

# The Resurrection of Antoni Gaudí in Post-War Media. A Critical Chronology: 1945–1965

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## ABSTRACT

The Post-war time coincides with the rehabilitation of Antoni Gaudí, a process closely linked to the spread of his architecture on a global scale. Although Gaudí's historiography has paid specific attention to some outstanding episodes of this rehabilitation, these have not been shared from the outlook of the media apparatus that sustains them, following a temporal cadence that favours their relational reading from a critical perspective. The Post-war "resurrection" of Gaudí cannot be separated from the large number of publications, exhibitions, photographic series and even films that shaped his figure according to the interests of time: a media operation, not neutral at all, which explains, to a great extent, the treatment that the architect and his work still receive today.

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### The Forties. First Warning Signs

Beyond the obstinacy of Salvador Dalí, the fascination of surrealists and the 10 photographs of the Sagrada Família, Park Güell, Casa Batlló and La Pedrera that were in the architecture section of the *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* exhibition held at the MoMA in 1936<sup>1</sup>, it was not until after the Spanish Civil War that a renewed interest in Antoni Gaudí and in the state of abandonment in which some of his works were at that time began.

Back in the spotlight, Gaudí was an “issue” addressed by *Destino* (1937–80), the weekly political and cultural magazine that, in the first post-war period, was still linked to the Franco regime, despite the efforts of those responsible for reconquering the readers of the Catalan middle class. The attention towards Gaudí happened in this area outside the professional media, in the midst of the discredit towards *Modernisme* that has survived since the time of the *Noucentistes*: “[...] the Ensanche is horrible and Gaudí is the Wagnerian monster of Architecture. The bum-bum of the flatulence of the Pedrera in Paseo de Gracia is German music in granite”<sup>2</sup>. This is what the writer Josep Pla expressed in March 1940, perfectly aligned with the taste of pre-war criticism. It was not a propitious environment to recognize Gaudí’s values, although the first symptoms of repair would arrive very soon from various fronts, such as the book *El arte modernista en Barcelona*, by Josep Francesc Ràfols, (1943), Emilio Riva’s documentary *Gaudí* (1943), the homage of Joaquim Torres García to the “the most Catalan of all Catalans, the most brilliant architect, improviser of any solution, inexhaustible, always untold and always logical [...]” and the particular tribute of the young poet Joan Brossa in “Pedrís de Gaudí”<sup>3</sup>. To these incipient gestures, the first warning signs were added against the threat of demolition of the Palau Güell. *Destino* released in June 1944 an article by Ràfols denouncing the state of the building and the ostracism to which its author had been condemned; a situation that contrasted with the interest aroused abroad:

We, that more or less treat Gaudí [...] will be forced to contemplate in ruins one of the most famous habitations that made up his numen, while from New York we get the director of the Hispanic-American Section of the Museum of Modern Art, Don Paole (*sic*) Duarte, to provide himself with enormous photographic extensions of Gaudí works. With them we can organize, in that said museum, a room in his honour. Spill down our spirits in full atrophy Gaudí’s works [...] Delete, if we feel like it, his name from our history; a new stage will begin in the post earthly biography of the famous creator: “Gaudí, in the United States”<sup>4</sup>.

1945 marks the turning point towards Gaudí’s public resurgence. In March, the Diputació Provincial approved the acquisition of the Palau Güell to install in it the future Theatre Museum<sup>5</sup>. Meanwhile, in *Destino*,

1. Salvador Dalí, “De la beauté terrifiante et comestible de l’architecture Modern’ Style.” *Minotaure* 3-4, (12 décembre 1933): 69-76 ; See: Juan José Lahuerta, ed., “Presentación”, *Antoni Gaudí. 1852-1926. Antología contemporánea* (Madrid: Alianza Forma, 2002), 15.

2. José Pla, “Calendario sin fechas. Las ciudades del mar,” *Destino. Política de Unidad* 144 (20 March 1940): 2.

3. Emilio Rivas, *Gaudí. Fotografía* Puig Durán. Helios Films. España, 1943. b/w. 10’; Joaquín Torres García, “Mestre Antoni Gaudí,” *Universalismo Constructivo* (Buenos Aires: Poseidón, 1944), 560–65; Joan Brossa, *Vivàrium*, 1944.

4. J. F. Ràfols, “Triste fin del Palacio Güell,” *Destino. Política de Unidad* 361 (17 June 1944): 3. Ràfols refers to the visit of Paulo Duarte in Barcelona in December 1943. The Brazilian archaeologist, writer and politician had worked at the MoMA since 1940 as “Director of the Latin Department”. About the threat of demolition of Palau Güell, see also: “Una obra de Gaudí condenada al derribo. Responso al Palacio Güell,” *Destino. Política de Unidad* 360 (10 June 1944): 3; and Isidro Puig Boada, “El palacio Güell, de la calle del Conde del Asalto, de Barcelona,” *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 2 (November 1944): 25–34.

5. “Ha sido adquirido el palacio de Güell, que será destinado a museo del teatro,” *La Vanguardia Española* (3 March 1945): 10.

Pla delved into the messianic character of the architect, qualifying him as a “possessed”, a “poseur” [...] whose “vanity had no limits. You can’t talk about Gaudí’s taste like you can’t talk about the taste of whales”<sup>6</sup>. Pla continued the path of philosopher Eugeni d’Ors who had placed Gaudí as the epigone of the *fin de siècle* decadent symbolism:

[...] a mystic who intended to build without plans, executing every day what the Holy Virgin had revealed to him the previous night; a powerful personality, after all, simultaneously capable of a mechanical skill of the best artisan law and of a theoretical paradoxically advertising eloquence; a self-styled inventor of an unpublished Gothic, a renovator, actually, of the eternal Baroque, Antonio Gaudí, what he had excellent and achievable has clearly been, in Catalan art, an epigone of the “End-of-century”; a deep poet of anarchy, underground support of the entire symbolism<sup>7</sup>.

Strangely, a few months later Pla will return to Gaudí with a very different tone, to embrace the idea of the forgotten genius, the phoenix capable of resurrecting and demonstrating the superiority of his work over modern architecture. It was a sign that things were beginning to change:

Gaudí has been resisting, for half a century, the fiercest critic campaign that has ever been done against an artist. But it turns out that Gaudí, like cats, has many lives. When he seems definitely terrified and forgotten, he is resurrected. I speak of Gaudí in a completely objective way, among other reasons because his architecture has never been my cup of tea. But Gaudí’s successive resurrections impress me enormously. Gaudí is hideous -of course- but his form is never a dead form. The correct and cold form that the so-called permanent sensibility likes appears much deader. And, it is that the outlines of the world -the rationalist or the vitalist outline, the canonical or the biological one- are useless<sup>8</sup>.

With the resurrection already announced by the magazine’s brightest pen, *Destino* began its campaign to promote the continuation of the Sagrada Familia, whose works had been paralyzed by the Civil War. In March 1946, the image of the temple occupied the cover of the magazine with the following text: “the temple in constant blooming that seems forgotten by the new citizen promotions. Around its aesthetic value, heated polemics have been promoted. However, Gaudí’s genius seems indisputable” [Fig. 1]. The article was signed by Miguel del Puerto -one of the pseudonyms used by the journalist Andreu Avel·lí Artís, together with the best known of Sempronio- who, in addition to rescuing Le Corbusier’s view on Gaudí, described a visit that he had made to the temple, alerting readers of its abandonment:

[...] next to the apse reigns, however, the most absolute calm. Only the chirping of the birds that nest in the towers disturb the august silence. The golden needles offer their stony laziness to the caress

6. José Pla, “Un señor de Barcelona,” *Destino. Política de Unidad* 399 (10 March 1945): 6.

7. Eugenio d’Ors, “Estilo y Cifra. De Traschsel a Gaudí,” *La Vanguardia Española* (4 November 1944): 1.

8. José Pla, “Calendario sin fechas,” *Destino* 438 (8 December 1945): 12.



La Sagrada Família, el templo en perpetua edificación que parece olvidado de las nuevas promociones ciudadanas. Alrededor de su valde auténtico se han promovido anecdóticos palacetes. Sin embargo, el genio de Gaudí parece indelible. En las páginas centrales de este número, nuestro colaborador Miguel del Puerto describe una reciente visita a la Sagrada Família, realizada en unión del fotógrafo Oscar Jover

En «El último número» el reportaje de AUGUSTO ASSIA, desde Londres, "El duelo Bevin-Vichinsky, por un testigo presencial", el artículo, "Napoleón después de la guerra", por FEDERICO CAMP, en la página de Arte y Letras, "El hombre y los sueños", por AUGUSTO CASAS, además, el cuento de MAHMUD TEYMUR, "Corona de papel", traducido por MARIA JESUS MASOLIVER e ilustrado por J. FIN

FIG. 1 Destino 450. March 2, 1946. National Library of Catalonia

of the sun. The four masons work down, in the crypt, on not so showy work. The ‘Cathedral of the poor’ looks more like a noble and abandoned ruin than a construction in erection [...]⁹.

The land was paid so that in June of that same year, *Destino’s* editor, Joan Teixidor, would write a Gaudí allegation in which he ventured the arrival of “his absolute recognition” despite the dominant “medium sensitivity” that implied

fatally in the middle term of taste, an indifference or a disgust against Gaudí’s work, whose complexity is confused with enigma and extravagance [...] What is not understood is that, in this case, the fact that the recognition of an expressive value does not fatally imply sentimental adhesion, has been forgotten [...]. Why not judge Gaudí regardless of our current momentary sensibility, making him enter history, in his time, in his world, proceeding with

9. Miguel del Puerto, “El genio poético y patético de Gaudí. Vuelta a la Sagrada Família,” *Destino* 450 (2 March 1946): 9.

the same exactitude that we use when studying the opposite and contradictory expressions that give character and variety to the drama of universal art?<sup>10</sup>

Teixidor had touched a raw nerve: Gaudí was not a matter of emotional reactions of filiation or rejection, but an artist who claimed a new interpretation based on accuracy and objectivity. The demand came at the same time that the first contacts for foreign recognition of the architect began in Barcelona: encouraged by Josep Lluís Sert, photographer Joaquim Gomis and artistic promoter Joan Prats sent 300 photographs of the Park Güell to James Johnson Sweeney, curator of MoMA. This delivery was related to the preparation of a book about Gaudí that Sweeney and Sert planned to write and with an exhibition at the MoMA that was due to be ready in October 1947. The exhibition would still take ten years to be celebrated and the book would appear in 1960, fourteen years later<sup>11</sup>.

Coinciding with the resumption of the works of the Sagrada Família and the fiftieth anniversary of the *Modernisme* movement, in July 1948 the clandestine magazine *Ariel* dedicated a monographic in which, among others, articles by Lluís Bonet Garí, Alexandre Cirici and Antoni Oriol Anguera were included. Before the last one left for Latin American exile, it seems that he had gotten Teixidor's message: it was necessary to place Gaudí in his time and consider him as a revolutionary, a transition figure, a genius of the ambiguity of an uncertain time: "I would dare say that a transfer has been crystallized. He has given magnitude to a transition"<sup>12</sup>. Repositioning Gaudí in his time also seemed to be the goal of a few others, like the young architect Josep M<sup>a</sup> Sostres, that, on July 28 gave his first conference abroad, "Gaudí et son temps", invited by the Union des Architectes Saint Luc in Brussels, of which he was a corresponding member.

1948 was especially prolific for Gaudí's recovery. The American photographer Irving Penn visited Barcelona between August 18-20 with the commission of *Vogue magazine* to make a report on Picasso's Barcelona. A few days before his departure to Spain he was able to coincide in New York with Salvador Dalí, to whom he told the reason for his trip. The artist would be in Barcelona on the same dates, so it was not difficult for him to force a meeting and try to convince Penn to replace the protagonist of his report with Gaudí and himself. Dalí could not dissuade the photographer, although he mounted one of his ineffable *performances* for him: he hired five actors disguised as eighteenth-century lackeys and rented a hearse from the cemetery of Montjuïc to be portrayed by Penn in front of the Sagrada Família. The presence of death, represented by a large coffin placed on the float, and those men, whose image was deliberately unfocused in front of the temple, that acts as the background, appeared at full page in the middle of the report dedicated to Picasso<sup>13</sup> [Fig. 2]. The photographer's stay did not go unnoticed in local media: in an

10. Juan Teixidor, "La obra de Gaudí," *Destino* 464 (8 June 1946): 14.

11. Helena Martín, "El MoMA y la Gomis-Prats connection, 1946-1960: Joan Miró, Antoni Tàpies y Antoni Gaudí," in *Destino Barcelona, 1911-1991. Arquitectos, viajes, intercambios*, edited by J. M<sup>a</sup> Rovira, E. Granell and C. García (Barcelona: Fundación Arquia, colección arqui/temas 42, 2018), 155. Martín points out that the first contacts to organize a Gaudí exhibition in Barcelona were established in 1948.

12. Antoni Oriol Anguera, "Èpoques de transició. A l'entorn del Modernisme," *Ariel. Revista de les Arts* 18 (July 1948): 74-75.

