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*If you hold a stone, hold it in your hand, if you feel the weight, you will never be late to understand.*¹ (Caetano Veloso)

Abstract

Today we understand cities as heterogeneous spaces continuously reconfigured by multiple actors, be it urban planners, citizens with their everyday practices, and cultural agents. On a micro level the same could be said about specific elements of the city: monuments, buildings, squares, and houses. This paper is inserted in this conversation on the ways the city is woven, by analyzing the relationship between different factors and actors in the work of the Italian naturalized Brazilian architect Lina Bo Bardi. In particular, I focus on her project for the SESC Pompeia Recreational Center (1977-86), her writings on architecture, and her ties to Antonio Gramsci's political thought to examine how her interest in both Italian and Brazilian popular houses shaped her practice as an architect as well as the entrance of vernacular elements in Brazilian architecture. Thus, I argue that her attention to transnational vernacular forms was instrumental in creating a personal style, but also in fashioning a role for the architect as actor of social change.

Keywords: City; Modernist architecture; Theory of Praxis; Public space; Vernacular constructions; Lina Bo Bardi.

Cities are both temporal and spatial entities constantly being reconfigured. The memory of a city according to Aldo Rossi (1966) is an overlapping of strata made up of monuments, buildings, and planning. This urban archeology is then rethought and altered by its dwellers both through the ways they interact with the space and how they perceive it through its cultural representations, be it photographs, films, novels or newspapers. Multiple actors are thus involved in the continuous weaving of the structure of a city. Here I examine a similar encounter that reveals the complexities of the urban. Specifically, I focus on the practices embedded in Lina Bo Bardi's creation of the SESC Pompeia, one of the most successful public spaces of the city of São Paulo.

Lina Bo Bardi arrived in Brazil in 1946, when she was 32, accompanied by her husband, and soon to be curator of the São Paulo Museum of Art, Pietro Maria Bardi. Having been trained at the *Scuola Superiore di Architettura in Rome* in 1939, Lina belonged to the artistic and political avant-garde active in postwar Italy, though as a woman, despite her rebelliousness, she struggled to have her talent recognized. In her home country, even if Lina Bo Bardi did not undertake any substantial project she did collaborate intensely with the theoretical debates on architecture that took place mostly on the pages of Gio Ponti's *Quaderni di Domus*.

Lina started to work with buildings on the pages of Italian magazines, among which *Domus* was the most renowned. Her theory functioned as just another type of building material, one that could not be separated from her practice. In this article, I look at her texts as well as her project for the SESC Pompeia Recreational Center (1977-1986) in São Paulo. These reveal her declared embracement of "folk culture", which differs, I argue, from the influence of tradition in Brazilian modernist architecture represented by Lúcio Costa, as well as her proximity to the ideas of the Italian philosopher and politician Antonio Gramsci and the materic aesthetic of the Italian Arte Povera movement. In bringing Gramsci into the discussion, I do not intend to impose a westernized perception on Bo Bardi's work in Brazil. I rather find that both geographies, Italy (or better the Italian prison) in the 1920s and 1930s, where Gramsci is writing, and Brazil in the second half of the twentieth-century, where Lina is working, share many peculiarities, mainly their character of periphery. Her predilection for the simplification she found in everyday popular architecture, in the *nazional popolare* in the Gramscian sense, pushed her towards the reuse of the spaces employed for the SESC project rather than the demolition of the building. By resignifying the place's industrial architecture her practice proposed - already since her restoration of the old complex of Solar do Unhão - architecture as a means to build consensus rather than an instrument for creating another reality through coercion.

Lina Bo Bardi's theory of architecture

A modernist architect, Bo Bardi, following her shift from Miesian precision, did not root modernism in abstraction, but rather in rural art forms, and popular vernacular constructions. From the latter she redeemed the ability to simplify rather than its folkloric aspects. "The legacy of modernism - she reminds us - instilled in architecture the equation CLIMATE, ENVIRONMENT, SOIL, LIFE, an equation that has flourished, with wonderful primitivism, in the most spontaneous of architectural forms: rural architecture" (Bo Bardi, 2013, p.21, emphasis in the original).

"Rural," "primitive," and "vernacular" are all adjectives that redirect to stereotypical visions of Brazilian culture and popular art. Brazilian popular culture's productive force is well known: we just have to think about the importance of *samba*, a genre born mostly out *favelas*, and its deep influence on music considered of higher level, such as *bossanova*. The same occurs in Brazilian architecture. As Bo Bardi argued, "its source is not the architecture of the Jesuits: it comes from the wattle-and-daub shelter of the solitary man, laboriously constructed out of the materials of the forest, it comes from the house of the rubber-tapper, with its wooden floor and thatch roof" (Bo Bardi, 2013, p.37). Such were the sources for the architect's inspiration.

