

The As Found and The Ugly

Non-linear time in the post-war curatorial
practices of architects Alison Smithson and
Lina Bo

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Abstract

The post-war span installed the rethinking of national identities through a transdisciplinary globalized approach. The main connections between art and architecture continued with the linear and progressive temporality of Le Corbusier's modernism. A younger generation of architects challenged the 'tabula rasa' of modernism in favour of developing new relations with the historic heritage.

This dissertation explores how artistic non-linear narrative influenced Alison Smithson's and Lina Bo's curatorial work during the post-war period. Through the singularization of their contributions, this report seeks to re-trace their critical theory upon the predominant linearity of modernism.

The dissertation is divided in three sections. The first part analysis the non-linear narrative in art. Over the review of various cases I establish a common ground focused on the collective programme, in the nonlinear approach of Aby Warburg, Alison Smithson and Lina Bo. The second chapter critically inspects how the 'As Found' and 'The Ugly' embody a non-linear narrative to produce an alternative modernism based in the architectural programme and the collective user experience. The third chapter establishes the relation between non-linear feminist theory and the subjectivity of the author as way of building community.

This research concludes that the non-linear approach practised by Alison Smithson and Lina Bo proposes a relationship between art and architecture that goes beyond the purely aesthetic. More than a stylistic sense, Smithson and Bo address curatorship as a theoretical selection that moves away from the functionalist response of modernism, in search of a programmatic one.

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Introduction

The post-war period fuelled global transdisciplinary critical thinking, in architecture up-and-coming architects Alison Smithson and Lina Bo developed radical curatorial projects that criticised modernity's linear historical time approach. While Smithson's contribution in the collective exhibitions '*Parallel of Life & Art*' (1953) and '*This is Tomorrow*' (1956) defined the '*as found*.' Lina Bo's ground-breaking 'glass easel' (1947-1968) an expography for the MASP Museum, along with the exhibitions '*Bahía*' (1959) and '*Nordeste*' (1963) introduced the concept of '*the ugly*.' Although the '*as found*' experiments with archaeology and '*the ugly*' with anthropology, both concepts adopt a non-linear time approach to challenge modernism's functional linearity and re-think inhabitation based in the architectural programme and the collective experience.

This thesis is about non-linear time in curatorial practices and what kind of spatial relation it builds. Founded in a transdisciplinary approach, this research draws from art history to establish methodological connections with the theory and production of architecture. Through a detailed analysis of Aby Warburg's non-linear method, I will expose the means he uses to materialize it spatially. Consequently, I will follow some initial patterns with more detention, by inspecting two case studies of post-war non-linear curatorial practices: Alison Smithson in England and Lina Bo in Brazil. While a 2018 thesis already associated both architects to investigate alterity in the architectural design approach¹, a 2019 publication investigates the display design of the architects' exhibitions, as part of a bigger cultural milieu.² This report focuses on discovering what kind of architectural relations can be drawn from the curatorial practices of the architects informed by non-linear time, whilst giving space to their overlooked personal critical theories.

¹ Jane Hall, "Spaces of Transcultural Resistance: Alterity in the Design Practices of Lina Bo Bardi and Alison and Peter Smithson" (PhD diss., The Royal College of Art, 2018)

² Penelope Curtis, Dirk van den Heuvel, *Art on Display 1949-69* (Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, 2019).

In this research I will focus on researching Alison Smithson's and Lina Bo's non-linear approach to their post-war curatorial practices. I am recognizing two areas that have been left out of previous literature and investigations. The first one is a matter of where to place the non-linear approach within the architectural cycle of a project. Former and contemporary readings of the non-linear time have ubiquitously addressed the architecture project itself. This approach is present in heritage and restoration methods and lately, in the multithreaded or a non-linear digital design process. Conversely, I will place my research in a theoretical and experimental area of architecture whose focus is a transdisciplinary methodology of associations, rather than the materiality of what is built or will be built. Secondly, to complete views that have been exiled or diluted by collaborations, this research is conducted from the singularity of Smithson's and Bo's creative characters.

Given the above, this report works around two hypotheses. The first assumption considers that both Smithson's and Bo's curatorial methods develop a unique spatial scheme based on its relational capacity, informed by Aby Warburg's non-linear approach. The second hypothesis infers that because of Smithson's and Bo's own intersectionality as female architects within the post-war context, both of their critical views were somehow overlooked and exile from architectural history.

Therefore, this investigation raises questions that relate with the theorization of design, the production of space and the relevance of author-self. In terms of design principles, the main inquiry is how does art history's '*non-linear*' approach inform architecture? Then to fully understand its impact on space I will work with two questions: what kind of programme does the non-linear approach impart upon the exhibited and the space? And what does this programme mean in architectural terms? To review the importance of considering both architects singular views on curatorial practices, I will work with why where they left out? And how is their revalorization relevant now? With all these inquiries I am opening to

discussion alternative methods that critically review contemporary issues of the built environment.

Hence, why is this relevant now? I have three main objectives that I aim to achieve with this dissertation, all of them are embedded in contemporary discussions. The first one is placed within the ongoing discussion about the commodification of architecture and the kind of relationships it promotes. Therefore, the core objective of this report is to analyse and consider how the application of non-linear time approaches enable the formulation of healthier and inclusive relations in the built environment. Complementary to the former, I aim to contribute with a critical review of what do visual aesthetics mean for culture and contemporary society. Lastly, my purpose in re-tracing overlooked singular theories aims to bring back diversity and subjectivity as part of the formulation of the built environment. As well as to challenge authorship as a modern product by re-thinking the impact of personal contributions informed by feminist theories.³

Following the hybridity of the hypotheses and research questions, I will employ a combined methodology to unpack this investigation. On the hand I will use an iconological approach to investigate the meaning of the spatial relations produced by non-linear curatorial practices. Consequently, to broaden the scope after having identified some connections among theories, I will use a study case methodology focalising in the curatorial practices of Alison Smithson and Lina Bo, framed in the post-war context. Considering that this investigation is focalising in analysing theoretical and spatial production from the perspective of the creator persona. This report will not contemplate the use ethnographic resources or interviews because they relate more with the user perspective.

³ Carys J.Craig, "Symposium: Reconstructing the Author-Self: Some Feminist Lessons for Copyright Law." *Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law* vol.15, nº 2 (2007): 207-268.
<https://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/jgspl/vol15/iss2/5/>

The structure of this thesis is consciously organised based on thematic associations and not chronologically. Every chapter is organised in sections, being the first section always a contextual analysis of the main subject of the unit. The first chapter presents the origins of modern linear time to introduce the non-linear time critique. After which I review modern architecture exhibitions based in their conceptions of time and design display. The second chapter starts by identifying Aby Warburg's method as a non-linear curatorial approach based on a scheme of relations. The second part of this unit follows common points between Warburg's model and Alison Smithson's and Lina Bo's post-war curatorial approach. In chapter three, deconstructs both study cases by establishing, curatorial approach, curatorial programme, and it's the meaning. The last chapter reflects on the relevance of singular contributions, informed by feminist theories of non-linear time.

Conceptual Framework and Content Review

Art Relationality in the Twentieth Century: Modernity, Modernism.

