of the façade and not detached as in Esquivel—, wraps around a small commercial square, and then connects to the circular church and its adjacent rector's structure. Both buildings were immersed into the park setting, which also absorbed, behind the church, the village's schools. On the upper floor, the façade is discontinuous as it is made of paired houses destined to the doctor, the teachers, the shop owners, and eventually the priest at the very end past the church, in the middle of the park. Behind the church, the façade continued with groups of single-story houses.

Behind the entire façade, a series of *plazoletas* bordered by walls make the transition with the town fabric along the radial streets and create “perspectives of certain interest.”⁴⁴ Each radial street is pedestrian and 3,5-meter wide, lined with four one-story houses on each side, whose small rectangular front courtyards create an animated and open streetscape. Other small squares connect to an alleyway that parallels the town perimeter and tangents the triangular service plazas that face the back of the houses and provide access to the corrals. Here, for the first time in the design itinerary of the I.N.C., de la Sota introduced the concept of *plaza-calle* [square-street] which he will exploit fully in his last two villages.

La Bazana and Valuengo, 1954 (Badajoz)

Within the first months of 1954, Alejandro de la Sota submitted proposals for two villages in the irrigable zone of the Ardila River, in a valley dominated by the historic city of Jerez de los Caballeros in the province of Badajoz. As usual within the I.N.C. regulations, less than five kilometers separated the two towns, La Bazana and Valuengo. The two completed dams of Valuengo and Brovales provided the hydraulic infrastructure for the projects. A program of expropriations facilitated the land assemblage in response to the acute socio-economic conditions of the city and its hinterland.

Designed at the same time, the two villages shared most typological characteristics, even though they stand apart morphologically. La Bazana is a linear structure that expends into the landscape, whereas Valuengo forms a compact ensemble on a steep slope. Planned for only fifty households and with no public program except a small chapel that doubled as school and contained a residence for the teacher, La Bazana was totally isolated and virtually invisible

⁴⁴ Alejandro de la Sota, “Memoria – Proyecto del pueblo de Entrerrios,” p. 2.

from any vista; as a result, the architect designed it “for itself, introverted.”⁴⁵ In absence of the traditional center, he aligned five residential compounds along the main road, each with ten houses facing and opening on a small plaza. As he wrote, “I intended to make of La Bazana a town ‘all squares’; the streets are downgraded to access roads.” And he added,

I believe that, in the towns, the squares constitute the most pleasant places to live. It can be a solution for small towns. When making a project, there is always a balance to achieve between the users’ internal needs and the criteria that guide its external aspect. Here, the balance has been broken somewhat in favor of the user; I thought that people live better facing a square than a street, and I designed the town ‘all squares.’⁴⁶

In Entreríos, the plazas served as entrance to the back of the corrals; in La Bazana and Valuengo, de la Sota inverted the concept and deployed the innovative strategy of using the *plaza/calle* (square/street) as a means of residential entrance. Attached houses line up on the long sides of each *plaza/calle*, while the longitudinal axis terminates with a three-story house that appears as a small tower. A void in the rural fabric to the side of that house opens the plaza onto the landscape outside of the village. From the access road, de la Sota designed slight variations on how to enter the *plazoletas*, but, more importantly, he explained his strategy: “It must be noted from the outside that one lives ‘inside.’ Its exterior forms a series of high and low walls, curves following roughly the level lines of the land, with tight labyrinth-like entrances to increase the effect of privacy of the squares.”⁴⁷

The exact repetition of the ten-house nucleus induced the architect to reflect on the question of repetition within the practice of village design. He saw obvious advantages in “cloning” the form of the group itself beyond the house-types, and then produce a rational way of developing the form of the village as a whole. In Esquivel already, the absolute symmetry of the overall plan and the repetition of the public spaces were, for the architect, a way to mediate between a ‘natural’ picturesque—the one that can be seen in the existing and century-old pueblos—and the ‘forced’ picturesque—the one that he detected in many projects of the Institute. Using the district of El Viso in Madrid as reference, he argued that such a neighborhood, regular in urban form and quite monotonous in its type of houses, could produce a more attractive effect than other districts designed to be more differentiated and more traditionally picturesque. For de la Sota, the ultimate question was that the pueblos

⁴⁵ Alejandro de la Sota, Memoria, “Núcleo de La Bazana, Jerez de los Caballeros,” Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA 4502 Archives, San Fernando de Henares, December 1953, p. 1: “por esto, para sí, hacía dentro.”

⁴⁶ Ibidem: se intentó en La Bazana hacer un pueblo ‘todo plazas’; las calles quedan reducidas a las carreteras de acceso... Puede ser una solución para pequeños poblados. En ese equilibrio que debe existir al hacer un proyecto entre las necesidades internas del usuario y el criterio que guía su aspecto externo, aquí se ha roto un tanto este equilibrio a favor del usuario; se pensó que se vive mejor en plazas que en calles y se proyectan todas plazas.”

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 2: “Se ha de notar desde fuera que se vive “dentro”. Su exterior es un conjunto de tapias altas y bajas, curvas, siguiendo aproximadamente las líneas de nivel del terreno, con entradas en ligero laberinto para aumentar el efecto de intimidad de las plazas.”

being designed within the Institute “should carry in themselves the mark that they arose all at once.”⁴⁸ Obviously, this issue brought up the criticism of the direction of the I.N.C., which argued that the functionality of the project overshadowed the propaganda effect that the Institute was mandated to create. However, they recognized that La Bazana marked a strong departure from the usual practice, and they accepted the project as “a trial for future organization” of the villages.⁴⁹

De la Sota’s considerations on those issues of repetition and the basic unit of socialization paralleled the important essay published the same year by Alejandro Herrero in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* under the title *15 Normas para la composición de conjunto en barriadas de vivienda unifamiliar* (15 Principles for the Urban Design Composition of Small districts of Single-family Houses)—a beautifully illustrated essay with photographs and exquisite drawings of public spaces that he designed mostly in Huelva, Andalusia. Beyond some basic principles such as avoiding traffic in residential streets and warning against the long “infinite straight street” Herrero proposed to design streets as “lugares de estar” [places to be], i.e. landscaped places of rest, of play, and promenade. Making no apologies in his appreciation of picturesqueness he described the design of “small squares, corners, and ends of perspective.”⁵⁰ Yet, his most interesting input paralleled the design questions that de la Sota was tackling at that:

When one composes a large group of houses, a neighborhood, or a city, repetition is always an issue. In our opinion, the grouping unit should not be the block, whose repetition constitutes the neighborhood, but the small square. Surrounded by houses, the small square can be the privileged place of life for a group of families, both in the shelter of the building and outdoors.⁵¹

The geographic situation of Valuengo was quite opposite to La Bazana. On the one hand, it was potentially visible from the regional road linking Jerez de los Caballeros and Zafra; on the other hand, its sloping site offered the opportunity to create another façade from the other side of the Ardila river. Accordingly, de la Sota re-appropriated the concept of *pueblo-propaganda* and planned another special configuration of the main plaza. As it enters the village from the north and the south, the main curving street expands as a large park. On its upper side, he placed the church complex, the school, the doctor’s house and office, and a diamond-shaped commercial building with open courtyard. Lower on the slope and on the

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p.2: “Lo mismo puede suceder en los pueblos que proyectemos; creo deben llevar consigo el sello de que surgen de una vez.”

⁴⁹ José Tamés Alarcón, “Informe – Proyecto de núcleo de La Bazana,” Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, 25 June 1954, p. 3: No estamos del todo de acuerdo... puede servir de ensayo para otras ordenaciones.”

⁵⁰ Alejandro Herrero, “15 normas para la composición de conjunto en barriadas de vivienda unifamiliar,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 168, 1955, pp. 17-28.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 18: “Pero al componer un grupo grande, un barrio, una ciudad, se plantea la repetición de una disposición. A nuestro entender, hay que convertir en que la *unidad de agrupación* no es la manzana que por repetición forma el barrio, sino esa plazoleta, ese espacio rodeado de edificación que componemos como lugar de vida de un grupo de familias, tanto en el resguardo de la edificación como al aire libre.”

other side of the park, he located the town hall, the open-air cinema, and the village bar. A small pedestrian square with a fountain marks the entrance to one of the three calles/plazas that structure the pueblo. In so doing, the architect achieves a “[planning] climax with widened streets in the shape of wide plazas that create a secluded environment, much better than streets with traffic.”⁵²

In a region marked by great poverty and the rudeness of the landscape, he pushed the limits of urban space, both in La Bazana and Valuengo, to a relative extreme. Streets and squares as precisely defined in his three first pueblos, tend to disappear, their edges become less clear, more fragmented even though patio walls continue to play a major role in the definition of space. At the same time, the strategy of *calle/plaza* implies a trend toward what could be called a privatization of public space, a Spanish and formally richer way to create equivalents of the Anglo-Saxon cul-de-sac—a strategy that Fernández del Amo will pursue even further in many of his pueblos. Overall, in his last village, de la Sota achieved what he aimed to realize from the beginning of his work at the I.N.C., i.e., to deliver an almost complete absence of recognizable form. Valuengo is formless because, in contrast with his previous projects, he achieved the difficult task of designing a place that appears to have been there forever—in other words, a new village whose layout, so intimately molded to its natural context, did not reveal the very act of designing.

6.2. Popular Architecture and Urban Space

Remembering a young student who asked him how to do good architecture, Alejandro de la Sota suggested that, “when he was in any place... he should ask himself, with sensibility, whether he felt good in the place... And he should do a list of places where he had felt good or bad, marking the why next to each place.”⁵³ For de la Sota, to make good architecture was before anything to make an architecture where one would *estar bien*, feel well.⁵⁴ This attitude would remain constant all along his career. His modesty, his humility in front of the known and the unknown of the practice of architecture and urbanism, his deep appreciation of the genuine popular “architecture without architects” would never leave him, even though his interest in new technology and techniques influenced his esthetic along his entire career. In an interview of 1990, the architect recalled how he addressed the question of the architecture of Esquivel and further projects, and the inherent contradiction of having received such commissions:

How can a ‘gentleman’, as it were, make a village for a public organism? If I make it according to what I learned in School, that would be of no use. What I had to think

⁵² Alejandro de la Sota, “Memoria – Proyecto del Nuevo Pueblo de Valuengo,” Centro de Estudios Agrarios de Extremadura, Badajoz, quoted by Cabecera Soriano, p. 322.

⁵³ Alejandro de la Sota, “El espíritu de un verdadero moderno,” *Lápiz*, 42, 1987, reprinted in Moisés Puente, p. 110.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

about was imagine that this was a commission from one farmer, and from another farmer, and from another, and that, all together, they came to ask him to make them a place where they could find each other well. Then, you get into the villages that they have been making themselves, without paying too much attention, ... and without realizing it, you also make a little what you felt there.⁵⁵

Until Esquivel, most *pueblo* architects developed an elegant architecture, moderately regionalist for the residential fabric and the commercial sections of the plaza mayor, more stylistically defined for the public architecture such as the town hall and especially the church.⁵⁶ From Gimenez, Bernuy, and Valdelacalzada onwards in the 1940s, residential architecture was, as we have seen earlier, quite strictly regulated in terms of types, square footage, lot sizes, patios, proportion of voids relative to walls, etc. Houses had to be small, modern in terms of comfort, and economically built. Regional differences were of course important, particularly north and south of the Tajo River. North of the river and Madrid, particularly in Aragón (the regions of Huesca and Zaragoza), architects like José Borobio Ojeda widely used local materials such as stone, brick, and their combination. South of the Tajo, in Extremadura and Andalusia in particular, the white walls of the local vernacular simplified the task of the architects, while making an image of modernity within tradition easier to achieve. That Southern Spain would be the place where regionalism would be superseded by a more abstract understanding of the vernacular was thus quite logical in view of its climate and traditions. Interestingly, it is Fernando de la Cuadra who, in some of the very first new villages in Andalusia—Tahivilla, Torrecenera—had used the most modern architecture as many houses displayed a strong cubical volumetric, whose clear lines were emphasized by the high parapets hiding the roofs. Then came de la Sota. His method of design was clear. He did not copy but let his memory guide his architecture:

Having received the commission, I 'lived' Andalusia: travels, stays, neither photos nor sketches: everything in the memory of our own 'computer.' Time passed and memory faded. Then the details appeared in drawings: doors, windows, balconies, chimneys, patio walls and their crownings, fountains, benches and street lamps. I catalogued these sketches or details; I catalogued the parallelepiped and voids of the houses... Then, the sun, the lime, and the charm. After many years, with the touches made by its inhabitants, today Esquivel is attractive and one lives well in it.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Alejandro de la Sota, "Una conversación," p. 126: "Cómo puede hacer un *señorito*, por decirlo de algún modo, un pueblo para un organismo público? Si hago lo que aprendí en la Escuela, aquello no serviría para nada. Lo que tenía que pensar era que aquello era un encargo de un paisano, más de otro paisano, y de otro más, y que, en su conjunto, venían a pedir que les hiciera un lugar donde se pudieran encontrar bien. Entonces, te metes en los pueblos que ellos fueron haciendo, sin reparar en ello... y sin darte cuenta, haces también un poco lo que allí sentiste."

⁵⁶ Schools were systematically designed with a more modern language.

⁵⁷ From <http://archivo.alejandrodelasota.org/en/original/project/146>: "Al recibir el encargo se vivió Andalucía: viajes, estancias, sin fotos ni apuntes; todo a la memoria de nuestro propio "ordenador." Luego, olvidar. Pasado el tiempo y del recuerdo se dibujaron detalles: puertas, ventanas, cierros, chimeneas, tapias y sus coronaciones, fuentes, bancos y farolas. Se numeraron estos asuntos o detalles, se numeraron los paralelepípedos de las viviendas y sus huecos.... Luego, el sol, la cal y la

In actuality, his archives contain more than one hundred beautiful black and white photographs that clearly reveal his centers of interest. De la Sota was an excellent photographer. His images were primarily focused on the groupings of buildings, on the streets and plazas of the pueblos, on the townscape of villages overlooking a river, in brief, how houses create the urban structure of the place. He did not concentrate on abstract volumes, but rather on facades and how, put together, they created space. For him, the rhythm and the repetition of vernacular building types were paramount, not as abstract compositions but as fundamental means to create urban space as his long freehand drawings that explored the architecture of the streets demonstrate: “In conclusion, I want to point out the healthy path of mimicry in the art of building. We, the architects, would only have to mimic these houses of peasants and farmers, which are already mimetic, and we would pretty much get it right. The more our works resembled theirs, the less dangers we would have gotten ourselves into.”⁵⁸

At the same time one can assert that, contrary to Fernández del Amo, he did not reinvent the popular architecture of the houses and pueblos. The proportions of the volumes, the plastic elegance of the details were unmatched during the 1950s, but the plans and sections remained quite traditional with flat facades, double-sloped roofs and eaves parallel to the street. Only in some cases like the tall pilasters and the open loggias of the plaza in Gimeneles or the curved façade of Esquivel, did he make the connection to rationalism and abstraction more manifest. A comparison of streetscapes between Tamés’s Torre de la Reina, built the same year, and Esquivel shows that the architects—usually presented as black and white by critics—used the same vocabulary of *rejas* or grillwork, metal balconies, projecting roof tiles lines, simply cut windows without frames, etc. Obviously, de la Sota went somewhat further in the reduction of the elements, perhaps reducing the size of openings to provide more white walls, flattening the surface to the maximum, making big use of the *rejas* but de-emphasizing the doorframes. He also made inventive use of the eaves with various types of crenellations and the use of corner roof buttresses and chimneys that further increase the sharpness and modernity of the rooflines. Yet, it is in the interaction between urban form and residential architecture that his real innovations could be found as in the *plazoletas* and the central pedestrian axis. There he used symmetry in a ‘metaphysical’ way, beautifully reflected in the simple sketches that at some moments make public space acquire a quasi-anthropomorphic character.

sal. Después de muchos años, con los retoques hechos por sus moradores, hoy Esquivel es atractivo y se está bien en él (1989).”

⁵⁸ De la Sota, “La arquitectura y el paisaje,” p. 135: “En fin, se ha señalado, repito, el sano camino del mimetismo en el arte de construir. Nosotros, los arquitectos, bastaría con que hiciéramos mimetismo con estas casas ya miméticas de campesinos y labradores, y en mucho acertaríamos; cuanto más se parecieran nuestras obras a las suyas, en menos peligros nos habríamos metido.”

6.3. Modernizing the Churches

As we have seen in the previous sections, Alejandro de la Sota brought new and fresh ideas to the planning of the towns, reinventing the form and the *plaza* in each of his projects. Yet, his contribution to public architecture was exceptional as well. In four of his pueblos (the plans of La Bazana included only a small chapel), he developed four different architectonic strategies for the churches, from the traditional type in Gimenells to the modern, barn-like, container in Valuengo.

Undoubtedly, the village of Gimenells was the most ‘conservative’ project of Alejandro de la Sota’s entire career. Planned in 1943-1944 during the most ideological phase of the dictatorship and set up to be the first example of the compact model of *pueblo* put forth by the I.N.C., its urban plan and architecture did not generate a lot of critical attention, and he himself seemed to have minimized its importance. Yet, a comparison with the contemporary project of Suchs, designed by José Borobio Ojeda a couple of miles away highlights how much, even within the confines of traditional design, de la Sota was able to establish his own identity. As we have seen earlier, the plazas of Gimenells and Suchs were virtually identical, located as they were at the intersection of the towns’ main perpendicular axes. However, de la Sota emphasized the civic side of the square by placing the public areas in direct relation with the residential sides and the town hall; in Suchs, Borobio did the reverse and placed the plaza in connection with the church, which he designed as an elegant single-nave church, with a tall tower and a Baroque façade.⁵⁹ In contrast, de la Sota placed the church directly against the street with a small patio on its side. Traditional and sober, the church of Gimenells already displayed idiosyncratic architectural features. Inside, the single nave was visually divided by a series of parabolic arches, which gave it a somewhat expressionist image. Outside, the simple façade without a portal, and the small and squat tower—consisting of a square base, a middle section that transforms the square into an octagon, and a circular lantern at the top—alluded to what will become clear in his latest villages: an interpretation of the vernacular leaning toward surrealism and a touch of irony.

In Esquivel, the religious complex was boldly detached from the town fabric but, at the same time, its architecture was radically altered and reinvented. The traditional patio linking the church to the rectorate and the office of the Acción Católica remained, but de la Sota brought in two interconnected innovations whose impact on future churches of the I.N.C. would be significant. For the first time in the history of the program he rejected the rectangular plan. Following the principles of functionalism for theater and other assembly rooms—see for instance Le Corbusier’s entry for the Palace of the Soviets competition (1931), Adalberto Libera’s competition entry with Giuseppe Vaccaro for the Auditorium of Rome (1935), and Oscar Niemeyer’s church of San Francisco de Asís in Pampulha (1940)—he made the walls of the church converge toward the altar. In section, as José Tamés subtly remarked in his

⁵⁹ In Suchs, the square is called “plaza de la Iglesia,” whereas in Gimenells, it is the “plaza de España,” a semantic difference that is also clearly perceptible spatially.

response to the architect's Memoria, de la Sota's project was similar to the unbuilt memorial chapel designed by Ernst Pfannschmidt in Wasgau, Germany.⁶⁰ The section consisted of two oblique rooflines that rise toward each other and meet above the altar, where a wide horizontal window provides the proper zenithal light. The exterior became a direct reflection of the interior space and thus appeared as a trapezoidal mass with an apse-like curved façade.

De la Sota's church in Esquivel was thus the first modern church of the colonization, contemporary of Miguel Fisac's similar works at the Universidad Laboral in Daimiel (1950), the Colegio Apostólico de Arcas Reales in Valladolid (1952-1953), and the competition entry for a cathedral in Madrid by Francisco de Asis Cabrero and Rafael Aburto (1951-1952).⁶¹ The interior formed a homogenous liturgical space, i.e., a space principally marked by undisturbed surface walls, without chapels and focusing on the altar. As a result of the curved façade of the trapezoidal structure, the tower had to be detached from the body of the church and became, for the first time within the practice of the I.N.C., a separate architectural element in the composition of the church complex and the plaza as well. The church exhibited plain walls, without any relief, windows, or arches; a rural version of the "synthesis of the arts," a large mural of ceramic decorated the curved façade.⁶² From Esquivel onwards, most architects adopted the detached campanile, a strategy that opened the way to modern and more plastic architectural and urban ensembles.

The design for the church of Entreríos was an unprecedented idea, and again without equivalent in Spain at that time. The church is a circular drum, a Pantheon-like building, built entirely in brick, with an octagonal tiled roof topped with a circular, ceramic-clad lantern. The drum is elegantly connected to the front façade of the village with a wide and low-vaulted brick portico, using the technique of the *bóveda tabicada* (Catalan vault), which also linked it to the three-story rector's house. The portico itself could be related to the circular plaza of the Feria del Campo of 1950-1951, designed by Cabrero, and which de la Sota had commented positively.⁶³ Situated at one of the focal points of the elliptical plaza/park, the church appears as "the heaviest and most dominant element of the town," a "cylindrical mass, with a circular layout and with extreme simplicity... to which nothing of Architecture has to be added to the clean cylinder."⁶⁴ Its mass and the delicate lantern gave such a strong monumental air to the

⁶⁰ José Tamés Alarcón, "Informe del Servicio de Arquitectura – Pueblo de Esquivel," p. 4. In his response to the Memoria of Esquivel, José Tamés noted the fact that the de la Sota's church typology was new within the program. The chapel in Germany was published in the *Monatshefte für moderne Baukunst und Städtebau*, nº 19, 1935. For this section, see José de Coca Leicher, "La Basílica Catedral de Madrid. Cabrero y Aburto: arquitectura, pintura, fuentes no reveladas e influencia posterior," *Arquitectura*, 2012, pp. 381-86.

⁶¹ See Esteban Fernández Cobián, *El espacio sagrado en la arquitectura española contemporánea*, Santiago de Compostela: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia, 2005. The project by Cabrero and Aburto was an enormous structure for an audience of 25,000 with a 125-meter high metallic campanile. The plan adopted the conical concept, in the form of an open V: see Coca Leicher, op. cit. and Rafael de Aburto and Francisco de Asis Cabrero, "Basílica Catedral en Madrid," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 123, March 1952, pp. 1-8.

⁶² See Chapter Seven.

⁶³ De la Sota, op. cit. Boletín, 1950, p. 8.

⁶⁴ De la Sota, "Memoria – Proyecto del pueblo de Entreríos," p. 4-5.

church that de la Sota could easily dispense of the campanile. Inside, the cylindrical volume morphed into a parabolic brick vault whose profile starts directly at ground level. Within this simple interior, he produced a small masterpiece, playing with the plastic penetration of a series of circular volumes—the baptistery and staircases—that bulge inside and outside the walls and break the continuity of the lower-level interior surfaces. On axis with the main entrance doors, the circular altar floats inside the space on a concrete slab, and, supported by four small columns, appears as a modern baldachin, which the architect beautifully represented in one of his most alluring sketches.

De la Sota's last pueblo church was built in Valuengo from 1954. In an early sketch, he had imagined a baroque composition, with the church up on the hill and connected to the town hall through a majestic staircase. One tower to the right and a dome dominated the most traditional composition by the architect. However, the rectangular plan and the annex building gave the clue to what would become his most functional project. As built and still located at the highest point of the site, the church deployed its monumental image, visible from various points in and around the town, "[...] with simplicity, both inside and outside, it is believed that it will give an impression of austerity and great solemnity."⁶⁵ Typologically it could be categorized as a modern version of the hall-church,⁷ a type of tall and massive barn. The church's interior is a square space, but he distorted the end wall by opening it as a triangle to create a slight perspectival effect toward the altar located within a lower half-cylinder apse projecting out on the back façade.

In 1952, Miguel Herrero Ángel pioneered the barn-like type at the heart of Puelblonuevo de Guadiana, but he decided to keep the tower and attach it on the side of the flat triangular façade. In Valuengo like in Entrerríos, de la Sota eliminated the campanile and relied on the tall gabled façade pierced with a circular window over the entrance portico. The double-slope roof seems to float on top of the main volume, supported by a reticular structure of thin reinforced concrete columns between which he inserted the stained-glass windows that filled the large gable and continued on both sides in horizontal bands. With its concrete structure, it is an industrial church of sort, whose concept he further developed as one of the invited architects to propose a new parish center in the expanding periphery of Vitoria and published in 1958.⁶⁶ This church does not show the refinement found in Esquivel and Entrerríos. It seems to be reflecting the poverty of the area. It is a powerful, rude, and at the same time modern and primitive façade, which looms over the rural landscape, as if in a surrealist vision.

⁶⁵ Alejandro de la Sota, "Memoria – Proyecto del Nuevo Pueblo de Valuengo," Centro de Estudios Agrarios de Extremadura, Badajoz, quoted by Cabecera Soriano, p. 326.

⁶⁶ Sesión de crítica de arquitectura, "Las nuevas parroquias de Vitoria," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 196, April 1958, pp. 1-15.

6.4. The Countryside in Surrealism

Spain's role in the history and development of the Surrealist movement before the Civil War was very significant and it generated a large amount of studies and exhibitions. In addition to Salvador Dalí and Joan Miró, Maruja Mello, José Moreno Villa, José Caballero, Óscar Domínguez, Eduardo Westerdahl, and filmmaker Luis Buñuel were some of the most representative artists. Even though many of these creators produced a large part of their work outside of Spain, the Spanish Surrealist movement deployed a specific identity, with specific themes, places, and techniques of representation.⁶⁷ It is well known that the birth of modern art coincided with a new valorization of the landscape, which, from a pure background, was elevated to a major protagonist of the image. From Cézanne, Gauguin and Derain to Kandinsky and the Italian Futurists, the landscape, and in many cases the man-made landscape of the rural vernacular—from farms to villages and towns—became a central subject and object of painting and vision. This transformation affected Spanish art as well, with painters like Joaquín Sorolla and Joaquim Sunyer, yet, it is the Surrealists who will definitely establish the countryside as a fundamental focus, both thematically and geographically.⁶⁸

As surrealism was at first a Catalan phenomenon, the *masía*—a type of rural construction connected to a large estate—became an essential symbol of Catalan identity. Like so many artists, Joan Miró used it as a source of inspiration as in *La Masía* of 1921-22 (*The Farm*), a painting that represents the family's *masía* in Mont-Roig. In 1923-1924, Miró painted one of his most important works, *La tierra labrada*—a painting whose gold and ear motives derived directly from Hieronymus Bosch (*El Bosco*), titled “El campo tiene ojos, el bosque tiene orejas” [The field has eyes, the wood has ears].⁶⁹ Within this oneiric context, the human, animal, and man-made components of and around the *masía* dominate the composition: “the furrows of the field, the fig tree, the agave, the goat, the lizard, the dog, the rabbits, the rooster, the snail, the newspaper ... and more elements, such as the eye, the pine and the pineapple, ...the snail, the worm, the birds, the farmer and the ox.”⁷⁰ In 1924, the twenty-year old Dalí painted an enigmatic portrait of Luis Buñuel, then twenty-four, shown as a solemn Spanish man looking into the distance while, in the background, the cubic volumes of a village seem to anticipate the architecture of the *pueblos de colonización*. Likewise, his

⁶⁷ See for instance J. Francisco Aranda, *El surrealismo español*, Barcelona: Lumen, 1981; Jaime Brihuega, *Miró y Dalí: Los grandes surrealistas*, Madrid: Anaya, 1993; Luis Buñuel, *Surrealismo e metafísica nel cinema di Buñuel* Roma: Comune di Roma assessorato alla cultura, 1993; *El surrealismo en España*, Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 1994; Robert Havard (ed.), *A companion to Spanish Surrealism*, Woodbridge (UK): Tamesis, 2004; Matthew Gale, *Dalí & Film*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 2007; Ferran Aisà, *Les avantguardes: surrealisme i revolució (1914-1939)*, Barcelona: Base, 2008.

⁶⁸ See in particular Wojtéch Jirat-Wasiutyński, *Modern Art and the Idea of the Mediterranean*, Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

⁶⁹ Antonio Boix Pons, “Un comentario sobre ‘La tierra labrada’ (1923-1924) de Joan Miró,” *Octopus RDCS*, nº 2, 2011, pp. 4-23.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*. See the important book that discusses Miró's connection to the “earth” and the countryside of Catalonia: Tomás Llorens, *Miró: Tierra*, Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2008.

Muchacha vista de la espalda of 1925 portrays the girl in front of an abstracted rural landscape. Óscar Domínguez, another surrealist painter, born on the island of Tenerife, also set up his major paintings in the countryside: *Toro y torero* (1935) but also his *Souvenir de Paris*, an extraordinary framing of Paris seen from the nearby countryside and the metro underground.⁷¹ It is also near Cadaqués, a vernacular white town on the edge of the Mediterranean, that Dalí and Buñuel scripted and filmed the Surrealist manifesto, *L'âge d'or* (1930), mostly set up in natural environments including the rocks of Cap de Creu. Hence, it is critical to link surrealism to the countryside, its animals (the cow) and, indirectly, to the Plaza de Toros, which, in a certain sense, links Spanish culture to the antique Roman roots, while, at the same time, constituting a constant presence of the countryside within the city. The equivalent within the Madrid artistic circle was the creation in 1927 of the Escuela de Vallecas, a group of surrealist artists led by sculptor Alberto Sánchez Pérez and painter Benjamín Palencia who realized 'initiatory' promenades in the Madrid countryside and painted this rural landscape as a 'void' on the threshold of transformation, often with the apparition of reduced architectures and other objects.⁷²

Surrealism did not vanish with the Civil War, but its second phase under Franco has received considerably less attention. The Falange's approach to surrealism reflected the ambiguity and the contradictory views that molded its overall approach of the new political and socio-cultural situation. As Patricia Molins wrote in the catalogue of the exhibition *Campo cerrado*,

Surrealism was not perhaps the major artistic option after the Civil War, but through its variants and its infiltrations in the realm of the popular, it provided a strategy that served as a refuge, an escape valve, and a critical mechanism against a reality that few could or wanted to identify. It helped to hide reality, but also to reveal it and maintain a connection with the art that preceded the War.⁷³

The liberal wing, with Dionisio Ridruejo at the forefront, supported it as a style that matched its 'revolutionary' aspirations; the conservative side, represented by Ernesto Giménez Caballero, intended to destroy its fame in light of its anti-Christian paganism and its irreverent approach to style and subjects. Around 1942, the paintings of De Chirico and the Rationalist architecture it inspired in Sabaudia and Rome (for instance, the buildings just completed or in construction for the canceled E42 Exposition) became quite influential for artists like José

⁷¹ Dalí was one of the first artists to live in Cadaqués, which attracted many others like Picasso, Miró, etc. On Dalí and Buñuel, see Matthew Gale, *Dalí & Film*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2007.

⁷² See for instance *La Escuela de Vallecas y la nueva visión del paisaje*. Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid Centro Cultural de la Villa, 1990; *Benjamín Palencia y el origen de la poética de Vallecas*, Toledo: Caja Castilla La Mancha Obra Social y Cultural, 2006.

⁷³ Patricia Molins, "Surrealismo: el fantasma en el armario," in *Campo Cerrado*, Madrid: Museo del Reina Sofía, 2016, p. 77: "El surrealismo no fue quizás la opción artística mayoritaria tras la Guerra Civil, pero a través de sus variantes y de sus infiltraciones en lo popular proporcionó una estrategia que sirvió de refugio, de válvula de escape y de mecanismo crítico frente a una realidad con la que pocos podían o querían identificarse. Ayudó a ocultar la realidad, pero también a desvelarla y a mantener una conexión con el arte anterior a la Guerra."

Caballero or Rafael Zabaleta, but also architects like Francisco de Asis Cabrero, Rafael Aburto, and Miguel Fisac, some of whom traveled to 1940s Italy.⁷⁴

In 1946, just before his premature death, Luis Castellanos (1915-1946), one important actor of postwar surrealism, coined the expression of “*realidad inventada*”⁷⁵ [invented reality] to refer to the attitude of detachment from the immediate reality that characterized pre- and post-Civil War surrealism:⁷⁶

In certain trends of modern art, there is a thematic preference for an invented reality that is alien to the real, which constitutes an antagonistic reality... This neorealism is generally characterized by an impersonality that is extreme in execution...

There are in painting two possible systems of reality: local-temporal reality, and reality without place and without moment. Reality that captures the aspect and reality that creeps into permanence. Reality formed of data and reality formed of norms.⁷⁷

This attitude of “detachment from the immediate reality” was a key structure of Spanish surrealism in the late 1920s, and particularly within the already mentioned works of Alberto Sánchez Pérez and the Escuela de Vallecas.⁷⁸ In a text written in 1961, “Sobre la Escuela de Vallecas,” the painter and sculptor Sánchez reflected on the movement that started in the late 1920s and early 1930s and that propounded a new concept of the landscape, linked to both cubism and surrealism:

At the height of the period when Paris was the universal center of art, Sánchez and

⁷⁴ On the influence of Italian art and architecture during the early Franquist, and the role of Eugenio d’Ors, see Alina Navas, “Italia: entre lo clásico y lo moderno,” in *Campo cerrado*, pp. 93-107. Also see Molins, p. 77. The contribution of Metaphysical painting to Surrealism has always been recognized. But it is worth remembering that, as De Chirico’s pictures won wider appreciation in avant-garde circles in Paris, since the man himself was no longer there to explain them (he did not return to France until the mid-1920’s), the Surrealists began to place interpretations on them that differed markedly from his own. For De Chirico’s main philosophical guide had been Nietzsche, whereas the Surrealists looked to Freud’s theories of the unconscious, in which the Italian painter appears to have taken little interest. (NY Times) style of painting that flourished mainly between 1911 and 1920 in the works of the Italian artists Giorgio de Chirico and Carlo Carrà. These painters used representational but incongruous imagery to produce disquieting effects on the viewer. Their work strongly influenced the Surrealists in the 1920s.

⁷⁵ See Molins, p. 79.

⁷⁶ Luis Castellanos, *Arte Moderno Español*, nº 1, Madrid/Barcelona: Editorial Alejo Climent, 1946, reprinted in *Campo cerrado*, p. 85.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, pp. 85-87: “En ciertas tendencias del arte moderno se advierte una preferencia temática por una realidad inventada ajena a la realidad real, antagonica... Ese neorealismo se caracteriza generalmente por una impersonalidad extremada en la ejecución. La manera de un Dalí, deliberadamente sometida a la realidad descrita, nos hace pensar a veces que la verdadera universalidad en el estilo reside simplemente en esa ordenación de la técnica a la representación escueta y por así decirlo, neutral, de una realidad determinada...”

Hay en pintura dos sistemas de realidad posibles: realidad local-temporal, y realidad sin lugar y sin momento. Realidad que capta el aspecto y realidad que cala en la permanencia. Realidad formada de datos y realidad formada de normas....”

⁷⁸ See for instance *Alberto 1895-1962*, Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía/Aldeasa, 2001. Alberto Sánchez - known as Alberto - is one of the preeminent artists in the Spanish avant-garde movement. He started out in the School of Vallecas alongside Benjamín Palencia, but moved away after the Civil War, first to Valencia and then later to the Soviet Union. Despite producing a large part of his work in exile, where he sees out the rest of his days, Alberto is a key figure in Spanish art. One of his most famous works is the sculpture *El pueblo español tiene un camino que conduce a una estrella* (1937), created for the Spanish pavilion at the Paris International Exhibition of 1937.

Palencia attempted to create a national art linked to nature, and intended to confront the French leadership with a new poetic of the landscape more in line with the postulates of modernity. The fascination with the sobriety of the Castilian land triggered a search for natural materials applicable to plastic arts. In some works of Palencia, the oil is mixed with sand, creating pieces whose texture evokes the aridity of the soil of La Mancha.⁷⁹

At the same time than Torres Balbás, Mercadal, and the GATCPAC studied and promoted the popular architecture of the countryside and the Mediterranean to establish the basis of a new modernity that would be integrally Spanish, Sánchez, Maruja Mallo, and other artists from the Escuela de Vallecas imagined that a new vision of Spanish art would set off from the southern periphery of Madrid, from the “cerro testigo” de Almodóvar, and the fringes of the Mancha. In the case of Mallo, the only woman in the group, she embraced the countryside in the early 1920s and produced a series of drawings called *Construcciones rurales y edificaciones campesinas* with themes such as windmills, barns and farmhouses. Likewise, her series *Plástica escenográfica*, also of 1936, exalted the abstract vision of popular country characters and objects for stage set designs.⁸⁰ The Civil War interrupted those movements and many members of the group were imprisoned or went into exile. However, for a couple of years 1939, a second Escuela de Vallecas gathered around the only major figure left active in Spain, Benjamín Palencia, before dispersing in various directions, with painters like San José, Carlos Pascual de Lara, Luis Castellanos, Alberto Delgado, and Gregorio del Olmo. The countryside of Madrid and La Mancha remained a strong subject, often with renewed surrealist or metaphysical influences.

As we have studied in Chapter Four, the Triennale of Milano of 1951, organized by José Antonio Coderch, took the world of art and architecture by surprise, with its combination of surrealism, popular art, abstraction, and their deep relation to *tierra*, the earth and the countryside. Gio Ponti commented on the pavilion in the newspaper *ABC*:

In modern Spanish architecture, there is no program, no theoretical vanguard, but the most modern and essential architectural purity exists in the anonymous popular constructions of Ibiza; and Gaudí, the most extraordinary architect of the last century is Spanish. Spain, we might say, can be found in the aristocratic and popular, undemocratic art: it is an aristocracy of temperament, not an educated one, but one

⁷⁹ María Concepción Marco Such, “Miguel Hernández y la Escuela de Vallecas,” in José Carlos Rovira Soler and Carmen Alemany Bay (eds.), *Miguel Hernández: La Sombra Vencida, 1910-2010*, Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2010, pp. 90-93: “En pleno auge del, siendo París el centro universal del arte, Sánchez y Palencia, en un intento de crear un arte nacional, vinculado a la naturaleza, hacen frente al liderazgo francés con una nueva poética del paisaje más acorde con los postulados de la modernidad. La fascinación por la sobriedad de la tierra castellana desencadena una búsqueda de materiales naturales aplicables a la plástica. En algunas obras de Palencia, el óleo se mezcla con la arena provocando piezas cuya textura evoca la aridez de la tierra manchega.”

⁸⁰ See Shirley Mangini, *Maruja Mallo and the Spanish Avant-Garde*, London: Routledge, 2010; Josefina González Cubero, “Photographs of Theatre that Could Not Be. Maruja Mallo’s Stage Designs,” in *Dramatic Architectures: Places of Drama, Drama for Places*, Conference Proceedings, Porto, November 3-5, 2014, pp. 203-220.

born directly, like a miracle, from an anonymous popular territory, prodigiously powerful and full of inventiveness and poetry... With a series of wonderful photographs by Gaudí and Ibiza ... with a disparate and exceptional collection, from two tables by Miró to the inimitable Picasso's *xiulets* (horses, bulls, men and plaster birds) ... from the abstract *porrones de dos picos* (vases) to the sculptures of Ferrant and Cumellas.⁸¹

6.5. Surrealism in the Countryside

Alejandro de la Sota insisted, in repeated statements along his life, that he never “documented” his journeys across Andalucía and Extremadura. Everything would remain in his memory, time would pass, and then the architecture would appear in the drawings that he would catalogue for later use. This process of ‘mobilizing memories of the real’ suggests that the architecture and urbanism of his pueblos was conceived or recreated, to use Castellanos’s words, as a sort of “invented reality.”⁸² This was his strategy to walk “the healthy mimetic path in the art of building,” in a sort of surrealist take on design.⁸³

Esquivel’s urban spaces were traditional, yet, as the historian William Curtis wrote in 1991:

The forms of the buildings in plan are those that are closer to a regional expression. But, these are not vernacular imitations, there is in them a bit of surrealism, a little bit of ingenious in the way things are transformed.⁸⁴

It is possible to start with the very form of Esquivel, the *abanico* (the fan), which is the word that de la Sota explicitly used to describe the plan. I have discussed earlier how much he had insisted on the artificiality of the act of designing a town and how Esquivel reflected it. Yet,

⁸¹ Gio Ponti, “España en la Trienal de Milán,” *ABC*, Madrid, 21 October 1951, p. 29, reprinted in *Campo cerrado*, p. 274: “En la Arquitectura moderna, ningún programa, ninguna vanguardia teórica, pero la más moderna y esencial pureza arquitectónica existe en la anónima construcción popular de Ibiza; y Gaudí, el más extraordinario arquitecto del último siglo es español. España, podríamos decir, es en el arte aristocrática y popular, no democrática: es una aristocracia de temperamento, no educado, sino nacido directamente, como un milagro, de un terreno popular anónimo, prodigiosamente potente y lleno de invención y de poesía.... Con una serie de estupendas fotografías de Gaudí y de Ibiza... con una colección dispar y de excepción, desde dos tablas de Miró hasta los inimitables picassianos ‘xiulets’—caballos, toros, hombres y pájaros de yeso... desde los abstractos porrones de dos picos hasta la escultura de Ferrant y de Cumellas.”

⁸² Inmaculada Guerra Sarabia and Francisco Pinto Puerto, “Miradas cruzadas. Arte e ideología en la configuración del poblado de Esquivel,” in *Pueblos de colonización durante el franquismo: la arquitectura en la modernización del territorio rural*, Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2008, pp. 375-384.

⁸³ Alejandro de la Sota, “La arquitectura y el paisaje,” p. 135. In 1978, Dalibor Veselý edited a double issue of *Architectural Design* on surrealism and architecture (*AD Architectural Design*, vol. 48, 1978). The issue studied manifold connections between modernist architecture and surrealism, and it marked a penchant for surrealism among postmodern architects. It included, among others, essays by Rem Koolhaas and Bernard Tschumi, and studies of John Hedjuk’s masks, Aldo Rossi’s images and their link to De Chirico, Oswald Ungers, and others. For a more recent publication, see Thomas Mical (ed.), *Surrealism and Architecture*, London: Routledge, 2004.

⁸⁴ William Curtis, “Dúas obras.” *Grial* XXIX, nº 109, January-February-March 1991, p. 17. Quoted in Pedro de Llano, *Alejandro de la Sota: O nacemento dunha arquitectura* (Pontevedra: Deputación Provincial de Pontevedra, 1994), 41.

there was nothing in the site or in the program that made the form of a fan, neither a functional nor an esthetic necessity. As a matter of fact, Esquivel is the only fully symmetrical plan of the entire I.N.C. colonization and the only one with that form. In further analysis, the only reason for the curved form was the necessity of a façade that could be embraced visually in one moment, thus in an entirely scenographic manner—a façade that would serve as theatrical backdrop for the scenography of objects in the park, and the religious complex “which has to shine in the image of the pueblo as it stands in front of the unrolled white ribbon of our plaza.”⁸⁵ Seen from the front arcade in a beautiful photograph by Kindel and from de la Sota’s own sketches, the church and its connected structures emerge as a juxtaposition of unusual and stylistically unrelated architectural objects: the modern trapezoidal church, the ‘traditional’ campanile, and in the background the vernacular house of the priest. Seen together, they form a surrealist collage, a metaphysical image of rural urbanity, glued together by the patio and whitewashed walls and surfaces. As Inmaculada Guerra Sarabia and Francisco Pinto Puerto wrote, “more than a traditional *plaza*, we are in front of a scenography... forms that evoke the creative spirit of Garcia Lorca and the painting of Alberto [Sánchez] ... an architecture saturated by surrealist references... an effect of utopia that becomes reality.”⁸⁶ Symbolism was in no way a strategy applied by de la Sota, but paradoxically the results of the design process generated a form with symbolic connections and deviated the logic of the abanico plan toward a surrealist interpretation in its status of Andalusian popular object and tradition. In Entrerríos as well, his sketches of the circular brick church, seen from the Catalan vaults of the arcade and standing alone within the park/*plaza*, bring to mind De Chirico’s metaphysical painting, usually understood as a form of surrealism in the Italian context.

As de la Sota stated in his own Memoria, the campanile of Esquivel reflects the work “del albañil más experto y *artista* que trabaja en las obras” (of the most expert mason and artist).⁸⁷ It is indeed the multi-faceted work of a talented builder, and the work of an artist—a surrealist one—capable to transform the campanile “into an ensemble of *objets trouvés*, without any connection of form or appearance between them. A series of pieces, discovered and carefully arranged *in situ*; an assemblage that realizes the equilibrium, as in the models by [Ángel] Ferrant.”⁸⁸ Like the religious group itself and contrasting with the functional modernity of the

⁸⁵ Alejandro de la Sota, Memoria, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Inmaculada Guerra Sarabia and Francisco Pinto Puerto, “Miradas cruzadas. Arte e ideología en la configuración del poblado de Esquivel,” in *Pueblos de colonización durante el franquismo: la arquitectura en la modernización del territorio rural*, Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2008, p. 379. The authors make specific references to the set designs produced by Alberto before and after the Civil War: “Formas que evocan el espíritu creativo de García Lorca y a la pintura de Alberto [Sánchez]... nos presentan esta arquitectura saturada de referencias surrealistas con las que parece buscar señas de identidad a través de una ideología avanzada... El esplendor, irreal e ilusorio, de las formas, que el arte de Alberto ve aquí reflejado y, produce, a la vez, un efecto de utopía hecha realidad.”

⁸⁷ Alejandro de la Sota, “El nuevo pueblo de Esquivel,” p. 17.

⁸⁸ See Miguel Ángel Baldellou, *Alejandro de la Sota*, Madrid: Servicio de publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1975, referred to by Victor Ugarte del Valle, “Ecos de una mirada surreal a través de tres obras de Alejandro de la Sota,” in Teresa Couceiro (ed.), *Pioneros de la arquitectura moderna española: vigencia de su pensamiento y obra*, May 2014, p.6, last accessed on September 10, 2018, at

church and the concrete arcades, the campanile emerges as the superimposition of three unconnected sections. The lower part of the tower gives the impression of a pure white monolith, punctuated by two projecting square windows on two sides. The second section appears to be simply placed on top, without any real connection, like a construction game. It deploys four identical facades, as a sort of elevated *quadripórtico*, with flattened triumphal arches made up of two-colored planes. The recessed one appears like a tall and somewhat compressed *serliana*, whose central arch reveals the presence of the bells. Its white surface is contradicted by the application, almost a collage, of a series of blue motifs (circular and square) that give the impression to be voids but are in fact surfaces. These *serlianas* are framed, or rather sliced in three pieces, by a giant order of rusticated red pilasters, which are themselves slightly tapered, but in the opposite direction than the lower section: narrower at the bottom, wider at the top. The third section is open and shows a tiled pyramidal structure, surrounded by four pinnacles that respond, in inverted direction, to the pilasters at the four corners. Instead of topping or emerging from the platform, he inserted a 'doubled' pyramid, a sort of plug that penetrates the porticoed central section. Capping the pyramid is a quasi-spherical, polyhedral volume that supports a surrealist iron weather vane—notice the half arrow tip.

Similarly, the garden pavilion that de la Sota placed on axis with the pedestrian main street reflects his interest in Antonio Gaudí and the “modernist surrealism” of Josep Maria Jujol.⁸⁹ This other version of the *quadripórtico* not only frames the entrance to the town, but acts, in the perpendicular direction, as an optical instrument to connect the town hall to the church itself. The kiosk is a dancing figure. Its humor, its distorted symmetry, its delicate and light ironwork that floats on top of the cupola and holds the name of Esquivel, and its oval cupola covered with fragments of broken pieces of ceramic as Gaudí used in the Parque Güell in Barcelona, reconnect with the Modernist tradition:

I can say that I experienced the greatest emotions of my life as an architect with the contemplation of the whole and the smallest detail of the works of the great Catalan [Gaudí]. He was a man of immense heart and his entire work is a reflection of it, the most patent and greatest reflection of plasticity in architecture.⁹⁰

https://www.academia.edu/7609545/Ecos_de_una_mirada_surreal_a_trav%C3%A9s_de_tres_obras_de_Alejandro_de_la_Sota: “El campanario en su integridad (Fig. 4) se transforma en un conjunto de objetos *trouvés* sin conexión formal ni de apariencia entre ellos, tal y como advierte tempranamente Miguel Ángel Baldellou. Una suerte de piezas encontradas y colocadas cuidadosamente en su sitio; aquel donde se alcanza el equilibrio, como en los móviles de Ferrant.” On Ángel Ferrant, see *Ángel Ferrant*, Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 1999; César Calzada, *Arte prehistórico en la vanguardia artística de España*, Madrid: Cátedra, 2006.

⁸⁹ See in particular Carlos Flores López, *Gaudí, Jujol y el modernismo catalán*, Madrid: Aguilar, 1982; Guillem Carabí Bescos, *Josep María Jujol: L'Església Primera de Vistabella*, Barcelona: Obra Social La Caixa, 2013; Vanessa Graell, “El modernismo surrealista de Jujol,” in *El Mundo*, 14 February 2014.

⁹⁰ Alejandro de la Sota, “La arquitectura y nosotros,” p. 146. In this lecture, he lamented the lack of respect that the work of Gaudí continued to suffer in Spain, in contrast for instance with the Italian interest: “Puedo decir que las mayores emociones de mi vida de arquitecto las experimento con la contemplación del conjunto o de un mínimo detalle de las obras de gran catalán {Gaudí}. Fue un

The kiosk of Esquivel was only one of the many decorative elements of the traditional village that de la Sota reinterpreted and dispersed along the streets and squares of his pueblos, in a system that “implied a willingness to introduce chance and fortuity as factors of composition, correlative to what happens spontaneously in the formation of ensembles within popular architecture.”⁹¹ In Entreríos, Esquivel, La Bazana and Valuengo, his multiple abstract, geometric, quasi-metaphysical objects—from the pumpkin-shaped and conical fountains, to the cinema control room to the benches and troughs that gaze at the agricultural landscape—are not only functionally relevant objects but, more importantly, genuine poetic moments. These artifacts were an indisputable homage to the traditions of the Spanish pueblo (see some of his photographs of traditional fountains), but also to the Modernism movement and to its rural manifestation. Gaudí, of course, but even more so Josep Jujol who, in the countryside of Tarragona, developed a rural architecture, an *arte povera*, rich with iron works, sculptures, vanes, and loggias, which have a lot in common with Salvador Dalí’s own world. Like Jujol, de la Sota sublimated the quotidian and, through this poetic and surrealist approach, he introduced a subtle and playful commentary on the social or physical context within which those villages were being built.⁹²

In similar fashion, the town halls that de la Sota designed in Esquivel, Entreríos, and Valuengo reveal, not only his attempt to produce an “architecture without architects,” but also his critical distance toward the symbolic and political value of the civic structures. In Esquivel, he described the project of *ayuntamiento* (town hall) as “somewhat candid” in its effort to imitate the maestro in charge in absence of an architect: “I projected the town hall... with great simplicity, only with a slight, somewhat candid packaging, wanting to imitate the one that would probably be used by the master in charge of its execution in total absence of the architect.”⁹³

Yet, at further analysis, the overall composition is quite complex, with its three-window long balcony on top of two flattened arches, the elevated center of the façade, modified from the plan where it formed a square figure from the ground up, to the constructed version where the narrow proportions of the second floor windows make the square appear again from the level of the balcony. As a result the final proportions are somewhat strange and contribute to the unusual image of a traditional building. Something metaphysical, somewhat surrealist appears as another example of Luis Castellanos’s “invented reality.” De la Sota’s sketches for

hombre de corazón inmenso y su obra es reflejo de ello; el reflejo más patente y más grande de la plástica en arquitectura.”

⁹¹ Carlos Flores, *Arquitectura Popular Española*. Volume 1, Madrid: Aguilar, 1973, p. 75: “suponía una voluntad de introducir el azar y la casualidad como factores de composición, de un modo correlative a lo que sucede espontáneamente en la formación de conjuntos dentro de la arquitectura popular.”

⁹² See note 89.

⁹³ De la Sota, *Memoria*, p. 3: “Se proyectó el Ayuntamiento... con sencillez grande, solamente con un ligero empaque un tanto candoroso, queriendo imitar al que probablemente usaría el maestro encargado de su ejecución en ausencia total del Arquitecto. Un reloj de los viajes sobre soporte de hierro y unos angelitos cerámicos y pocas cosas más, valorarán este edificio respecto al resto.”

the Esquivel town hall, if fully implemented, would have further enhanced the composition. Indeed, he sketched two large angels on each side of the roof and, at the center of the composition, designed a magnified travel clock as an out of scale object whose dimensions gave it a surrealist, dream-like quality. In Entrerriós, the town hall followed the same configuration but the central arcades provided the passageway to a small square located behind. The same three tall windows opened on a large civic balcony, but here, he separated them with painted pilasters ending with the shadows of the angels that he sketched on the plans.

Opposite the school at the southern entrance of the sinuous main street that overlooks the village, Valuengo's town hall displayed another side of de la Sota's playful surrealism. The small building sits isolated at the edge of a triangular park. His front and back facades are curved and parallel: the front façade is thus concave; the back one convex. This highly unusual arrangement reflects an organic, even Baroque, response to what we have called earlier the "formless" design of the village. In the middle of the front façade, a convex protuberance that contains the semi-circular staircase juts out lower, in a reminder of Borromini. At the same time, the architect breaks the symmetry by placing the entry door off axis. Furthermore, he cut both front corners of the street façade on the second floor, projecting the half-circular balconies on the diagonal—a quirky solution, perhaps a vernacular adaptation of the two Renaissance palaces that obliquely face the Plaza Mayor in Trujillo. Both balconies salute the passerby as he or she enters or exits the village. De la Sota baroque play can be further appreciated in the plan of the building: the half circular balconies on the back façade and spiral-like outdoor stairs connect the main public room to the garden behind. Interestingly, he was designing at the same time the private house in Madrid at Calle Doctor Arce, where he deployed a similar strategy in regard to the corner balcony and the outdoor staircase.⁹⁴

Seen comprehensively, de la Sota's civic architecture reinterpreted, with the quirky details that suggest a serious touch of irony and humor, the simple traditional volumes of the public buildings of the region. All his life, he was a great caricaturist and he sketched dozens of private and public figures including architects like Miguel Fisac, Felix Candela, and others.⁹⁵ At times, the details of his architecture brushed the caricature and reinforced the ironic charge of his work. Whether we agree with Guerra Sarabia and Pinto Puerto's interpretation that the opening of the plaza in Esquivel represented the "necessity of a social opening of the village, in contrast with the closed and centripetal traditional plaza, controlled by the religious and political institutions," de la Sota's irony reflected his growing doubts within a decade of

⁹⁴ See note 3 and Alejandro de La Sota, "Casa en el Viso," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XV, nº 164, August 1955, pp. 28-32. "Casa en la calle Doctor Arce, 1955, Madrid," *AV Monografías*, nº 68, November-December, 1997, pp. 46-49.

⁹⁵ Alejandro de la Sota, *Caricaturas / Alejandro de la Sota*, Madrid: Ediciones Asimétricas, 2013.

political and architectural changes.⁹⁶ It certainly explained the vivacity and intensity of his beautiful architectural drawings. Under his mobile pen, the buildings and spaces often seemed not only to come alive, but rather to become anthropomorphic. He used his freehand sketches and his talents of caricaturist to reveal the essence of his ideas and projects, their surrealism, and their potential distancing from ideology. As Iñaki Abalos wrote

De la Sota's penchant for caricature, for reducing everything to a few exaggerated strokes, is related to the means of evoking architecture, being part of a good-humored process of simplification. There is a certain mischief or irony in his view of his own work, but also a private acceptance that the 'system' leads to a clarity which allows him to escape a world defined by Great Truths and gain a foothold in a more fragile sphere, in the fleeting instant, in the innocent pleasures of simplicity and humor.⁹⁷

This ironic method also brings to mind José Ortega y Gasset's short essay of 1926, "Nuevas casas antiguas." Ortega saw progress in the construction of many new houses "in estilo." It definitely marked a return to a necessary concept of beauty, but he lamented that they were copied and selected from a catalogue rather than invented.⁹⁸ Irony was for him the only way to address the styles of the past and the definition of the new ones:

Every epoch has its inbred style, and never can it be that of another time. The man who possesses a genuine aesthetic sensibility loathes the idea to make a past style his own, just as he would loathe accepting as his own, without adoptive fiction, the child of another man. Adoption is an ironic paternity, deliberately metaphorical. The one who adopts is "like" a father. Our sympathy for a style of the past can only be ironic. The form of this irony can vary a lot. For instance, starting from a contemporary style, we prefer those of the past that bear an accentuated resemblance to our actual style. Yet, we notice at the same time that such a resemblance is fundamentally partial and abstract. The older style, at least the one closest to ours, has ingredients that cannot be assimilated for our current purpose. Our sympathy endows it with a half-presence, with a fictitious actuality that,

⁹⁶ Miradas cruzadas, p. 381: "La idea de apertura del pueblo, reflejada, subrayada en su plaza, es la idea de necesidad de apertura social del mismo, frente a lo cerrado y centrípeto de la plaza tradicional, arropada, controlada por los estamentos religiosos y políticos."

⁹⁷ Iñaki Abalos, "Alejandro De La Sota: The Construction of an Architect," in Pamela Johnston (ed.), *Alejandro de la Sota: The Architecture of Imperfection*, London: Architectural Association, 1997, p. 61.

⁹⁸ See José Ortega y Gasset, "Nuevas casas antiguas [1926]," *Obras completas*, Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1957, volume 2 (*El Espectador*, 1916-1934), pp. 549-52: "Cada época tiene que tener su estilo congénito, y nunca puede ser el suyo el de otra época. El hombre que posee auténtica sensibilidad estética repugna sentir como propio un estilo pretérito, lo mismo que re-pugna aceptar, sin ficción adoptiva, como propio un hijo de otro. La adopción es una paternidad irónica, deliberadamente metafórica. El que adopta es "como" un padre. Nuestra simpatía hacia algún estilo del pasado sólo puede ser irónica. La forma de esta ironía es muy variada. Por ejemplo, desde un estilo actual, preferimos aquellos del pretérito que tienen alguna acentuada semejanza con aquél. Pero a la vez notamos que tal semejanza es sumamente parcial y abstracta. El estilo antiguo, aun el más afín con el nuestro, contiene ingredientes inasimilables para la actualidad. Nuestra simpatía le dota, pues, sólo de una semipresencia, de una ficticia actualidad, que, en definitiva, le llega de nuestro arte contemporáneo."

eventually, distances it away from our contemporary art.⁹⁹

To conclude, I posit that de la Sota transcended the functionalist elements of modernity—rational planning, program, modern typologies—that all the I.N.C. architects implemented. Conscious of the social importance of the task, yet ambiguous in regard to the bureaucratic rationality of the process, he chose to produce, in his last four villages, an “invented” or “surreal” reality. Whereas his colleague José Luis Fernández del Amo would mobilize abstract art in Vegaviana and his other *pueblos*, he used surrealism to support, comment, and in a subtle way ironize upon the process of rural modernization in Franco’s Spain.¹⁰⁰

6.6. Bringing Modernity from the Countryside

In 1950, de la Sota was asked to install an exhibition at the School of Agronomy on the University of Madrid campus at the occasion of the first Congress of Agronomic Engineering. The inadequate architecture of the rooms made it necessary to “put up an installation in the manner of a mask in order to give them the joyful aspect of greater modernity that the exhibition contained.”¹⁰¹ Using false ceilings, porticoes imitating the typical arcades of the plaza mayor, brightly red-colored walls, inclined partitions, and murals by Valdivieso and Lago Rivera, he devised a coordinated and highly scenographic sequence of rooms that mixed the man-made and the natural of displayed documents, photographs, and flora-inspired murals. The section of the exhibition dedicated to the I.N.C. followed the same principles and was designed by Fernández del Amo. Painted with murals by José Luis and Carlos Picardo, with Manuel Barbero, the coffee bar was set amidst planted trees and metaphysical landscapes that reminded of Carlo Carrà.

Making references to Aalto’s Pavilion of Finland in 1937, Max Bill for the Swiss Pavilion at the Triennale of 1951, Powell and Moya at the Festival of Britain, de la Sota’s installation of the 1955 *Exposición de ingenieros agrónomos*, in the same spaces at the University, could not be more different aesthetically and artistically. He worked with another series of artists including Manuel Mampaso (famous for his scenographic works in theater) and his brother Jesús de la Sota to set up a surrealist collage of pieces which included real wheat spikes. In another space, pieces of agricultural machines hung from the walls and another room made a spectacular display of statistical information as well as photographs. Fernández del Amo curated the room *Cultivo del Tabaco* [culture of tobacco] where he juxtaposed a thematic mural by Rivera to a vitrine containing real leaves of tobacco. The I.N.C. room, designed by

⁹⁹ Ibidem, p. 550-551.

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter Seven.

¹⁰¹ Alejandro de la Sota, “Exposición de ingeniería agrónómica,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, April 1950, p. 151.

architect Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo, consisted of a seducing abstract composition of colonization photographs, a mobile of Alberto Sánchez, and a mural by Ignacio Gárate.¹⁰²

In 1956, Cabrero and Ruiz commissioned Alejandro de la Sota to design the Pavilion of Pontevedra for the 3rd edition of the *Feria Nacional del Campo*. The pavilion was part of an eclectic group of new structures that included the *Pabellón de Granada* by Francisco Prieto-Moreno, beautifully idealized by Kindel's photographs, the *Pabellón de degustación de vino español* by Carlos de Miguel in collaboration with José Luis Sánchez for the sculptural objects, the *Pabellón de Huelva* by Juan Luis Manzano Monis, and the *Pabellón de la Obra Sindical del Hogar*, a joint work of Francisco de Asís Cabrero and Felipe Pérez Enciso. Sota's project was not his first work at the Fair.

In 1953, de la Sota had designed the pavilion of the *Dirección General de Montes* inside the structure representing the Ministry of Agriculture (Carlos Arniches, 1950). The installation was a demonstration of wood materials and surfaces. A parabolic arch made up of cut tree trunks opened to a linear sequence of large oval-shaped volumes, placed eschew in relation to the room axis. On the side were five smaller cylindrical ovals for the display of the information dioramas. The ensemble created a dynamic, Baroque-influenced, and movement-oriented space of which the architect made beautiful sketches and preparatory drawings. Installed in 1956 on the Camino del Ángel near the Casa de Campo lake, the *Pavilion de la Cámara Sindical de Pontevedra* was the last of de la Sota's works in direct relation to the countryside and his experience of the colonization. It also marked the beginning of an intense collaboration with his younger brother, painter, artist, photographer, and furniture designer, Jesús de la Sota—a partnership that climaxed in the 1960s with works like the design of the original furniture for the *Gobierno Civil* of Tarragona.¹⁰³ Documented by many sketches, the pavilion remains difficult to comprehend in its totality, in part because the artistic but highly edited photographs by Kindel and de la Sota himself give partial and disconnected views of the structures, their organization, and their interiors. However, those images and the original drawings of the architect bear witness of an exceptional architectural and artistic installation. He described it for the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* issue of July 1956 in three short paragraphs that emphasized the importance of a modern image of the countryside:

¹⁰² Alejandro de La Sota, "Exposición de ingenieros agrónomos," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XVI, nº 170, February 1956, pp. 29-36.

¹⁰³ Jesús de la Sota (1924-1980), brother of Alejandro, was a painter, artist, photographer, and furniture designer who was active in Spain, in Venezuela, and other countries. His work was presented in many exhibitions including the Triennale of Milan of 1957. He participated in the interior montage of the Spanish Pavilion at the Brussels Exposition Universelle of 1959 and in New York in 1964. Friend of photographer Lucien Hervé, he planned important photographic projects about the Mediterranean, which did not reach a conclusion. With his brother Alejandro, he collaborated on many buildings, particularly with the design of original furniture. His achievement at the Gobierno Civil de Tarragona was critical for the attention given to the building as a total work of art (1962). Alina Navas, "La seducción de la línea – El pintor Jesús de la Sota," pp. 13-23; Ríó Vázquez and Silvia Blanco Agüeira, "Jesús de la Sota: El mueble y la arquitectura," *Res Mobilis* 5, no. 6, 2016, pp. 482-98; Alejandro de la Sota, "El pintor Jesús de la Sota," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, no. 183, 1957, pp. 8-10.

