



LINA BO BARDI, ART CENTRE SESC  
POMPEIA FACTORY, SÃO PAULO,  
BRAZIL, 1977 – 1986

LINA BO BARDI, KULTÚRNE  
CENTRUM SESC POMPEIA FACTORY,  
SÃO PAULO, BRAZÍLIA, 1977 – 1986

Photo Foto: Ana Tostões

# When Architecture Is Transcendence: Vital Poetry and Social Intervention

Keď sa architektúra stáva transcenciou:  
Vitálna poézia a spoločenská intervencia

Ana Tostões

Lina Bo Bardi (1914 – 1992) bola ženou, architektkou, ktorá pôsobila v mužskom svete. Narodila sa v Taliansku, a tu aj získala vzdelanie. Neskôr pracovala v Brazílii, kde sa v roku 1946 rozhodla žiť v exile. Linin spôsob myslenia sa neustále vyvíjal. Vstupovali doň brazílske vplyvy, ktoré boli kombináciou afrických, indiánskych a európskych kultúr, čo stimulovalo jej tvorivosť, odvahu a radikalizmus.

Rozprava o Line je komplexná a stimulujúca, pretože sa dotýka zásadných otázok architektonickej kultúry, ktoré vyplynuli z obdobia bezprostredne po vojne a odhaľujú radikálne pioniersku dimenziu jej počinov. Lina rozumela brazílskej spoločnosti päťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia, uväznenej v mukách zásadnej zmeny, ktorá čoskoro vyústila do politického napätia, po ktorom nasledovala éra Kubitscheka (1902 – 1976), so zavedením vojenského diktátorstva v roku 1964. Sociálne tlaky, prebiehajúca diskusia o výstavbe mesta, vplyv začínajúceho pop artu a s ním spojená vízia, to všetko boli témy, ktoré Lina predniesla novátorským spôsobom.

Kombinovaním architektonických projektov s písomnými reflexiami dokázala prostredníctvom svojej profesie konať politicky aj spoločensky. Zapájala sa do provokatívnych aktivít, iste formy *propagandy*, najmä v krajine, ktorú si vybrala za svoj nový domov – v Brazílii – pracovala s komunitami, prepájala odborný svet so širokou verejnosťou a zasahovala do mesta v takých širokých a rozsiahlych kontextoch, ako je mobilita, infraštruktúra, kultúrna vybavenosť a obnova dedičstva. Lina bola inovatívna, nebojácna a duchaplná. Svoju kreatívnu energiu vkladala do všetkých týchto aspektov, bola v službách mesta a jeho obyvateľov, nachádzala krásu a poéziu, ktorou zlepšovala každodenný život bežných ľudí.

Od Ríma po Miláno, od Ria de Janeiro až po São Paulo, od jedného exilu k ďalšiemu, vrhala sa do sveta mesta São Salvador da Bahia, len aby objavovala černochoch, Indiánov, severovýchod Brazílie ako región uväznený niekde medzi východom a západom. Bahia, posledné miesto jej exilu, sa stalo miestom, kde rozvíjala revolučné idey o umení a kultúre, kombinujúc architektúru a dizajn, vzdelanie a komunikáciu.

Od študentských rokov a obdobia, keď pracovala ako redaktorka, kritička a ilustrátorka časopisov v Taliansku, až po jej prvé diela v Brazílii a nástup jej záujmov o antropologické, humanistické a politické témy aplikované na architektúru, zohrávala Lina zásadnú rolu vo vývoji a šírení brazílskej architektúry.

Príspevok sleduje niektoré z Lininých projektov. Prvým je Glass House (Sklený dom) (1951 – 1953), „dom ako manifest“, ktorý sa stal vedomým prepojením všetkých jej aktivít. Fotografia

architektky v Sklenom dome zobrazuje Linu ako osobnosť ovládajúcu svet budovania, schopnú zasiahnuť do podstaty kontinuity s okolitým prostredím.

Kým Sklený dom predstavoval začiatky Lininho príspevku k brazílskej identite, nová budova *Museu de Arte de São Paulo* (MASP, 1957 – 1967) zdôraznila jej odhodlanie dosiahnuť úroveň transparentnosti zásadným spôsobom. Keďže šlo o verejný priestor stojaci v centre ekonomického a finančného centra metropoly São Paulo, mala sa táto budova stať samotným symbolom mesta. V budove MASP Lina vyžadovala špeciálnu konštrukciu. Navrhla jediný zavesený kus, ktorý vytvoril námestie, kombinujúc zmysel pre verejné dielo s vlastnou túžbou formovať mesto. Lina sa statočne popasovala s otázkou monumentálnosti, ktorá bola v zmysle modernosti heretickým prístupom, a prijala kolsálne riešenie, ktoré bolo priamym a čistým výsledkom štruktúrálnej možnosti vyrobiť zavesený objem (výstavnú miestnosť) s rozpätím 80 metrov, postavený na štyroch trámoch a štyroch pilieroch. Takýmto spôsobom vznikol ortogonálny skelet s hornou galériou bez stĺpov. Podlažie galérie je zavesené a zakrýva nádvorie. Nádvorie MASP sa premenilo na hlavné pódium mesta pri organizovaní verejných demonštrácií politickej, spoločenskej aj kultúrnej povahy.

V roku 1958 Lina opustila São Paulo a prijala pozvanie „zaľožiť a riadiť Múzeum moderného umenia“ so sídlom v São Salvador, kde ostala až do roku 1964. Tam sa zapojila do množstva priekopníckych projektov v očakávaní protestných kultúrnych hnutí šesťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia, ktoré otriasli starým akademickým svetom, s cieľom priniesť revolúciu v oblasti odbornej kultúry. Ako prvé hlavné mesto Brazílie a prístav, do ktorého privážali otrokov, bol São Salvador da Bahia miestom obrody odbornej aj populárnej kultúry ako nefalšovanej kultúrnej sily. Spochybňovaním Lúcia Costu, určitej štruktúry minulosti a tradície začala Lina rebelovať proti strednému prúdu. Keď objavila inšpiráciu populárneho hnutia a ľudovej architektúry, rozvinula politickú štruktúru a politizovaný diskurz, ktorý uznával „architektov ako bežných ľudí, ľudí súčasnosti, zapojených do populárnych a revolučných činností“.

V Bahii navrhol stavbu múzea moderného umenia v architektonickom komplexe Solar do Unhão, ktorý bol v roku 1963 obnovený neortodoxným spôsobom. Lina projektovala inšpirujúcu rekonštrukciu tejto budovy a prístupovala k nej, ako keby šlo o manifest. Zdôraznila kontrast medzi tvaroslovím pôvodnej budovy zo 17. storočia a identitou vnútorného priestoru, očistila ju od nadbytočných kudrlinek a úmyselne ju ponechala nedokončenú.