Architecture has been the most common storefront for the arts. The debates of their association arise when trying to define their relational capacity. A significant development in this matter came forward with the creation of the social sciences in the 19th century. By the beginning of the 20th century, the issues of modernity had generated an atmosphere of exaltation that led to relevant aesthetic and theoretical advances, particularly in the fine arts. In the publication *Modernism: a very short introduction (2013)*, Christopher Butler associates the creativity of the moment to the stresses of the modern context, such as the religious decay, the growing dependency on science and technology, the global expansion of capitalism, gender equality, among others, with the origins of modernism.⁴

In the book *The Art of Art History (2009)*, Donald Preziosi provides a transdisciplinary analysis of this artistic milieu, by researching the history of the visual arts. Preziosi defines *modernity* as a concept embedded in the humanities and social sciences that enables a set of collective social agreements. He identifies the production of art history as '*embracing modernity itself*'.⁵ This is relevant to the argument of this report in two points, first because he places the debates of art history within modernity, hence they must address modern time consciousness. Secondly, the emphasis on the engagement with culture implies that the construction of art history remains relevant over time.

An example of the above is *modernism*, and all its extension including the fine arts, and architecture. Butler describes the *modernist* environment as a moment of strong intellectual development, criticism, and transdisciplinary cooperation. One of the first drastic changes of the period was the appearance of abstraction in painting, which was characterised for its

⁴ Christopher Butler, *Modernism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: online edn Oxford Academic, 2013), 2-13, <https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780192804419.003.0001>.

⁵ Donald Preziosi, *Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 11, ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucl/Created from ucl on 2022-07-17 12:55:16>.

break from the academicist conventions of the 19th century's realism, in favour of a modernist artistic expression.⁶ He continues to describe the relation among the new abstract art and the spectator as one that demands '*awareness of the artwork's own conventions.*'⁷ Consequently, the abstract art experience introduces a much more indirect relation with the world,⁸ one that is evocative and interpretative, as opposed to realism's certainty. This later highlights the aim of modernism in the fine arts to study, question and understand the relation between the art object and the spectator.

Art modernism was also contributing to questioning the relation with history, asking *How to look at the past?* The philosophy professor Peter Osborne explains that the conception of linear time was one of the most representative establishments of modernity, by which the history of humanity is studied under the logic of a progressive historical/chronological time.⁹ Nurtured by the linearity of historical time debate, some modernist exponents contributed to the discussion with a critique to linear modern time. In this sense, I am specifically referring to the German Art Historian Aby Warburg.

Although Warburg was part of a larger critical milieu, my argument is that his theory describes a unique relationality between the exhibited content and the architectural display, in a way that relates with Smithson's and Bo's programmatic approach. Warburg's non-linear method develops the exhibition as a scheme based in interdisciplinary associations or icons¹⁰

⁶ Butler, *Modernism: A Very Short Introduction*, 15.

⁷ Butler, *Modernism: A Very Short Introduction*, 15.

⁸ Butler, *Modernism: A Very Short Introduction*, 15-49

⁹ The chronological v/s historical time debate in modernity is part of a broader discussion: "(...) *there is the differential character of the temporality internal to modernity itself, which is established by its qualitative distinction between chronological and historical time: the 'next' is not necessarily the 'new'; or at least, the 'next as new' is never simply the chronologically next (by what scale—seconds, hours, days, months, years?)*". See Peter Osborne. "Modernity is a Qualitative, Not a Chronological, Category." *New Left Review* 1, no.192 (March 1992), 74, <https://newleftreview.org/issues/i192/articles/peter-osborne-modernity-is-a-qualitative-not-a-chronological-category>

¹⁰ Aby Warburg is considered one of the precursors of iconology as an art history method. "Several of Warburg's topics and some of his methodological queries were pursued by Fritz Saxl and Erwin Panofsky, who are widely considered to have been the exponents of a supposedly Warburgian iconology in England and in the United States." See Kurt W. Foster, "Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social

that appeal to a collective cultural experience. This sets him conceptually apart from other contemporaries experimenting with non-linear methods. Dada members for example, adopted the non-linear narrative as an apparatus to produce aesthetic connections, more than a contextual discourse. Likewise, Surrealism appropriated a non-linear temporal view to build content. Although surrealist art did have a known discourse, its extension was difficult to define. Similarly, they used non-linear narrative as technique to appeal to the unconscious of the singular visitor, through graphic resources.¹¹

In a radically different way, Aby Warburg used the non-linear narrative as a methodology to empirically rethink the relation between art/books and architecture. This new curatorial approach is relevant to architecture production in two ways. The first one is that includes the architecture as part of the exhibited content, Warburg considers the exhibition to be a spatial discourse eliminating the long-lasting binary of content and container.¹² The second one is that by moving away from the classical chronological library scheme, he opens the debate to discuss relations and associations based in the architectural programme, and not in function or aesthetics.

Mediation of Images," *Daedalus* Vol. 105, No. 1, (Winter, 1976): 169.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20024391>

¹¹ Charles Cramer, Kim Grant, "Surrealist Techniques: Subversive Realism," Khan Academy, accessed August 6, 2022. <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/art-1010/dada-and-surrealism/xd974a79:surrealism/a/surrealist-techniques-subversive-realism>

¹² Coutinho and Tostões explore this after Walter Benjamin's "exhibitability" and "exhibition value," they also expand on Juhani Pallasmaa's "Space, matter and time fuse into one singular dimension." See Bárbara Coutinho, Ana Tostões, "The Role of Architecture in an Engaging and Meaningful Experience of Physical Exhibiton," *Sophia Peer Review Journal* vol.5, no. 1 (2020): 37-53.

Brief Notes on Modern Art Display and the Post-war Exhibitions

Before reviewing Alison Smithson's and Lina Bo's post-war curatorial practices, it is critical to depict key general distinctions regarding the context of the exhibitions that I will analysed further on. The review is based on studies carried out by academics in reference to those exhibitions that incorporated architecture as a theme or method, within the first half of the Twentieth century, which includes Smithson's and Bo's exhibitions.

(1) Exhibitions with Architecture

Fernando Vazquez identifies the first documented exhibition that included architecture as the First World Fair in 1851. In which the building itself, Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace, was being exhibited. Followed by the foundation of the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society in 1888. Regardless of their different scales, both kind of events aimed to display the last advances in science and technology, and architecture was included as a demonstration of that.¹³

(2) Architecture Exhibitions

The 1919 '*Ausstellung für unbekannte Architekten*' (Exhibition of unknown Architects) in Germany was one of the first examples of an exhibition that had the development of architecture as main topic.¹⁴Afterwards, in 1931 '*Die Wohnung Unserer Zeit*' (The dwelling of our time) showed innovative developments in German construction, such as Lily Reich and Mies van der Rohe's famous 1:1 scale model for two houses (fig. 001).¹⁵ These exhibitions were mainly developed in Europe, and only spread to a lesser extent to the United States and Brazil. The latter came through the endeavour of the '*Museu de Arte de São Paulo*'

¹³ Fernando Vazquez, "Architecture exhibitions: chronology of a modern cultural phenomenon and some inquietude," USIT Arq.Urb, vol. 20, September - December 2017, 122-134, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323323217_Architecture_exhibitions_chronology_of_a_modern_cultural_phenomenon_and_some_inquietude

¹⁴ A collaborative exhibition directed by the architect Bruno taut and the critic Adolf Behne, which included works from Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius, among others. The exposition presented utopian architecture and city projects. See more in Vazquez, "Architecture exhibitions," 123.