The SESC Pompeia

Bo Bardi's work for the SESC Pompeia appears in this sense enlightening (Fig. 1 and 2). The SESC was a democratic cultural space born out of the re-utilization of a complex that was resignified as a cultural and leisure center for people's usage; it "was informed by an *architettura povera* - a poor architecture, not in the sense of impoverished but in the artisanal sense of achieving the maximum communication and dignity with minimal, humble means" (Bo Bardi, 2013, p.98)². In the SESC project, Bardi had to deal with an already existing construction that she intended to preserve (Fig. 3). The existing factory had been built following the English design typical of the beginning of European industrialization; thus, the internal street was maintained as the backbone of the complex, while the old buildings were transformed into social areas for meetings, exhibitions, theater representations, and dining (Fig. 4)³.

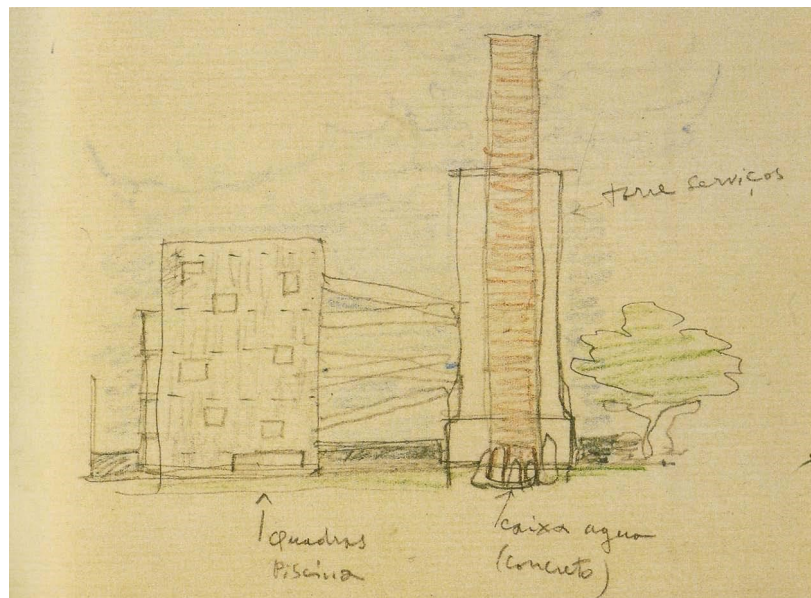


Fig. 1: Lina Bo Bardi, Sketch with elevation of the sports center, SESC Pompeia, 1985. Source: Oliveira (2006).

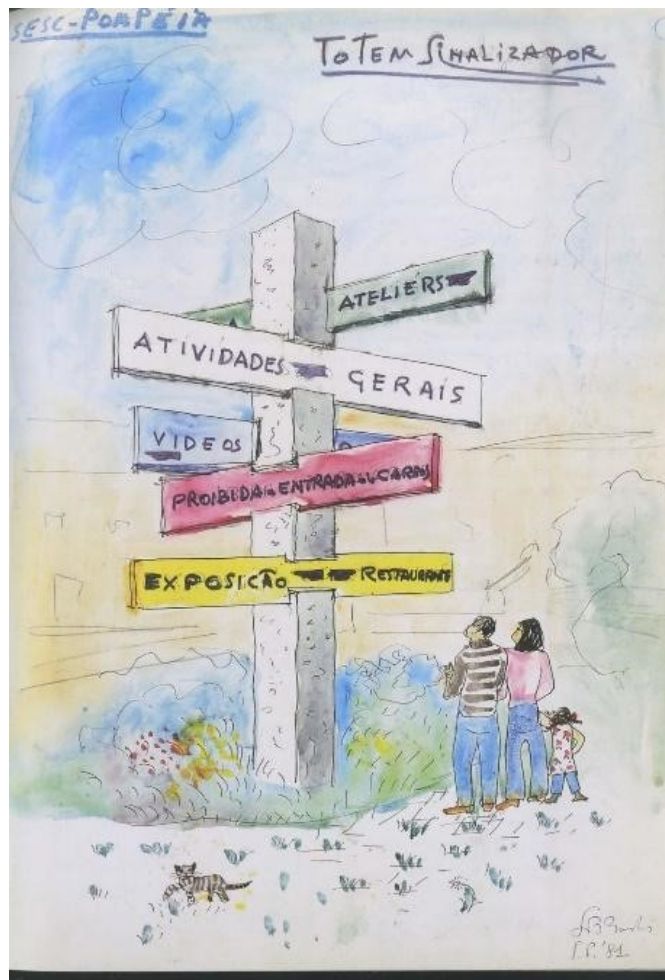


Fig. 2: Lina Bo Bardi, Signage totem for the SESC Pompeia. Watercolor, 1981. Source: Oliveira (2006).