V roku 1986, dvadsaťdva rokov potom, ako bola uvoľnená zo svojej pozície riaditeľky Múzea moderného umenia Bahie, pozval Linu starosta mesta, aby zasiahla do historického centra Salvadoru, jedného z najkomplexnejších architektonických a urbanistických kontextov v Južnej Amerike, ktorý bol práve vyhlásený za svetové dedičstvo UNESCO. Oblasť obnovy bola rozsiahla a náročná, pozostávala z ulíc, námestí, budov, kostolov a múzeí s významnými architektonickými, historickými a urbanistickými prvkami, pričom všetky pochádzali zo 17. storočia. Lina navrhla základnú schému na zachovanie dedičstva, s cieľom obnoviť tradičné poslanie mestského centra ako prístavu, miesta stretnutí, miesta, kde mohli obyvatelia pracovať, bývať a tráviť voľný čas.

Lina podnikla zásahy s ohľadom na dané prostredie na najvýznamnejších budovách, ako napríklad *Casa do Benin*, lenže vzhľadom na poškodený stav mesta zvolila celkovú stratégiu používať nízkonákladové a vysoko odolné stavebné systémy, „bez hlúposti“, a pristúpila k technológii výstuh. Hlavným predpokladom tejto rekonštrukčnej práce nebola architektonická kvalita schránky budovy; Line záležalo na ľudskom a spoločenskom prostredí, využití priestoru, živého mesta pre jeho obyvateľov.

Obhájila si privilegovanú rolu umelca, ktorý „musí konať ako osobnosť v kontakte s bežnými ľuďmi aj s intelektuálmi“, ako to preukázala v práci na kostole *Igreja do Divino Espírito Santo do Cerrado* (1976 – 1982) v Uberlândii, kde zámerne investovala do slabej architektúry v remeselnom zmysle, ktorý vyjadruje tú najvyššiu dôstojnosť a pokoru.

Realistický a situacionistický princíp práce s dostupnými zdrojmi sa najväčšmi prejavil v jej projekte pre *SESC Fábrica*

*Pompeia* (1977 – 1986)<sup>50</sup>, ktorý prekvapivo rozvíjala v rovnakom čase. Išlo však o veľmi odlišný kontext: urbánny, oveľa hustejší a priemyselný, nachádzajúci sa v samom srdci metropoly São Paulo.

Jej rozhodnutie zachovať existujúce priemyselné budovy, ktoré boli kedysi súčasťou továrne na oceľové bubny, ponechanie materiálov a prvkov, ktoré mohli uchovať pamiatku miesta, sprevádzalo želanie priestory celkom prepracovať a premeniť ich na miesto odpočinku, čo už predtým dokázala s komplexom v Unhão.

Lina prijala vedúcu a priekopnícku rolu, transponovala myšlienku recyklovania každodenných praktík do kontextu umeleckej a architektonickej tvorby. S použitím zastaraných funkčných štruktúr sa existujúce miesto ukázalo ako inšpiratívne. Lina k projektu pristupovala, ako keby šlo o inštaláciu v priestoroch, ktoré boli očistené až na základ, aby vytvorila pórovitosť a priepustnosť. Zväčšila tak možnosť prístupu a definitívne opustila vážnu a uzavretú predstavu bunkra, ktorú umelecké centrá zvyknú vyvolávať.

Viac než čokoľvek iné, Lina považovala priestor za miesto, ktoré mohli ľudia obývať. Rozvíjala svoj konštruktívny impulz ako politickú a architektonickú akciu. Prijatím experimentálneho a neformálneho charakteru jej holá architektúra explodovala, využívajúc náhodnosti už existujúcich znakov. Tým, že Lina dala privilegium tvorivému procesu, neformálnosti, všestranosti, kombinovaniu a inklúzii, považovala kultúru za formu družnosti. Architektúra nebola len utópiou, ale aj prostriedkom na dosiahnutie kolektívnych výsledkov.

Lina Bo Bardi (1914 – 1992)<sup>1</sup> was a woman architect working in a man's world. The interest shown in her work has grown exponentially, not only because of its quality and relevance, but also because Lina openly acknowledged her gender difference. Lina's simultaneously spontaneous and theatrical personality, allied to her capacity and readiness to embrace hybridism, formed the basis of her architecture. Italian by birth and training, Lina produced her work in Brazil, the place where, in 1946, she chose to live in emigration with her husband Pietro Maria Bardi (1900 – 1999)<sup>2</sup>, a fundamental figure in her career.

She had a full and creative life, lived and built between two continents, with aspirations, hopes and disappointments, but always with an unbreakable tenacity and determination to fulfil her ideals. Lina's way of thinking kept evolving, remaining open to the Brazilian miscegenation between African, indigenous and European cultures, which stimulated her creativity, boldness and radicalism. The texts she wrote bear witness to this evolution in her various positions and beliefs.

Lina did what she wanted, working with pride and passion. An architect, town planner, designer, publisher, illustrator, curator, writer; all of these talents are incorporated into her texts. Her writing functions as a synthesis that reflects her architecture, expressing concepts and revealing the coherence between her thought and her built work: “I see architecture both as a collective service and poetry.”<sup>3</sup> Lina wrote in the form of manifestos or platforms for action<sup>4</sup>. Her writing and her work mirror the evolution of her ideas about the cultural meaning of architecture and the idea of the city as a multifaceted architectural palimpsest.

The debate about Lina is complex and stimulating, because it touches upon vital issues of architectural culture that were raised from the immediate post-war period onwards, revealing the radically pioneering dimension that her actions assumed. Lina understood the Brazilian society of the 1950s, caught as it was in the throes of a profound change that would shortly result in the political tension which followed the era of Juscelino Kubitschek (1902 – 1976), with the establishment of the military dictatorship in 1964. Social pressure, the discussion taking place about the construction of the city, the influence of the emerging Pop Art and its accompanying vision, were all themes that Lina brought to the fore in a pioneering fashion. Likewise, the 1960s represented the peak of the



LINA BO BARDI, GLASS HOUSE, SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL, 1950 – 1951

LINA BO BARDI, SKLENÝ DOM, SÃO PAULO, BRAZÍLIA, 1950 – 1951

Photo Foto: Ana Tostões

protests by feminist groups and their demands for women's rights, making this debate pertinent to our study of Lina, insofar as it reveals a woman who was ahead of her time, adopting a clear and critical position, and, above all, occupying her place in the world.

Today, Lina is unanimously recognised as an exceptional figure in architectural culture.<sup>5</sup> By combining architectural projects with written reflections, she was able to act politically and socially through her profession. Assuming her position as one of the first women architects in her own right, she placed her creative genius at the service of the collective, becoming a leading reference in the history of modern architecture over and beyond the fact of being a woman. She engaged in provocative activities, a form of *agitprop*, especially so in the country that she had chosen as her own – Brazil – working with the communities, connecting the erudite to the popular world and intervening in the city in such broad and far-reaching areas as mobility, infrastructure, cultural equipment and heritage restoration. Innovative, fearless and full of spirit, Lina placed her creative energy, in all these cases, at the service of the city and the population, inventing beauty and poetry for the improvement of the everyday life of the common citizen.

It is therefore of interest to us here to delve deeper into the political dimension of Lina Bo Bardi's work. Not that she ever ceased to be an architect. But the power of her active involvement, the radicalism of her thought and the tremendous passion that she put into everything made her and her work a unique case, a benchmark in the vanguard of modern architecture. Lina always regarded the modern quest as a process of continuity, as a *work in progress*. For her, modernism was not a style, but a way of facing the world, of responding to the challenges of the present, and, above all, proposing a future. It was in this way that Lina pushed the boundaries of the architect's activity, reaching beyond the limits of the discipline and intervening in daily life, without, however, betraying architecture itself.