¹⁵ Vazquez, "Architecture exhibitions,"123-124.



001

Image 001

Unknown. Two houses at "The Dwelling of Our Time" exhibit in Berlin, 1931.

The front house was designed by Lilly Reich and the rear house by Mies van der Rohe.

(MASP), and *'Bienal Internacional de Arte de São Paulo'* (São Paulo International Art Biennial) in both of which Lina Bo was involved.¹⁶

(3) Art Institutions

The interest developed by cultural institutions in publicising the state of architecture enabled the appearance of architecture exhibitions. From political, economic, to educational reasons, organisations like the Institute of Contemporary Arts: ICA (London), MoMa (New York), MASP (Brazil), Whitechapel Gallery (London) were in favour of opening the scope of the arts to other disciplines, like architecture and design.¹⁷ Jane Hall (2018) associates the global character of this phenomena directly with the post-war period, in Europe and Brazil, and how cultural institutions represented *"the intersection of global politics with emerging forms of economic and cultural modernity."* (4)

(4) Art Display

Curtis and van den Heuvel recognise the post-war period as particularly relevant to the proliferation of innovative and influential art display solutions.¹⁸ The appearance of different constructive techniques, mobile systems, as well as the use of colour, to place the art works differently changed the experience of the visitor into a more interactive one.¹⁹

These kinds of displays did not necessarily lead to a non-linear curatorial approach. On the contrary, most of them dealt more with the aesthetics of the experience -taking the art of the walls into a mechanical immersive setting- than the methodology. For example, El Lissitzk's dynamic approach mentioned by Vazquez,²⁰ or Aldo van Eyck's colourful

¹⁶ Vazquez, "Architecture exhibitions,"127.

¹⁷ Vazquez, "Architecture exhibitions,"127.

¹⁸ Penelope Curtis, Dirk van den Heuvel, Art on Display 1949-69 (Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, 2019), 8-9

¹⁹ Curtis, Art on Display, 10-65.

²⁰ "El Lissitzky defined two types of exhibition: passive and active. The were historiographic and educational, traditional exhibitions, including those of the plastic arts, such as the ones exhibited since the nineteenth century until the 1920s. The active ones were thought more as installations, even though the term would only appear five decades later." e.g The Abstract Cabinet. See Vazquez, "Architecture exhibitions,"125. *"The Soviet avant-garde artist El Lissitzky developed a temporary Raum für konstruktive kunst (Room for Constructivist art) in 1926 in Dresden, where visitors could rearrange the artworks within the room by interacting with*

exhibitions. As van den Heuvel notes, van Eyck believed that a good exhibition design should focus in the “*interaction between visitors and the specific configuration of the works.*” (van den Heuvel, 2019, 77) It is important to remark that although van Eyck used urban concepts in his exhibitions, his method did not focus on non-linear time.

(5) Modern Architecture Exhibitions

I refer to *modern architecture exhibitions* as those that despite their disruptive displays, maintain a general modern linear curatorial approach. Samuel Adams highlights a key moment with the 1930 installation by Herbert Bayer in the German section of the *Exposition de la Société des Artistes Décorateurs* (Exhibition of the Society of Artist- Decorators). Bayer used angled panels with different orientations to achieve a 360-degree immersive experience “*locating the viewer rather than the work of art at the experiential center*”²¹ (fig. 002). Another relevant example of this category was Franco Albini’s and Franca Helg’s Palazzo Bianco (1949-51) restoration project (fig.003-004). In which they seek to reach a visual effect through a display design subordinated to the rationality of the building, avoiding any relation with the outside.²² These forms of exhibitions were driven by the singular user experience.

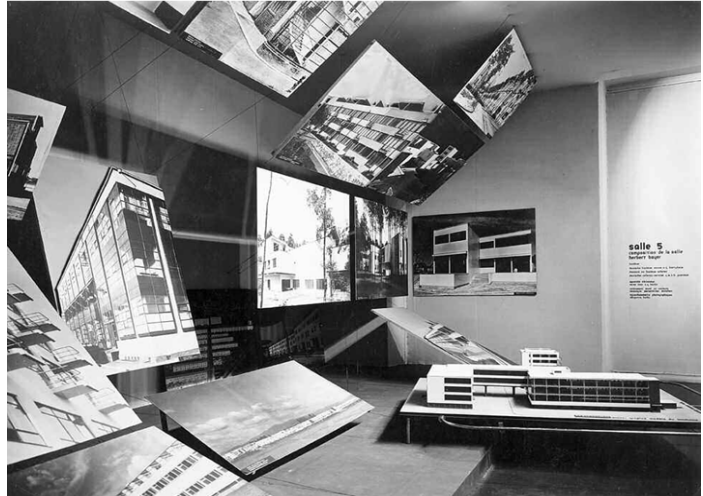
Vazquez emphasized how a direct connection with Brazil was made through Pietro Bardi - Lina Bo’s husband- and Le Corbusier. The 1950 exhibition ‘*Novo mundo do espaço de Le Corbusier*’ (New world of Le Corbusier’s space) at MASP, is an example of these associations. The exhibition was characterized by portraying Le Corbusier’s architecture using mixed techniques; paintings, watercolors, gouache, drawings, travel croquis and architecture models.²³

²¹ Adams, “Installations Views,” 194.

²² For the Palazzo Bianco Albini and Helg created a display system with easels that showed the paintings in a sculptural way. Although they challenged fine arts tradition by liberating paintings from their frames, the layout was still organized chronologically in the fashion of Museums. “In the basement older objects of local archaeological interest were presented sparsely, and upstairs ceramics and figurines laid out in bands.” See Curtis, *Art on Display*, 34-50.

²³ Vazquez, “Architecture exhibitions,”127.

002



003



004

Image 002

View of the German section of the Deutscher Werkbund in the Exposition de la société des artistes décorateurs, Grand Palais, Paris, 1930. Design by Herbert Bayer. Bauhaus - Archiv, Museum für Gestaltung, Berlin.

Image 003

Franco Albini and Franca Helg, Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, 1949–51. Fondazione Franco Albini collection.

Image 004

Franco Albini, Pinacoteca di Brer, 1949–51. Fondazione Franco Albini collection.

005



006



Image 005
Interior of "Novo mundo do espaço de Le Corbusier"
exhibition, MASP, São Paulo, 1950. Habitat, nº1, 1950,
p.39.

Image 006
André Malraux working on Le musée imaginaire (Museum
Without Walls), Boulogne, France, 1950. Getty images.