13. Irving Penn, "Barcelona and Picasso. Eight pages about this Catalan city...With Picasso memorabilia..." *Vogue magazine* 114 (July 1, 1949): 42-49. See also: Gemma Avinyó, "Barcelona, Irving Penn y Picasso. Historia de un reportaje," *Picasso e identidad. III Congreso Internacional. Barcelona-Caldes d'Estrach, 27-29 April 2017*, last accessed 26/10/2019. <http://museupicassobcn.org/congres-internacional/avinyo/>



**FIG. 2** Irving Penn. "Barcelona and Picasso. Eight pages about this Catalan city...with Picasso memorabilia...". *Vogue magazine* 114. July 1, 1949. Vogue Archives

interview for *Destino*, Penn expressed his intention to show Barcelona as the "melting pot of new art"; he also planned to go to Cadaqués to "photograph the landscape of Dalí, and the countryside of Tarragona, to visit Miró". But specially, he admired "Gaudí [...] How huge is Gaudí! In my teens, at the School of Fine Arts, I had already been shown photographs of Gaudí's works. But reality has impressed me, almost overwhelmed me [...]"<sup>14</sup> Surely Penn's visit was related to the interest of certain North American companies in promoting tourism in Spain, such as the "Transcontinental Western Air" that had invested a million dollars for this purpose with the complicity of the Dirección General de Turismo, which distributed several thousands of posters and brochures in that country<sup>15</sup>. The evidence of the attraction in the international context and the modernity of Gaudí not only encouraged the propaganda system of Franco regime but also other kind of reactions. One of the first came from the group of artists *Dau al Set*, which, since its founding in September, invoked the architect as patriarch of the Catalan avant-garde. This was interpreted by a young Antoni Tàpies in his Surrealist *Triptych* (1948), chaired by a

14. Ángel Zúñiga, "Llegó un fotógrafo yanqui. La "Boullabaise" y la sardana lo mejor de Barcelona," *Destino* 578 (4 September 1948): 6.

15. "Gran plan norteamericano, de turismo sobre España," *La Vanguardia Española* (27 April 1948): 3.



figure that anyone could identify with Gaudí; and this was also manifested in the December issue of the clandestine magazine *Dau al Set* that opened with a photograph of Park Güell [Fig. 3], accompanied by a brief tribute written by the typographer and engraver Enric Tormo: "Gaudi is a mystic that tells us his dogma in a plastic-didactic-architectural language. We have to read the architecture of our architect. From its turgidity of stone, in its forms shines this white sensuality that is the exact centre of poetry. She is our place"<sup>16</sup>.

The rereading of Gaudí fed the mystic and prophetic image of the forefather of all the *isms* that would be so fortunate in future historiography. Among the architects, Sostres was the first to value this recognition in post-war times:

Besides the controversial character that accompanied the *Gaudí* reevaluation around 1945, the young assistants of non-formalist painting took us from the wide-angle view with which we had always focused the creations of Gaudí, to a modest, humble ap-

16. Enric Tormo, "Antoni Gaudí," *Dau al Set* 4 (December 1948).

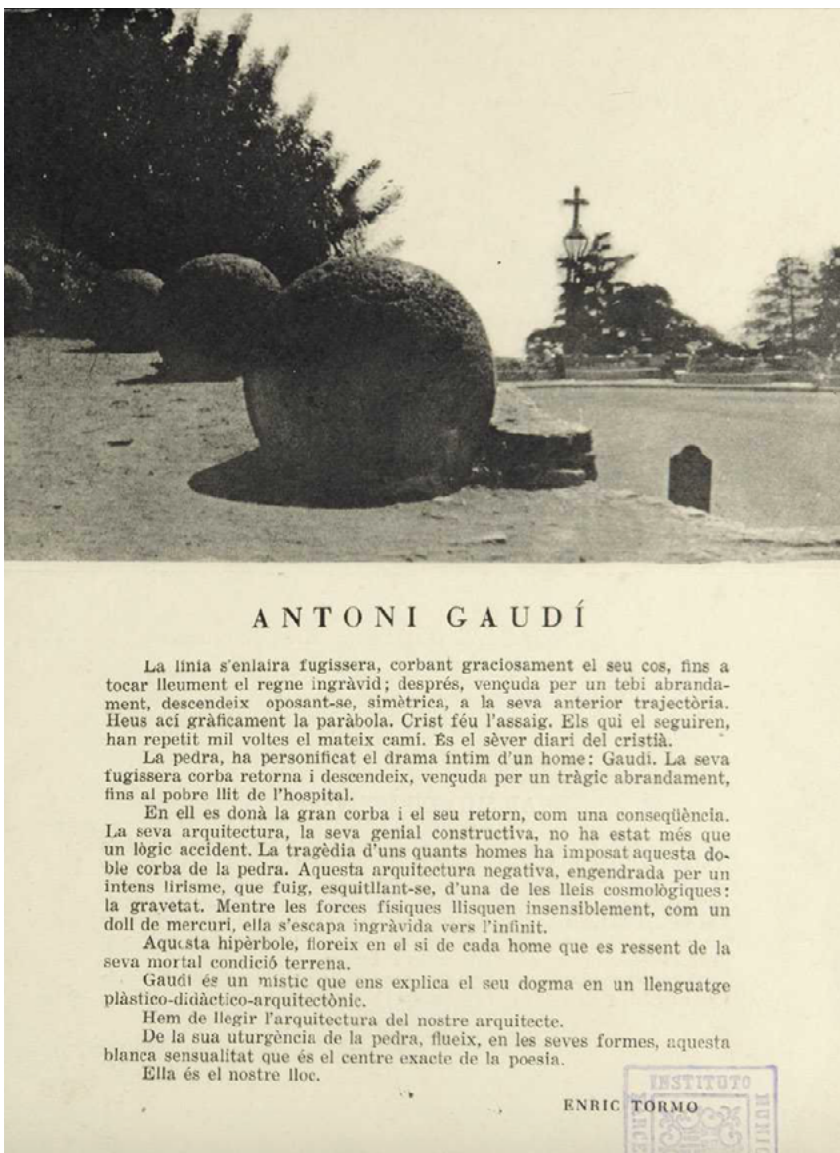


FIG. 3 *Dau al Set* 4, December 1948. National Library of Catalonia

proach to our gaze of the very rich surfaces of *Gaudinian* buildings to discover in their infinite material textures, in this microcosm, a Gaudí who had gone unnoticed to our self-sufficient appreciation<sup>17</sup>.

While the artists were inspired by Gaudí, the architectural environment began to emerge from its lethargy. In May 1949, along with an exhibition of Hispanic-American architecture at Saló del Tinell in Barcelona, a Spring Conference Series was held at the COACB – the Architects' Association-, attended by Alfred Ledent, Gabriel Alomar and Alberto Sartoris as guests; it was the act prior to the V National Assembly of Architects that, convened by the Dirección General de Arquitectura and the Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos, was to be held between Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca and Valencia. For Sartoris, the twenty-day stay in our country meant not only the discovery of the new Spanish architecture but also the confirmation of Gaudí's art and the fascination towards the Spanish dancer and singer Juanita Reina, who, in May offered at the Poliorama theatre in Barcelona the show "Solera de España"<sup>18</sup>. Sartoris did not mention Gaudí in his lectures, even though he was able to amend the

17. José M<sup>o</sup> Sostres, "Interpretación actual de Gaudí," Lecture given on December 2, 1958 and published in *Gaudí. Boletín del Centro de Estudios Gaudinistas* (Barcelona: COACB, 1960).

18. "I appreciated the talent of Juanita Reina: singer and dancer", in "L'Espagne en face de l'art moderne" (ADS-EPFL. 0172.01.0079. GA/05. Documents Voyage Espagne). Access to Sartoris' documents has been made possible thanks to the research carried out by Professor Antonio Pizza in the ACM archives of École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne.



**FIG. 4** After the title of the magazine, number 5 should be added: *Proyectos y Materiales* 5. September 1949. ETSAB Library. UPC.



omission when they were published in the special issue of *Cuadernos de arquitectura*. He also added a final note in which he blessed “the resurgence of Spanish architecture” and surrendered to the “creative and synthesizing fantasy of Gaudí”<sup>19</sup>. The critic was interviewed by Teixidor in *Destino*, and he was asked about Barcelona, the Romanesque paintings, the Gothic, the *Modernisme* and Gaudí’s work. Sartoris declared his “deeply admiration” for Gaudí because, “without a doubt, he was an independent and deeply creative brain”<sup>20</sup>. Two months after his first stay in Barcelona, Sartoris had received a letter from Sostres in which he gave an account of the first movements of the architects to attend the “Contest on the Problem of Economic Housing”; Sostres also announced that he would send him an article he had just published, as well as the appearance of a monograph on Gaudí in the American magazine *Proyectos y Materiales*, from which he was a Spanish correspondent<sup>21</sup>. *Gaudinian* historiography has not paid much attention to the number of *Proyectos y Materiales* [Fig. 4]. The reasons could be varied, although we would point to the character of the magazine -short-lived, published in Spanish and dedicated to the construction market in Latin America- and to its marginal position regarding the circuit of cultured publications<sup>22</sup>. None of this invalidates the fact that it was the first architecture media to devote a monograph to Gaudí in the international context of the post-war period, ahead of the Spanish and European ones. Through Sert, the editors had contacted Sostres, who brought together, for the first time, some promoters of the new *Gaudinism* -Bonet Garí and Cirici- with the exegetes of the pre-war, -Puig Boada, Ràfols and Folguera-. This was also the first time in which Gomis’ photographs were published abroad: the advance of the future *fotoscop* that would officially appear three years later, with the monograph of the Sagrada Familia with a foreword by Cirici. The magazine also included a profile of the most relevant Spanish architect of that time, Sert, who blessed the operation from his exile:

for being one of the most outstanding architects in the revaluation of *Gaudinian* architecture, when the dust of oblivion was erasing the memory of the great artist architect [...] He is currently working in collaboration with the Museum of Modern Art in NY, preparing an exhibition of the works of Antoni Gaudí, based on a book dedicated to the great Catalan architect<sup>23</sup>.

The decade concluded with more signs of vindication: while the young avant-garde of *Dau al Set* claimed the inheritance by photographing themselves in Park Güell, appeared *Modernismo y Modernistas*, a new book of Ràfols edited by Teixidor for *Destino*, and the announcement of *El Arte Modernista Catalán* by Cirici, (1950). Both works culminated the first phase of repair and, at the same time, meant the advance of the media spread that would take place in the following years around Gaudí’s figure and work.

19. Alberto Sartoris, “Orientaciones de la arquitectura contemporánea,” *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 11-12 (1950): 55.

20. Juan Teixidor, “Panorama de arte y letras. Alberto Sartoris y la arquitectura de nuestra época,” *Destino* 614 (14 May 1949): 15. That same year, Sartoris returned to Spain on two other occasions: the first, in September, to participate in the “Primera Semana de Arte de Santillana del Mar”. There, he became friends with Rafael Santos Torroella, who invited him to Barcelona in November to pay tribute to him in the circle of *Cobalto 49*, among which were Sixte Illescas, Gomis and Prats.

21. Sostres referred to his article “Functionalism and new plasticity”, published for the first time in *Pyrène Revista mensual de las artes y de las letras* 3 (June, 1949) by the Patronato de Estudios Olotenses. Letter from Sostres to Sartoris, July 12, 1949. (ADS-EPFL. 0172.03.0163. CO/22, 8.1. Espagne: Correspondance. S/Sostres).

22. *Proyectos y Materiales* was published between 1946 and 1949.

23. “Perfiles: José Luis Sert,” *Proyectos y Materiales* 5. New York, September-October 1949, 7. Sert also commissioned the German architect trained at the Bauhaus, Paul Linder, an article about Gaudí. Linder had met Gaudí in Barcelona in the 1920s, during a stay in which he was accompanied by Ernst Neufert. “Encuentros con Antonio Gaudí” was published in the Peruvian literary magazine *Mar del Sur* 4, Vol 11, No. 10 (March–April 1950); see: Joaquín Medina Warmburg, “Paul Linder: arquitecto, crítico, educador. Del Bauhaus a la Escuela Nacional de Ingenieros del Perú,” *Revista de Arquitectura*. (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2004): 72. <https://doi.org/10.15581/014.6.71-82>

### The Fifties. A New Cartography of *Gaudinian* Criticism

*Destino* opened the fifties putting into operation all his literary artillery to promote Rafols' book. One of the first that praised this study was the writer Carmen Laforet, who took the opportunity to evoke her first memories of the Sagrada Familia:

The large volume opens, docile, with its good paper of clear impression, between my fingers. I stumble upon a photograph of the Sagrada Familia and also with a photograph of Gaudí. The photograph of the Sagrada Familia reminds me of a spring afternoon with wind and dust around the Hospital de San Pablo, that I was traversing, I don't know why anymore. It brings to mind the strange and powerful emotion I felt in front of its powerful, unique towers<sup>24</sup>.

24. Carmen Laforet, "Puntos de vista de una mujer: "Un libro sobre Barcelona Modernista," *Destino* 651 (28 January 1950): 9.