Lina thought of Brazil as a place where she could realise her utopias and her eccentricities. With Pietro Maria Bardi, she set out on a journey of no return: a voluntary exile that was both necessary and desired. She felt herself to be in an unimaginable world where everything was possible,<sup>6</sup> where, above all, it was possible to put her political project into action. From Rome to Milan, from Rio de Janeiro to São Paulo, from one exile to the next, she threw herself into the world of São Salvador da Bahia, spending "five years among white people", only to discover the black people, the Indians, the north-east of Brazil as a region caught between east and west. Bahia, the last place of exile, was to be the place where she developed revolutionary ideas about art and culture, combining architecture and design, education and communication. Her relationship with the past and with history implied freeing herself from its shackles, "not simply throwing away the past and its



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LINA BO BARDI, SKLENÝ DOM, SÃO PAULO, BRAZÍLIS, 1950 – 1951

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**LINA BO BARDI IN HER GLASS HOUSE IN SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL.**

LINA BO BARDI V JEJ SKLENOM DOME V SÃO PAULO, BRAZÍLIA

Source Zdroj: Chico Albuquerque/Convenio Museu da Imagem e do Som – SP/Instituto Moreira Salles



history – what is necessary is to consider the past as the present historic, something that is still alive. When faced with it, our task is to forge another true present”?

In her endless search for the truth, as if she were fulfilling the analogy that “the more poetic things are, the truer they are”<sup>8</sup>, she used her training as an architect to fight for a better world. A world divided between architecture and revolution, because “we can make an architectural revolution and, at the same time, a political one, or vice-versa”<sup>9</sup>. In this way, she could feed the dream of transforming the world, making it a place for everyone to live in. She did not concern herself with realising a huge number of works; she did not want to dominate the commissions that were available; her action was surgical, focused and consequential. The evolution of her work is clear proof of an experimentation that was always courageously new.

From her years of training and practice as an editor, critic and illustrator of magazines in Italy to her first works in Brazil and the emergence of her interest in anthropological, humanistic and political themes applied to architecture, Lina played a fundamental role in the development and dissemination of Brazilian architecture: “Brazil has every possibility of achieving a great ‘modernity’ (...). In Brazil, we are lucky enough not to have closed horizons.”<sup>10</sup> Provocative and fearless, Lina Bo was a free woman. Free in her thoughts and in her actions. “In Brazil, I have always done what I wished, I have never encountered any barriers, not even through being a woman.”<sup>11</sup>

**Expression and Manifesto: Drawings, Words and Pose**

Lina assumed an integrating and inclusive feminine posture, with both pleasure and glory. It was a posture that consisted of a dramatic and theatrical pose, displaying the intensity and innocence of someone who was striving to realise her dreams.

Summoning up a playful dream world with Felliniesque, even surrealistic, overtones, her drawings are proof of her simultaneously affirmative and gentle personality. She used them as a means of graphic expression, in watercolour or in child-like crayon, through which she could lend a magical lyricism to the representation of her ideas, concepts and designs. Drawing was part of the process of creation, which Lina associated, equally forcefully, with the written word. As Silvana Rubino recognised, for Lina “the force of the texts – and this also includes her photographs

and drawings – has an obvious motif: the nature of the architectural object is immobility. Thus, architecture on paper, in writing, from the modern-day coffee-table books to pamphlets and treatises, all of this fulfils that crucial role: forming an imaginary museum of architecture and causing it to circulate.<sup>12</sup> From her practice to her writing, her work was complete. Lina wrote with intensity, directness and even aggressiveness. The texts organised the universe of architecture discursively, separating what is exemplary from what is prosaic, what is relevant from what goes unnoticed. Drawing, on the other hand, functioned as the space of dreams, oneiric chaos, free imagination, poetic splendour. Of course, Lina produced technical drawings that were necessary for the project on which she was working, but the process through which she communicated her ideas involved a vital and festive representation that was assumed through the difference of being a woman, of giving herself up to the luxury of doing what she wanted to do and what she understood. And, in that way, she was able to express a culture that was very much her own and which she had acquired in her youth with the experience of illustration and publishing, associating the word with the image, when she had participated in various magazines in the years before the war, working with Gio Ponti (1891 – 1979), Bruno Zevi (1918 – 2000) and Carlo Pagani (1913 – 1999).<sup>13</sup>

She assumed the difference of being a woman in order to act in another way: being diverse and personal, without being afraid to assert the lyricism and poetry that she was capable of expressing. If we analyse the women who, in the twentieth century, managed to exist and attain some celebrity in the world of architecture, Lina was among the few, as Liane Lefavre recognised<sup>14</sup>, who were important architects with their own studios, representatives of a critical regionalism based on a concern with both the context and the climate, which, in this case, was tropical. Furthermore, Lina followed a strategy for organising her writing, which ended up being published a year after her death, in 1993<sup>15</sup>. But, above all, she thought of perpetuating her work through the creation of a foundation that was, in fact, to occupy her own Glass House (1951 – 1953). This “manifesto house” became a conscious link to all her activities, not only representing a place with a worldly pose, but also prosaically a refuge where she could find shelter. Lina’s pose, visible in the photos that have survived until the present, no less than the creation of the archives and the foundation bearing her name and Pietro’s are clear proof of the construction of that personality. Her way of expressing herself, with words, drawings and her own body, contributed to the pose that displayed her character. The photograph of her in the Glass House, the first of her works, is the representation of Lina as a character mastering the world of construction, the world of architecture, capable of intervening in nature in continuity with the surrounding environment.

On a large plot of land that Pietro purchased in Morumbi, the former Muller Carioba tea plantation in the southern district of the city of São Paulo, Lina enjoyed all the creative freedom she needed, in keeping with the couple’s tastes and convictions, carefully preserving the surrounding vegetation. The house, which played with the transparency of the public zone and the seclusion of the private area, was the built reflection of that modern woman who wanted to transform Brazil and its colonial society.

It is interesting to see how, being fully acquainted with the works of the architects belonging to the vanguard of the Modern Movement, she produced her own version of a glass house, which was not that of the Villa Tugendhat (1930), nor that of the Farnsworth House (1945 – 1951), nor even that of Philip Johnson (1945 – 1949).

In the text published in 1944 in *Domus*, “Sistemazione degli interni”<sup>16</sup>, there is no doubt that Lina clearly understood the use of the modern space, as well as having a full knowledge of such architects as Alfred Roth (1903 – 1998), Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886 – 1969) and Le Corbusier (1887 – 1965): “Clarity in the design of the various parts is the most important thing, followed by rigorous attention to the use and selection of the materials. (...) The windows are very important: they contribute to the creation of an atmosphere, with their amplitude making it possible for the outside world and for nature to participate in that environment. Horizontal windows are the most suitable (long windows), as they provide an ampler panoramic view.”<sup>17</sup>

Nine years later, already in Brazil, she wrote about the “Morumbi Residence”<sup>18</sup>, stressing her wish to “be closer to nature by all means possible”, since she considered that “the problem was creating a ‘physically’ sheltered atmosphere, in other words, somewhere to live protected from the rain and the wind, enjoying what is poetic and ethical in the same storm.”