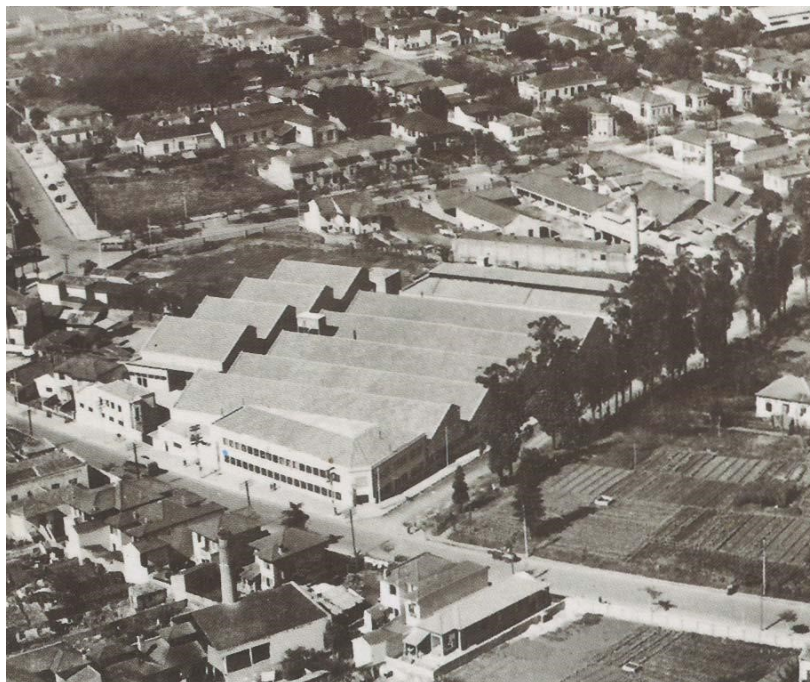


Fig. 3: View of the complex in the Forties. Source: Carvalho Ferraz (1994).



Fig. 4: View of the complex after Lina Bo Bardi's intervention. Source: Carvalho Ferraz (1994).

The buildings that completed the design were three isolated concrete blocks (Fig. 5). They had the solidity of fortresses, built in the style of the Brazilian military constructions. The first building, a regular structural prism, hosted a swimming pool and games courts. The second, connected to the first by pre-stressed concrete walkways, was used for changing rooms and exercise rooms. A tall cylinder containing the water tank finished off the complex.



Fig. 5: View of the three new constructions of the SESC Pompeia. Source: Oliveira (2006).

A profound sense of bereavement dwells in Bo Bardi's work, a characteristic that appears inseparable from her task as an architect ever since her construction of the three new SESC blocks. These buildings, besides being deprived of all sophisticated details, are marked by strong gestures: connecting the two main blocks through an aerial solution consisting in a disordered waving of vigorous concrete arms (Fig. 6 and 7); or tearing chunks of concrete from the walls to create irregular openings inspired by prehistoric caverns (functionally justified by the requirement for cross-ventilation for the sports courts) instead of cutting out windows (Fig. 8 and 9).



Fig. 6: SESC Pompeia, São Paulo, detail corridors. Source: Oliveira (2006).