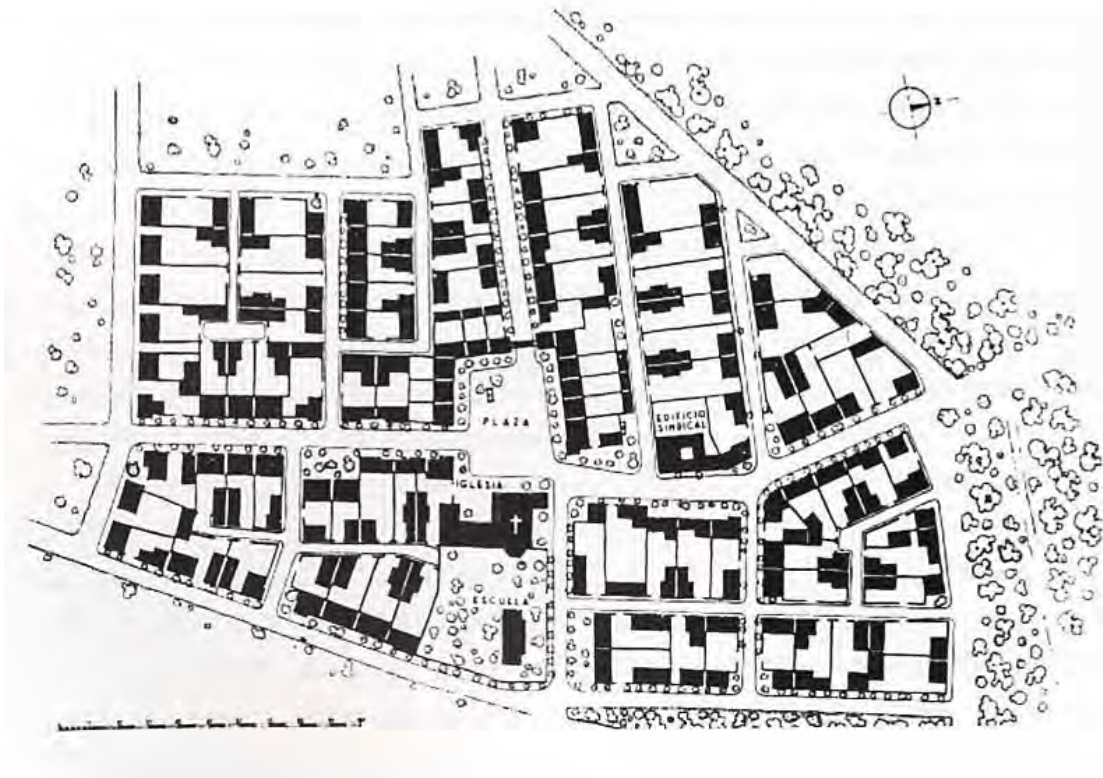
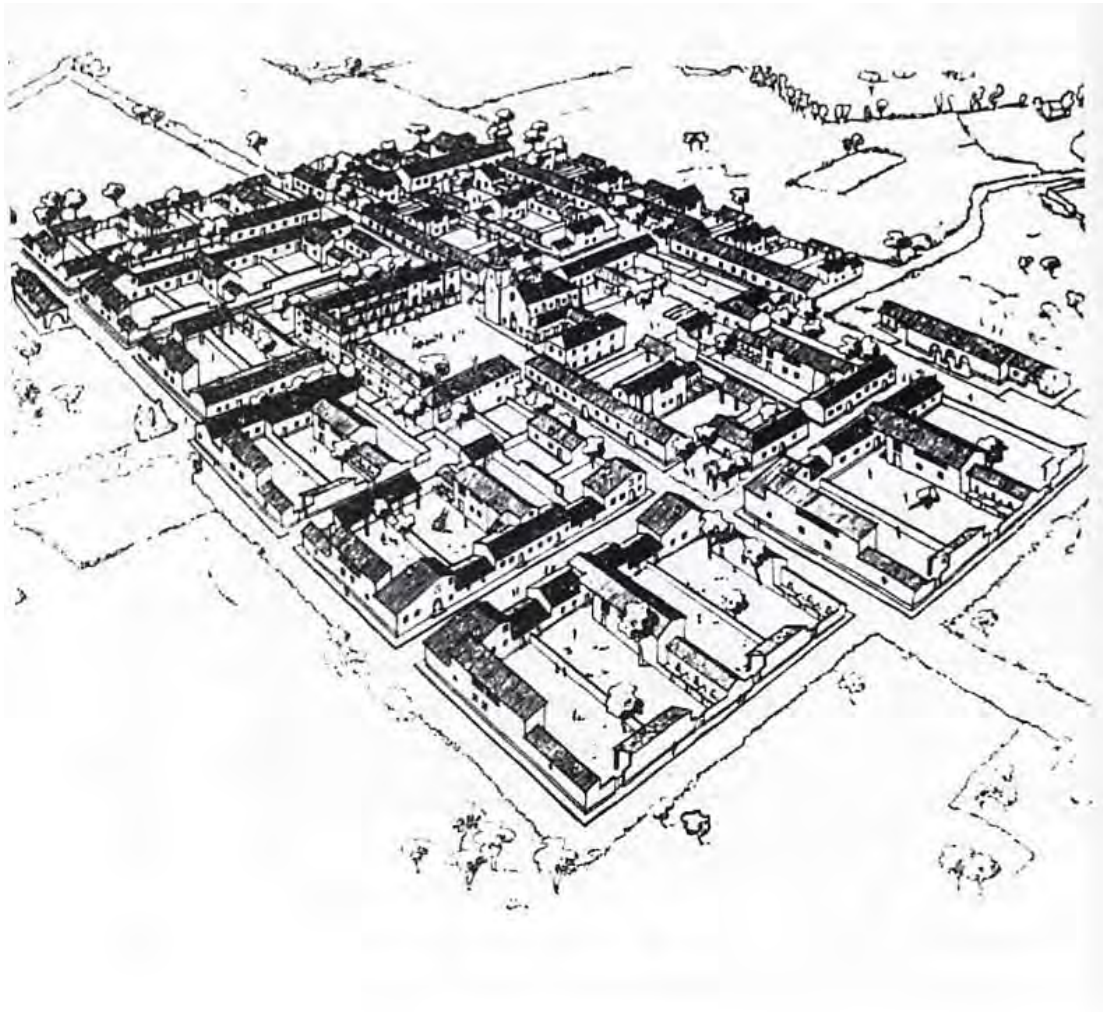
Dissenting from the prevalent orientation toward the “typical” and thinking that an authentic representation of the countryside should be brought to Madrid, we imagined an abstract environment.

Springtime in Madrid: we planned a closed and semi-closed layout, with an insinuated itinerary of constantly changing forms and environments for the visitor.

Plastically, and starting from the themes of Le Corbusier, we invented shapes that can be enjoyed as much as the paintings of sheep and shepherds. In these, Jesús de la Sota played a major role, a painter who, as we understand it today, does not paint those scenes, but exists throughout the project.¹⁰⁴

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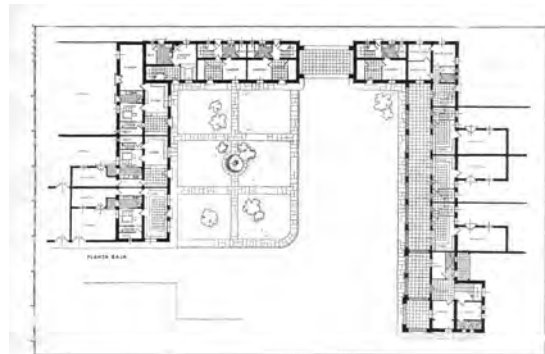
¹⁰⁴ Alejandro de la Sota, “Pabellón de la cámara sindical de Pontevedra,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XVI, nº 175, July 1956, pp. 41-42: “Disintiendo de la orientación hacia los tipismos y pensando en que el campo debe traerse a Madrid con representaciones auténticas, se les buscó a éstas un marco abstracto. Se proyectó—Madrid y primavera—planta abierta, cerrada y semicerrada, que, con un itinerario insinuado, forma ambientes cambiantes para el visitante. Plásticamente, y partiendo de temas de Le Corbusier, se inventaron formas que pueden divertir tanto como las pinturas de ovejas y pastores. En ellas intervino profundamente Jesús de la Sota, pintor que—tal como hoy entendemos—no pinta esas escenas, pero está en la obra dentro del proyecto.” Also see José de Coca Leicher, “Arquitectura efímera y objet trouvé. Pabellón de Pontevedra, 1956. Alejandro y Jesús De La Sota,” *Revista de Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica* 17, nº 20, 2012, pp. 226-35. See also <http://archivo.alejandrodelaSota.org/es/original/project/267>. Last accessed September 10, 2018.



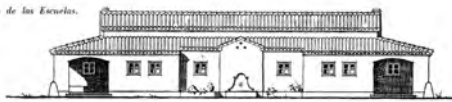
I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Gimelss, 1944. Perspective of the town and final masterplan. From *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 83, November 1948.



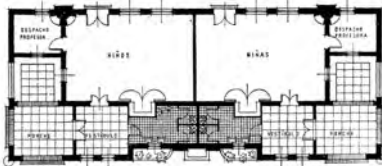
Vista de la Iglesia.



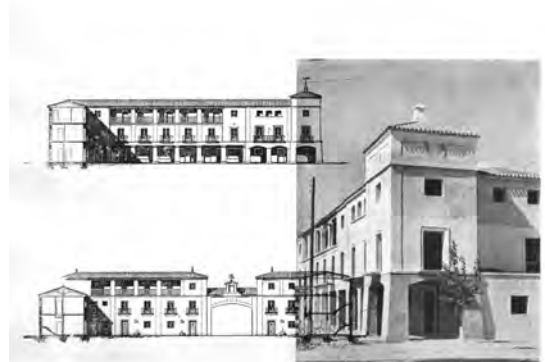
Vistas de las Escuelas.



FACHADA PRINCIPAL

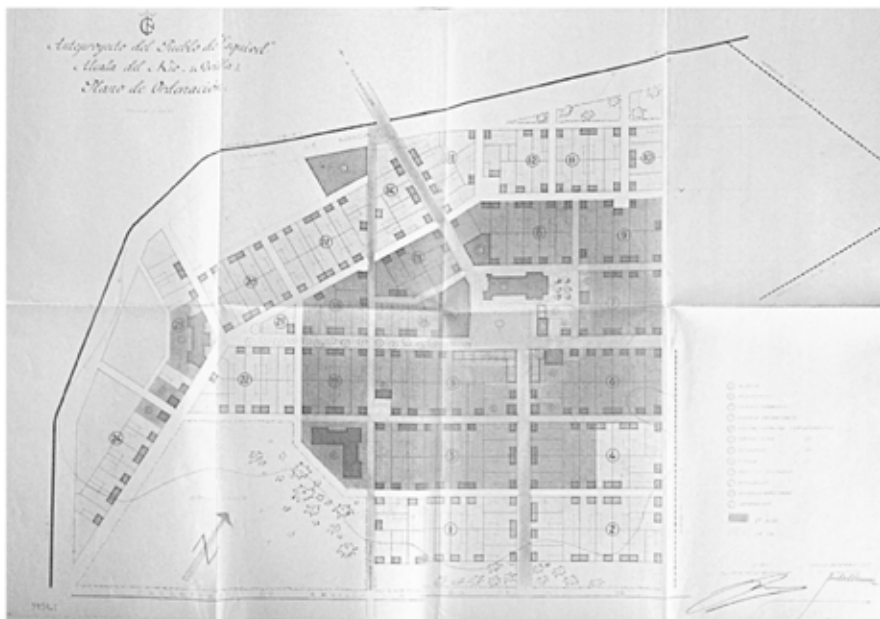
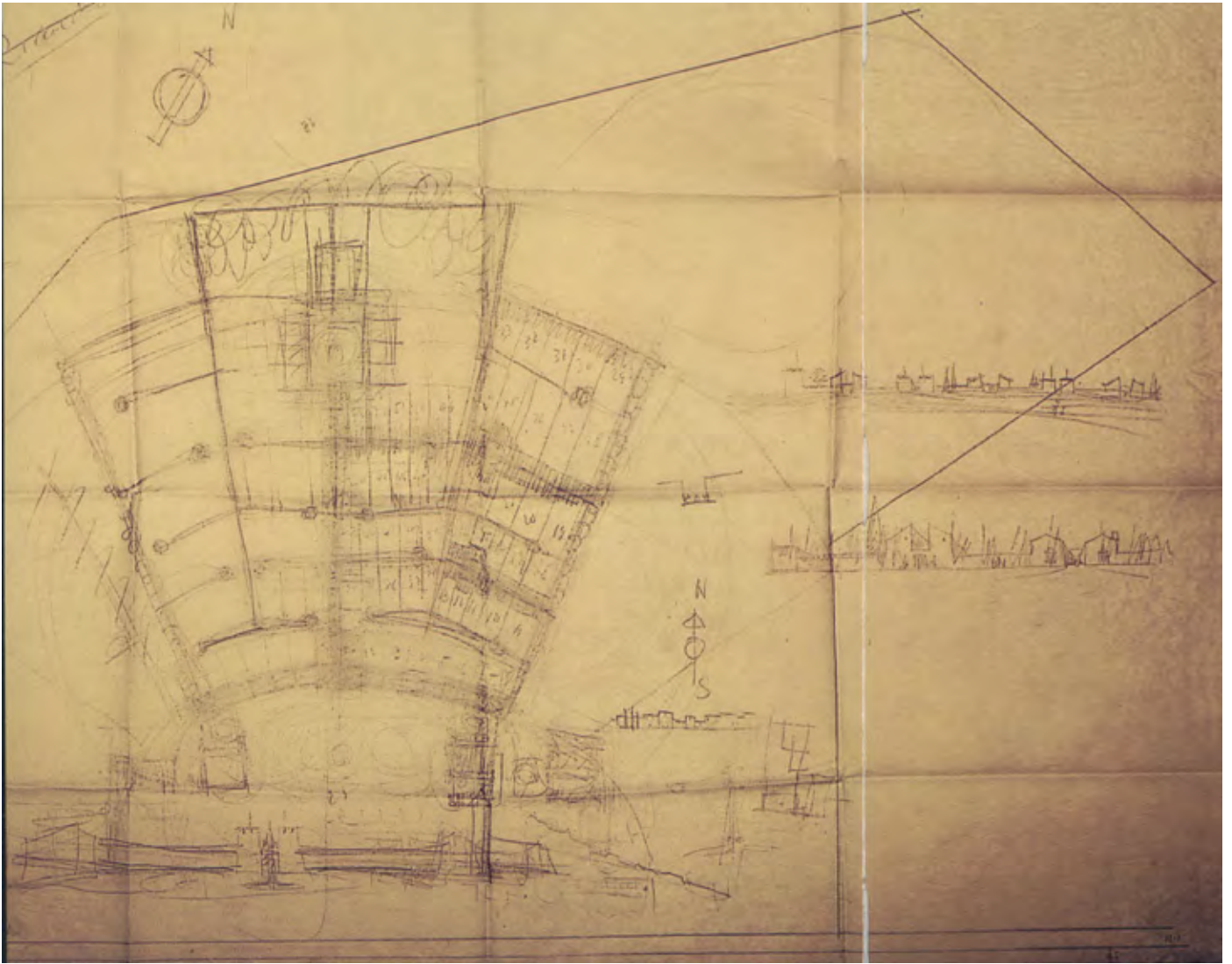


PLANTA



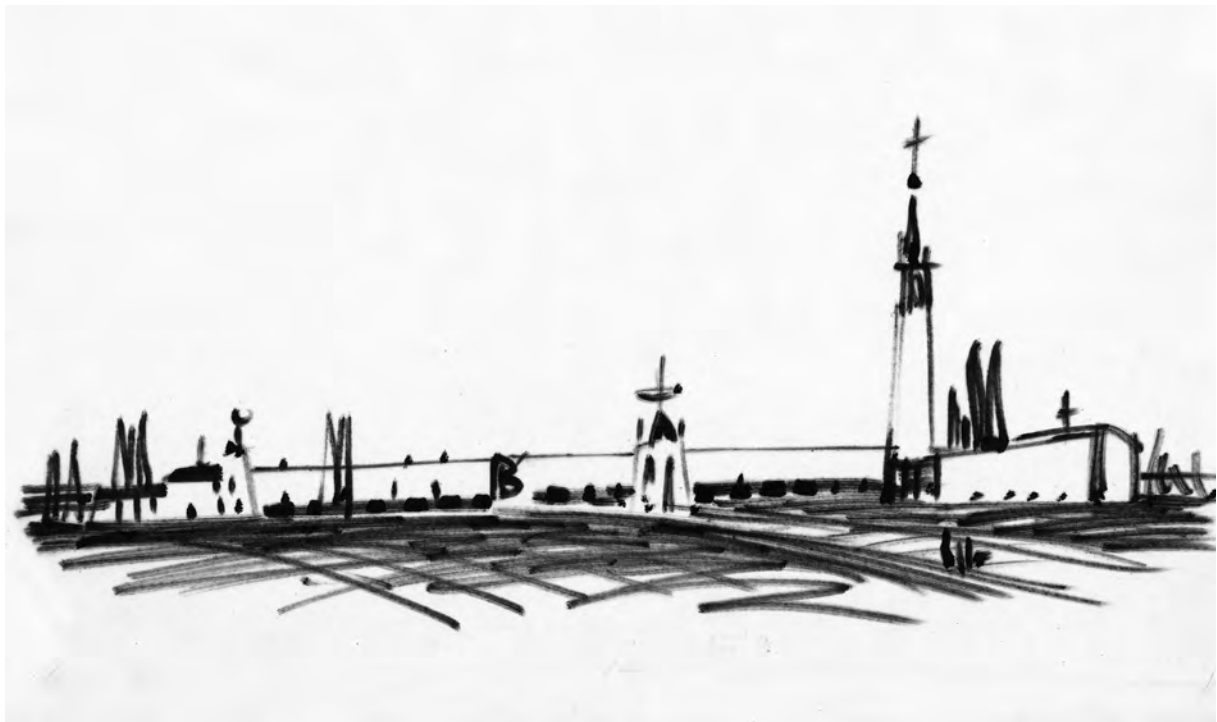
Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Gimennells, 1944. Aerial view.
 © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Gimennells, 1944. Church,
 school, plan of the Plaza mayor, elevations of the Plaza. From *Re-
 vista Nacional de Arquitectura* 83, November 1948.



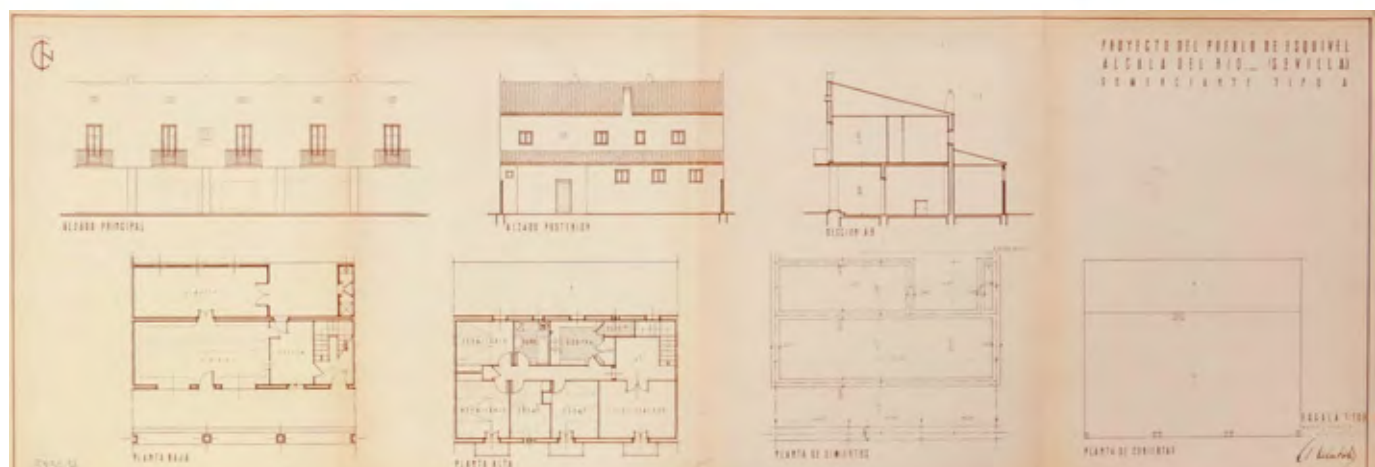
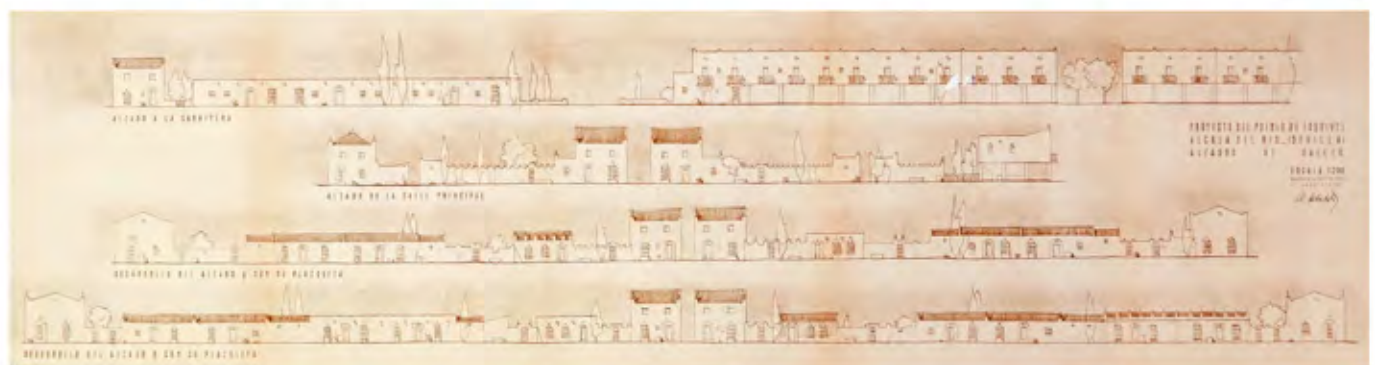
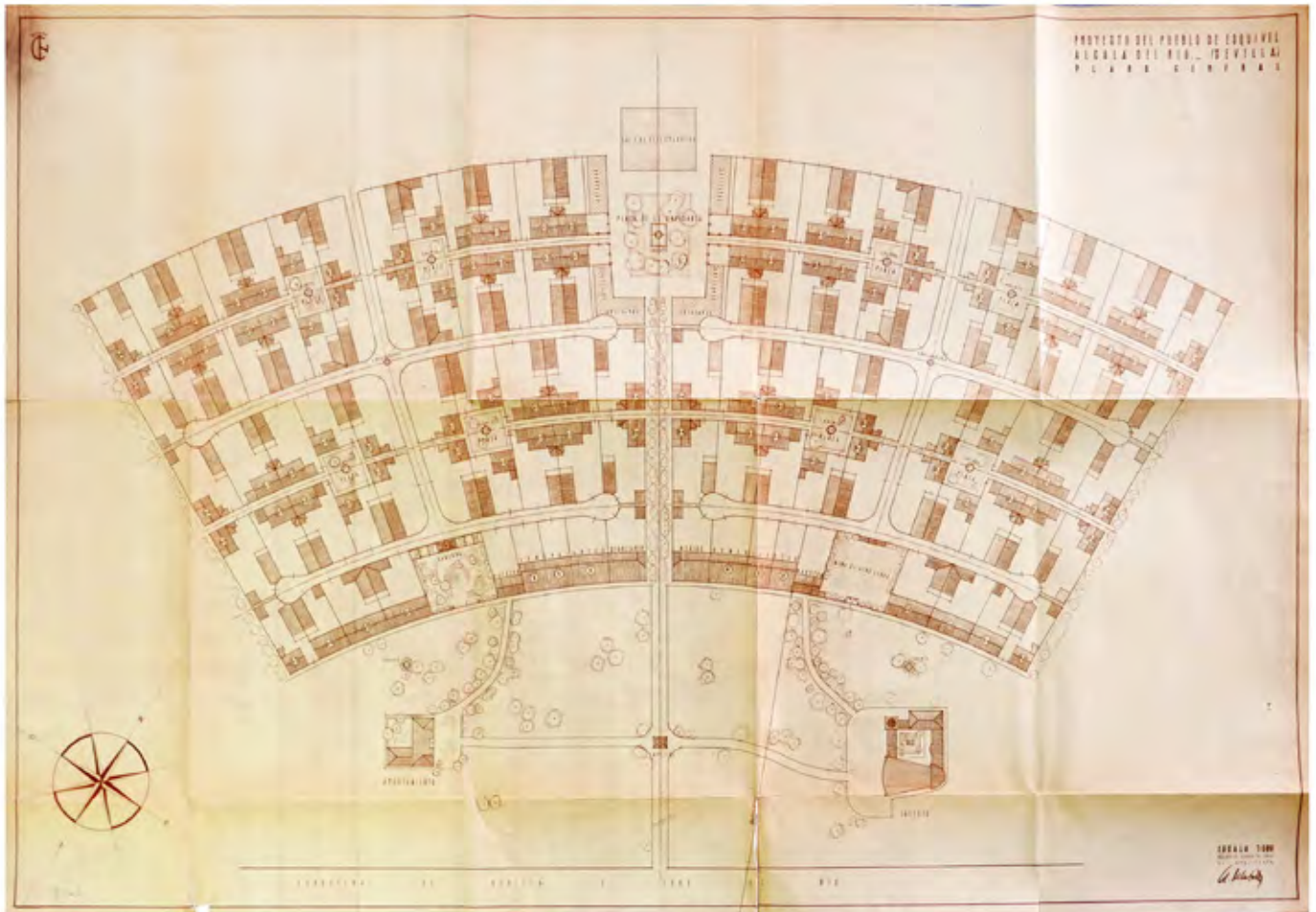
Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, Sevilla, 1952. Sketch of masterplan and street elevations. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

Bottom: I.N.C. Aníbal González Gómez. Preliminary (and rejected) masterplan for Esquivel, December 1951. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Aerial view.
© Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Sketch for the
propaganda facade of the town. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.
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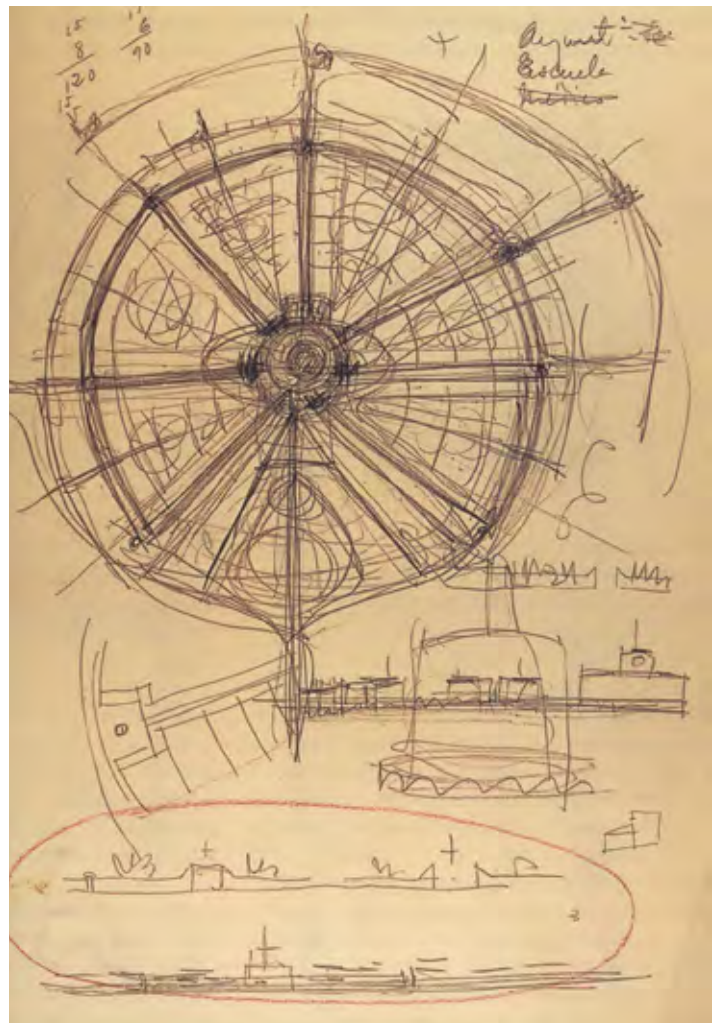


Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, Sevilla, 1952. Master-plan, street elevations, plans of the town facade shops and apartments. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Entreríos, 1953. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Entreríos, 1953. Sketch of the circular masterplan, with church and town facade on the fields. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.





Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Entrerrios, 1953. Sketch of the church from the commercial arcade. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

Bottom: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Entrerrios, 1953. Masterplan. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota.
Entreríos, 1953. Views of the Plaza
mayor with town hall and church.
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MAPAMA.

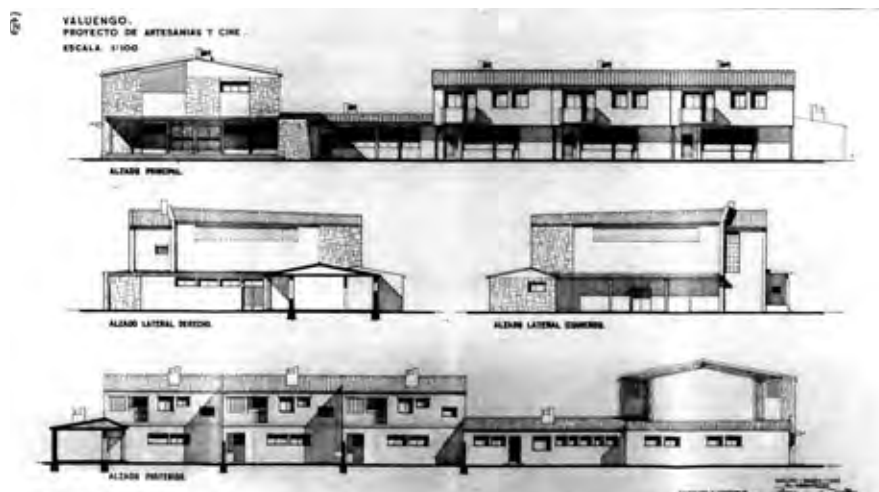




Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota.
Valueno, 1954. Aerial view.
© Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota.
Valueno, 1954. Sketches for a monumental setting of the church (unrealized).
© Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.





Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Valuengo, 1954. Plan of the Civic center with artisanal complex, view and facades of the artisanal complex. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota.
La Bazana, 1954. Sketch of the town profile
facing the countryside. © Fundación Alejandro
de la Sota.

Bottom: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota.
Valuengo, 1954. Sketches for a monumental
setting of the church (unrealized). Aerial view.
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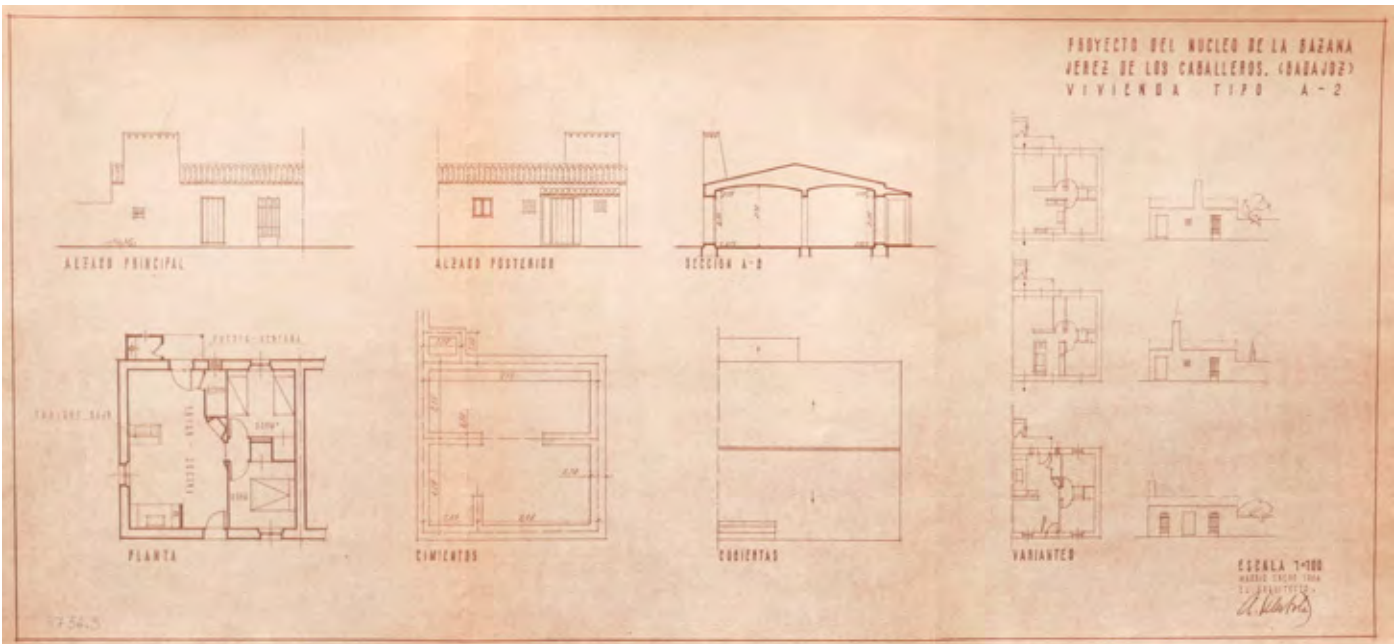
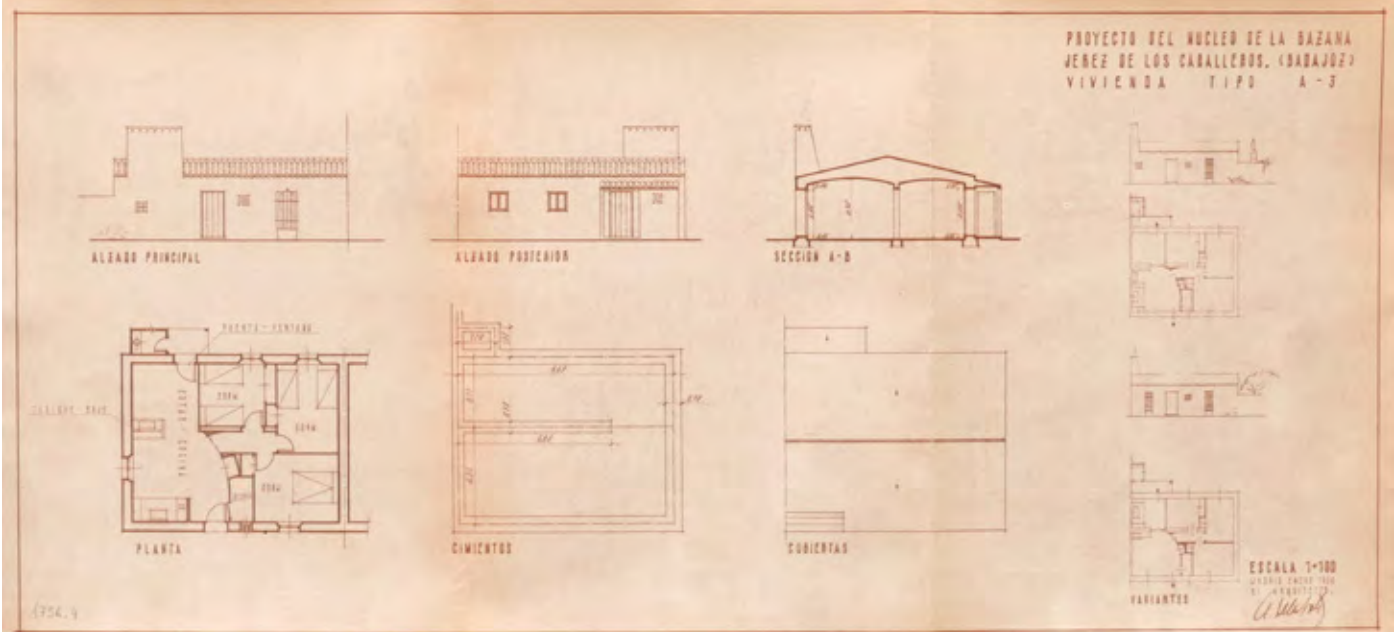


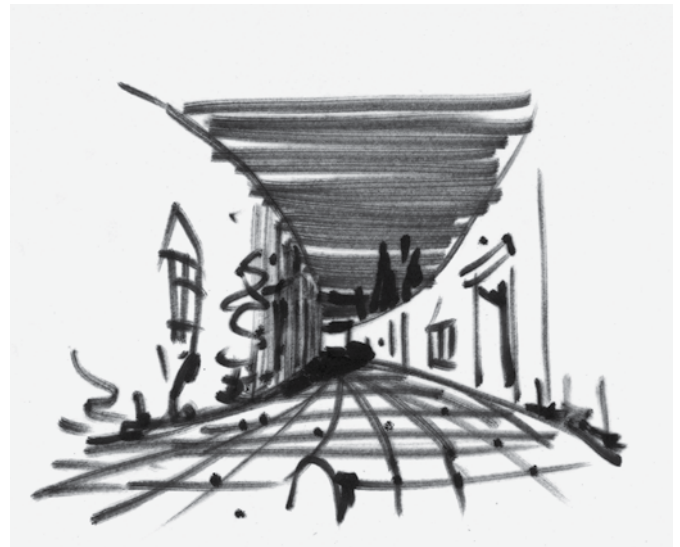
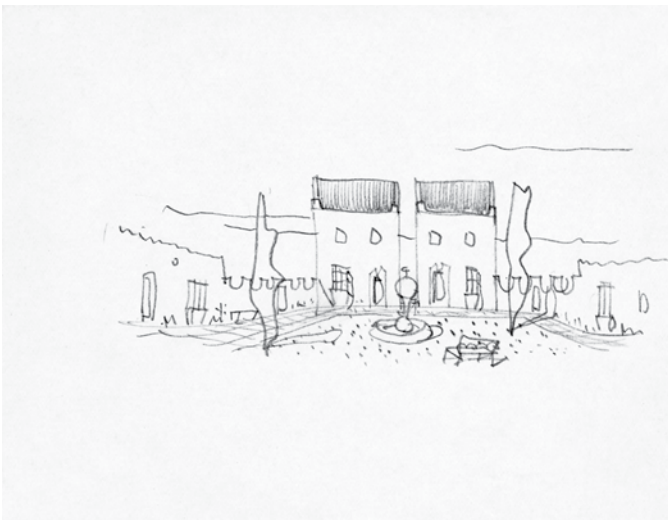
Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota.
La Bazana, 1954. Sketch of a plaza/street.
© Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

Middle: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota.
La Bazana, 1954. Masterplan. © Archivo,
Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

Bottom: Alejandro Herrero. Sketch for a
residential grouping. From Alejandro Her-
rero, "15 normas para la composición de
conjunto en barriadas de vivienda unifam-
iliar," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 168
(1955).



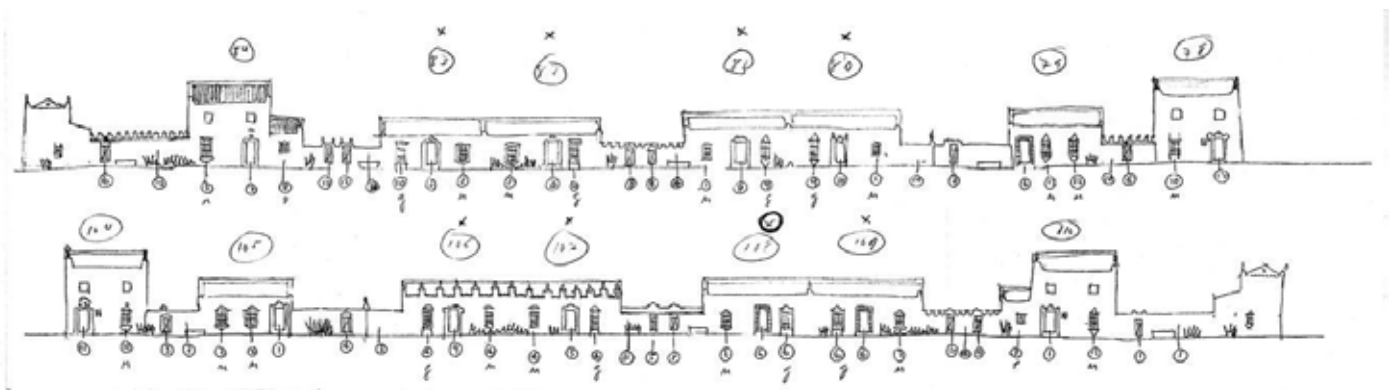




Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Small square and pedestrian street. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Center: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Sketches for a small square and pedestrian street. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

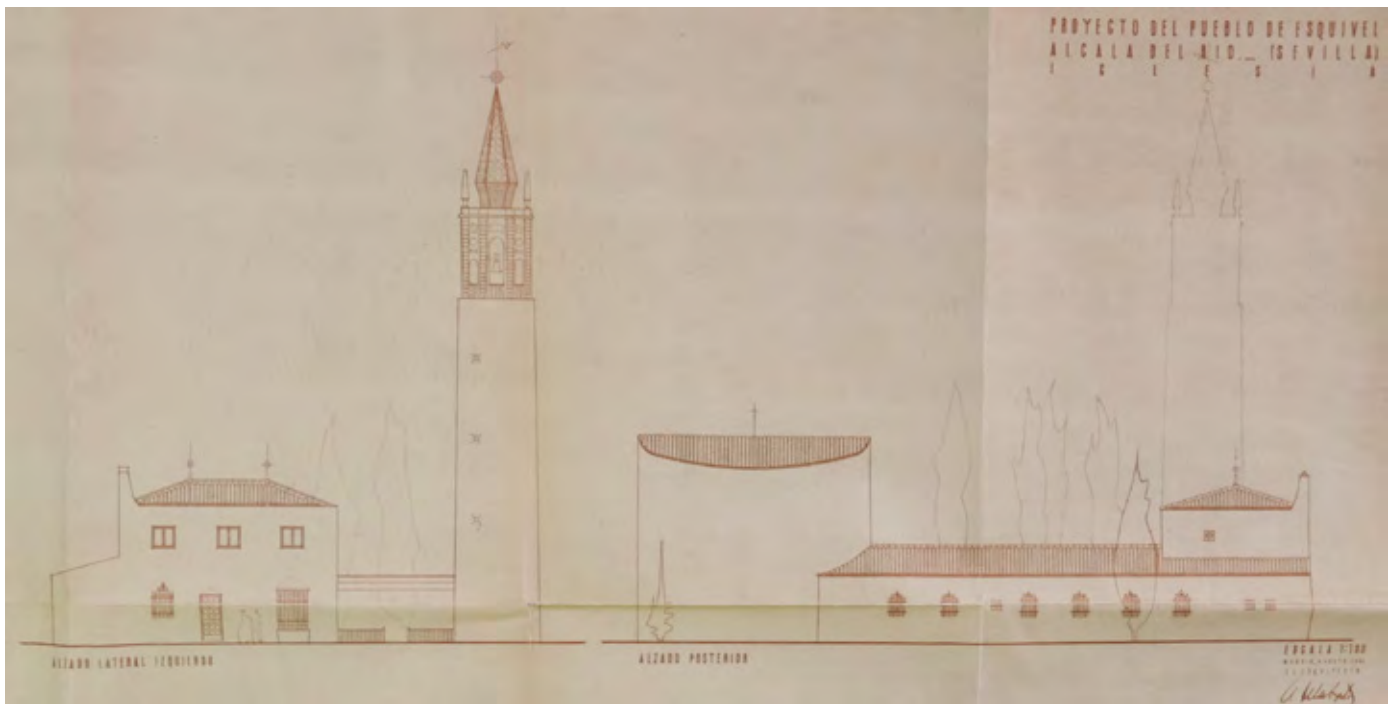
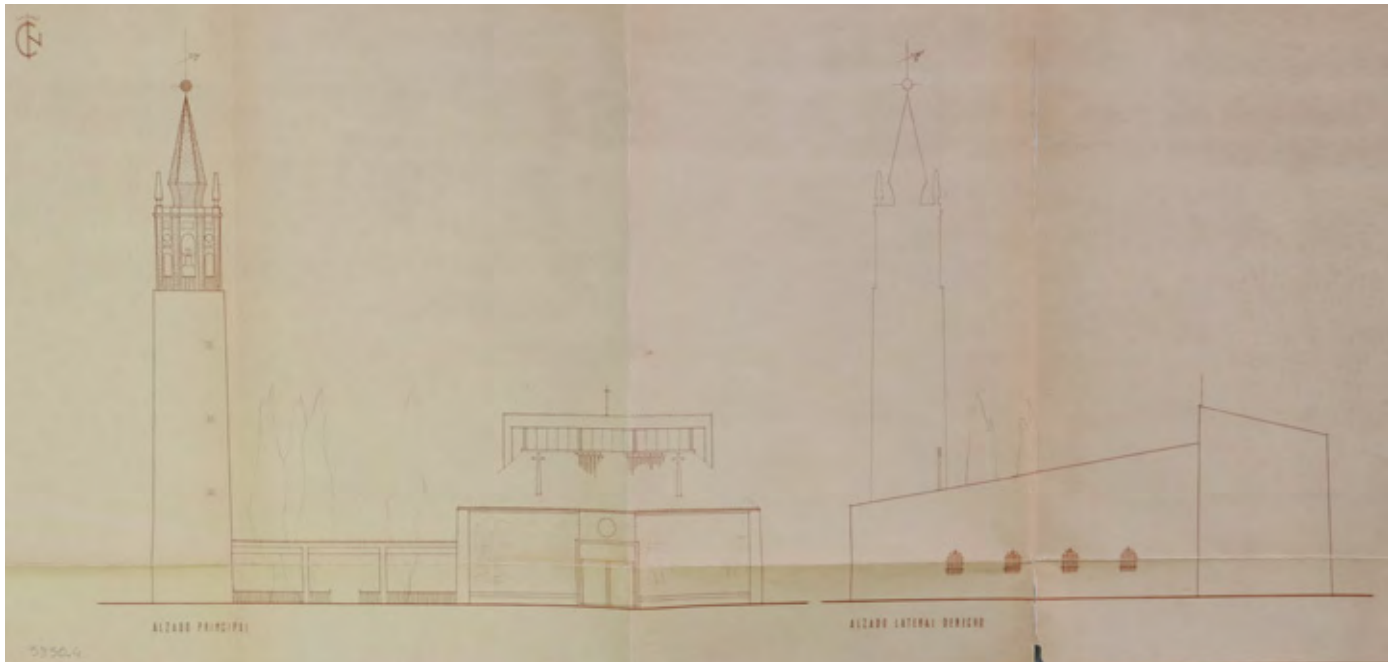
Below: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Sketches for pedestrian street design. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.





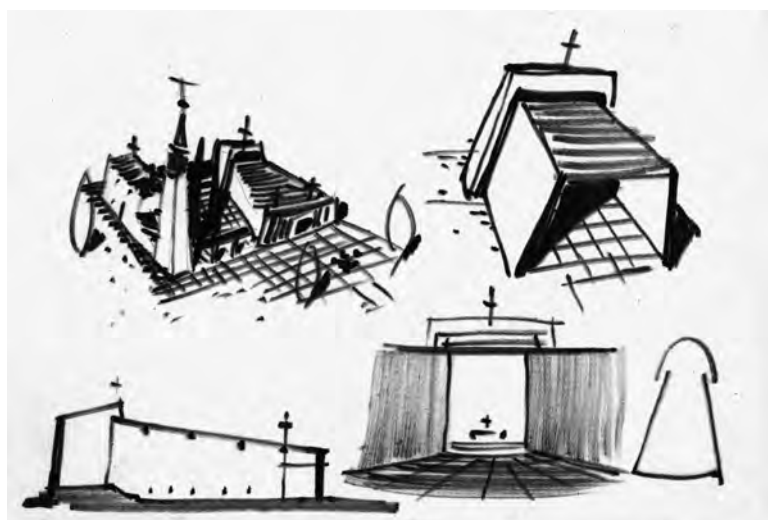
Top and center: Alejandro de la Sota. Photographs of pueblos. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

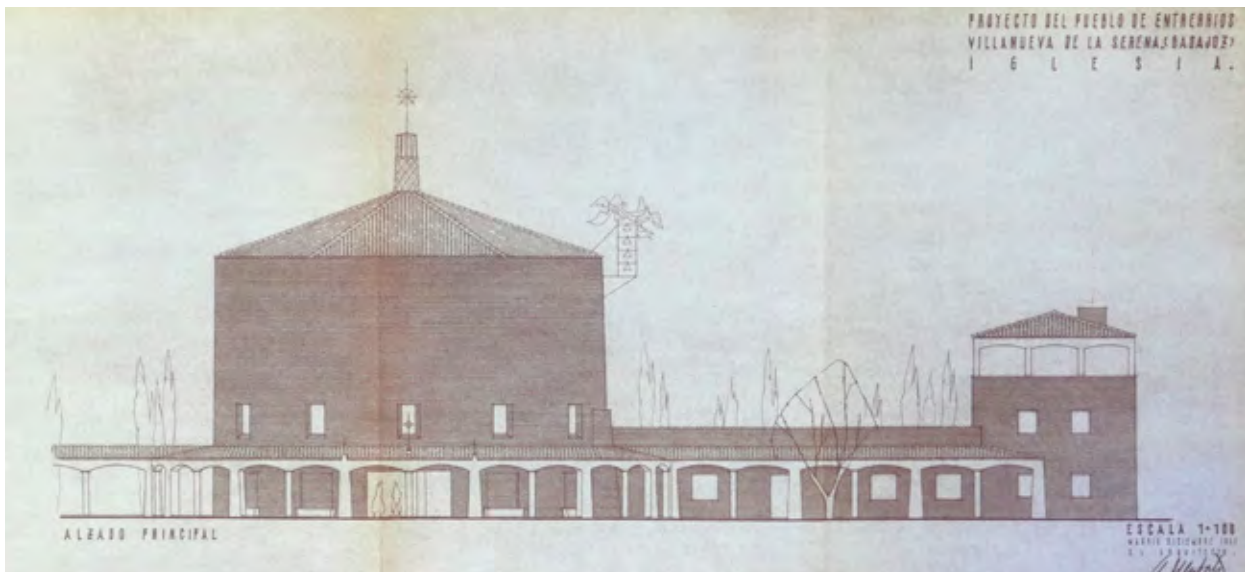
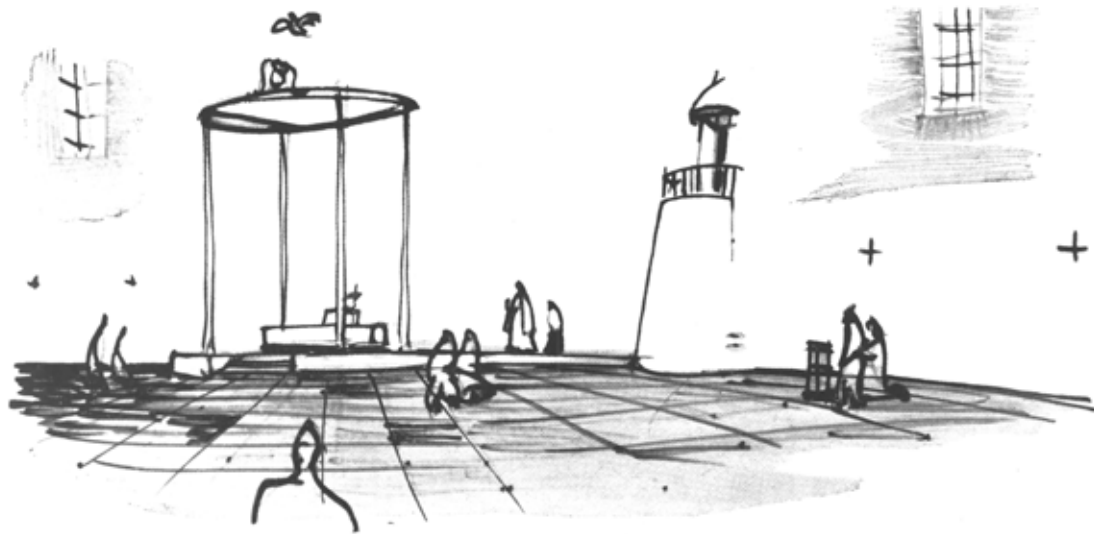
Bottom: I.N.C. Street in Entreríos. Small square in Esquivel. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Facades of the church complex with campanile and priest's house. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

Right: Sketches of the church complex. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

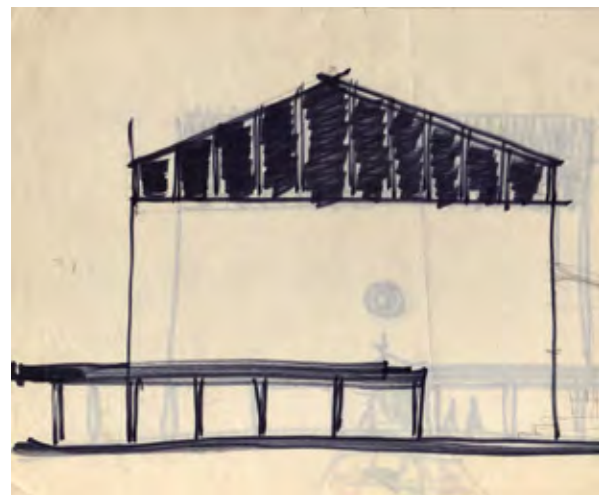
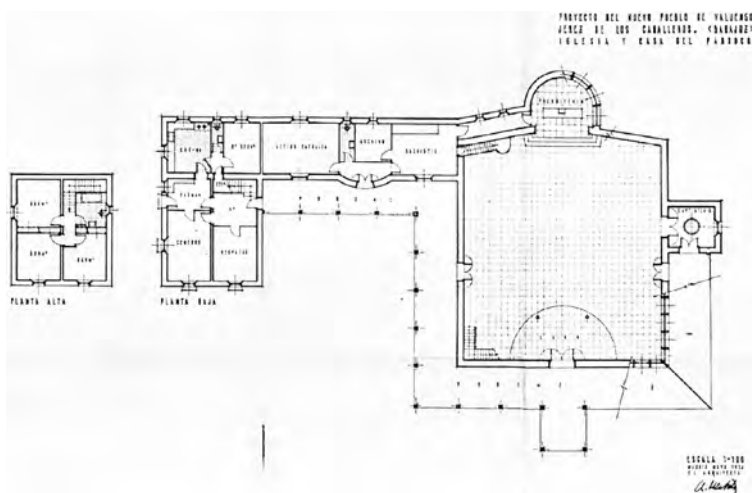




Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Entrerrios, 1953. Sketch of the interior of the church. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota. Facades of the church complex with campanile and priest's house.

Center and right: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Entrerrios, 1953. Elevation and plans of the church and priest's house. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.





Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Valuengo, 1954. View of the church. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom right: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Valuengo, 1954. Sketch of the church. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

Bottom left: .N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Valuengo, 1954. Plans of the church complex with priest's house. © Centro de Estudios Agrarios, Junta de Extremadura. From Rubén Cabecera Soriano, *Los Pueblos De Colonización Extremeños De Alejandro De La Sota*, Badajoz, 2014.



Top: Joan Miró. *La casa de la palmera*, 1918. Museo Nacional Centro Reina Sofía.

Bottom: Alberto Sánchez Pérez (Alberto). *El Quijote: pueblo de la Mancha*, 1955. © Museo Nacional Centro Reina Sofía.

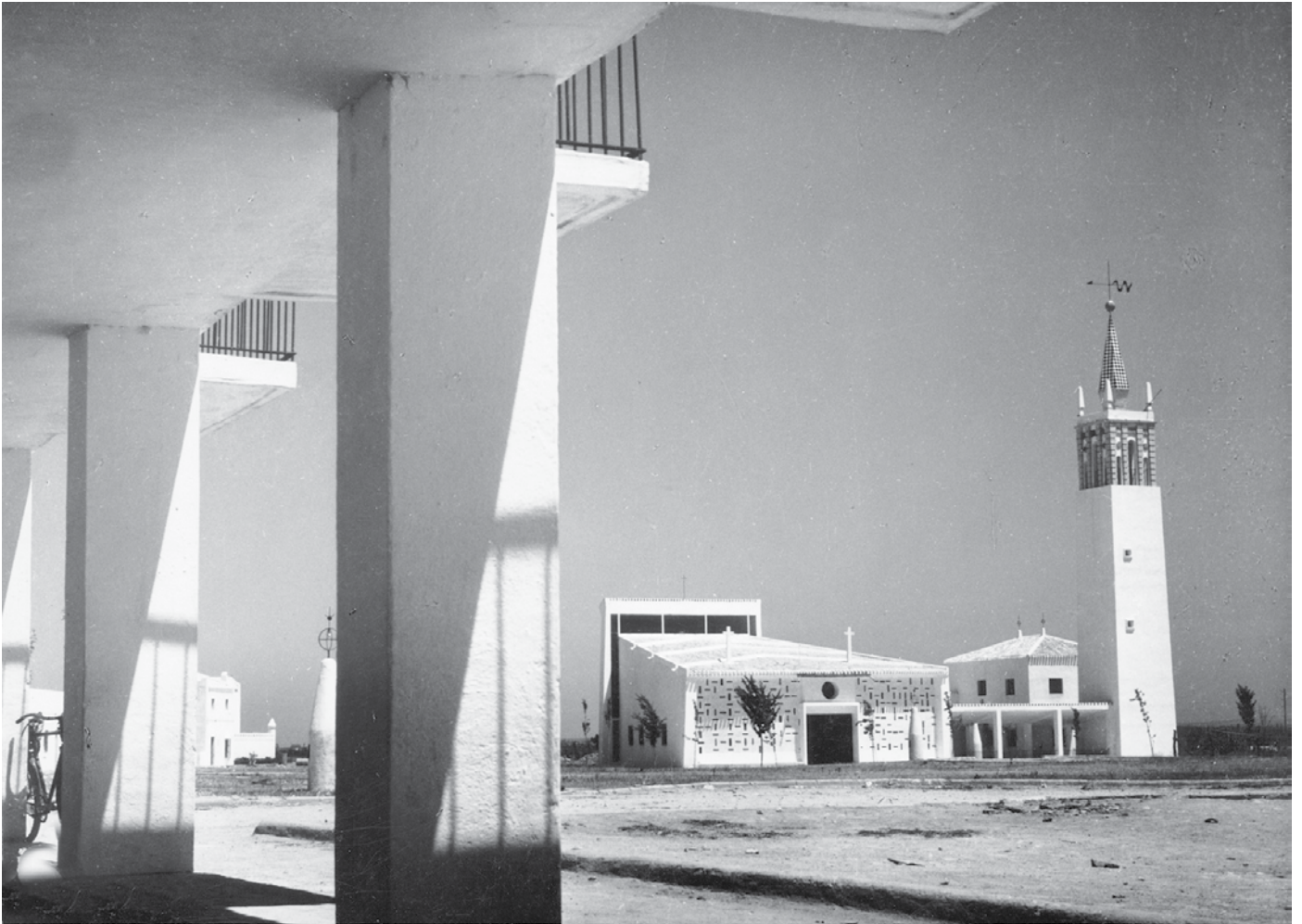




Top: Oscar Domínguez, *Toro y torero*, 1946. © Private collection.

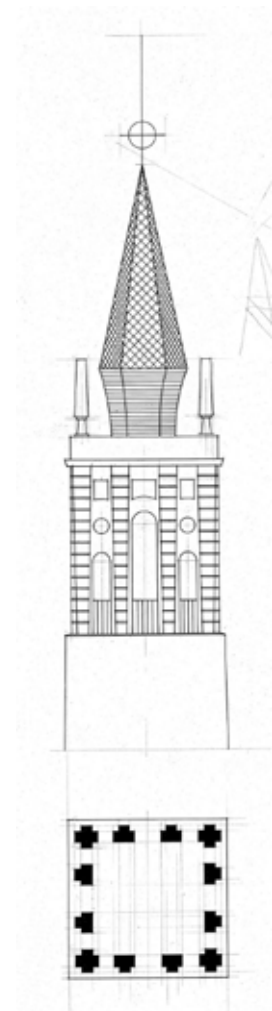
Bottom: Oscar Domínguez, *Toro y torero*, 1934-35. © Private collection.





Top and below left: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Views of the church complex.
© Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

Bottom right: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Drawing of the campanile. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

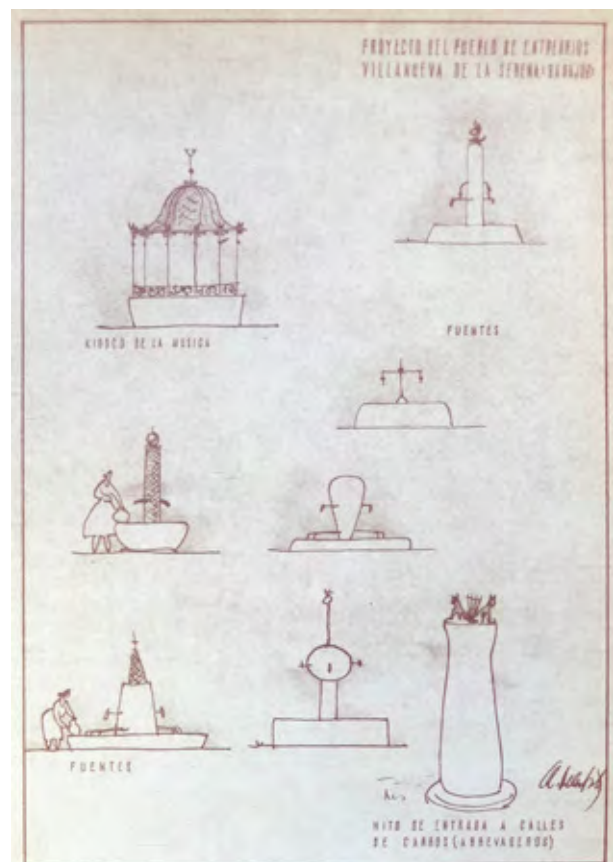
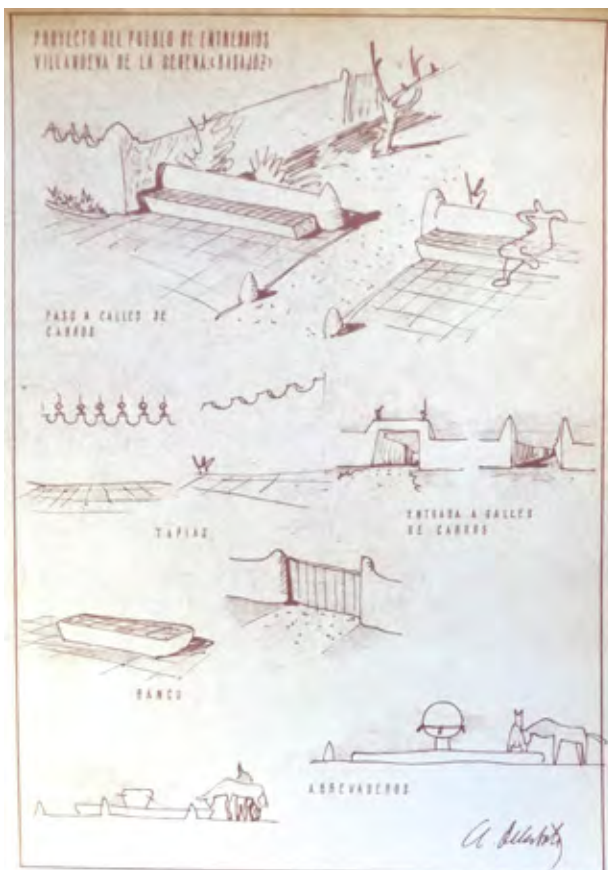
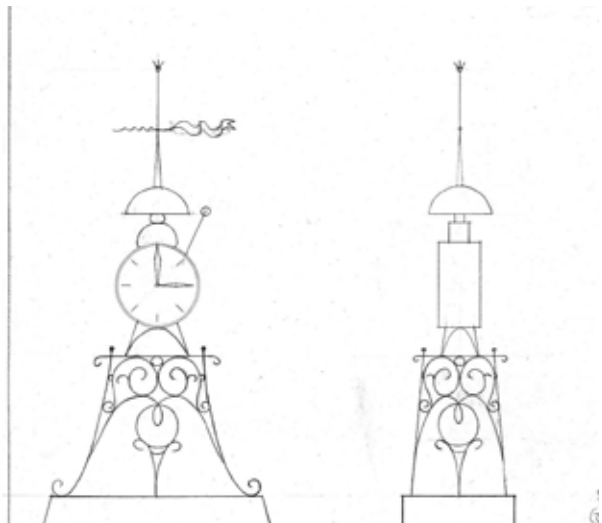




Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. View of the park pavilion and town hall in the background. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Right: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Sketches of the park pavilion. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.





Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Entrerríos, 1953. Drawing of the clock and sketch of the town hall. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

Middle: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Sketches for street furniture, benches, fountains, walls, etc. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.