The platform of the house is supported on a tubular structure. Access to the house is via an iron and stone staircase situated in the inner courtyard. Taking the Corbusian metaphor expressed



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Source Zdroj: Arquivo Biblioteca e Centro de Documentação do MASP

in the Villa Savoye to its very limit, here the house is indeed suspended, like the manifesto that “represents an attempt to achieve communion between nature and the natural order of things, contrasting the natural elements with the smallest number of defence mechanisms; it seeks to respect that natural order.”<sup>19</sup>

### Direct Action: Architecture as a Collective Service

While the Glass House represented the beginning of Lina’s contribution to the consolidation of a Brazilian identity, the new building of the *Museu de Arte de São Paulo* (MASP, 1957 – 1967) highlighted her determination to achieve similar levels of transparency with an eloquent result. As a space in the public domain, situated in the heart of the economic and financial centre of the metropolis of São Paulo, this building was to become the very symbol of the city. At MASP, Lina demanded a special structure, proposing a single suspended volume that created a plaza, combining the sense of a public work with her desire for making a city.

Lina was an urban architect who behaved differently, adopting an inclusive and pragmatic feminine approach to her work, where each project was built with great attention to detail, but also with the eloquence of a great structural gesture. As Renato Anelli mentioned, Lina lived the “challenges of survival during the war in Milan in such a way that her sensitivity was reinforced with overtones of powerful social criticism.”<sup>20</sup> In the immediate postwar period, with Zevi and Pagani, she founded the magazine *A-Attualità, Architettura, Abitazione, Arte*, which was conceived as a weekly publication aimed at the general public. This was a sign of her political commitment, showing that she wanted to reach the day-to-day world of the citizens, so that life could be reborn from the rubble of the war. Such a challenge called for both physical and moral reconstruction, but it also extended the debate about this reconstruction to a non-specialist audience.

When she arrived in Rio de Janeiro, she was already a mature woman who had passed through the war and through the resistance, moreover having amassed wide and varied experience in the profession. The building of the Ministry of Education and Health (MESP)<sup>21</sup>, “the beautiful child”<sup>22</sup>, was Lina’s first encounter with a Brazil that was lost in its admiration for Oscar Niemeyer (1907 – 2012) and Lúcio Costa (1902 – 1998), whom she had discovered through *Brazil Builds* (1943).<sup>23</sup> The political environment was “effervescent, with an intense debate taking place at the Constituent Assembly involving the participation of a Brazilian Communist Party that now enjoyed a legal status”.<sup>24</sup> The MASP building came into being in this conjuncture as a centre for cultural renewal, declaring itself to be a living museum whose mission was to reconcile the arts with the progress of industry in a climate of international cooperation.

Founded in 1947 at the initiative of Assis Chateaubriand (1882 – 1968) and enjoying the support and interest of Nelson Rockefeller (1908 – 1979), the Museum began as the dream of “Chateau” (as the most influential man in post-war Brazil and the king of the media was popularly known) and Pietro Maria Bardi. It was Bardi who added new and important works to Chateau’s private collection, so that it became the largest art collection in South America at that time. Originally housed in the headquarters of one of the newspapers owned by Chateau, the growth of the collection began to justify the creation of a genuine museum. Ten years later, Lina revealed a very accurate sense of

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Photo Foto: Ana Tostões



opportunity when, in 1957, she chose the plot of land of the old Trianon in *Avenida Paulista*, meanwhile demolished, as the site for the installation of the new Museum.

As Lina wrote, after the demolition of the “old” Trianon, “there remained a small empty plot of land (...) and, one afternoon, when passing along *Avenida Paulista*, I thought that it was the only place where the São Paulo Museum of Art could be built; the only place that, because of its popular projection, was worthy of being considered as the site for the first Art Museum in Latin America.”<sup>25</sup> Once the site had been chosen, Lina tried in every way she could to realise her dream: “I gathered together the data relating to a modern popular museum, a popular meeting centre, I coordinated the preliminary project, I telephoned Edmundo Monteiro (the director of the *Diários Associados* (Associated Daily Press), which created, sustained and still sustains the Museum) and together we went off to find the mayor and the secretary of Public Works”<sup>26</sup> But the project came to nought. The following year, Lina abandoned São Paulo and accepted the invitation of the government of Bahia to “found and direct the Museum of Modern Art”, settling in São Salvador, where she would remain until 1964, as we shall see later.

Patient but determined, she fought for ten years to receive permission from the Prefecture to build the museum, instead of the project for an open public space that was planned for the site. In 1967, she finally managed to achieve the go-ahead for her project for a museum in *Avenida Paulista*.



LINA BO BARDI, SKETCH OF THE SESC POMPEIA FACTORY COMPLEX, 1977

LINA BO BARDI, SKICA KOMPLEXU SESC POMPEIA FACTORY, 1977

Source Zdroj: Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi



LINA BO BARDI, SKETCH OF THE SESC POMPEIA FACTORY COMPLEX, 1977

LINA BO BARDI, SKICA KOMPLEXU SESC POMPEIA FACTORY, 1977

Source Zdroj: Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi

With the support of Professor Ferraz, a structural engineer, Lina could begin work on the open plaza and the suspended museum. After the Glass House, Lina assumed this “undertaking with the community”<sup>27</sup>, theorising and acting on the sense of the building’s monumentality: “what reaches the people collectively can (and perhaps must) be monumental.” The monumentality appeared to her as “an idea (...) that may be powerful in a new country.”<sup>28</sup> Lina bravely tackled the question of monumentality, a heretical subject in terms of modernity, which was marvellously resolved by the modern Brazilian architecture from Lina to Reidy (1909 – 1964)<sup>29</sup>, and from Niemeyer to Artigas (1915 – 1985).

With great courage, Lina adopted a design on a colossal scale, the direct and immediate result of the structural option to produce a suspended volume (the exhibition room) involving a span of 80 metres supported by four beams and four pillars. In this way, an orthogonal skeleton was formed, with the upper gallery free of columns, the floor of the lower gallery suspended, and a covered plaza. It forms a system that “withstands surprising levels of stress, seeking to faithfully express what architecture communicates both aesthetically and functionally.”<sup>30</sup> For Lina, “the structure, which is the central point of this architecture, achieves simplicity in a grandeur rendered pure by its dimensions and by the clarity of the solution.”<sup>31</sup>

The MASP plaza was transformed into the main stage of the city for the holding of public demonstrations of a political, social and cultural nature. Being the result of the “double concrete portico built in *Avenida Paulista*, it takes the shape of a covered plaza that functions as a venue for all kinds of recreational, social and cultural activities, or simply offers a leisure area for people to stroll around, a *belvedere*, whose ample shadow represents a generous supply of shade in the centre of the metropolis of São Paulo.”<sup>32</sup>

The new Trianon, or the new MASP, was inaugurated in 1968. Lina “did not look for beauty, but instead for freedom; the intellectuals did not like it, but the people did!”<sup>33</sup> The aim of bringing erudite architecture closer to popular practices and thus contributing to the democratisation of access to cultural tools demonstrates how the act of constructing an art museum may require an implicit social intervention. The outside space completes the programme of the interior, through scattered activities marked by improvisation and informality. The revolutionary assembly of the interior, assuming the open space of the gallery across the whole of its width, consists of exposed concrete blocks and glass, so that the paintings can be hung, thus releasing the walls from their load-bearing function.