Ràfols' book appeared at the right moment, as the augury of the editorial tumult that was going to happen around the centenary of the architect, scheduled for 1952. Pla also wrote a laudatory article highlighting Teixidor's role in selecting a "fascinating, cleverly chosen graphic documentation" to get "a perfect book, a true editorial jewel". The time for his public claudication had arrived: "We have to be disappointed: *Modernisme* begins to please an increasing large number of people"<sup>25</sup>. The same month, *La Vanguardia* reopened the controversy of the Sagrada Familia in its "Religious" section. This time, it was Sartoris who entered the issue to position himself in favour of the continuation of the temple<sup>26</sup>. From all this, echoed a young Oriol Bohigas, taking advantage of the *Proyectos y Materiales* monograph to criticize certain interpretations and insisting on the need to "make noise" around Gaudí:

25. José Pla, "Barcelona. Capital del modernismo," *Destino* 653 (11 February 1950): 12 and 14.

26. Alberto Sartoris, "Religiosas: De la catedral inacabada de Gaudí," *La Vanguardia Española* (7 January 1950): 10. One month later Sartoris wrote the article "Universalismo umanístico de Gaudí". On the occasion of the centenary of Gaudí in 1952, Sartoris had planned to publish a book that never came to light.

Although it is worth noting the remarkable contribution of the young architect Sostres Maluquer, the original *Gaudinian* evolution diagram presented by Cirici Pellicer and the documented paragraphs of J.F. Ràfols [...], in fact almost all the number of *Proyectos y Materiales* comes to repeat more or less the same ideas that we already knew from previous studies published in Spain. But undoubtedly, the interesting thing about this set lies, not in the possible originality of some ideas, but precisely in the evidence of this interest in the *Gaudinian* work that, a few years ago, seemed to have emerged worldwide<sup>27</sup>.

27. Oriol Bohigas, "Arquitectura y arquitectos. Gaudí, desde América," *Destino* 652 (4 February 1950): 17.

Bohigas' criticism was an exception, since the columnists fed the media presence of Gaudí's religiousness without paying attention to the necessary revision of his architecture. *Destino* won readers every time the campaign tone on the Sagrada Familia increased and an avalanche of letters came to its headquarters. All this media murmur was insufficient for the journalist Manuel Brunet, who regretted that, unlike the communists, the Barcelona society lacked "spirit of continuity and organization" to solve the problem of the temple: "If there were in this region the same number

of communists as of Catholics, the Temple of the Sagrada Familia would be finished. The foolishness drowns us. We lack an instinct for organization because we lack a spirit of union and unity"<sup>28</sup>.

Among the many letters that arrived at *Destino* to express one's view on the continuation of the temple, some that posed a new treatment of the *Gaudinian* heritage of Barcelona were infiltrated. One of them was from Manuel Ribé, president of the Junta Provincial de la Dirección General de Turismo, who announced the intention of exploiting the tourism potential of Gaudí's architecture:

The point of view adopted by this Organization with reference to the great work of Gaudí, was that, besides from other meanings and derivations of the most respectable nature that the conclusion of the work would entail, it would also be of extraordinary importance for the increase of the tourism potential in Barcelona and even in Spain...<sup>29</sup>

Before the demand of tourists who were going to the Barcelona Tourist Office to get information about Gaudí's masterpieces, the city council edited a brochure that gathered his buildings. All this happened waiting for the Americans who had read "Trip to Spain guided by Dalí", the report of *Vogue magazine* in which the artist encouraged readers to visit the architect's buildings:

On Paseo de Gracia you will find stunning examples of this type of delusional architecture, true solidified Debussian music. They will marvel at the Milà house and at another extravagant building further below, called the House of Bones, because it really seems to be articulated as vertebrae [...] It is a good idea to wait until sunset before visiting Park Güell, where you will find roads of leaning columns and imitations of fossil trees<sup>30</sup>.

That spring Gio Ponti and José Antonio Coderch began to set the contents of the pavilion of the IX Triennale of the following year, among which they had planned an exhibition about Gaudí. Ponti, who had visited Spain in 1949, invited by the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas to give a lecture at the V Assembly, had already expressed his admiration towards the architect:

I confess that, when I was in Spain twenty years ago, I did not understand anything about Gaudí [...] After knowing the importance of Picasso and Dalí, Freud's studies, of the entire intellectual movement of the last twenty years, today I say that Gaudí's architecture is illuminated with an extraordinary artistic and poetic importance. Le Corbusier has said a great truth: 'a building must sing'. And in Gaudí's work there is a powerful song<sup>31</sup>.

28. Manuel Brunet, "La cuestión de la Sagrada Familia," *Destino* 656 (4 March 1950): 5.

29. "Carta al director," *Destino* 656, (4 March 1950): 2.

30. "To Spain, guided by Dalí," *Vogue* (15 May 1950), in *Salvador Dalí. Obra Completa*, vol. IV (Barcelona, Figueres, Madrid: Destino, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2003), 614–15.

31. Enric Granell and Antoni Ramon, *Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya. 1874-1962* (Barcelona: COAC, 2012), 200.

Through the Italian Institute of Culture of Barcelona, Bruno Zevi arrived in the city on May 22 to give two lectures in the COACB Spring Conference Series<sup>32</sup>. His stay coincided with the presentation of *El arte de Gaudí*, the book by Juan Eduardo Cirlot [Fig. 5], whose ideas about the architect as a forefather of the avant-garde obtained immediate resonance in the media: in August, the Italian architect Luigi Moretti published in *Spazio* magazine “Arte di Gaudí in Spagna”<sup>33</sup>, an article by Cirlot who summarized the contents of his book; and in December, the journalist Tristán la Rosa dedicated a complimentary review to the book in *La Vanguardia*:

Cirlot rehearses a thousand views on this unchained and frantic architecture of Gaudí, and with an expert pupil, shows us unpublished angles, unknown plans and inadvertent forms. But the secret impulse of those painfully twisted forms and the reason of those tormented stones remains, in the end, without deciphering. The monograph is excellent, and Gaudí appears in it, framed with a gesture of biblical prophet, as if he was preparing to enact new laws on the subject [...] But -excuse the heresy- when we wonder if we would live comfortably in a city built by Gaudí, with all buildings like the Sagrada Familia or La Pedrera, then, truth be told, we are assaulted by fierce doubts. Gaudí has promoted great controversies, but now his work is there and nobody stops to contemplate it. The “Sagrada Familia” is the forgotten old love of a city that is a little capricious and adventurous. And the Milá house [...] only calls attention to some tourists<sup>34</sup>.

The take-off of the new vision that Cirlot offered of Gaudí was accompanied by the international spread of the photographs of Gomis and Prats that, in 1950, had a wide diffusion: 25 of them went to the article that Zevi wrote for the *Metron-Architettura* magazine and, a few months later, he included the full colour photograph of the bench in the Park Güell for the cover of his *Storia dell'architettura moderna*<sup>35</sup>. Gomis' images also illustrated the graphic montage of Gaudí's works that *The Architectural Review* published in the November issue:

The Cover is a montage of details -or more precisely, chimneys- from buildings by Antonio Gaudí [...], the Spanish architect in whose work art nouveau motifs, foretastes of surrealism, and a sculptor's

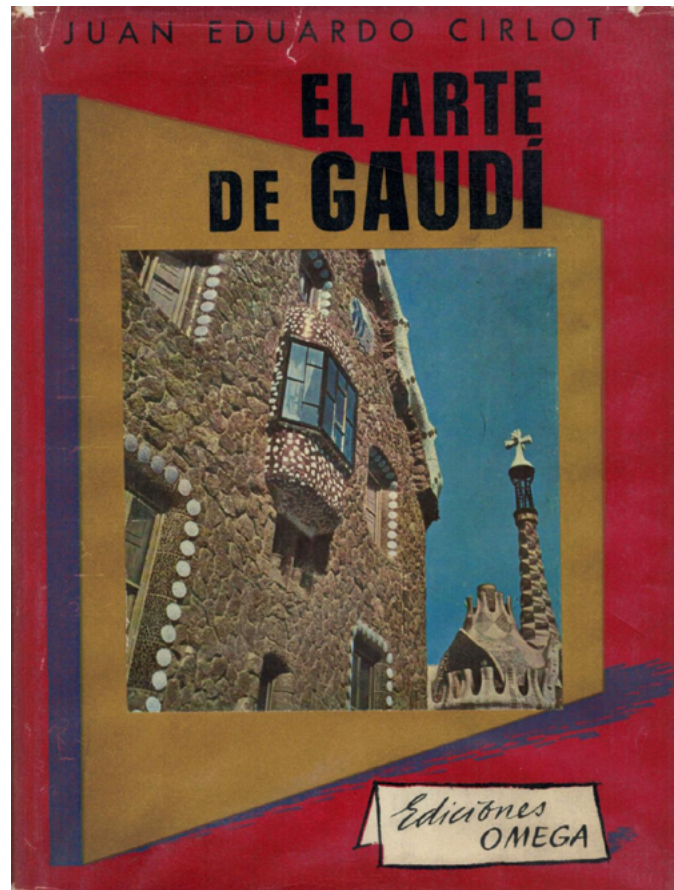


FIG. 5 Juan Eduardo Cirlot. *El arte de Gaudí*. Barcelona: Omega publishers, 1950. Gaudí Chair Library, ETSAB-UPC

32. On May 23, Zevi gave the lecture “La crisi dell’razionalismo architettonico nel mondo” and on May 25 “Il momento architettonico in Italia”. See also the interview “Bruno Zevi nos dice...,” *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 13 (1950): 89; and “Conferencias y cursillos: El profesor Bruno Zevi en el Ateneo,” *La Vanguardia Española* (24 May 1950): 10; “Conferencias y cursillos: El profesor Zevi en el Ateneo Barcelonés,” *La Vanguardia Española* (26 May 1950): 11.

33. Juan Eduardo Cirlot, “Arte di Gaudí in Spagna,” *Spazio* 2 (Agosto 1950): 29-39. According to Lahuerta, “Resuscitate Gaudí, in a formidable effort of anachronism: this made, in effect, Cirlot, terrified by the idea of a city built entirely with its architecture”. (This was stated by Cirlot in an article published in *Cúpula* magazine in 1953); see Juan José Lahuerta, “Sala 7. Barcelona,” in *Univers Gaudí*. (Barcelona: CCCB, 2002), 195.

34. Tristán La Rosa, “El arte de Gaudí,” *La Vanguardia Española* (7 December 1950): 11. That summer, MoMA inaugurated *Three modern styles: Art Nouveau, Cubist-geometric, free form* (July 11-September 5), an exhibition that included photographs of Casa Batlló and Casa Milà.

35. Bruno Zevi, “Un genio catalano: Antonio Gaudí,” *Metron-Architettura* (October 1950): 27-53. See: Julio Garnica, “Bruno Zevi en la España de 1950: una *Storia dell'architettura* cargada de futuro”. *ZARCH* 10, (June, 2018): 189. [https://doi.org/10.26754/ojs\\_zarch/zarch.2018102940](https://doi.org/10.26754/ojs_zarch/zarch.2018102940)



approach to form combine to produce something quite outside the general course of development of recent European architecture<sup>36</sup>.

Some photographs were included in the photomontage of the Spanish pavilion at the Triennale of Milan held between May and September 1951. Of the 30 photographs that were exhibited, 18 showed Gaudí's works and 12 examples of popular Ibizan architecture<sup>37</sup>. *Gaudinian* photographs were mostly from Gomis, except those of the Park Güell that belonged to the Batlles-Compte studio -formed by the advertising photographer Ramón Batlles and Josep Compte, head of the Falange Photography Section during the war- the most requested by the high society of Barcelona at the time. Finally, these same images illustrated the article that Ponti dedicated to Gaudí in *Domus*: "Gaudí, that genius to whom everything is allowed, made a revolution on his own, born and finished with him: he is not part of the history of architecture but is a character in the history of Spain"<sup>38</sup>. The wide dissemination of *Gaudinian* images in 1950 did not end there: while photographer Ricard Sans portrayed Dalí on the roof of La Pedrera, readers of the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* found a silent image of the Sagrada Familia on full page<sup>39</sup>.

The Gaudí effervescence was a fact when Pla dedicated to the architect three consecutive articles in *Destino* that would be the basis for his future *Homenot*<sup>40</sup>. Public recognition also infiltrated the political stays on the occasion of the I Bienal Hispanoamericana de Arte (1951), which was the result of the new policy of the regime, through the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, an entity linked to the Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. The First Biennial awarded several tributes to the architect, such as that of J.J. Tharrats or the Outdoor Theater project of the architect Ramón Vázquez Molezún<sup>41</sup>. *Mundo Hispánico* magazine -the official media of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica- published a monograph in November devoted to a peaceful Barcelona, without any reference to the famous "streetcar strike" that the city lived in March<sup>42</sup>. The magazine included a colour photograph of the Sagrada Familia by Nicolás Müller [Fig. 6] and the article "Gaudí o la arquitectura teológica", in which Antoni Moragas reclaimed the architect's saintliness: "May this interest that Gaudí's personality arouse in the whole world be a stimulus and an example to the new generations in the path of Art and Faith"<sup>43</sup>. Gaudí's catholic dimension and his political manipulation were not limited to the propaganda channels of Francoism. At the end of that year, *Ariel* dedicated a special issue with an article by Teixidor in which the Sagrada Familia appeared as the symbol of oppressed Catalan society under the yoke of the dictatorship:

Gaudí wanted this: the common effort of a whole town. He put in the midst of us the stone that must unite us. He gave us joyfully a work to do to bring us together when we needed it. There have been generations in silence. They had, or were believed to have, other

36. Marcus Whiffen, "Catalan Surreal," *The Architectural Review* 647 (November 1950): 322-25. Nikolaus Pevsner was, along with J.M. Richards, the editor of the magazine. Whiffen's article is clearly indebted to Cirlot's ideas.