Right: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Small square with fountain. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





Top: I.N.C. Alejandro de la Sota. Esquivel, 1952. Examples of surrealist treatments of window details and other architectonic elements. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



Exposición de Ingeniería Agronómica

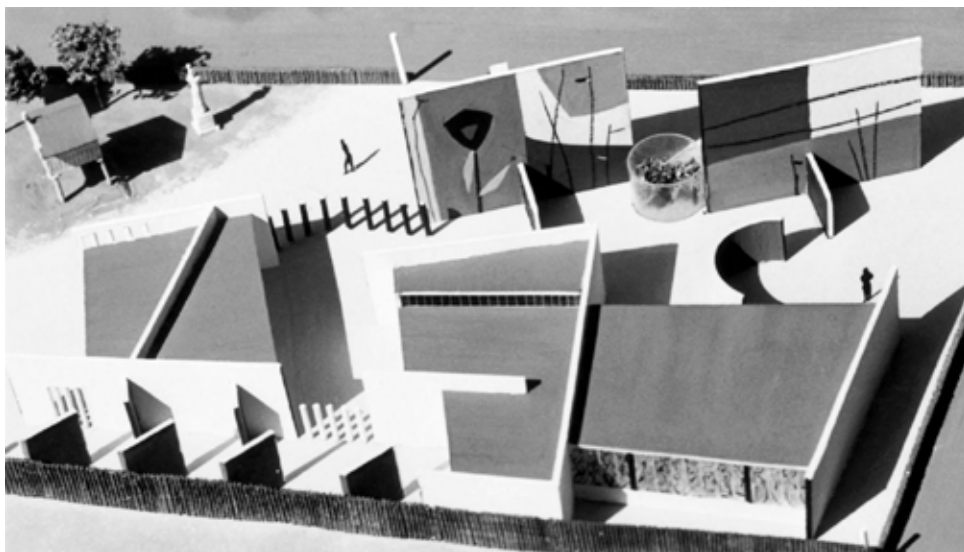
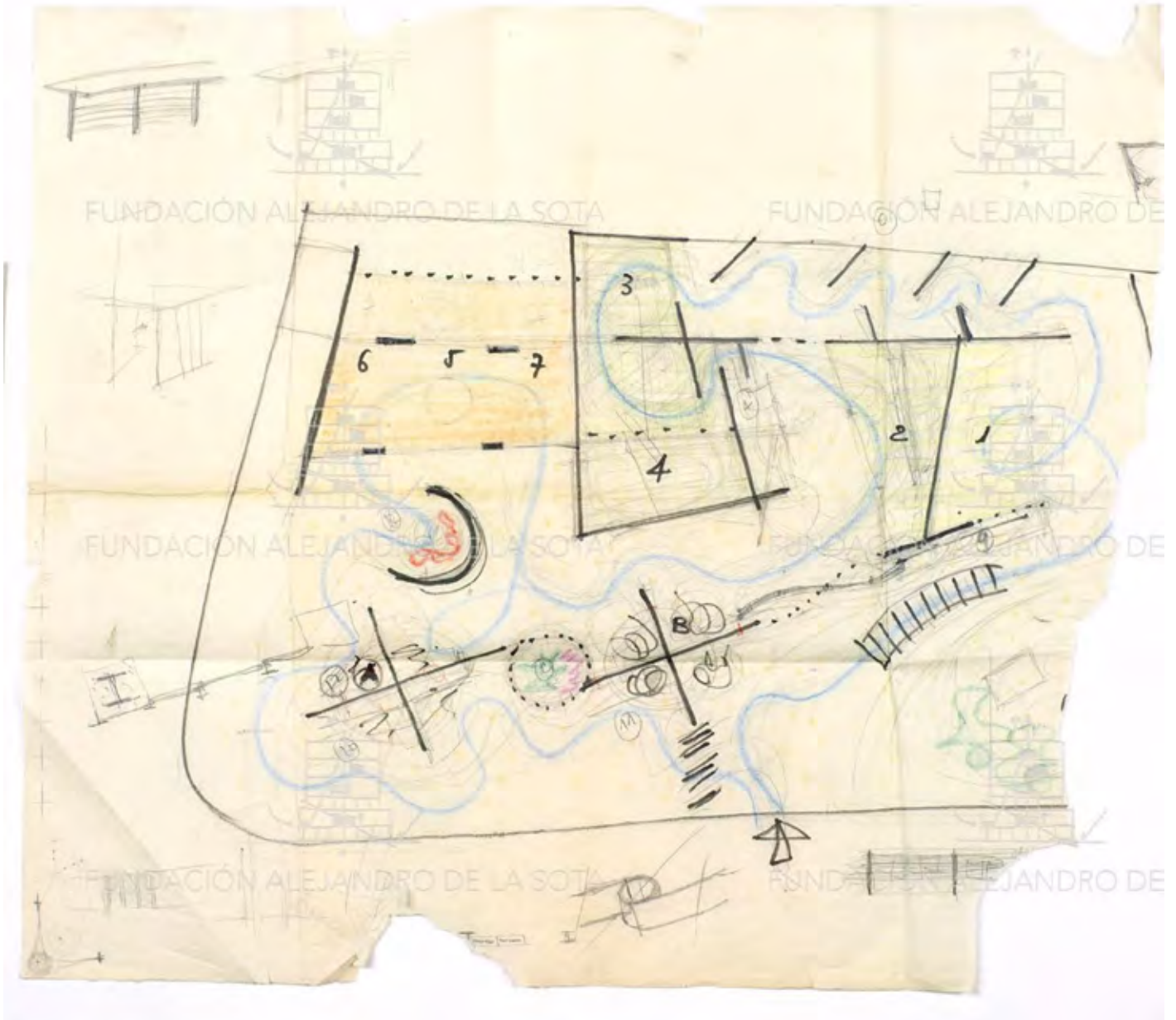
Alejandro de la Sota, Arquitecto

Con motivo del primer Congreso de Ingeniería Agronómica, celebrado por el Cuerpo de Ingenieros Agrónomos en su Escuela de la Ciudad Universitaria, se ha hecho aneja una Exposición de trabajos técnicos, realizada por distintos organismos del Estado y particulares.

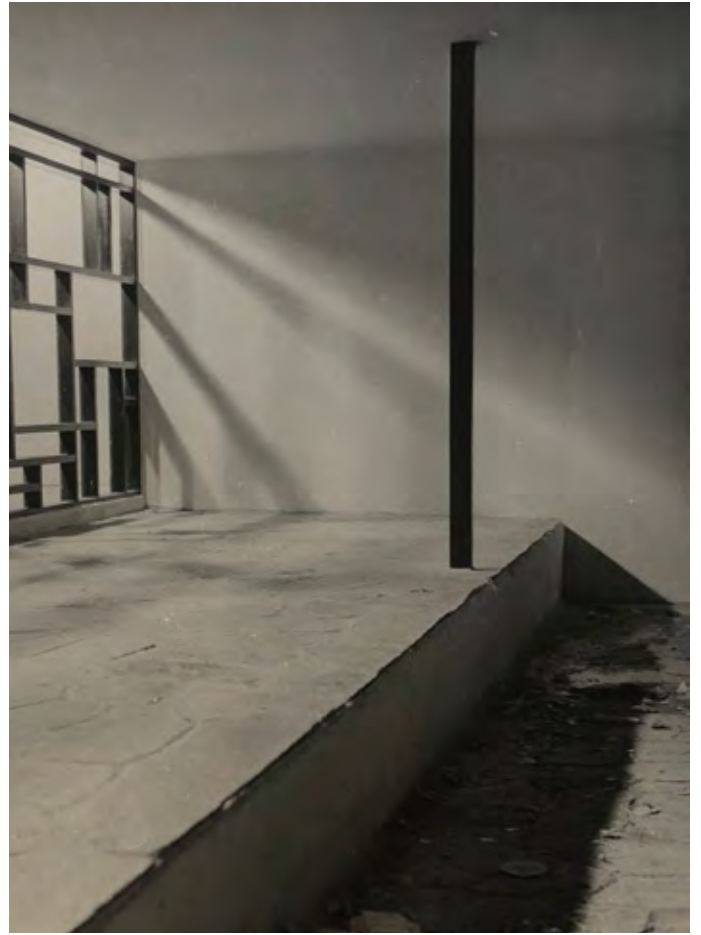
Por las dificultades que presentaban en sí los locales destinados a albergar esta Exposición, fué necesario organizar otros auténticamente nuevos dentro de los que la Escuela destinó para Exposición: nuevos tabiques, nuevos techos, nuevos pavimentos; en fin, una decoración a modo de máscara que diese el aspecto alegre y de mayor modernidad que toda la Exposición lleva consigo.

La Comisión organizadora del Congreso cedió la dirección al arquitecto encargado de proyectarla, y de esta forma, al contrario de lo que





Alejandro de la Sota (with Jesús de la Sota).. Pavilion de la Cámara Sindical de Pontevedra, Feria del Campo, 1956. Sketch and model. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.



Alejandro de la Sota (with Jesús de la Sota). Pavilion de la Cámara Sindical de Pontevedra, Feria del Campo, 1956. Photographs. © Fundación Alejandro de la Sota.



I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. El Realengo, 1957. Detail of a street. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

7:

Landscape and Abstraction:

Twelve Villages by José Luis Fernández del Amo

Colonization, in the renewing mission of the man it adopts, serving him in the totality of his being, together with the transformation of the fields that it entails, must find a dignified expression in the configuration of the town with a functional structure that fully satisfies the human requirements of the approach. When it is possible to raise the architecture of a population entirely and from the beginning, one should not hesitate to create the vital environment in relation to its concrete and specific destiny. Tradition is not a sufficient imperative if it is not functionally justified, and one will gather the great lesson of experience in the historical precedent, only to found on it all the ambitions of the future.¹

Fernández del Amo conceives space as a place of plastic sensations, imbued with the symbolic abstraction and geometric stylization of peasant culture. Its design goes through the addition of volumes of marked abstract linearity, rather than a set of masses to which aesthetic references are added. The sequence of planes crystallizes the spatiality of the inside and the outside; the uniformity of the material makes the whole homogeneous, adapting to the topography of the place all the sequences of the space.²

Architecture is the organization of a space for the life of man. The discovery of that space is not enough if the demands of the spirit are not met. It is, first of all, a physical space tailored to man; but as much as achieving an ambit, we must create an environment, a complex space for a total experience, which is body and soul altogether. To this end, the architecture is integrative of the other arts. Painting and sculpture can reach their fullness in relation to architecture.³

¹ José Luis Fernández del Amo, *Memoria, Poblado de Torres de Salina, MAGRAMA*, San Fernando de Henares, June 1949, p. 1-3: "La colonización, en la misión renovadora del hombre que adopta, sirviéndole en la totalidad de su ser, junto a la transformación del campo que supone, ha de tener una expresión fide digna en la configuración del poblado con una estructura funcional que satisfaga integralmente las exigencias humanas del planteamiento. Cuando se da la posibilidad de levantar la arquitectura de una población enteramente y desde un principio, no debe vacilarse en crear el ámbito vital en orden a su destino concreto y específico. La tradición no es un imperativo suficiente si no está justificado funcionalmente y solo se recogerá la gran lección de experiencia en el precedente histórico, para fundar sobre él todas las ambiciones de porvenir."

² Antonio Fernández Alba, "Arquitecturas para una sonata de primavera," in *Fernández del Amo: Arquitectura 1942-1982*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1983, p. 6: "Fernández del Amo concibe el espacio como un lugar de sensaciones plásticas, con la abstracción simbólica y estilización geométrica de la cultura campesina. Su diseño discurre por la adición de volúmenes de marcada linealidad abstracta, más que por conjunto de masas a los que se añaden las referencias estéticas, la secuencia de planos cristaliza la espacialidad del dentro y la unidad del material harán homogéneo el conjunto, adoptando a la topografía del lugar todas las secuencias del espacio."

³ José Luis Fernández del Amo, "Vegaviana, un poblado de Extremadura," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 202, 1958, reprinted in *Palabra y Obra*, p. 84: "Arquitectura es la organización de un espacio para la vida del hombre. El hallazgo de ese espacio no es suficiente si no se atiende a exigencias del espíritu. Es, primero, espacio físico a la medida del hombre; pero tanto como lograr un

José Luis Fernández del Amo (1914-1995) joined the Madrid School of Architecture in 1933 but had to interrupt his studies when the Civil War erupted. Threatened by Republican forces in Madrid he escaped to Belgium where he lived in the monastery of Maredsous. He returned to Spain in 1938, and fought in Franco's army on the Guadalajara front and the battle of Madrid. Reintegrating the University he graduated in 1942 with ten colleagues, among whom Miguel Fisac and Francisco de Asís Cabrero. He started to work for the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas in Belchite, Andújar, and from 1944 to 1947 in Granada. He traveled extensively in Andalusia and studied the *pueblos* around Almería, Jaén, and Granada, with a major interest for the anonymous architecture of houses and churches. In Almería he was one of the architects of the new social district of Regiones. In Granada, he got in contact with various modern artists and the family of García Lorca. Within this provincial but more stimulating environment than Madrid in those years, he laid the groundwork for his interest in contemporary art and the "integration of the arts" in Spanish modern architecture. In 1951 he was named director of the new Museo de Arte Contemporáneo (Contemporary Art Museum) where, for seven years, he curated a series of important exhibitions revolving around abstraction and art.⁴ In 1947 he started to work for the I.N.C. where he was active for 20 years and developed an advanced program of integration of the arts. With Vegaviana and the other eleven towns for which he was full responsible for urban design and architecture, he developed a concept of 'landscape urbanism' whose origins can be traced to Aalto but also the Manifesto of the Alhambra. Modern abstraction was one of the design tools that Fernández del Amo pushed to the limits of the continuity of urban form.⁵

ámbito hay que crear un ambiente, espacio complejo para su total vivencia, que es cuerpo y alma en una sola pieza. A este fin, la arquitectura es integradora de las otras partes. La pintura y la escultura tienen su plenitud en función de arquitectura."

⁴ On Fernández del Amo, see Fernández del Amo: *Arquitectura 1942-1982*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1983; José Luis Fernández del Amo, *Encuentro con la creación / discurso leído por el Excmo. Sr. D. José Luis del Amo el día 10 de noviembre de 1991 en el acto de su recepción pública y contestación del Excmo. Sr. D. Antonio Fernández Alba*, Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1991; José Luis Fernández del Amo, *Palabra y obra: escritos reunidos*, Madrid: COAM, 1995; *José Luis Fernández del Amo: un proyecto de Museo de Arte Contemporáneo*, Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 1995; Eduardo Delgado Orusco, *La Antigua Capilla del Seminario Hispanoamericano de la Ciudad Universitaria de Madrid: José Luis Fernández del Amo*, 1962, Madrid: COAM, 2002; Miguel Centellas Soler, *Los Pueblos de colonización de Fernández del Amo: arte, arquitectura y urbanismo*, Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2010.

⁵ In chronological order, his pueblos include: Belvis de Jarama, 1949-1951, Torre de Salinas, 1951 (unbuilt), San Isidro de Albatera, 1953, Vegaviana, 1954, Villalba de Calatrava, 1955, El Realengo, 1957, Campohermoso, 1958, Las Marinas, 1958, Cañada de Agra, 1962, La Vereda, 1963, Miraelrío, 1964, Puebla de Vicar, 1966, Jumilla, 1968-69.

7.1. The *pueblo* as Landscape

Belvis del Jarama, Madrid, 1949

Following his arrival at the I.N.C., Fernández del Amo designed his first pueblo on the *finca* Belvis del Jarama in the northeastern periphery of Madrid. The selected site was a hillside, and, for his first attempt, he succeeded in establishing the 50-house village in syntonic relationship with the topography. The first version consisted of a small and symmetrical grid with three residential streets parallel to the contour lines, and a sloping central square faced by the school, the administrative building, the houses of the schoolteachers, and the church at the top of the hill on axis with the entrance street. In its final version, the plan became asymmetrical in an attempt to adapt the whole of the layout to the relief of the site, to endow the village with character, and to limit costs by reducing the amount of earthmoving. The most uneven part of the site was avoided, the blocks being positioned diagonally and accessed principally along the steepest slope leading up the highest point. The rectangular plaza was moved up to the most prominent location uphill and redesigned as a “turbine square” in the manner suggested by Camillo Sitte. The religious center, which made the transition with the countryside, terminates two important vistas and anchors the small and carefully designed plaza. Although the campanile remained attached to the church, its architecture was reduced to a very thin vertical brick slab, the first modern and definitely more of an abstract visual sign in the landscape than a real tower.⁶ Equally interesting was the placement of the church up a couple of steps and parallel to the small square. Three recessed and arched niches suggest not only the presence of the three chapels located inside on the opposite side of the nave, but they give the impression of being chapels themselves, thanks to the large religious frescoes painted on their back in the first outdoor expression of the synthesis of the arts.

Fernández del Amo developed two types of enlargeable housing units, with one and two floors respectively. The units were attached together to form groups of two houses, leaving large tapia walls and gates to define the continuity of the streets. Combining brick on the first floor and stucco on the second, alternating double-slope roofs with gabled sections, and masonry-framed balconies, the houses were markedly different from the other realizations of the I.N.C. Lastly, the architect densely planted the streets and the town appears nowadays as an oasis in the landscape.⁷

⁶ From José Luis Fernández del Amo, “Memoria. Proyecto de un poblado en la finca Belvis del Jarama Paracuellos (Madrid),” Dactylographic report, MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, June 1949.

⁷ See José Luis Fernández del Amo, “Nuevo pueblo de Belvis del Jarama (Madrid) – Instituto Nacional de Colonización,” in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* XV, nº 163, Julio 1955, pp. 1-10.

Torre de Salinas, 1951

The majority of the presentation reports—or *Memorias*—written by the I.N.C. architects were purely technical and descriptive, but in some cases, as we have seen in de la Sota's writings, the *Memoria* became a fundamental statement about the architect's design philosophy and the evolution thereof. In the case of Fernández del Amo, the design report for the unbuilt village of Torre de Salinas in the province of Toledo marked a radical departure from the practical details of Belvis del Jarama. Along with the critical response from the administration of the Institute, it revealed a design course that he would eventually concretize in Vegaviana two years later and explore further in some of his following projects. Located in the basin of the Alberche River near the historic town of Talavera de la Reina, within a landscape of great richness in terms of vistas and vegetation, the site of Torres de Salinas was essentially flat, almost treeless, and with adequate supply of natural water flow.

At the same time than José Tamés in Torre de la Reina and de la Sota in Esquivel (1951), but in a very different manner, Fernández del Amo designed the town on the basis of the total separation between the human and animal networks of circulation. The first decision was to use the regional country road as the structuring axis and allow it to cross the village from end to end. On both sides of this 'spinal cord', he alternated three public landscaped areas with the square-shaped blocks of eight, twelve or sixteen houses, whose corrals were accessible by service streets opening to the main road and connected together along the perimeter street. In a radical move, he eliminated the streets accessing the houses, replaced them with pathways within the landscaped areas. These parks contained civic buildings and infrastructures necessary to the well being of the residents. The church, the school, the open-air laundry and fountains occupied the central one; the town hall, the bakery, and a group of artisanal houses connected by a curved "diaphanous" portico filled the northern one; the smaller green on the south was primarily recreational. The housing blocks were linear, short and conceived as fragments of streets, each one consisting of two house types, one of each side with the service alley in the center. Those fragments were never attached but articulated with patches of landscape interconnecting the public areas parks, in such a way that "their appropriate disposition created distinct effects of perspective for each one in spite of their systematic repetition."⁸ As a result, the town appeared as a system of objects—the housing blocks and the public buildings—integrated and unified by the new landscape, in effect eliminating any traditional urban space: the street as primary element of urbanism had disappeared. Lots were deep and the front patio was conceived as an area where the colonist house could expand over time; the agricultural patio also had a wide capacity of adaptation.

For Fernández del Amo, the character and potential of the landscape, allied to the logic of the rural economy were the keys to understand the new parameters of design and, in particular, the reduction of the street infrastructure. At the same time, he was well aware of the radical

⁸ José Luis Fernández del Amo, "Memoria – Anteproyecto del poblado Torres de Salinas en la zona del Alberche," MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, May 1951, p. 3.

direction that he had given to the project and accordingly argued about the use of tradition and the need to think beyond it:

When it is possible to raise the architecture of a population entirely and from the beginning, one should not hesitate to create the vital environment in relation to its concrete and specific destiny. Tradition is not a sufficient imperative if it is not functionally justified, and one will gather the great lesson of experience in the historical precedent, only to found on it all the ambitions of the future.⁹

The response from José Tamés in his memoranda of July and August 1951 was circumspect but overall negative. He stated that the strategy was artificial, scenographic and disingenuous.¹⁰ The landscape-based masterplan would only make sense in the middle of an extent vegetation to be protected and integrated. Here the lack of existing vegetation, the expected maintenance cost of an excessively high proportion of public space in relation to the built fabric, and the large size of the town in regard to its program, made the project inadequate and expensive. Comparing the project to the traditional Garden City, the Swedish postwar experiments, as well as the North American Greenbelt towns, he argued that green spaces were more appropriate in these northern climates than in Spain, while debating that a more radical plan—for instance “the Italian solutions such as those projected by Albini and Cerutti for the satellite towns of Milan, with wide spaces but with an orthogonal layout and parallel blocks”—would eventually be more relevant.¹¹ Tamés acknowledged the need of architectural and urban “renovation” in those moments of “esthetic disorientation,” yet he concluded that the circumstances and the form of the project were neither right nor appropriate.¹²

⁹ Ibidem, p. 2. “Cuando se da la posibilidad de levantar la arquitectura de una población enteramente y desde un principio, no debe vacilarse en crear el ámbito vital en orden a su destino concreto y específico. La tradición no es un imperativo suficiente si no está justificado funcionalmente y solo se recogerá la gran lección de experiencia en el precedente histórico, para fundar sobre él todas las ambiciones de porvenir.”

¹⁰ José Tamés Alarcón, “Informe sobre el anteproyecto del Nuevo pueblo de Torres de Salinas, en la zona del Alberche (Talavera de la Reina),” Dactylographic report, MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, July 1951.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 3: “las soluciones italianas como las proyectadas por Albini y Cerutti en los poblados satélites de Milán de amplios espacios, pero de trazado ortogonal y paralelismo de bloques como correspondería a un sentido estricto de buena orientación y terreno horizontal.”

¹² Ibidem and José Tamés Alarcón, “Informe sobre el anteproyecto del Nuevo pueblo de Torres de Salinas, en la zona del Alberche (Talavera de la Reina),” MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, August 1951, p. 2. Here again, Tamés’s pertinent questions and analysis has been seen as conservative, if not reactionary (witness the fact that it was partially reproduced in the catalogue of the exhibition *Campo cerrado* as counterpoint to Fernández del Amo’s own text without being contextualized). From an urban point of view, Tamés was obviously right and his response demonstrates his knowledge of international planning experiments. The project was eventually canceled.

Vegaviana (1954)

In 1954, Fernández del Amo received the commission of the new town of Vegaviana, to be located close to the Portuguese border in the newly irrigated and quite isolated region of the Pantano de Barballo. There he discovered everything that he could not find in the Alberche region for the aborted project of Torres de Salinas. Planned as a settlement of three hundred and forty houses, Vegaviana was located in the midst of a centuries-old landscape, “a splendid woodland,” mostly holm oaks, some cork oaks and a rich low vegetation of thyme and lavender. Aware that the countryside could disappear over time for cultivation, Fernández del Amo decided to conserve the oak groves throughout the town, as natural monuments and public spaces. To do so, he allowed the landscape to penetrate the whole organism, and made it indispensable to the loose definition of the streets and squares. As he wrote, it was “the urbanistic system” of the planned town that would allow him to design and respect the existing trees within the flat terrain of the town. The system included the separation of traffic, the super-block, and an overall geometric design that re-interpreted the *cardo-decamanus* or, rather, the orthogonal grid centered on a plaza mayor.¹³

In its first version, dated of 1955 and marked as “first phase,” the plan consisted of three superblocks. The main street or *cardo*, oriented NW-SE, divided the plan into two symmetrical sections and terminated within the plaza mayor on axis with the town hall. The *decamanus*, oriented SW-NE, split the plan in the opposite direction and paralleled the civic core, entirely contained within the third block. The large and rectangular plaza, rectangular, was loosely defined by the church, the civic wing with the town hall, the artisanal spaces and the residential units for the doctor and the shopkeepers, the Casa de la Hermandad and the social center. The curvilinear school complex was placed somewhat to the north of the square, further in the super block but visually connected.

In the final version, the plan of Vegaviana was enlarged by widening and shifting the western edge to increase the number of houses, and a fourth super-block, somewhat smaller, was added in the northwest corner. The series of distortions that the architect had already introduced in the somewhat shapeless first version came out reinforced. The Italian architect Antonio Camporeale has graphically analyzed the geometric process by which Fernández del Amo might have generated the plan by rupturing the alignment of the houses and adapting the layout of the streets accordingly. He drew the plan as a fully geometric composition, before processing a series of operations of distortion, first of the blocks and groups of houses, then in a second phase, of the supporting urban grid of streets. As a result of this double operation, the groups of houses seem to have acquired a degree of autonomy, unique in the

¹³ José Luis Fernández del Amo, “Memoria, Proyecto del pueblo de Vegaviana, Cáceres,” MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, May 1954, p. 1. The first phase was planned for 150 colonist families and 30 workers’ dwellings. In its final phase, it was planned for 340 colonist families + and 50 workers’ dwellings.

panorama of the I.N.C. at that time, and the urban plan itself has now become a mediator between village and countryside.¹⁴

The result of Fernández del Amo's design process is that the blocks of houses appear to be placed and designed autonomously. They are no more parallel to the streets and seem to be positioned to create penetrating intervals of landscape. He did not explain his method, but one might assume that he broke the linearity of the fronts in order to make the existing landscape more visible, not only from the streets but also from the inside of the superblocks, reveal its paths of penetration within the fabric, and allow it to invade the very space of the streets. From a formal point of view, the village now appeared as a square figure, albeit a distorted one, whose perimeter was defined by four service streets. The access road on the southern side was slightly set back and visually connected to the town by a section of greenbelt and four isolated groups of houses. The new street NW-SE, parallel to the *cardo*, connected the center from the northern edge and created a 'turbine' effect that absorbed the religious complex, situated slightly off the geometric center of the plan.

The configuration of the *plaza mayor* remained unchanged, with the exception of the school, which was moved, identical, at the back of the church within the fourth super-block. Hence, all public buildings were inserted into a large landscaped strip of land, parallel to the *decamanus*. The church, the town hall, and the retail spaces form a L-shaped structure connected by a continuous portico. Facing the church across a small park the social center was the only built part of the larger block that included additional dwellings for retailers and would have reduced the size of the plaza to more usual dimensions. He used five patio-based typologies for the farmers, and two row-house types for the laborers. All house fronts faced the densely planted interior of the super-blocks, whereas the corrals were all directly accessible from the perimeter road and the primary streets. Houses for farm workers who do not need the agricultural corral were located in the middle of the super-blocks without connection to the service areas.

The invention of Vegaviana was not to change the landscape to respond to the urban requirements, but on the contrary to adapt the urban form to the natural characteristics of the landscape, within a quite rigorous planning system that achieved variety, plasticity, and picturesqueness in an entirely new manner. Overall, the *plaza mayor* still came into view but its size grew and its spatial edges mutated into an informal and poetic mix of built fabric, interconnected urban objects, and landscape. The church and the town hall appear as massive volumes, somewhat disconnected and alien to the overall fabric. As a result of this complex compositional process, the traditional urban structure of blocks and streets was completely dissolved into groups of identical and attached patio houses, and freestanding public buildings. The urban fabric became an agglomeration of large-scale objects or urban

¹⁴ See Antonio Camporeale, "La rottura controllata dell'unità urbana, Città di fondazione Vegaviana, Cáceres, Spagna, 1954-58," in Paolo Carlotti, Dina Nencini and Pisana Posocco (eds.), *Mediterranei - Traduzioni della modernità*, Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2015, p. 283.

fragments within the landscape context. As a result, Fernández del Amo came dangerously close to the dissolution of urban space, but the quality of the natural landscape allied to the presence of the civic center maintained the concept of a genuine and human community. Contrary to the other towns of the I.N.C., including de la Sota's, which were characterized by the compactness of the blocks, the continuity of the streets, and the clear definition of the *plaza mayor*, Vegaviana introduced what Camporeale has called "the controlled rupture of the urban unit."¹⁵

The urban fabric, intelligently 'made lighter' and interrupted, continues to follow laws of formation that are clearly identifiable but, at the same time, disregarded due to the process of punctual disaggregation of the unity of the urban organism.¹⁶

Cañada de Agra (1962)

Topography played the critical role in the design of the 100-house village of Cañada de Agra, Fernández del Amo's second *pueblo de la Mancha*, in the region of Hellín, Albacete. Situated on a steep hillside with no existing vegetation, Cañada de Agra's layout can be qualified as organic in the sense that it was a direct response to the geographical conditions and that no preconceived geometric concept can be determined to have influenced it: "in Cañada de Agra, the topographical configuration fulfills the role that the existing trees played in Vegaviana."¹⁷ Alvar Aalto's strategies loom large in this project, particularly in the way that architecture and landscape interrelated along and across the groves of trees, but, more importantly, in the manner that Fernández del Amo designed the civic areas in contrast with the residential ones. In most of his towns, public and private areas were generated from the same design principles, whether a grid or any other geometric device. Here at Cañada de Agra, both systems express themselves differently, and are only interconnected by the landscape and the use of topography. Aalto's Sunila fabric of 1939 on the island of Pyötenen, Kotka (Finlandia) shows a similar strategy with the factory buildings as a sort of town center and the housing inserted within the landscape.

As can be seen on the final masterplan dated February 1962, Fernández del Amo designed the civic center within the flat section of the site along the regional road and according to an orthogonal layout. Perpendicular to the road, it structures the plaza, the buildings of the Hermandad Sindical, and on higher ground the three schools' buildings and the three professor houses. From south to north, the porticoed square anchors the town hall with the house of the civil servant, the clinic and the doctor's house, the social center with the bar, and a group of artisan houses and shops. The slight shift of orientation that he gave to the town hall opens the *plaza* toward the surrounding landscape of hills, which is framed by the long

¹⁵ Camporeale, p. 275.

¹⁶ Camporeale, p. 281.

¹⁷ Adolfo González Amézqueta, "Un nuevo pueblo de Fernández del Amo: Cañada de Agra (Albacete)," *Nueva Forma*, nº 9, October 1966, pp. 20-21.

and low arcade. At the same time it introduces another axis that does not appear on the terrain but resolves geometrically the connection between the residential islands and the civic center. In a highly scenographic move, Fernández del Amo separated the church complex from the plaza and placed it high on the hill making it appear as a religious acropolis whose tall and flat brick walls and the powerfully abstract campanile suggest strong reminiscences from Nordic architecture and planning. In absence of the church, the *plaza* forms a unique ensemble of architecturally coordinated buildings, distinguished by the circular concrete columns that frame the ground floor arcade, the facades entirely made out of bricks, the projecting bow windows closed by gridded glass walls, and many other details such as the corner porticoes that allow the landscape to penetrate the urban space.

To plan the residential areas, Fernández del Amo laid out a half-oval perimeter street going up and down the hill. Moving along it, one encounters the alternating pattern of service streets providing access to the corrals of 8 to 10 houses and that are terraced to be as horizontal as possible. Between them he planned green fingers of newly planted landscapes which connect the groups of houses together, mediate the topographic differences and link them, through a series of terraces, stairs and ramps, to the church, the schools, and the civic plaza. In many cases, the colonist parcels are organized on two levels to mediate the differences of terrain. An earlier version of the plan (pencil drawn and dated October 1961) reveals a first draft of the southern section of the town, where the architect struggled to resolve the geometry of the square and the groups of houses closest to the main road. The final version shows a compositional harmony whose 3-dimensional richness cannot be fully understood in plan but requires the movement of the residents and the visitors to be understood in the wealth of perceptual moments. In Cañada de Agra, Fernández del Amo tightened up the urban spaces, reduced the distances between the group of houses, and, in general, produced environments that were abstract and modern in terms of image while providing a more traditional urban experience, away from the controlled rupture that he had experimented in Vegaviana. In particular, he carefully studied the spatial experience produced by the curving streets, which emphasized the alternating and strictly controlled rhythms created by the two-story houses and their single-slope roofs, at times parallel and at times perpendicular to the streets and finger-like parks. As he wrote,

The orderly repetition of the houses differs from the uncontrolled spontaneity of popular architecture, but the elementary and unsophisticated plastic expression, the direct force of materials and construction, and the appreciation of the terrain fully link this architecture with the traditional popular one.¹⁸

¹⁸ José Luis Fernández del Amo, "Pueblo de Cañada de Agra en la zona del Canal de Hellín (Albacete)," *Nueva Forma*, n° 9, October 1966, p. 24: "la repetición ordenada de las casas se aparta de la incontrolada espontaneidad de la arquitectura popular, pero la expresión plástica elemental y nada sofisticada, la fuerza directa de los materiales y la construcción, y la valoración del terreno enlazan esta arquitectura con la popular tradicional."

La Vereda (1963) – Miraelrío (1964)

In 1963 and 1964, he received the commissions for two small villages, the first one, La Vereda, on a small plateau above the highway Seville-Córdoba, the other one, Miraelrío, on the highest ground of a plateau situated within the meander formed by the Guadalén and Guadalquivir rivers. For only twenty-two houses and a limited public program, he conceived La Vereda as a *cortijada*, a traditional farmhouse organized around courtyards. His concept was “to avoid the urbanistic system of streets and squares by regrouping all constructions around two large patios: the first one surrounded by the houses of the farmers, the other, entirely connected by porticoes and closed by public buildings and a couple of houses; the administration center serving as separation between the two patios.”¹⁹

In Miraelrío, a site “offering a magnificent panoramic view on the two rivers and the cultivated parcels,” he placed the 62 houses in the shape of a ring, about 400 meters in diameter, with a large open green space in its center. The houses were located in blocks of twelve units—two groups of six houses grouped in twins and articulated in the center in order to adapt to the curved perimeter—that are interrupted by voids that opened the views to the environment and the fields. Each house occupies a hexagonal parcel, with separate access to the corral and three articulated patios. At the heart of the housing ring, the civic center forms a sprawling assemblage of buildings extending on 250 meters from the northern edge touching the ring with the Hermandad Sindical, to the interior edge where the schools and the social center are located. A linear arcade connects all the buildings, which are organized around open patios and plazas; the church and the administration building stand in the center. This unique complex, providing varied and beautiful views over the landscape, can be reached at different places by a series of pathways crossing the green.²⁰

Here again, even though the sites were flat, it is the landscape— both villages are nowadays placed in the middle of olive trees fields—that illuminates the unique and radical solutions adopted by Fernández del Amo. In La Vereda, the village hides behind the rigorously geometric arrangement of the olive trees: its organic shape seems to relate to the very object of cultivation, with the public spaces as “nuclei” or “cores” of the fruits. On the other hand, Miraelrío does not hide within the fields. Its oval-circular structure reflects the form of the site, the meander of the river, and the organization of the olive fields. In La Vereda, the village form is in contraposition with the landscape; in Miraelrío landscape and village merge together. Both strategies are “organic” and can be said to put into question the tenets of

¹⁹ José Luis Fernández del Amo, “Memoria. Proyecto del pueblo de La Vereda, en la zona del Bembezar (Sevilla),” MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, December 1963, pp. 1-2: “El proyecto se ha concebido partiendo del concepto tradicional de una gran cortijada, dado el pequeño número de colonos que lo componen y el reducido programa de edificaciones públicas de que consta, evitando así el sistema urbanístico de plazas y calles y agrupando por tanto las edificaciones en torno a dos grandes patios, uno de las cuales está circunscrito por las viviendas de colonos y el otro, que se hace enteramente porticado, se cierra con los edificios públicos, quedando como separación de ambos patios, el edificio de la Administración.”

²⁰ José Luis Fernández del Amo, “Memoria, Proyecto del pueblo de Miraelrío (Jaén),” MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, December 1963, p. 1.

village design. Or rather, one can argue that, if most projects of the I.N.C. intended to “urbanize the countryside,” Fernández del Amo’s projects for Vegaviana, La Vereda and Miraelrío “re-ruralized” the concept of village by eliminating any strict reference to both the past and the present models of rural settlements. As Pablo Rabasco Pozuelo has argued, by rejecting the concept of street in favor of irregular courtyard types, “the original concept of La Vereda seems to relate to the vernacular architecture of dispersed habitat in the provinces of Cordoba and Seville ... and in particular, a type of small rural compound that has been in use for centuries in these locations: the farmhouse or the cortijada.”²¹ In Miraelrío, the civic center becomes like a very large farm, and constitutes one of the most successful ensembles of rural architecture in the colonization.

In 1966, *Nueva Forma* published an important article about Cañada de Agra, which was rising amidst the beautiful landscape of Hellin. The author, Adolfo González Amézqueta commented that the emergence of a popular architecture deployed without concessions between tradition and modernity, and in particular the pueblos of Fernández del Amo, had been received, at home and abroad, “as exemplary.”²² Quite correctly, he argued that the success abroad of Fernández del Amo’s works was due to the attraction of “an architecture that appeared genuinely Spanish, concretely Southern and Mediterranean, imbued with the essence of the popular architecture... an ‘arquitectura de la cal’, with all its exotic and amiable evocations but with a rigor and a plastic control that made the language clearly actual.” Likewise, it had generated a lot of attention in part because its architecture of rustic masonry, lime-covered walls, and Arabic tiles, was “Spanish and only Spanish.” Further in his important article, he regretted that the pueblos were essentially known across the medium of photography, as a series of abstract volumes, effects of lights and shadows without very much understanding from the readers about their essential urban condition; and in particular, the condition of colonized territories, of “colonial landscapes:

The life unfolds in [the villages] and, yet, the foundations of their planning are little known. All these towns have emerged as consequences of a territorial transformation and they are conditioned in all their aspects by the characteristics of the transformed soil, which in turn determines the characteristics of these new human communities. The human content of the architectural structures reflects the cultivation of the land and is justified by its transformation. The life of these villages has arisen where it did not exist only because of the colonization of the soil.²³

²¹ Pablo Rabasco Pozuelo, “Las influencias extranjeras en la arquitectura y urbanismo del Instituto Nacional de Colonización,” *Goya: Revista de Arte*, nº 336, July-September 2011, p. 257: La Vereda parece arrancar desde las tradiciones de la arquitectura vernacular de habita disperso de la provincia de Córdoba y Sevilla... un modelo de pequeña agrupación rural que durante siglos había venido funcionando en estas mismas localizaciones: la cortijada.”

²² Adolfo González Amézqueta, “Un Nuevo pueblo de Fernández del Amo: Cañada de Agra (Albacete),” *Nueva Forma*, nº 9, October 1966, p. 19.

²³ González Amézqueta, p. 20: “La vida desenvuelta en ellos y, por tanto, las bases de su planeamiento, son poco conocidas. Todos estos pueblos surgen como consecuencias de una transformación del terreno y condicionados en todos sus extremos por estas determinaciones del suelo

Fernández del Amo's approach to landscape and urban design was not, as in the historic pueblos whose fabric was formed over centuries, based on a "defensive" model where the town opposes itself to the natural environment and becomes a walled object within it. On the contrary his design methodology was based upon an open approach, where the town merges into the landscape and, in many cases, the landscape itself penetrates within the urban fabric—a complete integration between the man-made and the landscape. The topography, the newness of the landscape, its condition of being colonial and then transformed for purposes of cultivation around the town and civil life within it, was fundamental to his method of design. The construction of a new landscape was thus intrinsically an expression of the role and value of the towns within the overall process of colonization. As García Mercadal wrote in the first catalogue of his works,

The rural architecture of Fernández del Amo keeps on the one hand, an absolute fidelity to the landscape and nature of the place, its orography, climate, social function and idiosyncrasies. They are new settlements for a new society, and he has been able to successfully root his work in folk wisdom, but in a rational version that meets the vital exigencies of our time. It is that inspiration in the anonymous architecture that was for us the origin of the new architecture.²⁴

7.2. Abstract Art and the *Escuela de Altamira*

It is during his stay in Granada that Fernández del Amo met and created friendships with young abstract artists like painter José Guerrero, sculptor Manuel Rivera, and painter Antonio Valdivieso, with whom he spent much time studying the vernacular architecture of the region. In 1952, thanks to his friend and appointed Minister of Education in 1951, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, Fernández del Amo was named director of the newly created Museo Nacional de Arte Contemporáneo in Madrid. While working on the planning of his first pueblos, he taught a course on abstract art at the University Menéndez de Pelayo in Santander, which culminated with the *Congreso Internacional de Arte Abstracto* that he organized in the same city in 1953. In parallel to the event, the Museum of Contemporary Art set up the show *Arte Abstracto 1953* with works of national and international artists. The following year he was charged to renovate one of the patios of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and installed the small museum in a white and abstract space. As director, he continued to develop ties with Spanish artists like Pablo Canogar, Saura and Antoni Tapiés (some in Spain, others in exile),

transformado que es lo que realmente define las características de las comunidades humanas alojadas en los nuevos edificios. El contenido humano de las estructuras arquitectónicas está informado por este predominio del cultivo del terreno y se justifica por las transformaciones creadas por él. La vida de estos pueblos está condicionada y surge donde no existía solo por las modificaciones del tratamiento del suelo."

²⁴ Fernando García Mercadal, in José Fernández del Amo, *Fernández del Amo, arquitectura 1942-1982*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1983, p. 19.

supported the avant-garde Group El Paso, exhibited artists from the Escuela de Altamira, and led the museum brilliantly until his forced resignation in 1957.²⁵

In 1945, art historian Enrique Lafuente Ferrari published a text in the only published issue of the periodical *Postismo*, titled “Vanguardia y vuelta al orden”²⁶ (Avantgarde and return to order). In it, he argued in favor of a balanced artistic culture, which would outdo the excesses of the historical avant-gardes and would imply a return to order and the rules that protected the disciplinary values of art against the “isms”, although this return would be done on the basis of an established project of modernity:

Return to order is not to impose the tyranny of the old-fashioned and outdated, nor to implement the sterile recipes of an artificial neo-classicism. It is *return to putting in order*, to be aware of human limitation, to renounce utopia and develop a ‘livable’ esthetic environment in which the greatest freedom—freedom with responsibility, given that without it there is no freedom but folly—be always possible to the creative genius.²⁷

That abstract art represented such a return to order around in the early 1950s might appear strange and paradoxical, but by disconnecting abstraction from its avant-garde and socio-political connotations of the interwar era, abstract art became indeed a strategy of return to order even when it absorbed quite experimental movements such as the *postismo*. In Franco’s Spain between 1945 and 1955, abstract art remained an avant-garde movement, but it was presented as a novel form of return to order. Return to order meant to start anew, to start from the very beginning, “without negating anything” but with no explicit intention to reconnect with the historical project of the pre-war avant-gardes.²⁸

In the summer of 1948, exiled German painter Mathias Goeritz (1915-1990) arrived in the historic town of Santillana del Mar in Cantabria, intent to study the Paleolithic paintings of the *cuevas de Altamira* and elaborate on their similarities with his own abstract work and that of other contemporary artists like the sculptor Ángel Ferrant (1891-1961). His communicative enthusiasm for the primitive works of the caverns quickly attracted an international group of artists, among whom Santos Torroella, the group *Cobalto*, Luis Felipe Vivanco, Ángel Ferrant, and the Swiss architect Alberto Sartoris. With these important participants, the *Escuela de Altamira* started to take shape, with the intention to re-create the Spanish avant-garde after the Civil War. In September of 1949, with the support of the civil governor of Santander, the *Primera Semana de Arte de Santillana del Mar* took place in absence of its founder Goeritz who was denied his visa and was forced to leave for Mexico. The event, the subsequent *Segunda Semana de Arte de Santillana del Mar* (1950), and the already mentioned *Congreso*

²⁵ See the bibliography on Fernández del Amo, note 3.de

²⁶ For this short discussion of the role of abstract art in the 1940s-50s, I have followed Javier Arnaldo, “España, 1950: La abstracción como vuelta al orden,” *La Balsa de la Medusa*, nº 55-56, 2000, pp. 3-19. See Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, “Vanguardia y vuelta al orden,” *Postismo*, January 1945, p. 3.

²⁷ Arnaldo, p.4, quoted from Lafuente Ferrari, p. 3.

²⁸ Arnaldo, p.6.

internacional de Arte abstracto (1953) were notable meetings, which gathered a large national and international audience.²⁹

Fernández del Amo praised the role played by Sartoris, who came frequently to Spain “in a gesture of solidarity with the companions of the outposts, from those times of our autarky, of our isolation, of our nationalism, and bringing us news of the architecture of extra-muros.”³⁰ For him, the Swiss architect represented the continuity of a healthy rationalism, which “adhered to the stricter function in the play of forms that his art dictated.”³¹ If he himself had learnt rationalism “admiring the anonymous architecture” of Spain, Sartoris “learnt it in the towns of the Mediterranean.”³² This common experience made them understand that “rationalism in architecture—mathematics of the function—was never arbitrary and that it was not a style.”³³ Like Fernández del Amo, Sartoris was a religious man very involved in Swiss catholic circles. His chapel of Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil (1932) in Lourtier, Valais, caused an animated polemic, but it had a major influence in the development of modern religious architecture and art.³⁴ The small white church consisted of a modern rectangular box with a single-slope roof and a semi-circular concrete campanile; the sanctuary wall displayed, on both sides of the altar, a tall stained-glass window of Futurist influence, two works of the Swiss painter and sculptor Albert Gaeng.³⁵ With this building and others, Sartoris proposed the integration of the arts in a modern vision of monumental architecture whose fundamental ideology differed radically from the left-oriented avant-gardes of Germany and other countries. His national and international contacts positioned him as a leader in the promotion of abstract art, and the possibility to re-imagine sacred art through abstraction and a new concept of monumentality.³⁶ His approach echoed in Spain as well, first through his intimate relationship with Eduardo Westerdahl, editor of the *Gaceta de arte* in Tenerife, and in the following years in *Hormigón y Acero* (the periodical of which Eduardo Torroja directed for

²⁹ Also see Alex Mitrani, “Primitivismos de posguerra: entre ingenuidad y radicalidad,” in *Campo Cerrado*, pp. 263-65; Julián Díaz Sánchez, “El debate de la abstracción,” in *Campo Cerrado*, pp. 279-81; *El retorno de la serpiente: Mathias Goeritz y la invención de la arquitectura emocional*, Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2014; César Calzada, *Arte prehistórico en la vanguardia artística de España*, Madrid: Cátedra, 2006.

³⁰ José Luis Fernández del Amo, “Presentación de Alberto Sartoris [1986],” in *Palabra y Obra*, p. 49.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ See María Isabel Navarro Segura, “Alberto Sartoris y el itinerario de la recuperación de la modernidad en 1949-1950: Barcelona-Santander-Bilbao-Canarias-Madrid,” pp. 265-273, from: <https://dadun.unav.edu/bitstream/10171/23530/1/2000%2023.pdf>. On the church, see Edmond Humeau, “La nouvelle église de Lourtier (Valais) par Alberto Sartoris, arch., Rivaz,” in *Das Werk: Architektur und Kunst* XIX, nº 12, 1932, pp. 370-374; Alberto Sartoris, “Trois illustrations de l’église de Lourtier,” *L’architecture d’aujourd’hui* (Architecture religieuse) V, July 1934, p. 52;

³⁵ Gaeng was a student of Antoine Bourdelle and of Gino Severini. who introduced him to the concept of Mediterranean in modern art. In Italy, Luigi Fillia—a close friend of Sartoris, himself an early Futurist—and Gerardo Dottori reoriented their work toward a futurist vision of sacred art that received the benediction of Marinetti in the *Manifesto de arte sacro futurista* of 1931.

³⁶ Navarro Segura mentions the project of an international exhibition de Arte sacro to be held in Vitoria, promoted by Eugeni d’Ors from 1938, with the intention to present “los mejores productos y los esfuerzos mejores orientados que los artistas contemporáneos y los artesanos, humildemente recogidos en su tarea cotidiana ofrecen al servicio del culto católico”: Navarro Segura, p. 271.

twenty-six issues), *Tiempos nuevos*, and *Obras*.³⁷ Throughout these publications and many others in Latin America, Sartoris appeared as “a relevant figure of modern art on the international scene, representing the necessary link between modern architecture and abstract plastic.”³⁸

Following the Civil War, Sartoris lost most of his Republican contacts but maintained an active correspondence with Eugenio d'Ors who introduced him to the writer and art critic Rafael Santos Torroella, who would collaborate with Coderch for the Spanish pavilion at the Triennale of 1951. Santos Torroella, after years in detention, worked tirelessly for the renewal of the Spanish art scene, particularly with his art gallery and the periodical *Cobalto*. Sartoris was also able to reopen the conversation with his old friend Westerdahl in the Canarias.³⁹ In 1949, Sartoris came for the first time in Spain, on the invitation of the Asamblea de Arquitectos in Barcelona and, the same year, he was in Santander as chair for the opening congress of the *Escuela de Altamira*. As *persona grata* in Spain, he returned several times. For many years he continued his “diplomatic” role and his correspondence with most important architects, artists, poets and writers, in favor of the revival of the avant-garde movements and, in particular, the integration of architecture and the arts.⁴⁰ In Barcelona, he met the new generation of architects including Coderch and Valls, Sostres, and others, helping to propagate the importance of the Grup R.

The Altamira encounters were important but short-lived.⁴¹ They promoted abstract art but used the exemplarity of the caves of Altamira and its pre-historic paintings to represent a classical concept:

According to Lafuente Ferrari and according to the conclusions of the first meeting, Altamira's exemplariness for the New Abstract Art was that his parietal paintings,

³⁷ Navarro Segura, p. 267. In the 1930s, Westerdahl and Sartoris held contacts with artists from the group *Abstracción-Creación*, which promoted a new modernity founded on the concept of integration of the arts. See María Isabel Navarro Segura, *Eduardo Westerdahl y Alberto Sartoris: correspondencia (1933-1983): una maquinaria de acción*, Tenerife: Instituto Oscar Domínguez de Arte y Cultura Contemporánea, 2005

³⁸ Navarro Segura, p. 269. Sartoris's main contact with Spain was Fernando García Mercadal, whom he met at the founding meeting of CIAM in La Sarraz and who first published his works in *Arquitectura* in 1928. Mercadal and the Basque architect Luis Vallejo was his informer of the Spanish situation in the 1930s, and his references included, Sert, Aizpurúa, Torres Clavé, Arniches y Domínguez, Zuazo and others.

³⁹ Navarro Segura, p. 267.

⁴⁰ See *Alberto Sartoris: la concepción poética de la arquitectura, 1901-1998*, Valencia: IVAM, 2000. The chronological account indicates a living relationship, and the geographical range of the contacts shows a substantial involvement with Spanish culture in the broadest sense, with the vast collection of documents connected with Spain including names of architects, town planners and engineers such as Sert, Aizpurúa, Mercadal, Torroja, Coderch, Sostres, Bohigas and Alomar; art critics such as Westerdahl, Gasch and M. Goeritz; sculptors such as Ferrant, Fleitas, Oteiza, Chillida and Chirino; painters such as Miró and Millares; poets and writers such as Luis Rosales, Pedro García Cabrera, Julio Maruri and Camilo José Cela; and art historians such as Enrique Lafuente Ferrari and José Camón Aznar.

⁴¹ The encounters of Altamira were the equivalent in Spain of similar international events in Paris with the Congrès internationaux de critique d'art (1948-), in Geneva (1948), and the critical *Darmstädter Gespräch* of 1951, which included some participants like Willy Baumeister who was the prime defender of modern art against Hans Seldmayr's thesis of *Art in Crisis*.

oblivious to all mannerisms, represented a 'classic' concept of creation. The bison of Altamira offered a 'lesson in modernity' that could be considered 'classical'⁴²

Connecting abstract art to artistic practices from a distant past was a form of legitimization of the promoted trends of modern art that transcended the contemporary moment. With Altamira, Spanish artists brought a new vision of primitivism, now empty of ideological connotations and firmly anchored within the national territory. Seen within the larger context of the late 1940s-early 1950s, the Escuela de Altamira shared the same global ambition than Sert and Sartoris' advocacy of the Mediterranean roots of modern architecture—the vernacular of the pueblos, of Ibiza, etc.—and the soon to be published *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*: it was to de-politicize and to some extent de-internationalize modern art and architecture by rooting it within the traditions of Spain.

7.3. Abstraction and Urban Form

Fernández del Amo's reputation within the Spanish artistic milieu rose quickly in the 1950s, and the same happened with his well-crafted project of promoting abstract art. At the same time, he increasingly used abstract methods of urban and architectural design within his actuation for the I.N.C. The urban plans, the groupings of houses, and the very architecture of the houses will, from Vegaviana onwards, reflect his constant search for the ideal, abstract, but equally humane and humanistic urban form to reflect the *genius loci*, and in particular the humane and natural geography of the place. Interspersed within the projects that we have just described and where landscape was the first element to respond to and to design with, he projected a series of other pueblos, whose essential geometric composition became the primary form of abstraction.

Villalba de Calatrava (1955)

In 1955, Fernández del Amo designed the first of his two towns in La Mancha, Villalba de Calatrava, conceived for a little more than 100 houses.⁴³ In Vegaviana, the openness of the plan absorbed not only the existing landscape of oak trees, but also seemed to dilute, particularly in the aerial photographs of *Paisajes españoles*, within the vastness of the Extremadura landscape. In Villalba he completely reversed the design strategy: located on a flat plateau surrounded by gentle hills but totally devoid of vegetation, the compactness and precise edges make the small town appear as an abstract figure, a diamond-like grid or jewel that stands up to the landscape. Villalba de Calatrava is perhaps the more geometric pueblo of the entire I.N.C. colonization program. All parcels are parallel and divide the ground in narrow and long lots, which can only be accessed from the perimeter streets of every block.

⁴² Arnaldo, pp. 8-9: see *Primera Semana de Arte en Santillana del Mar*, pp. 47-sq.

⁴³ José Luis Fernández del Amo, "Memoria, Proyecto del pueblo de Villalba de Calatrava en la finca Encomienda de Mudela", MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, July 1955.

Geometry becomes here a precision tool to assert the artificiality of the town plan within the landscape, a traditional strategy of colonization from Latin America to Savannah, Georgia:

In order to close the perspective of the streets, the layout grid is not orthogonal but made of blocks, all with the same configuration of an ellipse truncated at its ends and placed in quincunx. This arrangement creates a series of in-between spaces, which have been designed as small garden squares for the pleasure of the residents.⁴⁴

For Fernández del Amo, this strategy facilitated both the construction and its economy. The sinusoidal or zigzag pattern coupled with the alignment of the house fronts on the grid rather than on the streets endowed the streets with a “mobility that alleviates their monotony.”⁴⁵ As Ángel Ampuero has stated, the layout of Villalba de Calatrava displays “a radical isotropy drawn as a fragment of an infinite geometric mesh, which could eventually be extended to the entire plain of La Mancha.”⁴⁶ And he added:

The labyrinthine capacity of the zigzag road, with its ambiguous perspectives, added to the almost flat topography, produces a large amount of urban spaces, identical and concentrated in a small area. It is this paradox that allows us to recuperate a certain image of the settlement as urban network, without references, without scale, as succession of familiar corners of a possible infinite city.⁴⁷

Like in Esquivel, the extreme symmetry provides a spatial experience, which reminds of the lessons of Sitte, yet without any “picturesque” effects. Artificiality is created by a precise geometry that eliminates the anxiety of the false. The nine planned squares present the same exact shape and dimensions, and with the exception of the *plaza mayor*, the same recreative function and landscape design. Not all of them were realized but those that tangent the edges of the grid negotiate a subtle transition between the man-made and the natural landscape. At the center is the *plaza mayor* where most public functions take place. The elliptical section is identical but more densely planted; however, Fernández del Amo uses an ingenious design strategy to distinguish it. The edge of the block is setback along a straight line with shops and administration buildings. The small and rectangular church without any tower literally projects out to align its façade with the green and in doing so creates two small plazas that extend the public space. To mark the public character of the space according to the recommendations of

⁴⁴ José Luis Fernández del Amo, “Mis pueblos de La Mancha,” *Punto y Plano*, nº 4, 1987, reprinted in *Palabra y Obra*, p. 89: “Para que la perspectiva de sus calles no quede abierta, la retícula para su ordenación, en lugar de ser ortogonal, se hace en manzanas de igual configuración, sí, pero en forma elíptica truncada en sus extremos y situadas en tresbolillo que libran unas pequeñas zonas intermedias en manera de placetas ajardinadas para estancia.”

⁴⁵ Memoria del pueblo de Villalba de Calatrava, p. 3. The pueblo measures approximately 400 x 300-meter.

⁴⁶ Ángel Cordero Ampuero, “Fernández del Amo – Aportaciones al arte y la arquitectura contemporáneas,” Dissertation, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid, 2014, p. 99.

⁴⁷ Cordero Ampuero, vol. 1, p. 102: “La propia capacidad laberíntica del viario en zigzag, con sus perspectivas ambiguas, sumada a la topografía casi plana, produce gran cantidad de espacios similares incluso en una superficie tan pequeña, y sólo a través de esta paradoja se recupera una cierta imagen del asentamiento como trama urbana, sin referencias, sin escala, sucesión de rincones familiares de una posible ciudad infinita.”

Alejandro Herrero, Fernández del Amo installed a powerful stone pavement that marks the place and beautifully contrasts with the white walls of the church and the adjacent buildings.⁴⁸

San Isidro de Albaterra (1953), El Realengo (1957)

In 1953 and 1957, Fernández del Amo designed two villages in close distance—about four kilometers of each other—within the irrigation zone of Saladares near Murcia: San Isidro de Albaterra and El Realengo. In his “*Memoria* for San Isidro de Albaterra,” the architect argued that the “density of population” requested (250 houses) and the “respect to existing areas of vegetation” informed the layout.⁴⁹ The site was indeed adjacent to a long grove of palm trees that screened the railroad and that he integrated in the plan as natural and landscaped edge. Here, the architect designed a fully orthogonal grid, made up of rectangular blocks containing all the colonist houses; some streets contained a shallow canal, now transformed into a narrow central paseo. The housing blocks are typologically identical, with two-story houses for colonists on the south side and one-story houses without outbuildings on the north side in order to keep a good insulation of the patios. At the intersections of the grid with the street that wraps around the irregular edges of the site, he placed the schools and small groups of workers’ houses with no corral. In the center of the grid, he located the town hall and a market on a small rectangular square enclosed by a continuous arcade. In contrast, the religious center was laid out in linear fashion on the other side of the main street from which the grid was laid out. The church, the abstract campanile, and the annex buildings create an elegant plastic complex, which cannot be comprehended at once, but as a series of spatial moments that link the town with the groves of palm trees in the background. On the other side of the street, he closed the residential blocks with a line of mixed-use buildings. A deep arcade precedes the shops while residences occupy the second floor.

Typologically speaking, San Isidro de Albaterra, designed one year before Vegaviana, might have been Fernández del Amo’s witty response to José Tamés’s references to rationalist housing such as the QT8 project in Milan in his critic of Torre de Salinas. It certainly brings to mind the rationalism of the German Siedlungen of the 1920s, while demonstrating the architect’s ability to find the appropriate response to a problem, a specific geography and context. A stunning aerial view of the region shows San Isidro and El Realengo in the distance. Both of them were designed in a grid-like layout that used the same orientation of their orthogonal axes within the utterly flat landscape. Between the two towns, a series of isolated farms can be seen sharing the grid at a larger scale.

El Realengo is one of Fernández del Amo’s most abstract and remarkable creations. In contrast to the high density of San Isidro, it consists of a small program of fifty houses and a single civic

⁴⁸ See Alejandro Herrero, “15 Normas para la composición de conjunto en barriadas de vivienda unifamiliar,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* n° 168, 1955, pp. 17-28.

⁴⁹ José Luis Fernández del Amo, “*Memoria, Proyecto de nuevo pueblo San Isidro de Albaterra*,” MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, 1953, p. 1.

nucleus that services both the village and the disseminated houses in the landscape.⁵⁰ Most of the houses align along three streets that anchor the orthogonal and perfectly regular plan on both sides of a central axis originally occupied by a water canal that also served as a public washbasin. The canal, now a paseo, separated the roomy civic center into two parts: the church, the schools, and some shops on one side, the town hall and the social center on the other. Although the houses stand around the civic center, they do not form traditional blocks. A cultivation field of 2,000 square meters extends at the back of every colonist house, thus explaining the low-density environment. Nevertheless, Fernández del Amo was able to create a unique concept of centrality. The public buildings and the houses that are contiguous to them form a group of loose urban objects, only held up together by the orthogonal grid. It is an “artificial landscape... a complex set of marks, arcades, columns, walls, shadows, lights, ambiguous spaces and compositional tensions.”⁵¹ Rules of traditional urban design have been breached, yet he created, thanks to the sculptural architecture, a place of intense and fascinating urban poetry.

Las Marinas (1958) – Campohermoso (1958) – Puebla de Vícar (1968)

Similar in urban structure—a fully symmetrical plan centered on a civic center in a park-like setting—but denser and more compact, the 62-dwelling village of Las Marinas in the Campo de Dalías, west of Almería (1958-1962 in two phases) was a more utilitarian project whose civic center and public spaces were reduced in scope and in spatial quality. Paradoxically, even though the sophisticated rural typologies have now been replaced almost completely by non-descript apartment structures, the urban plan, the church and its abstract campanile remain unchanged. In contrast with the chaotic districts that surround them, they constitute, in effect, the historic center of the intensely developed modern town.

Designed the same year at the heart of the Campo de Níjar, east of Almería, Campohermoso can be seen as an urbanistic incongruity in the overall production of Fernández del Amo. Here, he was unable to redeem the lack of character of the site, with a car-oriented, oddly organized and conceptually weak masterplan. However, the contrast between the rationalism of the church and its campanile with the abstract, quasi-North-African architecture of the flat-roof patio houses makes Campohermoso an enticing example of Mediterranean modernism and the relatively well-conserved historic center of the 8,800-residents town.⁵²

⁵⁰ José Luis Fernández del Amo, “Memoria, Proyecto del Nuevo pueblo El Realengo,” MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, December 1959.

⁵¹ Cordero Ampuero, vol.1, p. 110.

⁵² See Miguel Centellas Soler, Alfonso Ruiz García, and Pablo García-Pellicer López, *Los pueblos de colonización en Almería: Arquitectura y desarrollo para una nueva agricultura*, Almería: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Almería / Instituto de Estudios Almerienses / Fundación Cajamar, 2009. The Campo de Dalías, west of Almería, was a region that Fernández del Amo knew very well from his time at the D.G.R.D. and that became successful in terms of agricultural expansion thanks to techniques of *enarenado* (use of sand over the ground) and the unique plastic cover system, both of them proving to be very efficient and permitting more than one cycle per year. Today Las Marinas counts more than 4,200 residents.

Ten years later, in the same region of the Campo de Dalias, José Luis designed the smallest of the I.N.C. villages, Puebla de Vúcar. Made up of one sole block of twelve cubical houses placed at 45 degrees from the street edges, a curved commercial structure in a triangular park, a school, and a church with a tall open-air campanile, the village was an exquisite exercise in minimalism and abstraction. An aerial photograph shows it at the time of completion in syncretic relation with the landscape and the plastic covered fields extending at the foot of the mountains. The architect planned a second block, but the village eventually extended in a more traditional manner until the early 1980s. Since then, the exponential growth of the area has wiped out the original nucleus. Only a couple of houses and the church remain in the town that housed 5,080 residents in 2017.

Barriada de Jumilla (1969)

The rural neighborhood or Barriada de Jumilla in the province of Murcia was Fernández del Amo's last project and realization in 1968-1969. Somewhat similar to San Isidro de Albaterra but without church or administrative building, it can be seen as the most rationalist of his I.N.C. career. The original plan of 77 houses consisted of short and parallel streets expending into three small plazas faced with public programs. José Luis connected the plazas by a network of four-meter wide pedestrian streets, whereas vehicular streets serviced the patios from the back. As the program got reduced, he maintained the grid pattern of the district, but he kept only one pedestrian street in the form of a paseo leading to a large square, geometrically divided and marked by tall cypress-like trees. The patio-based houses were all similar, with the addition of a small group of workers' houses detached from the grid. Morphologically and typologically, the Barriada de Jumilla brings to mind some of the German Siedlungen of the 1920s, but the presence of the orderly *plaza*, even devoid of real public functions, continues to project the public character and use of the Mediterranean city. Seen from the air, the orderly nature of the project makes it appear as an ideal neighborhood, which contrasts with the chaotic urbanization of Jumilla, a couple of kilometers in the distance.⁵³

7.4. The Photographer's Eye: Revealing the Abstract

Alejandro de la Sota used his freehand sketches and his talents of caricaturist to reveal the essence of his ideas and projects, their surrealism, and their potential distancing from ideology. He was also a good photographer and his archives contain many photographs of existing villages and towns, of their urban spaces, their narrow streets, their plazas, and objects like fountains. He focused on similar views when he photographed his own realizations like Esquivel and Entreríos, emphasizing the quality and humanity of their spaces.

⁵³ José Luis Fernández del Amo, "Memoria, Barriada de Jumilla," MAGRAMA, San Fernando de Henares, January 1969. I refer here to the Siedlungen built under the Weimar Republic by Bruno Taut, Ernst May, and others.

Fernández del Amo, on the contrary, produced few 'artistic' drawings or sketches. Based upon the archival material, his work was very rational and rationally produced with plans, sections and elevations perfectly delineated. The rare sketches related mostly to religious buildings and interior details of altars and other artistic interventions. At the same time, he delegated the photography of his works to Joaquín del Palacio Kindel, a professional photographer and intimate friend since the 1940s, whose vision was in great part responsible for the media success of Vegaviana and his other villages from the mid-1950s.⁵⁴ If abstraction were the art form and philosophy that Fernández del Amo deployed to design most of his villages, their houses and groups of houses, their churches and other town halls, his photography would be the medium that would expose their plastic value. Under Kindel's gaze, both form and representation were inherently abstract. The representation of the plan as shown on the panels presented at the U.I.A. conference in Moscow (1958) made that very clear: the blocks were represented as what could be compared to dark grey strokes of wide paint on the neutral canvass of landscape. Both form and representation were inherently abstract (see picture in chapter 5). On the same board, the twenty-three photographs, shown in the right section and shot by Kindel, revealed the town, not as an urban entity—that was reserved to the beautiful aerial views by *Paisajes españoles*—but rather as a series of urban fragments:

There is a plastic revelation of reality that only photography gives, and there is a different reality, a plastic object in itself, when photography is art. In the photography that has been obtained through an intelligent plastic vision, it is possible to jointly appreciate the added value that it has acquired as an autonomous work of art, and the demonstration of the natural plasticity of the photographed object. The photography can allow us to see what perhaps could not be seen or only acquired its importance with this revealing method. Joaquín del Palacio Kindel has given us his personal version, which has imparted its very meaning to Vegaviana, and each image has the objective value of a work of art.⁵⁵

Fernández del Amo and Kindel met while they both collaborated with the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas (D.G.R.D.), the architect working on the *Exposición de la Reconstrucción de España* and various projects particularly in Andalusia, and the photographer shooting reportages of the war destructions. According to Fernández del Amo, they traveled frequently together across the Spanish countryside, "with the ingenuous

⁵⁴ See *Kindel: Fotografía de arquitectura*, Madrid: Fundación COAM, 2007; Iñaki Bergera Serrano (ed.), *Fotografía y arquitectura moderna en España*, Madrid: Fundación ICO, 2014.