### Rethinking the Industrial Society in “Paradise”: the Object Trouvé

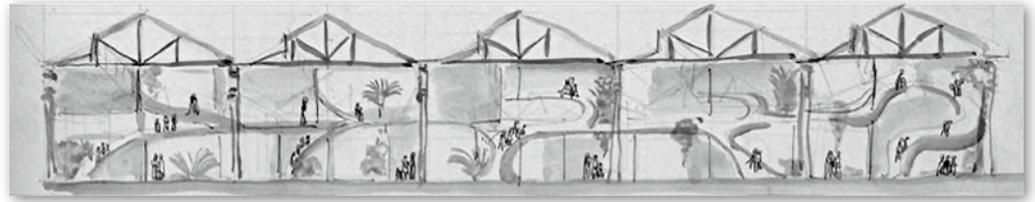
In the Brazilian cultural climate, Lina’s radical modernist beliefs were reinforced by her special attention to the natural or built context. A student of Gustavo Giovannoni (1873 – 1947), and a reader of Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937), Lina brought the philosophical insights of Benedetto Croce (1866 – 1952) into historic urban centres, defending popular art and a kind of neo-realism coupled with the magic of primitive creation. In fact, Lina achieved everything that an architect’s agenda might contain, without establishing any artistic or disciplinary limits. With her wide-ranging anthropological reading<sup>34</sup>, she tackled the questions of the past and of history in the present in a pioneering manner, looking at the built heritage without any hierarchies. For her, monumental and cultivated heritage as well as popular or industrial heritage were of equal value.

Reaching beyond boundaries, she directed her attention to unorthodox themes as a way of surpassing the limits of art and architecture. She counted Aldo Van Eyck (1918 – 1999) among her allies in her struggle for the affirmation of popular culture, a process that she had embarked on

LINA BO BARDI, SKETCH OF  
THE SESC POMPEIA FACTORY  
COMPLEX, 1977

LINA BO BARDI, SKICA KOMPLEXU  
SESC POMPEIA FACTORY, 1977

Source Zdroj: Instituto Lina Bo  
e P. M. Bardi



irreversibly in 1958, when she was working for Bahia. There, she engaged in a number of pioneering projects, following from the work that she had undertaken with Gio Ponti in the 1940s. Lina had already anticipated the countercultural movements of the 1960s when, at the São Paulo Biennial (1959), she presented the exhibition *Bahia* as a result of her first year of research in São Salvador and North-Eastern Brazil, inaugurating a revolutionary new way of exhibiting, which consisted of more cultural anthropology and less art. She presented a civilisation that was now seen as a whole.

Lina had been called to Bahia, where she lived between 1958 and 1964<sup>35</sup>, in order to found and then direct the Museum of Modern Art, but she was also invited by Edgar Santos (1894 – 1962), the Bahia University chancellor, to participate in the “outsider” project that was being developed in order to shake up the old academic world with the aim of bringing about a revolution in the area of erudite culture, and which brought together figures from various disciplines and origins: Agostinho da Silva (1906 – 1994), a philosopher from Portugal, Pierre Verger (1902 – 1996), from France, Swiss and German musicians, among others.<sup>36</sup> It was within this framework that the course of Afro-Brazilian studies was created and that the miscegenation of black, indigenous and white cultures was recognised in an academic context, focusing on the population shift resulting from the slave trade and what this meant for the history of the territory. São Salvador was then transformed into a vibrant centre of events that would soon lead to the emergence of the Tropicalism art movement turned into a counterculture and becoming part of the protest movements of the 1960s with its own distinctive Brazilian hallmark, and the idea that “there is no sin below the equator” as Gal Costa (b.1945) sang. As the first capital of Brazil and the port of arrival of the slaves, São Salvador da Bahia shared in the rebirth of the region’s erudite and popular culture as a genuine cultural force.

“What would Bahia be like without Dona Lina?” asked the musician Caetano Veloso (b.1942), referring to that time. In 1958, Lina was deeply involved in the project, as proved by the texts that she wrote, questioning the creation of a museum in the traditional sense and conceiving of activities aimed at the cultural movement that lay at the origin of Tropicalism and the creation of the new Brazilian cinema (with Glauber Rocha, 1939 – 1981), theatre and music. But it was by questioning Lúcio Costa, and a certain construction of the past and tradition, that Lina came to rebel against the mainstream. Discovering the inspiration of popular action and vernacular architecture, she developed a political construction and a politicised discourse that, based on the *agitprop* of the 1960s, recognised “architects as common people, the people of the present involved in popular and revolutionary activities”. In contrast to the idea of a preservation policy propounded by Lúcio Costa at the head of IPHAN, Lina proposed the demonstration of the people’s will and direct and revolutionary action in the construction of a democratic Brazil, built by natives, former slaves and pre-colonial peoples.

The exhibitions she organised represented moments of experimentation and laboratories of communication with popular art intermingling with the social role of architecture. The inspirational reuse the Solar do Unhão – as a kind of manifesto – highlighted the contrast between the language of the original seventeenth-century building and the identity of the internal space, stripping it of unnecessary frills and deliberately leaving it unfinished: “A museum that must have its own didactic approach in order to be a “true” museum, a living museum, and not a museum in the most outmoded sense of the word.”<sup>38</sup> Darcy Ribeiro remembered that period as a “very strong wave, a period of creativity and boldness, rethinking and recreating the world as a political project. An industry that was based on craftsmanship could reinvent everything, redesign the world of our consumption as something that found echoes in our hearts. It could achieve a prosperity that belonged to us all. More than an architectural project, it was a political project based on joy and happiness. Enriched by the spirit of the people, by the native culture. Lina was someone who enjoyed opening up horizons, and she saw in Brazil that possibility of throwing everything wide open.”<sup>39</sup>

In 1958, without using any unnecessary rhetoric, Lina defended that “we are living in a collective age, with no distinction between those who design and those who execute.”<sup>40</sup> Symbolically, it was the exhibition *Nordeste* (North-East) which in 1963 inaugurated the Museum of Popular Art at the *Solar do Unhão*. Lina maintained that “it should be called the Civilisation of the North-East (...), civilisation is the practical aspect of culture, it is the life of men at all moments (...), it is the desperate and furiously positive search conducted by men who do not want to be “dismissed”, who demand their right to life. A struggle that takes place at all moments, so that we do not plunge into despair, an affirmation of beauty achieved with the rigour that only the constant presence of a reality can provide. Raw material: rubbish. Fused light bulbs, pieces of fabric, tins of lubricants, old boxes and newspapers. Each object is on the edge of “nothing”, of poverty” and she concluded that “it is in this sense of modern reality that we critically present this exhibition (...). We call this the Museum of Popular Art (...) because it defines the most progressive attitude of popular culture linked to real problems. (...). This exhibition is an accusation. The accusation of a world that does not wish to renounce the human condition.”<sup>41</sup>