(6) Non-Linear Architecture Exhibitions

I identify this type of exhibitions as those that question the historical chronological approximation towards art curation. They are organized in a non-linear format, favouring contextual associations. On the one hand, some of these exhibitions used the non-linear method inspired by Dada, as a tool to critique social issues but also as way to interrogate modes of display. Adams singles highlights André Malraux's 1947-51 three-part photographic exhibition *Le Musée Imaginaire* (Museum Without Walls) (fig.006) that challenged the hierarchy and chronology of the art works by focalising in reproductions of what he considered relevant social themes.²⁴

On the other hand, other exhibitions used the non-linear time approach to challenge theoretical and architectural issues. This view was originated with Warburg's methodology for his 1927 *Cultural Library*, but it was left aside until the post-war period, when the need to re-think contextual associations in architecture become an urgent matter. In this way, new curatorial proposals developed in the United Kingdom with the Independent Group exhibitions (Eduardo Paolozzi, Nigel Henderson, Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson) '*The Parallel of Life and Art*' (ICA, 1953)²⁵ (fig.007) and '*This is Tomorrow*' (Whitechapel, 1956). Thus, in Brazil with Lina Bo's '*Inaugural Expography at MASP*' (MASP, 1968)²⁶ (fig.008).

In conclusion, there were a variety of factors affecting the curatorial approach of exhibitions in the post-war period. Nevertheless, only one kind of exhibition was experimenting with new ways of thinking relationality in the architectural space, those were the non-linear exhibitions following Warburg's method. In the following section I will review the details of Warburg's non-linear narrative as a curatorial methodology. With the aim to find which aspects translate to architectural design and how.

²⁴ Adams, "Installations Views," 198.

²⁵ Adams, "Installations Views," 202.

²⁶ Van den Heuvel, *Art on Display*, 52.



007



008

Image 007

Nigel Henderson. Parallel of Life and Art exhibition, ICA, London, 1953. Digital Image. Tate Britain Online Archive.

Image 008

Lina Bo Bardi 'crystal easels,' MASP, São Paulo, 1983. Digital Image. Acervo do Centro de Pesquisa do MASP.

Art History and Non-Linear Time

The Aby Warburg Method and its Influence in Alison Smithson and Lina Bo

Non-Linear time in Art History

Modern art historians were ruled by the linearity of modern time. Preziosi gives a thorough overview as he explains how the theories of the German philosopher Georg W.F Hegel based on the *'spirit of time'* directly influenced the conception of progressive historical time in art history.²⁷ In this regard, there were at least two theorists whose ideas dominated this area. The first one was the Heinrich Wölfflin, who coined the concept *'history of vision'* which led him to define the linear theory of *'historical periods.'*²⁸ The later expanded to architecture with the formulation of stylistic movements, like modernism. The second one was the art historian Alois Riegl who used his research on the *'Late Roman Art Industry'* to explain that the art object does not only represent an aesthetic idea, but it is also affected by social and cultural matters.²⁹

Nevertheless, it was Aby Warburg's theories the ones that radically grew away from the progressive Hegelian heritage by applying an anthropological approach towards art history analysis. His ideas challenged the dominant linear time of art history in favour of a non-linear approach, which also was the theoretical base for Smithson's and Bo's exhibitions. Because Warburg was interested in the meaning of the art pieces, he was looking beyond historical time and style, into studying the relation between shape, content, and context. As Foster explains it, Warburg's research questions *"aim at the role of collective memory and the social functions of art."*³⁰ Bo and Smithson will also include later Warburg's approach on how to address collectivity and the relation with the context.

²⁷ Preziosi, *Art of Art History*, 151.

²⁸ Edgar Wind, "Warburg's Concept of *Kulturwissenschaft* and its Meaning for Aesthetics," in *Art of Art History*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford University Press, 2009), 189-194.

²⁹ Preziosi, *Art of Art History*, 151-152.

³⁰ Kurt W. Foster, "Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images," *Daedalus* Vol. 105, No. 1, (Winter, 1976): 169. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20024391>

Preziosi highlights as the milestone of Warburg's method the Hamburg Library project.³¹ Officially inaugurated in 1926, before moving to its current location in London,³² the design for the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek* or Cultural Studies Library (fig. 009, 010) contemplated a symbiotically layout of the content and the building's architecture. Warburg eluded the normative library organisation based on linear chronology, in favour of an original blueprint base in four categories that determined the location of the items and the architecture of the space. As opposed to an ordinary Library, in which books were organised chronologically,³³ the Warburg Library's arrangement pushed visitors to move around and select books from four categories: Orientation (philosophy, religious studies, and history of science), Image (art history, archaeology, and early cultures), Word (ancient and post-medieval literature) and Action (history, social history, history of festivals, theatre, and technology).³⁴ This original organisation was inspired in Warburg's relational concept of '*the good neighbour*,' which was based in the idea of connecting different areas of human knowledge. In a similar approach of Bo's '*glass easel*.' Warburg's innovative shelving-system advocated for users to have direct access to the content.

Overall, the Aby Warburg method investigates the relation between the object (form) and its significance (content). By using a non-linear time approach to seek the meaning of each art piece in its own context, Warburg free the analysis from historical predeterminations. His method's core aim is to discover new valuable associations under a cultural symbiosis.³⁵ This approach is taken by Smithson to explore the crossover between archaeology and the essential elements that constitutes a house, and by Bo to potentiate the connection with the public through anthropological techniques.

³¹ Preziosi, *Art of Art History*, 151-154.

³² "The Library of Aby Warburg," The Aby Warburg Institute, accessed June 29, 2022.

<https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/library/about-library/library-aby-warburg>

³³ The most common subject headings in chronological library schemes were Theology and Philosophy, History and Biography, Law and Politics, Arts, Botanic and, Voyages and Travels. See J.H Bowman, "Classification in British Public Libraries: A Historical Perspective," *Library History*, vol.21 (November 2005), 143-173.

³⁴ "The Library of Aby Warburg," The Aby Warburg Institute.

³⁵ "The Library of Aby Warburg," The Aby Warburg Institute, accessed June 29, 2022.

<https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/library/about-library/library-aby-warburg>

009



010



Image 009
Mnemosyne-Atlas, Boards of the Rembrandt-
Exhibition, 1926.

Image 010
The Reading Room of the Kulturwissenschaftliche
Bibliothek Warburg. 1926.

The connection with architecture

One of the paradoxes of Aby Warburg's legacy is that regardless of the transcendence of his work, he has been frequently questioned because of his mental health history³⁶, and his theories have been continuously discredited by other authors. Georges Didi-Huberman expands on this topic, highlighting how the first French book on Warburg was only published in 1998, and how the 'Aby Warburg' way of seeing has been systematically uncredited by several authors.³⁷ Despite the missing references, Warburg's influence can be traced as contribution to advance the way art and architecture were perceived in the western world. Preziosi recalls one of his last projects, Warburg's unfinished *Bilderatlas* (fig. 011,-013) as highly influential in the path of modern art movements. He defines it as a "*non-discursive and non-linear composition of images of diverse types and origins, continually being changed.*"³⁸

The singularity of Warburg's research makes it possible to trace it back into architecture. I recognise two Warburg ideas inherited by Alison Smithson and Lina Bo in their curatorial practices.