⁵⁵ José Luis Fernández del Amo, "Vegaviana," p. 85: "Hay una revelación plástica de la realidad que sólo da la fotografía y hay una realidad distinta, objeto plástico en sí, cuando la fotografía es arte. En la fotografía que ha sido obtenida con una inteligente visión plástica, puede apreciarse este valor propio que ha adquirido autonomía de obra de arte, y también una puesta en evidencia de la plástica natural del objeto fotografiado. Por la fotografía puede verse lo que quizá no se viera o no tuvo el relieve que alcanzó en esta versión reveladora. Joaquín del Palacio, Kindel, nos ha presentado esta versión personal, por la que el pueblo de Vegaviana adquiere toda su significación y cada muestra tiene el valor objetivo de una obra de arte."

emotion of the discoverers.”⁵⁶ They concentrated their attention to the spontaneous architecture of villages and small towns, analyzing and photographically recording “the plastic vision of their environment.”⁵⁷ The “avidity of the pilgrim” involved the landscape as well, because “who sees it makes the landscape.”⁵⁸ For the architect, “only abstract art has taught me to see the strict and naked beauty in the lands of La Mancha.”⁵⁹ Even more so, it is the work of Kindel, which made him see these architectures and landscapes not only in their functional and esthetic qualities, but even more so as plastic objects of abstract art:

Kindel's photography, like abstract art, is revealing the plastic object per se, and its essential aesthetic expression independently of its representation. It is not the photographic, but the photography.⁶⁰

With all the humility that characterized his personality and his writings, it is undeniable that in order to reveal the plastic quality of the subject, it must possess intrinsic qualities that made it an ideal subject to a particular mode of vision. In that sense, Fernández del Amo designed the subject and Kindel made it the object. Blocks of houses were still connected to an overall urban plan, but the architect designed them and placed them in such a way that they could also be comprehended independently and in isolation, as abstract objects. As a result and in the eyes of Kindel, those urban objects could be seen and circumnavigated. Kindel's photography monumentalized the housing fabric as he monumentalized the landscape. Indeed, in his reportages on Vegaviana and the following villages, the abstract character of his photos benefit from the deliberate omission of the landscape, which makes the architecture stand in further isolation. When landscape appears, it is usually thanks to a single tree that figures within the frame as another architectonic object. As Ignacio Bisbal wrote, “Kindel does not portray a street or a tree. Both are but compositional resources to create a specific photographic configuration, autonomous of its representation.”⁶¹ At the same time, it must be noted that few images by Kindel focused or showed genuine urban spaces, like streets or plazas. This was not necessarily an esthetic choice but rather a forced situation as, in actuality, Fernández del Amo all but eliminated most of the traditional enclosed public space of Spanish tradition. His streets were usually wide, very short, and with the exception of a few cases like Villalba de Calatrava, Jumilla, and San Isidro de Albaterra, they act as *moments* of urbanity rather than *structures* of urbanity. On the other hand, his squares, although very different from most other examples of the I.N.C., were unique modernist re-

⁵⁶ José Luis Fernández del Amo, “El arte en la fotografía de Kindel,” *Palabra Y Obra*, p.191.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ José Luis Fernández del Amo, *Encuentro con la creación*, p. 18: “El paisaje lo hace el que ve.”

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ Fernández del Amo, “El arte en la fotografía de Kindel,” p. 192: “La fotografía de Kindel, como el arte abstracto, es reveladora del objeto plástico por sí, de su esencial expresión estética independiente de su representación. No es la fotográfico, sino la fotografía.”

⁶¹ Ignacio Bisbal, “Kindel, Paisajes Abstractos,” In *Kindel: Fotografía De Arquitectura*, p. 38: “Kindel no retrata una calle ni un árbol. Ambos son recursos compositivos para crear una determinada configuración fotográfica, autónoma de su representación.”

inventions of traditional forms. Yet, they rarely had the 'photogenic' quality that would inspire Kindel's works. Hence they barely appear in his catalogue.

If the overall plan of Vegaviana and other towns like Cañada de Agra, Villalba de Calatrava and El Realengo, constituted the first element of Fernández del Amo's abstract grammar, the typology, architecture, and material texture of the houses were other necessary tools of the architect's language that he manipulated to increase abstraction and "provoke" the photographer's eye. In the process of depuration of the vernacular language, he went further than all other architects of the I.N.C., including de la Sota. In Esquivel and Entreríos, de la Sota had, as we have seen, initiated the process of architectonic abstraction or, rather, of complete simplification of the architecture and facades of both residential (vernacular) and public structures (classical). By contrast, there was no reference to the classical and thus no irony in Fernández del Amo's architecture. Unlike de la Sota, his town halls are almost invisible, blending as they are within the overall vernacular and refusing to express any kind of reference to symbols of power. Overall, his is a very serious architecture that rarely allows for a moment of relaxation, an architecture that expresses the strict economic functionalism of the social program, but, even more so, that is driven by the rigor of its author's upbringing and convictions. It is an architecture that expresses hard work and whose character is both ascetic and eminently rural.

Typologically, Fernández del Amo was a great innovator. In contrast with his colleagues who, more often than not, designed simple peasant houses—square, rectangular or L-shaped in plan—he developed specific types for each village. The variations in morphology almost always inferred that the parcels in the town plan would have different widths and depths, thus implying a diversity of typologies and form. In other words, morphology and typology were so closely matched that types were strictly associated with the town. Miguel Centellas Soler's comparative plates of his dwelling types do emphasize the diversity of his approach but also the common traits that distinguish his architecture.⁶² First, the differences in parcel size and form allowed him to diversify the typology of the main house and its dependencies. The parcels in Vegaviana, San Isidro de Albaterra, and Jumilla were rather traditional, i.e., usually 10-meter wide and between 30 to 40-meter in depth. In Belvis, Campohermoso, Las Marinas, and Cañada de Agra, they were wider, around 15-meter wide. In El Realengo, their width exceeded the depth, whereas in Villalba de Calatrava, the diamond-shape structure of the town created parcels of varying depths. All parcels were aligned to the street, except in Miraelrío, where their unusual groupings formed syncopated edges, both on the sides of the street and the fields. In general, the prescribed and small size of the houses did not allow the I.N.C. architects to design full-fledged patio houses, thus relying on the tapia walls to create the space of the corral. Yet, Fernández del Amo controlled the parcel and planned the outbuildings in such a way that, in some villages, he approached the genuine patio type: the primary dwelling and the outbuildings, and not only the tapia walls, create the patio space.

⁶² See Centellas Soler, *Los pueblos de colonización de Fernández del Amo*, pp. 166-177,

Best examples can be found in Campohermoso, Las Marinas, Cañada de Agra, and particularly in Miraelrío and the unbuilt Torre de Salinas. Overall, Fernández del Amo departed from regular I.N.C. practice as he paid a lot of attention to the volumes and architecture of the outbuildings, as can be best seen in Vegaviana, Villalba de Calatrava, and Cañada de Agra. In Jumilla, the outbuildings were all identical and their three-dimensional shapes so potent that all major photographs taken by Kindel reflected the abstract quality of their alignment along the service streets. Moreover, it is interesting to mention that most town plans provided entrances on both sides of the parcels—reflecting the early 1950s theory of separation of traffic—but some others included entrances only from the front street as in San Isidro de Albatara and Villalba de Calatrava,

Secondly, until Belvis de Jarama and Vegaviana, houses within the I.N.C. villages had straight and rather plane facades, at times with a small courtyard in the front, interrupted only by small balconies or *rejas* in front of the windows. Fernández del Amo radically modified the planar and volumetric composition of the fronts. The front facades of his building types are not planar—the only exception is Belvis de Jarama—but present diverse recessed or protruding areas such as entrances to the houses or the corrals like in San Isidro de Albatara and Cañada de Agra. In some towns like El Realengo or Villalba de Calatrava, they display sharp inflections in the façade planes. In many cases, these projections and subtractions repeat on the upper floor.

Thirdly, exploiting the differences in the geometry of the parcels, facades showed more asymmetry in the disposition of the openings, often resulting in an abstract composition marked by square windows and horizontal ones. To increase the plasticity of the architecture, Fernández del Amo innovated by rejecting the traditional projecting balconies and replacing them with recessed or projecting sections that create small terraces contained by the walls. In so doing, he intensified the play of light and shadows and made the houses more photogenic in the gaze of Kindel. Likewise, the use of flat and one-sided sloped roofs gave an air of Northern modernity that reflected Fernández del Amo's interest in Scandinavian modernism. Likewise, the high chimneys increased the contrast between shade and light on the whitewashed surfaces. The portico columns were simple and cylindrical, with an occasional trace left of vault or curved lintels like in San Isidro de Albatara.

Lastly, the volumetric complexity of each individual house increased dramatically with the strict repetition of the types, which he deployed without any variation from end to end. The house becomes the volumetric cell of composition of the blocks, and its repetition a paradoxical way of expressing a modernity not driven by mechanization but by vernacular standardization.⁶³ This method marked a sharp contrast with all the previous projects of the I.N.C. where alternation of types was usually the rule, arguably to avoid the potential

⁶³ Repetition without exception is the overall rule, but there are a couple of exceptions where the last house may be different as happens, for instance, in Villalba de Calatrava or the end of the worker's rows.

monotony. In Vegaviana, Cañada de Agra, Jumilla, and La Vereda, he repeats the types without mirroring them two by two, which dramatically increases their plastic impact. In other cases where he grouped the houses on both sides of a common patio wall, he tends to accentuate the non-planarity of the fronts, again to increase the contrasting effects. In El Realengo, the mirrored oblique walls leading to the entry doors create an effect that could be described as quasi-Baroque; in Jumilla, it is the German pre-war Siedlung that comes to mind. In many cases like Vegaviana, Villalba de Calatrava, Cañada de Agra, and Miraelrío, he created non-linear, i.e. in zigzag or curved, alignments that multiplied the contrasts between the illuminated surfaces and those deeply shaded. Those effects, beautifully revealed by Kindel's photography, accentuate the "plastic expression of the most modest and popular materials" by emphasizing the texture of the surfaces in contrast with the flat and relief-less white surfaces of the modern movement before the war.⁶⁴ Along the Siedlung-like streets of San Isidro de Albatara, Fernández del Amo transcends the rationalist repetitive pattern by alternating, in a powerful rhythm, long stretches of white facades with balcony voids that Kindel's photographs abstract to virtual holes. At the back of the colonist houses, he deployed sculptural outdoor staircases that remind, to some extent, of a similar device that he used, with his colleagues, in the houses of the Regiones district in Almería.⁶⁵ In El Realengo, he probably reached the apex of volumetric power with rows of small workers' dwellings where he created "checkerboards" of voids and full surfaces between first and second floor. Likewise, mirrored houses with long and blind walls closed the very large parcels of the agricultural lots. Their entrances do not open on the street but parallel to it within a double loggia wall. In the case of Vegaviana, which to some extent can be considered the closest to the "ideal village" over the span of his practice at the I.N.C., Fernández del Amo set up the dwellings in sets of equal types, with the maximum expression of their volumes and masses, of the solids and the voids, and of the qualities of materials on the surface of walls."⁶⁶ Similar approach to the plasticity of repeated buildings was the privilege of postwar Nordic architects, among which John Utzon and, better known to the young Spanish architects with his groups of houses in Copenhagen, the Danish Arne Jacobsen. Alejandro de la Sota made reference to these sources while at the same time mentioning the work of Fernández del Amo:

We met Jacobsen while still very young. His work attracted us and perhaps exerted a great influence on us initially. The first period of his work, that of the groupings of dwellings and the repetition of identical houses—also deployed by Fernández del Amo with such beauty—was something that we had in mind in the settlements of the National Institute of Colonization Institute ... although, personally, I had more fun

⁶⁴ Fernández del Amo, "Mis pueblos de La Mancha," p. 88.

⁶⁵ See Chapter Three.

⁶⁶ Fernández del Amo, "Vegaviana," p. 83.

breaking those laws of similarity and organization, by introducing something frivolous, something anecdotal and popular in the adornments.⁶⁷

7.5. Religious Appropriation: Mural Paintings and the Plastic Arts

Fernández del Amo was an intensely Catholic man. His immersion in catholic activism had started around 1924 when he joined the Acción Católica, before bringing him in the circle of various religious groups, which aspired to a renovation of the liturgical practices of the Church. His religious and intellectual background included Unamuno, Ortega, and the *Generación del 98*, directions that he will pursue throughout his life.⁶⁸ José Luis was well aware of the changes that were slowly impacting church and liturgy, for instance the encyclical letter *Mediator Dei* where Pope Pio XII wrote that “it is absolutely necessary to give open ground to modern art, as long as it continued to serve with the reverence and honor due to the holy rites and sacrifices.”⁶⁹

In his youth, he was a follower of Romano Guardini (1885-1968), a priest, theologian, and professor in Philosophy of Religions at the University of Berlin, and one of the most important figures of the Catholic movement in Germany and abroad. Beyond his writings on liturgy and civil figures such as Rilke and Kafka, Guardini’s most influential books were *Über das Wesen des Kunstwerkes* (About the Nature of the Artwork, 1948) and *Das Ende der Neuzeit* (The End of the Modern World, 1950).⁷⁰ The concept of autonomy, which according to the philosopher underscored the functioning of education, science, and culture in general, also applied to religion and art. Guardini saw “patterns of harmonization between the religious image of the world, in a moment in time when the cult had lost its objective power, and the subjectivity of the new artistic expression, dominated by abstract art.”⁷¹ Hence, for deeply religious men like Fernández del Amo, Guardini’s considerations about art, reaching out to the possibilities of the abstract language, implied that the defense of pure art corresponded perfectly with the discussed return to order. In a quasi-mystical way, Fernández del Amo equally believed in the power of art and its capacity necessity to reach everyone everywhere, finding its way out of museums:

Art without time and without names is an open world, without borders, offering an added value to the natural reality when it is not enough for us; with the desire to see beyond the known reality, and longing for what cannot satiate us. Let art rise us from the level in which we are. That art by itself, of its own bring us the light and the

⁶⁷ Quoted by Miguel Centellas Soler, p. 203, from Alejandro de la Sota, Entrevista realizada por Sara de la Mata y Enrique Sobejano, *Arquitectura*, nº 283-4, 1990, p. 153.

⁶⁸ On this section of Fernández del Amo’s biography, see Centellas Soler, pp. 31-41.

⁶⁹ Centellas Soler, pp. 225-6.

⁷⁰ On Romano Guardini, see Hanna-Barbara Gerl Falkovitz, *Romano Guardini. La vita e l'opera*, Brescia: Morcelliana, 1988; Robert Anthony Krieg, *Romano Guardini: A Precursor of Vatican II*, South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997.

⁷¹ Arnaldo, p. 10.

shadow of what we do not see. [...] Beauty is not so much a quality of the observed object, as it is an effect on the observer. From here, my reflections about perception start. In that state in which art is perceived as an annunciation. Because in art everything is revelation and revelation does not end. Everything is the Verb.⁷²

Likewise, in his intervention at the *Congreso Internacional de Arte Abstracto* of 1953 that Fernández del Amo directed, the architect and writer Luis Felipe Vivanco advocated that abstract art was susceptible of reflecting the most profound religious aspirations: “The assumptions of abstract art are spiritualist. [...] The abstract form is thus raised as the limit of that faculty that the human spirit possesses, which consists in living actively in itself, precisely to reach a maximum of communication with the universal.”⁷³

For Fernández del Amo the architecture of the new villages aimed at, beyond its purely functional aspects of support to dwelling and working in the fields, improve the conditions of daily life and bring joy to the men and women. For him, architecture did not suffice and art, particularly religious art, had an important role to play as well. Religious art, according to sculptor José Luis Sánchez, one of the artists active for the I.N.C. was in fact the only social art that could be applied in Franco’s Spain.⁷⁴ The integration of the arts had to be motivated and invigorated by a strong communitarian spirit and religious faith.⁷⁵

In the early 1950s, Tamés Alarcón put Fernández del Amo, now director of the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo, in charge of commissioning the artists for new works within the pueblos. It was a bold and courageous decision. From then on the I.N.C. made the integration of the arts a priority of its action within the agricultural realm: “If the merit of Tamés is great for having allowed Fernández del Amo to give free rein to his avant-garde efforts, that of the latter, to stand firmly in an effort that could only bring him problems, is certainly not minor.”⁷⁶ In this position, José Luis deployed a singular energy to encourage and develop a new approach to the architecture of the church and the integration of modern art: “We will ask artists for the community, the security of intention, the mathematical rigor of their conceptions, the metaphysical crystallization of their architectures.”⁷⁷ In addition to a gradual modernization of

⁷² Fernández del Amo, *Encuentro con la creación*, pp. 19-20: “El arte sin tiempo y sin nombres, es un mundo abierto, sin fronteras, ofreciendo un valor añadido a la realidad natural cuando no nos basta. Con ganas de ver más allá de la realidad conocida. Que el arte nos alce de la cota en la que estamos. Que el arte por sí; de suyo nos traiga la luz y la sombra de lo que no vemos. [...] La belleza no es tanto una cualidad del objeto observado, cuanto un efecto sobre el observador. De aquí parten mis reflexiones para la percepción. En ese estado en el que el arte se percibe como una anunciación. Porque en el arte todo es revelación y la revelación no se acaba. Todo es Verbo.”

⁷³ Luis Felipe Vivanco, *El arte abstracto y sus problemas*, Madrid, Eds. Cultura Hispánica, 1956, p. 173, quoted by Arnaldo, p. 10: “Los supuestos del arte abstracto son espiritualistas. [...] La forma abstracta queda así planteada como un límite de esa facultad del espíritu humano que consiste en residir activamente en sí mismo, precisamente para alcanzar un máximo de comunicación con lo universal.”

⁷⁴ See Alagón Alaste, unpaginated, from Miguel Logroño, *José Luis Sánchez*, Madrid: Rayuela, 1974, p. 32.

⁷⁵ Fernández del Amo, “Una integración de las artes,” pp. 43-45.

⁷⁶ Quoted by Centellas, p. 234, from Enriqueta Antolin, “Artistas infiltrados: rojos, ateos y abstractos en los pueblos de Franco,” *Cambio 16*, 592, 1983, p. 99.

⁷⁷ Fernández del Amo, *Palabra y Obra*, p. 146.

the religious architecture, the I.N.C. emphasized the importance of the church as a “total work of art” that best expressed the values of the regime. Overall, it is estimated that over twenty-five years of active program of colonization, close to three hundred churches were built and more than 2,000 works of arts ranging from murals to liturgical objects were created by more than seventy sculptors, painters, and ceramic artists, among which the most famous were Antonio Carpe, Arcadio Blasco, José Luis Sánchez, José Baqué Ximénez, José Luis Vicent Llorente, and Rafael Canogar,⁷⁸ Many produced abstract works of painting and sculpture (Sánchez, Canogar), but some were more traditional painters deploying a type of figurative modernity mixing influences from futurism, primitivism, and vernacular motifs (see José Baqué Ximénez in Aragón and Manuel Rivera in Foncastín and Águeda del Caudillo). Like in the Italian Fascist new towns of the 1930s, mural painting became the medium of choice to support this return to a figurative and realist vision of religious art that would reflect tradition and modernity.

Fernández del Amo was a militant proponent of abstract art, but his views were polemical. Abstract art was often accused to be “elitist, not social, not communicative, and thus, lacking in utility.”⁷⁹ As a result, many priests and bishops refused to bless some of the art works, removed them from their locations, or in the worst case, destroyed the works. An article of 1956 in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* denounced the problems and negative reactions:

We find it incomprehensible that the seminarians should not be given any artistic education, since tomorrow they will have the task of building new churches and new temples, as well as ensuring the safeguarding of the ancient churches. That is why it is so strange that among the ministers of the cult, there are so few that demonstrate some understanding towards modern art.⁸⁰

Miguel Centellas Soler has analyzed in details the typology of Fernández del Amo’s churches but, for our purpose, it is important to summarize the evolution of his approach to religious architecture and its relation to urban form. Vegaviana and Villalba de Calatrava marked the defining moments of his concept and method of the integration of the arts. Architecturally, both churches were Fernández del Amo’s purest interpretation of an abstracted tradition, as close as possible to his understanding of a religious “anonymous architecture.” In plan, the two churches shared a traditional rectangular plan with thin one-story arms extending on both sides to provide for additional religious services and with impressive buttress-like columns on the sides of the Vegaviana church. Their composition relates directly to the medieval concept,

⁷⁸ Centellas Soler, p. 234.

⁷⁹ Alagón Alaste, unpaginated.

⁸⁰ Alagón Alaste, AACA Digital, June 2011, pp. 1-38. “El arte y la arquitectura moderna”; *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 178, October 1956, p. 2: “Nos parece incomprendible que no se dé a los seminaristas ninguna educación artística, ya que a ellos incumbirá el día de mañana la labor de hacer construir nuevas iglesias y nuevos templos, así como velar por la salvaguarda de las iglesias antiguas. Por eso no es extraño que entre los ministros del culto se encuentren tan pocos que demuestren alguna comprensión hacia el arte moderno.”

i.e., a three-part, relatively flat façade with two symmetrical towers. Here, abstraction is achieved with the fact that the towers are very short and thus create proportions that are very close to the square. In Vegaviana, he recessed the central section below a deep bracing arch and installed the large ceramic mural by Antonio Valdivieso (*Virgen de Fátima*) on the entire height above the doors. In Villalba de Calatrava, the composition was even simpler and more geometric. The ceramic mural by Manuel H. Mompó occupies the entire surface between the towers, with a very thin cross, placed on top. As we have seen, Fernández del Amo did rare sketches of his architecture, but here, he signed a couple of light hand drawings of the abstract *retablo* to be put at the altar. Pablo Serrano Aguilar sculpted it in carved wood along with the metal-based *via crucis*, probably the most famous art pieces of the entire I.N.C. program. Vegaviana and Villalba de Calatrava were founded in remote locations and were destinations accessed at the end of quiet country roads. Hence, there was no need to advertise the settlements from the road and in these two cases, the church has no campanile—a strategy that de la Sota himself followed in Valuengo and Entrerríos. In all other cases, and particularly in the heavily traveled region of Almería, he conceived of his abstract towers as bold signs of urbanizing the countryside.

With *El Realengo* of 1957, Fernández del Amo experimented with many planimetric variations that showed influences from Miguel Fisac and certainly distant reminiscences from Alvar Aalto. From a three-dimensional point of view, the organization of the masses became increasingly plastic, with a frequent use of half-curved apse, asymmetrical naves with a single row of columns, and an asymmetrical rationalist campanile whose top seemed to have been sliced open. In the three last projects of *La Vereda*, *Miraelrío*, and *Puebla de Vúcar*, he used the square plan, with the altar placed in the center or on the diagonal. In so doing, he responded to the new liturgical concepts of Vatican II to bring the faithful closer to the core of the ceremony.

Like all the architects of the I.N.C., humility was a fundamental quality of a work that was difficult, politically pressured, and without very much rewards given the status of public servant in the administration. Even though every single *pueblo* was different from the other, there was, in the end, a level of anonymity that invaded the task, both in its architectural sense and in the urbanistic one as well. Interestingly and paradoxically, the architects who, by virtue of their position in history, have best explained their work for the Institute as a work “to listen to the users” were also those who designed with the most idiosyncrasies. Paradoxically, Fernández del Amo became the first of those architects to acquire an international status for having, to some extent, broken the rules of the Institute. Some of his experiments were very successful—Vegaviana, Cañada de Agra, San Isidro de Albaterra, and *El Realengo* in a certain measure—but it must be said that what appears quite extraordinary in its abstract newness, magnified on paper or across the poetic photographs of Kindel, does not necessarily materialize in the experience of the personal visit. Places like *La Vereda*, *Miraelrío*, or even, to some extent, *Villalba de Calatrava*, do not seem to fulfill the promises of social life that the type of public spaces, for instance the *plaza mayor* used by many other

architects, could have generated. As Fernando de Terán wrote, five decades after his own participation in the program:

Yes, I think that for many of the architects, that was an exciting aesthetic adventure. I remember the conjunction of artistic collaborations that, summoned by him, came together from the other arts in some of Fernández del Amo's works, making them truly significant within the process of the aesthetic renovation that was taking place in the country, and for that reason foreign to and distant from their local audience and eventual recipients.⁸¹

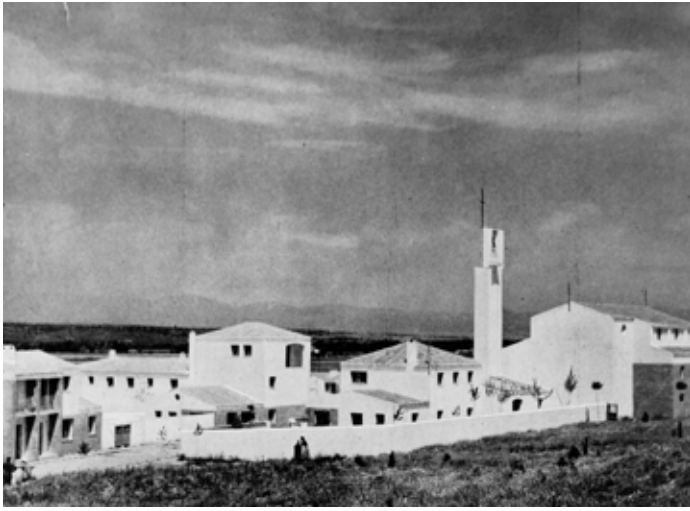
Yet, Fernández del Amo's works across the new landscapes of the colonization were and remain a critical inspiration for generations of architects:

This is my work. With the illusion of serving, I have made it, congenial with the idiosyncrasies of those who are going to live in it, attending to the determining factors of topography, climate, and customs; using the materials available at that time and highlighting their quality and texture, recognizing the collaboration of local trades, with the imprint of their hands on the walls, and with the wise sense of their handling in the tool. And these are the roots of an architecture, which is the work of all who have participated in its construction.⁸²

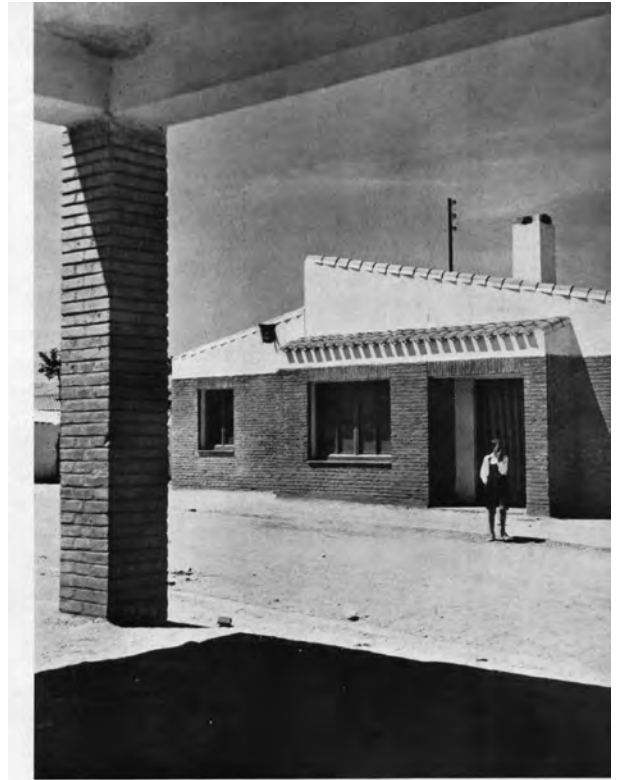
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⁸¹ Fernando de Terán, "Los pueblos que no tenían historia: Tradición y modernidad en la obra del Instituto Nacional de Colonización," in *El pasado activo – Del uso interesado de la historia para el entendimiento y la construcción de la ciudad*, Madrid: Akai, 2009, p. 155: "Si, creo que, para muchos de los arquitectos proyectistas, aquello fue una apasionante aventura estética. Recuerdo la conjunción de colaboraciones artísticas que, convocadas por él, confluían desde las otras artes en algunas de las obras de Fernández del Amo, haciéndolas verdaderamente significativas dentro del proceso de la renovación estética que se estaba dando en el país, y por ello mismo ajenas y distantes a sus destinatarios locales."

⁸² Fernández del Amo, "Del hacer," p. 78: "Esta es mi obra. Con la ilusión de servir, la he realizado, congeniando con la idiosincrasia de los que van a vivirla, atendiendo los condicionantes de topografía, clima y costumbres; utilizando los materiales accesibles en aquel tiempo y poniendo en valor su calidad y su textura, reconociendo la colaboración de los oficios locales, con la impronta de sus manos en los muros, y con el sabio sentir de su manejo en la herramienta. Y éste es el arraigo de una arquitectura, que es la obra de todos que han participado en su construcción."



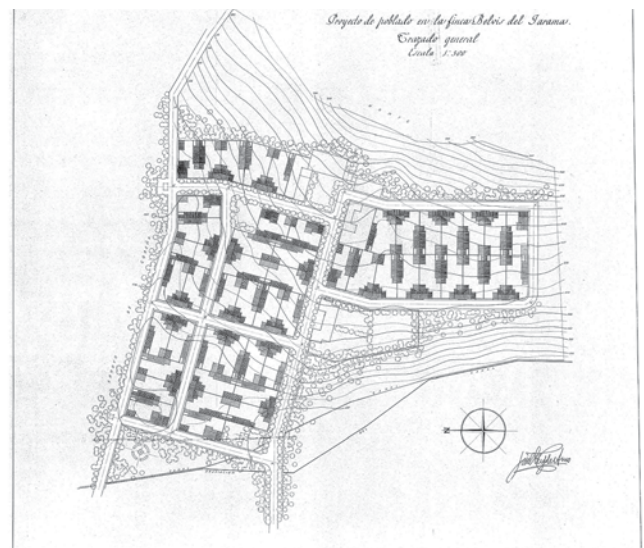
Top left and right: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Belvis de Jarama, 1951. View of the village and street view with house plan. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA. From *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 163, July 1955.

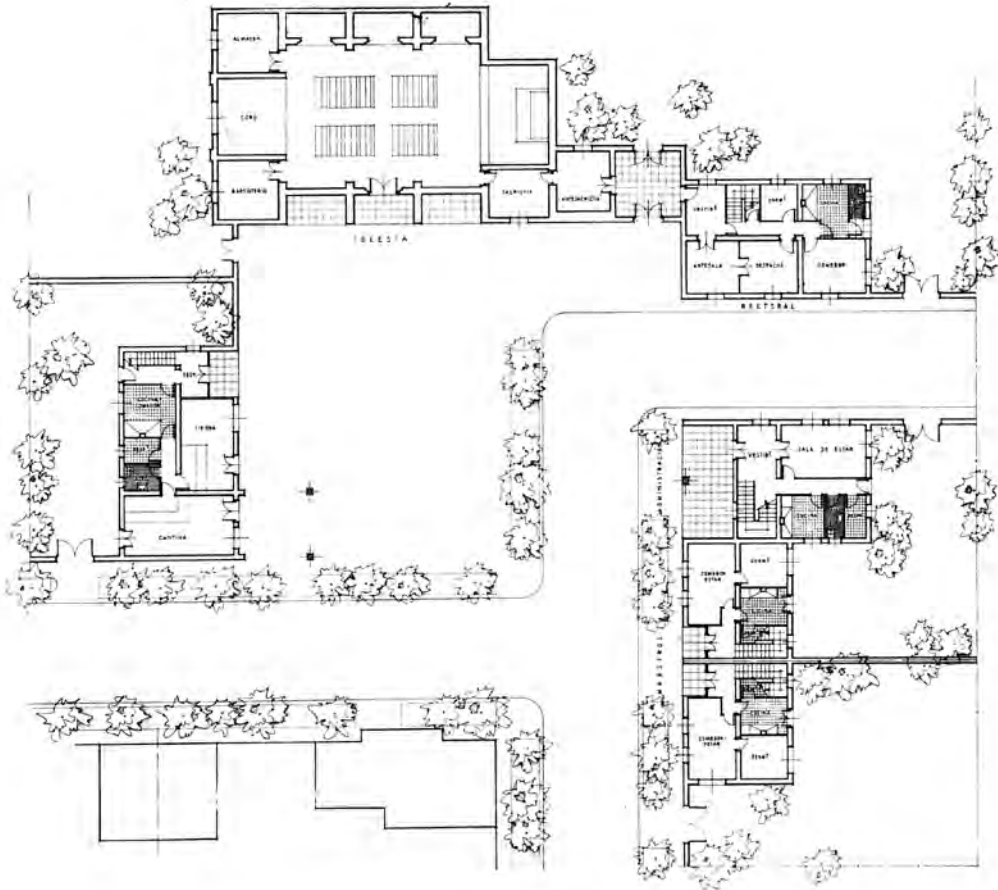


Plano y aspecto exterior de una vivienda de una planta.

Middle left and right. I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Belvis de Jarama, 1951. First and final version of the masterplan. © Fundación COAM, Servicio Histórico, Archivo Fernández del Amo.

Bottom: View of the church chapels and frescoes. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



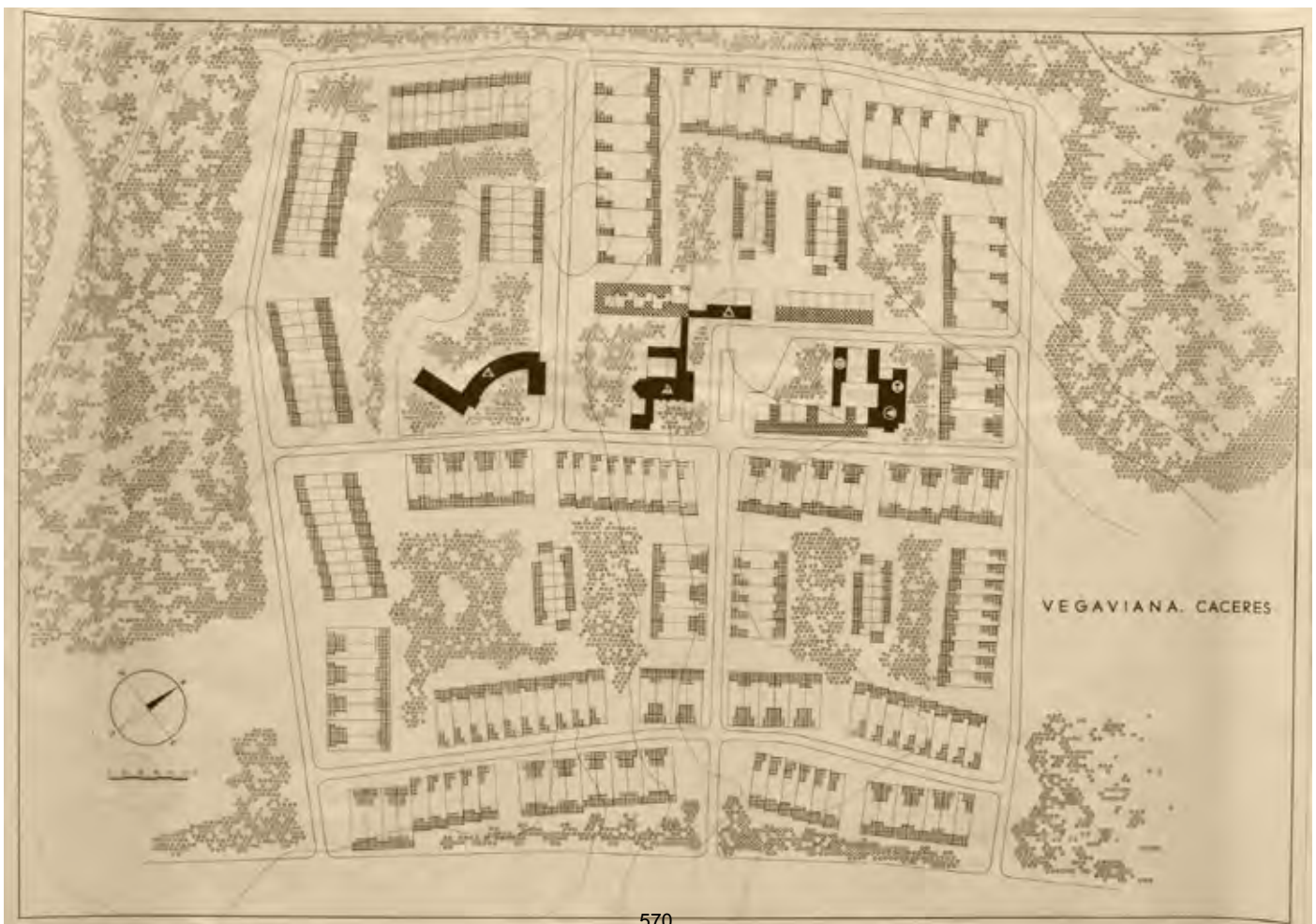
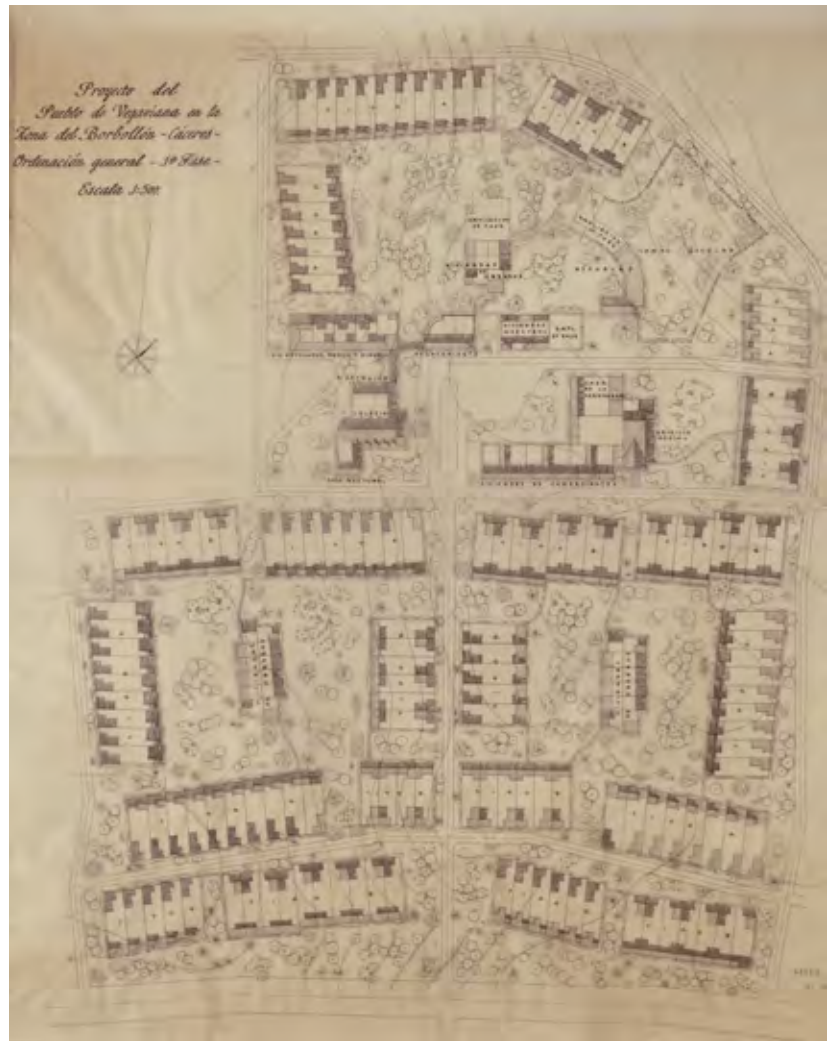


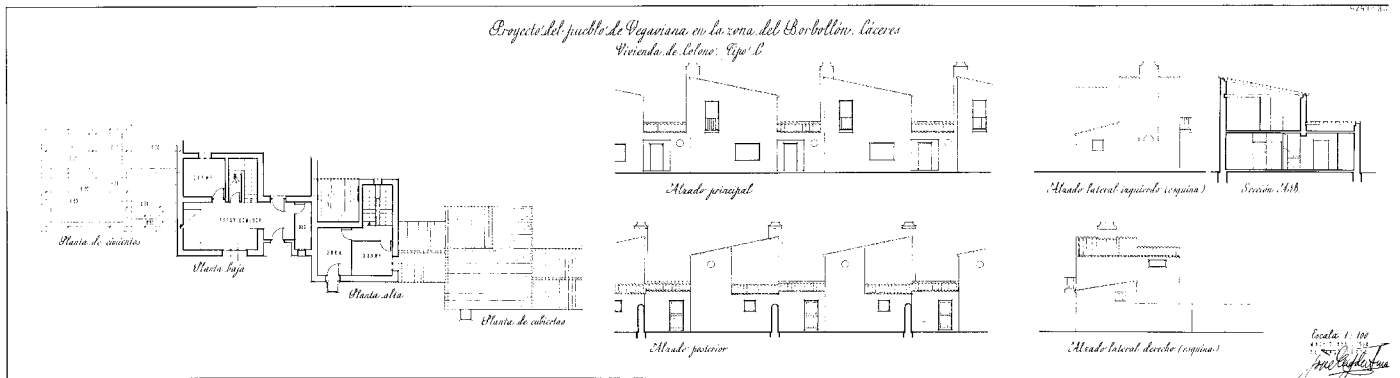
I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Belvis de Jarama, 1951. Street view with church; plan of the plaza. © Fundación COAM, Servicio Histórico, Archivo Fernández del Amo.



I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Torre de Salinas, 1951. Masterplan (unrealized). © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

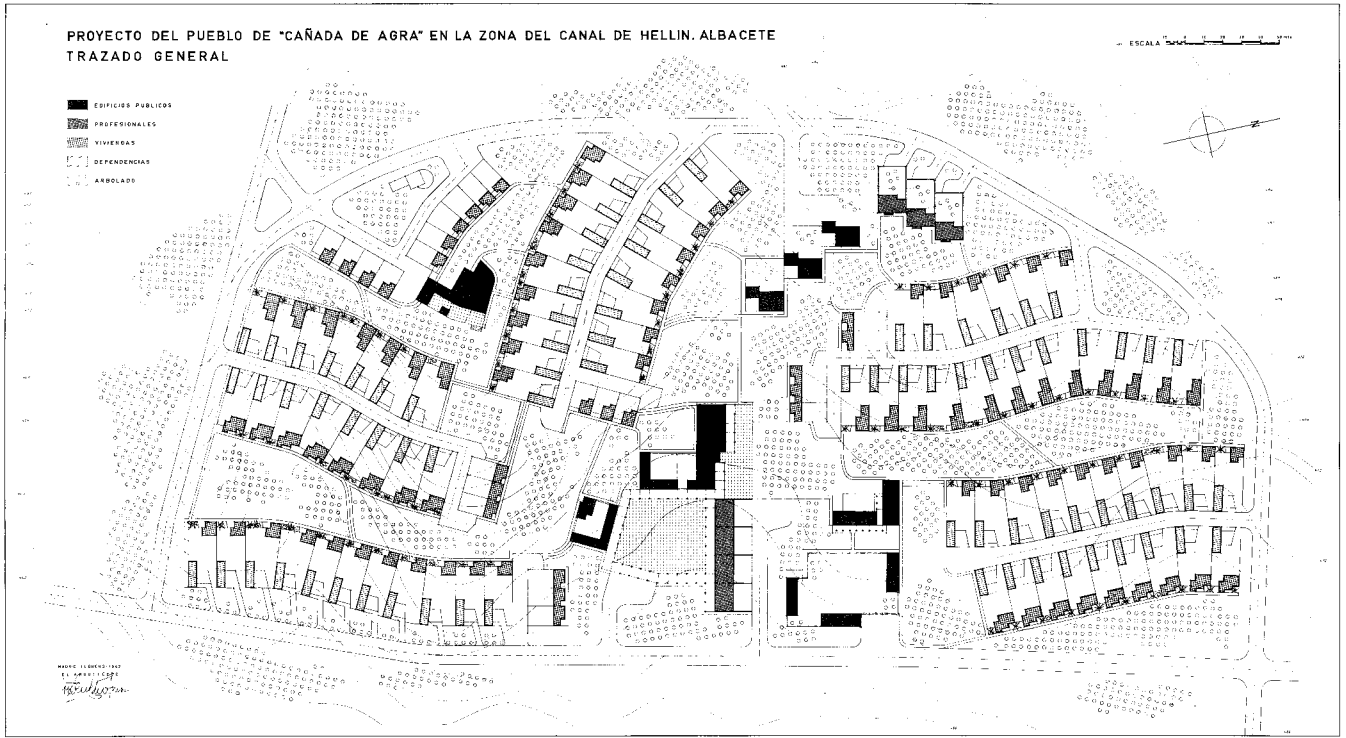
I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Vegaviana, 1954. Masterplan and extended version of masterplan. © Fundación COAM, Servicio Histórico, Archivo Fernández del Amo.



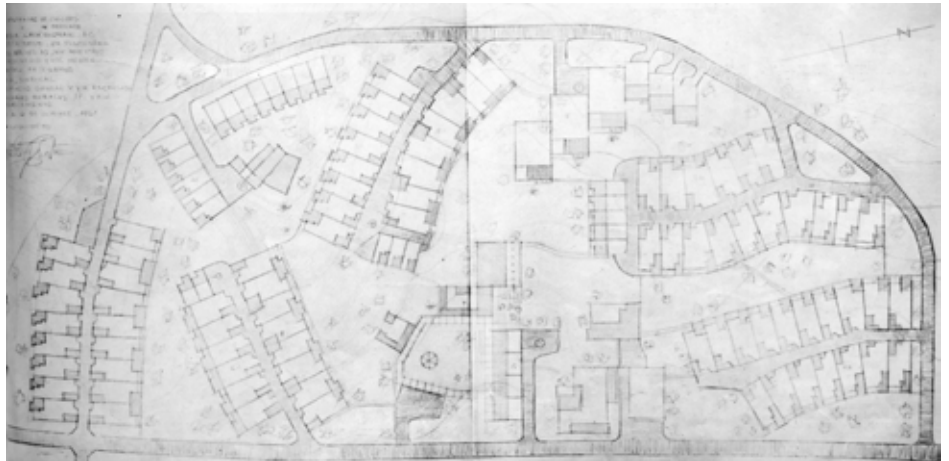


Top and middle: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Vegaviñana, 1954. Aerial view and housing types. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: Street view and interior of a block. Photos J.F. Lejeune 571

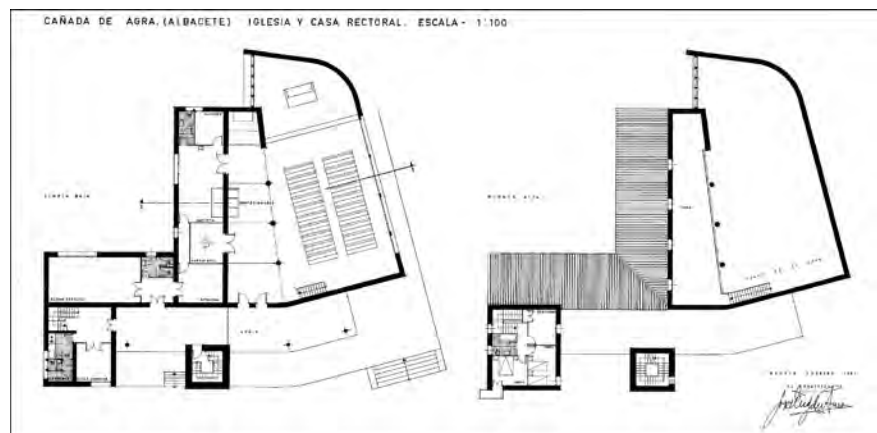


Top and bottom: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Cañada de Agra, 1962. Masterplan and aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



Right: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Cañada de Agra, 1962. Preliminary masterplan. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.





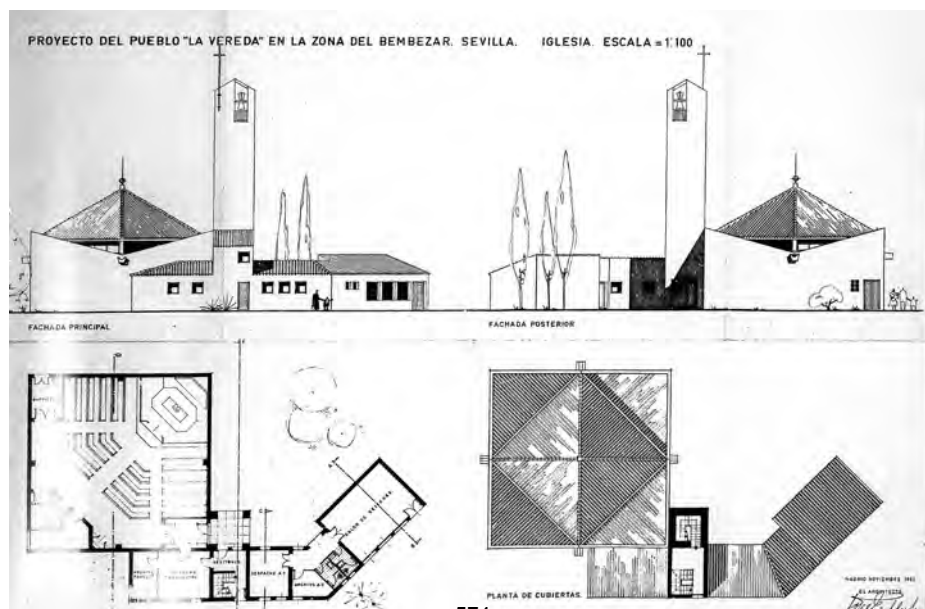
Top: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Cañada de Agra, 1962. Housing blocks before landscape. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.

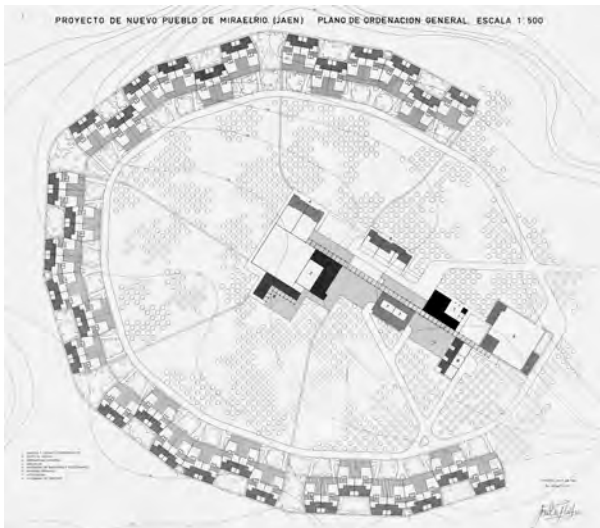
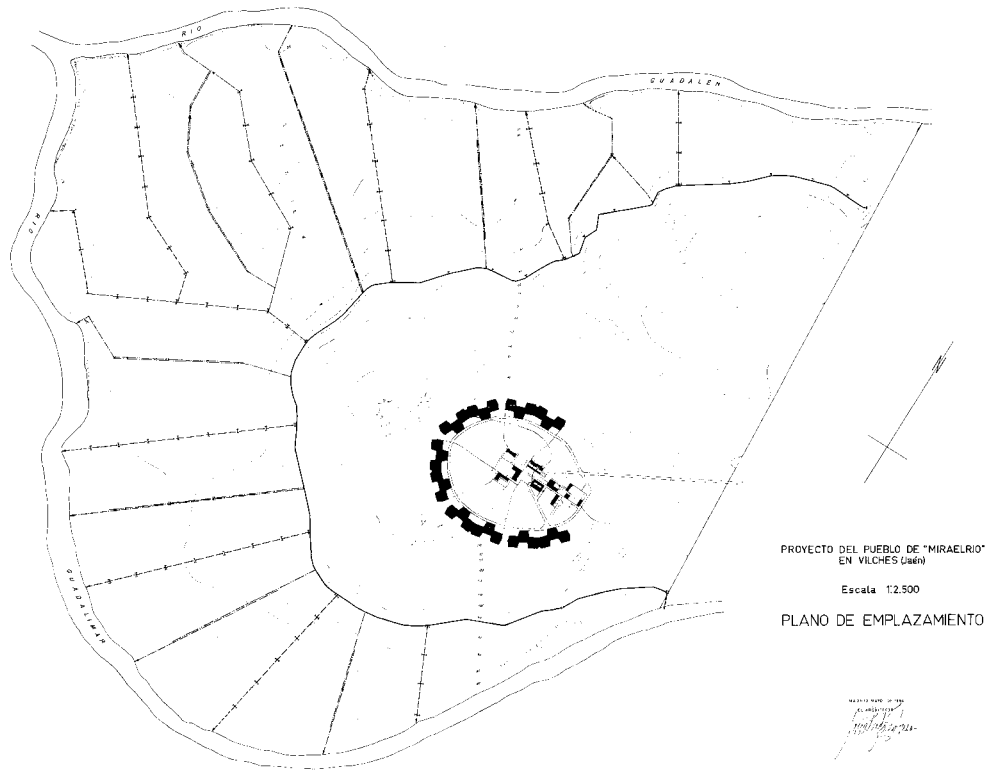
Middle and right: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Cañada de Agra, 1962. Plans of the church and view of the church complex on the hill. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.



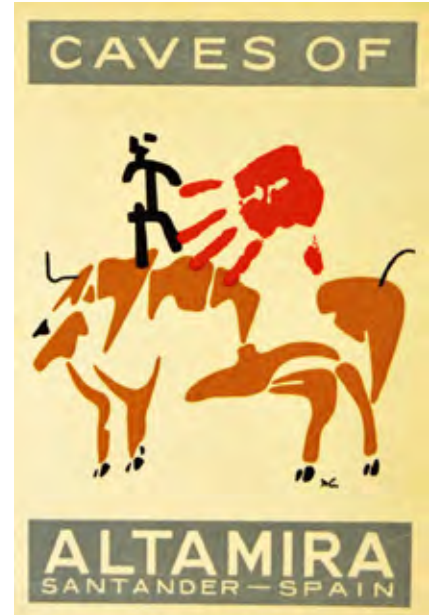


I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo.
 La Vereda, 1963. Aerial view, master-
 plan, and detail of the Civic center with
 church. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C.
 MAPAMA.





I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Miraelrío, 1964. General site plan with topography, masterplan, aerial view, view of the plaza in the Civic center. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.



Top left: Cover of the periodical *Bisonte – Antología de la escuela de Altamira*, 1 (Direction Ángel Ferrant). © Archivo Lafuente.

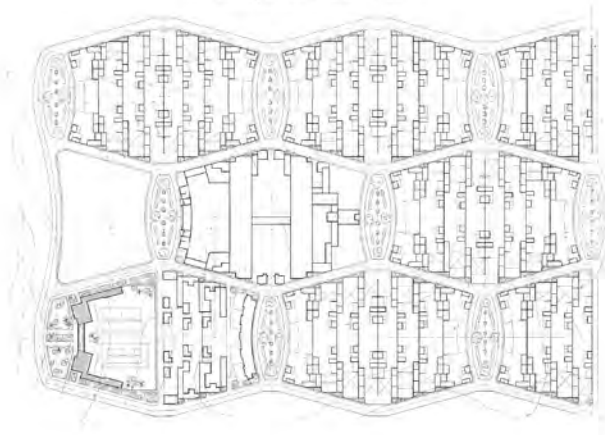
Top right: Matthias Goeritz. Drawing for a poster for the Caves of Altamira (1948-50). © <http://santillanaes.blogspot.com/p/la-escuela-de-altamira.html>

Bottom: Ángel Ferrant. *Tres muchachas*. 1950. © Private collection.



I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo.
Villalba de Calatrava. Aerial view,
facade of the church, and masterplan.
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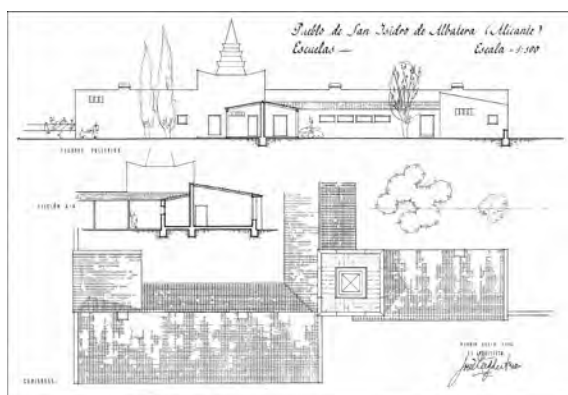
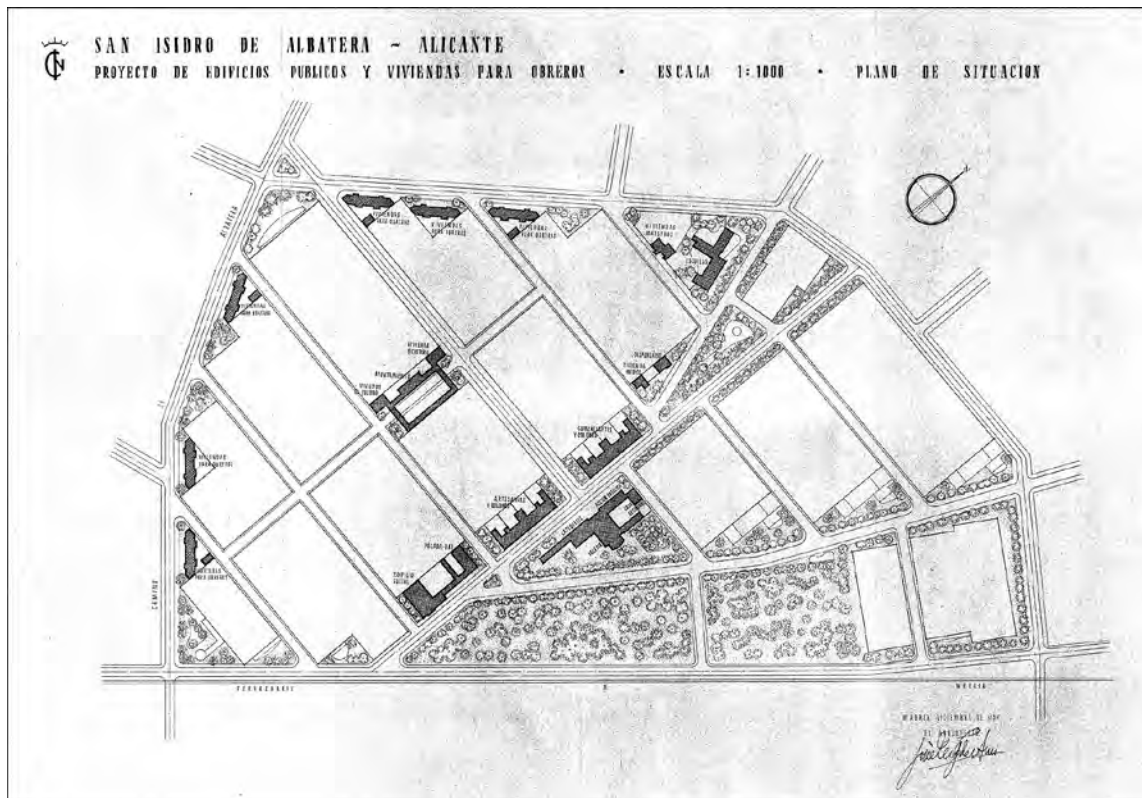
*Pueblo de Villalba de Calatrava en la zona circunscrita de estudio
Plano general - Escala 1:500*





Top: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. San Isidro de Albatera (foreground to the right) and El Realengo in the distance (top center). In between isolated farmhouses can be seen.
© Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.

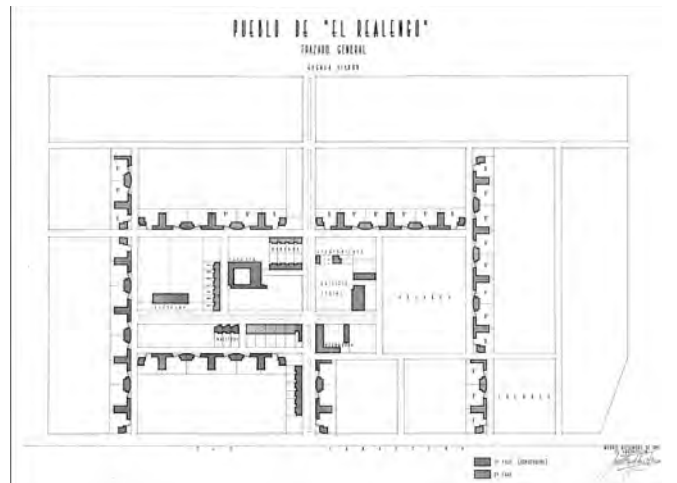
Bottom: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. San Isidro de Albatera, 1953. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.

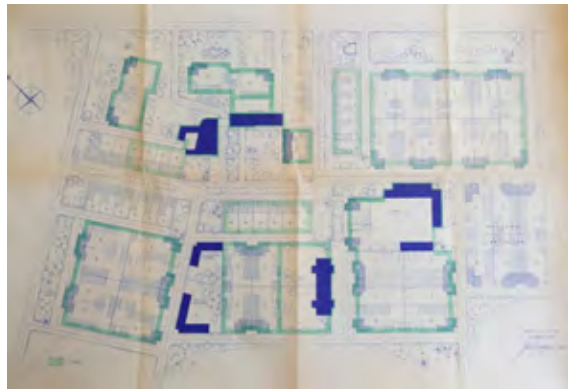


I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. San Isidro de Albatera, 1953. Aerial view, masterplan, school elevations, view of schools. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.



I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. El Realengo, 1955. View of central avenue with canal (now closed), masterplan, view of the Civic center, aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.



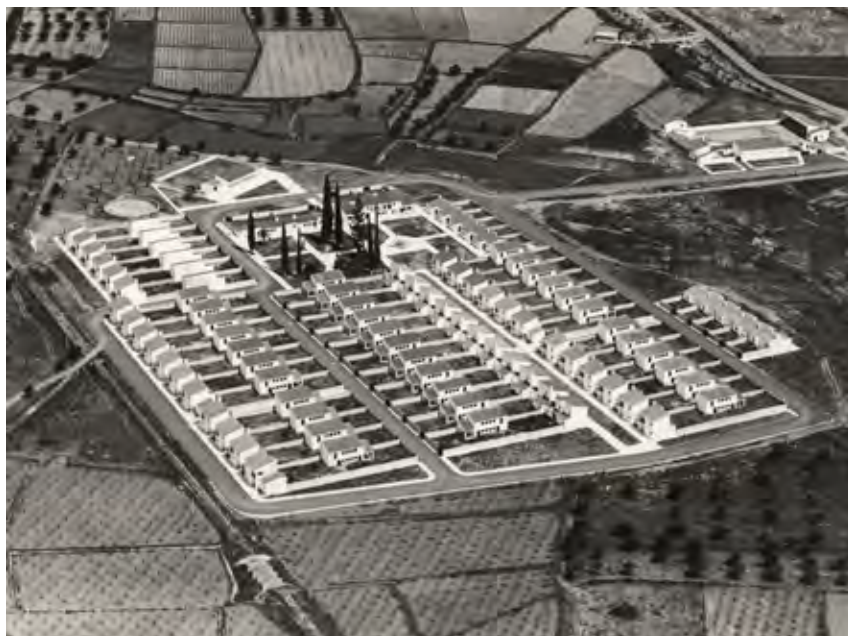


Top left: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Las Marinas, 1958. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.

Center: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Campohermoso, 1958. Aerial view. © Fundación COAM, Servicio Histórico.

Top right: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Pueblo de Vicar, 1968. Aerial view and landscape. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.

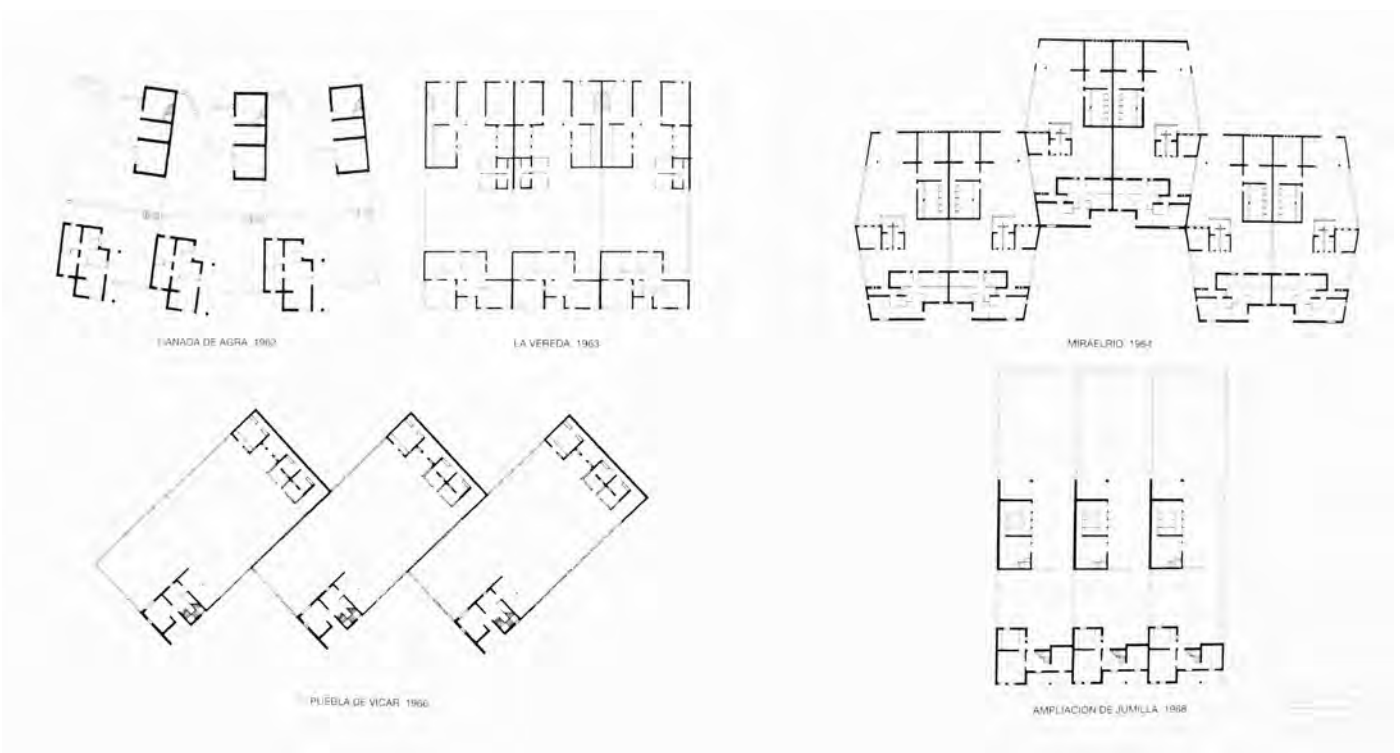
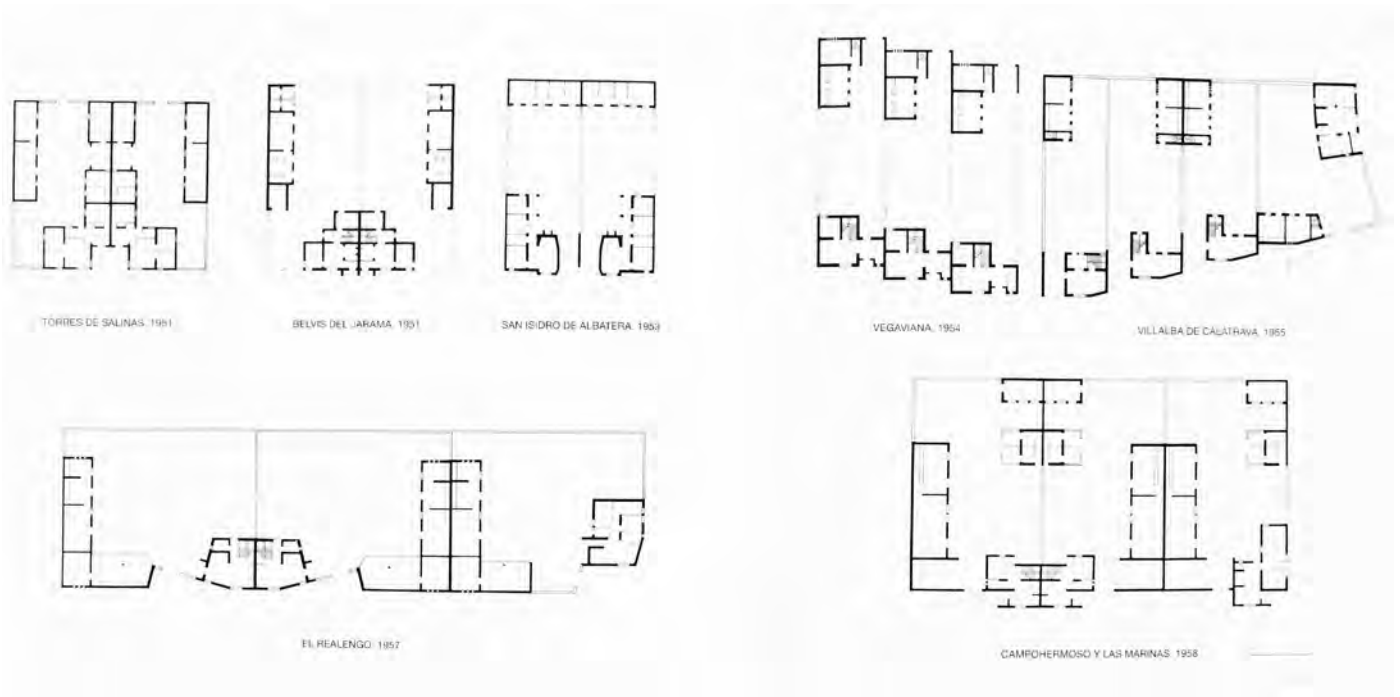
Bottom: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. Barriada de Jumilla, Murcia, 1969. Street elevation and erial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C. MAPAMA.