37. We have addressed this issue in Carmen Rodríguez, "Ibiza: sueño y devoción de un paisaje intercambiable/Ibiza: dream and devotion of an interchangeable landscape," in *Imaginando la casa mediterránea: Italia y España en los años 50. Catalogue of the exhibition: Fundación ICO, October 2019-January 2020, edited by Antonio Pizarro* (Madrid: Ediciones Asimétricas, 2019), 108-23.

38. Gio Ponti, "Dalla Spagna," *Domus* 260 (July-August 1951): 26.

39. "Iglesia de la Sagrada Familia en Barcelona," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 114 (June 1951): 18.

40. José Pla, "Calendario sin fechas. Don Antonio Gaudí," *Destino* 737 (22 September 1951): 5; "Calendario sin fechas. Don Antonio Gaudí II," *Destino* 738 (29 September 1951): 6; "Calendario sin fechas. La catedral sumergida. Y III," *Destino* 739 (6 October 1951): 5.

41. "Teatro al aire libre homenaje a Gaudí: proyecto premiado en la I Bienal Hispanoamericana. Arquitecto/s: Ramón Vázquez Molezún, Antoni Gaudí," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 120, (December 1951): 10-13.

42. For two weeks, the citizens refused to use public transport and participated in numerous protest march, registering some act of violence with burning of one of the trams.

43. Antonio de Moragas, "Gaudí o la arquitectura teológica," *Mundo Hispánico* 43-44. (November 1951): 61-63. Moragas continued the wake initiated in the pages of *Destino*: Arturo Llopis, "Gaudí, arquitecto de Dios," *Destino* 727 (14 June 1951): 3-6.



**FIG. 6** Nicolas Müller. Photography of Sagrada Familia. *Mundo Hispánico* 43-44, October-November 1951. Miguel de Cervantes Virtual Library

things to do: we can undertake this that will be worth it at the time of doing it and forever more. We believe that the individual act is as rich as a race epic: joining all efforts in one goal, our heritage will multiply, will be defined and ensured. The blindness can no longer last longer. Solidarity around the Sagrada Familia will be the sign that we need to redress. It all depends on everyone. Young writers have the right to ask the moon for our faith to rise to the stars<sup>44</sup>.

1951 ended with the news of a special municipal investment of 2.646.446 pesetas to condition access to the facade of the Birth of the Sagrada Familia, a building that was increasingly visited by foreign tourists, as NoDo news picked up showing a group of visitors descending from a coach to admire the temple<sup>45</sup>. The machinery for articulating, the following year, the double celebration of the XXXV International Eucharistic Congress and the centenary of the birth of the architect had been launched<sup>46</sup>.

44. J. T. "La Sagrada Familia," *Ariel. Revista de les arts* 23 (December 1951): 61.

45. "El templo expiatorio de la Sagrada Familia en Barcelona. Visitantes extranjeros admiran la obra de Gaudí," *NoDo*. (NOT. N418A-8.1.1951).

46. "Aportación del Ayuntamiento a la reconstrucción de la Sagrada Familia," *La Vanguardia Española* (5 December 1951): 11.

In December, “Amigos de Gaudí”, a new cultural entity of the artistic Cercle de Sant Lluç, was created with the purpose of “the study and assessment of the personality and work of Antonio Gaudí, the conservation of his works and the cooperation of the continuation of the Expiatory Temple of the Sagrada Família, faithfully following their project as far as possible”<sup>47</sup>. As a member of “Amigos de Gaudí”, Oriol Bohigas wrote to Josep Puig i Cadafalch to request his adhesion, including in his letter a list of foreign and Spanish personalities who had shown their support<sup>48</sup>.

In May, British historian Nikolaus Pevsner arrived in Barcelona to give two lectures at the COACB - on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>. It was barely ten days before the celebration of the XXXV Eucharistic Congress, whose acts preceded the official commemoration of the centenary of Gaudí with a communion Mass in the Sagrada Família on June 25<sup>49</sup>. “Amigos de Gaudí” increased its presence in the public sphere with the convening of a “Gaudí Contest” to reward “the best literary works that are broadcasted or published in the press of any country and in any language”. The jury ruling -formed by J. Puig and Cadafalch, J. Rebull, A. Skyra, F. Folguera, J.V. Foix, J. M<sup>a</sup> Sostres and O. Bohigas- would be published on June 25, 1953<sup>50</sup>. In response to these movements, the City Council of Barcelona applied in September the article 520 which declared Gaudí’s works of historical-artistic interest<sup>51</sup>. To these initiatives, an intense publishing movement was added, which resulted in four monographs of the Sagrada Família<sup>52</sup>. One of them was the first *fotoscop* of Gomis and Prats, opening the way to an atmospheric view of the architect’s work that continued in a series of visual books, with hardly any critical apparatus. But the book that raised more expectation was the reissue of the study that Ràfols had dedicated to Gaudí in 1929, which initially appeared in Canosa publishers and was retaken in 1952 by Aedos publishers. In this new issue, revised and extended, two significant changes were manifested regarding the original: the “disappearance” of Francesc Folguera’s study and the inclusion of a new chapter, “Gaudí 1952”, in which Ràfols entered fully in the matter of Gaudí public repair:

Apparently, it was necessary for rationalist or functionalist international architects to claim for Gaudí the place that belongs to him in modern architecture. And the crown of praise on the *Gaudinian* work soon became rich with warm and clear words born from the unusual impression that this work caused them: words of Le Corbusier, van Doesburg, Gropius [...]<sup>53</sup>

The apparent unanimity in *Gaudinian* recognition was broken in September, when the “Gaya Nuño affair” exploded, caused by the publication of an article in which the art historian discredited the architect’s work:

I don’t like Gaudí, I don’t believe in his genius [...]. Barcelona [...] is the victim city of the cruellest architectural furores that have ever

47. “Gaudí. 1852-1952” (Gaudí Chair Archive. ETSAB-UPC).

48. Oriol Bohigas. Letter to J. Puig i Cadafalch. January 24, 1952. (National Archive of Catalonia: ANC1-737-T-1152). Among the international accessions: Alvar Aalto, Hans Arp, Alfred Barr jr., Walter Curt Behrendt, Alexander Calder, Albert Camus, René Clair, Douglas Cooper, Albert Einstein, T.S Eliot, Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius, Henri Laurens, Le Corbusier, David Lichine, André Malraux, Jacques Maritain, Henri Matisse, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Henry Moore, Richard Neutra, Amedée Ozenfant, Auguste Perret, Nikolaus Pevsner, Gustav Adolf Platz, George Rouault, Alberto Sartoris, Albert Skira, Igor Strawinsky, James Johnson Sweeney, Henri van de Velde, Lionello Venturi, Frank Lloyd Wright, Ossip Zadkine, Christian Zervos and Bruno Zevi; among the Spanish, Azorín, Pío Baroja, Ángel Ferrant, J.V. Foix, Fernando García Mercadal, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Luis Gutiérrez Soto, Gregorio Marañón, Joan Miró, José Ortega y Gasset, Benjamín Palencia, Pablo Picasso, Francesc Pujols, Joan Rebull, Carles Riba, Josep Lluís Sert, Joaquim Sunyer, Eduardo Torroja and Rafael Zabaleta. See also: “Manifiesto Amigos de Gaudí”. *La Vanguardia Española* (4 July 1952): 11.

49. “La conmemoración del centenario del nacimiento de Gaudí. Ayer se celebraron, en memoria del genial arquitecto emotivos actos,” *La Vanguardia Española* (26 June 1952): 18.

50. *La Vanguardia Española* (3 August 1952): 14; and “Concurso sobre la obra de Gaudí,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 129 (September-October 1952): ix.

51. *Gaceta municipal de Barcelona* 06 (8 February 1954): 152.

52. César Martinell, *Gaudí i la Sagrada Família comentada per ell mateix* (Barcelona: Aymà Editors, 1951) and *La Sagrada Família* (Barcelona: Aymà Editors, 1952); Isidre Puig Boada, *El temple de la Sagrada Família. Síntesis del arte de Gaudí* (Barcelona: Omega, 1952) was a reissue that one published in 1929 (Barcino, Sant Jordi collection, vol. 23-24, No. IX and X d’Art Cristià); *Temple Expiatori de la Sagrada Família* (Barcelona: Gráfs. Marina. 1952); Joaquim Gomis, Joan Prats, Alexandre Cirici, *La Sagrada Família de Antoni Gaudí. 80 fotografías inéditas* (Barcelona: Omega, 1952).

53. J.F. Ràfols, “Gaudí 1952,” *Gaudí*. (Barcelona: Aedos, 1952), 211–12.

tainted any city. Modernism, that is, the tuberculous, purulent and cheesy, demented and morpho maniac concretion of a crossroads of cheap imports, such as Wagnerism, with vaguely Hispanic motives, such as active anarchism. Everything is the result of a mental pathology, torture of the imagination, or obscene bulbs<sup>54</sup>.

Although Gaya merely repeated the ideas expressed by d'Ors and Pla in the previous decade, his statements provoked a chain of reactions, such as the replica by Bohigas:

I have long been surprised and at the same time alarmed by Gaudí's strange devoted admirers. Most of them are people with little artistic sensibility and without the slightest architectural culture, an audience that is childishly enthusiastic about any decorative detail completely alien to the essence of the work, and often even architects, who then quietly enclose themselves in their workshop to draw pediments and Corinthian columns, oblivious to the authentic lesson of Gaudí's work [...] In a flash you know how to place yourself exactly at that low cultural height that you have betrayed, like that audience that "admires" Gaudí and sometimes reads you. And as you have already discovered, that what is admired of Gaudí is his personal aura or perhaps the citizen prestige of some of his works, and you also are, just like the public, absolutely unable to reach the deepest of Gaudí's architecture, that is where a critic must arrive; you are attached to what he calls "centenary glorifying choir"<sup>55</sup>.

The resonances of the controversy were still there two months later, when the Escuela Oficial de Periodismo of Barcelona organized a colloquium on Gaudí at the Ateneo Barcelonés, with the participation of Manuel Trens, Juan Bergós, Ricardo Opisso, Alberto del Castillo and Alexandre Cirici, who took up the question:

Who dares to formulate his *anti-Gaudinism*? Who dares, in public, to allow reservations about the work of our official genius? Gaudí is part of the group of "taboos" of Barcelona and woe to the one who dares to question him! Gaudí and Wagner -among others- are dangerous issues for the country's environmental sensitivity [...] The curious thing is that ninety-five percent of Gaudí's devotees are far from sharing the point of view that such a precursor force is nothing valuable, but quite the opposite<sup>56</sup>.

The centenary led to all kinds of reactions and opened new ways of seeing the architect's work, such as *Gaudí*, essay, a documentary by Josep Maria Forn, with a script by Joan Bosch and production by Atlante Films. For the first time, this was a film influenced by Ciriot's book and the renewed perception of the architect as a precursor to the avant-garde.

1953 was the year in which Franco signed the agreements with the US that would finally meant the definitive integration in Western Block after the isolation that Spain had suffered since the end of World War II<sup>57</sup>.

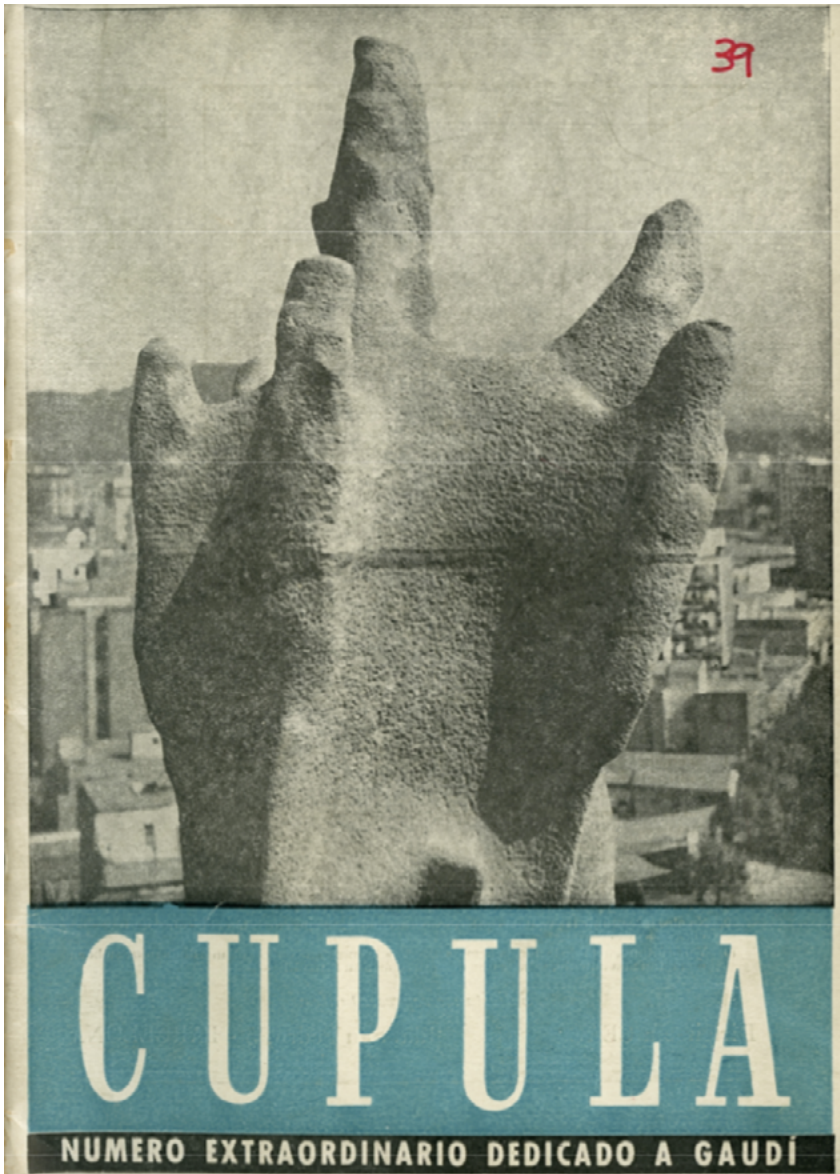
54. Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, "En el centenario del Sr. Gaudí," *Ínsula* 81 (15 September 1952): 10.