(1) The displacement of the aesthetics and function

Warburg's deep interest in anthropology led him to develop keen attention for the context, circumstances and cultural associations of art objects and society. He elaborated a sort of '*anthropology of the object*'³⁹ way of analysis that introduced an alternative form to review art history based in the meaning, context, and symbolism of the object. The foregoing ended

³⁶ In the Foreword of the book *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion* Georges-Didi Huberman comments on Aby Warburg's mental health: "Is art history prepared to recognize the *founding* position of someone who spent almost five years in a mental institution between 'paranoid fantasies' and 'psychomotor agitations'? Someone who 'spoke to butterflies' for long hours on end and whom the doctor -none other than Ludwig Binswanger- had no hope of curing?" See Philippe-Alain Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion* (New York: Zone Books 2007), 14.

³⁷ An example of this is Henri Forcillon's failure in quoting Warburg's research on '*afterlife*' in Antiquity, for his investigation on the concept of '*survival*' in art history. See Philippe-Alain Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion* (New York: Zone Books 2007), 7-19.

³⁸ Preziosi, *Art of Art History*, 153

³⁹ Philippe-Alain Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion* (New York: Zone Books 2007), 7-19.

up causing a distancing from the legacy of Heinrich Wölfflin and therefore from the aesthetical analysis in favour of the iconological one. It is precisely this change of focus in Warburg's theories that I argue is present in the curatorial practices of Smithson and Bo. As Warburg's ideas emancipated from the limits of the aesthetics into consider the circumstances of the art object, I argue that both, Alison Smithson and Lina Bo radically grew away from modernism's fixation in aesthetics and function, by the means of a non-linear historical approach.

(2) Valorisation of the programme

Didi-Huberman reflects on the impact of Warburg's theory by attributing it the power of '*setting art history in motion*' in reference to its ability of analysis of the past, and how it makes it relevant to the present context. He says that this motion is not just a movement from one place to another.⁴⁰ In the same way, Anna Gialdini concludes that Warburg's method was trying to '*map the routes of the mind*' not only theoretically but also spatially, hence the Warburg Library turns out to be a space that offers the visitor the opportunity to "move, explore, browse, and make one's own connections"⁴¹ with the content.

The Cultural Studies Library project is the empirical example of Warburg's method. On the one hand the content is organised in a unique associative way based in a non-linear approach that privileges categories in opposition to chronology. On the other, Warburg included the architecture of the space as essential for his exhibition proposal.⁴² Consequently, without the specific design of the Warburg Library, the concept of the collection does not work. Architecture becomes one more piece within the associative scheme created by Warburg. The non-linear arrangement of the book collection is dependent on the architecture of the

⁴⁰ "It includes jumps, cuts, montages, harrowing connections. Repetitions and differences: moments when the work of memory becomes corporeal, becomes a symptom in the continuity of events. Warburg's thought sets art history in motion because the movement it opens up comprises things that are at once archaeological (fossils, survivals) and current (gestures, experiences)." See Didi-Huberman, foreword, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*. New York: Zone Books, 2007, 7-21.

⁴¹ Gialdini, "Good Neighbours: The Warburg Library Classification Scheme in Its Context," 2.

⁴² Preziosi, *Art of Art History*, 153.

display, and vice-versa, therefore the architecture and the exhibited content engage in a relation or multiple relations that go beyond the aesthetics and functional realms. As mentioned before, Warburg defines his scheme under the concept of *'the good neighbour,'* by which he is empowering alternative associations between topics and the user experience, in the journey to find those relations.⁴³

In the following chapter I will analyse how some aspects of Warburg's relational theory permeate Smithson's definition of the *'As Found'* and Bo's notion of *'The Ugly,'* although in their cases, new relations arise when considering the spatial dimension and the core issues that architecture pursues. It is within this contextual frame that the critique of modernism's *'tabula rasa'* takes form, since both architects are actively looking for associations that address the collective experience, they are contradicting the *'clean slate'* disconnected approach.

⁴³ It must be mentioned that later views on Warburg address some contemporary controversies, for example, Kurt W. Foster reflects in the controversy of using photography as a mean to protect collective memory, when the massification of the same has threatened the expansion of some aspects of cultural recollection. See Foster, "Aby Warburg's History of Art," 175. Claire Farango critically reviews Aby Warburg's ethnographic work in north America with unavoidable racist outcomes, see Preziosi, *Art of Art History*, 195-200.

011



012

**Image 011**

Aby Warburg, Mnemosyne-Atlas, panel 77,
1929.

Image 012

Aby Warburg, Mnemosyne-Atlas, panel 24,
1929.

Image 013

Aby Warburg, Mnemosyne-Atlas, panel 7,
1929.



013

'As Found' and 'The Ugly': Two Non-Linear Curatorial Concepts

The 'As Found' According to Alison Smithson

The '*As Found*' is an original concept that was created by the radical British collective *The Independent Group*,⁴⁴ sometime in the late 1940's, early 1950's.⁴⁵ Due to the diversity and relevance of the collective, the term grew in popularity and has been widely used ever since. Everyone from critics to architects, had their own definition and use of the '*As Found*'. Through this chapter I will analyse under what means the '*As Found*' was originated, and what does it mean in general terms. Finally, I will unpack Alison Smithson's singular view of the '*As Found*' as I believe her approach shares similarities with the Warburg method and with Lina Bo's curatorial practice.

Post-war Context in Britain

In attention to this research the post-war British context is relevant in three aspects that contributed to the formulation of the '*As Found*.'

First, is the sensation of uncertainty and awareness. The aftermath of the war created a scenario of ambivalence that led to question the establishment. This uncertainty is well described by Lichtenstein and Schregenberg in their book *As Found: the discovery of the ordinary*. They reflect on how a series of incidents like the collapse of the England Empire, the consolidation of the United States and the Soviet Union as new world powers, along with food rationing and the brutality of the bombed sites, raised a strong feeling of awareness in society. This consciousness of the present found its way of manifestation through cultural expressions, like exhibitions.

⁴⁴ The Independent Group was made up by the artist Eduardo Paolozzi, the photographer Nigel Henderson, the architects Alison and Peter Smithson and the architecture critic Rayner Banham, see Claude Lichtenstein and Thomas Schregenberg, *As Found: The Discovery of the Ordinary* (Lars Müller publishers, 2006, 10-11.

⁴⁵ Alison and Peter Smithson, 'The "As Found" and the "Found,"' in *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetic of the Plenty*, ed. David Robbins (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1990), 201-202

Secondly, it is a period where renewed national identities appear based in transcultural exchange. In the publication *Post-war Architecture between Italy and the UK*, Paolo Scrivano explains how these new identities were regularly flung by some mode of transnational transaction.⁴⁶ Scrivano highlights the aftermath of the war as a moment of dynamic cultural exchange to find solutions to “*common reconstruction problems.*”⁴⁷ Architecture and the built environment had the chance to create and potentiate collective cultural values, in the end no national identity can exist without external interlocutors.⁴⁸

Thirdly, the post-war in Britain is characterised by a cultural effervescence that re-values the every-day content and aesthetic. New cultural venues and associations, with a critical discourse towards the popular needs of the post-war Britain started to appear. For example, the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) founded in 1947, or the Independent Group, related with ICA, counted among its members Eduardo Paolozzi, Nigel Henderson, Alison, and Peter Smithson.