Made from rubbish that had been turned into art objects, the exhibition *Nordeste* represented yet another of Lina’s manifestos, not only because it opened the complex of the Solar do Unhão with a new concept of a museum of popular art, but also because it recovered the essence of the material heritage, adding a cultural dimension to the space. Lina preserved the space and the material in their raw poetic state, centring the project on the design of a magnificent staircase that functioned as the living embodiment of the place. This staircase is the transposition of the form of a formal modern spiral staircase of concrete, like the one at the Itamaraty Palace in Brasília, into the logic of a wooden construction, using the structure and shape of one of the square modules between the pillars of the building to launch a spectacular spiral system with wide steps attached to a central upright. The undulating wooden staircase is the predominant sculpture of the space, but also the place where one can enjoy an overall and simultaneous view of the exhibition. Lina conceived it with such elegance, width and spatial generosity that the staircase does not require the use of a banister, opening up freely in the centre of the space and moving people up and down with an air of nobility. Aldo Van Eyck was to say “it is not a staircase: it’s a kind of miracle, it’s how you elevate people from one level to another.”<sup>42</sup> Stimulating the meeting between erudite culture and popular knowledge, Lina restored the building to the form that it had enjoyed in its times of splendour, enhancing its marvellous geographical location by the seaside and acknowledging the fragmented condition of the complex. Here, she also anticipated the choices that she would later make at SESC Pompeia. The Unhão complex was programmed to house the museums and the School of Industrial Design and Crafts, but, immediately in 1964, this plan was nipped in the bud by a military coup and Lina was expelled from Bahia.

### **Counterculture between the Past and History: the True Present**

In 1986, twenty-two years after losing her position as the Director of the Bahia Museum of Modern and Popular Art, Lina was invited by the city mayor to intervene in the historic centre of Salvador, one of the most intricate architectural and urban contexts in South America, which had just been declared world heritage by UNESCO. The area to be recovered was a large and challenging one, comprising streets, squares, buildings, churches and museums with important architectural, historical and landscape features, all dating from the seventeenth century. Lina proposed a pilot scheme for the conservation of the built heritage, with the aim of recovering the city centre’s traditional vocation as a port, a meeting point, a place where the population could work, reside and engage in leisure activities.

Lina undertook site-specific interventions on benchmark buildings, such as the *Casa do Benin*, but, given the city’s state of dilapidation, she chose as an overall strategy to use low-cost and highly resistant building systems, “without monkeying around”, resorting to a technology of reinforced concrete conceived of by Lélé<sup>43</sup>, “with the aim of affording a unity to what was left”. The main premise of this rehabilitation work was not the architectural quality of the shell of the building: what mattered for Lina was the human and social landscape, the occupation of the space, the living city for its inhabitants, what she described as the “popular soul of the city.”

Lina’s vision, with the “introduction of the anthropological eye” allied to a wish to dream and construct the new world, was expressed in the radical approach of the Safeguard Plan, itself

LINA BO BARDI, MASP (MUSEU DE ARTE DE SÃO PAULO), SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL, 1958 – 1968

LINA BO BARDI, MASP (MUSEU DE ARTE DE SÃO PAULO), SÃO PAULO, BRASÍLIA, 1958 – 1968

Photo Foto: Ana Tostões



inspired by what already existed there. The project was, however, distorted and turned into a tourist centre, much to the architect's displeasure.

Adopting a situationist and subversive approach, she considered that the “position of the architect in relation to the community” implied reassessing the pioneers of modern design because “the great attempt to make industrial design the regenerative force of an entire society has collapsed and become the most startling denunciation of the wickedness of a system.”<sup>44</sup> Lina did what she wanted, “what Brecht called the capacity to say ‘no’.”<sup>45</sup> Her unrestrained writing, devoid of rhetoric, stressed the urgent need for environmental planning as a reaction to the failure of technocratic ambitions, ranging from “urbanism to architecture, to industrial design.”<sup>46</sup> The project that she developed in the public tender for the building of the São Paulo viaduct, in 1981, is clear proof of this deconstruction that only Lina would be capable of effecting. The green Anhangabaú valley could be freed from traffic jams, from the “dangerous enemies” of cars and given back to people to enjoy. She proposed reinstating the natural valley and building a bridge structure for the high-speed traffic lane, as a kind of “aqueduct for cars” over the park that she designed, so that it could become a popular “tropical garden.”<sup>47</sup>

Lina understood “the situation of a country with a dependent capitalist structure, where the national democratic-bourgeois revolution did not succeed in taking hold, which has entered into industrialisation with the remains of oligarchic-national structures [...], carrying with it elements from pre-history and Africa, enriched by the spirit of the people.”<sup>48</sup> She defended the privileged role of the artist who “must act as a figure connected to active people, as well as one connected to intellectuals”, as she did in the work of the *Igreja do Divino Espírito Santo do Cerrado* (1976 – 1982), a church in Uberlândia, where she deliberately invested in a poor architecture, in the artisanal sense that expresses the greatest possible dignity and humility. With her collaborators, she engaged in a radical experiment of sharing the work with the population. The sophisticated design of four cylindrical volumes, each with a centralised floor plan, which were intertwined and adapted to the slope of the terrain, was prosaically combined with the scarce resources available; it was a question of “building with what is at hand”.<sup>49</sup>

The realistic and situationist principle of working with available resources found its maximum expression in her project for the *SESC Fábrica Pompeia* (1977 – 1986)<sup>50</sup>, which, curiously, she

developed at around the same time. This was, however, a very different context: urban, much denser and industrial, at a site in the very heart of the São Paulo metropolis.

When the work was completed, in 1986, she described the process that had been initiated ten years earlier when she had first entered the abandoned Pompeia steel drum factory with the programme to demolish the existing buildings and design a new culture, sports and leisure centre for the community. Just as when she had called for rubbish to serve as the raw material for the *Nordeste* exhibition, Lina was delighted with “the elegant and precursory concrete structure. (...) I immediately thought of preserving the work”<sup>51</sup> After discovering the impact of the site’s existing materials and spaces, the idea of reusing them became even more powerful when she understood that it was possible to appropriate the ruins for “an audience of joyful children, mothers, fathers and older people, who could pass from one pavilion to another.”<sup>52</sup> It was then that she thought that everything should continue as it was, “with all of that joyfulness.” Her decision to maintain the existing industrial buildings that had been the steel drum factory, retaining the materials and elements that could preserve the memory of the site, was accompanied by the wish to subvert the place of work and transform it into a place of leisure, as she had already done in part at the Unhão complex. At SESC Pompeia “nobody transformed anything. The design was based on the desire to build another

1 Achillina Bo, known internationally as Lina Bo Bardi, was born in Rome, into a bourgeois family, and grew up in the stimulating environment created by her father, an engineer.