55. Oriol Bohigas, "Carta abierta al señor Gayá, (sic) en la que se habla del señor Gaudí," *Destino* 793 (18 October 1952): 20. Gaya Nuño also received reproaches of Josep M<sup>a</sup> Garrut in *Índice de las artes y las letras* (January 1953).

56. "Gaudí en el segundo coloquio de la prensa," *Destino* 798 (22 November 1952): 8.

57. The agreements also enabled the organization of an exhibition on Modern American architecture in the Virreina Palace of Barcelona (March 1953).





**FIG. 7** *Cúpula* 39. Special issue dedicated to Gaudí. January 1953. Gaudí Chair Library. ETSAB-UPC

In January, a special issue of the *Cúpula* magazine brought together all the representatives of local *Gaudinism*, such as Bonet Garí, Puig Boada, Bohigas, Bergós, Martinell, Sostres, Moragas, Cirici, Cirlot, Ràfols and Alfonso Batalla (pseudonym of philosopher Arnau Puig) [Fig. 7]. Sostres introduced a new cartography of *Gaudinian* criticism with "Gaudinist Chronology in three times"<sup>58</sup> that, a few months later, would have a new title -"Situation of Gaudí's work in relation to his time and current significance"- in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*<sup>59</sup>; and Moragas claimed Gaudí as an incentive to overcome the crisis of modern architecture:

It is interesting to study the figure of Gaudí at a time of such complex problems as ours, when Architecture suffers a tremendous crisis, as a result of urban planning, when Sociology has definitely ceased to be a theory to become a reality, when the utilitarian concept of things is accentuated day after day, by this progressive

58. José M<sup>a</sup> Sostres, "Cronología Gaudinista en tres tiempos," *Cúpula* 39 (January 1953): 756–57.

59. José M<sup>a</sup> Sostres, "Situación de la obra de Gaudí en relación con su época y trascendencia actual," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 139 (July 1953): 41–43.

increase in the standard of living, at a time when the man dragged by this whirlwind must do anything, the figure of Gaudí has to serve us as an extraordinary example to encourage us all to instill in this inextricable skein of life, the eternal permanence of art<sup>60</sup>.

Gaudí for everything and everyone. Ramon Tort, director of *Cuadernos de arquitectura*, wrote to Alberto Sartoris to update him on the extraordinary issue which was being prepared and should have appeared the previous year:

Opportunely I received your article about Gaudí for its publication in *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*. Internal conveniences [...] motivated the delay of the extraordinary issue dedicated to the Catalan master, and the date of publication was delayed almost a year [...] Your article is extremely interesting and at the same time reveals a not at all superficial knowledge of Gaudí, a love and an affection for the things of Barcelona that I greatly appreciate<sup>61</sup>.

For his part, César Martinell published three consecutive articles in *Destino* that would later constitute the corpus of his next book *Gaudinismo* (1954)<sup>62</sup>. Martinell - who guided the readers of *Destino* on the tourist excursions organized by the magazine to visit Gaudí's buildings- rescued the term from the formulation made by Josep M<sup>a</sup> Garrut in 1936<sup>63</sup> to activate Gaudí's place in the "trajectory of architectural progress" and, especially, to establish a new panorama of historiographic authority around his work<sup>64</sup>. The COACB began to react and, on March 20, it held a "Critical Architecture Session" dedicated to the architect and chaired by the Director General de Arquitectura, Francisco Prieto Moreno, and the president of the council, Julian Laguna. In this Session, with contributions of Martinell, Puig Boada, Sostres and Francisco Navarro, was projected a black and white film of Gaudí's works and some colour slides by Prats and Gomis<sup>65</sup>. Navarro, an architect and scientist from Reus who had held positions of responsibility in Franco's administration, used Gaudí to proclaim the end of the "deviant" architecture of Le Corbusier:

The "Courbussierian" myth (*sic*), buried today in Europe, the studious youth that integrates the avant-garde of architecture has come off the ballast of the prejudices involved in speculating tenderly with masses and volumes; and going back to elementary principles, superior to matter and form, they pursue something that, preceding any composition of architecture, is itself very simple reality. That is to say, they return by the honest and well-intentioned path that Gaudí preached, and, although in a different aspect, they are in the same field of ideas that the Master sows, where without having yet achieved a concrete aesthetic formula, every result is always fruitful, guiding and has a universal sense<sup>66</sup>.

60. Antonio de Moragas, "Antonio Gaudí. De su época a la nuestra," *Cúpula* 39 (January 1953): 759. On April 8, the City Council granted permission to organize the "Exhibition Gaudí photo contest in La Virreina" (April 18-May 1). The jury was chaired by Joan Miró and composed of Thomas Bouchard, Antonio Ollé, Joan Prats, Francesc Català-Roca, César Martinell, Antonio de Moragas and Alexandre Cirici (secretary).

61. Letter from Ramon Tort to Alberto Sartoris (Barcelona, January 24, 1953). Document typed with letterhead and rubric of the architect. (ADS-EPFL. 0172.03.0163. CO/22, 8.1. Espagne: Correspondance. T-U / Tort).

62. César Martinell, "El legado de Gaudí. Su obra," *Destino* 813 (7 March 1953): 18-19; "El legado de Gaudí. Una teoría arquitectónica. Lo estructural y lo decorativo," *Destino* 814 (14 March 1953): 19-20; "El legado de Gaudí. La Sagrada Familia," *Destino* 815 (21 March 1953): 18-19.

63. Josep M<sup>a</sup> Garrut, "Justificació del "gaudinisme". Ajuntament de Barcelona. Delegació de Serveis de Cultura, 1936. Josep M<sup>a</sup> Sostres will once again set the place of *Gaudinism* in "Interpretación actual de Gaudí," in *Gaudí. Boletín del Centro de Estudios Gaudinistas* (Barcelona: COAC, 1960).

64. César Martinell, "La arquitectura antes de Gaudí," *Gaudinismo*. (Barcelona: Publicaciones "Amigos de Gaudí", 1954), 19.

65. "Sesión crítica de arquitectura celebrada en Barcelona como homenaje a Antonio Gaudí," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 139 (July 1953): 34-50.

66. Francisco Navarro Borrás, "Homenaje a Gaudí," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 139 (July 1953): 2.

That summer, the French poet Jean Cocteau arrived in Barcelona in his tour across various Spanish cities. The trip inspired *Clair-Obscur* (1954), a set of poems dedicated to Spanish artists, poets, painters and architects, such as Góngora, Lorca, El Greco, Velázquez, Goya, Picasso, Gaudí, Manolete and Pastora Imperio, where they added other poems about cities (Málaga, Granada), monuments (El Escorial) or the bullfight. Cocteau compared Gaudí's works with Gustave Doré's engravings and sculptures, Victor Hugo's drawings and Ferdinand Cheval's fantastic constructions and imagined Barcelona "caught in Gaudí's hair"<sup>67</sup>. During his stay, he was accompanied by Tharrats to which he offered an unpublished poem, "Traduit d'avance" for *Dau al Set* magazine<sup>68</sup>. Cocteau also met Salvador Dalí in Madrid. It was the same year in which photographer Català-Roca made the famous photo report of the Spanish artist in Park Güell.

In August, the winner of the "Gaudí Contest" was announced: it was none other than Nikolaus Pevsner, with "The strange architecture of Antonio Gaudí"; a study published in *The Listener* and broadcasted by the BBC from London<sup>69</sup>. Although Pevsner had delivered his article after the deadline, the jury accepted it, probably with a view to increasing the international resonance of the prize if it fell to a prestigious firm<sup>70</sup>. Among the contestants who received some kind of recognition, the presence of "Hispanicus", author of an article on the Sagrada Familia, published in *L'Osservatore Romano*, is striking. There would not be much to say if it was not because "Hispanicus" was one of the pseudonyms that Francisco Franco used to publish his newspaper articles in the Spanish press -specially *Arriba*-. It seems difficult to imagine that any other author used the same pseudonym as the dictator, so the hypothesis that Franco should be the author of the article gains some credibility.

In 1954 appeared *Gaudí: l'home i l'obra*, a book of Joan Bergós focused on the biographical aspects of the architect; and *Gaudinismo*, a book of Martinell sponsored by "Amigos de Gaudí" in order to legitimize the architect's legacy. Now, it was about

proving, in a dissemination plan, but with the greatest informative scrupulousness, what Gaudí means in modern architecture and more immediately in Spanish architecture [...] It is a DUTY for those who feel prepared for it and for the organisms that can drive it to publicize ALL Gaudí's architectural thinking. The advanced of the world feel eager for this knowledge, even believing that the most distinguished are the four airy bell towers<sup>71</sup>.

While the MoMA exhibition was delayed, Sert advanced some contents of his book in *Casabella* and *L'Œil* magazines<sup>72</sup>. The new vision of Gaudí as the prophet and forerunner of modernity had great impact on several fronts, although some people, such as the Italian writer Alberto Moravia, still expressed his contradictions towards a work relegated to an

67. Cocteau remained in Spain between July 1 and August 1; see: Jean Cocteau, "Hommage à Antonio Gaudí," *Clair-obscur, Poèmes* (Monaco, 1954), 165; "Jean Cocteau en Barcelona," *Revista, semanario de información, artes y letras* 65 (July, 9-15, 1953): 16; and Montserrat Peco, "La imagen de España en el pensamiento y la obra de Jean Cocteau," *VII Coloquio APFUE (Asociación de Profesores de Francés de la Universidad Española)*. Cádiz, 11-13 February 1998, Vol. 1 (2000), 222.

68. Jean Cocteau, "Traduit d'avance," *Dau al Set* (Fall 1953).

69. Nikolaus Pevsner, "The Strange Architecture of Antonio Gaudí," *The Listener* (7 August 1952): 213-14.

70. The second prize was "En defensa de Gaudí", the article by Tharrats that appeared in *Revista*; the third was Martinell's three articles for *Destino*; and the fourth, "Gaudí, poliforme", an essay by Sartoris, published in the Italian magazine *Numero*. See: "Fallo del concurso del centenario de Gaudí," *La Vanguardia Española* (8 August 1953): 11.

71. Joan Bergós, *Gaudí: l'home i l'obra* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1954); César Martinell, "Significación de Gaudí en la arquitectura moderna". *Gaudinismo*. (Barcelona: Publicaciones "Amigos de Gaudí", 1954), 16 and 73. Bohigas enter into the debate in "Gaudí y el gaudinismo". *San Jorge* 15 (July 1954): 22-26.

72. Josep Lluís Sert, "Introduzione a Gaudí," *Casabella Continuità* 202 (August-September 1954): 48-56; and "Gaudí visionnaire et précurseur," *L'Œil* 2 (15 February 1955): 26-35.

“irrevocable past” by functional architecture but “detestable from the point of view of taste”:

Gaudí’s coherence has something delirious and admirable at the same time. His macabre and mystical naturalism is a bet, a folly, a perdition [...] Yet Gaudí, in his own way and in the Spanish manner, was kind of a great man. It was the stuff of Picasso, Dalí, Miro and all the Spanish artists who contributed so much to revolutionize the European art in this first half of the century. He was also a precursor of German expressionism and various European neo-Romantic movements, starting with Surrealism. His works of art, detestable from the point of view of taste, are very important from the psychological, social, moral [...]<sup>73</sup>.

In 1955, Barcelona was being prepared to make Gaudí the biggest tourist attraction in its history<sup>74</sup>, the architect Francesc Xavier Barba Corsini began to transform, in the middle of a bitter controversy, the roof of La Pedrera into modern apartments<sup>75</sup> and Cirlot published his “Oda to Antonio Gaudí”, a poem whose intention was not “to explain Gaudí” but to express it “to give an emotional equivalent of his art”. The poem, not suitable for all audiences, was accompanied by instructions for proper recitation:

Do not be scared of images that create strange. Read it safely, without declaring and with a certain monotony, like a primitive drunkenness. If you put musical background, let it be something serious and slow. If some music is previously given, let it be, on the contrary, something fast and abrupt. Read it like that, out loud before making judgments<sup>76</sup>.