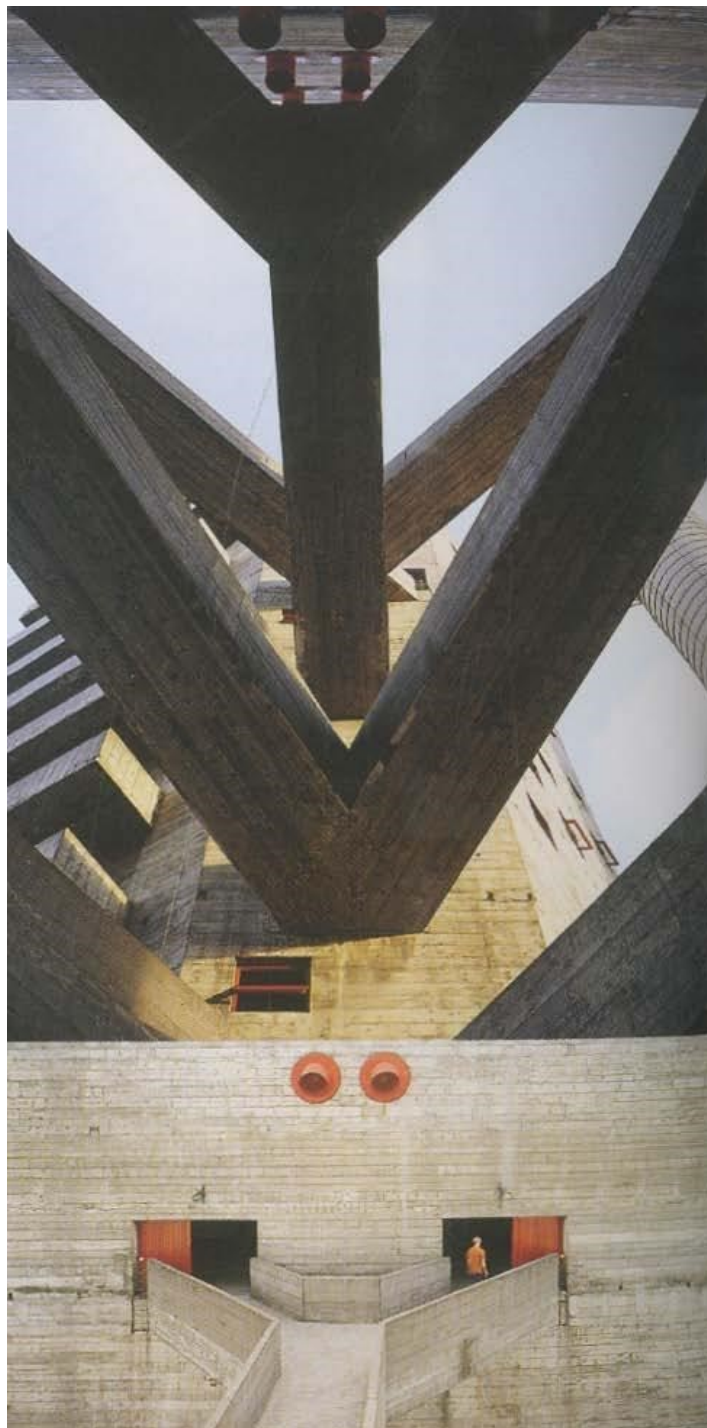


Fig. 7: SESC Pompeia, São Paulo, detail corridors. Source: Oliveira (2006).

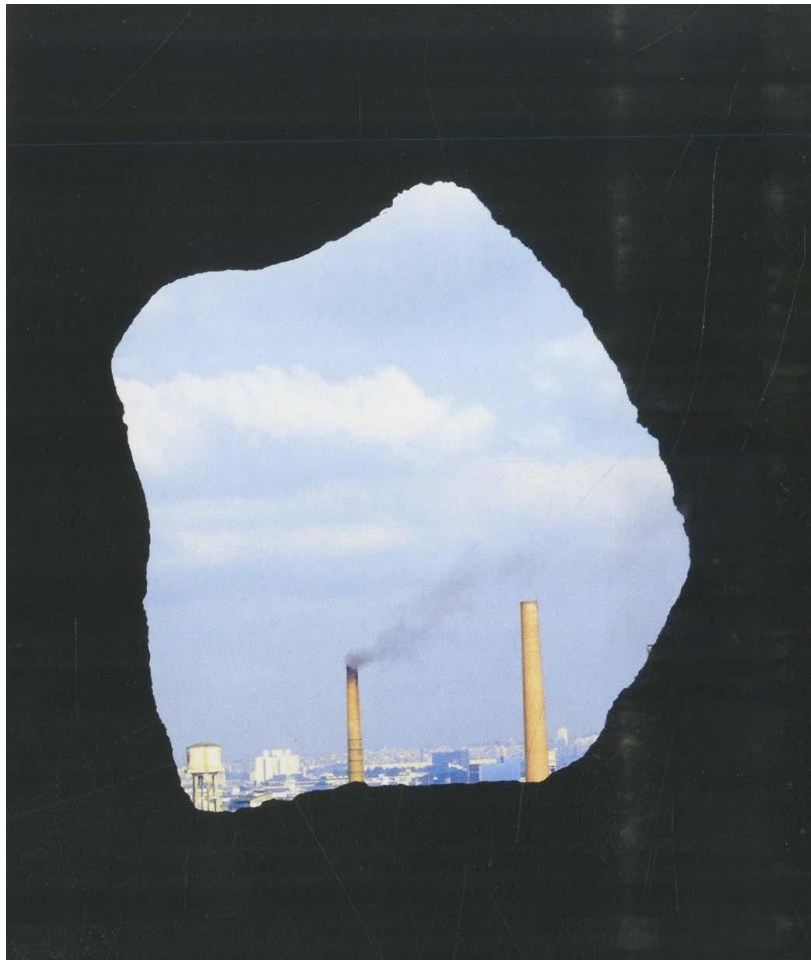


Fig. 8: SESC Pompeia, São Paulo, detail window opening. Source: Gallo (2004).