Collective notion of the ‘As Found’

Although the written identity of the ‘*As Found*’ appeared in the 1990’s through articles by the Smithson’s, its practical character debuted more than thirty years earlier with the preparations for the 1953 exhibition ‘*Parallel of Life & Art.*’ The influential event was organised by the Independent Group at ICA, positioning the term as a curatorial approach that has remained relevant ever since. It needs to be considered that the collectiveness and influence of the ‘*As Found*’ brings a certain level of dilution. The concept can be read through each members singularity, or as the Smithson’s did, by reviewing its impact in different fields such as architecture, exhibitions, and so on. I have established three tendencies to delineate the ‘*As Found*’; as an aesthetic technique, as a method, and as the combination of both.

⁴⁶ Paolo Scrivano, “The complexity of cultural exchange: Anglo-Italian relations in architecture between transnational interactions and national narratives,” in *Post-war Architecture between Italy and the UK, exchanges and transcultural influences*, ed. by Lorenzo Ciccarelli and Clare Melhuish (London: UCL Press, 2021), 4-17.

⁴⁷ Scrivano, “The complexity of cultural exchange,” 16.

⁴⁸ Scrivano, “The complexity of cultural exchange,” 17.

Initially when asked, the participant members of the *'Parallel of Life & Art'* said the concept was used to aesthetically describe an artistic resource inspired by Eduardo Paolozzi's surrealist-alike collage scrapbooks.⁴⁹ Hence, it responded to a technique that sought an *"immediate perception of things by decontextualising them."*⁵⁰ Or how the Smithson's wrote *"where the art is in the picking up, turning over and putting with."*⁵¹ Secondly, it has been used to reference a creative methodology that works with the pre-existing. In this sense, the Smithson's took the lead and frame the *'As Found'* as theoretical and spatial approach inspired by Nigel Henderson's Bethnal Green photographic collection.⁵²

Thirdly, in the publication *'As Found: The Discovery of the Ordinary'* Lichtenstein and Schregenberger define the *'As Found'* as an *'attitude'* that brings a positive character to the pre-existing. They explain that the *'As Found'* effectively engages with *'what is there'* by recognizing the existing and selecting which traces are relevant to follow.⁵³ Although they choose to abandon the use of *'method'* *"because is too closely related to will,"*⁵⁴ I find their definition as a conscious path that establishes a spatial relation between the past and new forms of interpretation, hence a stands in between a method and an aesthetic technique.

In consideration of the multiple definitions of the *'As Found,'* I have come to outlined it as a relational method that is concerned with the *'here and now,'* which evaluates the past (what is already here) in a non-linear mode. The outcome materialises in the exhibited content in the same way it occurs in the Warburg Library.

⁴⁹ Lichtenstein and Schregenberger, 12.

⁵⁰ Lichtenstein and Schregenberger, 10.

⁵¹ Alison and Peter Smithson, "The *'As Found'* and the *'Found,'* in *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of the Plenty*, ed. David Robbins (Massachusetts: The MIT Press), 201-202.

⁵² *"We meant by the 'As Found' not only adjacent buildings but all those marks that constitute remembrancers in a place and that are to be read through finding out how the existing built fabric of the place had come to be as it was."* See Alison and Peter Smithson, "The *'As Found'* and the *'Found,'* 201.

⁵³ Lichtenstein and Schregenberger, 8-12.

⁵⁴ Lichtenstein and Schregenberger, 9.

Alison Smithson defines the 'As Found'

The archives considered for the analysis of this study case are the following:

- (1) The article "Patio and Pavilion Reconstructed" written in 1990 by Alison Smithson.
- (2) Photographic archival material from the 1953 exhibition '*Parallel of Life & Art.*'
- (3) Photographic archival material from the 1956 exhibition '*This is Tomorrow.*'

As concluded in the previous chapter a non-linear time approach entails the development of specific relations in the exhibition space. The Warburg method defines those relations as associations that are organised in a thematic scheme which central objective is to enable innovative and critical thinking. In this section I will analyse how Alison Smithson writes about the 'As Found' as a mean to test my first hypotheses that allocates her curatorial practice influenced by Warburg's method. I will work with three categories to analyse her work: (1) Defining the curatorial approach, (2) describing the curatorial program and, (3) what is the meaning of it?

In 1956 the Whitechapel Gallery in London hosted the collective exhibition '*This is Tomorrow.*' The show was structured in twelve interdisciplinary teams composed by architects, sculptors, and painters, following an '*integrated arts*' approach.⁵⁵ The 'Patio and Pavilion' installation made by the Independent Group members; Nigel Henderson, Eduardo Paolozzi and Alison and Peter Smithson, was the most controversially reviewed. The installation was digested in a rather literal way when quoted by critics. Kenneth Frampton questioned the ambivalence between vernacular and consumerism of the pavilion.⁵⁶ While others like Reyner Banham analysed the installation beyond the aesthetics to establish parallelism with the 'As Found' materials and the 'New Brutalism' values.⁵⁷ Ben Highmore

⁵⁵ Lichtenstein and Schregenberg, 176-177.

⁵⁶ Frampton, Kenneth. *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007. 262-268.

⁵⁷ Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," in *Architectural Review*, July, 2010.

<https://www.architectural-review.com/archive/the-new-brutalism-by-reyner-banham>

flirted with symbolism to outline the historical meaning for the pavilion.⁵⁸ It wasn't until 1990 that we had a through explanation of the event written by Alison Smithson. The article '*Patio and Pavilion Reconstructed*' was published on occasion of the Independent Group's retrospective exhibition at the ICA that included a reconstruction of the '*Patio and Pavilion*' from the 1956 exhibition '*This is Tomorrow*.'

Although Smithson starts by recognizing what is the role of the architecture in the installation:

"To reiterate: the 1956 Patio and Pavilion artefacts found, and the shards made and then arranged by Nigel Henderson and Eduardo Paolozzi, were what the architecture of Patio and Pavilion directed the visitor's attention towards, and the intellectual message of the artefacts and shards supported that which was intended to be in, and conveyed by, the architecture."
(Smithson, 1990, 37)

Smithson is detailing the procedure of how the '*Patio and Pavilion*' came to be, by explaining the methodology. Within this approach, she is manifesting that the architectural design is far from aleatory as was suggested in the press but fulfils a specific intentional programme. Smithson (1990, 47) goes on to comment that the conception of the installation design was also "*touched by the 'As Found'*" to make it specific to the site, which is already something contradictory to the '*tabula rasa*' scalability. Smithson is describing the interaction between the selected materials and the gallery space, for example, the translucent plastic roof of the '*Patio and Pavilion*' and its interaction with the natural light of the site.

By privileging contextual associations over chronological ones, Smithson is turning the relation with time from an objective one, into an interpretative one. The visual correlation of the former can be appreciated in the photographic archive of '*Patio and Pavilion*' (fig.015) and '*Parallel of Life & Art*' (fig.014). In both images it becomes apparent that the exhibition

⁵⁸ Ben Highmore, "Rough Poetry: 'Patio and Pavilion' Revisited." *Oxford Art Journal* 29, no. 2 (2006): 269–90. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3841016>.