Very far from Cirlot’s reading, “Amigos de Gaudí” intensified efforts to prepare a great exhibition in Saló del Tinell<sup>77</sup>. In September, the III Biennial Hispano-Americana de Arte was opened in Barcelona and the organizers chose a schematic view of the Sagrada Familia made by artist Enric Planasdurà; and in October, the first exhibition of American art opened with works from the MoMA while new contacts were activated:

Apart from Alfred H. Barr, in September 1955, two other prominent members of the MoMA leadership also met with Gomis and Prats, taking advantage of their stays in Barcelona on the occasion of the Biennial: René d’Harnoncourt, Director of the museum and Porter McCray, Director of the International Program. The main content of the conversations between them seems to revolve around a future exhibition of Antoni Gaudí at MoMA<sup>78</sup>.

In February 1956 the documentary *Piedras Vivas* was released. It was dedicated to the Sagrada Familia and made by Francesc Català-Roca and Anastasio Calzada with a narration by Juan Eduardo Cirlot. Currently missing, the film had won the gold medal for the best black and white film at the Ancona Amateur Film Festival as well as the City of Barcelona

73. Alberto Moravia, “Gaudí. Perfil d’Arte,” *Corriere della Sera* (6 May 1954): 3.

74. Arturo Llopis. “El mundo mira hacia nosotros. España, meta turística,” *Destino* 922, (9 April 1955): 21.

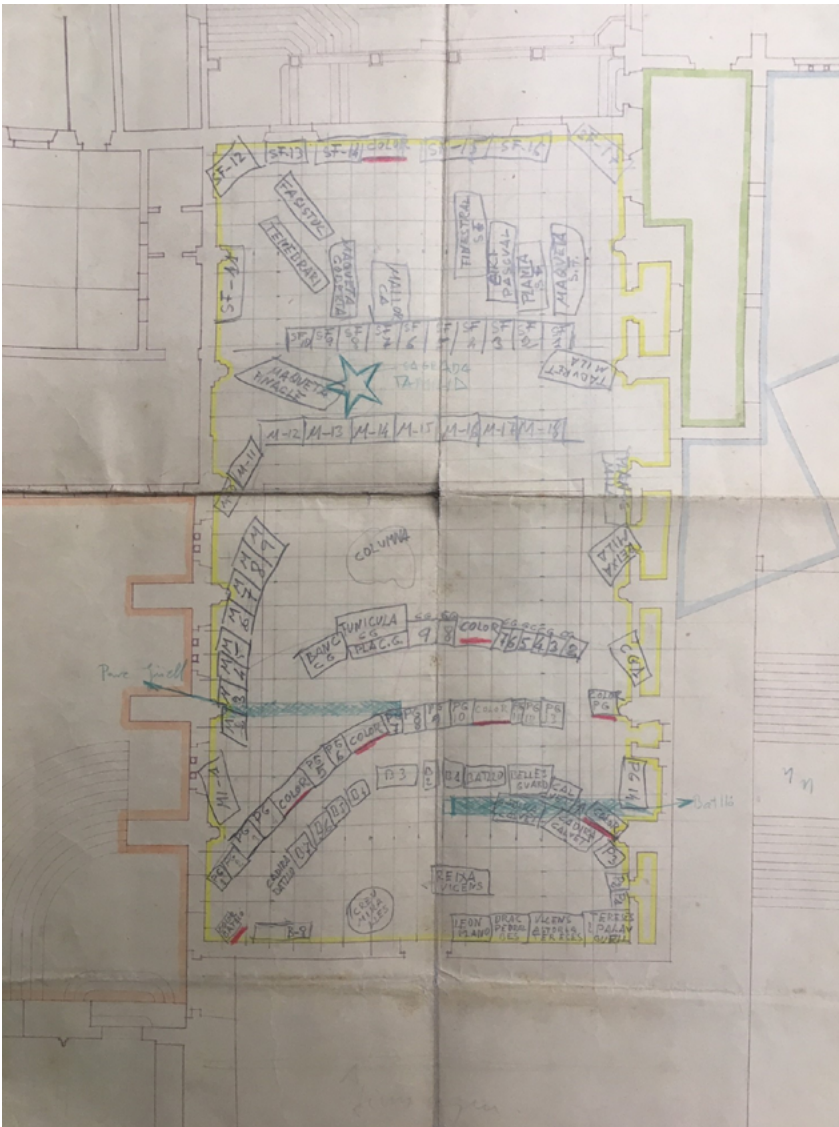
75. “Apartamentos en la planta desván de la Pedrera. Arquitecto Francisco Javier Barba Corsini,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 166 (1955): 11–17; “Apartamentos en la planta desván de ‘La Pedrera,’” *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 22 (2 trimestre 1955): 14–18.

76. Cirlot’s ode was published alongside “El sufrimiento de Antonio Gaudí,” *Templo* 90, (May 1955): 6–10. The same article appeared with the title “La plástica de Antonio Gaudí,” *Goya. Revista de Arte* 9 (November-December 1955): 176–182.

77. Eusebio Güell, president of the association, asked the city council for permission to hold the exhibition between December 1, 1955 and February 1, 1956. On January 27, 1955, the entity had requested a subsidy of 50,000 pesetas of the total of assembly costs amounting to 200,000 pesetas. The Director General of the Municipal Art Museums, Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, replied that the date of the exhibition could not be specified yet because it was necessary to dislodge the Cambó collection of the Tinell.

78. H. Martín points out that it was the exhibition “50 ans d’art aux États-Unis” that MoMA had organized for the Musée National d’Art Moderne in Paris, and which had previously ended up in Zurich, Frankfurt, London, The Hague, Vienna and Belgrade; in H. Martín, “El MoMA y la Gomis-Prats connection, 1946–1960: Joan Miró. Antoni Tàpies y Antoni Gaudí,” in *Destino Barcelona, 1911–1991. Arquitectos, viajes, intercambios*, edited by J. M<sup>a</sup> Rovira, E. Granell y C. García (Barcelona: Fundación Arquia, colección *arquí/temas* 42, 2018), 151–52.





**FIG. 8** Sketch of the "Gaudí Exhibition". Saló del Tinell. Barcelona, 1955-1956. Gaudí Chair Archive-ETSAB-UPC

Award<sup>79</sup>. On March 3, the Ministerio de Educación Nacional created the "Special Chair Antoni Gaudí" at Architectural School of Barcelona; the first director was J. F. Ràfols who, since 1943, was full professor of History of Art. Finally, on May 26, the *Gaudí* exhibition was opened in Saló del Tinell with great international repercussion, despite the economic failure that it meant for the organizers<sup>80</sup>. The exhibit, organized by Sostres, Bohigas and Prats [Figs. 8-9], was structured around the photogenic condition of *Gaudinian* architecture with a large visual mosaic formed by numerous big scale photographs and following an approach similar to that of MoMA exhibitions:

Photography has been the great auxiliary of Architecture and without it, on the other hand, the work of an architect could not be presented as in the current exhibition. Photography, in addition, has considerably influenced the evolution of the Architecture, as it simultaneously happened with the other figurative arts from the impressionism to the cubism. In the Gaudí Exhibition, it is

79. "Un triunfo de Catalá-Roca en Italia," *Revista. Semanario de información, artes y letras* 123 (19-25 August, 1954).

80. "Philip Johnson travels to Barcelona to see the Tinell exhibition, visit various Gaudí buildings and meet Gomis and Prats, with whom he intended to finalize the details of Gaudí's future exhibition in New York. George R. Collins and Henry-Russell Hitchcock also visit Barcelona for the first time and attend the exhibition," in H. Martín, "El MoMA y la Gomis-Prats connection, 1946-1960: Joan Miró. Antoni Tàpies y Antoni Gaudí," 157. See also "Exposición Gaudí. En el Saló del Tinell de Barcelona. Muestras de la obra del gran arquitecto," (*NoDo* 704 B, July 2, 1956).

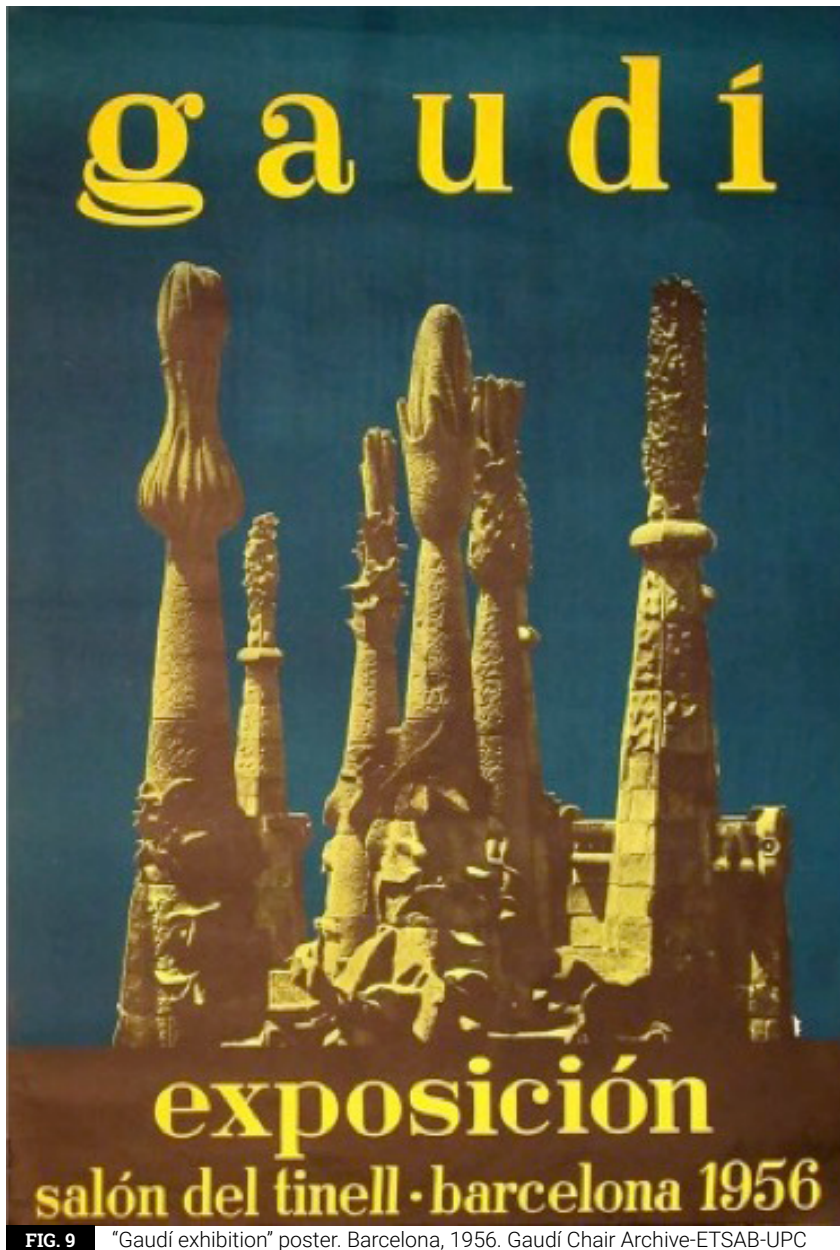


FIG. 9 "Gaudí exhibition" poster. Barcelona, 1956. Gaudí Chair Archive-ETSAB-UPC

interesting to follow through photography this "way of seeing" that has provided us with the objective, from the first contemporary photos of the archive, more, descriptive, virtuous, balanced contrast of light and shadow, to the most recent by Gomis-Prats and Català Roca, in which the influence of abstract art determines technique and theme and space-time values, as well as a clearer awareness of the object<sup>81</sup>.

The exhibit was the germ of those that were later held in New York (MoMA, 1957-1958), Milan (1958), Sao Paulo (Biennial, 1959), Paris (1960), Buenos Aires (1960), Valparaíso, (1960), Genoa (1961) and Madrid (1964).

In September, on the occasion of the Virgin of Mercè festivities, Salvador Dalí's performance was held at Park Güell before more than 5000 people [Fig. 10]. With a broom impregnated with tar, Dalí painted on a huge

81. José M<sup>a</sup> Sostres, "Gaudí a través de la exposición Gaudí," *Diario de Barcelona* (13 June 1956); in José María Sostres: *Opiniones sobre arquitectura*, edited by Xavier Fabré (Murcia: COATM, 1983), 75. Among the publications related to the exhibition: *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 26 (1956); J. J. Tharrats, "El Arte Otro comienza con Gaudí," *Revista. Semanario de información, artes y letras* (9 May 1956): 4; AA.VV., "23 opiniones sobre Gaudí," *Revista. Semanario de información, artes y letras* (May 21-June 6 1956): 13; and César Martinell, "El sentido de la unidad en la arquitectura de Gaudí," *Ensayo. Boletín de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios Artísticos de Barcelona* 6 (August 1956): 8–16.



**FIG. 10** Street advertising of the performance of Salvador Dalí at Park Güell, 1956. Gaudí Chair Archive-ETSAB-UPC

canvas the silhouette of the towers of the Sagrada Familia. Journalistic chronicles echoed that, after his funeral in 1926, it became the largest mass event around Gaudí:

While a crane was lifting the picture -in which the shapes of the towers of the Sagrada Familia were glimpsed- other words from Dalí that had been taken on tape were broadcasted from the speakers, among which three new artistic prophecies stood out: First, that when the functional architecture collapses, all the new architecture of the world will start from Gaudí; second, that all modern art will perish unless it becomes alive with the creative impulse of Gaudí and, third. that Spain, the only country where the Catholic faith has had a militant sense, will be the point of artistic renaissance thanks to the hyperbolic forms of the last great mystic of our time: Antonio Gaudí<sup>82</sup>.