Fig. 9: SESC Pompeia, São Paulo, windows. Source: Gallo (2004).

What emerges from Bardi's approach to the vernacular is her use of different sources, which made her practice of architecture a unique endeavor in the Brazilian scene. Pompeia, the neighborhood where the complex for the SESC project, is located, reminds us of Italy, a far away country that remained present both in every stroke of the drawing and in the restoration and revitalization of the old constructions. It does so both in the echo of Pompei and in its working-class connotations which were also found in many peripheries of Italian industrial cities in the postwar period that the architect witnessed with her own eyes. For, although it is true that Lina Bo Bardi's operations have a very personal touch, and that her architecture, as Zeuler Lima proves in his extremely detailed and passionate account of Lina's life, is deeply indebted to intellectual debates she encountered during her stay in the North Eastern Brazilian State of Bahia, one should not forget that her profound ties with Italy made her aware of the undeniable intimacy of ruins and their necessary preservation.

Historical connections: Lúcio Costa, Le Corbusier, and Arte Povera

In order to comprehend Bo Bardi's stance on the vernacular, it is crucial to situate her in a dialogue with one of the main figures of twentieth-century Brazilian architecture and urbanism, Lúcio Costa, whom she admired deeply. Costa, the father of

the urban plan for Brasília, curiously began his career with a neo-colonial stage inspired by the Baroque of Aleijadinho. Costa's neo-colonial moment - a couple of house projects built in Largo do Boticário in Rio de Janeiro - was relatively short. It apparently ended in 1924, with his trip to Diamantina in the state of Minas Gerais.

'[In Diamantina] the clash between the civil architecture of colonial Brazil, seen live, with the work that he had been producing until then had a profound effect on him. In fact, this 'revelation' was so powerful that it formed the embryo of the discomfort that began to steal over him, forcing him to seek out the more modern aspects of 'his own' times' (Costa, M.E., 2002, p.55).

As it emerges from his 1936 project for the Ministry of Education and Public Health, Costa found the inspiration for a new architecture in line with the technological and modern advances of his time in the functionalism of Le Corbusier's first works. Costa himself recalled the conflict that employing neo-colonial architecture to modernity generated in him: even in Brazil "the lively dominating strength of the industrial age started determining the new path to follow, transforming in obsolete the traditional experience accumulated in the slow and painful phases of the Colony and the Empire" (Costa, L., 2002, p.107). Nevertheless, following James Holston's (2004) analysis on the element of tradition in Lúcio Costa, I believe that if we look back to his first modernist projects or even to the urban plan of Brasília we can read the transition from the neo-colonial to modernism as a kind of anthropophagical operation - in line with Oswald de Andrade's 1928 *Manifesto Antropófago* - rather than a drastic break.

Tradition, especially that of colonial Brazil, was present in two crucial stages of the country's cultural shift towards modernity: the literary as well as artistic São Paulo modernism of the 1920s and Costa's works with the modernist Rio de Janeiro School of Architecture.⁴ As Silviano Santiago (2001, p.96) reminds us "The discourse of tradition was activated by the first modernists, and right at the beginning of the movement: since 1924, with the journey to Minas Gerais made by the São Paulo modernists". Hence, two trips to Minas Gerais were decisive for the completion of two Brazilian modernist operations. On the one hand, Costa's trip to Diamantina was pivotal in his decision that a modernist style for Brazil could not be inspired only by the neo-colonial experience, but needed to merge with functionalism. On the other hand, São Paulo-based modernists such as Oswald de Andrade, Mário de Andrade, and Tarsila do Amaral, who were affected by the futuristic principles of the faith in the machine, needed to go to Minas in order to rediscover the historical national past embodied in the city's eighteenth-century Baroque. Lina Bo Bardi's work could thus be read as another crucial factor in the construction of a type of Brazilian modernity that was defined by the presence of tradition. However, her practice was also full of unique traits. Bardi did dialogue with tradition, but with a peculiar one. She was not interested in Brazil's colonial heritage, but rather in the marks left by Brazilian people on tradition.

Bo Bardi's scarce interest in planning private houses reminds us of her passion towards an architecture for the people and inspired by the people. Her main and most important projects were building that hosted spaces for public usage: the MASP and the SESC Pompeia. Her work was influenced by the style of Brazilian fortresses and common houses, as well as by Italian housing projects, like those built by Luigi Piccinato in the 1940s. Moreover, Le Corbusier's ideas also had a major influence on her vision of architecture. In her article, "In South America: what's happening after Corbu" (1967), in response to an essay by C. Ray Smith, published in *Progressive Architecture*, Bo Bardi underlined the importance of the legacy of Le Corbusier in South America, in particular after his 1929 trip to Argentina and Brazil. "The fact that Le Corbusier was invited to come to an underdeveloped South America at a time when he was being ignored or slighted in developed countries, and that he exercised an enormous influence here, is important in terms of a critical appraisal of the potential to define a cultural vision for South America" (2013, p.79).