014



015



Image 014
Nigel Henderson,
Parallel of Life & Art,
1953.

Image 015
John Maltby, 'This is
Tomorrow' exhibition,
1956.

“Thus, the ‘as found’ provided a new way of seeing the ordinary, an openness as to how prosaic ‘things’ could reenergize our inventive activity. It was also a recognition of what the postwar was actually like: a society that had nothing.”

Alison Smithson, 1990, 39.

“We meant the ‘as found’ to refer not only to adjacent buildings but also to all those marks that constitute ‘remembrances’ within a place, marks that are to be read as a means of finding out how the existing built fabric of the place had come to be as it was.”

Alison Smithson, 1990, 39.

“The complete trust in our collaboration was proved by our ‘Patio and Pavilion’ being built to our drawings and ‘inhabited’ by Nigel and Eduardo in our absence, as we were camping on our way to CIAM 10.”

Alison Smithson, 1990, 41.

layout is organised by categories that escape the timeline approach. While in *'Parallel of Life & Art'* (fig.014) -Smithson's first curatorial experience at the ICA in 1953 associated with the same team-⁵⁹ the orientation of the images displays was the engage with the audience, in *'Patio and Pavilion'* (fig.015) the relation with the audience is explored through the materials in use.

Although the article was written exclusively for the *'Patio and Pavilion'* installation, there is information that can be applied to analyse the *'Parallel of Life & Art'*, since both exhibitions were planned by the same team and appealing to the same architectural and artistic categories. Excluding obvious aesthetical similarities, I will analyse the images and quotes by the categories mentioned at the beginning.

(1) Defining the curatorial approach

Smithson describes the curatorial approach as based in the *'As Found.'*⁶⁰ She defines the *'As Found'* as a methodology that considers the *'remembrances'* of an object but also the story of how it become to be as it is. This is visually and spatially effective through a non-linear curatorial direction. In which as captured in the photos, the exhibited content is arranged by something else than linear chronology.

In fact, Smithson calls the procedure *"a complete trust in collaboration"*⁶¹ resumed in the act of inhabitation. Hence, she is explaining it as an interdisciplinary experience that materialises through a programme where both -exhibited objects and spatial display- are equally relevant (fig. 016, 017, 018, 019). This throws back to Warburg's symbiotic non-linear method that promotes dynamic cultural relations between the parts the exhibition. As shown in the experimental collages (fig. 016, 015, 020) every single piece of information has a role within the narrative of the exhibition, the absence of a part fully changes the message. This sort of

⁵⁹ Alison and Peter Smithson, Nigel Henderson, and Eduardo Paolozzi collaborated in the 1953 exhibition the *'Parallel of Life & Art'* at ICA. See Lichtenstein and Schregenberger, 30-36.

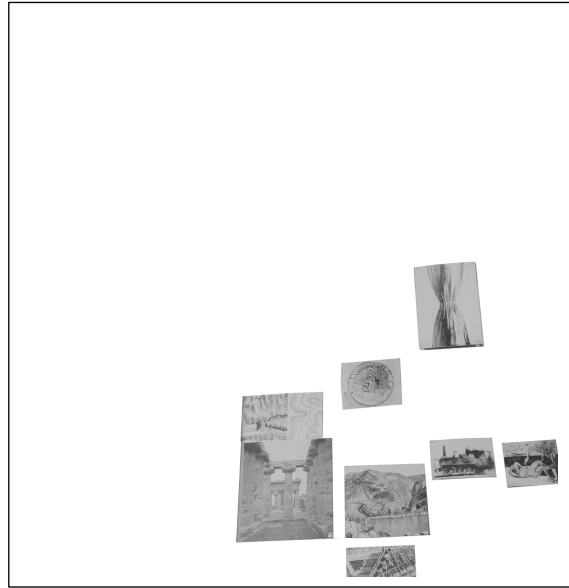
⁶⁰ Alison Smithson, *"Patio and Pavilion Reconstructed."* AA Files, no. 47, 2002 Summer, 37-44.

⁶¹ Smithson, *"Patio and Pavilion Reconstructed,"* 37-44.

016



017



018



019

Image 016
DS, Collage
intervention, Parallel of
Life & Art, 1953.

Image 017
DS, Collage
intervention, Parallel of
Life & Art, 1953.

Image 018
Nigel Henderson,
Parallel of Life & Art,
1953.

Image 019
Nigel Henderson,
Parallel of Life & Art,
1953.



021

Image 020

DS, collage intervention, 'This is Tomorrow' exhibition, 1956.

Image 021

John Maltby, 'This is Tomorrow' exhibition, 1956.

dependency demands a conscious audience, as opposed to chronological curatorship where the missing part can be inferred from the whole.

(2) Describing the curatorial programme

The programme in both exhibitions is relational. This means, that in the same way Warburg planned the scheme for his library, Smithson justifies the position of objects and their display, hence both curatorial programmes are coherent due to conscious associations among the elements. In *'Parallel of Life & Art'* (fig.018,019) the display is far from casual, for the angled panels and odd ceiling orientations aim to complement the selected images to directly address the viewer. To achieve the former, the programme is spatially organised in an approachable way. In the same way that Warburg's 'good neighbour' concept materialises the subject-oriented library scheme.

This 'approachability' says Smithson is also achieved through the selection of materials, expressed, as in Banham's *'new Brutalism'*,⁶² in a truthful way. This characteristic becomes explicit in the 'Patio and Pavilion' installation, as seen in the photos (fig. 021) the construction of the shed is unpretentious and uses the wood raw with visible grains. The effect is complemented with the sand and the stones that aim to resolve the question of the exhibition; what is the essence of habitation? Hence the programme is defined by relations; how the images relate among them and with the geometry of the space (fig. 016-019) and how does the materials relate with the spectator.

(3) What is the meaning of it?

These exhibitions were producing a critical theory on the way architecture was designing how to live. The demanding functionalism of modernism, inherited from the modern linear

⁶² In his article 'The New Brutalism,' Banham highlights the capacity of this kind of architecture to expose materials for what they are. As opposed to modern buildings that "appear to be made of whitewash or patent glazing, even when they are made of concrete or steel." (Banham, 1955). He points out how the Hunstanton school designed by the Smithson's appears to be made by the actual materials that composed it, glass, brick, steel and concrete. See Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," in *Architectural Review*, July, 2010. <https://www.architectural-review.com/archive/the-new-brutalism-by-reyner-banham>

production, had subordinated the way of living to the aesthetic domain in a radical homogenic way expressed in the 'tabula rasa' principle. The election of a non-linear curatorial approach is a revolutionary move that not only critiques modernism's approach but in fact proposes a method for designing how to live. Smithson is informed by Warburg's theories to compose a program based in relations. Both exhibitions fulfilled their quest through association of the parts (exhibited content and architectural display) not by aesthetical means. As expressed in the images (fig. 021,022) Smithson takes an 'archaeological site' approach to determine which are the core aspects of living.