2 BARDI, Pietro Maria, 2012. The Vicarious Architect: The Importation of Italian Futurism to Brazil. In: *Proceedings of the 15th Conference of the International Planning History Society*. São Paulo: IPHS. Lina acknowledged that the post-war wave of enthusiasm had been brought to an immediate halt when the Christian Democrats took power in 1946, and that “the old monsters were back”, as she wrote. In October of that year, she travelled to Rio de Janeiro with Pietro Maria Bardi, the brilliant journalist and man of art that she had married. It was then that she felt as though she was living in an unimaginable country, where everything was possible. She had already become fascinated with Brazil when she had lived in Italy and read the book *Brazil Builds. Architecture New and Old*, published by MoMA in 1943. The post-war period was a time of real hope for her. It was then that she got to know the first international vanguard in Brazil, starting from her excitement at the first sighting of the MESP building (Ministry of Education and Public Health) when the boat on which she was travelling began to approach the port of Rio de Janeiro. A few months later, in 1947, Assis Chateaubriand invited Pietro Maria Bardi to found and run an Art Museum in Brazil. She then told Pietro that she wanted to stay and live in Brazil. They settled in São Paulo, where the money was, and where it would be possible to set up the museum, which would take the name of MASP – *Museu de Arte de São Paulo* (the São Paulo Art Museum).

3 *Lina Bo Bardi*. A film by Michiles, Aurélio and Grinspum Ferraz, Isa,

1993. São Paulo, Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi, duration: 50 minutes.

4 FERRAZ, Marcelo, March 2013. *Arquitetura de palavras: a escrita livre e exata de Lina Bo Bardi. Folha de São Paulo*. Issue 3.

5 After the pioneering work by FERRAZ, Marcelo (coord.), 1993. *Lina Bo Bardi*. São Paulo: Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi, and the recent studies undertaken by Renato Anelli at the Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi (ANELLI, Renato, 2014. *Lina Bo Bardi and her Relationship to Brazil's Economic and Social Development Policy*. In: *Lina Bo Bardi 100. Brazil's Alternative Path to Modernism*. Berlin: Hatje Cantz, v. 1, pp. 155 – 169; ANELLI, Renato, 2016. *Recycling and Restoration: Adding New Meaning to Historical Buildings Through Minimal Interventions*. In: Condello, A. and Lehmann, S. (eds.). *Sustainable Lina: Lina Bo Bardi's Adaptive Reuse Projects*, Berlin: Springer; OLIVEIRA, Olívia, 2006. *Lina Bo Bardi – Surtis substâncias da arquitetura*. São Paulo/Barcelona: Romano Guerra/Editora Gustavo Gili), reinforced in 2014 with the actions linked to the centenary. *A: attualità, architettura, abitazione, arte*. (1), febbraio, 1946 (Ristampa di supplemento a *Domus*. (986), 2014); BARDI, Lina Bo, dicembre 2014. Tutto quello che volevo era avere storia. *Domus. La Città dell'Uomo*. (986), pp. 2 – 5; OLIVEIRA, Olívia, 2014. *Lina Bo Bardi: Obra Construída. Built Work. Fotografias Nelson Kon*, São Paulo: Editora Gustavo Gili, Brazil), an international bibliography has drawn attention to her work: MONTANER, Josep, 1997. *La modernidad superada. Arquitectura, arte y pensamiento del siglo XX*. Barcelona: Editora Gustavo Gili; OLIVEIRA, Olívia (org.), 2002. 2G. (23 – 24). *Lina Bo Bardi. Obra Construída*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili; LEHMANN, Steffen, 2016. *An Environmental and Social Approach in the Modern Architecture of Brazil: The Work of Lina Bo Bardi*.

*City, Culture and Society*. 7, pp. 169 – 185; ANDREOLI, Elisabetta, FORTY, Adrian (org.), 2004. *Arquitetura Moderna Brasileira*. London: Phaidon Press; ZEIN, Ruth, jun 2009. *Habitat, Lina Bo Bardi e a crítica de arquitetura não alinhada. Summa*. (101), pp. 32 – 41, Buenos Aires. Research works have also been undertaken, namely the following thesis: CAMPELLO, Maria de Fátima, 1997. *Lina Bo Bardi: as moradias da alma*. Master's Degree thesis, São Carlos: Escola de Engenharia de São Carlos da Universidade de São Paulo; ROSETTI, Eduardo Pierrotti, 2002. *Tensão moderno/popular em Lina Bo Bardi: nexos de arquitetura*. Master's Degree thesis, Salvador: Faculdade de Arquitetura da Universidade Federal da Bahia; RUBINO, Silvana Barbosa, 2002. *Rotas da modernidade, trajetória, campo e história na atuação de Lina Bo Bardi 1947 – 1968*. PhD dissertation, Campinas: Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, UNICAMP; GRINOVER, Marina Mange, 2010. *Uma Ideia de Arquitetura. Escritos de Lina Bo Bardi*. Master's Degree thesis, São Paulo: FAUSP; NAHAS, Patricia, 2008. *Brasil Arquitetura: Memória e Contemporaneidade. Um Percorso do SESC Pompeia ao Museu do Pão (1977 – 2008)*. Postgraduate thesis in Architecture and Urbanism, São Paulo: Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie.

6 Michiles, A. and Grinspum Ferraz, I., film, 1993.

7 Michiles, A. and Grinspum Ferraz, I., film, 1993.

8 Hoderlin, quoted by in the collection MONTALVOR, Luís, 1948. *Obra Completa de Fernando Pessoa*. Lisbon: Ática.

9 BARDI, Lina Bo, 1990. Uma aula de arquitetura. *Revista Projecto*. (133), São Paulo. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.). *Lina por escrito: textos escolhidos de Lina Bo Bardi, 1943 – 1991*. São Paulo: Cosac Naify/Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi, 2009, p. 172.

10 Bardi, L. B., 1990.

11 Bardi, L. B., 1990.

12 RUBINO, Silvana, 2009. A escrita de uma arquitecta. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 22.

13 Lina studied at the University of Rome when Gustavo Giovannoni and Marcello Piacentini were the chancellors. She fled from the war to live in Milan with Gio Ponti, the leader of the movement for the promotion of Italian handicraft, the director of the *Triennale de Milano* and the editor of the magazine *Domus*, and later of *Stile*, where together they produced innovative designs for the cover of the magazine. From 1940 to 1943, she was a journalist and editor of *Quaderni di Domus*, where she undertook research into crafts and industrial design. In July 1943, when the war hit Italy, and Milan was bombed, she became the editor of the magazine *Domus* and joined the group of Milanese architects who met clandestinely during the Republic of Salò. Two years later, with the end of the war, the hope of being able to build returned once more, Lina “felt that the world could be changed for the better”. She travelled all around Italy and produced a magazine – *Revista A-Cultura della Vita* (Lina, B. B., Zevi, B. and Pagano, C. (eds.)) – to be within reach of everyone and to bring the problem of architecture into the daily lives of each person.

14 LEFAIVRE, Liane, 2003. Critical Regionalism: A Facet of Modern Architecture since 1945. In: Lefavre, L. and Tzonis, A. *Critical Regionalism: Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World*. London: Prestel.

15 FERRAZ, Marcelo (coord.), 1993. *Lina Bo Bardi*, São Paulo: Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi, together with the organisation of a travelling exhibition.

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reality". The colossal vertical volumes of concrete, which house the sports centre with a swimming-pool and gymnasiums connected by sturdy-looking suspended footbridges, are the expression of an architecture that is simultaneously lucid and hard.