The young architects of the Rio de Janeiro school, led by Lúcio Costa, had managed to create a complex synthesis. They had merged the principles and traditions of baroque architecture and colonial architecture, and the asphyxiating force and sinuosity of the landscape, on the one hand, with Le Corbusier's five principles and his modern discourse, on the other⁵. Lina Bo Bardi, instead, decided to go one step further. By the end of the 1950s, when Brasília was close to its inauguration and the eyes of the world were turned to this resounding manifestation of national architecture, Bo Bardi penetrated into the North-eastern *sertão* —a dry, miserable region— in search of new inspiration for her art, in an undertaking that she herself named an "anthropological quest."

The architect aimed at introducing the vernacular into the language of modernism and Corbusian functionalism, just as Dubuffet's Art Brut was directed at introducing a *schmürz* into the palaces of culture⁶. Yet, in Bo Bardi's case, culture did not appropriate the vernacular; it is rather the latter that changed the former, not just by producing a crisis - which it did - but by also altering culture, thus creating something new: the *architettura povera* embodied by the SESC Pompeia. In the North-eastern *sertão*, Bo Bardi searched for the practical aspects of culture, for people's daily lives and for those examples of housing projects she had seen in postwar Italy. She was not looking for the legacy of the baroque which inspired Lúcio Costa, but rather for the common man's home: she looked for the rough and the stone rather than for the diamonds. Going back to her article on the legacy of Le Corbusier in South America provides us with her position about the various shades of the vernacular.

'The New Wave [in Brazilian architecture] should be understood less as an overcoming of Corbusian values and more as an attempt to find a way out of an inhuman industrial monopoly. But what the American editor failed to notice was the danger of 'folklore' inherent in his attempt, which summarily dismisses the legacy of a major movement, which, when its true dimensions are grasped, offers the only means we have to move towards a new architecture - an architecture that uses rationalist instruments to measure the experience of 'non-perfect' and 'clustered cell' structures' (Bo Bardi, 2013, p.79-80).

She was calling for an architecture that moved beyond rationalism without discarding it in order to arrive to the purity of form through the non-perfection of her *architettura povera*. Bo Bardi embarked on a "materic," ideological, and human quest. It was "materic" in the sense that the term takes in Gio Ponti's — with whom she collaborated on the pages of *I Quaderni di Domus*

during her Milan years—, meditation on the role of the architect:

'The architect, the artist should not participate in the cult of the beautiful material; nothing could be less spiritual, nothing is more material than the beautiful material. Palladio operated with modest materials. The beautiful material is the same for everybody. To create beauty with a modest material is instead for a few. The beautiful material, then, does not exist. Only the right material exists' (Ponti, 2008, p.119-120).

What can be more modest than creating beauty with reinforced concrete? The modesty of the material inevitably leads me to establishing another connection, this time with the Italian movement of Arte Povera, whose heyday lasted from the second half of the 1960s to the first of the 1970s.

In the manifesto, "Arte Povera: Notes for a Guerilla War" (1967), the critic Germano Celant used for the first time the name *Arte Povera* to refer to artists who embodied free creativity and a new humanism in opposition to the artists who represented the system (Op, Pop Art). Arte Povera expressed the unexpected recuperation of an artistic experience inspired by humanism. It attempted to show the world that art and reality were forged together and belonged to each other since their very beginnings. The humanism of Arte Povera was based on using poor materials not for nostalgic and regressive reasons, but for delivering a poetic statement with the simplest means.

The origin of the expression Arte Povera inevitably brings to mind the adjective "poor," in the economic sense. However, thanks to the legacy Saint Francis of Assisi, Italian may be the only language in the world that gives a positive meaning to the adjective "poor"; it is a meaning that escapes the economic dimension of the term and places poverty in the spheres of spirituality, philosophy, and aesthetics. As the Italian critic Giovanni Lista argues, "the connection with Franciscan culture appears in the renunciation of the cumbersomeness inherent to a fossilized, finished work [...]. The twofold Franciscan notions of simplicity and poverty coincided perfectly with the Poverist artists' attitude: they banned superfluous sophistication, used a sparing, direct language, without artificiality" (Lista, 2006, p. 28)⁷. One has just to look at the holes in the façade of the SESC to be reminded of this same unpolished condition, a solution that in Bo Bardi was not accidental but purportedly sought for. By being not just expressive, decorative, or irrational, her use of concrete cannot be tied to Brutalism, as one could initially think. Bardi's architectural practices, instead, aimed at a functional, and rational employment of the material.