I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo.
Photos Kindel. Villalba de Calatrava (1-3),
El Realengo (4-7).

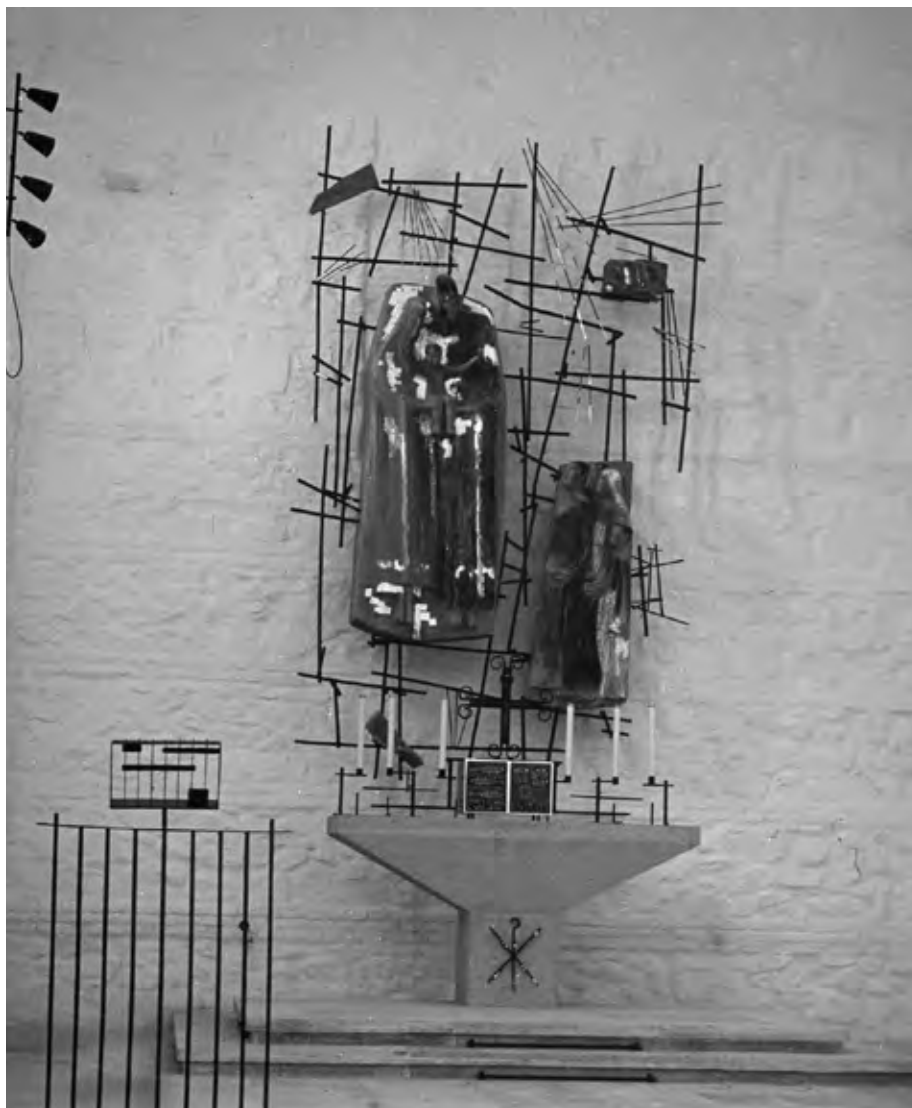
© Fundación COAM, Servicio Histórico.



I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo.
 Comparative presentation of main housing types.
 From Miguel Centellas Soler, *Los Pueblos de colonización de Fernández Del Amo: Arte, arquitectura y urbanismo*, Barcelona:
 Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2010, pp. 170-173.



I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo.
Photos Kindel. Vegaviana (1), El Realengo (2-4).



Top: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo.
Photos Kindel. Interior of the church at El Realengo.

Bottom: I.N.C. José Luis Fernández del Amo. View of
the retablo in the church of Villalba de Calatrava.



Young women in a street of Valdelacalzada,
Badajoz, 1950s.
© Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

8:

Morphology and the Evolution of Town Design

Those projects of modest composition were never intended to provide a comprehensive explanation of the world, but rather to offer solutions for a concept of life full of 'grey horizons'. The word order, a concept that dominates the narrative of rural life and traditional crafts, the recovery of a series of 'rights' almost obliterated by archaic, disproportionate political attitudes based on property and the usufructuary exploitation of land, respectable housing built anonymously; all these factors represented clean, organized lessons, formally anti-dogmatic projects free from the limitations of having to concur architecturally with the rites of compositional impact. They inspired architectural projects emphatically receptive towards the intuitive, essential organization inherent to the villages of old, with their internal and public realms objectively structured in accordance with the calm wisdom which interprets the poetry of architectural space used to create useful and beautiful places.¹

¹ Antonio Fernández Alba, "Dew drops in May. Memories of three I.N.C. villages: El Priorato, Sevilla. Santa Rosalía y Cerralba, Málaga," in *Pueblos de Colonización I: Guadalquivir y Cuenca Mediterránea Sur*. Córdoba: Fundación de Arquitectura Contemporánea, 2006, pp. 31-32.

8. 1. CRITERIA OF CLASSIFICATION

In order to develop the morphological analysis of the Francoist interior colonization across the whole of Spain, I have classified the towns under three hierarchically structured criteria. The first criterion represents the organization of the “heart of the town,” the *plaza* or as I have defined in Chapter Five, the “civic center.” It is hierarchically the most important as it can be best used to categorize the urbanistic invention and diversity of the *pueblos*.²

The second criterion characterizes the type of street system that was used for each town. Note that the categories relate to the foundation nucleus, independently from the potential extensions and additions.

The third one will identify whether the plan includes the separation of pedestrian from animals and mechanical equipment.

A multi-page chart summarizes the findings at the end of the case studies section. It is organized per year, in correspondence with the year first recorded in the *Memoria* or design report and the masterplan drawings. Each entry in the charts has the name of the original architect, the year in which the *Memoria* was registered, and the province to which each pueblo belongs. In addition to this basic information, each pueblo will be marked in response to three morphological criteria that were outlined.

Plaza or Civic Center:

Following the review of plans and aerial photographs, I have adopted the four following categories to describe appropriately the ways by which the heart of the town functions and what is its relation to the plan:

1. Monocentric or *Plaza Mayor* = M

The monocentric category includes the towns where the *plaza mayor* constitutes the geometric heart of the town and functions as the generator or matrix of the street system. Additionally, it implies that the *plaza* itself appears by the simple juxtaposition of the primary civic buildings (mostly the church and the town hall) and civil structures (shops, housing), thus constituting a void within the urban pattern. It is in fact the most traditional model of public space.

² Miguel Centellas Soler, *Los pueblos de colonización de Fernández del Amo: arte, arquitectura y urbanismo*, Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos Centellas Soler, 2010, pp. 128-135 where he makes a morphological analysis.

2. Open Plaza of Displaced Center = OP

The displaced *plaza* category includes the towns where the *plaza* is displaced from the center to the edge of the town, generally in relation with the landscape and/or a main road. Formally, it is a variation on the monocentric model, the main difference being that the *plazas* built on the edge form generally three-sided urban spaces, the fourth one being open on the road and the landscape. In most cases, the displaced center can still be seen as the generator of the street system.

3. Polycentric = P

The polycentric category includes the towns where the civic functions are not grouped around one single *plaza* or civic center, but rather are separate and located in relation to two or more public spaces, which may be connected by a street, a green park or *paseo*. The polycentric structure generally functions as the generator of the street system.

4. Civic Center = CC

The open *plaza* category includes the towns where the civic center is made up a grouping of public buildings interconnected together by landscape, courtyards, and patios. The civic center does not constitute a void within the urban pattern, but rather occupies or surrounds a park-like space left open in the urban pattern. The Civic Center can encompass one or more interconnected blocks within the town. One or more blocks might be included in the development of the civic center. The civic center may or may not function as the generator of the street system. It must be noted that the architects often referred to the central *plaza* as civic center (*centro cívico*). In our morphological classification, we will reserve the appellation of civic center to this specific morphology.

Street system:

Following the review of plans and aerial photographs, I have adopted the four following categories to describe the street system that characterizes each individual town. As I mentioned in Chapter Five, the design of the street or even the block as a project was a major concern of the Institute and its original mentors. The presence of the housing fabric was, undoubtedly, what distinguishes the modern Spanish village from its parallels abroad and more specifically in Italy and Palestine. With rare exceptions, the street systems of the I.N.C. towns encompassed orthogonal grids, distorted grids, curvilinear grids, and more often than not a combination of those geometries linked to the dimensions and the geometry of the site, the connections to the territorial roads and, in less frequent cases, to the topography.

1. Grid = G

This category implies that the predominant pattern of the street system is an orthogonal grid. The orthogonal grid may or may not be regular as the blocks can have different dimensions. The streets within the grid may or may not be continuous.

2. Assemblage of Grid = AG

This category implies that the street system consists of an assemblage of grids. Each grid may or may not be regular as the blocks can have different dimensions. The streets within the grid may or may not be continuous.

3. Curvilinear = C

This category implies that the predominant pattern of the street system is curvilinear.

4. Hybrid = H

This category implies that the street system consists of a complex assemblage of grid(s) and curvilinear sections, without the constitution of a clear system.

Separation of traffic

Y = signifies that the street system is organized according to a complete separation of traffic, with streets primarily used by pedestrians and regular vehicles versus streets and/or alleyways primarily used for agricultural vehicles and animals.

N = signifies that the traffic system is not really separated.

8.2. THE MONOCENTRIC AND POLYCENTRIC MODEL

8.2.1. José Borobio Ojeda: from Tradition to Gentle Modernity

José Borobio Ojeda, Suchs (Lérida), 1945
M / AG

José Borobio Ojeda, El Temple (Huesca), 1947
M / AG

José Borobio Ojeda, Ontinar de Salz (Zaragoza), 1944
P / G

Born in Zaragoza, José Borobio Ojeda (1907-1984) was the younger of two sons who worked together as architects from the late 1920s—he graduated from the School of Architecture of Madrid in 1931. Among the most important structures that he and his brother Regino (1895-1976) worked on, separately or collaboratively, the Rationalist headquarters of the Confederación Hidrográfica del Ebro (1933-1946) and the Colegio Mayor Pedro Cernuna (1944), a work strongly inspired by the modern classicism reigning in Italy before the war, continue to mark the urban landscape of Zaragoza.

The periodical *Agricultura* was the beginning of José Borobio's involvement in the rural world. Founded in Madrid in 1919, its editorial policy involved the productive and social modernization of the Spanish countryside, its techniques, education and information about technical progress. Borobio's submissions for *Agricultura* overlap with his stay in the Spanish capital as an architecture student and continuing after his graduation while residing in Zaragoza. He introduced a dynamic vision of illustration that reflected the modern trends of the industry in Spain and elsewhere. At the same time, the Madrid artistic milieu made it possible for Borobio and many of his contemporaries (some of which also saw their work published in *Agricultura* to partake in a thriving, avant-garde culture. His drawings reflect a forward-looking, thoroughly modern artist.³ Following the Civil War, he was, with Alejandro de la Sota and Victor d'Ors, one of the very first employees of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización and quickly became responsible for the regional office of Zaragoza. With fifteen villages to his credit, his figure looms large in the design history of the Institute where he

³ See Mónica Vázquez Astorga, "La obra gráfica en la revista *Agricultura* (1929-1935). La aportación de José Borobio," *Artigrama*, nº 16, 2001, pp. 441-442. Also see Regino y José Borobio, Madrid: Ediciones de Arquitectura Edarba, 1936; Mónica Vázquez Astorga, *José Borobio: Su aportación a la arquitectura moderna*, Zaragoza: Delegación del Gobierno en Aragón, 2007; José Laborda Yneva, *Confederación Hidrográfica del Ebro, Zaragoza, 1933-1946: Regino y José Borobio Ojeda*, Almería: Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 2001. Most of those studies avoid the I.N.C. period.

developed a moderately traditional architecture, mostly of brick and stone to respond to the environmental conditions of Aragón where he built most of his countryside work.⁴

In collaboration with Alejandro de la Sota who was working on the design of Gimenells a couple of miles away, José Borobio established the basic prototype of the mono-centric morphology, i.e., a type of village structured around two main streets converging toward a central *plaza* bordered by all major buildings including the church, town hall, and shops and apartments. Planned in 1945, Suchs was Borobio's second village after Ontinar del Salz. It was located in the province of Lérida at the foot of Lo Vilot hill where the ruins of the medieval castle (integrating what is believed to be a vigil tower along the old Roman road crossing the area) can be found at the top of the garden that now occupies the hill. The plan that Borobio laid out was almost identical to Gimenells. Both villages stand at the intersection of regional roads that penetrate the town and continue in the countryside. Suchs's *plaza* forms a distorted rectangle, which is anchored to the east by the church, its patio, and a row of shops with dwellings above. A beautiful garden, elevated a couple of steps, occupies most of the *plaza* in front of the church and the shops, at the very foot of the hill that Borobio reveals in the corner of the *plaza*. On the western side of the main street, he placed the town hall with its prominent tower and additional residences for employees and teachers. However, where de la Sota attempted to limit the effect of vehicular passage across Gimenells by deviating the axis of the road, Borobio let it run straight across the center. The 150 houses, distributed in fifteen different types, align along an informal and distorted grid of streets that integrate a system of alleyways giving access to the back of most patio houses. The view from the hill—an exceptional situation as most villages were located in a plain—shows a traditional and compact urban structure nestled together within the flat landscape and dominated by its church tower, almost as it had always been there. Like in Gimenells, the residential architecture was simple and quietly regionalist.

El Temple is located along the road between Huesca and Zaragoza in what was a desert region on the way to the Pyreneans, and whose hydraulic and territorial transformation started in 1944. The preliminary project was presented in June 1946 and construction started two years later, exceptionally under the technical direction of the D.G.R.D.⁵ The official inauguration took place in June 1953.⁶ Again, like in Suchs, the town of El Temple was articulated around and from the *plaza mayor* situated at its geometric center. However, the architect introduced a fundamental change that soon became the norm in the I.N.C. planning principles. In Gimenells and Suchs, the transit roads crossed the heart of the village; here, they tangent it and keep the traffic out of the center. To achieve this goal, Borobio laid out the

⁴ See José María Alagón Laste, "El medio rural al servicio del régimen de Franco: los pueblos de colonización de la zona de Almudévar (Huesca), in Víctor Mínguez (ed.), *Las artes y la arquitectura del Poder*, Castelló de la Plana: Publicaciones de la Universitat Jaume I, 2013, p. 2.

⁵ José María Alagón Laste, *El pueblo de El Temple (Huesca): colonización y arte*, Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 2014. El Temple had 604 residents in 2012.

⁶ The hydraulic improvements originated in the beginning of the 20th century were incomplete by the Civil War and were restarted by the I.N.C.

village with two street grids that intersect at the *plaza*, each one perpendicular to one of the transit roads that are angled at about 60°. At the same time, he formalized the concept of the *Calle Mayor*, and its role in creating a scenographic entrance to the central square from both roads: in El Temple, the town hall and the church tower respectively terminate the western and eastern segment of the *Calle Mayor* that bifurcates in front of the church. The *plaza*, now freed from most traffic, acquired a more intimate character, reinforced by the careful treatment of the floor surfaces and the landscape. Moreover, whereas in Giménells and Suchs, the church was part of the walls of the square, Borobio changed the configuration to make it project within the space, a solution that will be repeated very often in the design history of the I.N.C. From the *plaza*, the two grids make up the residential fabric where the architect assembled fourteen housing types in quite random manner. Small squares inserted between the grids provide ample zones of maneuver for the mechanical equipment.

In actuality, José Borobio Ojeda designed his first pueblo in July 1944, Ontinar de Salz, also in the province of Zaragoza. Planned for 108 colonist houses, Ontinar was the first village to be laid out according to a polycentric scheme, a pattern that remained an exception to the general practice until the mid-1950s. Shaped like an almond-like rectangle between two tangent roads, the village consists of a discontinuous grid, structured on both sides of a central axis connecting the two narrow edges. Entering from the west, the *Calle Mayor* crosses the religious square, transforms into a 100-meter long and 30-meter wide *paseo*, and traverses the civic and commercial square, before reaching the eastern entrance of the town. Here as well, Borobio employed 14 different types of houses to create the greatest diversity of street elevations.⁷

José Borobio Ojeda, Valmuel (Teruel), 1953

M / H

José Borobio Ojeda, Campillo de Franco or Puigmoreno (Teruel), 1953

M / H

José Borobio Ojeda, San Jorge (Huesca), 1954

P / AG

José Borobio Ojeda, Artasona del Llano (Huesca), 1954

M / C

José Borobio Ojeda, Valsalada (Huesca), 1954

M / C

José Borobio Ojeda, Pla de la Font (Lérida), 1956

M / C

⁷ José Borobio Ojeda, "Pueblo de Ontinar de Salz (Zaragoza) – Instituto Nacional de Colonización," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 125, May 1952, pp. 14-16. It must be noted that the aerial view at the head of the article was mistakenly captioned. It is not Ontinar de Salz, but the town of Guadiana del Caudillo in the area of Badajoz.

After a hiatus of five years, Borobio designed a series of new villages that were all related to the colonization of the Ebro basin. Most of them prolonged the monocentric template but introduced interesting formal differences. Compared with the contemporary innovations brought upon by Alejandro de la Sota, José Luis Fernández del Amo, and many others, his design practice remained conservative, but nevertheless revealed a noteworthy degree of urban and architectural evolution. In 1953, he planned the villages of Valmuel and Campillo de Franco (now Puigmoreno) in the province of Teruel as two variations on the same theme. Located less than four kilometers from each other along the same road, both pueblos have an irregular, somewhat trapezoidal shape made up of a combination of straight and curved streets. In both cases, the facade facing the road is convex and partially screened by the green belt.⁸ A short street leads to their *plaza mayor*, which differ in shape but are equally oriented and follow the same civic and religious program. In Puigmoreno, the *Plaza de España* forms a triangular square whose curved edges are anchored by the church and its detached circular tower, the houses of the teachers, and some mixed-use fabric. In Valmuel, three groups of buildings make up the *plaza's* elongated shape: the chapel and school complex, placed obliquely in relation to the square's axis; the village hall as a freestanding symmetrical structure; and a row of mixed-use houses on the longer side. With the introduction of the curved streets, Borobio's urban language became looser, less rigid, and more organic. At the same time, the relationship between the different buildings that constitute the square also became less geometrically driven, more intuitive and spontaneous. Both towns were beautifully landscaped and their street system accommodated both pedestrians and vehicles, making the patios accessible from the streets only. The number of house types was reduced by half and their alignment along the streets more orderly than in the first villages of Suchs and El Temple.

San Jorge, Artasona del Llano, Valsalada form a trio of villages designed the same year (dated May 1954) on the territory of Almodévar (Huesca). Their program was similar in size and functions, and included, in addition to the 80 houses for colonists and agricultural workers, residences for artisans and storekeepers, a medical office, the church, the school, and the teacher's house.⁹ The villages reveal the architect's dexterity in introducing the variations on the monocentric model. With its trapezoidal shape and its curved facade screened from the road by a small park, the plan of Artasona del Llano is similar to Valmuel's, but its intimate *plaza* is more elegant and spatially better defined. The perspective of the *Calle Mayor* does not conclude on the church. It ends on the facade of the small municipal building and, more specifically, the group of three elegant arcaded windows that appear on its third floor.

⁸ Puigmoreno was designed for 68 households, Valmuel for 64. Both villages have grown and counted together 530 residents.

⁹ See José María Alagón Laste, "El pueblo de San Jorge (Huesca): un núcleo de colonización del Alto Aragón," *TVRIASO*, no. XXI, 2013, pp. 269-298.

Ostensibly, San Jorge followed the traditional model of Gimeneles and Suchs with linear streets and blocks organized in two directions and articulated at the *plaza mayor*. However, Borobio displaced the church from the small central *plaza* and relocated it to the eastern edge of the pueblo, with the school on its side and fronted by a linear *plaza*. This unusual arrangement for such a small village can be related to the urbanist's ambition to create a more public facade that could be seen from the train station built 250 meters further to the southeast. In Valsalada, he followed the same design strategy even though, for the first time, he laid out a fully curvilinear grid: the two main and undulating axes, *Calle Mayor* and *Calle de Goya*, intersect at the *plaza mayor* but he moved the church to the rear section of the square. Its tall and traditional tower now belongs to the northern facade of the town, detaching itself over the dense woods that line the village on its long sides.

Pla de la Font was Borobio's last village to be designed on the monocentric morphology. In close proximity to Gimeneles and Suchs, with which it forms a triangular composition in the landscape, it was by no means similar, but rather showed the evolution of his concept of *plaza* and urban rural space over ten years of practice. Three streets—one straight and two curved ones—encircle a triangular park, and give its characteristic shape to the village. He decided to place the main public buildings in the corner located at the highest point of the bowl-like topography of the site. He originally planned to build the village hall and a small row of shops and houses within the corresponding edge of the park to enclose the *plaza*, but these remained unbuilt and he moved the administration building across from the church. As a result, the traditional *plaza mayor* has disappeared. In Pla de la Font, the public buildings merely create an elegant background to the central green space.

As Mónica Vázquez has shown, Borobio's interest in the vernacular flourished in the 1930s while he was a student at the School of Architecture in Madrid.¹⁰ By then, the School had already adapted its curriculum and its methods of teaching to the new ideas, and in particular the importance of popular architecture. He participated in the artistic field trips that had been initiated by Torres Balbás where the focus was on graphic analysis through drawings and sketches. Many of his drawings (more than 300 catalogued in the archives of the family) studied the architecture of Alto Aragón in the region of Huesca (Biescas, Villanúa, Aragüés del Puerto for instance). For Borobio, like for Mercadal, Sert, and many others, the houses of the farmers and fishermen were rarely seen in their isolation. They belonged to the public realm of the street and the square. As discussed earlier, the Spanish approach to the vernacular was fundamentally global, i.e., it was comprehensively architectural and urban. At the level of the details, his sketches stress the materiality of the architecture of Aragón and he used a subtle technique to emphasize the specific character of the area: the walls are mainly made out of stones and bricks assembled in diverse ways and layers, which he chose to represent with insert of simple parallel lines for the bricks and glimpses of stone cuttings. The

¹⁰ See Mónica Vázquez Astorga, "Arquitectura popular del Alto Aragón: el legado gráfico de José Borobio Ojeda (1907-1984)," in *Revista de Ciencias Sociales del Instituto de Estudios Altoaragonesas*, nº 115, 2005, pp. 309-310.

scale of those towns and villages was overall larger and more vertical, but their general influence was clearly visible.

As architect and director of the I.N.C. regional office in Zaragoza, Borobio was instrumental in establishing the identity of its regional architecture. Whereas the white stucco walls dominate the work of the I.N.C. along the coasts and in Extremadura, Andalucía, and Castilla, the northern pueblos were made of bricks and stone. As such, they appear more traditional and conservative, but in actuality, Borobio demonstrated the evolution of the language toward abstraction in a similar way than the architects working in the southern half of the country and along the Mediterranean. The stonework displayed in the village of Artasona and San Jorge, just to mention two beautiful and well-conserved villages, show his talent at its best.

Borobio Ojeda and the Integration of the Arts

The Zaragoza painter José Baqué Ximénez (1912-1998), considered as one of the most important regional painters of the period, was the primary artist to be involved in the integration of the arts in the new rural churches of Aragón. His contacts with architecture (he worked as a contractor after the War), and in particular, with José Borobio, helped him achieve a smooth integration between mural painting and architecture in Aragón. The most innovative murals in the treatment of the subject, the colors, and the overall composition were installed in two pueblos designed by Borobio, in Ontinar del Salz and San Jorge.¹¹ The mural in Ontinar dedicated to the eleventh century Virgen del Salz took place within the single nave of the church's Romanesque choir behind the altar. It is a large work, high in colors, at once naïve and futurist, with strong reminiscence to an Italian painter such as Fortunato Depero. The use of primary colors, the cloud floating above the trees, the prismatic blue curtains held by the abstracted angels, the yellow flowers of the red dress, all of these elements make one of the most potent and poetic murals of the program. Both the church and the mural were officially presented through a series of photographs and sketches at the International Exposition of Sacred Art in Rome in 1950.

The town of San Jorge marked the summit of Baqué's mural art. Like in Ontinar and El Temple, Borobio's church was a simple single nave structure with a chapel attached. Baqué presented the patron of Aragón, San Jorge in fight against the dragon. In the large composition behind the altar and the other one located in the chapel, Baqué Ximénez displayed the same combination of abstraction, primitivism, and vernacular motifs that adorned the work in Ontinar de Salz. Again, references to the forms of modernity during the interwar period—a combination of noucentisme and early works of Dalí—can be found particularly in the abstract and colorful representation of the landscape and the dancing houses of the vernacular village.

¹¹ Other murals of interest can be found in El Temple, Puiato (now moved to Ontinar), Artasona, Valsalada (now invisible as it was covered with paint).

José Borobio Ojeda, Villafranco (now Poblenou) del Delta (Tarragona), 1952

M / AG

Contemporary but located within the delta of the Ebro River, 1,500 meters away from the Mediterranean Sea, Villafranco del Delta (now Poblenou del Delta) demonstrated José Borobio's exceptional ability of adaptation to the context, the climate, and the overall evolution of Spanish architecture in the mid-1950s. Interestingly the village was published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* in April 1958, at a moment where the periodical directed by Carlos de Miguel was adopting a resolutely more modern stance.¹²

The pentagonal urban layout—in part determined by the route of the San Carlos canal—is fully representative of the monocentric model. The plan consists of two distorted street grids, both beautifully landscaped, which meet and intersect at the *plaza mayor*. Like in El Temple, the church structure juts out in the urban space and, here, terminates three of the four streets entering the square. Contemporary to the first realizations of Fernández del Amo in the Murcia region, the tall and slender church tower expresses the modernity of the town. Likewise, the other public buildings are volumetrically simple and abstract. The schools, unusually facing the *plaza mayor* and located in the middle of a green, as well as the town hall and its semi-circular bar-restaurant, remind directly to Borobio's rationalist architecture of the pre-Civil War era in Zaragoza. In obvious response to the Mediterranean context, the 127 colonist houses, on parcels measuring 12,5-meter wide by 25-meter, display a modern vernacular architecture, made of flat roofs, white tapias and unornamented facades. He used a limited number of house types, including long groups of attached houses and cubical volumes at street intersections, with high effect. He highlighted further the abstraction of the project with the publication in the R.N.A. of a series of six joyful *azulejos* (ceramic tiles) representing various structures and daily activities of the village.

José Borobio Ojeda, Valfonda de Santa Ana (Huesca), 1957

CC / C

José Borobio Ojeda, Alera (Zaragoza), 1960

CC / C

José Borobio Ojeda, Fayón (Zaragoza), 1964

P / C

In the late 1950s, José Borobio Ojeda initiated a new period in his unique career at the head of the regional office of the I.N.C. in Aragón. The relation between town and landscape became increasingly important and his designs became organic and curvilinear, abandoning almost all the gridded patterns that he used and assembled in Ontinar, Suchs, Villafranco,

¹² See José Borobio Ojeda, "Pueblo de Villafranco del Delta," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, nº 196, April 1958, pp. 23-26.

and others. At the same time, he discarded the morphology of the *plaza* as matrix and developed more fluid models of the civic center while maintaining a strong urban form and presence.

Two roads converge at the entrance of Valfonda de Santa Ana (1957) and form a large triangle where Borobio laid out a triangular park. At the intersection with the single curvilinear street that makes up the spine of the village, he placed the civic center. The latter materializes as a series of buildings, all attached together around a public garden. Anchored to the north with the town hall, it develops as a S-shaped figure—with the theater in the convex section and the shops and master residences in the concave one—to conclude with his first modern church and campanile. Alera (1960) was built on an elongated site at the top of a plateau. The architect adapted the overall configuration to those geographic conditions and organized the town on both sides of a sinuous main street, which split in a Y-shape after the civic center. The latter was designed as one single articulated building in an open U-shape, starting with the church on one side, the administrative building completing the structure at the other end. The side streets were perpendicular to the *Calle Mayor* and opened on the landscape.

As Marc Darder Solé has brilliantly demonstrated, Fayón was Borobio's last village and a small masterpiece of adaptation to geography, function, and historical memory.¹³ Indeed, Fayón was planned from 1964 to replace the old village of the same name, which was condemned to be completely submerged under water as the result of major hydraulic works along the river. Following designs for two alternate sites, Borobio settled on an oblong site between the river and its affluent and whose southern end symbolically opens to the tight valley that connects to the former village. Accordingly, he laid out the final project as an almond-shaped and compact village, structured on both sides of a 250-meter long central space—in section designed as a combination of *Calle Mayor* and paseo, 35-meter wide at the center and 18-meter on its ends.¹⁴

The slightly curved central spine was anchored on the northern side with the *plaza mayor* (40 x 40-meter), designed on the spatial model of Alera but functionally different. Here, the U-shaped porticoed ensemble contains the shops with the accessory housing units above, the square-shaped town hall, the syndicate building, the cinema, and other services. At the southern end of the paseo, Borobio located the large and barn-like brick church with the schools on its side. As usual, the campanile terminates the vista beautifully but he set up a powerful and monolithic triangular concrete structure that contrasts with the overall horizontality of the town's central spine.

¹³ Marc Darder Solé, "Fayón: el manifiesto adaptado – la reinterpretación del espacio rural urbano según José Borobio Ojeda," in *Identidades*, nº 5, 2015, pp. 137-161.

¹⁴ It is interesting to note that the old village was also organized on a sinuous spine that lead from the countryside to the river where it opened up in a *plaza*.

In opposition to the primary concept of the 1940s-1950s villages, where carefully selected views allowed the passerby to glimpse the inside of the town, Borobio deployed a fully centripetal model. Only two vehicular accesses penetrate the town, one next to the *plaza mayor*, the other one facing the church campanile. In-between, he laid out all residential blocks as cul-de-sacs—perhaps the only project of all I.N.C. for which the Unwin model was more systematically applied—that can be entered from the perimeter road but have no connection to the central spine. From the inside of the village, a series of wedge-shaped pedestrian alleys gives access to the housing compounds but they as well do not open directly onto the perimeter, thus creating a ‘turbine’ effect that reinforced both privacy and views.

8.2.2. Valdelacalzada as the Founding Symbol of the Plan Badajoz

Manuel Gonzalo Rosado & José Borobio Ojeda, *Valdelacalzada (Badajoz), 1948-1950*

M / AG

The genesis of Valdelacalzada, the first town of the future Plan Badajoz in the zone known as Canal de Montijo, reflected the complexity of the first phase of the colonization. A first project, titled Pueblo X, was drafted by Manuel Gonzalo Rosado in August 1946, but its trapezoid plan was rejected by the central administration for the excessive use of parallel streets and their rigid termination in the countryside, a design that was deemed inappropriate for the region. The new masterplan, also by Gonzalo and approved the following year, did not substantially modify the urban pattern but created a more irregular configuration along the edges with an approximately square figure of 600 x 600-meter overall. The first one hundred houses started construction in 1949-1950 under the direction of the D.G.R.D., the *plaza mayor* in 1950-1951, and the second phase of two hundred and thirteen housing units from 1952-1955. Franco inaugurated the town at its third visit in 1956 (it had 2,782 inhabitants in 2016).

As planned, Valdelacalzada was the largest town of the Vegas Bajas region, the pilot settlement, and the paradigmatic urban and architectural example of the monocentric approach. El Temple, Suchs, Gimennells were mostly large villages; Valdelacalzada had the size and the architectural ambitions of a full town: main streets, pedestrian streets, small squares, terminated vistas, “literacy schools, church to indoctrinate, shops to supply, medical office to heal, and a huge square, in the heart itself, to live together.”¹⁵ Following his experience in Aragón, Borobio Ojeda signed the plans for the final design of the central square on the basis of Gonzalo’s general design. The *plaza* (which he called *centro cívico*), genuine “neuralgic” center as generator both of urban form and civic life, stands at the point of inflection of the town’s north-south axis where the two segments, each 300-meter long, intersect at a 25° angle. Borobio once again demonstrated his ability to design an exceedingly well-balanced public space, whose size, proportions, and the carefully studied architecture of the church and other structures make it the human heart of the town.¹⁶ The square is in fact made up of three different sections: the densely planted garden square which is faced by the church, the town hall, and a series of arcaded shops with upstairs apartments for teachers, artisans, etc.; a paved and wide sidewalk facing shops and apartments on its eastern side, and a small square area at the entrance of the second section of the *Calle Mayor*.

¹⁵ On the history of Valdelacalzada, see Ángel Jacinto Traver Vera, *Historia cotidiana de Valdelacalzada* (Badajoz: Ayuntamiento de Valdelacalzada, 1998, p. 76.

¹⁶ See José Borobio Ojeda, “Memoria, Pueblo de Valdelacalzada – Proyecto de Centro Cívico,” typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo, San Fernando de Henares, March 1950.

The *plaza*'s final geometry is a slightly trapezoidal figure whose four sides generate four gridded "fields" on both sides of the two main streets, N-S and E-W.¹⁷ Those two axes, here made discontinuous by the introduction of inflection points, make a distant reference to the *cardo-decumanus* of Roman towns in the region. In fact, the E-W axis was traced parallel to the so-called *calzada romana* (Roman road), which stands one hundred meters south of the town and is utilized by a major access road. Each of the four residential sections function more or less as a super-block: none of the four street grids is fully continuous, which creates a quasi-labyrinthine street system made to increase the intimacy of the street ends and, more importantly, to isolate the agricultural vehicular system from the pedestrian one. The questions raised by Alejandro Herrero regarding the separation of traffic find here a first response, less advanced than in Torre de la Reina or Esquivel, but certainly efficient and spatially rich. Each section contains a small square, generally triangular at the point of intersection of adjacent gridded patterns. The largest one, immediately to the north of *Plaza de España* and connected by an alley, housed the market activities (now contained within a market structure). In Valdelacalzada as in most early pueblos, the town edges provided spaces for parks, schools, or sport fields, while the peripheral blocks created a genuine urban facade fronting the fields or the access road. Here, the large green belt surrounds the town on three sides, while separating it from the countryside and the small network of isolated farms.

Overall, the architecture of the houses was moderately regionalist. The eleven types defined by Manuel Gonzalo were combined without any apparent order or system, but the result is a pleasant, diverse and constantly changing urban experience. Single-story and two-story houses alternate with garden *tapia* walls, insuring the continuity of the streets and a variety of street terminations. Yet, it is the *plaza mayor* that makes Valdelacalzada particularly remarkable. Here Borobio achieved the best urban ensemble of his career at the I.N.C. The combination of its simple urban design principles, the beautiful use of landscape, and the simple architecture of the arcaded sides—very similar to Giorgio de Chirico's painted ones in their absence of decoration, their rhythm and proportions—allows the residents to use the square in a variety of ways and provide various points of contemplation, rest, and action. The church was of course critical to anchor the southwest corner. It is traditional with its symmetrical facade and the single attached tower, but the presence of three circular openings on both the main and side facades gives it a unique and recognizable image.

¹⁷ I am using the word "field" in the sense discussed in Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1978—a formally defined section of a city plan.

8.2.3. Torre de la Reina: The Director's Town

José Tamés Alarcón, Torre de la Reina (Seville), 1952

M / AG

1952 was a seminal year for the I.N.C. as it marked the design and foundation of two new villages in Andalucía, according to two formally opposite but functionally similar strategies: Esquivel (Alejandro de la Sota) and Torre de la Reina, one of the two towns realized by the Institute's director José Tamés Alarcón. Built a couple of kilometers away from de la Sota's creation, Torre de la Reina definitely positioned itself as the advanced model of the monocentric design with separation of traffic and pedestrian streets. It is an achievement of high urban and architectural quality, with one of the best designed and most active squares, and a built demonstration of the flexibility and design diversity that the I.N.C. was able to project in the 1950s.

Located on an expropriated *finca* in the irrigated basin of the Viar River at less than 15 kilometers from Seville, Torre de la Reina borders a country road, with a tree-planted paseo facing the centuries-old Cortijo de la Reina that stands on the other side of the road. Designed in its first phase to accommodate 100 colonist families—with the terminal phase estimated at 250—the town plan consists of five *manzanas* or blocks articulated around the central square and its various components. Three of the blocks are aligned on a 90°-grid perpendicular to the road and the paseo, whereas Tamés introduced a surprising diagonal deviation for the two blocks on the southern side. At first, this diagonal move appears as a gratuitous gesture, but, in actuality, it corresponds to the orientation of a preexisting barn, which the architect recycled as social center. Accordingly, the adjacent parcels were oriented to respond to that structure. Another confirmation is that this deviation had no influence on the central square, which is fully orthogonal: indeed, he designed a small building to complete the square and mask the oblique orientation.

Torre de la Reina's central *plaza* is located inside the town, one block away from the road. A short street, entered by a small symmetrical square, leads directly to the traditional one-nave rectangular church whose facade terminates the vista. The L-shaped *plaza* is bordered by two-story mixed-use structures (retail with housing above) supported by continuous arcades. A patio flanks the northern side of the church, while the school complex, made up of three modern pavilions, is directly adjacent to its back. With its gridded facade divided into nine sections, seven of which contain tiled panels with abstracted religious scenes, the church stands out as an early and interesting example of the modern synthesis of the arts.

In the important *Memoria* to which he unusually attached a couple of photographs, the architect made direct reference to the city of Écija, an Andalusian town, distant thirty

kilometers and “whose influence on the area is enormous.”¹⁸ Its irregular plan, a consequence of its flourishing during the Arab period, presents “two elements of an elevated esthetic and material value, which are, its narrow pedestrian streets and the small squares that can be encountered at the end of some streets.”¹⁹ Applying for the first time the principles of separation of traffic discussed by Alejandro Herrero in 1947, each *manzana* contains a vehicular alley (5,7 meter wide) that can only be reached from the peripheral road that follows the edge of the town. As a result, Tamés designed, at the same time than de la Sota in Esquivel, the first narrow pedestrian streets of the I.N.C. program with a 4,5-meter width similar to traditional streets in Andalusian towns. As in Écija, some of the streets end in a domestically scaled *plazoleta*.

At the typological level, Tamés stressed the importance of the patio house and drew the plans of a house in Écija, with its narrow patio, its wooden gallery and its small corral at the end of the parcel. The plan provided 15 building types on parcels ranging from 11 to 14-meter and 33 to 37-meter in depth, with a large walled corral and dependencies to create an economical and expendable type of patio house. He strongly highlighted the richness of popular architecture, and the simple facades often distinguished by a large entrance door with a window protected by a *reja* (metal grill) above, a “composition that repeats in almost all examples of pueblos as well as colonist houses in the colonies of Carlos III, in La Carlota and Luisiana for instance.”²⁰ Arguing that, “the responsibility of the I.N.C. in a zone of such a strong tradition of colonization was very large” he nevertheless modernized and adapted the architectonic principles to the conditions of the postwar society.

Historians like Rovira have devaluated Tamés’s Torre de la Reina in comparison with de la Sota’s contemporary Esquivel. It is indeed from a historical and urban design point of view, a work of less importance, yet it forms a rich urban environment where a genuine urban life has developed. Moreover, the analysis of the architecture of their respective pedestrian streets showed that, for the first time within the I.N.C. program, both architects developed a parallel and simultaneous attempt to abstract the architecture of the region and to eliminate as many unnecessary details as possible.²¹

¹⁸ José Tamés Alarcón, “Memoria, Proyecto de construcción del nuevo pueblo de Torre de la Reina (Sevilla), Zona del Viar,” typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo San Fernando de Henares, 26 September 1952, p. 1.

¹⁹ Tamés Alarcón, p. 1.

²⁰ Tamés Alarcón, p. 2.

²¹ On the Esquivel/Torre de la Reina controversy, see Chapter Five regarding Manuel Calzada Pérez and Víctor Pérez Escolano, *Pueblo de Esquivel, Sevilla: 1952-1955*, Almería: Colegio de Arquitectos de Almería, 2009.

8.2.4. Carlos Sobrini Marín and the Metaphysical:

Carlos Sobrini Marín, Rincón de Ballesteros (Cáceres), 1953

M / G

Carlos Sobrini Marín, Sancho Abarca (Zaragoza), 1954

M / G

In an isolated location west of the highway Mérida-Sevilla, the young architect Carlos Sobrini Marín designed Rincón de Ballesteros, a small village organized symmetrically on an axis perpendicular to the entrance street that separates the church and the school from the square and the town itself.²² Most remarkable is the rigorously geometric *plaza* bordered on two sides by the town hall, shops and non-agricultural worker dwellings, whereas the third side facing the church overlooks and connects to the lower section of the village with a large staircase. To overcome the problem posed by the steeply rising ground, the area occupied by the square was filled in with earth to form a terrace offering a view of the landscape. The pure and abstract arcades that surround the square bring to mind the Italian painter Giorgio De Chirico as a rare transplant of the metaphysical image of the Pontine towns near Rome. Sobrini adapted the layout to the sloping relief and rejected the concept of curved streets to make them fully straight: “the ends of the streets could not be seen and there would be very few vantage points with pleasant views. With straight streets, however, corners and niches could be incorporated into the views in line with the typically Spanish taste for compartmentalization.”²³

The church and its futurist Y-shaped concrete campanile face the square. The idiosyncratic composition is flanked on one side by the rectory and the office of the *Acción Católica*, and on the other by the school buildings. The town hall stands on the western side of the square, not as a detached building but at the end of the arcaded two-story row of houses, with a balcony wrapping around the corner. Taking advantage of the asymmetrical section of the *plaza* sides, Sobrini shifted the roof orientation and designed a long and single slope structure that projects on the main street. As a matter of fact, the only two-story houses are those located around the *plaza*, the aim being to help the square stand out over the rest of the settlement as a result of its position at the highest location on the site. A Via Crucis starts at the church and moves out of the village to climb to the top of the Perénguna hill, thus “endowing the settlement with a picturesque attraction, where a simple hermitage will be built to look down

²² Born in Santesteban (Navarra) in 1925, Carlos Sobrini Marín graduated from the ETSAM in June 1952. The following year he started to teach in Madrid and in 1959 he received the Premio Nacional de Arquitectura. He had a successful professional career and taught in Sevilla before settling his education agenda at the Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de la Universidad de Navarra. The catalogue *Desde Navarra: 30 años de arquitectura – Exposición en homenaje al Profesor Carlos Sobrini*, Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1997, did not include his remarkable projects for the I.N.C. here described.

²³ Carlos Sobrini Marín, “Memoria de proyecto, Rincón de Ballesteros (Cáceres), 1953,” MAGRAMA Archivos, reprinted in *Pueblos de Colonización II: Guadiana y Tajo*, ES19.pdf (in English IN19.pdf), p. 1.

over the village.”²⁴

One year later, Sobrini designed the small town of Sáncho Abarca in the region of Zaragoza with, at its heart, a circular *plaza mayor*. The town’s masterplan is quasi-symmetrical in both directions and originally consisted of five urban blocks. The seven housing types for colonists plus one for the agricultural workers have discontinuous fronts along streets and back-to-back continuous outbuildings that reinforce the importance of the patio-based houses. The unique and audacious circular *plaza* suggests the communal vision of old Spanish squares, like in Chinchón, which also served as *plaza de toro*. Sobrini did not dwell on the reason of his choice, writing in his *Memoria*: “The square will be circular in shape, as it is felt that, apart from being an unquestionably original shape, this has the advantage of displaying all its elements in a uniform manner.”²⁵ By creating a point of inflection at the intersection of the main street with the square, he broke the perspectival approach and concentrated on producing the “always enjoyable surprise of the unexpected.”²⁶

In addition to the *plaza de toros*, the other potential reference to Sobrini’s design is the entrance square of the *Feria del Campo* of 1950, which he reinvented programmatically.²⁷ Firstly, the continuous arcade-like porch recalls the undulating vaulted structure that Cabrero and Ruiz designed in Madrid, but here supported by partially covered brick columns. Behind the arcade and attached to it, he ingeniously managed to design eight different sections in order to house the town hall, the social center, and the dwellings for artisans and schoolmasters. Secondly, he treated the cross-axes in a similar fashion than Cabrero in Madrid. On the south side, he placed the curved structure of the town hall on pilotis and opened a three-bay wide wedge-shaped urban space linking the square to the two sections of the school. On the opposite side, he made seven bays of the vaulted arcade freestanding, thus creating a light screen to the irregular hexagonal gardens that surround the circular church. As he wrote, “the proximity of the circular square made it necessary to give the church a similar curved form in order to achieve the ever-attractive spatial effect produced by the combination of two curving lines.”²⁸ The back of the church is connected to a linear volume aligned along the back street and containing the local of *Acción Católica* and the priest’s residence. On the town’s axis of symmetry—which is also that of the church and the circular *plaza*—he placed a detached, slim, and slightly wedge-shaped campanile. Half covered in brick and in stucco, its flatness contrasts with the buttresses that support the church and the cupola’s drum decorated with a *Via Crucis* in stylized ceramics. Even though de la Sota’s circular church in Entreríos was entirely made in brick, his influence on Sobrini’s was manifest. Such a moment is the circular fountain in the middle of the *plaza*, set up in a “carré” of trees. In Sancho Abarca and Rincón de Ballesteros, the young architect was able to transcend the pragmatics of the method to produce, perhaps less consciously than de la Sota, an “invented” or “metaphysical” image of reality.²⁹

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ See Chapter Three in this dissertation. Another source of inspiration for this type of undulating arcade was the Colegio Apostólico de los Padres Dominicos, a work by Miguel Fisac in Valladolid (1952).

²⁸ Sobrini Marín, p. 1.

²⁹ See Chapter Six in this dissertation.

8.2.5. Solanillo or Antonioni's Choice

Francisco Langle Granados, *Solanillo (Roquetas de Mar, Almería), 1968*

M / G

Irvine: It is an extraordinary place.

Peploe: Yes.

Irvine: Where is this?

Peploe: This is in the South of Spain... very typical you might say from Luciano Tovoli, the production designer who worked with Michelangelo on several films including L'avventura I think... This was particularly Antonionesque you might say... A no man's land that Michelangelo turns into wonderful movie stuff... a nowhere space....³⁰

El Solanillo was the last pueblo financed and built by the I.N.C. Its architect, Francisco Langle Granados, was the son of Guillermo Langle Rubio (1895-1981), the most important architect of 20th century Almería and known in particular for the 1940s district of *Ciudad Jardín*. Located about 20 kilometers from Almería, the modern village, designed in 1968 and completed in 1974, rises in the middle of fertile fields, nowadays covered with white plastic tents that create surprising images in both the natural and aerial landscapes. In the late 1960s, the I.N.C. villages were increasingly designed with the automobile in mind, with larger streets and ampler *plazas*. Langle designed a simple layout for the forty-four houses, and it placed it parallel to the main road Las Marinas to Camponuevo del Caudillo with a linear park in-between. Langle's rendering of April 1968 shows the *plaza* as a large open park, surrounded by the modernist church and its truncated pyramidal campanile, the schools, a series of commercial structures, and the village hall with its own little tower. The *plaza* was realized as proposed but the campanile was modified to reflect the abstract design common since the early 1960s. Beautifully sketched as well by Langle, the original cubical houses, white with flat roofs, reminded of the Arab quarter of Almería at the foot of the Alcazaba, and, as Nicholson commented, to the village in the Sahara desert at the beginning of the film. Overall, the superb aerial view of the early 1970s allow to read the morphology and typology with clarity: six rectangular blocks along three parallel streets form a grid at the center of which stands the large civic center and park. Anchored to the north and closer to the road by the diamond-shaped modern church and its detached campanile, and to other side by a L-shaped town hall with in between the schools, shops and houses for shop owners.³¹

³⁰ Mark Peploe, Audio Commentary for *The Passenger* (Michelangelo Antonioni), The Criterion Collection (DVD), 2006.

³¹ Miguel Centellas Soler, Alfonso Ruiz García and Pablo García-Pellicer López, *Los Pueblos De Colonización En Almería: Arquitectura Y Desarrollo Para Una Nueva Agricultura*. Colección Historia. Almería: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses: Fundación Cajamar, 2009.

As seen in Antonioni's film *The Passenger*, the town center was quite empty as in midday Andalusia, farmers were in the fields. In his commentary on the DVD edition of the film, the main actor Jack Nicholson mentions:

The surrealist painter De Chirico, that is all I could think about when we were filming these scenes in this place plopped in the middle of the [desert] Andalusian Spain. I wondered if De Chirico came here, but it wasn't surreal, it was just reality, with a little more emphasis. Sort of it baffling, like the town where he started the film....³²

Nicholson's commentary was a bit unsure, somewhat puzzled, confused, but also intuitively right. Clearly, there was, in the early years of El Solanillo, a "metaphysical" or even surrealist void whose power of suggestion Antonioni knew from experience and transcribed in ninety-five seconds of unexpected architectural promenade: starting with the street sign *Plaza de la Iglesia*, the modernist arcade that links the modern campanile to the church, the central street opening onto the church, the car parked in front of the town hall and its arcade, Locke's useless walk toward the fountain in the treeless central square, and his waving to the Girl in a beautiful image where the camera, very close to the ground, shows Maria Schneider as the Girl, as tall as the church campanile, walking to rejoin him.³³

³² Jack Nicholson, Audio Commentary for *The Passenger* (Michelangelo Antonioni), The Criterion Collection (DVD), 2006.

³³ See Jean-François Lejeune, "Pueblos modernos," in *Teatro Marítimo 6* (Tradición y modernidad), Madrid: Fundación Diego de Sagredo, 2017, pp. 42-51.

8.2.6. The Linear Villages: Gévora and Algallarín

Carlos Arniches, *Algallarín (Córdoba)*, 1953

P / H

Carlos Arniches, *Gévora del Caudillo (Badajoz)*, 1954

P / G

Between 1924 and 1936, Carlos Arniches Moltó and Martín Domínguez, both graduates from the Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid, established a joint professional practice. Known as members of the *Generación del 1925*, they designed important works where, inspired by the Spanish vernacular, they deployed a strong balance of tradition and modernity. The Instituto Escuela in Madrid, with its beautiful and abstract patio of brick arcades, and the Hippodrome of the Zarzuela in Madrid realized in collaboration with engineer Eduardo Torroja (1931) were among their most famous realizations. Together, they held from 1926, a bi-monthly architectural section in the daily paper *El Sol*. Under the title "*La arquitectura y la vida*," they discussed architectural issues, particularly related to the modern house and dwelling, in simple terms and clearly delineated personal sketches and drawings.³⁴ In 1937, whereas Carlos Arniches remained in Spain, Martín Domínguez went into exile to Havana, Cuba. There he developed another successful practice before being forced to exile once again to the United States in 1960.³⁵

In 1932, Martín Domínguez, in collaboration with Jesús de Zavala and José María Arrilaga, participated in the *Concurso de anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y el Guadalmellato*. The team won the second and first accessit respectively with rigorous projects that clearly derived from the tradition of eighteenth Spanish colonization in the south: a central *plaza* matrix, a rectangular grid, and the introduction of curved streets on the edge of the town plans.³⁶ When Carlos Arniches was commissioned to design the new town of Algallarín in the province of Córdoba (1953) and immediately after Gévora del Caudillo (1954) in the periphery of Badajoz, he certainly remembered his partner's experience. However, both projects shared no common elements with Domínguez's early projects. Firstly, they both rejected the monocentric model and the grid as primarily element of urban composition. Secondly, while most I.N.C. projects developed on the side of an access road, Algallarín and Gévora del Caudillo were organized along a central linear axis

³⁴ See Concha Díez-Pastor, *La arquitectura y la vida: Los artículos de Arniches y Domínguez en 'El Sol' y otros escritos*, Madrid: KDP, 2017. Pablo Rabasco Pozuelo and Martín Domínguez Ruz, *Arniches y Domínguez*, Madrid: Akai / Fundación ICO, 2018.

³⁵ See the issue dedicated to Arniches y Domínguez, in *Nueva Forma*, nº 33, October 1968; Pablo Rabasco Pozuelo and Martín Domínguez Ruz, *Arniches y Domínguez*, Madrid: Akai / Fundación ICO, 2018; Concha Díez-Pastor Iribas, *Carlos Arniches y Martín Domínguez, arquitectos de la Generación del 25*, Madrid: Mairera, 2005

³⁶ See Chapter Two in this dissertation; "Concurso de anteproyectos para la construcción de poblados en las zonas regables del Guadalquivir y del Guadalmellato," *Arquitectura XVI*, nº 10, December 1934, pp. 267-98.

that channeled the interior movement in a polycentric sequence of spaces and public buildings.

The first village designed for 138 colonist families, Algallarín, was laid out, somewhat asymmetrically, on both sides of the central axis. To the east, the main street enters the town in the middle of a fan-shaped section of blocks. At the point of intersection with the two diagonal streets, it opens on a rectangular square, which is the center of social life with shops, arcades, apartments, and a central fountain.³⁷ At its western end, the street dissolves into a circular square, which establishes the transition with the countryside.³⁸ Around the square, Arniches designed the church, the *Acción Católica* and the priest's residence, the town hall and the medical center, the syndicate offices, and some commercial spaces. Behind the church is a large public park that serves as playground and sport area for the schools nearby. A comparison with the eighteenth-century town of Las Navas de Tolosa is worth mentioning here as both towns of interior colonization at two hundred years distance used a primary axis terminated by a quasi-circular *plaza* opening on the countryside with diagonal connections.

In comparison with already built pueblos, Algallarín's typology of houses was innovative and particularly well studied in relation to the plan, its public spaces, as well as the absence of a separate circulation for vehicles. The four types included a patio with a continuous row of outbuildings that connected all the backs of parcel as a long barn. The three main types—one story high—were arranged two by two with a shared recessed entrance porch and an access door on the sides to the corral. The fourth type was specifically designed for corner sites: Arniches used it to end the blocks on the town edge and to compose two elegantly designed circular residential squares (one of which stands on the central axis). The latter bring to mind a vernacular and low-scale variation on the *Plaza de los Jardineros* in the *nueva población* of La Carolina, reinforcing the importance of the early colonization as a major source of inspiration.

Algallarín's most significant building is the church. Completely symmetrical with its tower on axis with the main street, the pie-shaped form of the building was a logical consequence of its location on the circular *plaza*.³⁹ However, given the complexity of the overall composition, it is also possible to assume that Arniches was well aware of the renovation of liturgical spaces in progress since the late 1940s-early 1950s. If the competition entry for the Madrid Cathedral (Gabriel Cabrero and Rafael Aburto) was certainly a major reference, the churches of Miguel Fisac (Instituto Laboral in Daimiel, 1950-1953; *Colegio Apostólico de los Padres Dominicos* in Valladolid, 1952), Alejandro de la Sota's church in Esquivel, and Fernando Cavestany's in Estella del Marqués (1953) were certainly the most influential projects. The two long interior arches, in the manner of flying buttresses, gave the spatial illusion of a triple nave, while

³⁷ Originally designed as a rectangle, the square was eventually built with the curved edges of the fan-shaped blocks.

³⁸ In the 1960s, a deviation was established to bypass the town on its southern side.

³⁹ Originally placed on the side of the circle, it was eventually built on axis with the main street.

creating a spectacular section that recalled Cabrero and Ruiz's *Salón de Arcos* at the *Feria del Campo*.⁴⁰

Located on a difficult trapezoidal site, a flat plateau at the center of the suburban infrastructure system of Badajoz—the railroad, the canal, the highways—Gévora del Caudillo was designed in 1954 as a unique linear structure and organized symmetrically along what the architect called its “mandatory axis.”⁴¹ The linear scheme is somewhat comparable to the “highway” village that can be found in the United States and Germany, but its unique geometrical pattern creates unexpected spatial effects of dilation and compression as one advances along the fish spine of the town. Gévora's master plan is based upon a diamond motif, which is manipulated and repeated in various geometries. Along the main street and in succession, two symmetrical school buildings in a park-like setting create an entry gate that leads into an octagonal civic center where the rationalist church and the town hall that face each other with low open arms containing residences and other services. A triangular square with arcades and two diamond-shaped *plazas* centered on a fountain follow and provide generous retail and residential spaces.

Along three perpendicular streets, the architect sets up a “system of houses in zigzag, whose continuous play of volumes and shadows avoid the monotony in the lines of facades.”⁴² Between them, the service streets, interconnected along the perimeter street, give access to the patios and garages with four diamond service squares at the center of the blocks. Two elongated blocks, oriented NE-SW and SE-NW, find place behind the octagonal square. As the zigzag system creates very dynamic street fronts, Arniches decided to use one single type (10 x 40-meter with three variations for 2-3-4 bedrooms). The sole exceptions to this economical rule are the six two-story houses that mark the ends of the diamond blocks on the edges of the town. Like in Algallarín, the church constitutes the most interesting building. In Gévora, the plan and section of its rectangular nave are quite traditional, but the tall and curved facade, designed as a screen with a thin cross in lieu of campanile, is one of the most abstract and rationalist of the entire colonization.

⁴⁰ Pablo Rabasco, p. 174. Also see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

⁴¹ Carlos Arniches Moltó, “Memoria de proyecto – Algallarín (Córdoba),” Typewritten report, MAGRAMA Archivos, reprinted in *Pueblos de Colonización I: Guadalquivir y Mediterráneo Sur*, ES22.pdf (in English IN22.pdf), p. 1.

⁴² Carlos Arniches Moltó, “Memoria – Gévora del Caudillo,” Dactylographic Report, MAGRAMA Archives, San Fernando de Henares, February 1, 1954, p. 3.

8.2.7. The Village as Super-Block: Setefilla and Sacramento

Fernando de Terán, Setefilla (Sevilla), 1965

P / G

Fernando de Terán, Sacramento (Sevilla), 1965

P / G

In the mid-1960s, when the I.N.C. embarked on the last and intense phase of interior colonization, the young architect Fernando de Terán (1934-) was introduced to the direction through Antonio Fernández de Alba, himself an intimate friend of Fernández del Amo. He graduated from the Escuela Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid in 1961 and was in the midst of finalizing his doctorate thesis (1966) when he designed the two towns of Sacramento and Setefilla. His interest in urbanism led him to a full professional and academic career in urbanism and urban history. In 1969 he founded the periodical *Ciudad y Territorio* (1969-1989), followed by *Urban* (1997-2007). Among his most important publications, one can cite *Planeamiento urbano en la España contemporánea* (1978) and *Historia del urbanismo en España, siglos XIX y XX* (1999). In 1992 he was the curator and editor of the exhibition and book *La ciudad hispano-americana: Sueño de un orden*, an exhibition that traveled around the world to explain the principles of Latin American Urbanism. He is currently director of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.

It is valuable to interpret his two projects for the I.N.C. as a condensed version of the ideas and concepts he will defend along his career of urban historian. Asked to write about his experience of designing two villages, he provided a unique critical approach not only to the period itself, the mid-1960s, but also to the process of design. De Terán is a historian whose interest in the fundamental principles of urban design—the street, the square, the block—made him stay away from the ‘progressivist’ vision of urbanism which implied that projects, which rejected those fundamentals in favor of continuous open space, were automatically considered modern and positive, particularly as they reflected a linear conception of history of urbanism.⁴³ In his essay, he commented how “many of the towns of the Institute lack genuine streets, understood in their more traditional form of linear space, laterally bounded by the vertical planes of a continuous building fabric.”⁴⁴ He saw in most plans a lack of continuity between blocks and, at the same time, the low-density driven by the required building types created too much of a distance between houses. He also argued that the references used by the Institute and its architects were overall quite scarce and ill defined, and there was neither a clear conceptual nor a historical understanding of the process of foundation, particularly in regard to the urban heritage of Latin America. In his reflections on his own experience, he did

⁴³ Fernando de Terán, “El proyecto de los pueblos de colonización,” in *pueblos de colonización durante el franquismo: La arquitectura en la modernización del territorio rural*, Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, 2008, pp. 317-325.

⁴⁴ De Terán, p. 319.

not recall any discussion about the Hispano-American city and its potential influence or role in regard to the interior colonization. The historian could clearly affirm that “a great relationship exists between the morphological characteristics of the [Latin American] foundations, as they could appear in the first phase of their existence, and the pueblos of the Institute.”⁴⁵ For de Terán, the archival documentation contained in the Archivo de Indias revealed that the large size of the parcels in relation to the constructed houses produced an overall low density where blocks lacked spatial consistency, obliging the use of walls to create the urban space of the streets—a phenomenon similar to many examples in the history of the I.N.C.

It is between his criticism of the Institute’s lack of theoretical background—“in the most interesting cases that I know most closely ... functional and plastic creations like Esquivel, with no more theoretical support than the reference to popular architecture and without more aspiration than the maximum quality of the author’s work of art”—and the emergence of a strong professional and popular criticism of the modernist housing principles and schemes—that had so much seduced many of the best Spanish architects, as a reaction against the models of the official architecture”—that de Terán explained his approach to the design of Sacramento and Setefilla.⁴⁶

He acknowledged the inevitable importance of the vernacular references and in doing so he mentioned the resonance of the Manifiesto de la Alhambra, the new ideas of organic design by Bruno Zevi, but also Jane Jacobs’s masterwork *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* of 1961, who advocated against modernist planning in favor of traditional urban space and the “eyes on the streets” that were necessary to make it safe and efficient. These references entailed “a new manner to see and to design the urban space, both in its morphological conditions and plastic dimensions, and in its social requirements.”⁴⁷ In both towns he strove to improve the social use of the public spaces by reinventing them and making them more adept at intensifying the relations between all residents. The reinvention passed through the reaffirmation of the constitutive traditional elements of urban space and more specifically:

The street and the *plaza* must be understood as plastically more complete and welcoming spaces. Likewise, they should be more strictly modeled and configured, which necessarily required the continuity of the built fabric and alignments.⁴⁸

For de Terán, it was critical that the central square, in its well-defined formal configuration, appeared as “the antithesis of the space exterior to the village, open, unlimited and

⁴⁵ Fernando de Terán, “El proyecto de los pueblos de colonización,” In *Pueblos de colonización durante el franquismo: la arquitectura en la modernización del territorio rural*, Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, 2008, p. 320.

⁴⁶ De Terán, p. 321.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 321.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 321: “la calle y la plaza, entendidos de la forma plásticamente más inclusive y acogedora, más envolvente y también más voluntariamente modelada y configurada, que necesariamente requería continuidad edificatoria.”

formless.”⁴⁹ He acknowledged the difficulty of achieving these goals with a low number of citizens and a low density, but he found the partial solution in concentrating the urban fabric as a pedestrian-only precinct, tightly knitted around the squares and narrow pedestrian streets. In doing so, he recognized the influence of Radburn but also of the English new towns of the post-WW2 era.