Lina took on a leading and pioneering role, transposing the idea of recycling everyday practices into the context of artistic and architectural production. Using obsolete functional structures, the existing place proved to be inspirational. Lina acted as if it were an installation in spaces that had been stripped bare, to create porosity and permeability, to multiply accesses and definitively abandon the solemn and enclosed image of a bunker that arts centres tend to exhibit. The museum was understood as a cultural laboratory and an experimental space because, for her, "history is what transforms Monuments into Documents."<sup>53</sup>

More than anything else, Lina considered the space to be a place for people to inhabit. She developed her constructive impulse as a political action and an architectural action. In assuming an experimental and informal character, her bare architecture exploded, taking advantage of the contingencies of the pre-existing features. By giving privilege to the creative process, informality, versatility, miscegenation and inclusion, Lina regarded culture as a form of conviviality. Architecture was not only a utopia, but a means for achieving collective results.

**16** BARDI, Lina Bo, 1944. Sistemazione degli interni. *Domus*. (198), Milano. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 56.

**17** Bardi, L. B., 1944, p. 59.

**18** BARDI, Lina Bo, 1953. Residência do Morumbi. *Habitat*. (10), São Paulo. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 79.

**19** Bardi, L. B., 1953, p. 79

**20** Anelli, R., 2014, pp. 155 – 169; Anelli, R., 2016.

**21** TOTÕES, Ana, 2014. Comment Magnifier les Choses. Le Corbusier, le Brésil ou l'Oasis. In: Navone, A. (coord.). *L'Opera Sovrana. Studi Sull' Architettura del XX secolo Dedicati a Bruno Reichlin*. Mendrisio: Mendrisio Academy Press, pp. 301 – 309.

**22** BARDI, Lina Bo, jan. – mar., 1951. Duas construções de Oscar Niemeyer. *Habitat*. (2). São Paulo. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 73.

**23** GODWIN, Philip, 1943. *Brazil Builds, Architecture Old and New*. New York: MoMA.

**24** Anelli, R., 2014, p. 157.

**25** BARDI, Lina Bo, 1967. O novo Trianon, 1957/67. *Mirante das Artes*. 5, São Paulo. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 122.

**26** Bardi, L. B., 1967, p. 122.

**27** Bardi, L. B., 1967, p. 125.

**28** Bardi, L. B., 1967, p. 126.

**29** Lina followed the boldness of Eduardo Afonso Reidy with the structural project design by Carmen Portinho at the MAM.

**30** Bardi, L. B., 1967, p. 130.

**31** Bardi, L. B., 1967, p. 128.

**32** Bardi, L. B., 1967, p. 128.

**33** Bardi, L. B., 1967, p. 128.

**34** See HOLANDA, Sérgio, 2000. *Raízes do Brasil*. Lisbon: Gradiva [1936]; HOLANDA, Sérgio, 2000. *Visão do Paraíso. Os Motivos Edênicos no Descobrimento e Colonização do Brasil*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, Publifolha [1959]; FREYRE, Gilberto, 1957. *Casa Grande e Senzala*. Lisbon: Livros do Brasil [1933]; JÚNIOR, Caio, 1996. *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo*. São Paulo: Ed. Brasiliense [1942]; RIBEIRO, Darcy, 1957. *Culturas e Línguas indígenas do Brasil. Separata de Educação e Ciências Sociais*. ano II, 2(6), pp. 4 – 102, Rio de Janeiro.

**35** BARDI, Lina Bo, 1967. Cinco anos entre os 'brancos'. *Mirante das Artes*. (6), São Paulo. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 130.

**36** "Among the collaborators and teachers at UFBA (Universidade Federal da Bahia – Federal University of Bahia) were a series of international artists and thinkers working on avant-garde ideas and involved in experimentation. Among the most important names were the Italian architect and designer Lina Bo Bardi (the director of the Bahia Museum of Modern Art, but working in harmony with the University), the theatre director Martim Gonçalves, the Swiss musician and visual artist Walter Smetak, the famous German conductor Hans J. Koellreuter, the Portuguese historian Agostinho da Silva and the Polish contemporary dance teacher Yanka Rudzka.

Besides these, other professional and amateur artists, musicians and thinkers were regular visitors to the museum and heavily involved in

its day-to-day activities, such as the journalist João Ubaldo Ribeiro, the young Glauber Rocha, Caetano Veloso, Maria Bethânia, Gilberto Gil, Waly Salomão and Tom Zé, the anthropologist Vivaldo da Costa Lima, the philosopher Carlos Nelson Coutinho and many others. Their later works subsequently placed them among the representatives of an intellectual circle in Bahia, whose activities sprang from the UFBA and the bohemian and cultural circuits of Salvador and were brought to the attention of the rest of the world", Ana de Oliveira, *Tropicalia: http://tropicalia.com.br/ruidos-pulsativos/avant-garde-na-bahia* [accedido em 6. 7. 2018].

**37** BARDI, Lina Bo, 5 out., 1958. Casas ou museus? *Crônicas de arte, de história, de costume, de cultura da vida. Arquitetura. Pintura. Escultura. Música. Artes Visuais*. Página dominical do *Diário de Notícias*. (5), Salvador, BA. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 98.

**38** Bardi, L. B., 1958, p. 101.

**39** Michiles, A. and Grinspum Ferraz, I., film, 1993.

**40** BARDI, Lina Bo, 1960. Técnica e arte, "artes e letras". Terceiro caderno do *Diário de Notícias*. Salvador, BA. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 110.

**41** BARDI, Lina Bo, 1961. "Nordeste", *Catálogo de Exposição no Museu de Arte Moderna da Bahia*. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 117.

**42** Transcription of the video *Tarde de uma Noite depois de uma Caminhada*, in which the architect Aldo Van Eyck visits and comments on the work of Lina Bo Bardi. Toenke Berkelbach (director), Jenny Borger and Linda Lodeizen (producers), Francisco Barros Toledo (translator), UPRO, 1996, duration: 43:37 minutes.

**43** His full name was João Filgueiras (1932 – 2014), a Brazilian architect who worked, above all, in the north-east of Brazil and in Brasília, being responsible for the project for the Sarah Network of Rehabilitation Hospitals.

**44** BARDI, Lina Bo, 1976. Planejamento ambiental: 'desenho' no impasse. *Malasartes*. (2), Rio de Janeiro. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 136.

**45** Bardi, L. B., 1958, p.

**46** Bardi, L. B., 1958, p.

**47** *Anhangabaú – Jardim Tropical*, an exhibition held at the Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi, Casa de Vidro, São Paulo, November 2013, curated by Renato Anelli.

**48** Bardi, L. B., 1976, p. 136.

**49** OLIVEIRA, Olívia, 2002. "Iglesia del Espíritu Santo do Cerrado, Uberlândia (Minas Gerais)" 26. (23 – 24). *Lina Bo Bardi. Obra Construída*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, p. 90.

**50** BARDI, Lina Bo, 1999. O projecto arquitetônico. In: LATORRACA, Giancarlo. *Cidadela da Liberdade*. São Paulo: Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi/SESC Pompeia. In: Rubino, S. and Grinover, M. (org.), 2009, p. 147.

**51** Bardi, L. B., 1958, p. 147.

**52** Bardi, L. B., 1958, p. 154.

**53** Bardi, L. B., 1958, p. 151.