82. "Conferencia del pintor Salvador Dalí en el Parque Güell. "El Generalísimo Franco —dijo— es el mejor Jefe de Estado que existe en Europa," *La Vanguardia Española* (30 September 1956): 32. The performance was broadcast by NoDo: "Pintura excéntrica. Conferencia de Salvador Dalí en el Parque Güell de Barcelona. Un cuadro con alquitrán," (NoDo 718 B, October, 8, 1956).

The exhibition and the performance encouraged the popularity of Gaudí, favouring the edition of a new tourist brochure with a “Gaudí Itinerary”<sup>83</sup> and the timely publication of Josep Pla’s *Homenot*:

Gaudí is the Catalan of his time that, since he has been more closely linked to Catalonia and to the Mediterranean, has a vast universal dimension, an overflow of the longest coverage. About Gaudí, we still do not have the complete book we would need [...] the global biography that in the Anglo-Saxon world is dedicated to great men [...]; the great complete book is still missing -to the extreme where human things can be completed- authentic, nothing cut out, truthful. The truth cannot do any harm to Gaudí from any point of view<sup>84</sup>.

Finally, on December 18, 1957, the *Gaudí* exhibition opened at MoMA, with great repercussion in the press<sup>85</sup>. Among the chronicles, Dore Ashton’s article stands out, defending the idea that “Gaudí is the quintessential functionalist because his works are functional at any level, whether physical or spiritual”<sup>86</sup>. The MoMA exhibition also accelerated the creation of “Amigos de Gaudí USA” and a new publishing impulse around the world. An example was *Gaudí fotoscop*, a book from Prats and Gomis with a foreword by Le Corbusier which had a wide impact on the press:

[...] Mr. Gomis and Prats have been registering and ordering for a long time and in their smallest details, the entire work of the architect to form a huge photographic archive that is the basis for quite a few scores and achievements of the latest trends in sculpture and painting, and must be consulted for any serious study on Antonio Gaudí. A complete sample of this intelligent and ambitious work is what both authors -the photographer and the sorter- call “fotoscop”, that is, the series arrangement of the different architectural, sculptural, decorative or merely functional elements in the multifaceted *Gaudinian* work that, through the image, are ordered according to analogies and developments subjected to a rhythm that could be called cinematographic. In this way, structures, materials, ornaments, texture, colour, science and ingenuity, skill, fantasy, even bad taste, arise here and there from this or that building of the ones built by Gaudí, highlight a balustrade, a fence, a fireplace or a shot, stop in such daring work, accuse games of volume and light, making the most sumptuous symphony. And by work and grace of the success in the framing and the wise disposition of the photographs, the “fotoscop” also acquires a pronounced didactic and documentary value, providing what the view does not normally perceive and clarifying better than many treaties, quite a few features and excellences of the *Gaudinian* contribution<sup>87</sup>.

83. “Itinerario gaudiniano,” *Destino* 993 (18 August 1956): 19.

84. Josep Pla, *Homenots*. Sisena sèrie (Barcelona: Selecta, 1956).

85. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Gaudí*. New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1957. See: J.J. Lahuerta, “Sala 6. Nova York,” *Univers Gaudí*. (Barcelona: CCCB, 2002), 190.

86. Dore Ashton, “Antonio Gaudí,” *Craft Horizons* XVII (November-December 1957): 35–41. Other articles that echoed the exhibition were: Anthony Kerrigan, “Gaudianism in Catalonia,” *Arts* 32, (December 1957): 20–25; Edith Hoffmann, “Antonio Gaudí,” *The Burlington Magazine* 659 (February 1958): 70–71; Anthony Kerrigan, “Crónica de Norteamérica. El éxito inesperado de Gaudí,” *Goya. Revista de arte* 23 (1958): 319 and Carlo L. Raghianti. “Antoni Gaudí,” *Sele Arte* 35, (March 1958), 12–23.

87. “Los libros del día. Gaudí,” *La Vanguardia Española* (17 July 1958): 9.

Another exhibition opened in the Milanese studio of the young architect Alessandro Mendini, organized jointly with Mario Brunati and F. Villa. "Gaudí. A precursor", which resulted in a brochure-catalogue with an introduction by Mendini himself, was the germ of a special issue of *Chiesa and Quartiere. Quaderni di architettura sacra* (March 1958) the magazine of the Centro di Studio e Informazione per l'Architettura Sacra di Bologna, with articles by the organizers and Luigi Figini and illustrated with photographs of the Centro de Estudios Gaudinistas that had just opened in Barcelona that same month, on the initiative of Martinell.

In the meantime, Sartoris renewed his Spanish contacts with the intention of publishing his monograph on Gaudí. In a letter dated August 20, Oriol Bohigas recommends him the RM publishing house -which has just published the *Gaudí fotoscop-*, but "if your intention is not a fancy book but an outreach manual" then it refers you to the Seix Barral publishing house and, ultimately, to the Gustavo Gili publishing house, "usually very commercialized". According to Bohigas, Sartoris' book could be the first monograph of a collection about Spanish architects that would promote *Cuadernos de arquitectura*<sup>88</sup>. This book was never published, but Sartoris could finally publish his ideas about Gaudí in the special issue of *Papeles de Son Armadans* -December 1959-, edited by the writer Camilo José Cela<sup>89</sup>. Sartoris placed Gaudí's architecture as "the only example of architecture that can be located in magical realism", taking the recurring view of the precursor of all the *isms* and asking "Why in the world there has been too much talk about Picasso and too little about Antonio Gaudí?"<sup>90</sup>. This new monograph was the fruit of a series of lectures organized at Urbis Club of Madrid under the leading of Luis González Robles, with the participation of Cirilo Popovici, Fernando Chueca Goitia and the secretary of "Amigos de Gaudí", Enric Casanelles, who spoke of the progressive "exaltation of Gaudí", with a "Gaudinian current (that) both in Spain and abroad, Italy and North America -Zevi and Sweeney- begins to worry seriously in the Gaudí case"<sup>91</sup>. The trigger had been the Tinell's exhibition, which, in Casanelles's judgment, was

A shot that jumps over the Atlantic and puts it in the heart of New York. If there were some vague news about Gaudí there and throughout North America, the exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art is a revulsion that will make the most restless spirits leap from their chair and the young architects who discover that figure that rarely appears on the face of the earth as the genius that it is. And by logical counterweight, to oblivion follows the craving for valorisation of the preterit genius. Silence gives way to the clamour and so we are today, living an authentic glorification of Gaudí in which there is a great deal of relief mixed with a large number of these reservations that, in our case, many times have made us

88. "Letter from Oriol Bohigas to Alberto Sartoris, August 20, 1958. (ADS-EPFL-0172.03.0163. CO/22, 8.1. Espagne: Correspondance. B /Oriol Bohigas).

89. *Papeles de son Armadans (Número especial dedicado al arquitecto Antonio Gaudí)*. Vol. IV. Issue XV. No. XLV bis (Madrid-Palma de Mallorca: December 1959).

90. Alberto Sartoris, "Gaudí, poliforme," *Papeles de son Armadans. (Número especial dedicado al arquitecto Antonio Gaudí)* 6, Vol. 15, No. 45 V bis (December 1959): 34 and 48.

91. Enrique Casanelles, "Introducción a Gaudí," *Papeles de son Armadans. (Número especial dedicado al arquitecto Antonio Gaudí)* 6, Vol. 15, No. 45 V bis (December 1959): 9.



meditate, to pour us to the question of whether we have been worthy of counting among us a man of exception as Gaudí was<sup>92</sup>.

The success of the New York exhibition also encouraged the Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales of Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores to start an international exhibition tour. The first was the V Biennial of Sao Paulo (September 21-December 3, 1959), conducted in collaboration with "Amigos de Gaudí". *La Vanguardia* echoed the announcement of the commissioner of the Biennale, Luis González Robles, of a Latin American "Gaudí" tour that would travel through Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, in order to go from there to Japan<sup>93</sup>.

### The Sixties. The Expansion of Gaudí in the World

The Latin American tour began in June 1960 with the exhibition in Buenos Aires whose catalogue was commissioned by the Catalan architect Antonio Bonet<sup>94</sup>. The show, sponsored by the Faculty of Architecture of Buenos Aires and installed in the National Museum of Decorative Arts, exhibited 50 photographic panels with Gaudí's works:

In America, where this exhibition is now circulating, the lesson of Gaudí will be very beneficial and healthy. And very understood too. Well, it is not random that in this continent you calm down and flourish better and more profusely than, in part, the most audacious and bold thing in architectural matters. There are the United States, Venezuela, Brazil, etc. And it is the lack of tradition that makes the American field open, without prejudices or illustrious scruples, for all advanced expressions. The new creed of Le Corbusier, the Gropius and the Niemeyer have in America the most enlightened prophets<sup>95</sup>.

The second Latin American stage was the University of Valparaíso in Chile, where the exhibition remained between September and October, including this time an article by Ciriot in the catalogue<sup>96</sup>. But these were not the most celebrated exhibitions, since, at last, an exhibit, although not monograph, was inaugurated in Paris, which would reward Gaudí for the forgetfulness of the French and the poor impact of the 1910 exhibition<sup>97</sup>. "Les sources du XXe Siècle: les arts en Europe de 1884 à 1914" (November 4, 1960-January 23, 1961 Musée National d'Art Moderne) had been promoted by the

92. Enrique Casanelles, "Introducción a Gaudí," 10–11.

93. Enrique Casanelles, "Introducción a Gaudí," 9.

94. Antonio Bonet, ed., *Antonio Gaudí 1852-1926*. Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo-Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos Torfano, June 1960).

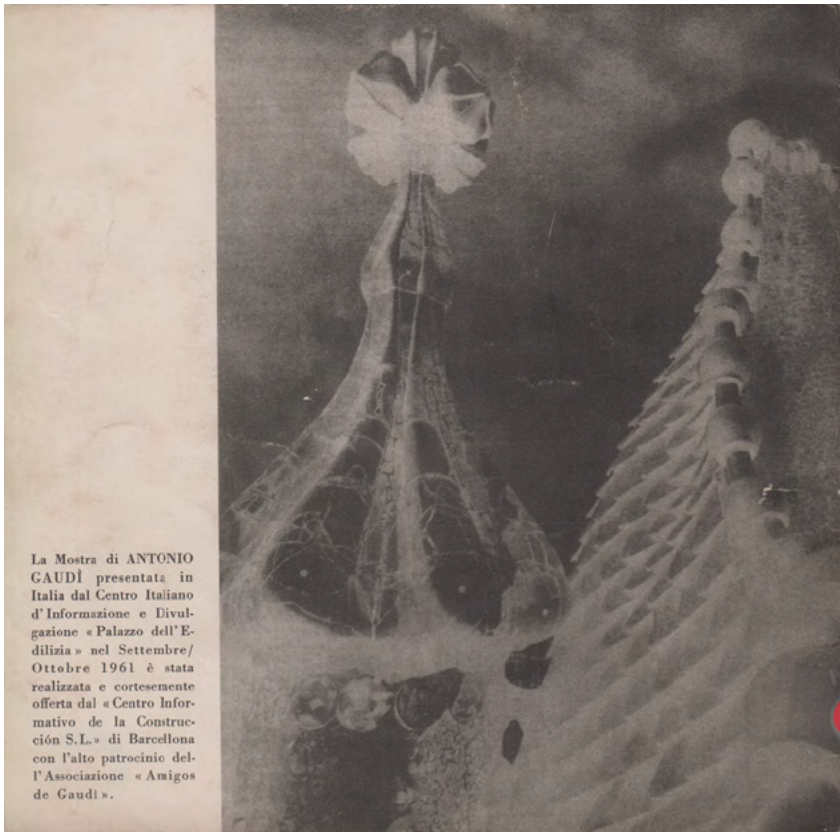
95. Oriol de Montsant, "Desde Buenos Aires. Exposición de un genio catalán. Gaudí en la Argentina (de nuestro corresponsal)," *La Vanguardia Española* (21 June 1960): 16.

96. "Acto de homenaje a Gaudí en Valparaíso. Se inauguró una exposición y pronunció una conferencia el señor Bassols," *La Vanguardia Española* (14 December 1960): 15.

97. "Gaudí's work will be exhibited again in the French capital, fifty years after it was for the first time, in 1910, at which time the great Gaudinian art was scarcely understood" in "Gaudí, de Hispanoamérica, a París," *La Vanguardia Española* (6 September 1960): 17.



FIG. 11 Movie poster of *Gaudí*, a film by Josep M<sup>a</sup> Argemí, 1961



**FIG. 12** Back cover of *Gaudí, un precursore*. Catalogue of the exhibition at the Centro Italiano di Informazione e Divulgazione of Genoa, 1961. Gaudí Chair Library-ETSAB-UPC

Council of Europe, with the commissioner of Jean Cassou and the advice of Casanelles, Bonet Garí and Ainaud de Lasarte.