For the pueblo de Sacramento (57 colonist houses, 5 workers houses, two houses for teachers and two for shopkeepers), located in the irrigation zone of the low Guadalquivir in the province of Seville, the spatial configuration is a 280-meter square superblock, one hundred per cent flat and entirely pedestrian. The layout is fully orthogonal, but with a diagonal symmetry revolving around two identical public squares interconnected and placed diagonally at the center of the village, and two smaller residential squares equally distributed diagonally on the outskirts of the superblock. A landscaped ring surrounds the whole town, providing access to the houses through large doors within the tall tapia walls, and creating a clear demarcation within the landscape:

Given the relatively low number of residents... this village was designed as a close-knit ensemble, with an organization of dwellings that open on the interior *plazas* and turn their back to the outside, so that the resulting compound suggest the appearance of the large farms, closed to the outside but organized around large interior courtyards.⁵⁰

The humble rectangular church, without campanile but with an open portico, faces one of the squares and is connected to the schools by an arcade; the other square houses the social and administrative building which is also accessed from an arcaded front that wraps around the square and opens to a series of shops. Both *plazas* and public buildings are connected via a short and arcaded street. Having criticized the absence of real streets and places in other pueblos, De Terán achieved his goal of greater urbanity by fully enclosing the squares and making the streets entirely continuous. *Plazas* and streets become outdoor salons and corridors, making the town feel like a house:

[...] The architecture aims at achieving enclosed spaces by deploying continuous vertical planes, for which we have designed long facades of constant height and with few window holes, that act as screens to set up the space of the streets and squares.⁵¹

De Terán deployed these long vertical planes to define two or three sides of each of the four squares, whereas he used one-story continuous fronts to close the other flanks. As a result, Sacramento offers one of the most urban experiences of the I.N.C. in one of the most remote

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 322. De Terán makes here an obvious reference to Ortega y Gasset (see Introduction).

⁵⁰ Fernando de Terán, “Memoria – Proyecto del nuevo pueblo de ‘Sacramento’ en la zona regable del Bajo Guadalquivir (Sevilla),” Typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo de San Fernando de Henares, February 1965, p. 2.

⁵¹ Ibidem, also see de Terán, “El proyecto de los pueblos de colonización,” op. cit.

areas of the colonization. The town is like a single building, a small megastructure placed within the landscape.

Built in the province of Seville, northeast of Lora del Río and in proximity to El Priorato, Setefilla followed the same principles than Sacramento. It was conceived as a pedestrian-only superblock, but here the edges make up a diamond shape whose diagonals form the main structuring axes of the village. The houses are placed parallel or perpendicular to the two axes and must be accessed from the *camino de ronda*, either directly for the houses that face it, or indirectly through a series of short vehicular streets that penetrate toward the center but never reach it. A continuous white and tall tapia wall with large doors make up the entire perimeter and once again suggest the concept of a large farm. The central paseo, oriented North-South and entirely pedestrian, forms the public axis for the activities of the town and the meeting places of its residents. It originates at a rectangular square in the lowest point of the town, in front of the *Casa Sindacal*. From there it reaches another rectangular square, which is lined with shops at its northern end, the town hall with its characteristic sloped roof whose abstraction brings a touch of genuine modernism. The latter marks the transition with the *plaza mayor*, larger, and surrounded by the square-plan church, the schools, and the houses for the teachers. Further to the north is a large green space that prolongs the recreational spaces of the schools.

In order to strengthen this public space system, de Terán created six long groups of houses with uninterrupted two-story high facades that constitute the most urban type. The attached houses are thinner than usual types, permitting an efficient cross ventilation of all rooms including the corridors lighted by small square windows that create a distinct pattern on the facades. The effect in plan is highly abstract, quasi Mondrian-esque in the way that these thin housing bars establish the pattern of public spaces—the formal and enclosed space as defined by Ortega y Gasset—to contrast with the unlimited expanse of the countryside. As de Terán stated it, the project's objectives were to:

... obtain a greater building continuity... through the configuration of continuous vertical planes that would allow the establishment of a formalized space, without spatial ruptures and without building gaps. This would achieve an enveloping and welcoming urban space to house the life of a community returning from work within the outer unlimited space.⁵²

In contrast with the tight and linear village center that occupies the horizontal section of the site, de Terán laid out two groups of eight detached houses, which were placed parallel to the N-S civic axis and create a triangular figure around a series of green spaces. As can be seen

⁵² For a reflection on the I.N.C. experience, see Fernando de Terán, "Los pueblos que no tenían historia. Tradición y modernidad en la obra del Instituto Nacional de Colonización," in Fernando de Terán, *El pasado activo: del uso interesado de la historia para el entendimiento y la construcción de la ciudad*, Madrid: Akal, 2009, pp. 149-160.

on his beautifully sketched elevations across the village, the two-story houses echelon along the rising terrain and form abstract cubic volumes whose diagonally inclined roofs create a dynamic modern rhythm. Adding to this abstract understanding of tradition—both architectural and urban with his Sittesque approach to modern urban space—he designed two constructivist fountains in concrete that adorn the squares at either end of the paseo. Standing in isolation on one of the squares, but participating beautifully between the urban and the rural of the plan, the church has a full square plan, which develops tri-dimensionally as a pyramidal stacking of volumes and roofs which allow him to provide zenithal light and dispense of the campanile now reduced to a high wall topped by a cross. We are now in the mid-1960s and the propaganda effect required by the I.N.C. in previous decades is now a question of individual choice more than policy.

8.3. THE MODERN CIVIC CENTER

8.3.1. Displacing the Center

Fernando Cavestany, Coto de Bornos, 1952

CC / C

Fernando Cavestany, Estella del Marqués (Cádiz), 1953

DC / G

Born in Madrid, Fernando Cavestany Pardo-Valcarcel (1922-1974) was an important figure of the Modern Movement, particularly in Andalucía and in Ibiza, where he abruptly died on a construction site. He is best known for the Universidad Laboral de Córdoba (in collaboration with Miguel de los Santos, Daniel Sánchez Puch, Francisco Robles Jiménez, 1952-1956) and for important hospital architecture such as the *Ambulatorio Hermanos Laulhe* in San Fernando de Cádiz (1954). A nephew of the Minister of Agriculture Rafael Cavestany, he was involved in the I.N.C. for which he designed two pueblos, Coto de Bornos (Cádiz, 1952) and Estella del Marqués (Cádiz, 1953).⁵³

On a gently rising site in the province of Cádiz, Fernando Cavestany laid out Coto de Bornos in a manner that recalls its contemporary Esquivel: its general urban form is fan-shaped and fully symmetrical. Like Esquivel, Coto de Bornos boasts a new type of civic center, but it is formally and conceptually very different. Here Cavestany absorbed the center back within the city fabric, not as a traditional *plaza* but as a spectacular grouping of buildings. The church sits on the central axis of the town, at the back of a green square. To the left, he placed a large courtyard building which houses the town administration, medical spaces, houses and commercial spaces. To the right, he located the school organized in two parallel bars. As a result, the *plaza mayor* as a void has been replaced by a more ambitious complex of buildings and spaces that are interconnected by arcades at ground and first level, and visually dominated by the modern campanile. The whole cannot be understood from one place, but rather it must be circumnavigated. Interestingly, the entrance street leading from the road on axis with the church was never completed, and the primary access to the town is along the central curvilinear street. In contrast with Esquivel, the curved streets were fundamentally designed for vehicles. Cavestany did not set up an independent network of pedestrian

⁵³ On Cavestany, see Cayetana de la Quadra-Salcedo and Nieves Cabañas Galán, "Edificio de los laboratorios Lafarge. Fernando Cavestany. Arquitecto," pp. 4-15, <https://ruidera.uclm.es/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10578/13636/Edificio%20de%20los%20laboratorios%20Lafarge.pdf?sequence=1>, last accessed October 21, 2018. The essay contains a full list of the Cavestany's published works in Spanish periodicals. Among his most noted works, in collaboration with Miguel de los Santos, Daniel Sánchez Puch, Francisco Robles Jiménez, is the Universidad Laboral de Córdoba (and in particular the church and its campanile), 1952-1956: see "Veinte obras del Movimiento Moderno en Andalucía," in *PH*, Boletín nº 15, pp. 133-153.

streets, even though he placed two elegant circular intersections that function as passive squares due to the four identical buildings that defined the space.

In his design for Estella del Marqués realized two years later, the same Cavestany took the opposite road and followed strictly the separation of circulation between vehicles and pedestrians. Here he produced a human-scale checkerboard of pedestrian streets and passages dominated by the acropolis-like civic *plaza* whose arcades provide a panoramic view over the town and its countryside. In actuality, Cavestany's original masterplan for eighty-eight settlers and thirty-two laborers located the square-shaped *plaza* at the very center of the town, more precisely at the intersection of the two vehicular entrance streets, here conceived in the manner of the colonial Roman axes. The NW-SE decumanus tangents the square, framed by an arcade, and leads to the school placed at 45° within a small park. The SW-NE cardo was interrupted by the placement of the town hall on axis. On the sides of the square parallel to the cardo, Cavestany placed the church and, opposite, a straight block containing the shops and houses for the school teachers and other employees. The dwellings, generally grouped two by two, were located on five streets parallel to the decumanus.

In 1956, during the process of construction, the *plaza* was displaced from the center to the northern section of the plan and rotated at 45° to stand on a small hill. In doing so, Cavestany gave it greater relevance by making the skyline of its public structures more visible from the main road. In this process of displacement, he kept the square identical in dimensions and shape as an entirely enclosed and pedestrian urban space. The town hall is now the entrance to the square and a large staircase in its middle passage connects to the higher level of the *plaza*. The church faces it, with the mixed-use building to the right. The left side is semi-enclosed by a porticoed gallery that opens towards the exterior landscape and offers an interesting overview of the town. Following the removal of the square, the master plan morphed into a quasi-isotropic grid, with four large rectangular blocks of houses, although, due to the adaptation to the site configuration, the northern block was distorted to adapt to the 45° shift of the *plaza*. Two 12-meter wide streets, beautifully landscaped with orange trees, form a literal cross. Narrow 4-meter wide pedestrian streets access the front of the houses, while 6-meter streets service the corral and other dependencies.⁵⁴

Fernando Cavestany's architecture reflected the transition between the postulates of traditional architecture and the more modern approaches that he himself was developing at the Universidad Laboral de Córdoba. Like de la Sota he simplified the architecture of the houses whose height variations, particularly at the major street intersections, made the pedestrian streets particularly attractive. However, the real signs of modernity appeared with the church whose facade was centered on three simple Latin crosses placed on top of a long

⁵⁴ See Ana Gómez Díaz-Franzón, *Estella Del Marqués – Un pueblo de colonización agrícola (1954-1967) en Jerez de La Frontera (Cádiz)*, Kindle Editions (electronic edition), 2012. In 2017, the town counted 1,600 residents.

window screened by an idiosyncratic zigzag motif. The slender campanile, semi-detached on the left side of the temple, has the same cruciform section than the campanile he designed at the Universidad Laboral.⁵⁵

As Ana Gómez pointed out in her monograph on the town, the quality of the landscaping, at the individual and collective level, makes Estella del Marqués a great example of syncretic vision:

This taste for ornamental trees and plants not only turns out to be a complementary and enriching element of the urban fabric, but it also constitutes a constituent and living part of the street... The residents of Estella have been in charge of communicating this Hispano-Muslim sensibility to the realm of the vegetal across the Roman character of the colonization. In doing so, they merged, in a balanced way, two cultural heritages intimately linked to these Andalusian lands.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ibidem.

⁵⁶ See Ana Gómez Díaz-Franzón, *Estella del Marqués – Un pueblo de colonización agrícola (1954-1967) en Jerez de La Frontera (Cádiz)*, Kindle Editions (electronic edition), 2012: "Este gusto por los árboles y plantas ornamentales no solo resulta ser un elemento complementario y enriquecedor de la trama urbana, sino que supone una parte constitutiva y viva del callejero... Los Estellenses se han encargado de transmitir este gusto hispanomusulmán por lo vegetal al romanismo propio de la colonización, fusionándose por tanto en Estella, de forma equilibrada, dos herencias culturales íntimamente vinculadas a estas tierras andaluzas."

8.3.2. Modernist Civic Centers and the Village as Machine

José Antonio Corrales, Guadalimar (Jaén), 1954

M / G

José Antonio Corrales, Villafranco del Guadiana (Badajoz), 1955

CC / G

José Antonio Corrales, Llanos del Sotillo (Jaén), 1956

CC / G

The young architect José Antonio Corrales (1921-2010), winner of the national *Premio de Arquitectura* 1949 and to become one of the champions of modern architecture in association with Ramón Vázquez Molezún (1922-1993), designed and built three pueblos, two as part of the Plan Jaén (Guadalimar, 1954; Llanos del Sotillo, 1956), and the third within the Plan Badajoz (Villafranco del Guadiana, 1955).⁵⁷ In less than three years, Corrales was able to design and receive approval for the construction of those villages marked by the application of new concepts in regard to their urban plan, to the developing concept of the civic center as a modern alternative to the traditional square, and finally to the design of modern and more functionally comfortable typologies for the colonists and other workers.

As described by Corrales in the Memoria of 1954, Guadalimar's urban plan was the result of the specific geometry created by the tangential access from the main road, from the E-W orientation of the dwellings considered best for the region, and from the module utilized for the design and the construction of the houses.⁵⁸ The bend in the direction of the road provided the architect with the logical location for the main square. Triangular in shape, it is open to the landscape and closed on the other sides by the town hall, and the church/school complex with the tower on axis with the road. From there, a short *Calle Mayor* leads to a quiet residential square, designed in the "turbine" manner much admired by Camillo Sitte.⁵⁹ Planned for 178 families but eventually not fully built, the village's structure consists of a grid pattern whose blocks were staggered on both sides of the main street in order to "avoid the monotony that a rigid plan would create."⁶⁰ On the southern side, the architect distorted two of

⁵⁷ Corrales designed a fourth village, Vegas del Caudillo (Jaén, 1954), but it remained unbuilt. See José Antonio Corrales, "Memoria – Proyecto de núcleo de Vegas del Caudillo (Jaén), Zona media de Vegas del Guadalquivir," Typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo de San Fernando de Henares, January 1954.

⁵⁸ José Antonio Corrales, "Memoria – Pueblo de Guadalimar (Jaén), Zona Media de las Vegas del Guadalquivir," Typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo de San Fernando de Henares, 1954.

⁵⁹ Manuel Calzada Pérez, "José Antonio Corrales y el diseño de pueblos de colonización, Guadalimar, Vegas del Caudillo y Llanos de Sotillo." *Formas de Arquitectura y Arte*, nº 16, March 2007, pp. 92-107. It is surprising that the author did not include the village of Villafranco del Guadiana.

⁶⁰ Corrales, "Memoria – Pueblo de Guadalimar," p. 2. Manuel Calzada Pérez interprets Corrales's insistence on the need to close the perspectives of the village as a strategic concession to the general

the rectangular blocks and created a “glissandi” effect in shifting some houses off alignment.

Corrales’s innovations in the design of Guadalimar were essentially typological and architectural. To produce the most economical system of construction, he adopted a general module of 4,5 meters between load-bearing 30-centimeter thick brick walls, thus breaking with the predominant logic of the patio house in favor of a type of row-house with simple back garden, devised primarily for agricultural workers without the need of a large corral with direct access. By combining the rationality of his system, with a new approach to the section of the dwellings, he transformed the interior spaces and created double-height volumes that accentuated the modernity but also the collective nature of the houses. The four types used sloped roofs of unequal lengths, which created interesting variations in the street profiles. In order to keep the logic of the module, the architect closed both ends of the rectangular blocks with two type-D houses, attached back to back with long inverted roofs and creating a *plazoleta* on each side. On one side of the main square, Corrales designed the village hall as a symmetrical, palace-type, building organized around a garden patio, open and accessed from both sides by a 3-bay portico. Yet, its simple plan contrasts with the idiosyncratic section: two long inverted roofs cover the administrative spaces (western facade) and dwellings for teachers (eastern facade) and get interrupted to create the patio; the latter is closed on both northern and southern side by two bars of housing and commercial spaces under the same double-inverted roof, which is the trademark of the town. In contrast with the constructive and typological rigor of the project, “the town showed an enormous fantasy in the singular definition and in the free interpretation of the popular language.”⁶¹ Likewise, the sculpture in the form of a stylized star that stands on the roof of the elevated town hall and repeats along the road facade of the village is particularly striking. Facing the square on the northern side, the combined school and chapel building was a direct adaptation of the Mountain Hermitage in Extremadura with which the architect had won the *Premio Nacional de Arquitectura* in 1948.⁶² The proposed church tower, triangular in section with a large wrought-iron compass rose was not built, but the realized version rises forceful and tall, as an abstract, constructivist concrete structure. In contrast with the traditional presence on the square, Guadalimar’s tower stands back, only visible above the roofs.

Using the same modular system and building types, Corrales designed the small village of Vegas del Caudillo for 42 families, a couple of weeks later. Similarly designed as a staggered grid that produces impactful vistas in Camillo Sitte’s manner, the unrealized project was an interesting variation that demonstrated the capacity of his system to produce significant variations of urban form in adaptation to the context. An eccentric, quasi-Baroque, symmetrical gate framed the northern entrance to the village, an effect reinforced by the butterfly-like inverted rooflines of the houses—similar to Guadalimar—to which it was to be

I.N.C. strategy. To the contrary, the plan clearly shows that the streets on the opposite side of the village are not terminated and do open on the landscape. One can only deduct that, beyond unknown functional considerations such as the winds, it is likely to have been a deliberate choice. Moreover, I have argued throughout this dissertation that there was a general consensus on adopting many of Sitte’s urban principles.

⁶¹ Calzada Pérez, p. 99.

⁶² See *Nueva Forma* n° 25, February 1968, pp. 50-51.

attached. The small village consisted of a central green space, conceived as the heart of a large courtyard farm or *cortijada*. Three types of housing arrangements closed the first three sides: two rectangular blocks to the north, one zigzag line of houses to the west, and a straight row to the south. On the last flank to the east, Corrales proposed another Baroque arrangement made up of the church and the schools, all displaying long roofs and surprising arcades.

Planned one year later as part of the Plan Badajoz, Villafranco del Guadiana (1955) was another demonstration of compositional and functional rationality within the extreme landscape and climate of the region. However, the project marked a radical departure from the architect's early experience in the Jaén area. As Corrales wrote in the *Memoria*, the flat site "requires a uniform layout."⁶³ And he added,

... for propagandistic and aesthetic purposes, the village should be arranged parallel to the main road, in such a manner that its civic area, urbanistically and architecturally the most important part of the village, is fully visible from the same.⁶⁴

Accordingly, he designed the village as "a totally uniform linear layout, symmetrically arranged around an axis perpendicular to the main road."⁶⁵ Whereas the facade of Esquivel is curved, Villafranco del Guadiana, planned for 110 colonist and 67 laborers houses, forms a long symmetrical rectangle whose dimensions—500-meter long by about 80-meter in depth—derive from the repetition of the basic dwelling module of 10,5-meter wide parcels. Here, all public buildings were aligned in the central part of the village, each of them clearly visible from the main road. For reasons of economy, only two transversal streets remained, the other connections being made by narrow pedestrian lanes; this combination produces elongated rectangular linear blocks that seem almost continuous. Three streets service the agricultural patios, one along each facade of the town, the third one interior. Two parallel pedestrian streets configure the heart of the town and, with their width of 3,5 meter only, the shade from the houses give them sufficient protection from the brutal sunlight. To create more life and intimacy along the innermost pedestrian street (to the south), Corrales deployed a series of four twinned building types with recessed entrances accessing two attached colonist houses on one side and three laborers' houses on the other. Each type is a combination of a low volume attached to a high one covered with one single-slope roof that culminates at 5,5m in height. He used the same colonist type and a similar system of alternating entrances along the other pedestrian axis to the north. As a result, the rhythmic repetition of those high, white and windowless walls creates an abstract town elevation, only to be matched by Fernández

⁶³ José Antonio Corrales, "Memoria, – Pueblo de Villafranco del Guadiana (Jaén)," Typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo de San Fernando de Henares, 1955, p. 1.

⁶⁴ Ibidem.

⁶⁵ Ibidem.

del Amo in some sections of Vegaviana and Cañada de Agra.

In the middle of that highway facade and separated from the road by a large park, Corrales designed the modern civic center. It occupies a long rectangle 250-meter in width by 35-meter in depth, inserted between the just described groups of colonist houses. On one side, along the pedestrian street, he aligned a section of the school, and a long row of attached two-story houses for teachers and clergy. The houses, based upon a 4 x 4-meter module, have their own square patio and are connected on the back facade by a long and modern public arcade. On the highway side, along the peripheral street, he set up the larger section of the school to the west (with a large courtyard) and to the east, another row of courtyard houses for the retailers. On their facade facing the park, Corrales added triangular projecting volumes with north facing windows, perhaps a wink to Coderch's projects for the *Instituto de la Marina* in Barcelona.⁶⁶ In the very middle, facing the park and connected to the public arcade by covered passages and patios, he 'plugged in' the church and the town hall. In the final version, as shown on the detailed axonometric view, the town hall was moved to become part of the housing row, and a large assembly hall was placed next to the church. Now, the constructivist town hall faces the square, somewhat barren, between the assembly structure and the shopkeepers' houses. In front of this facade, at the intersection of two diagonal paths within the park, he placed the hexagonal structure of the agricultural cooperative.

The church and the assembly hall are almost identical in plan and volume. The nave and the theater are covered with a long one-sided roof, which, rising in opposite direction, create Corrales's characteristic and large butterfly figure from the road. Whereas the assembly building shows a flat facade and a small tower, the church has a single rectangular nave with small triangular side chapels on the Gospel side. The presbytery, also triangular, is higher than the nave and gives an impression of great verticality. As completed, the civic center constitutes an assemblage of volumes, patios, and other spaces that provide various perspectives and, as proposed in the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra*, create a fundamentally concave experience for the users. The light metallic arcade that links everything is a surprisingly modern and serene moment in the project, one that contrasts with the intense quality of the reinvented pedestrian street. Corrales summarized the project in the *Memoria*:

The great simplicity of the village layout is reflected in the facades of all the buildings, which have been grouped together in rows to display those facades to the best effect. This results in a horizontality, which both underlines the modernity of the village and also makes it appear bigger and more important.⁶⁷

Llanos del Sotillo, also part of the Plan Jaén, was perhaps the most radical proposal of all the I.N.C. villages, not a "*pueblo de colonización*, but a new form of thinking... supported by

⁶⁶ See Chapter Four in this dissertation.

⁶⁷ Corrales, "Memoria, – Pueblo de Villafranco del Guadiana," p. 1-2.

constructive thinking and imagination about the new man....”⁶⁸ For the first version of the project, planned for 180 laborers units on a site along the highway Madrid-Cádiz, Corrales conceived the civic center as one long U-shaped building, parallel to the road, and “made up of two parallel lines of spaces connected transversally with the schools, the church, and the enclosed patio of the syndicate house.”⁶⁹ The concept was similar to Villafranco del Guadiana, but here the civic center obscures the village from the road. In addition to the public structures, the center contained other public and private spaces, in particular the dwellings of the teachers, priests, and shopkeepers, all organized around a series of courtyards, in a modernist reinterpretation of the *cortijada*: to the east, the school’s patio enclosed between the classrooms and the church; in the center, the rectangular *plaza del pueblo* with a series of water pools; and to the west, the patio of the syndicate house, enclosed by *tapias* or low walls.

The overall architectural character of the civic center was a combination of abstracted vernacular and industrial references that reflected the various functions, with large single-slope roofs supported by metallic trusses. By deploying this neutral architectural language and eliminating all major forms and symbols associated with the church and the town hall, i.e., with Church and State, Corrales asserted that the village was first and foremost a rural unit of production and work. Notwithstanding this ideological position, the church faced the road and remained the tallest structure with a flat facade pierced by a rectangular window, prominent buttresses on both sides of the nave with a long window underlining the oblique eaves of the roof, and a thin, almost transparent campanile on the side. From the road, a 16-bay section of the continuous arcade between the church and the patio-based dwellings for professors, shopkeepers, and priest screened the main interior court. On the northern side were a series of other similar dwellings, the administrative rooms, and a large *salón de actos*. Open-air cinema was projected on a large screen in the syndicate house courtyard.

Behind the civic center that occupied the full length of the distorted rectangular site, Corrales radically reimagined not only the village concept, but also the overall composition system. Arguing of the hot climate of the region, Corrales replaced the traditional village streets with “linear groupings of two-story houses, separated by a pedestrian alley and connected at intervals with bridge-houses on the second floor.”⁷⁰ As a result, the pedestrian alleyways were partially covered—a solution that José Tamés approved and described as “covered passages of Andalusian tradition”⁷¹—and created spectacular effects of alternating sunlight and shadow. On both sides of a wide *paseo* connected to the *plaza* by a narrow and arcaded entrance, he placed four groups of alley houses, whose gardens were only accessible from the perimeter road. All housing units were based upon Corrales’s usual 4-meter x 4-meter

⁶⁸ Calzada Pérez, p. 101, 105.

⁶⁹ José Antonio Corrales, “Memoria – Llanos de Sotillo,” Typewritten report, MAGRAMA, Archivo de San Fernando de Henares, June 1956, p. 2.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁷¹ José Tamés, “Informe – Nuevo pueblo de Llanos de Sotillo,” Typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo de San Fernando de Henares, September 1956, p. 2.

module, an orthogonal compositional system that he extended to the entire site and to the civic center itself, thus producing the first and only fully modular masterplan of the I.N.C. program.

Sometime later, the reduction of the program to 90 laborers houses obliged Corrales to a thorough revision of the design. First, he maintained the concept of the residential streets with bridges, but rotated their orientation from E-W to N-S. Then, he aligned the six alley-based housing groups symmetrically on both sides of a linear and narrow civic building that contains the town administration, the school classrooms, and the church.⁷² As in the first version of the project, the entire site was gridded on the 4 x 4-meter module that ordered the dwelling system and the bar-like civic buildings. The plan and its axonometric view showed a perfectly symmetrical composition on the east-west axis: to the east, he placed an entrance garden facing the church; to the west, an enclosed garden contained the open-air cinema and its projection booth.

The organization of the revised two-story civic center was ingenious and, in contrast to the first version, completely uniform. The first floor is almost entirely open with square pilotis supporting the classrooms and other administration places, lighted by a continuous row of horizontal windows. In the center, Corrales designed a covered *plaza* by lowering the floor a couple of feet and framing the space on both sides by the staircases to the second floor. The roof is horizontal but rises slightly on top of the church where the architect located a thin metallic cross. In the built version, a detached and open concrete campanile replaced the cross, and a gatehouse was added to substitute the teachers' dwellings originally proposed in the nave-like center. The configuration of the bridge houses remained similar to the first project: the six types are laid out on two floors, some with a ground floor patio. In some cases, the bridges contain two bedrooms for the same house; in other types, two houses shared the bridge with one bedroom each. Summarizing his last project, Corrales wrote:

The composition is a consequence of the structure and interior distribution of each building, having achieved, with the greatest simplicity, that all the facades expressed the same criterion of composition, markedly modern but without distorting its essentially rural character; the objective being that the whole village display a great unity of design.⁷³

Llanos del Sotillo is a village-machine. The streets have become buildings. The linear civic center is an *edificio-espacio*, i.e., a building that, thanks to its continuous pilotis, is simultaneously both a public building and a public space.

⁷² José Antonio Corrales, "Memoria – Llanos de Sotillo," Typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo de San Fernando de Henares, December 1956, p. 2.

⁷³ Ibidem.

Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo, Vegas de Almenara (Sevilla), 1963

OP / G

Seven years after Llanos del Sotillo, Jesús Ayuso adopted Corrales's concept of the bridge houses and developed it along the two orthogonal axes of the town of Vegas de Almenara, in the vicinity of El Priorato. Here, the public square serves as entrance from the highway and to the main street made up of seven bridge-like volumes; two side streets, equally made of bridges, complete the overall layout. Ayuso also modified the overall sequence of the covered streets and reduced the feeling of linearity by placing patios on both sides of the streets between the bridges. As a result, he was able to create the impression that the covered streets functioned as a succession of small *plazas*.

8.3.3. St. Dié in the Countryside

Rafael Leoz, José Luis Íñiguez de Onzoño, Joaquín Ruiz, and Antonio Vázquez de Castro, Santa María de las Lomas (Cáceres), 1957

CC / G

Santa María de las Lomas was the only *pueblo de colonización* designed by José Luis Íñiguez de Onzoño (1927) and Antonio Vázquez de Castro (1929—in collaboration with Rafael Leoz and Joaquín Ruiz—a team of architects whose career would flourish nationally and internationally with the contemporary *poblado dirigido* of Caño Roto in the southern periphery of Madrid (1957-61).⁷⁴ In parallel with Caño Roto, the architects' approach to the village planning was experimental on multiple fronts: the abstract urban design scheme; the linear typologies for housing and public functions; and the prefabricated method of construction.

Analyzed on the basis of the original drawings—a general masterplan and a detailed study of the central section—the village was essentially conceived as a modern civic center that would expend into the landscape without the traditional recourse to an urban grid or system of blocks. Hence the core of the village consists of a plastic group of buildings—a U-shaped religious complex, a freestanding tower, a bar-like town hall, and a row of artisanal spaces—arranged to create a series of differentiated *plazas* and landscaped spaces:

The Civic Area occupies the central part of the village and comprises the following enclosures, which are well differentiated in terms of use: a peaceful, tree-lined square adjacent to the church and its buildings, a square of a particularly urban, representative nature adjoining the Administration building and the craftsmen's premises, and a fairground area beside the Trade Union building.⁷⁵

From those eccentrically located places, a series of orthogonal axes, oriented N-E and S-W, project out of the core in a pinwheel manner and expend within the landscape to reach an organically designed perimeter road. In-between, the architects aligned the colonist and laborer's houses, without creating a block structure: they simply fill the space between the core and the perimeter. As a result of this dynamic composition, the core appears as a very large modernist turbine square and Santa María de las Lomas turns out to be a small-scale and rural version of Le Corbusier's St. Dié reconstruction plan of 1946.

⁷⁴ See Chapter Four in this dissertation. Likewise, Rafael Leoz de la Fuente (1921-1976) was an architect and sculptor, whose most important work was the design and implementation of the module "Hele" for the development of new social architecture. His sculptural work is linked to the abstract geometry of his architectural projects.

⁷⁵ José Luis Íñiguez de Onzoño, et.al., "Memoria – Proyecto de nuevo pueblo de Santa María de las Lomas (Cáceres)," Typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo de San Fernando de Henares, July 1957, p. 2.

The layout of the housing sections (115 houses) was based on parcels of 93 x 30-meter for the colonist houses and 30 x 10-meter for laborers. Colonists' parcels front onto the perimeter roads and main access streets, while those for laborers stand in parallel bars near the civic area and in another group of four bars in the northwest corner. To simplify the terracing, the clusters of buildings were imagined as horizontal platforms, staggered as a series of terraces corresponding to the site's slight differences in relief. Due to the prefabrication system, all house types were designed as modular rectangles. However, the new type imagined by the architects for the large colonists' houses—with the corral buildings at the front and the house standing behind—was rejected by the administration.⁷⁶ As a result, even though the civic center was built as planned, the colonist sections were homogenized with more traditional types, a grid was established, and the perimeter was shrunk to a regular figure, 330-meter square. All buildings in the village were built using a prefabricated reinforced concrete structure based on identical porticos and clad with standard ceramic bricks. The contrast between the concrete frame painted white and the red brick panels gave a unique character to the entire village.

As usual, the design of the church was an important challenge to resolve and the architects eventually dissociated its design from the modular and constructional system in order to emphasize "its religious, transcendental symbolism."⁷⁷ However, intent to propose a new image of the religious and to reflect the productive nature of the village over the symbolic, they conceived of a flat roof structure to be built using a special octagonal mesh of Warren girders and visible both from the inside and the outside. As suggested in the detailed plan of the core, the entirely transparent bell tower was based on a similar metal structure. Eventually, this audacious design was rejected and the church was built as a more traditional, barn-like structure with two-sloped concrete frames and brick walls. The interesting asymmetrical plan with four chapels on the side was maintained; the brick and stucco bell tower rise as a pure, abstract, and modern landmark on the background of the mountain sierra.

⁷⁶ José Tamés complained in his report that the plans did not show at the same scale the relation between the house, the corral and the outbuildings. The analysis of the archival material confirms that the relationship between the parts was difficult to understand.

⁷⁷ Iñiguez de Onzoño, et.al., "Memoria – Proyecto de nuevo pueblo de Santa María de las Lomas," p. 6.

8.3.4. Civic Centers and City Crowns

Antonio Fernández Alba, El Priorato (Sevilla), 1964

CC / G

Antonio Fernández Alba, Cerralba (Málaga), 1962

CC / H

Antonio Fernández Alba, Doñana (Málaga), 1965

CC / C

Antonio Fernández Alba, Santa Rosalia (Málaga), 1965

CC / H

Victor López Morales, Villafranco del Guadalhorce (Málaga), 1962

CC / C

Born in Salamanca in 1927, Antonio Fernández Alba completed his studies at the School of Architecture in Madrid in 1957, and obtained his doctorate in 1963. Influenced by the organic architecture of Alvar Aalto and Frank Lloyd Wright, but also close to the contemporary artists promoted by Fernández del Amo, in particular the group El Paso, he started the design of the *Monasterio de la Purísima Concepción*, better known as the *Convento del Rollo* (Salamanca) in 1958 and completed this important work in 1962. With other buildings such as the *Colegio Montfort* in Loeches (province of Madrid), he developed a modern image of brick construction, characterized by the purity of lines and sober articulation of masses. He quickly established himself as an important critic of contemporary Spanish architecture and became a faculty member at the School of Madrid. Involved in many institutions, he was the director of the Institute for the Restoration of Spain's Historic Heritage (Instituto de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales) from 1984 to 1987. He wrote important essays and books such as *Crónicas del espacio perdido: la destrucción de la ciudad en España: 1960-1980* (1986) and *La Metrópoli vacía: aurora y crepúsculo de la arquitectura en la ciudad moderna* (1990). He is a member of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando and of the Real Academia Española.

For El Priorato, located parallel to and between the Seville-Cordoba highway and railroad, Antonio Fernández Alba designed a linear plan 700-meter long by 250-meter in depth, symmetrically centered on the compact civic center, which occupies the perpendicular axis and connects to the street and the railroad with a park and the sport fields. Somewhat similar to Villafranco del Guadiana, the rectangular town plan is a remarkable example of urban rationalism, an example of elemental geometric process of urban design, adapted to the orography and the infrastructures of communication. It consists of five parallel rows of colonist houses methodically arranged along five parallel streets—three for vehicular movement, two for pedestrian—and a perimeter road that borders a wide greenbelt all around the town. In the

center, Fernández Alba conceived the civic area as a scenographic and concave system of patios, alleys, and buildings that provide constantly changing views and cannot be understood from one single place in the plan. To do so, he divided the area in five parallel zones corresponding to the housing blocks: from the road, there was first a small *plaza* connected to an open-air theater, some shops, a bar and the social center; a larger *plaza* facing the village bakery and the town hall; an arcaded *plaza* facing the church and some office buildings; the school with the houses for the masters, and a small square opening to the stadium and sport fields. One linear row of houses and shops separated the center from the western section of the town, whereas, to the east, the connection with the houses was more conceived more organically.

To be sure, as realized, the civic center differs from Alba's original and quite schematic master plan: yet, he kept more or less the same organization, maintaining the open-air cinema square, the schools and the sport fields. In the center, one of the two central *plazas* was replaced with a connected sequence of patios between the town hall and the church. The original masterplan also responded to a natural drainage creek by creating a series of small parks appropriate to absorb water and erosion. In the final plan, these natural traces were eliminated but the axis across the housing blocks remains visible as small squares interrupting the linearity of the pedestrian streets, demonstrating again the modernity of picturesque planning:

To break up the possible monotony which may be perceived in a street layout of this type, the streets will be modeled in such a manner as to offer short range perspectives.⁷⁸

Four housing unit types were projected for the rural colonists, the most important of them combining a two-story and a one-story section. In the manner of Corrales in Villafranco del Guadiana, their grouping two by two with a shared recessed entrance facilitates "the creation of complementary rhythms in streetscape elevations, and stretches of shade to make the urban space more comfortable."⁷⁹

If El Priorato's houses unusually and inventively combined brick construction and Andalusian white stucco, it is with the civic center that Fernández Alba made his mark in the history of modern architecture in the countryside. Influenced by the organic movement in Scandinavia and in the United States with Frank Lloyd Wright, he combined the church, the town hall, and other public and religious services (post office, sacristy, *Acción Católica*, etc.) into a sprawling but spatially compact grouping of buildings, all linked by arcades, pilotis, small and large patios. Built in exposed brick with the exception of the town hall second floor, and covered with a complex system of hip roofs, it represents one of the most effective applications of the *Manifiesto de la Alhambra* in post-1950s Spain. The placement of the town hall on pilotis was equally critical to create the series of transparent planes that allow for a variety of views

⁷⁸ Antonio Fernández Alba, "Memoria – Pueblo nuevo de El Priorato," Typewritten manuscript, MAGRAMA, Archivo de San Fernando de Henares, 1964, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

across the town center and toward the pedestrian streets. Alba's initial project for the church, recognizable with its musical series of deeply recessed vertical windows, did not include a tower or any other religious symbol. Asked by the religious hierarchy to include one, he designed a remarkable tower-campanile. At once traditional—the brick, the tiled roof—and modern—the eight horizontally placed truncated-pyramidal panels that illuminate the platform and cantilever over the brick shaft—the overall form of the tower suggests “a character more civil than religious.”⁸⁰

El Priorato is certainly Fernández Alba's most recognized project. However, he conceived and designed three other towns in the Guadalhorce region of Málaga that, placed into a difficult landscape of hills and steep slopes, demonstrated his capacity to search for, and find a natural and organic urban form.⁸¹ The three villages— Cerralba (1962), Doñana (1965), and Santa Rosalía (1965)—share a series of urban design principles specifically related to the hilly topography: the predominant use of curvilinear or hybrid street networks; the complete separation of traffic and intensive use of narrow pedestrian streets and small squares; the penetration of the natural landscape within the very fabric of the towns; and the presence of a modern civic center located on the highest point of the site. The model and direct influence for these projects was undeniably that of Fernández del Amo and specifically Cañada de Agra, the only significant example of hillside design in the late 1950s. As a matter of fact, the built village of Cerralba (100 colonist houses) is a modified version of the design presented by Fernández Alba (1962) and adapted by Fernández del Amo for another, topographically quite similar, site in the area. Fernández Alba alluded to their collaboration when he quoted his colleague's reaction in front of the exceptional site, “the new village should be named after what we have in front of us, un *cerro al alba* (a hill at daybreak), Cerralba.”⁸² The aerial photographs of *Paisajes españoles* beautifully captured the exceptional work of integration within the landscape that Cerralba, Doñana, and Santa Rosalía as well, deployed in the pure and untouched configuration of their foundation in the 1960s. In Cerralba, the streets run down along the steepest slopes with the colonists' parcels echeloned at different levels. The

⁸⁰ See Pablo Rabasco Pozuelo, “Censura, colonización y arte: Antonio Fernández Alba y Manolo Millares,” *Revista bibliográfica de geografía y ciencias sociales* XIV, no. 826 (June 2009), unpaginated [on the Internet at http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/b3w-826.htm#_edn23, last accessed October 18, 2018]. In this article dealing with “Censorship, colonization and art” the author discussed how the destruction of Millares's murals in the church of Algallarín constituted a clear case of religious censorship. On the other hand, the request by the church to Fernández Alba, to add a campanile/tower, absolute symbol of Christianity since the Middle Ages, to his church project cannot be seriously considered as “censura sobre lo no realizado” (censorship on the non-realized). This type of decision or changes to projects happened in every context, private and public in the history of architecture. Rabasco's interpretation of events in the Franquist period remains biased by his own political agenda.

⁸¹ Antonio Fernández Alba, “Rocíos de mayo. Evocación de tres pueblos del Instituto Nacional de Colonización. El Priorato, Sevilla. Santa Rosalía y Cerralba, Málaga (Dew drops in May: Memories of Three I.N.C. Villages),” in *Pueblos de Colonización I: Guadalquivir y cuenca mediterránea sur*, Córdoba: Fundación de Arquitectura Contemporánea, 2006. It is strange that Fernández Alba does not mention the fourth village of Doñana (Torrealquería), which is definitely attributed to him as signataire of the documents.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 26.

houses front onto narrow pedestrian streets broken up by small squares, with flights of steps to facilitate transit along the steep slopes. The yards are accessible to wheeled traffic via the connecting streets and the penetrating green fingers that not only serve the quality of urban design but also function as ecological devices to eliminate the water runoff as naturally as possible. In Doñana (now Torrealquería), the slope gradients were so steep that the architect was obliged to position the parcels in accordance with the natural terraces, and with a diagonal street layout to provide a gentler slope between the various terraced levels.

Dominating Cerralba is the extensive civic center, “a tiny acropolis on the top of the hill where houses and public buildings take their seat like den drops bathing the gentle hills of Andalusian dawn.”⁸³ There, the civic center forms another civic acropolis or, to use Bruno Taut’s concept of the 1910s, a genuine and vernacular *Stadtkrone*, complete with the church, the social and administrative center, and the schools.

Designed for 150 colonists and laborers, Santa Rosalía consists of two curvilinear sections, elevated on both sides of an ample paseo containing a water canal. On the first hill, Fernández Alba designed the civic center as the “heart of the village” encompassing the assemblage of public buildings interconnected by patios, arcades, and gardens, and surrounded by a mass of vegetation. On the second hill across the canal, he located a complex of schools and another social center immersed into a park.

From José Borobio’s El Temple to del Amo’s Cañada de Agra, the church and other public buildings—the schools have always made exception—were generally emphasized vertically and volumetrically to distinguish them from the general fabric. This method of design of the 1940s and 1950s undoubtedly highlighted the political importance of church and state within the political moment. In the following decade, with the bureaucratization and progressive ideological liberalization of the regime, many architects reversed the trend and initiated a process of further simplification of the public buildings. To some extent, they became increasingly organically designed and as such more and more an extension of the residential vernacular. Single slope roofs often covered both sections of houses and public buildings; the height of the church nave, and of the tower as well, were dramatically reduced to make the scale of the public realm an increased extension of the private’s one. The three towns of the Guadalhorce, like del Amo’s projects in the later phase of his urban design trajectory, were the most representative of this evolution. Describing Cerralba’s church, the architect stressed the appropriateness of windows to the local climate, the role of the courtyard as cooling element, and the small scale of the nave and of its section, reminiscent, in an obvious shift of reference, of the traditional votive chapels typical of the area: “the church’s interior is of a smaller scale, avoiding a brusque change in scale of the parish complex with regard to that of the village as a whole.”⁸⁴ At the same time, it is worth noting the reduction in the number of

⁸³ Ibidem, p. 31.

⁸⁴ Antonio Fernández Alba, “Memoria – Pueblo de Santa Rosalía (Málaga), 1965,” “Memoria – Pueblo de Cerralba (Málaga), 1962,” “Memoria – Pueblo de Doñana (Málaga), 1965,” reprinted in *Pueblos de Colonización I: Guadalquivir y cuenca mediterránea sur*, ES42, ES43, ES45.

house types. They have become increasingly larger, and more modern in arrangement and distribution of the rooms, staircase, and bathrooms.

Designed by the architect Víctor López Morales in 1962, the town of Villafranco del Guadalhorce, represents an early variation on the model that will be developed further by Fernández Alba in the highly engineered rolling hills and terraces along the Guadalhorce River.⁸⁵ The town plan for the 200 houses is made up of two residential curvilinear sections on the sides of a green depression and of a smaller one at the top of the site. In each one, he developed asymmetrical pedestrian streets, which consist of one linear side and the opposite one created by the zigzag arrangement of houses on another axis.

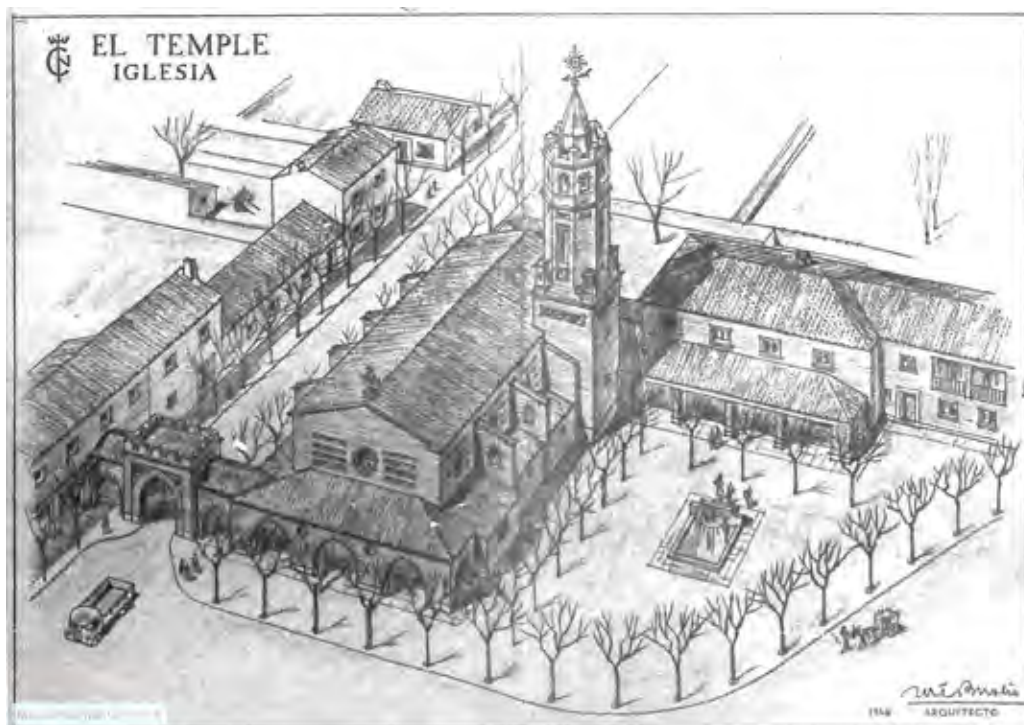
López Morales located the bi-axial civic center in the tight area that separates the three housing terraced areas. It is a sprawling complex made up of two geometric *plazas*, slightly elevated and placed orthogonally to each other. The civic one—bordered by the church, town hall, and teachers' homes all connected by an arcade—occupies a long rectangle screened from the street by a freestanding rationalist portico. The commercial *plaza*, also arcaded, is activated by a series of retail spaces and houses for the shopkeepers. This elegant urban ensemble whose strict geometry contrasts with the organic design of the residential streets represents one of the best examples of the evolution of the civic center in the hands of less individualistic architects.

* * *

⁸⁵ On the general colonization of the Guadalhorce region, see the *Revista Jábega*, nº 1, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga (www.cedma.com), 1973, pp. 31-34.



I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda. Suchs,
1945. View and sketch of the plaza
© Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C.,
MAPAMA.



Top: I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda. Suchs, 1945. Masterplan
 © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda, El Temple, 1947.
 Sketch of the plaza. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C.,
 MAPAMA.



I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda, El Temple, 1947. Aerial view and masterplan. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA. 635



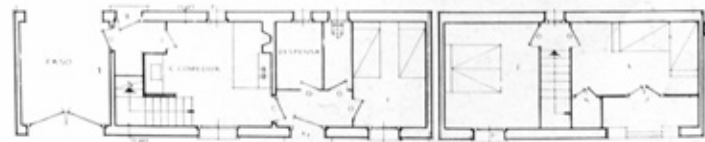
I.N.C. José Borbio Ojeda, Ontinar del Salz, 1948. Aerial view, street view, interior. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.
636



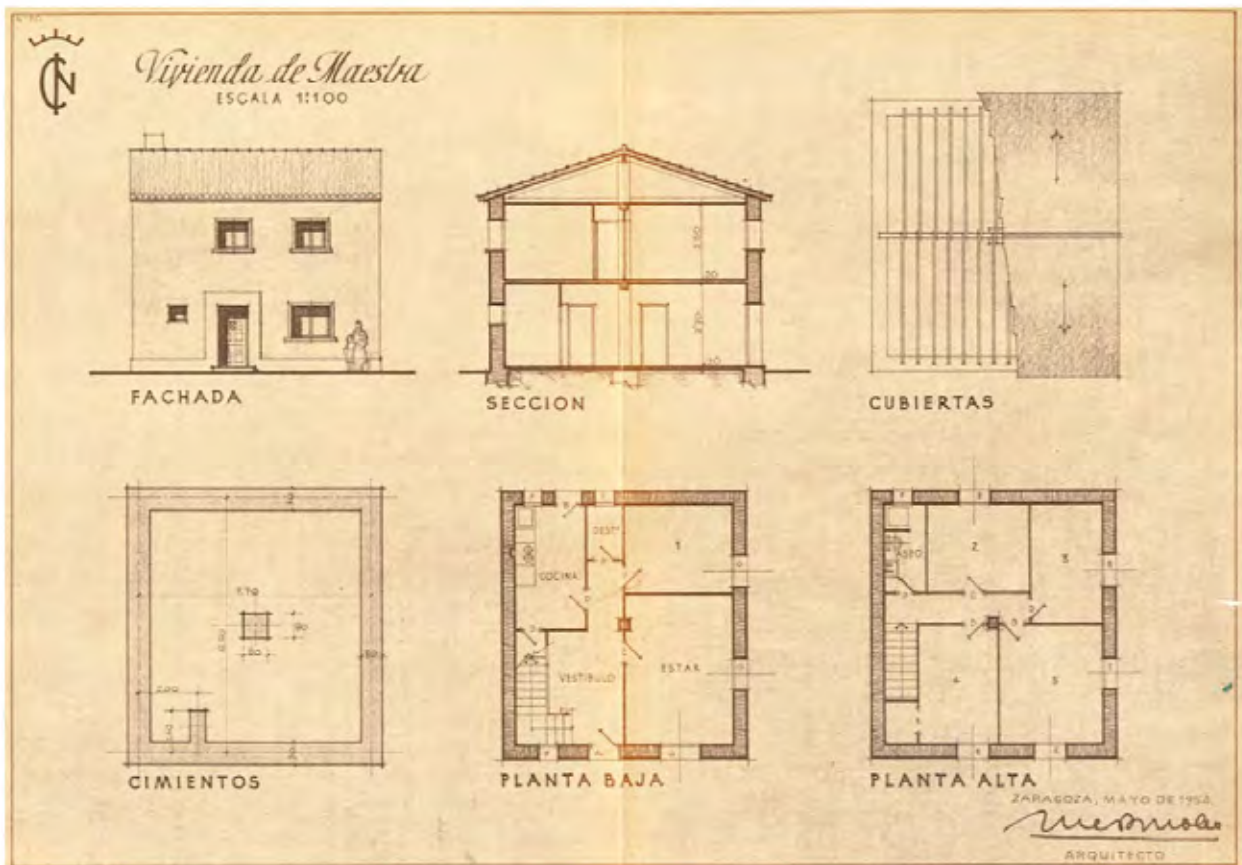
Planta de conjunto del pueblo de Ontinar del Salz.



Tres tipos de plantas de viviendas en dos pisos, con tres, cuatro y cinco dormitorios. En nuestro país, con familias de muchos hijos, estos amplios programas son a todas luces necesarios.



I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda, Ontinar del Salz, 1948. Masterplan and housing types. From *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 125, May 1952 and © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA. 637



I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda, San Jorge, 1954. Masterplan and house type for the school's teacher. From José Maria Alagón Laste, "El Pueblo De San Jorge (Huesca): Un Núcleo De Colonización Del Alto Aragón." TVRIASO, no. XXI (2013). 638

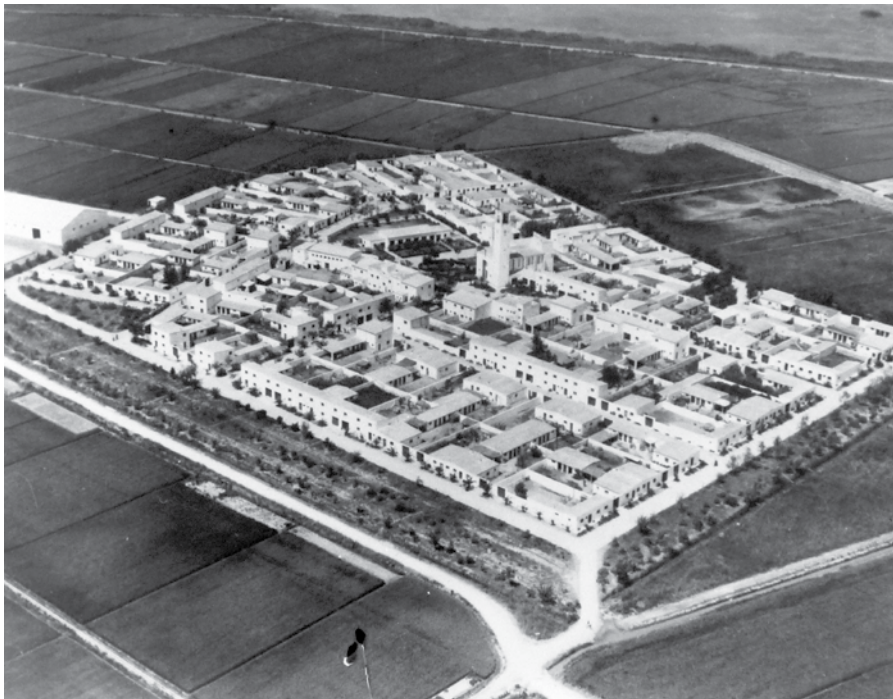
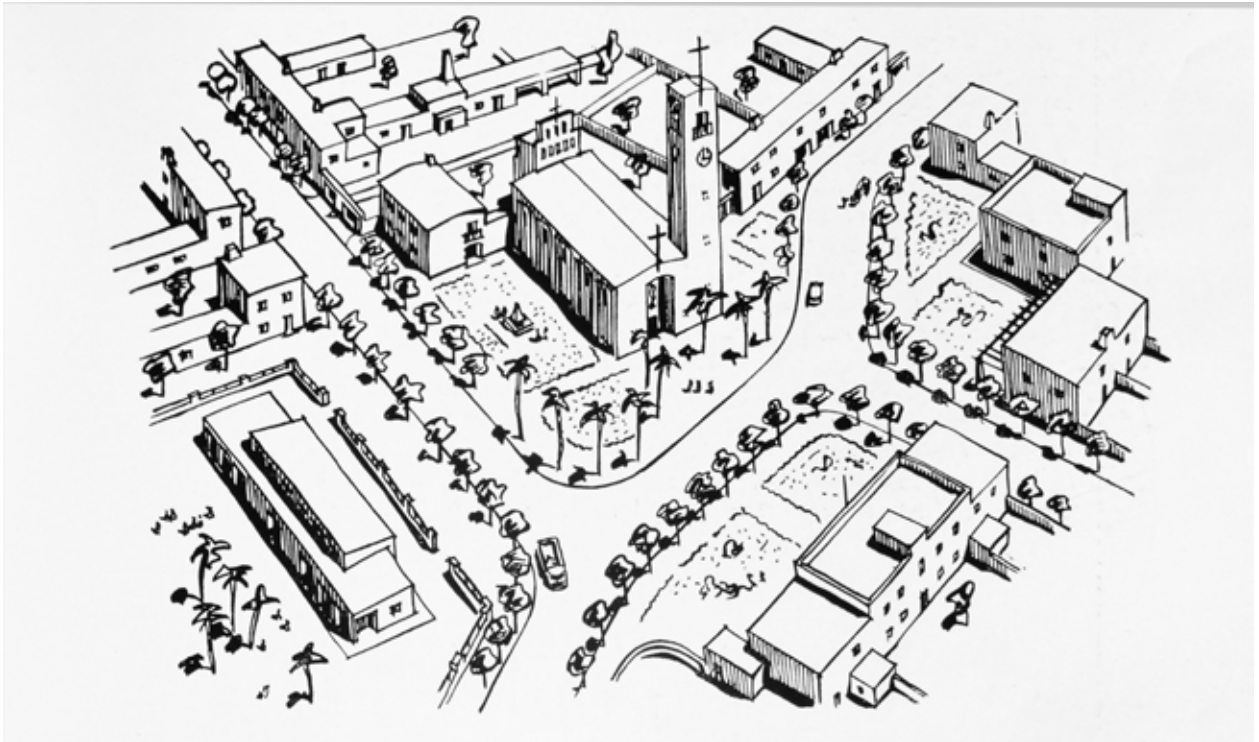


Top: I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda. Pla de la Font, 1956. Perspective of the town in the landscape. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: Pla de la Font. First and final version of the masterplan. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



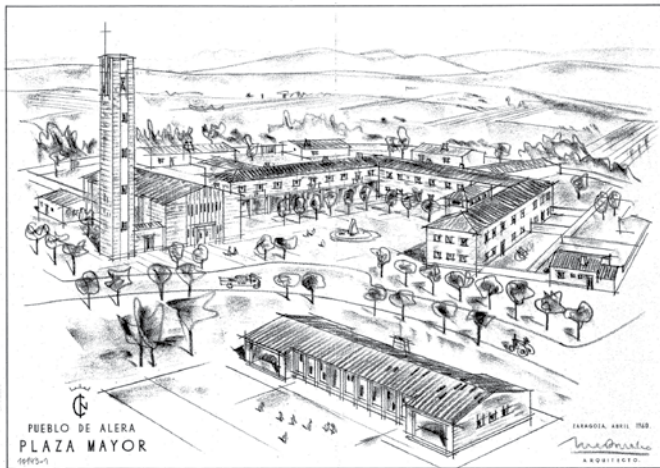
José Baqué Ximénez. Painting of San Jorge in the village church of San Jorge, Huesca, 1957. © José María Alagón Laste, "Les artes plásticas en los pueblos de colonización de la zona de La Violada." *AACA Digital* (June 2011).



I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda. Villafranco del Delta (Poblenou), 1955.
Sketch of the plaza, street views, and aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico
del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

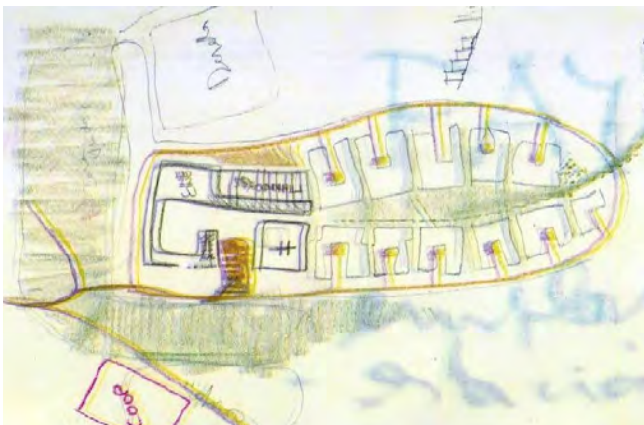


I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda. Valfonda de Santa Ana, 1957. Aerial view and view of the civic center in the park. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



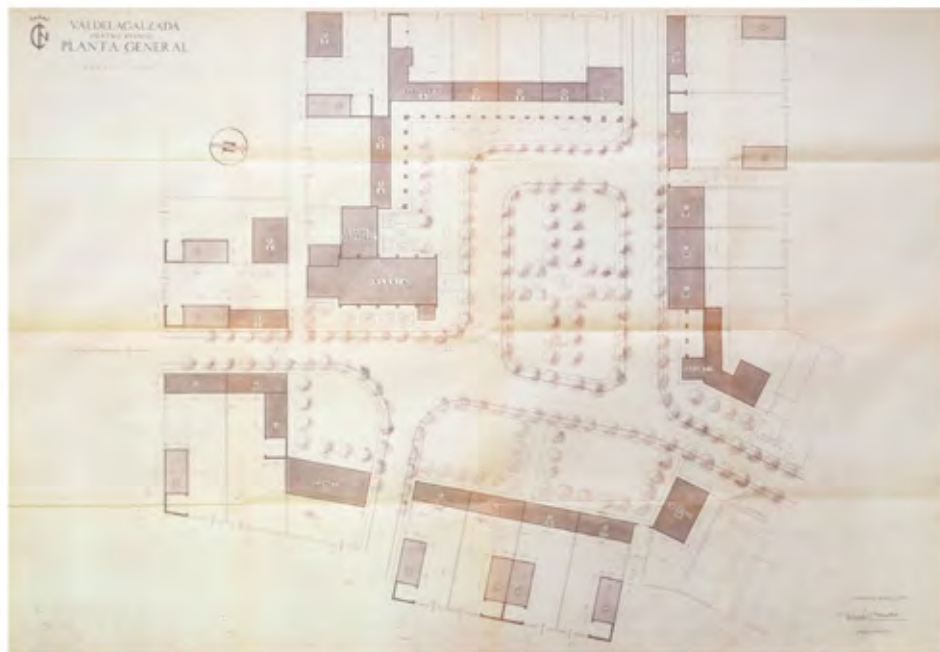
Top: I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda. Alera, 1960. Aerial view, perspective of the square and masterplan. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda. Fayón, 1964. Sketch of the masterplan and partial aerial view. From Marc Darder, "Fayón: El Manifiesto Adaptado – La Reinterpretación Del Espacio Rural Urbano Según José Borobio Ojeda." *Identidades* 5 (2015).