The connection between Arte Povera and Lina Bo Bardi goes beyond the use of "poor" materials. By aiming at unique moments of creation, thus escaping the serialization entailed in the capitalist chain of production, both seek for an artistic practice that criticizes capitalism. Embedded in such attempt, there also appears a common intention to undo hierarchies by transforming the spectator in a participant or co-author of the work of art.⁸ This could be said of Michelangelo Pistoletto's mirror-paintings as much as of the interactivity that informs the SESC Pompeia. An example of this interactivity is represented by the wooden seating for the theater, which created the effect of both distancing and involving the audience, rather than merely inviting them to sit down (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10: Theater SESC Pompeia, São Paulo. Source: Carvalho Ferraz (1994).

The Gramscian connection: Lina's praxis

Keeping in mind Bo Bardi's sensitivity towards the vernacular, enriched by her intellectual relation with Brazilian modernism and the values shared with the Italian Arte Povera movement, how was it possible for a foreign architect to be the one responsible for retrieving Brazilian tradition of popular construction? The answer is built upon a threefold connection tying her architectural theory of praxis to Antonio Gramsci's philosophy of praxis. One could argue that it could be controversial to link Lina to one of the founders of the Italian Communist party: scholars have criticized her position under Italian Fascism because of the relations with Mussolini's regime that her husband, Pietro Maria Bardi, had maintained before their marriage. This seems however a very unconvincing justification. What is more, I consider that the fact that her mentors at the Scuola di Architettura in Rome, Gustavo Giovannoni and Marcello Piacentini, were members of the Fascist party does not make her a fascist. In any case, my connection between Gramsci and Bo Bardi is not political, nor is based on content or on the explicit instances in which the architect cites the philosopher—which are many. Instead, this connection relies on a shared method that considers praxis as important as theory.

For Gramsci Marxism is a philosophy of praxis (a process through which theory is enacted, practiced, and embodied) that defines history by human will. Similarly, Lina Bo Bardi's concept of architecture is far from being merely theoretical; it is very much indebted to a practical usage of the discipline, as is shown in her writings about postwar Roman buildings. Here she praised the use of those buildings by the people and argued that "the fact that these nuclei were not just inhabited by 'artists', but also by small families or workers, tells us that this 'modern architecture', which is so theoretical, so difficult to adapt to the 'practical every day life' is starting to transit towards common reality" (Rubino, 2009, p.45). Even more explicit is her statement that, "theory relates to practice, in that practice is rationally and necessarily demonstrated through theory, while theory is shown to be realistic and rational through its practice" (Bo Bardi, 2013, p.49).

Firstly, Bo Bardi, in line with Gramsci, assigned a productive value to culture, thus distancing herself from orthodox Marxism's consideration of the economic structure as the exclusive producer of value. Secondly, the kind of culture that was considered productive both by Bo Bardi and Gramsci was the *nazionale popolare*, the vernacular, the culture directly tied to the people because "humanity 'authentic, fundamental' can concretely signify, in artistic field, just one thing: 'historicity', that is the 'nazionale-popolare' character of the writer" (Gramsci, 1975, p.2247). Finally, both Bo Bardi and Gramsci were aware that such a culture needed the action of an organic intellectual in order to gain importance. An intellectual becomes organic, in the Gramscian sense, by means of a dynamic relation with a social group. When this process occurs the social group's values are shared by the intellectual, while, simultaneously, the social group understands his own values through the intellectual's mediation. For Bo Bardi, the vernacular style also needed an organic architect. Writing about culture in Italy, Gramsci lamented the absence of a popular literature due to the

'[...] lack of a consensus in the conception of the world between the 'writers' and the 'people', that is the people's sentiments are not lived as their own by the writers, neither the writers have a 'national educational' function, they did and do not bother with the problem of elaborating the people's sentiments after having relived them and made them theirs' (Gramsci, 1975, p.2114).

Italy's popular literature, whose roots are to be found in the *nazionale popolare*, needed the action of writers organic to the people's values, just as Bo Bardi's popular architecture required the doing of an organic architect to spread its significance.