1960 was a year of Gaudí's full recognition, with the emergence of the expected book by Sweeney and Sert, published in London (Architectural Press), New York (Frederick A. Praeger) and Stuttgart (Verlag Gerd Hatje)<sup>98</sup>. It was also the year that George R. Collins published his monograph in the Masters of Modern Architecture collection of New York Braziller editions<sup>99</sup>. And finally, the first biopic of fiction about the architect was released. *Gaudí*, a movie by José M<sup>a</sup> Argemí, with a screenplay by Mario Lacruz, music by Xavier Monsalvatge and the advice of Joan Bergós, was developed in the midst of the controversy over the inaccuracy of the biographical episodes it recreated [Fig. 11] His passage through the screens was subjected to negative criticisms, such as the one by Miquel Porter Moix in *Serra d'Or*:

Believing fashion, logic and Technicolor came Gaudí [...] Thus, Gaudí was manufactured [...] and we became enthusiastic, angry and entertained, to the measure of capacities comparable to those of the Catalan medium [...] 1. Biography of an architect without showing or realizing any of the real values of his work, 2. Biography of a Catalan man scolding all the true historical contacts of the character with his country. 3. Biography of a Christian showing only the allegedly false and mystical aspect of man, depriving

98. In 1961, the book appeared translated into Spanish (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Infinito) and Italian (Milano: Il Saggiatore).

99. George R. Collins, *Antonio Gaudí. Masters of Modern Architecture*. (New York: Braziller, 1960). That same year, Martinell published *Antonio Gaudí. 1852-1926 in english* (New York: Universe Books).

him of the fundamental love of charity that perhaps one day will serve to elevate him to a higher dignity. All this without considering psychological faults, historical mutations, ignorance of the artistic moment ...<sup>100</sup>.

*Gaudinian* cinematography increased with new films in the sixties: one of them, directed by Ken Russell and produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1961 for *Monitor-Arts* tv show, insisted on the similarity of Gaudí's work with the forms of nature and claimed his avant-garde; the other, by Italian architect and film director Mauro Richetti, was a poetic view that won the first prize of the Festival of the Science of Pavia in the 1962 edition.

Meanwhile, "Amigos de Gaudí" promoted the itinerary "Barcelona-Gaudí", with a collective bus tour service, to offer "an unprecedented view of monumental Barcelona, particularly that of the end and beginning of the century, in which the proud figure of Gaudí stands out. Today recognized worldwide with the highest qualifications as a precursor to all the findings of current aesthetics"<sup>101</sup>. The association also promoted new exhibitions, such as the one that opened at the Italian Center for Information and Divulgazione "Palazzo dell'Edilizia" in Genoa, coordinated by the architect Giuliano Forno in September-October 1961 [Fig. 12]<sup>102</sup>.

In 1964, when the Franco regime celebrated the "25 years of peace" and the film *Franco, ese hombre* was released in Barcelona, the dictator inaugurated another *Gaudí* exhibit [Fig. 13] at the 1st International Exhibition of the Construction of Madrid<sup>103</sup>. Organized by the Dirección General de Arquitectura del Ministerio de la Vivienda, with a committee formed by Miguel Angel García Lomas, Mariano Serrano, Felipe Batlló, Carlos de Miguel, Javier Feduchi, "Amigos de Gaudí" and Francesc Bassó, Oriol Bohigas, Federico Correa and J. M<sup>a</sup> Sostres as advisors, the exhibition was presented as the "culmination of a process of valuation of the *Gaudinian* figure and work, and [...] in addition to the assembly in which no media class has been haggled, the tribute that in the capital of Spain is going to be paid to one of the most representative values of contemporary art. It is, therefore, a true national event"<sup>104</sup>. The architect Antonio Fernández Alba, who had collaborated in exhibition assembly [Fig. 14], presented it as "a critical sample -within the somewhat complex limitations that this type of exhibitions carries with it-; a critical exhibition offered to an audience usually not specialized in these topics"<sup>105</sup>. It was an exhibition made with technical means superior to the one that had been held in Barcelona in 1956, such as the photographs, mounted on rotating panels, which allowed to relate the works of Gaudí -La Pedrera or Palau Güell- with other examples of modern architecture, such as the Alvar Aalto Finland pavilion for the 1939 New York exhibition or the Johnson Wax Building, by Frank Lloyd Wright (1936-39). This time it was not the photographs of Gomis and Prats that illustrated the show but images of other photographers,

100. Miquel Porter Moix, "Gaudí," *Serra d'Or* 12 (December 1960): 34.

101. "El Itinerario "Barcelona-Gaudí," *La Vanguardia Española* (11 November 1961): 25.

102. Giuliano Forno, *Gaudí, un precursore. Catalogo dell'Esposizione. Centro Italiano di Informazione e Divulgazione* (Genova: Arti Grafiche G. Schenone, 1961).

103. "Actualidad Nacional. S.E. el Jefe del Estado en la EXCO. Inauguró la exposición de Gaudí" (NoDo, 1143 A, 30 November 1964). *Gaudí. Exposición EXCO* (Madrid: Dirección General de Arquitectura-Ministerio de la Vivienda, November-December 1964).

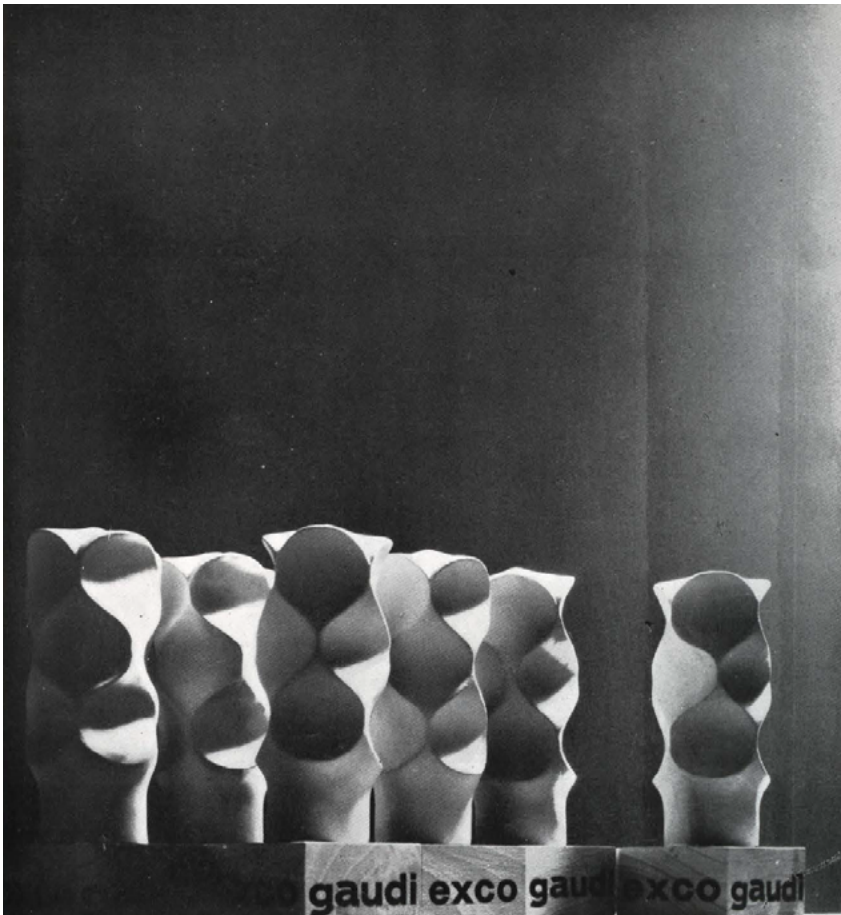
104. "La Exposición Gaudí en Madrid," *La Vanguardia Española* (14 November 1964): 21.

105. Antonio Fernández Alba, "Exposición Gaudí," *Arquitectura* 71 (1964): 51.





**FIG. 13** Arriba newspaper cover. Franco visiting Gaudí's exhibition in Madrid while the documentary *Franco, ese hombre*, was released in Barcelona. November 25, 1964



**FIG. 14** "Gaudí exhibition". Madrid. Dirección General de Arquitectura-Ministerio de la Vivienda, November-December, 1964. Gaudí Chair Library-ETSAB-UPC

including Francesc Aleu, Josep Brangulí, Adolf Mas, Cristóbal Portillo, Nicolás Reuss, Adolf Zerkowitz and Sánchez-Cuenca, as well as Casanelles and Italian architect Roberto Pane. The exhibit also gave the celebration of the "Gaudí Day" -November 6- and reached another official tribute that had been dedicated to the architect in the Universal Exhibition of New York, with a ceramic mural made by Antoni Cumella. In Barcelona, while a part of the local sphere insisted on deciphering the architect's psychological and spiritual keys<sup>106</sup>, the *Gaudinists* circles suffered a deep split, caused, on the one hand, by the exclusion of some of Madrid exhibition and the other, due to the appearance of the monograph written by Pane<sup>107</sup>. In fact, it was a confrontation between "Amigos de Gaudí", led by Casanelles, and the Architects' Association, with Martinell in the front row. The trigger was the critical review of Pane's book that Martinell published in *Cuadernos de arquitectura*, in which he questioned Pane's opinions about the state of abandonment of some of Gaudí's buildings. Pane's reply was swift: "in his home (*Gaudí*) continues to be understood as an expression of passions and local tendencies while, in the world, such things have only a limited importance"<sup>108</sup>. This controversy continued with a crossing of mutual reproaches in the pages of the magazine<sup>109</sup>.

In 1965, the way was opened to new looks towards *Gaudinian* works. *Arquitectura* magazine published a special issue (March 1965) with con-

106. Delfí Abella, ed., *Gaudí. L'home, l'obra, l'anècdota. Crítèrion*. (Barcelona: Franciscàlia, 1964) was edited by the psychiatrist and musician D. Abella with contributions of Isidre Puig Boada, Lluís Bonet Garí, Agustí Esclasans, Enrike Casanelles and Joaquim Civera.

107. Roberto Pane, *Antoni Gaudí* (Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1964).

108. Letter from R. Pane to E. Casanelles: February 24, 1965. (Gaudí Chair Archives. ETSAB-UPC).

109. César Martinell, "Bibliografía," *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 58 (1964): 49-50; Roberto Pane, "Cartas al director," *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 60 (1965): 56; César Martinell y B., "Aclaraciones a una réplica del Señor Alberto (*sic*) Pane. Molestia y tono injustificados," *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 62 (1965): 41-42.





**FIG. 15** A frame of *Antonio Gaudí*, a film by Ira H. Latour, 1964



**FIG. 16** A frame of *Chaos and Synthesis in Stone*, a film by Rolf Wohlin, 1965

tributions of a new generation of Spanish architects, like Bohigas and Rafael Moneo, among others. In January, the documentary *Antonio Gaudí* of the U.S photographer and filmmaker Ira H. Latour was released [Fig. 15]. The film, with a script by George R. Collins, advice from Anthony Kerrigan and Kenji Imai, was co-produced by Casanelles and Latour and received financial support from the Ministry of Information and Tourism and the City Council of Barcelona<sup>110</sup>. With the Swedish artist Rolf Wohlin, Casanelles was also involved in the making of *Kaos-syntes i sten* (*Chaos-synthesis*

110. Ira Latour, *Antoni Gaudí*. International Media Films. USA. B&W and colour. 26'20". In the fifties, Latour (1919–2015) travelled to Spain where he photographed and filmed bullfights that were broadcast in Germany and the United States. He also photographed flamenco dancers, the Sierra de Gredos and the architecture of Gaudí. "Spain was a very important part of my life [...] It brought me to focus on basic elements of philosophy and existence. It became the key to many other subjects. It opened doors", says Latour; in Stephen Metzger, *The Art of Ira Latour* (Chico Statements. A Magazine from California State University, Chico, Spring 2009), 12–17.

*in Stone*), an experimental and pseudo-mystic movie [Fig. 16]. According to Casanelles, Wohlin “had not read any of the biographers. He has faced the work. He did not need any “qualified mentor”<sup>111</sup>. The film was closely linked to the book of Casanelles, *Nueva vision de Gaudí*, that appeared the same year:

On the side of the image, the film [...] also opens a NEW VISION OF Gaudí. Once again, we will say, that in 1965, it has gone from a narrow, local, controversial and Celtiberian perspective, to an ever-increasing knowledge of our artist, which has so far been reduced to the exegesis of a sector that he wanted to close within the scope of localism and exclusivity, absolutely opposed to the essence of a man who left to us a work that we are just beginning to discover, with an integrating spirit, here and abroad<sup>112</sup>.

The triumph of all these Gaudí’s renewed visions confirm, somehow, that the efforts to recover him in post-war media had paid off. After the first claims in the popular press, of the impulse of a new historiographic current, of his transformation into tourist attraction, of the creation of a world exhibition tour and his presence in the movies, the time had come to bring Gaudí closer to the taste of the public, turning him, definitely, into the merchandise that he is in our times.

111. Document “Caos-Síntesis en Piedra”. Rolf Wohlin-Guió E.C.” (Gaudí Chair Archives. ETSAB-UPC).

112. *Kaos-syntes i sten*. Sverige productions. Sweden. Colour. 12’. The film was released in Barcelona in November 1965 (*Solidaridad Nacional*, 3 November 1965) and awarded by the Swedish Film Institute. (Gaudí Chair Archives. ETSAB-UPC). Letter from Casanelles to Wohlin: October 26, 1965. (Gaudí Chair Archives. ETSAB-UPC).