Top: I.N.C. Manuel Rosado Gonzalo and José Borobio Ojeda, Valdelacalzada, 1947. Aerial view of the town and view within the larger landscape. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.
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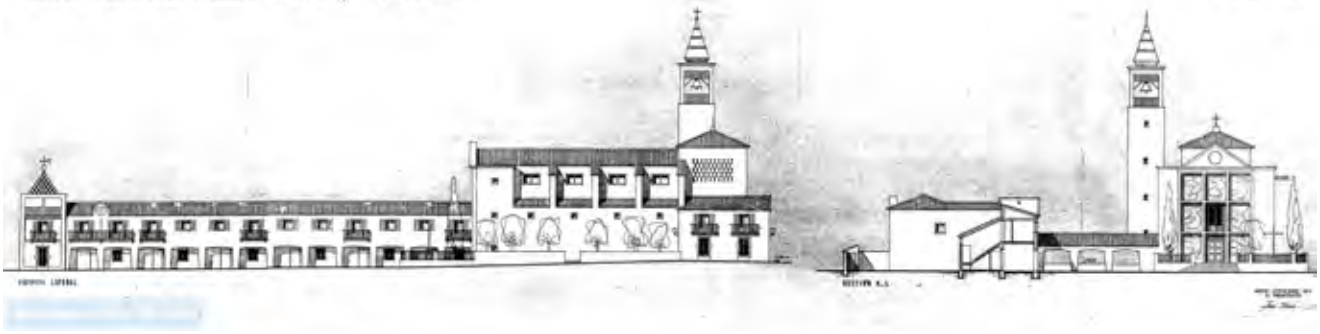
Top: I.N.C. José Borobio Ojeda. Plan of the Plaza Mayor and facades of the town hall side, 1950. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

Bottom and following page: Five street views. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

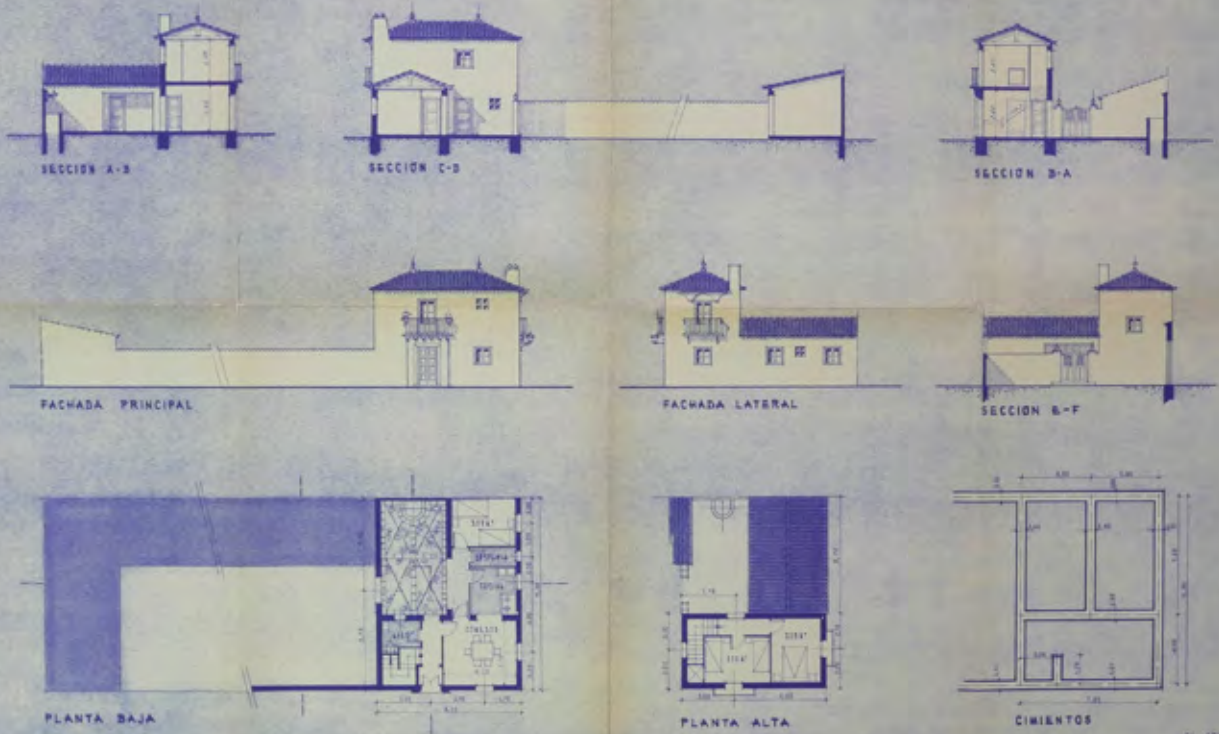




I.N.C. José Tamés Alarcón. Torre de la Reina, 1952. Aerial view and Plaza Mayor. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



*Proyecto de Vivienda para Colonos
en Torre de la Reina (Sevilla)
- Tipo I - Escala 1:100 -*



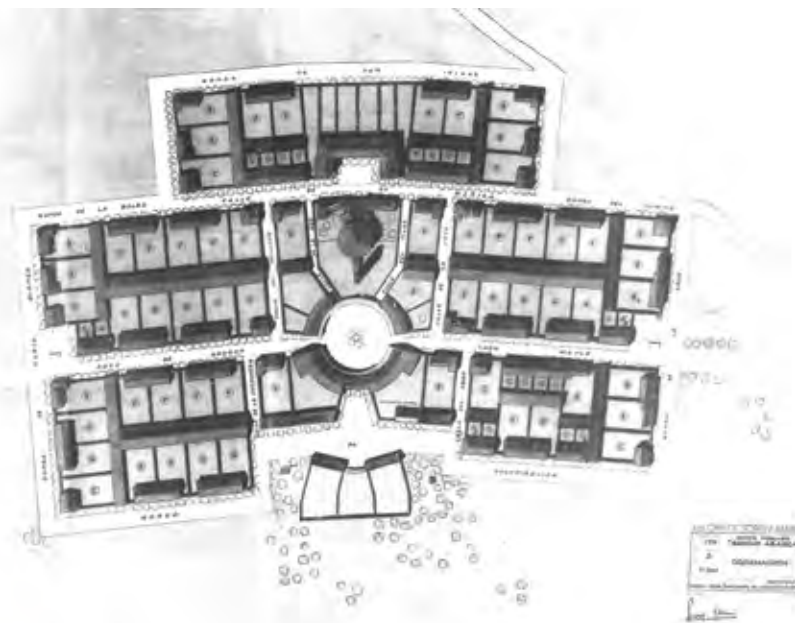
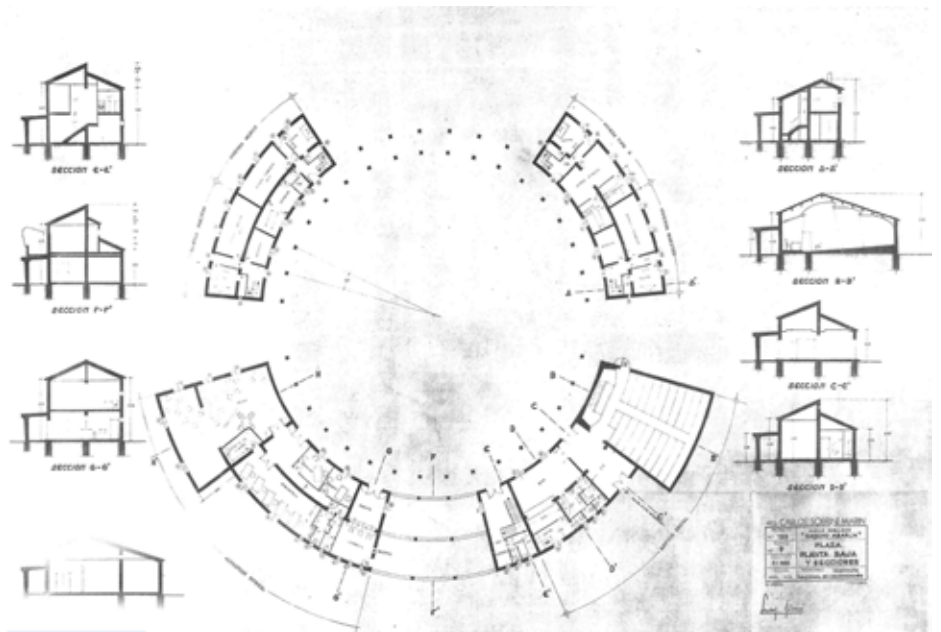
Top and middle: I.N.C. José Tamés Alarcón. Torre de la Reina, 1952. Section through the Plaza Mayor and House type. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

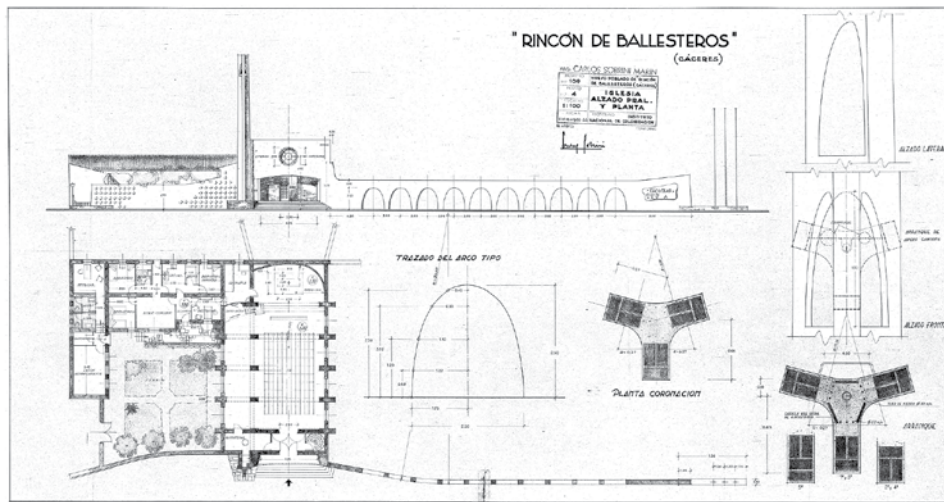
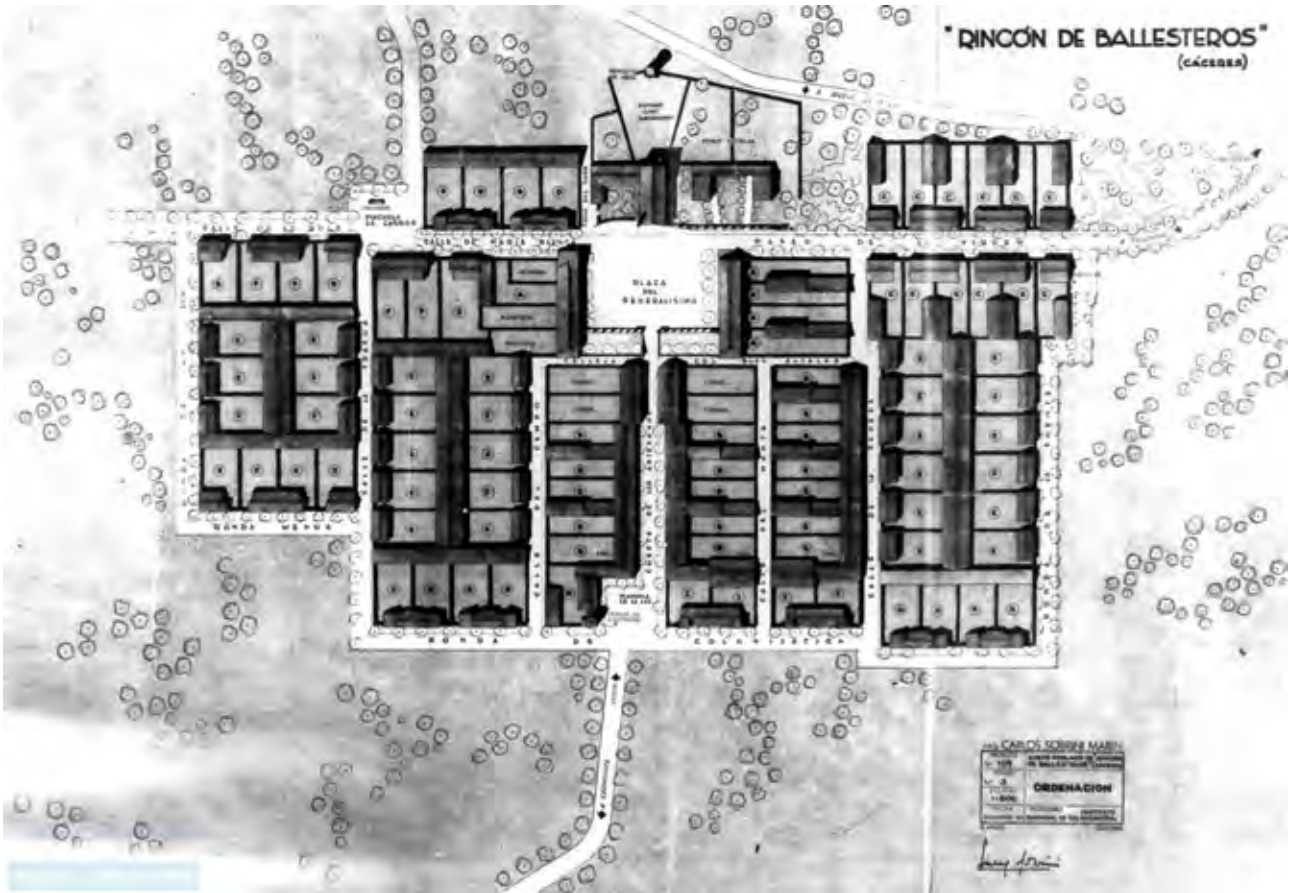
Bottom: View of pedestrian street. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





I.N.C. Carlos Sobrini Marin. Sancho Abarca, 1954. Panoramic of the Plaza Mayor, plan and sections of the circular plaza, masterplan. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





I.N.C. Carlos Sobrini Marin. Rincón de Ballesteros, 1953. Masterplan, church, street views. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

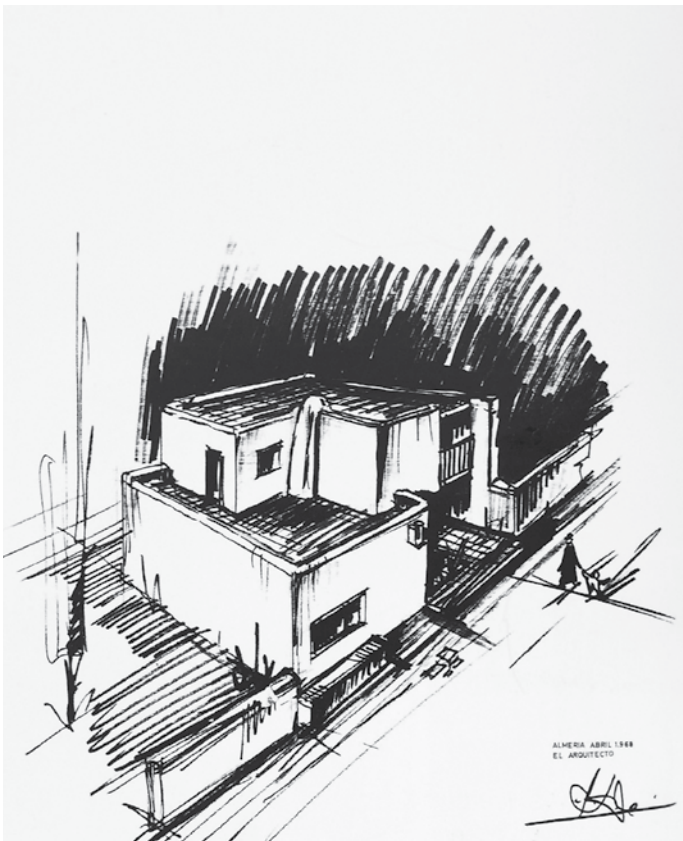


Top: I.N.C. Francisco Langle Granados. Solanillo, 1968. Aerial view © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: Civic center and original proposal for the church and tower. © Archivo Delegación de la Consejería de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación en Almería (ADCAPA).



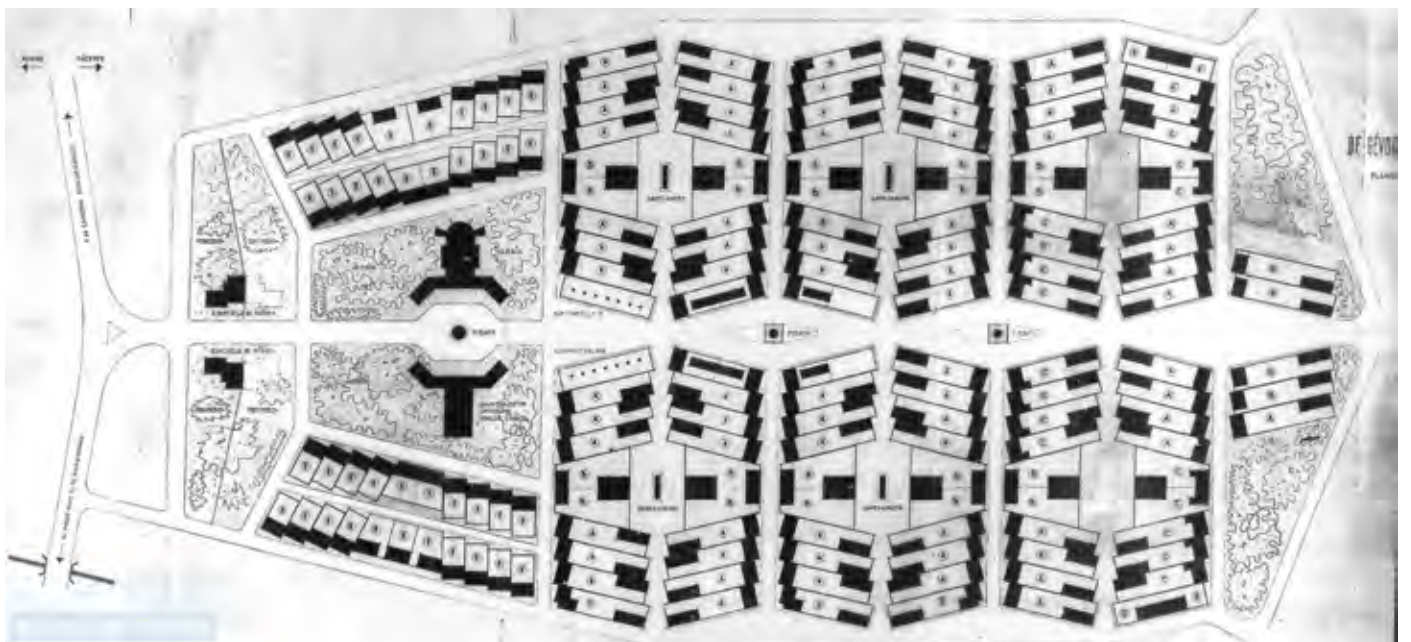
POBLADO DE SOLANILLO _ PERSPECTIVA



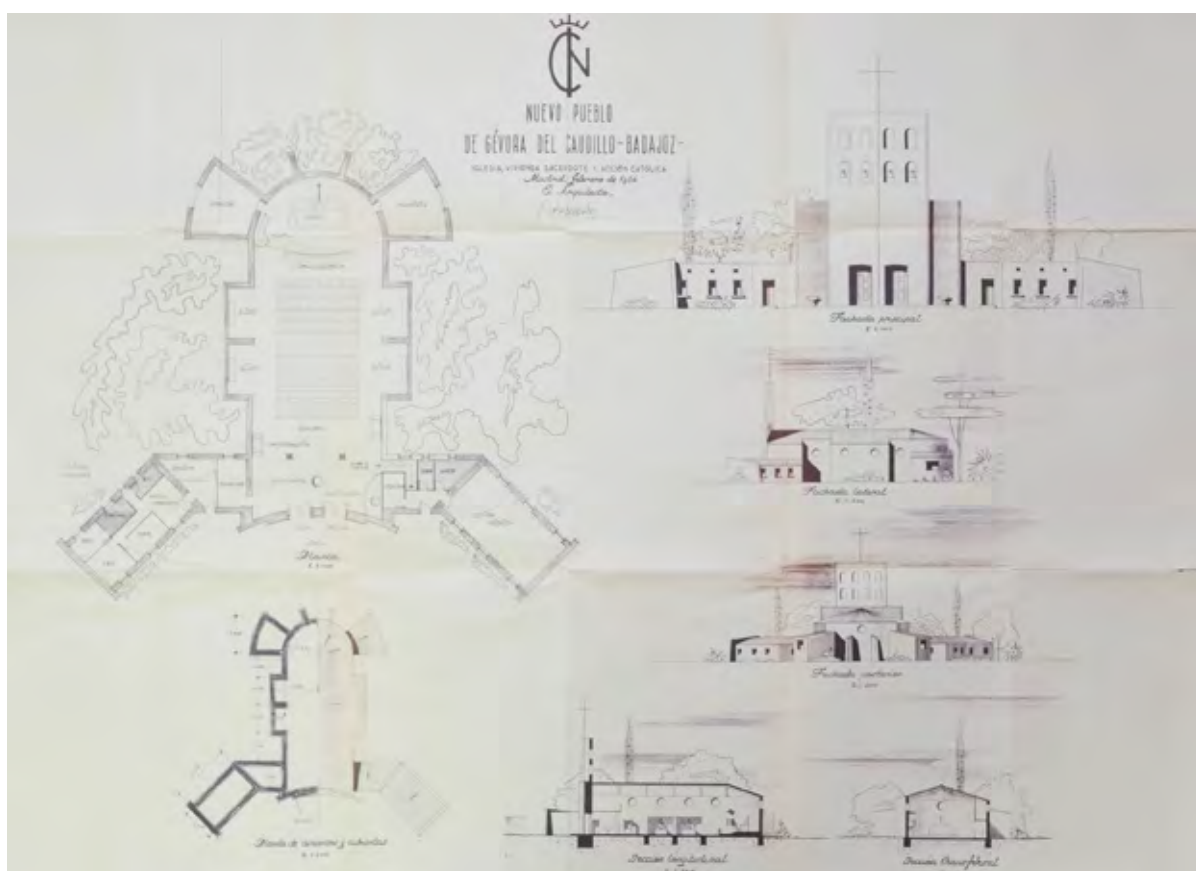
Top: I.N.C. Francisco Langle Granados. Solanillo, 1968. Still frame from Michelangelo Antonioni, *The Passenger*, 1975. © DVD Criterion Collection, 2006.

Bottom left: Francisco Langle Granados. House type. © Delegación de la Consejería de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación en Almería (ADCAPA).

Bottom right: Street view. Photo by F. Lejeune.

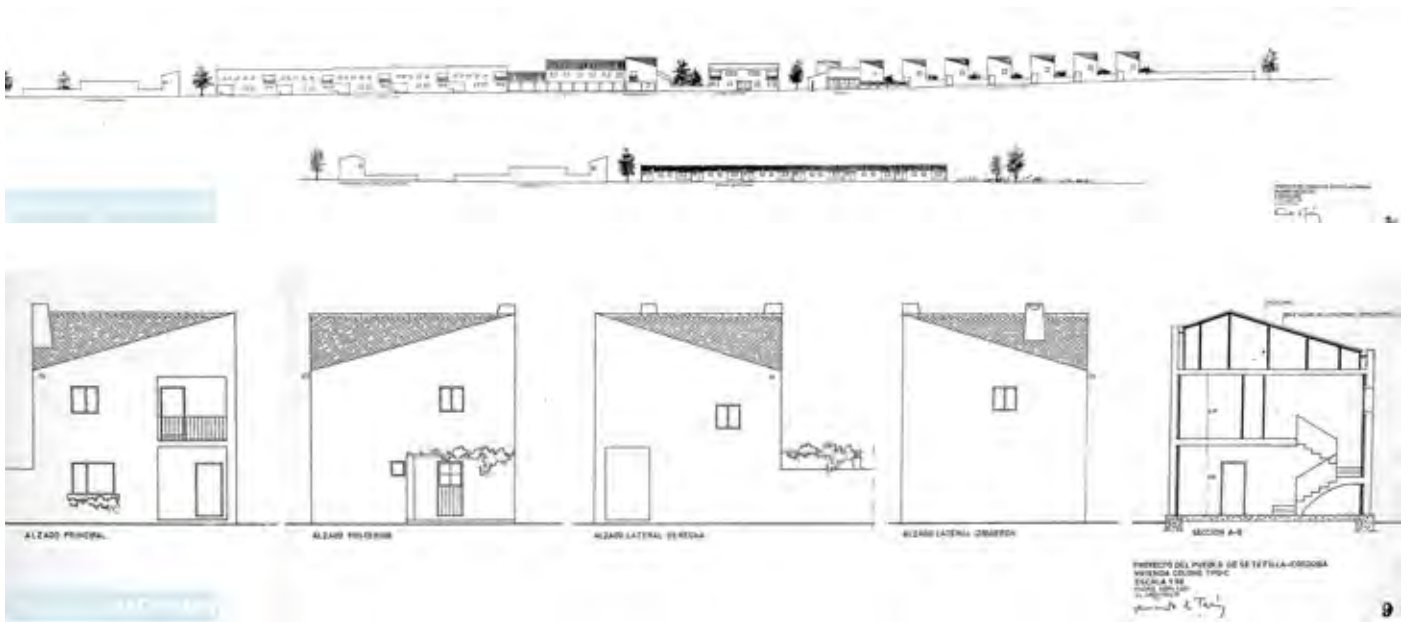


I.N.C. Carlos Arniches. Gévora del Caudillo, 1954. Aerial view and masterplan. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.
654



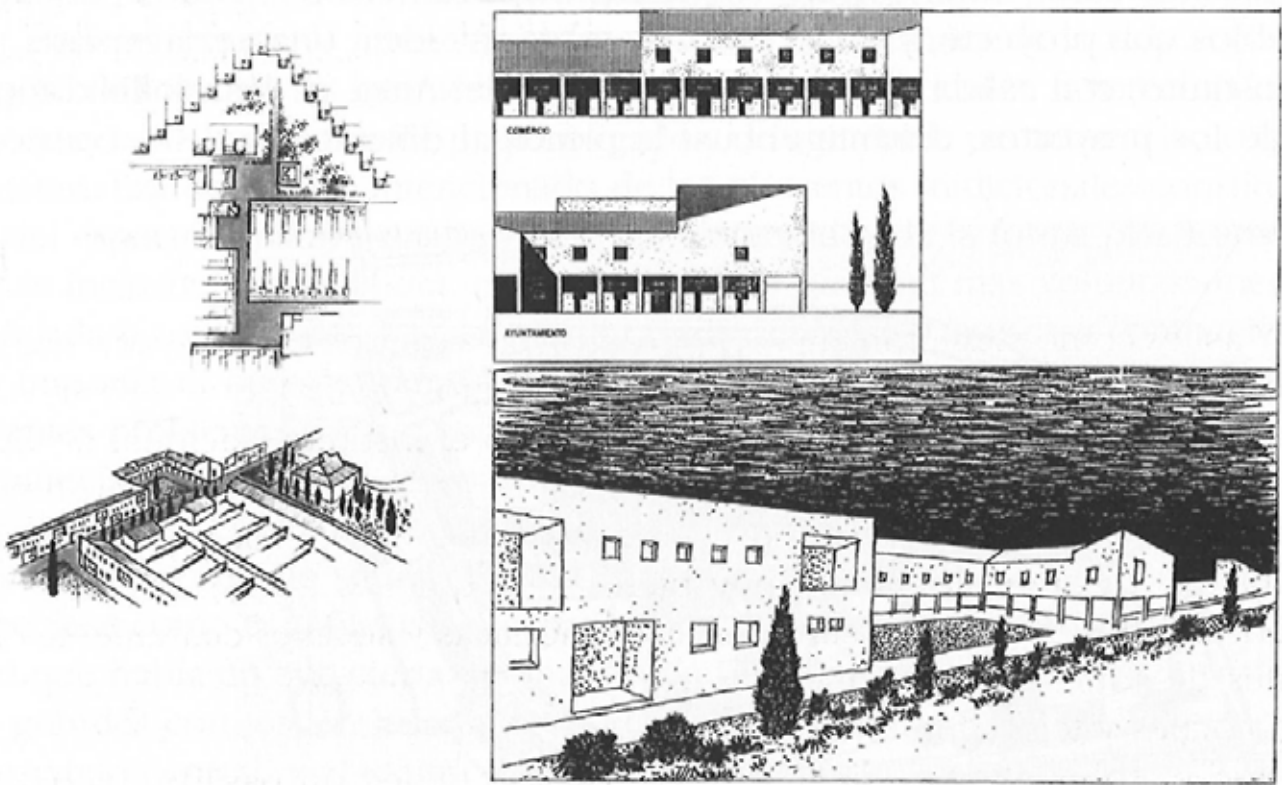
Top: I.N.C. Carlos Arniches. Gévora del Caudillo, 1954. Exterior and interior view of the church. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: Carlos Arniches. Plan, elevations, and sections of the church. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



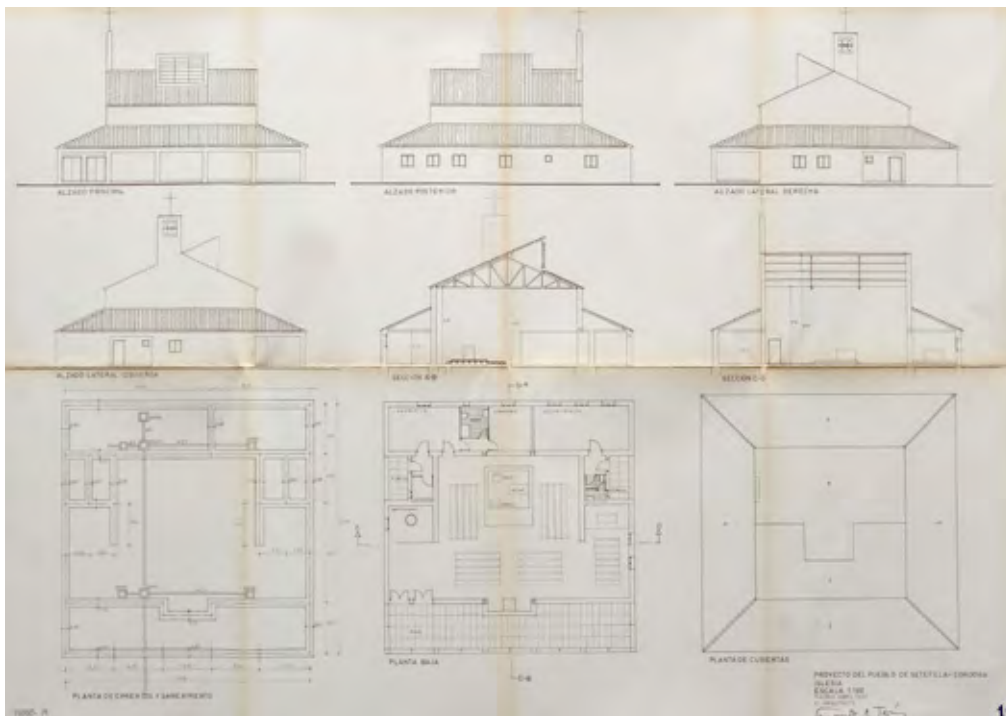
Top: I.N.C. Fernando de Terán. Setefilla, 1965. Masterplan.
 © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

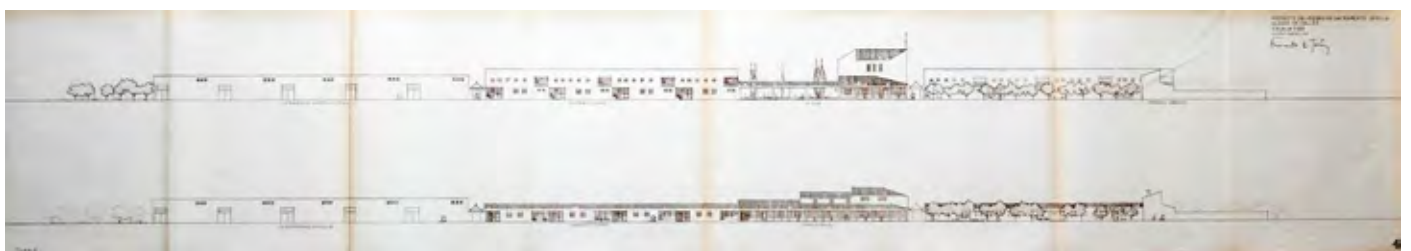
Middle and Bottom: Setefilla. Sectionthrough the town and house type
 on the edge of town. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.
 657



Top: I.N.C. Fernando de Terán. Sketches and diagrams for Setefilla, 1965. From Fernando de Terán, *El pasado activo – Del uso interesado de la historia para el entendimiento y la construcción de la ciudad*, Madrid: Akai, 2009.

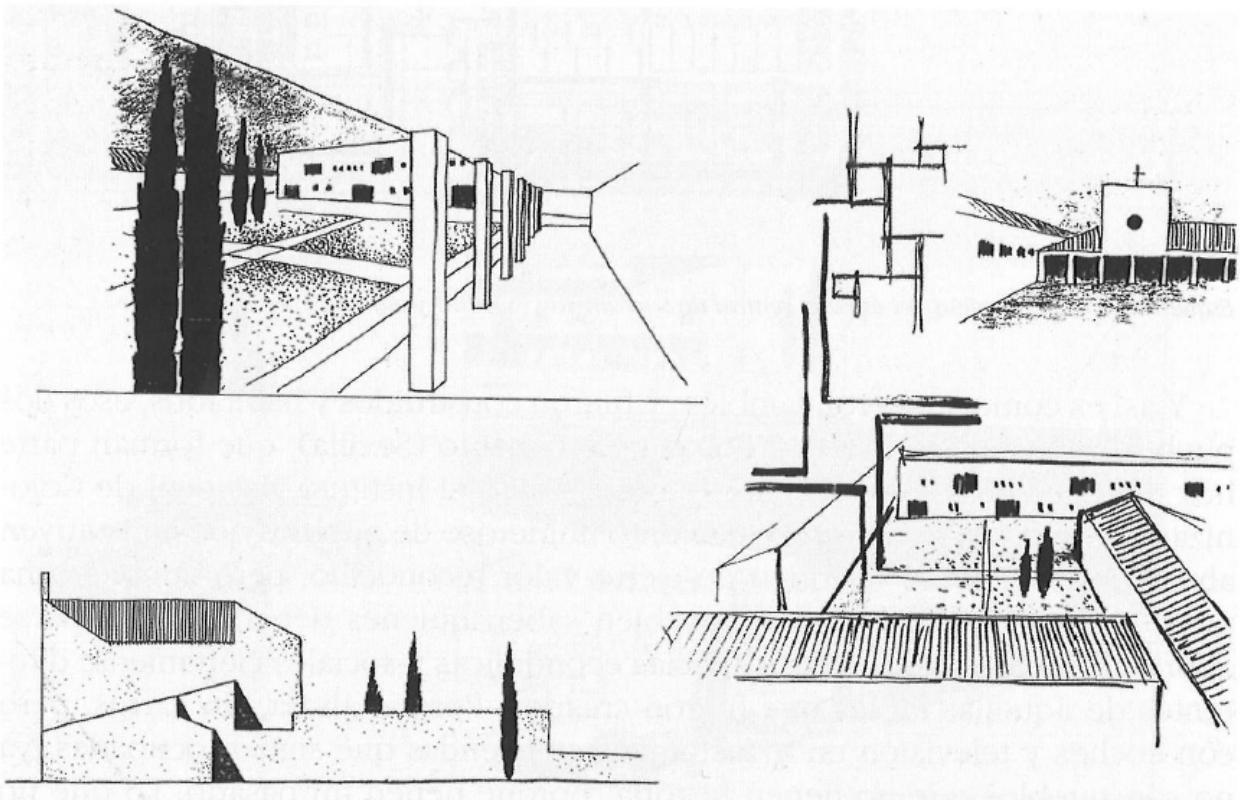
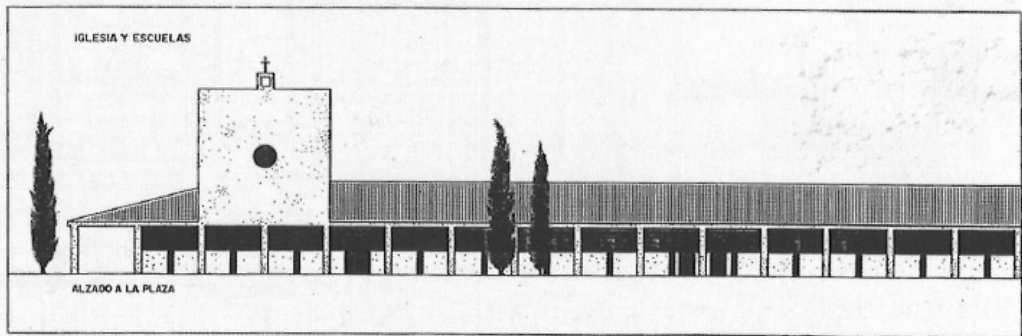
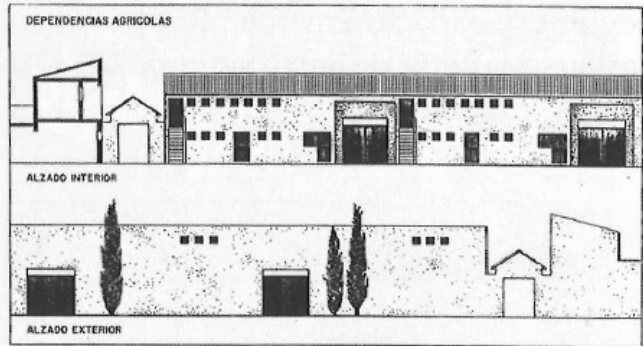
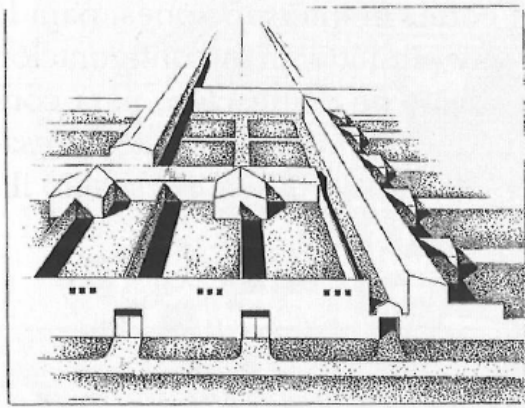
Middle and Bottom: Setefilla. Elevations of the fountain on the plaza; plans, sections and elevations of the church.
© Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.





Top: I.N.C. Fernando de Terán. Sacramento, 1965. Masterplan and sections through the town plazas. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

Bottom: Sacramento, 1965. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



I.N.C. Fernando de Terán. Sketches and diagrams for Sacramento, 1965. From Fernando de Terán, *El pasado activo – Del uso interesado de la historia para el entendimiento y la construcción de la ciudad*, Madrid: Akai, 2009.



Top: I.N.C. Fernando Cavestany. Coto de Bornos, 1952. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



Middle and bottom: I.N.C. Fernando Cavestany. Coto de Bornos, 1952. Masterplan and elevation of the Civic center. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





Top and bottom: I.N.C. Fernando Cavestany. Estella del Marqués, 1953. First version of the masterplan and section through the first version of the Plaza mayor. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



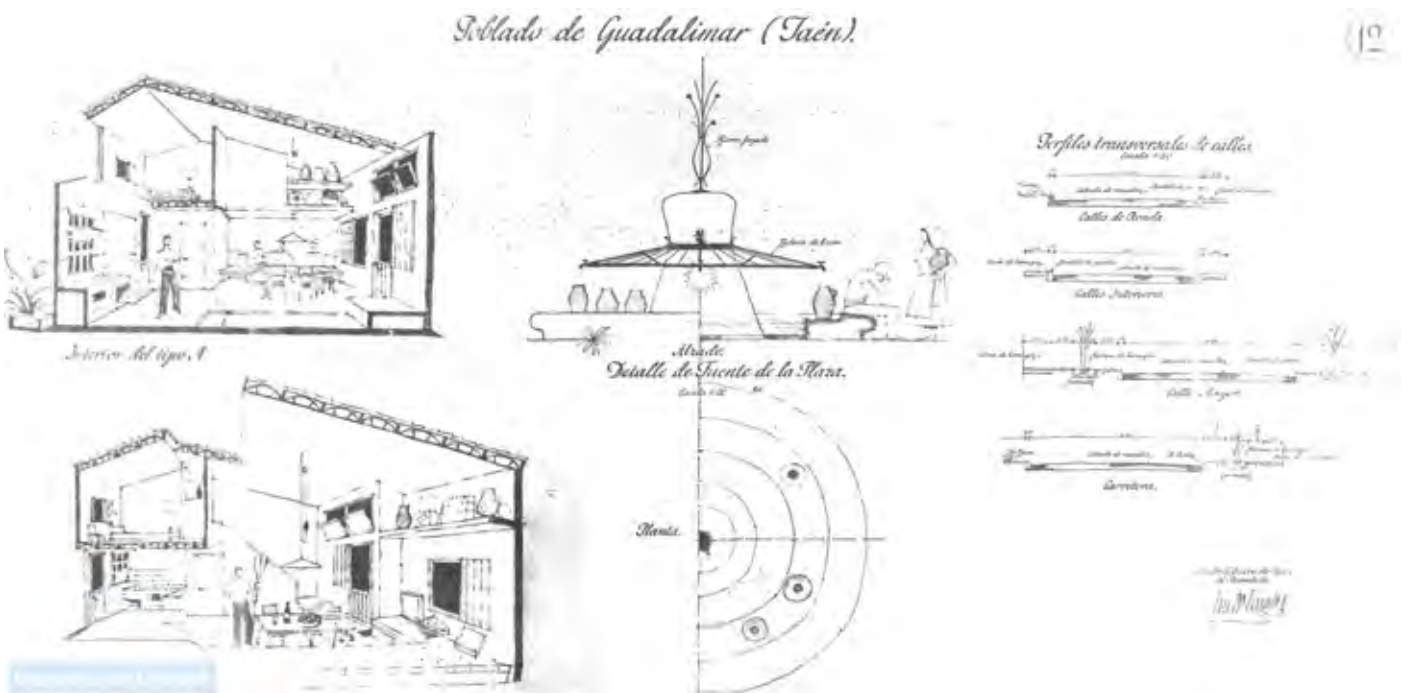
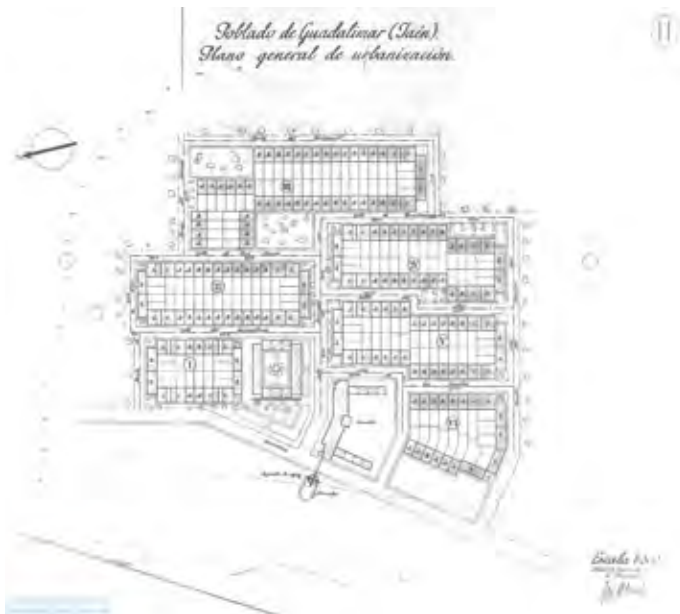
Middle: I.N.C. Fernando Cavestany. Estella del Marqués, 1953. Pedestrian street view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





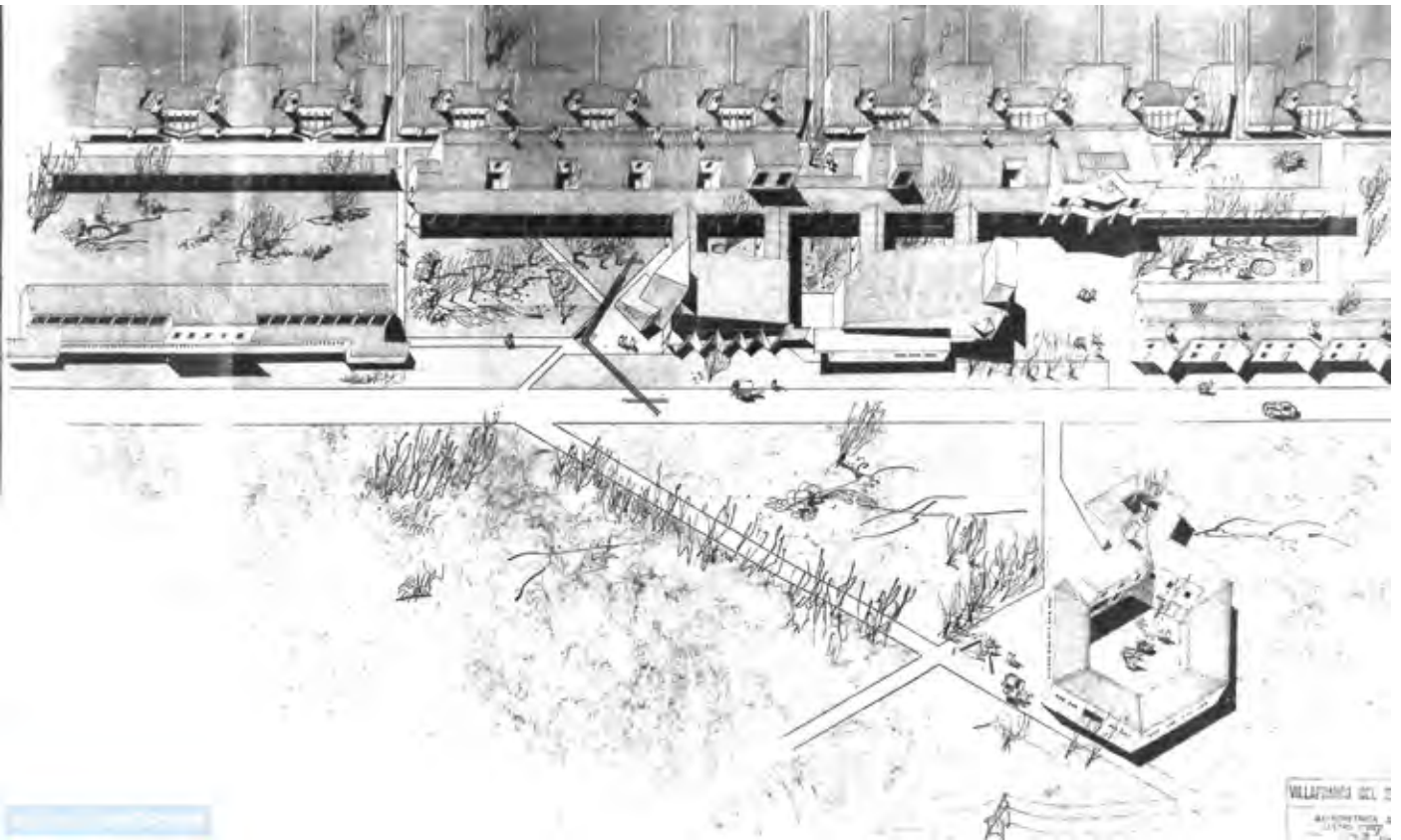
Top: I.N.C. Fernando Cavestany. Estella del Marqués, 1953.
Aerial view of the constructed version. © Archivo fotográfico del
I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: View of the Plaza mayor. Photo J.F. Lejeune.

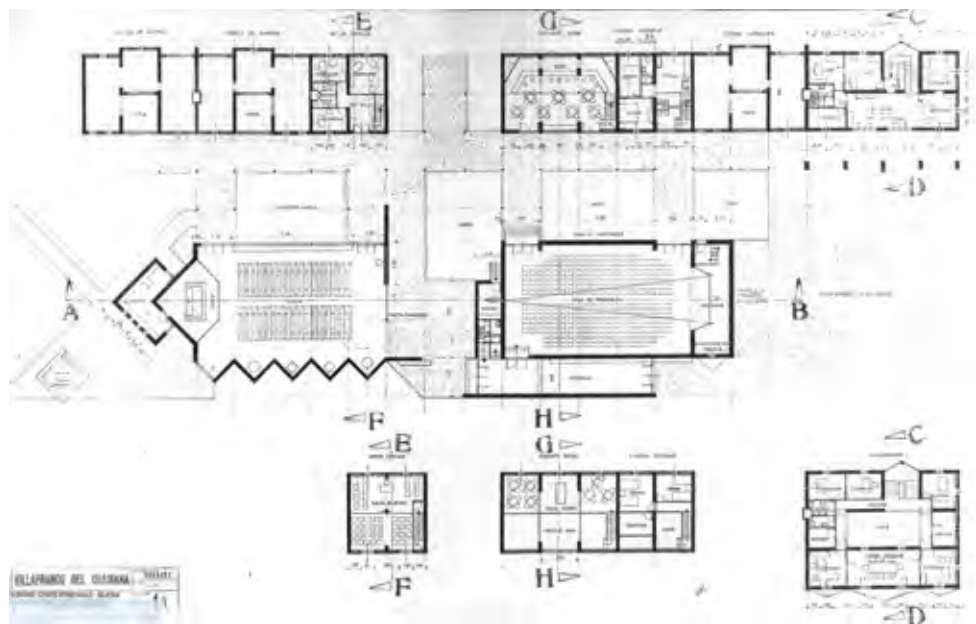


Top left and middle: I.N.C. José Antonio Corrales. Guadalimar, 1954. Masterplan, section through housing unit, details of the fountain. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Top right and bottom: I.N.C. José Antonio Corrales. Guadalimar, 1954. View of town hall (photo J.F. Lejeune). View of the entrance plaza with town hall and church. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

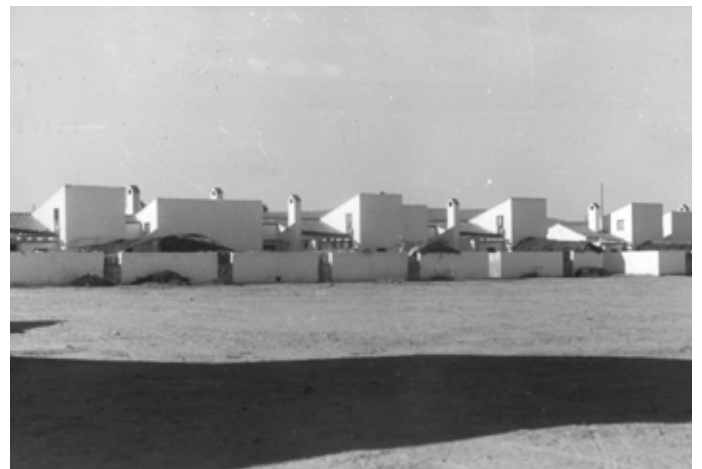


Top and middle: I.N.C. José Antonio Corrales. Villafranco del Guadiana, 1955. Axonometric view and partial plans of the Civic center. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



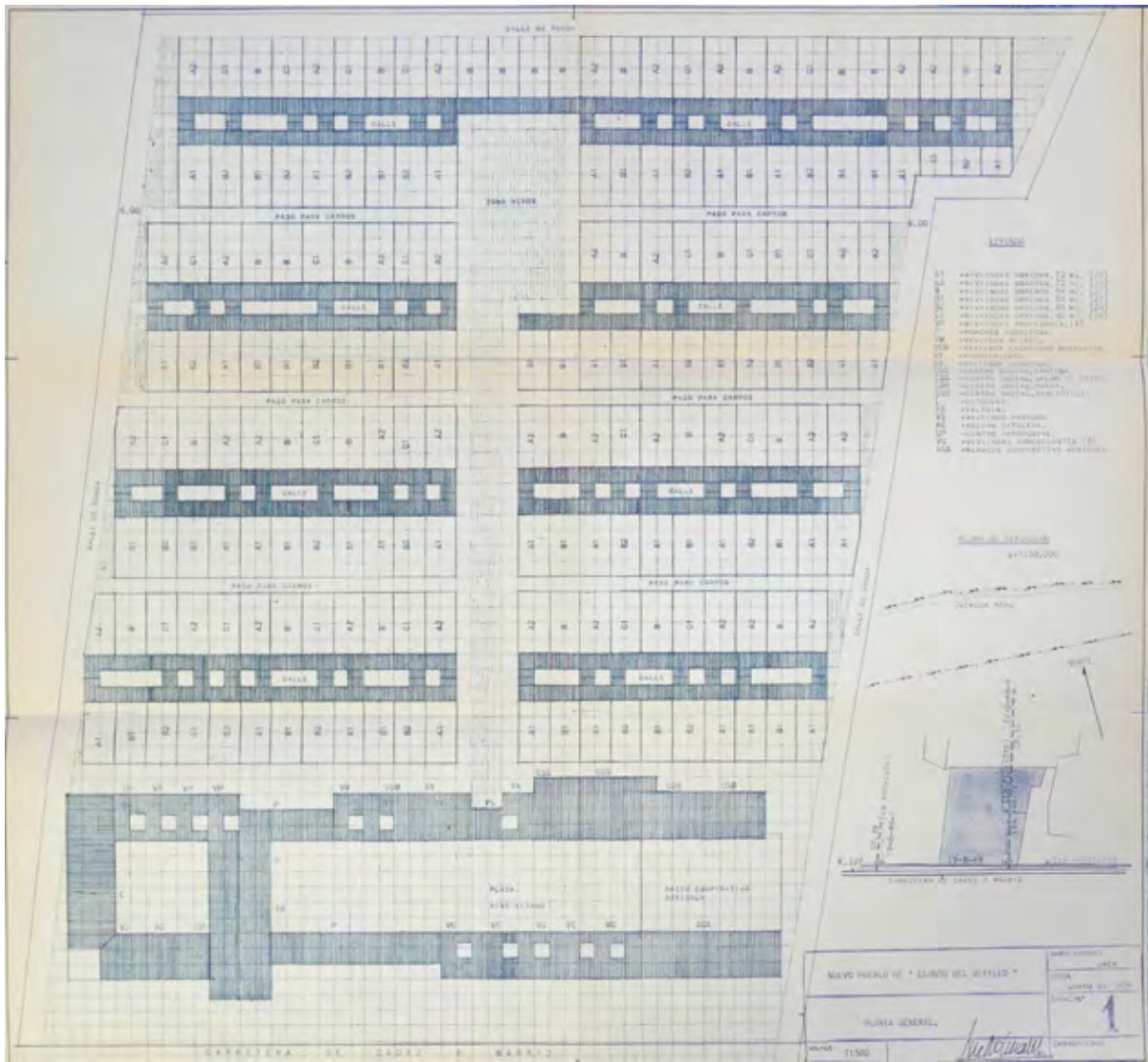
Bottom: View of a pedestrian street and view of covered arcade in the Civic center. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



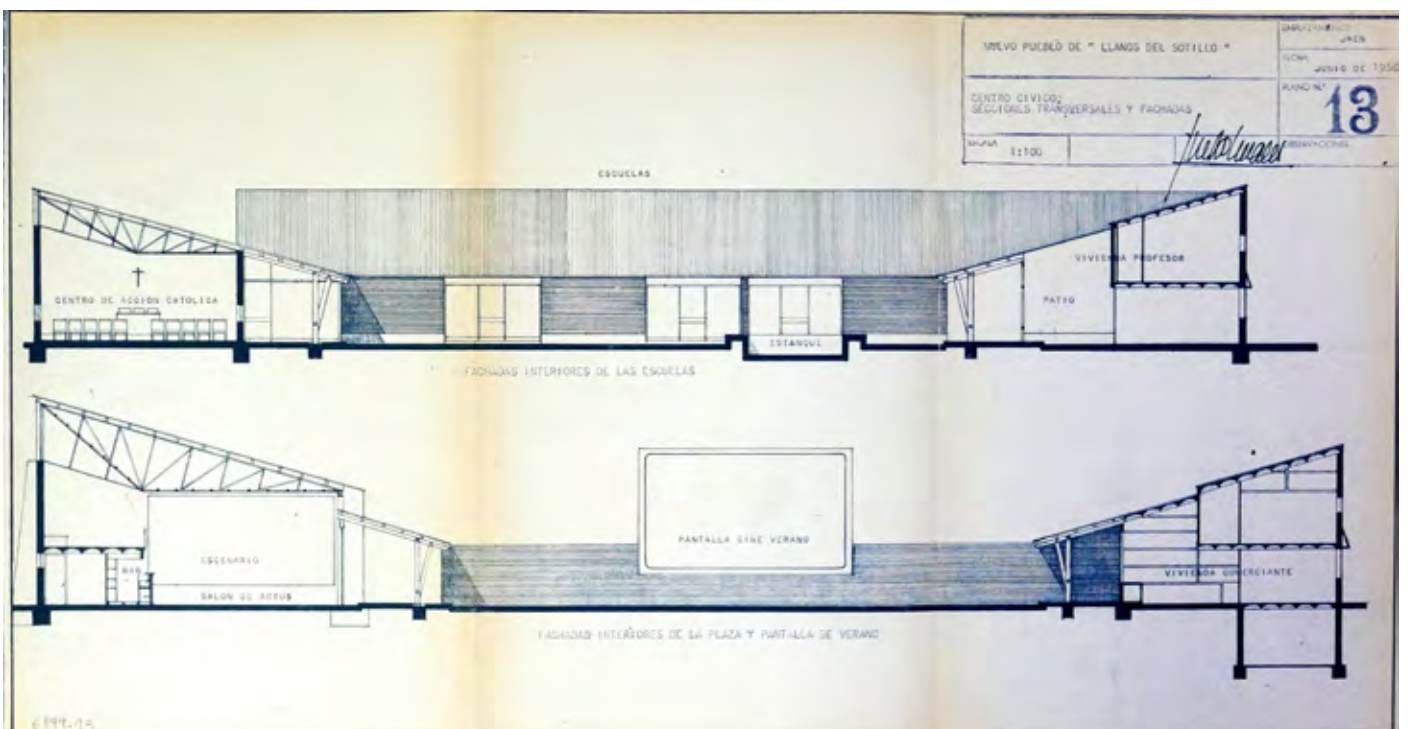


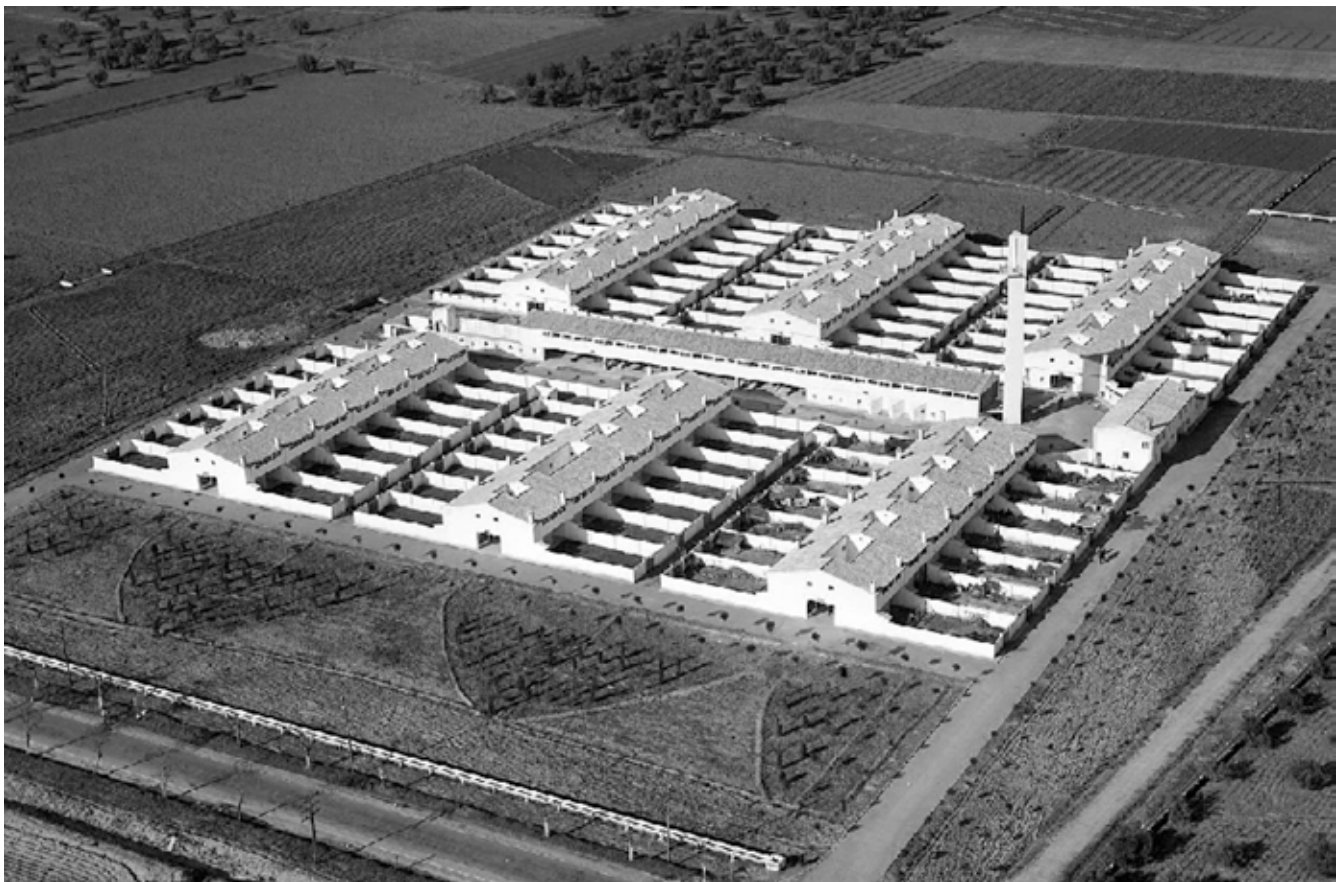
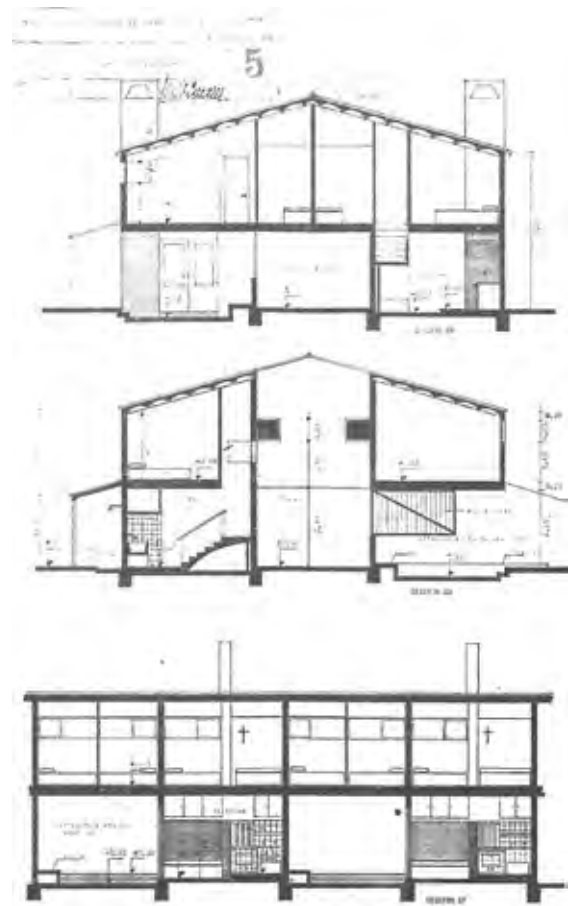
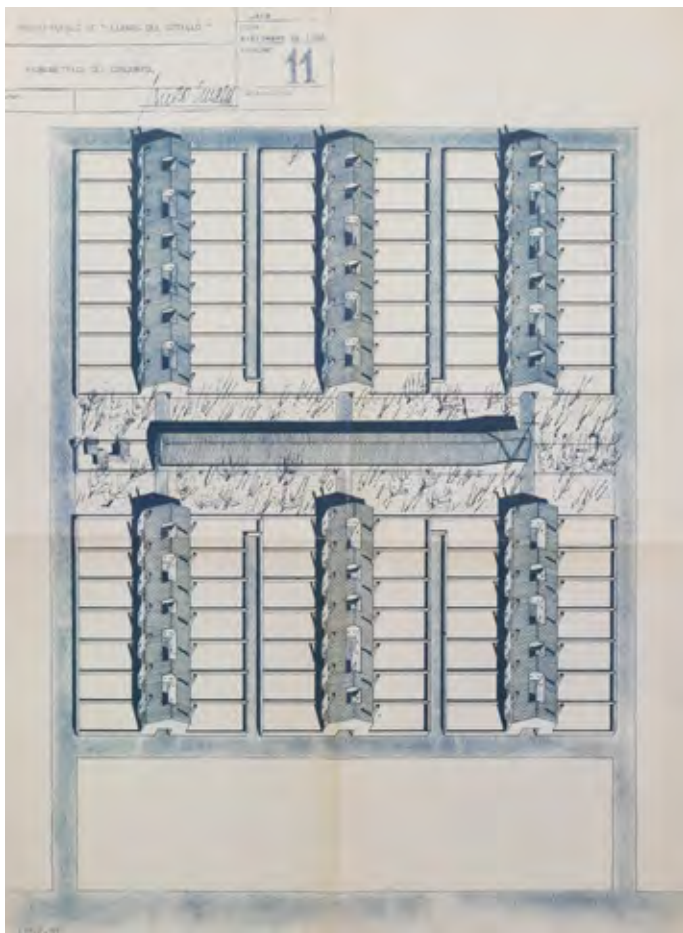
Top: I.N.C. José Antonio Corrales. Villafranco del Guadiana, 1955. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: View of a pedestrian street and partial view of the town facade on the main road. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



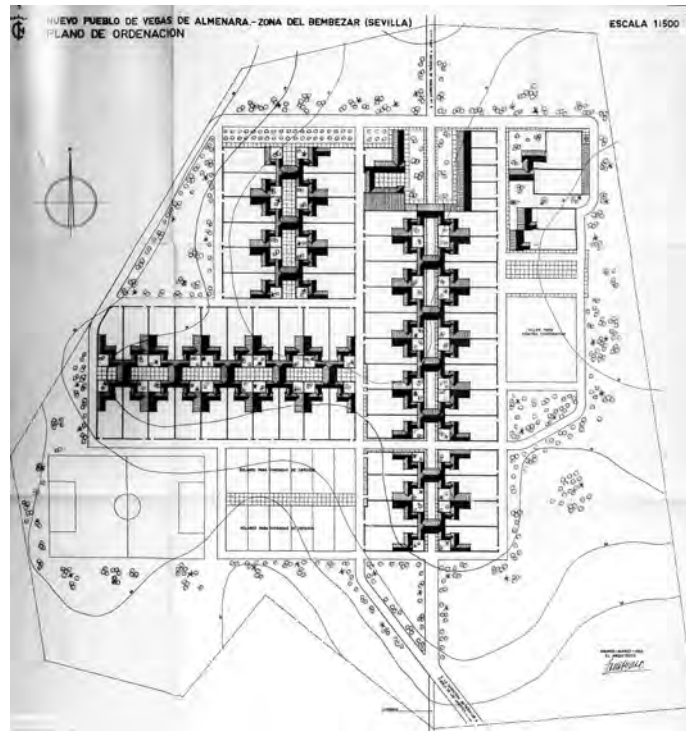
I.N.C. José Antonio Corrales. Llanos de Sotillo, 1956. Master-plan and section through Civic center (first version).
 © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.





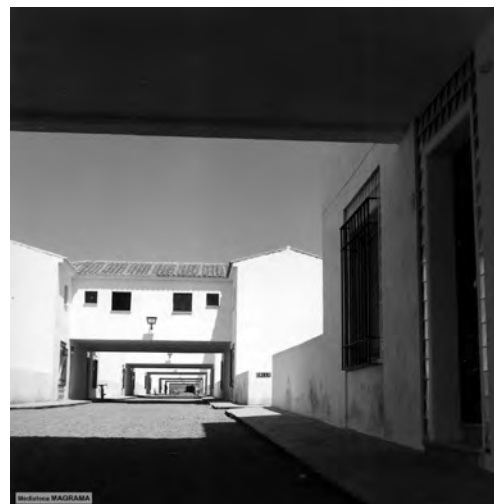
Top left: I.N.C. José Antonio Corrales. Llanos de Sotillo, 1956. Masterplan (second and realized version). © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

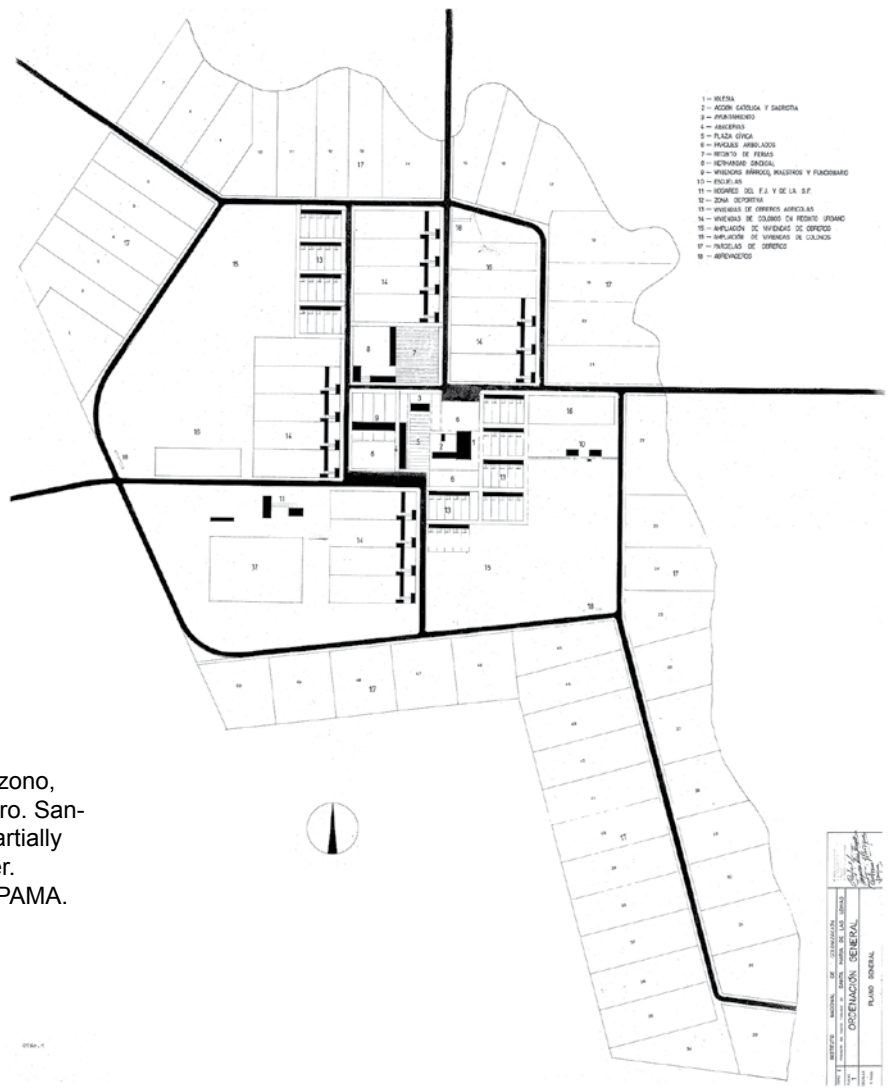
Top right and bottom: Sections through covered streets. Aerial view. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.