In his *Prison Notebooks* Gramsci calls for a new literature based on the people. The premise of the new literature - he underlines - "cannot be popular in a historical-political way: it must elaborate what already exists [...] it should be rooted in the humus of popular culture as it is, with its tastes, its trends, etc., with its moral and intellectual worlds even if these are underdeveloped and conventional" (1975, p.1822). Bo Bardi did with architecture what Gramsci suggested for literature. Her role as an architect was to create a language that was "rooted in the humus of popular culture." It was not pop culture in Andy Warhol's sense, but people's culture, that of the workers, of the artisans, of everyday life. The architect did not create a Marxist utopia, but a real social place, a space of gathering for everybody. Accordingly, she inquired: "Is the modern architect - as a builder of cities, neighborhoods and public housing - not an active combatant in the field of social justice?" (Bo Bardi, 2013, p.58). Bo Bardi was - borrowing from Gramsci's terminology - an architect that by means of an organic relation with the working class created a style based on workers' values and workers' homes. By building a complex deeply embedded in those values Bo Bardi aided in spreading the workers' culture and architecture into society at large. As Olivia de Oliveira reminds us, Bo Bardi's work was tactical: "Bo Bardi called the SESC complex a 'cultural citadel' [...] signifying both a fortress for the defense of a city and a place of attack" (2003, p.208). The SESC is the culmination of her praxis, one through which she "elaborated what already existed," and where she created consent by resignification rather than revolution. In so doing, she aimed at subverting the bourgeois idea of pleasure through the use of the popular language of architecture.

Bo Bardi's architecture is yet another demonstration of the productivity of Gramsci's theory of praxis in postcolonial contexts, building a bridge between the Southern Italy that absorbed the philosopher in *The Southern Question* and the Souths of the world. However, one last question haunts us. Why could a Gramscian architecture take place in Brazil and not in Italy? On the one hand, in Brazil, Bo Bardi benefited from the condition that Georg Simmel attributes to the stranger, the one that is both inside and outside. This condition enabled her to reach a kind of understanding that sometimes eludes architects born and raised in the country where they work. Moreover, the trends in the Italian architecture of the 1970s were not in tune with Bo Bardi's interests. "When technology's sole virtue lies in its outward appearance, it becomes mere decoration - as is the case with modern Italian architecture, especially from the north of Italy, which relies entirely on novelty for novelty's sake, on strangeness for the sake of strangeness - on things that might satisfy the eye, but not the heart or mind" (Bo Bardi, 2013, p.52). On the contrary, Brazil was the place where she could experiment her practice beyond H-bomb and jet-plane architecture.

In the SESC Pompeia the architect weaved in multiple threads to create a porous place, a structure product of Bo Bardi's lifelong preoccupation with functionalism and the beauty of the simple line of vernacular architecture. The SESC's concrete walls or its irregular window holes reveal an encounter between Brazilian popular constructions, Italian working-class neighborhoods, political philosophy, aesthetic reflection, and the praxis of architecture that merge into each other, producing a space of interchange for city dwellers, and a clear example of how an architect can help to create cities.

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1 Song written by Caetano Veloso for Lygia Clark, included in the LP *Caetano Veloso*, 1971.

2 The connection with the Italian term "*architettura povera*" is only made in the English translation of her Portuguese texts. However, the link between the aesthetic preoccupations of the members of the Italian movement of *Arte Povera* and Bo Bardi's architecture go far beyond the terminology used, for it was a deeper conceptual link that involved, for example, the use of "poor" materials and a constant attention for the viewer. Others, like Guilherme Wisnik have already pointed out this possible connection on the basis of the mutual sensitivity of Bo Bardi and the members of *Arte Povera* towards neo realistic aesthetics. In "*Dentro do nevoeiro: Diálogos cruzados entre arte e arquitetura contemporânea*" (São Paulo, 2012).

3 The pioneer of such types of buildings was the French engineer François Hennebique (1842-1921) who patented his reinforced-concrete construction system in 1892. Hennebique integrated separate elements of construction, such as a column and a beam, into a single monolithic element. The Hennebique system was one of the first appearances in the world of the modern reinforced-concrete method of construction.

4 Another important facet of Costa's interest in Brazilian colonial architecture and its preservation was his life long work as national chief of the Brazilian Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional – IPHAN).

5 During his career, Le Corbusier developed a set of architectural principles that dictated his technique, called "The Five Points of a New Architecture," which were most evident in his Villa Savoye. These points were the following: pilotis (the replacement of supporting walls by a grid of reinforced concrete columns that bears the load of the structure), roof gardens, free design of the ground plan, free design of the façade, and the horizontal window.

6 It is Michel Thévoz who first refers to Art Brut as a *schmürz* introduced into the palaces of culture.

7 The art critic Michael Sonnabend was probably the first to claim: "Arte Povera is a Franciscan art."

8 The connection between the members of *Arte Povera* and Lina Bo Bardi on the basis of the interaction of the viewer with the work of art, has already been brilliantly established by Cathrine Veikos in "To Enter the Work: Ambient Art."