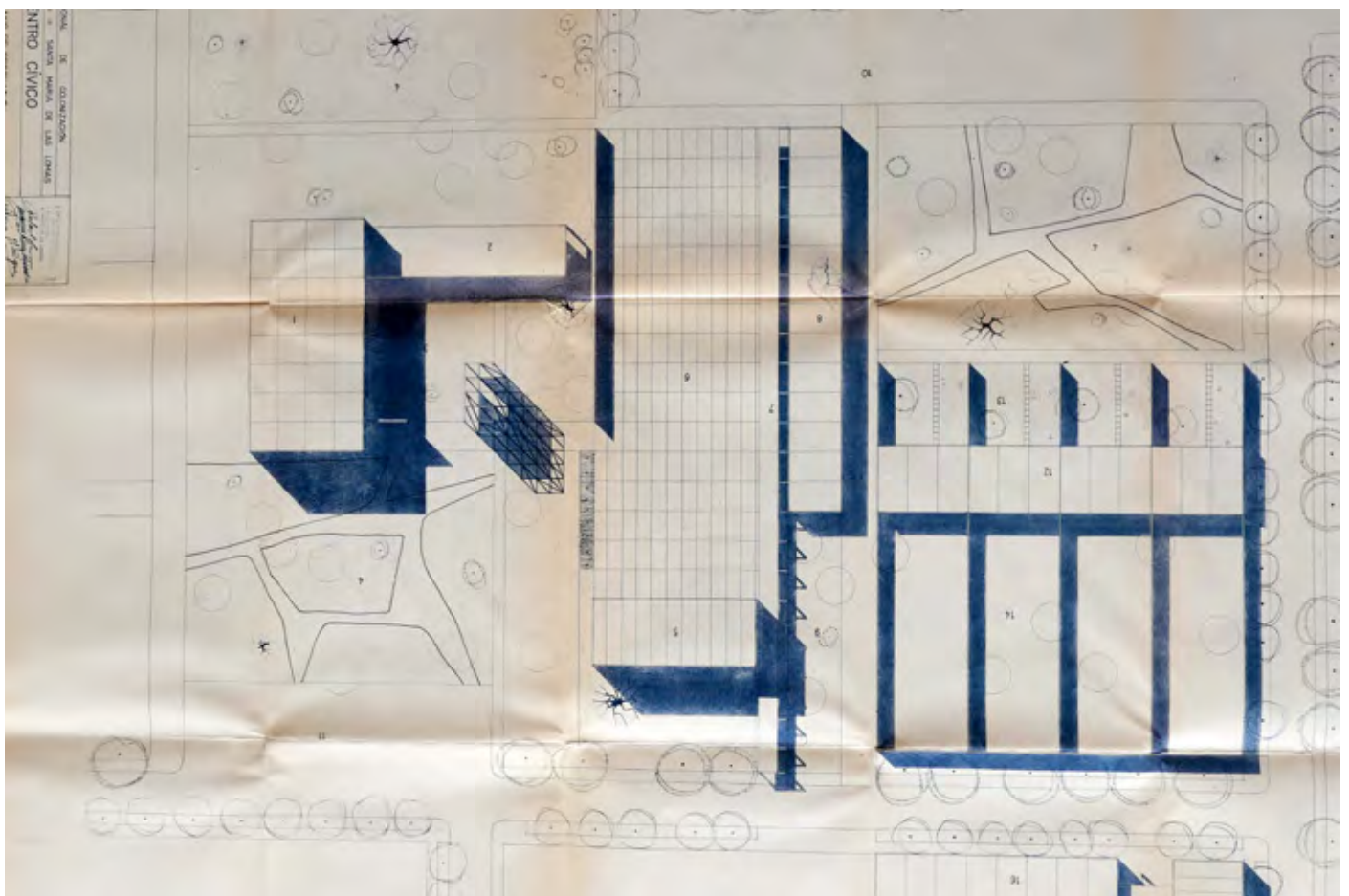
Top: I.N.C. Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo. Vegas de Almenara, 1963. Masterplan and sections through covered streets. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: I.N.C. Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo. Vegas de Almenara, 1963. View of the entrance plaza and covered streets. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.





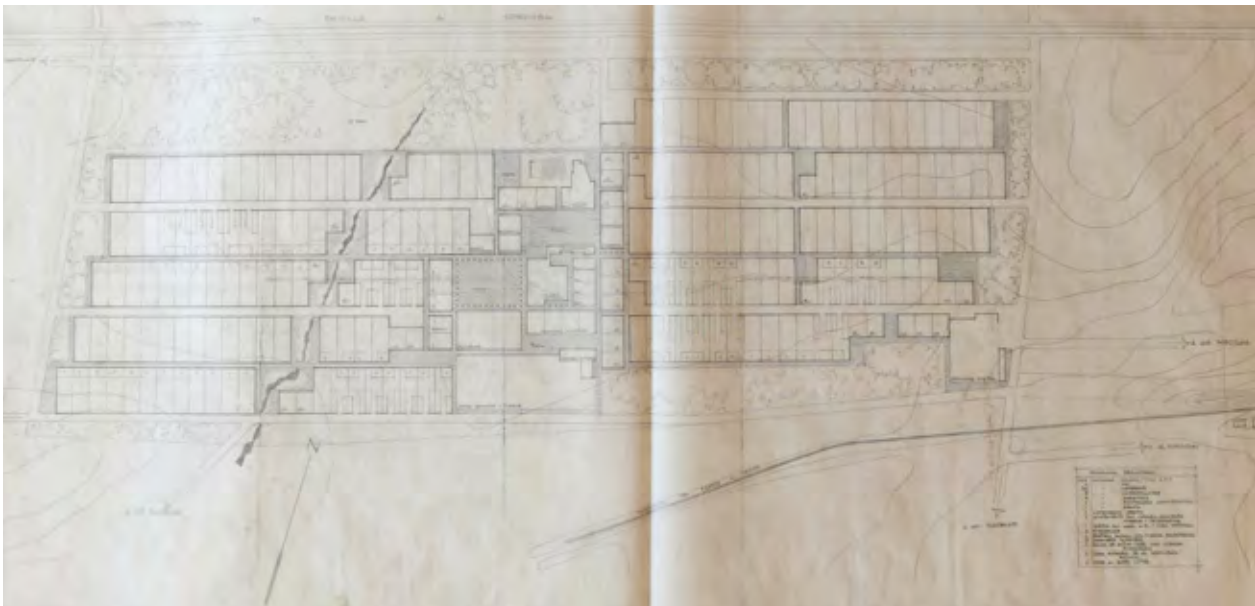
I.N.C. Rafael Leoz, José Luis Iñiguez de Onzono, Joaquín Ruiz, and Antonio Vázquez de Castro. Santa María de las Lomas, 1957. Masterplan (partially realized) and detailed plan of the Civic center.
 © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.





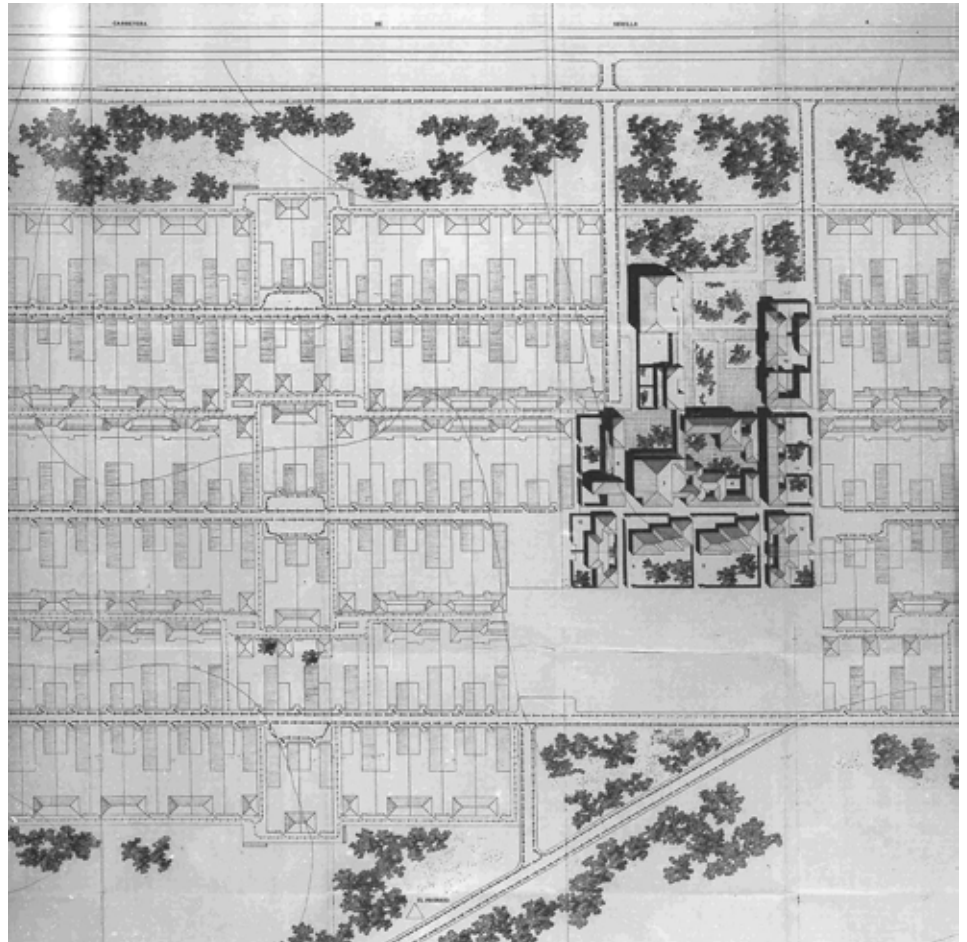
Top: I.N.C. Antonio Fernández Alba. El Priorato, 1964. Aerial view and view of the pedestrian streets. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

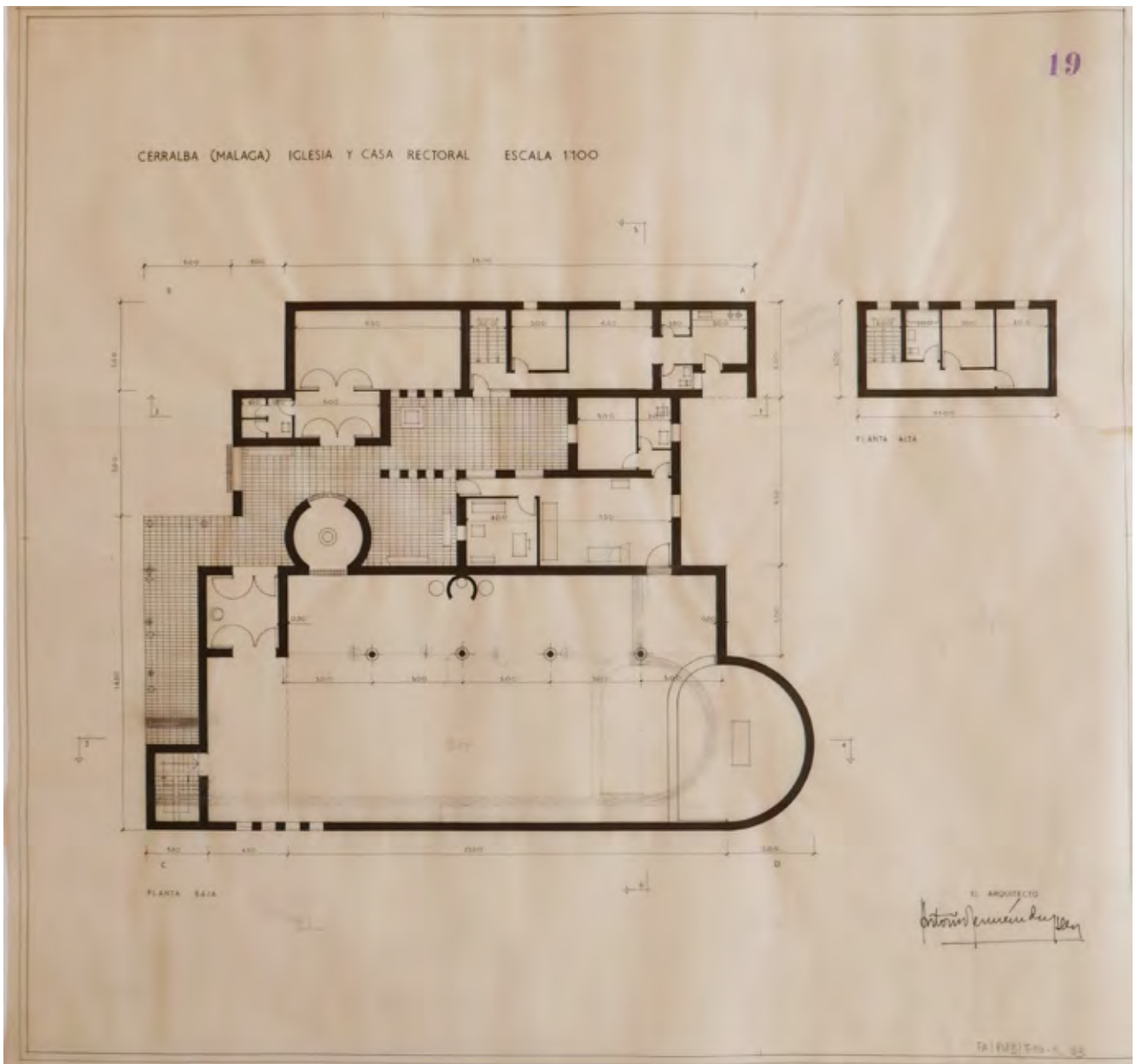
Bottom: I.N.C. Antonio Fernández Alba. El Priorato, 1964. First version of the masterplan © COAM Servicio Histórico, Archivo Fernández Alba.



Right: I.N.C. Antonio Fernández Alba. El Priorato, 1964. Final version of the masterplan (partim).
© COAM Servicio Histórico, Archivo Fernández Alba.

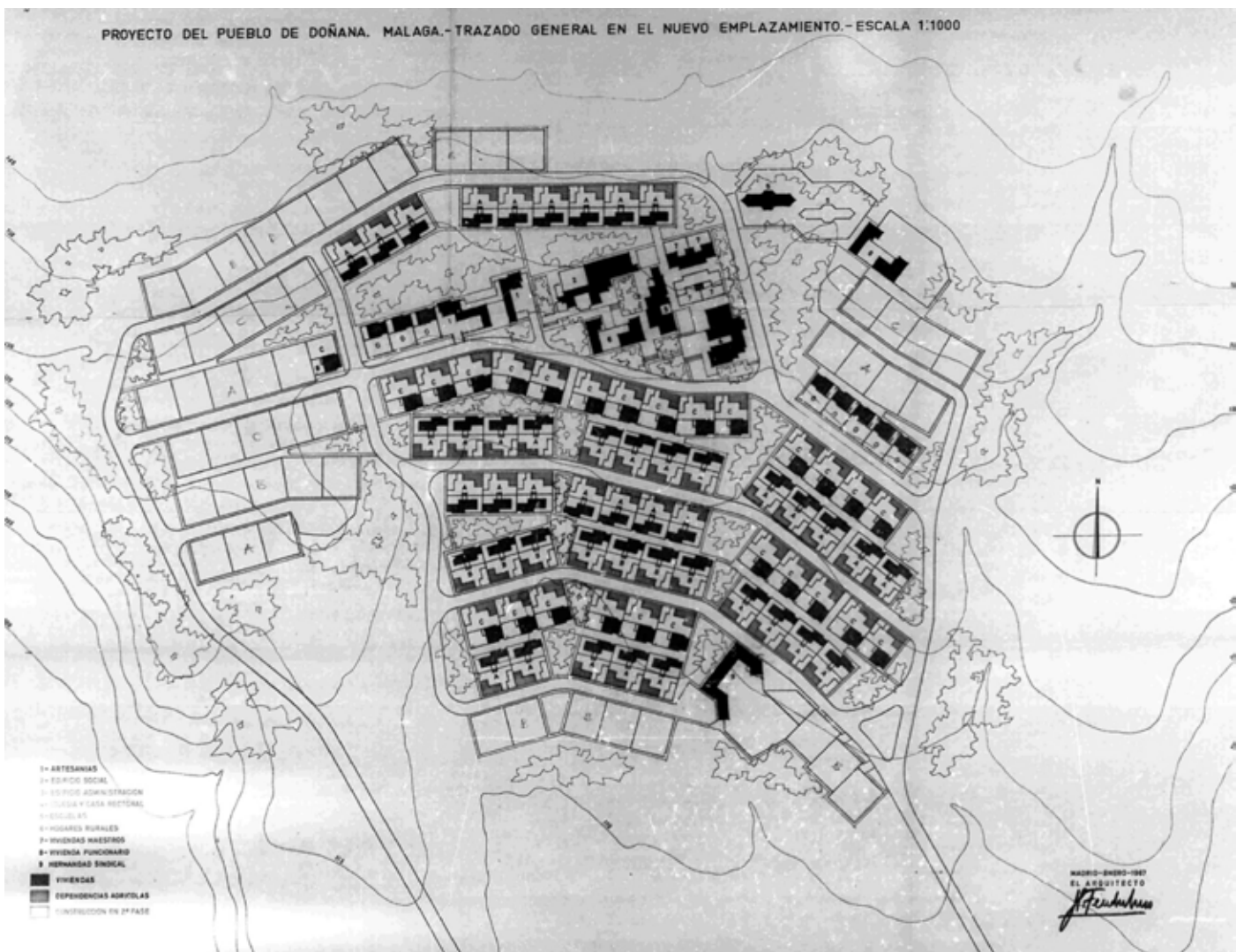
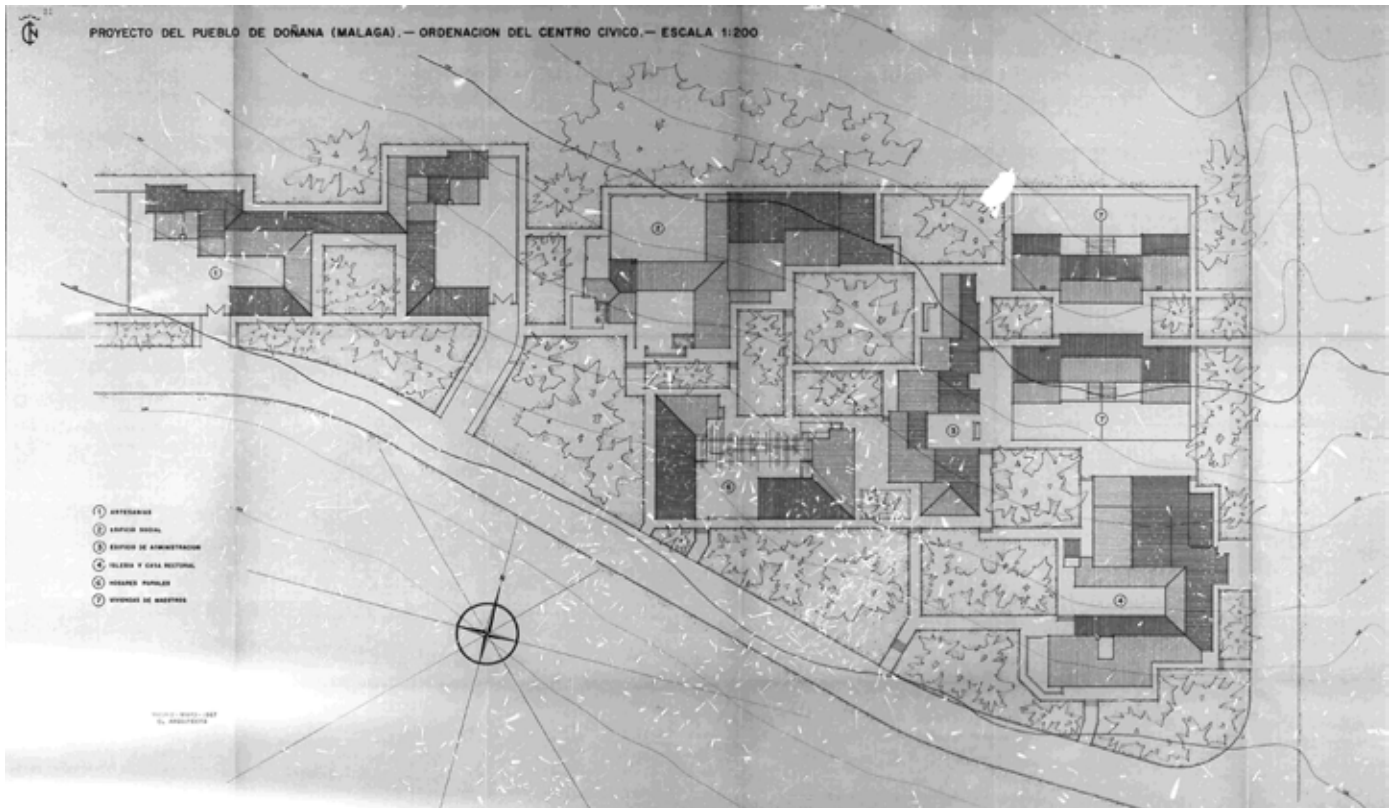
Bottom: Views of the Civic center with church tower. Photos J.F. Lejeune.





Top: I.N.C. Antonio Fernández Alba. Cerralba, 1962. View of the town within the landscape; masterplan as built. © Archivo fotográfico del I.N.C., MAPAMA.

Bottom: Antonio Fernández Alba. Cerralba, 1962. Plan of the church. © COAM Servicio Histórico, Archivo Fernández Alba.



I.N.C. Antonio Fernández Alba. Doñana, 1965. Plan of the Civic center and complete masterplan. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.



I.N.C. Victor López Morales. Villafranco del Guadalhorce (Málaga), 1962. View of the Civic center (Photo J.F. Lejeune) and masterplan. © Archivo, Secretaría General Técnica, MAPAMA.

Annex:

Note:

The list of *pueblos* that appear in the following Chronology and Morphology tables was borrowed from Miguel Centellas Soler, *Los pueblos de colonización de Fernández del Amo: Arte, arquitectura y urbanismo*, Barcelona: Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, 2010, pp. 257-266. It was reformatted to appear chronologically.

PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN: CHRONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

| NAME | PROVINCE | YEAR | ARCHITECTS | TYPE OF SQUARE | STREET SYSTEM | PEDESTRIAN |
|--|-------------|------|---|----------------|---------------|------------|
| EL TORNO | Cádiz | 1943 | José Subirana / Víctor D'Ors | Open plaza* | Curvilinear | N |
| LÁCHAR (addition) | Granada | 1943 | José Tamés Alarcón | Plaza mayor* | Hybrid | N |
| BERNUY | Toledo | 1944 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor | Hybrid | N |
| MALPICA DEL TAJO (addition) | Toledo | 1944 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor* | Grid | N |
| SAN JOSÉ DE MALCOCINADO | Cádiz | 1944 | Fernando de la Cuadra Irizar | Open plaza* | Grid | N |
| GIMENELLS | Lérida | 1945 | Alejandro de la Sota | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | Y* |
| SUCHS | Lérida | 1945 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | Y* |
| FONCASTIN | Valladolid | 1946 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| LA VID | Burgos | 1946 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| TAHIVILLA | Cádiz | 1946 | Fernando de la Cuadra Irizar | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| EL TEMPLE | Huesca | 1947 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | Y* |
| GUADALEMA DE LOS QUINTEROS | Sevilla | 1947 | Aníbal González Gómez | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| LA BARCA DE LA FLORIDA | Cádiz | 1947 | Víctor D'Ors | Plaza mayor | Hybrid | N |
| LAS TORRES | Sevilla | 1947 | Germán Valentín-Gamazo | None | Hybrid | N |
| SAN ISIDRO DE BENAGEVER | Valencia | 1947 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| SOBRADIEL (addition) | Zaragoza | 1947 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza* | Hybrid | N |
| VALDELACALZADA | Badajoz | 1947 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Plaza mayor | Grid | Y* |
| CORTIJO SAN ISIDRO | Madrid | 1948 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Historic* | Historic* | N |
| ENCINAREJO DE LOS FRAILES (DE CORDOBA) | Córdoba | 1948 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| GUADIANA DEL CAUDILLO | Badajoz | 1948 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Plaza mayor | Grid | Y* |
| ONTINAR DEL SALZ | Zaragoza | 1948 | José Borobio Ojeda | Polycentric | Grid | Y* |
| EL CUERVO | Sevilla | 1949 | Fernando de la Cuadra Irizar | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| AGUEDA DEL CAUDILLO | Salamanca | 1949 | Santiago García Mesalles / Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| BELVIS DEL JARAMA | Madrid | 1949 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Plaza mayor | Hybrid | N |
| LA RINCONADA | Toledo | 1949 | César Casado de Pablos | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| LOS VILLARES | Jaén | 1949 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| SAN ANTONIO BENAGEVER | Valencia | 1949 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | Y* |
| VILLANUEVA DE FRANCO (CONSOLACIÓN) | Ciudad Real | 1949 | Arturo Roldán Palomo | Open plaza | Hybrid | N |
| GUMA | Burgos | 1951 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| HUERTO MELCHOR | Valencia | 1951 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | N/A | | |
| JOSÉ ANTONIO | Cádiz | 1951 | Manuel Lacasa y Suárez-Inclán | Plaza mayor | Curvilinear | N |
| SAN JULIÁN | Jaén | 1951 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | Y* |
| TORRECERA | Cádiz | 1951 | Manuel Lacasa y Suárez-Inclán | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| ALBERCHE DEL CAUDILLO | Toledo | 1952 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | Y* |
| COTO DE BORNOS | Cádiz | 1952 | Fernando Cavestany | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| ESQUIVEL | Sevilla | 1952 | Alejandro de la Sota | Open plaza | Curvilinear | Y |
| LA INA | Cádiz | 1952 | Ricardo Santa Cruz / Adolfo Aguilera | Plaza mayor** | Assemblage | N |
| LAS VEGAS DE PUEBLANUEVA | Toledo | 1952 | César Casado de Pablos | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |

PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN: CHRONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

| NAME | PROVINCE | YEAR | ARCHITECTS | TYPE OF SQUARE | STREET SYSTEM | PEDESTRIAN |
|---------------------------------|-------------|------|-------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|------------|
| PAREDES DE MELO | Cuenca | 1952 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Polycentric | Grid | N |
| PUEBLONUEVO DEL GUADIANA | Badajoz | 1952 | Miguel Herrero Urgel | Polycentric | Hybrid | N |
| SAN ISIDRO DE GUADALETE | Cádiz | 1952 | Manuel Lacasa y Suárez-Inclán | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| SOTO DE CALERA | Toledo | 1952 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| TALAVERA LA NUEVA | Toledo | 1952 | César Casado de Pablos | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| TORRE DE LA REINA | Sevilla | 1952 | Rafael Arévalo / José Tamés Alarcón | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | Y |
| ALGALLARIN | Córdoba | 1953 | Carlos Arniches Molto | Polycentric | Hybrid | N |
| ARRABAL DE SAN SEBASTIAN | Salamanca | 1953 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Open plaza | Hybrid | N |
| BARDENA DEL CAUDILLO (BARDENAS) | Zaragoza | 1953 | José Beltrán Navarro | Civic center | Hybrid, 2nd section 1961 | N |
| EL BERCIAL | Toledo | 1953 | César Casado de Pablos | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| ESTELLA DEL MARQUÉS | Cádiz | 1953 | Fernando Cavestany | Open plaza | Grid | Y |
| GUADALCACÍN DEL CAUDILLO | Cádiz | 1953 | Manuel Lacasa y Suárez-Inclán | Plaza mayor | Grid | Y* |
| GUADALÉN DEL CAUDILLO | Jaén | 1953 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| LA JOYOSA Y MARLOFA | Zaragoza | 1953 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| LA ROPERA | Jaén | 1953 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| LLANOS DEL CAUDILLO | Ciudad Real | 1953 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| MONTESUSÍN | Huesca | 1953 | Antonio Barbany Bailo | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| NUEVAJARRILLA | Cádiz | 1953 | Manuel Lacasa y Suárez-Inclán | Civic center | Grid | N |
| PILUÉ (SABINAR) | Zaragoza | 1953 | José Beltrán Navarro | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| PUIGMORENO | Teruel | 1953 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Curvilinear | N |
| PUILATO | Huesca | 1953 | José Borobio Ojeda | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| RINCÓN DE BALLESTEROS | Cáceres | 1953 | Carlos Sobrini Marín | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| SABINAR | Navarra | 1953 | José Beltrán Navarro | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| SAN ANTONIO DEL CARPIO | Córdoba | 1953 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| SAN ANTONIO | Toledo | 1953 | César Casado de Pablos | Plaza mayor (cannot be found) | Grid | N |
| SAN BERNARDO | Valladolid | 1953 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Plaza mayor with Historic Monastery | Grid | N |
| SAN ISIDRO DE ALBATERA | Alicante | 1953 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Polycentric | Grid | N |
| SANTA ANASTASIA | Zaragoza | 1953 | José Beltrán Navarro | Plaza mayor | Hybrid | N |
| VALMUEL DEL CAUDILLO | Teruel | 1953 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Curvilinear | N |
| ARTASONA DEL LLANO | Huesca | 1954 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| EL CALONGE | Córdoba | 1954 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Plaza mayor / Polycentric incomplete | Assemblage | N |
| DONADÍO | Jaén | 1954 | José Manuel González Valcarcel | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| EL BAYO | Zaragoza | 1954 | José Beltrán Navarro | Civic center | Grid | N |
| EL PARADOR DE LA ASUNCIÓN | Almería | 1954 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Plaza & tower | Grid | N |
| FIGAROL | Navarra | 1954 | Domingo Artiz / Fernando Nagore | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| FRULA | Huesca | 1954 | F. Hernanz | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| GÉVORA DEL CAUDILLO | Badajoz | 1954 | Carlos Arniches Molto | Polycentric | Grid | Y* |
| GUADALIMAR | Jaén | 1954 | José Antonio Corrales | Open plaza | Grid | N |

PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN: CHRONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

| NAME | PROVINCE | YEAR | ARCHITECTS | TYPE OF SQUARE | STREET SYSTEM | PEDESTRIAN |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------|---|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| LA BAZANA | Badajoz | 1954 | Alejandro de la Sota | Civic center* | Curvilinear | Y |
| LA MOHEDA DE GATA | Cáceres | 1954 | César Casado de Pablos | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| MOGÓN | Jaén | 1954 | Víctor López Morales | Plaza mayor / Top of the hill | Assemblage | N |
| NOVELDA DEL GUADIANA | Badajoz | 1954 | Juan Luis Manzano Monis | Polycentric | Hybrid | Y |
| PINSORO | Zaragoza | 1954 | José Beltrán Navarro | Plaza mayor | Hybrid, 3 sections | N |
| RADA | Navarra | 1954 | Eugenio Arraiza Vilella | Civic center | Grid | N |
| ROQUETAS DE MAR (addition) | Almería | 1954 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Plaza | Grid | N |
| SAGRAJAS | Badajoz | 1954 | Alonso García Noreña | Polycentric | Grid | N |
| SAN FRANCISCO DE OLIVENZA | Badajoz | 1954 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Civic center | Hybrid | N |
| SAN IGNACIO DEL VIAR | Sevilla | 1954 | Aníbal González Gómez | Plaza mayor | Curvilinear | Y |
| SAN JORGE | Huesca | 1954 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| SAN MIGUEL | Jaén | 1954 | José Manuel González Valcarcel | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| SAN RAFAEL DE LA SANTA ESPINA | Valladolid | 1954 | Fernando Cavestany | Open plaza | Grid (linear) | N |
| SAN RAFAEL DE OLIVENZA | Badajoz | 1954 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Polycentric / Civic center | Hybrid | N |
| SANCHO ABARCA | Zaragoza | 1954 | Carlos Sobrini Marín | Plaza mayor circular | Assemblage | Y |
| SANJUANEJO | Salamanca | 1954 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | Y* |
| SANTA ENGRACIA | Zaragoza | 1954 | Antonio Barbany Bailo | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | Y* |
| SANTA QUITERIA | Ciudad Real | 1954 | César Casado de Pablos | Polycentric | Assemblage | Y* |
| SANTO TOMÉ | Jaén | 1954 | Víctor López Morales | Open plaza | Grid (linear) | Y |
| SOLANA DE TORRALBA | Jaén | 1954 | Juan Piqueras Menéndez | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| TROYA | Sevilla | 1954 | Aníbal González Gómez | | | |
| VALAREÑA | Zaragoza | 1954 | José Beltrán Navarro | Polycentric | Assemblage | N |
| VALDECAZORLA | Jaén | 1954 | Gonzalo Echegaray Comba | Open plaza | Grid (linear) | N |
| VALSALADA | Huesca | 1954 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Curvilinear | N |
| VALUENGO | Badajoz | 1954 | Alejandro de la Sota | Civic center | Curvilinear | Y |
| VEGAVIANA | Cáceres | 1954 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Civic center | Grid | Y |
| VERACRUZ | Jaén | 1954 | Gonzalo Echegaray Comba | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| ALDEA DE SANTA CRUZ | Córdoba | 1955 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Street | | |
| BALBOA | Badajoz | 1955 | José González Valcarcel | Civic center | Grid | N |
| CALERA (SOTO DE CALERA) | Toledo | 1955 | César Casado de Pablos | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| GUADAJIRA | Badajoz | 1955 | Gonzalo Echegaray Comba | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| IVANREY | Salamanca | 1955 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo / Miguel Ángel Leal Echevarría | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| PUEBLONUEVO DEL BULLAQUE | Ciudad Real | 1955 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Civic center | Grid (linear) | N |
| RINCÓN DEL OBISPO | Cáceres | 1955 | Genaro Alas | Civic center | Grid / special** | N |
| VIAR DEL CAUDILLO | Sevilla | 1955 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| VILLAFRANCO DEL DELTA | Tarragona | 1955 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| VILLAFRANCO DEL GUADIANA | Badajoz | 1955 | José Antonio Corrales | Civic center | Grid (linear) | Y |
| VILLALBA DE CALATRAVA | Ciudad Real | 1955 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Plaza mayor | Grid / special** | N |
| ARROTURAS | Jaén | 1956 | Juan Ponce Bago | Open Plaza | Hybrid | N |

PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN: CHRONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

| NAME | PROVINCE | YEAR | ARCHITECTS | TYPE OF SQUARE | STREET SYSTEM | PEDESTRIAN |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|------|--------------------------------|----------------|---------------|------------|
| BARBAÑO | Badajoz | 1956 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| BARCENA DEL CAUDILLO (DEL BIERZO) | León | 1956 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| BURGUILLOS (addition) | Sevilla | 1956 | Aníbal González Gómez | N/A | Grid | N |
| LA CARTUJA DE MONEGROS | Huesca | 1956 | José Beltrán Navarro | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| CONEJERA | Salamanca | 1956 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | N/A | | |
| CURBE | Huesca | 1956 | Javier Calvo Lorea | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| ENTRERRÍOS | Badajoz | 1956 | Alejandro de la Sota | Civic center | Curvilinear | Y |
| FRESNO ALHÁNDIGA | Salamanca | 1956 | Santiago García Mesalles | Civic center | Grid | N |
| FUENSANTA | Granada | 1956 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Plaza mayor | Curvilinear | N |
| FUENTE NUEVA | León | 1956 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Civic center | Grid | N |
| GARGALIGAS | Badajoz | 1956 | Manuel Bastarache | Civic center | Grid | N |
| GUADALPERALES (LOS) | Badajoz | 1956 | Juan Luis Manzano Monis | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| LA ALCAZABA | Badajoz | 1956 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| LA QUINTERIA | Jaén | 1956 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| LORETO | Granada | 1956 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| LLANOS DE SOTILLO | Jaén | 1956 | José Antonio Corrales | Civic center | Grid | Y |
| PEÑUELAS | Granada | 1956 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| PLA DE LA FONT (EL PLACITA) | Lérida | 1956 | José Borobio Ojeda | Open plaza | Hybrid | N |
| POSADA DEL BIERZO | León | 1956 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| PUEBLONUEVO DE MIRAMONTES | Cáceres | 1956 | Agustín Delgado de Robles | Civic center | Grid | N |
| PUENTE DEL OBISPO | Jaén | 1956 | Gonzalo Echegaray Comba | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| RUECAS | Badajoz | 1956 | Máximo Fernández Baanantes | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| ROSALEJO | Cáceres | 1956 | José Manuel González Valcárcel | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| SAN JUAN DE FLUMEN | Huesca | 1956 | Antonio Barbany Bailo | Plaza mayor | Curvilinear | N |
| SAN LEANDRO | Sevilla | 1956 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| SAN LORENZO DE FLUMEN | Huesca | 1956 | Alfonso Buñuel Portoles | Civic center | Hybrid | N |
| SANTA INÉS | Salamanca | 1956 | Santiago García Mesalles | Open plaza | Assemblage | N |
| SANTA TERESA | Salamanca | 1956 | Santiago García Mesalles | Plaza mayor | Hybrid | N |
| SODETO | Huesca | 1956 | Santiago Lagunas | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| SOTOGORDO | Jaén | 1956 | Felipe Pérez Somarriba | Open plaza | Assemblage | N |
| VADOS DE TORRALBA | Jaén | 1956 | Víctor López Morales | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| ALAGÓN DEL CAUDILLO (DEL RIO) | Cáceres | 1957 | José Subirana | Civic center | Hybrid | N |
| BARQUILLA DE PINARES | Cáceres | 1957 | Agustín Delgado de Robles | Civic center | Grid | N |
| BUENAVISTA | Granada | 1957 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| CORRALEJO | Toledo | 1957 | César Casado de Pablos | N/A | | |
| EL BATÁN | Cáceres | 1957 | Salvador Alvarez Pardo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| EL CHAPARRAL | Granada | 1957 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Open Plaza | Assemblage | N |
| EL REALENGO | Alicante | 1957 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Civic center | Grid | N |
| PUEBLA DE ARGEME | Cáceres | 1957 | Germán Valentín-Gamazo | Civic center | Grid | N |

PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN: CHRONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

| NAME | PROVINCE | YEAR | ARCHITECTS | TYPE OF SQUARE | STREET SYSTEM | PEDESTRIAN |
|--|-------------|----------------|---|----------------|---------------|------------|
| SANTA MARÍA DE LAS LOMAS | Cáceres | 1957 | Rafael Leoz / José Luis Iñiguez de Onzono / Joaquín Ruiz / Antonio Vázquez de Castro | Civic center | Grid | N |
| TIÉTAR (DEL CAUDILLO) | Cáceres | 1957 | Pablo Pintado Riba | Civic center | Assemblage | N |
| TORVISCAL (EL) | Badajoz | 1957 | Víctor D'Ors | Civic center | Hybrid | N |
| VALDEBÓTOA | Badajoz | 1957 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Civic center | Assemblage | N |
| VALFONDA DE SANTA ANA | Huesca | 1957 | José Borobio Ojeda | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| VEGAS ALTAS (DEL GUADIANA) | Badajoz | 1957 | Luis Vázquez de Castro | Civic center | Grid | N |
| ZURBARÁN | Badajoz | 1957 | Juan Navarro Carrillo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| BROVALES | Badajoz | 1958 | Perfecto Gómez Álvarez | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| CAMPOHERMOSO | Almería | 1958 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Civic center | Assemblage | N |
| CAMPONUEVO DEL CAUDILLO (LA MOJONERA) | Almería | 1958 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| CANTALOBOS | Huesca | 1958 | José Beltrán Navarro | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| CANTURIAS | Toledo | 1958 | César Casado de Pablos | N/A | | |
| GASCÓN DE LA NAVA | Palencia | 1958 | Santiago García Mesalles | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| LAS MARINAS | Almería | 1958 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Civic center | Grid | N |
| LAS NORIAS (DE DAZA) | Almería | 1958 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Civic center | Assemblage | N |
| LOS MIRONES | Ciudad Real | 1958 | Agustín Delgado de Robles | Civic center | Grid | N |
| MATADOSO | Lugo | 1958 | Santiago García Mesalles | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| ORILLENA | Huesca | 1958 | José Borobio Ojeda | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| PUEBLOBLANCO | Almería | 1958 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Open plaza | Assemblage | N |
| VEIGA DE PUMAR | Lugo | 1958 | | N/A | | |
| ATOCHARES | Almería | 1959 | Agustín Delgado de Robles | Open plaza | Hybrid | N |
| BEMBÉZAR DEL CAUDILLO | Córdoba | 1959 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| CARRASCALEJO DE HUEBRA | Salamanca | 1959 | Santiago García Mesalles | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| CORTIJO NUEVO | Granada | 1959 | José García-Nieto Gascón | N/A | | |
| EL BOYERAL | Navarra | 1959 | Antonio Barbany Bailo | N/A | | |
| MESAS DE GUADALORA | Córdoba | 1959 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| MINGOGIL | Albacete | 1959 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Civic center | Assemblage | N |
| NAVA DE CAMPANA | Albacete | 1959 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| PUEBLA DE ALCOLLARÍN | Badajoz | 1959 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| SAN ISIDRO DE NÍJAR | Almería | 1959 | Agustín Delgado de Robles | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| VALDEIÑIGOS (DE TIÉTAR) MATÓN | Cáceres | 1959 (1948) | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| ALERA | Zaragoza | 1960 | José Borobio Ojeda | Civic Center | Curvilinear | N |
| CALAHONDA | Granada | 1960 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| CASTILLEJO | Salamanca | 1960 | Santiago García Mesalles | Open plaza | Curvilinear | N |
| CINCO CASAS | Ciudad Real | 1960 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| EL ARQUILLO | Jaén | 1960 | Juan Ponce Bago | N/A | | |
| MARINES | Valencia | 1960 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| NAVAHERMOSA | Málaga | 1960 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Open plaza | Curvilinear | N |
| OBANDO | Badajoz | 1960 | Miguel Herrero Urgel | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |

PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN: CHRONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

| NAME | PROVINCE | YEAR | ARCHITECTS | TYPE OF SQUARE | STREET SYSTEM | PEDESTRIAN |
|-----------------------------|-------------|------|--|----------------|-------------------|------------|
| PALAZUELO | Badajoz | 1960 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| PUNTALÓN | Granada | 1960 | Agustín Delgado de Robles | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| TORREJÓN (ALBA DE TORMES) | Salamanca | 1960 | Santiago García Mesalles | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| VALDESALOR | Cáceres | 1960 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Open plaza | Hybrid | N |
| VEGAS DE ARCOS | Cádiz | 1960 | Vicente Masaveu y Menéndez Pidal | N/A | | |
| ALVARADO | Badajoz | 1961 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Civic Center | Grid | N |
| CAMPILLO DEL RIO | Jaén | 1961 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| CAMPORREAL (CAMPO REAL) | Zaragoza | 1961 | Antonio Barbany Bailo | Open Plaza | Grid | N |
| CILLORUELO | Salamanca | 1961 | Santiago García Mesalles | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| ESPELUY | Jaén | 1961 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | N/A | Grid | N |
| GABARDERAL | Navarra | 1961 | Antonio Barbany Bailo | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| LÁCARA | Badajoz | 1961 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| LORIGUILLA | Valencia | 1961 | Agustín Delgado de Robles | Civic center | Grid | N |
| MASÍA DEL CARRIL (DOMENÓ) | Valencia | 1961 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| PIZARRO | Cáceres | 1961 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Civic center | Assemblage | N |
| RIVERO DE POSADAS | Córdoba | 1961 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Civic center | Grid | N |
| SAN ISIDRO DEL PINAR | Navarra | 1961 | Antonio Barbany Bailo | Open plaza | Curvilinear | N |
| UMBRIA DE FRESNEDA | Ciudad Real | 1961 | Agustín Delgado de Robles | Civic center | Assemblage linear | N |
| AMATOS (NUEVO AMATO) | Salamanca | 1962 | Santiago García Mesalles | Civic center | Grid | N |
| CAÑADA DE AGRA | Albacete | 1962 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Polycentric | Curvilinear | Y |
| CAÑATABLA | Granada | 1962 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| CASAR DE MIAJADAS | Cáceres | 1962 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Civic center | Curvilinear | N |
| CERRALBA | Málaga | 1962 | Antonio Fernández Alba | Civic center | Assemblage | Y |
| CÉSPEDES | Córdoba | 1962 | Francisco Giménez de la Cruz | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| CORTICHELES | Valencia | 1962 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| COTILFAR (BAJA) | Granada | 1962 | José García-Nieto Gascón | Open plaza | Grid (linear) | N |
| EL TROBAL | Sevilla | 1962 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo / José Luis Fernández del Amo | Civic center | Hybrid | N |
| HERNÁN CORTÉS | Badajoz | 1962 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Civic center | Hybrid | N |
| HUERTO MAGALLÓN | Valencia | 1962 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | N/A | | |
| MARUANAS | Córdoba | 1962 | Juan Arturo Guerrero Aroca | Civic center | Grid | Y |
| TOUS | Valencia | 1962 | Antonio de Arozegui | Polycentric | Grid | N |
| VALDEHORNILLO | Badajoz | 1962 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Open plaza | Hybrid | N |
| VILLAFRANCO DEL GUADALHORCE | Málaga | 1962 | Víctor López Morales | Civic center | Curvilinear | Y |
| VIVARES | Badajoz | 1962 | Perfecto Gómez Álvarez | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| ZALEA | Málaga | 1962 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Open plaza | Grid | Y |
| AGUAS NUEVAS | Albacete | 1963 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Civic Center | Grid | N |
| FRANCOS (NUEVOS) | Salamanca | 1963 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| LA VEREDA | Sevilla | 1963 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Open plaza | Hybrid | N |
| NAHARROS (NUEVO) | Salamanca | 1963 | Miguel Ángel Leal Echevarría | Open plaza | Hybrid | N |
| ROMILLA LA NUEVA | Granada | 1963 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |

PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN: CHRONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

| NAME | PROVINCE | YEAR | ARCHITECTS | TYPE OF SQUARE | STREET SYSTEM | PEDESTRIAN |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|------|--|----------------|--------------------|------------|
| TRAJANO (PUEBLO) | Sevilla | 1963 | Alberto Balbotín Polledo | Civic Center | Grid | Y |
| VALDIVIA | Badajoz | 1963 | Perfecto Gómez Álvarez | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| VEGAS DE ALMENARA | Sevilla | 1963 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Open plaza | Grid* | Y |
| ALONSO DE OJEDA | Cáceres | 1964 | Miguel Herrero Urgel | Civic Center | Hybrid | N |
| BAZÁN | Ciudad Real | 1964 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| CASTILLO DE DOÑA BLANCA (POBLADO) | Cádiz | 1964 | Juan Piqueras Menéndez | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| CONQUISTA (DEL GUADIANA) | Badajoz | 1964 | Víctor Lopéz Morales | Open plaza | Hybrid | Y* |
| CORDOBILLA | Córdoba | 1964 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Civic Center | Grid | N |
| EL PRIORATO | Sevilla | 1964 | Antonio Fernández Alba | Civic center | Grid (linear) | Y |
| LA MONTIELA | Córdoba | 1964 | Salvador Álvarez Pedro | Civic Center | Grid | N |
| MARIBÁÑEZ | Sevilla | 1964 | Daniel Carreras Matas | Plaza mayor | Hybrid | Y! |
| MIRAE LRÍO | Jaén | 1964 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Civic Center | Curvilinear | Y |
| PINZÓN | Sevilla | 1964 | Pablo Arias García / Alberto Balbotín Polledo / Antonio Delgado Roig | Civic Center | Grid | Y |
| SAN FRANCISCO DE HUÉRCAL OVERA | Almería | 1964 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Civic Center | Grid | N |
| SAN ISIDRO DE HUÉRCAL OVERA | Almería | 1964 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Civic Center | Assemblage | N |
| TORREFRESNEDA | Badajoz | 1964 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Open plaza | Assemblage | N |
| VALDENCÍN | Cáceres | 1964 | Manuel García Creus | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| YELBES | Badajoz | 1964 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Open plaza | Grid | Y |
| ADRIANO | Sevilla | 1965 | A. Marín / R. Olarquiaga | Polycentric | Grid | N |
| ALJAIMA (NUEVA ALJAIMA) | Málaga | 1965 | Jesús Hernández Arcos | Open Plaza | Curvilinear | N |
| CARCHUNA | Granada | 1965 | Víctor López Morales | Open plaza | Assemblage | N |
| CÁRTAMA | Málaga | 1965 | Carlos Babe Delgado | Open plaza | Grid | Y |
| DOÑANA | Málaga | 1965 | Antonio Fernández Alba | Civic center | Curvilinear | Y |
| EL FAYÓN | Zaragoza | 1965 | José Borobio Ojeda | Polycentric | Curvilinear | N |
| MARISMILLAS | Sevilla | 1965 | Jesús Hernández Arcos | Civic Center | Assemblage | Y |
| ONS (ISLA DE ONS) | Pontevedra | 1965 | Manuel Rosado Gonzalo | Plaza | | |
| PAJARES DE LA RIBERA | Cáceres | 1965 | Pedro Castañeda Cagigas | N/A | | |
| PRADOCHANO | Cáceres | 1965 | Agustín Delgado de Robles | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| SACRAMENTO | Sevilla | 1965 | Fernando de Terán Troyano | Polycentric | Grid | Y |
| SAN GIL | Cáceres | 1965 | Francisco Moreno López | Civic Center | Grid | N |
| SANTA ROSALÍA | Málaga | 1965 | Antonio Fernández Alba | Civic Center | Hybrid, 2 sections | N |
| SETEFILLA | Sevilla | 1965 | Fernando de Terán Troyano | Polycentric | Grid | Y |
| VALDERROSAS | Cáceres | 1965 | Joaquín Pastor Pujo | Plaza mayor | Grid | N |
| VALRÍO | Cáceres | 1965 | Ignacio Gárate | Plaza mayor | Assemblage | N |
| VETAHERRADO | Sevilla | 1965 | Daniel Carreras Matas / Jesús Cagigal Gutiérrez | Civic Center | Grid | N |
| PUEBLA DE VÍCAR | Almería | 1966 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Open plaza | Hybrid | N |
| CASTELLAR DE LA FRONTERA | Cádiz | 1967 | Manuel Rosado / José Tamés Alarcón | Civic center | Hybrid | N |

PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN: CHRONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

| NAME | PROVINCE | YEAR | ARCHITECTS | TYPE OF SQUARE | STREET SYSTEM | PEDES- TRIAN |
|-----------------------------------|----------|------|--|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| LLANOS DE ANTEQUERA | Málaga | 1967 | Perfecto Gómez Álvarez | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| ALDEA DEL CONDE | Badajoz | 1968 | Miguel Herrero Urgel | N/A | | |
| CHAPATALES | Sevilla | 1968 | Alberto Balbotín Poledo / Agustín Delgado de Robles / Pablo Arias García | Civic center | Assemblage | Y |
| DOCENARIO | Badajoz | 1968 | Miguel Herrero Urgel | Open plaza | Grid | N |
| SAN AGUSTÍN | Almería | 1968 | Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo | Civic Center | Assemblage | N |
| SOLANILLO | Almería | 1968 | Francisco Langle Granados | Open plaza | Assemblage | N |
| VILLOLDO | Palencia | 1968 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | N/A | | |
| JUMILLA (LA ESTACADA) | Murcia | 1969 | José Luis Fernández del Amo | Plaza | Grid | N |
| PUEBLA DE LA PARRILLA | Córdoba | 1969 | José Gómez Luengo | Civic Center | Grid | Y |
| GRIJOTAS | Palencia | 1970 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | | | |
| VEGAS DE TRIANA | Jaén | 1970 | Luis Fernández Valderrama | | | |
| FRÓMISTA | Palencia | 1971 | Manuel Jiménez Varea | | | |
| CANAL DE MONTIJO (1ª y 2ª partes) | Badajoz | | Miguel Herrero Urgel | | | |
| LA ESPIÑEIRA | Lugo | | Alejandro de la Sota | | | |
| TIERRA LLANA DE CHA | Lugo | | Miguel Ángel Leal Echevarría / Santiago García Mesalles | | | |
| TORREMELGAREJO | Cádiz | | Ricardo Santa Cruz / Adolfo Aguilera | | | |
| VENCILLÓN | Huesca | | Manuel Jiménez Varea | Open plaza | Assemblage | N |

Epilogue

In the Spanish Dictionary of the Real Academia, a “colonial landscape” (*paisaje colonial*) is the “result of the valorization of previously uncultivated areas through new agricultural production, and its population with persons that were brought from outside, as results from territorial reorganization through the use of special plans and laws.” In addition, according to the Dictionary, “the whole process is typically generated from outside the territory itself in relation with the needs of the metropolises.” With the return of the democracy from 1975, the “colonial landscapes” that the Franco dictatorship created across the national territory were re-integrated within the democratic society. As a result, they are nowadays analogous to what German scholars have defined as *Kulturlandschaft* or “cultural landscape,” i.e., the human achievement of transformation in context with nature whereby the growth of culture parallels the growth of nature, aiming together towards a heightening of the natural world through manmade cultural interventions.¹ Likewise, according to the UNESCO, “cultural landscapes are cultural goods, the product of human action and nature, which illustrate the evolution of society over time, under the influence of physical constraints and / or the possibilities of its natural environment as well as of the social forces, economic and cultural, both external and internal.”²

Accordingly, it is now possible to symbolically invert the original finality of the rural settlements designed and built between 1939 and 1971, and observe the rural environment as a *locus* able to evolve toward integrating structures whose objectives of harmony with the natural environment and social integration of its residents could make it one of the settings potentially most desirable for the 21st century. In that sense, one can reevaluate the importance of the Francoist *built utopias in the countryside* in light of the unprecedented, highly contested, and environmentally devastating suburban sprawl that many tourist regions of Spain, and particularly the coasts from Valencia to Andalucia, have been experimenting since the 1970s. The 2009 report released by Greenpeace under the title *Destruction along the entire coast: Notes on the situation of the Spanish littoral* and its subsequent one in 2013 *Destruction along the entire coast: Analysis of the littoral at the municipal scale* can be seen as a serious blow to the contemporary reputation of Spain as a model for new urban planning.³ Fueled by massive construction of second residences, the destruction of the coasts

¹ See John Czaplicka, “Cultural Landscape as a Discursive Framework,” in *Kritische Berichte 2* (2000): pp. 5-19. Also see Hans-Jürgen Ruckert, *Die Kulturlandschaft Am Mittleren Guadiana; Junge Wandlungen Durch Den Plan Badajoz*. Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1970).

² See <https://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/>.

³ Greenpeace, *Destrucción a toda costa. Situación del litoral español y sus espacios protegidos*. Spain: Greenpeace, 2009; Greenpeace, *Destrucción a toda costa. Análisis del litoral a escala municipal*, Spain: Greenpeace, 2013.

involves sprawling subdivisions, condominium buildings, shopping centers, golf courses, marinas, and other uncoordinated projects. This tourist phenomenon—which continues to expand—presents many of the symptoms of a new form of colonization, this time with the appearance of an American-based suburban model, led by the private sector and the high complicity of local regional and municipal governments. This epilogue does not attempt at presenting solutions nor at imagining what kind of regulating infrastructure would be required in order to better control development. It only aimed at framing a historical case study of important significance whose analysis and emulation in post-Franco democratic Spain could lead to significant progress in challenging the status quo of international real estate market forces.⁴ As Fernández Alba wrote fifty years after his villages of Andalusia,

I must admit that the execution of these modest works, in contrast with the 'clay hill' constructions which at that time were invading coasts and city outskirts hand in hand with stereotypical/consumer speculation, offered a moral, critical lesson in architectural project design. The constructive logic underlying these rural proposals exuded a rationalistically coherent wisdom insofar that they understood form as one more element in their constructive meditation. Their repetitive nature (the rural model) allowed standardization, facilitating a decrease in the number of forms involved in the creation of space. The building theory-practice relationship was being corroborated by the formalization of a built model, which conceived individual requirements and collective significance at a time when architectural space blurred the reality of recent human and social dramas."⁵

The Last Squares

Seen within a European and even worldwide perspective, the reconstruction of the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas* and the interior colonization led for more than 25 years by the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* embodied an extraordinary experience in the history of urban form—an experience that embraced tradition but was at the same time unabashedly modern—in light of the diversity of the esthetic trends that were implemented on the ground—classicism, picturesque vernacular, rationalism—at times keeping them pure, at other times, mitigating them by absorbing elements from various esthetics and merging them syncretically. The urban form and architecture of the *pueblos* were never homogenous and they, beyond some aspects of their program, were not a particular built expression of Francoism but rather of Spanish cultural identity. Essentially, the architects of the I.N.C. demonstrated their constant preoccupation with form, between aesthetics and practice, to give physical shape to

⁴ See www.Greenpeace.com.

⁵ Antonio Fernández Alba, "Rocios de mayo. Evocación de tres pueblos del Instituto Nacional de Colonización. El Priorato, Sevilla. Santa Rosalía y Cerralba, Málaga," in *Pueblos de Colonización I: Guadalquivir y Cuenca Mediterránea Sur*. Córdoba: Fundación de Arquitectura Contemporánea, 2006, p. 32.

the modern town or village, to their modern public spaces between city and countryside. Their shared and collective interest into architectural form—the rural dwelling—and even more so the urban form—the urban design layout, brings to mind a reflection of Greek architect Dimitris Pikionis (1887-1968), who, dealing with the Greek context, summarized as well the shared ambition and humble task of the Spanish architects:

Form is the result of many efforts by many souls. Architects should not invent short-lived forms, they should instead "re-invent" existing forms to meet our current needs. Form can join our souls in an ideal symbol. But this is not a one man task: this cannot begin and end with the work of a single person. Architects and artists should not invent ephemeral forms, rather should they reinterpret the perfect forms of tradition in line with current needs and constraints. This is not just a mental exercise, it also involves emotions. A text from ancient Greece describes three kind of creations: a) the "backward-looking creation" indicating our link to the past; b) the "prevident creation" indicating our way of dealing with the present and c) the "lovable creation" indicating our feelings as opposite and complementary to logic. These three definitions have been brought together. The "international" implying the relationship between different races must come to terms with the "national" manifesting the distinguishing character of each race.⁶

Following the detailed study of thirty years of reconstruction and colonization that makes up the core of this dissertation, it comes out that only a third of the sixty architects involved—including Alejandro de la Sota, Carlos Arniches, José Luis Fernández del Amo, Fernando de Terán, Jesús Ayuso, Antonio Fernández Alba, José Borobio—were able or willing to fully "re-invent" the existing architectural and urban forms. In so doing, they reached the goal that was emphasized before the Civil War by architects like Torres Balbás, philosopher Miguel de Unamuno, and José Luis Sert, of creating a modern synthesis of the 'national' and the 'international.' More often than not, the architects' approach to popular architecture was one of extreme prudence and respect for the past. Most of them were in fact civil servants, and in light of that status, were perhaps less inclined to make major changes. To be sure, all architects produced environments of pleasant quality, humane, and at the very opposite of the modern tenets that were destroying cities and urban quarters at the same time. As I have mentioned earlier, the prevalent postwar history of urbanism has been systematically directed toward or presented as a linear and progressive positivism that tends to equate the notion of progress with any formal organization that puts into question or rejects the hegemony of the street as a basic organizing principle of urban space. And, precisely, the reconstructed towns and the *pueblos de colonización* were at odds with that ideological agenda. They were made of streets, squares, parks, public buildings and private structures. They were in fact the last genuine Spanish towns, modern and traditional, successful and problematic at once. Their

⁶ Dimitris Pikionis, "Vita, opere e pensiero di Dimitris Pikiònis," *Controspazio* 5, 1991, p. 6.

plazas and civic centers were the last squares of the centuries-long urban history of Spain.

Moreover, the program of reconstruction and interior colonization following the Civil War was unique in history, because those three hundred and more projects were indeed implemented as designed or with minor and insignificant changes. Almost all of them have remained inhabited and alive. Urban structures have endured quite well, particularly the *plazas* and civic centers, which have been efficiently maintained by the public institutions and highly respected by the local citizens. Some have grown dramatically as can be seen in the province of Almería where many I.N.C. projects have now become de facto the centers of genuine agro-cities that at times reach out to ten or fifteen thousands inhabitants; others have contracted and are barely surviving; some are quickly becoming attractive locations for second residences. Yet, none of them has been demolished nor transformed to the point of non-recognition. Many towns and villages have now celebrated their 50th anniversary and bronze plaques remind visitors—and in some cases tourists—of the socio-political conditions of their foundation.

Alejandro de la Sota used to praise the taste of the farmers and their full capacity to respond to the landscape. Times have changed since then and the introduction of industrial elements replacing or modifying the original designs has generally damaged the residential fabric. Some of the towns have now received the protection status, but many mayors and administrations have so far resisted applying stricter norms of historic preservation. However, calls are increasingly heard throughout the country and the regions as witnessed by the DoCOMOMO-Spain conference of 2018 and the subsequent articles in the daily press. Preservation is thus of the essence: indeed, what is happening today with the socio-economic transformation of the villages and towns, and in many cases their global enrichment, is the appropriation by the current farmers or their sons and daughters of the indicators of wealth that originate from tourist developments along the coasts and middle-class suburban areas throughout the country—a process that is slowly replacing the genuine vernacular of the 1940s to the 1960s by an industrialized version. The latter is more often than not a caricature of the popular, a *telenovela* version, that brings to mind the warnings that Miguel Fisac, José Luis Sert, and many others issued in the 1960s-1970s. It is a paradox that the very vernacular that was often criticized as not being modern enough is now being damaged and destroyed by the very forces of the industrial building complex and its advertising arm, the television and other media.

The Town as Organism

It is when one compares the foundational urban fabric with the more recent extensions that the quality, subtlety, and understanding of both public and private space by the original architects, can be fully revealed. Methodologically, my analysis of the towns and villages through the systematic use of Google Earth (both vertical and street view) has revealed important elements that reinforce the value of the pueblos as organisms. In particular, the

contrast between the aerial photographs of the 1950s-1960s and the current images available on the Internet platforms reveal the process of transformation, parcel by parcel, that has been taking place within these urban environments. It is remarkable to see how much the process of transformation has repeated historic patterns of urban evolution: enlargement of houses, modifications of the patios and corrales, increased occupation of the grounds, all expression of individual family decisions. This process of organic growth and transformation is fully compatible with the lessons of urban history and the morphological studies of Muratori and Conzen, specifically as it involves the individual parcels and the development of an increasingly complex structure of use and property by lot densification and aggregation and transformation. Development of this sort is a proof of livability and human life, and the theorem that parcels and lots were and remain the fundamental elements of urbanism and urbanity. These are the lessons of the *pueblos* but also of contemporary projects based on plot transformations like Candilis in the Carrières Centrales in Casablanca or the various architects involved in the PREVI development in Lima, Peru.

To conclude this work,

The villages of the National Institute of Colonization were born brand new, without memory. Clean of dust and straw. Injected into a non-existent landscape as such. They were populated with people whose personal memories belonged to a distant and different place. This other-place, without past, without history, only had one certainty, of having a future. Without old grudges, its inhabitants shared a hope in the common places, the street, the square, the regulated environment that was also a gift, not conquered by a previous effort. Due to their peculiar condition, the colonization settlements became an interesting platform for architectural experimentation; a sort of laboratory-bridge between the use of postwar historicism and a more modern architecture with organic roots. All in all, their most outstanding valence, even from the first examples, was their coherent commitment to a regionalism that was not affected; the naturalness of a realism, which with time would admit, without traumas and within a logical evolution, the tendency to modern abstraction.⁷

⁷ Eduardo Delgado Orusco, *Imagen y memoria. Fondos del archivo fotográfico del Instituto Nacional de Colonización (1939-1973)*, Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente, 2013: "Los pueblos del Instituto Nacional de Colonización nacieron sin memoria, a estrenar. Limpios de polvo y paja. Injertados en un paisaje inexistente como tal. Fueron poblados con gentes cuyas memorias personales pertenecían a un lugar distante y distinto. Este lugar-otro, sin pasado, sin historia, sólo tenía, de tener, futuro. Sin rencores antiguos, sus habitantes compartían una esperanza en los sitios comunes, la calle, la plaza, el ambiente reglado y regalado, no conquistado por un esfuerzo anterior. Por su peculiar condición, los poblados de colonización significaron una interesante plataforma de experimentación arquitectónica; una suerte de laboratorio-puente entre el recurso al historicismo de la posguerra y una arquitectura más moderna de raíz orgánica. Con todo, su valencia más destacada, incluso desde sus primeros ejemplos, fue su coherente apuesta por un regionalismo nada afectado; la naturalidad de un realismo, que con el tiempo habría de admitir, sin traumas y dentro de una lógica evolución, la tendencia a la abstracción moderna."

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