Hence the 'As Found' materialises as a concept that investigates the origin of objects and materials to establish useful relations to reproduced in the architectural programme and reach a sense of collective. This quality translates into the Smithson's projects and their raw treatment of materials, like in the '*Upper Lawn pavilion.*' Nevertheless, Peter Smithson assures that the origin of empowering the rawness of the materials comes from Alison's obsession with recycling and zero waste.⁶³

⁶³ Rachel Cooke, "A Monumental Ambition: Alison Smithson, Architect," in *Her Brilliant Career: Ten Extraordinary Women from the Fifties*, edited by Rachel Cooke, 89-118. London: Virago Publishers, 2013.



022

Image 022
Nigel Henderson, 'Parallel of Life & Art' exhibition, 1953.

Lina Bo defines ‘The Ugly’ as a right

Lina Bo is a complex character to frame. In fact, although having a respected collection of built projects, she has been constantly exiled from bibliography and architecture history. Magistral projects with modernist influence like *MASP (1968)* and *Casa do Vidrio (1951)* have been left out of modernisms bibliography, and not even included in Kenneth Frampton’s 2015 anthology *‘The other Modern Movement, Architecture 1920-1970.’*⁶⁴ Furthermore, her diverse, multicultural and active life makes her work difficult to classify under Eurocentric academia. In the following sections I will analyse Bo’s context to understand how she elaborated her curatorial practice.

From Italy to Brazil: Transcultural influences

In the book *‘Lina Bo Bardi’* Zeuler Lima does a splendid job tracing the multifaceted life of the architect. In attention of this dissertation, I will focus in three contexts that delineated her practice, including the curatorial side.

The first intercultural moment that appears in Lina Bo’s curatorial career is the stay in Milan during the Second World War. Bo moved there in 1940, soon after graduating as an architect.⁶⁵ Beatriz Colomina remarks a month after Bo’s arrival to the city, Milan was bombed in the first raids, causing a great impact on her that became an obsession with ruins.⁶⁶ It is here that Bo starts working in collaborative *‘paper architecture’*⁶⁷ projects with Carlo Pagani and through him, with Gio Ponti. Bo was significantly influenced by Ponti’s aims

⁶⁴ In 2015 Kenneth Frampton published the book *‘The Other Modern Movement.’* A modernist architectural anthology that selected the featured architects under two criteria; marginality from the modernists masters and level of conscious contribution to the typology. Although both fit Bo’s profile, she was left out of the publication. See Frampton, Kenneth. *The Other Modern Movement: Architecture 1920-1970.* (London: New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015)

⁶⁵ Zeuler Lima, *Lina Bo Bardi* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 19-26.

⁶⁶ Beatriz Colomina, “Radical Pedagogy in the Jungle: Towards the Trans-species Architecture of Lina Bo Bardi,” filmed in July 2022 at Nottingham Contemporary, UK, video, 1:34:16.

<https://www.nottinghamcontemporary.org/record/keynote-beatriz-colomina-and-mark-wigley/>

⁶⁷ Lina Bo designed illustrations for articles in magazines like *Lo Stile*, *L’Illustrazione Italiana*. She was co-director of *Domus* and co-founder of *A-Attualità*, *Architettura*, *Abitazione*, *Arte*. See Lima, *Lina Bo Bardi*, 20-21

to combine craftsmanship with industrial design as a “continuity between tradition and modernity in the Italian house.”⁶⁸ Here she also becomes familiar with Franco Albini and his art display designs, that cause a clear influence in her future glass easel design.⁶⁹

A second moment of relevant cultural exchange comes within the aftermath of the Second World War. After a brief and productive stay in Rome, where Bo works with Bruno Zevi. She marries the controversial art gallerist Pietro Maria Bardi,⁷⁰ who was an Italian curator associated with Mussolini’s fascist regime.⁷¹ In September 1946 Bo and Bardi boarded a Brazilian passenger ship and headed first to Recife and then to Rio de Janeiro.⁷² It was the latter city along with São Paulo, the sites that stroke Bo because of its complex mixture of different worlds; formal and spontaneous, affluent, and poor, etc. Therefore, it is because of these cities that Bo starts to conjugate crafts with industrial design.

After a decade in Brazil, mainly in São Paulo, in 1958 Bo takes a substitute teaching position in São Salvador da Bahia. Although being her third visit to the northeast region, this time she stays longer and was able to soak the powerful local culture. Polarization runs through the region since oligarchs hold tight control of productive land, whilst the rest of the population struggles to escape chronic drought. As noted by Zeuler, no other area in Brazil races such strong sentiments of hope and revolution.⁷³ It is the northeast region the one that ended up shaping Bo’s anthropological side and inspiring one of her most celebrated exhibitions; Nordeste.

⁶⁸ Lima, *Lina Bo Bardi*, 19.

⁶⁹ Van den Heuvel, *Art on Display*, 52.

⁷⁰ Lima, *Lina Bo Bardi*, 21.

⁷¹ Cathrine Veikos, *Lina Bo Bardi: The Theory of Architectural Practice* (London: Routledge, 2014), 3.

⁷² Lima, *Lina Bo Bardi*, 35.

⁷³ Lima, *Lina Bo Bardi*, 83.

The Historical Present: Theoretical approach to non-linear time

“In architectural practice there is no such thing as the past. Whatever still exists today, and has not died, is the historical present.” (Bo, 1989)

The Historical-Present is a concept coined by the Italian-Brazilian architect Lina Bo in the 1940's. According to the architectural historian Cathrine Veikos, Lina Bo the term was inspired by Bo's years as an architecture student in the school of Rome. Specifically, by the *'Rehabilitation and Conservation'* course dictated by Gustavo Giovannoni, after which Bo came to understand the idea of preservation as an operation that values and manages the present conditions of a building, as well as the past ones.⁷⁴

In her theoretical contribution *'Propaedeutic Contribution to the Teaching of Architecture Theory'* Bo continues to elaborate on the matter with a different wording saying that *“there is no difference between the historical and the modern.”* (Bo, 1957 in Veikos ,2014) Bo is introducing a non-linear appreciation of architectural time. Sol Camacho draws to attention that the *'Historical Present'* enables specific crossovers through cultural expressions from different historical moments, as opposed to the traditionalist historicism. In visual terms, it diffuses the borders of the *'Eurocentric metropolitan aesthetics'* in favour of alternative visual narratives, based for example on local culture, as Brazilian folk.⁷⁵

This theoretical conception of architectural non-linear time was nurtured by Bo's experience with dealing with heritage and ruins, after living in Rome. But also, by her *'paper architecture'* and collage works, where she was already experimenting with associations outside chronological logic. Colomina pays attention to how Bo was already manifesting a trans-

⁷⁴ Veikos, *Lina Bo Bardi: The Theory of Architectural Practice*, 33-35.

⁷⁵ Sol Camacho, “Retrospective: Lina Bo Bardi,” *Architectural Review*, January 13, 2020. <https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/retrospective/retrospective-lina-bo-bardi>
<https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/retrospective/retrospective-lina-bo-bardi>

species gaze by including existing insects and animals in her drawings.⁷⁶ I will contribute to the former, that Bo is describing an architectural non-linear time and as such she is thinking in the constructed environment. For this, the 'historical present' runs short since it does not specify a mode to design. Therefore, I think it is no coincidence that contemporary to the publication of the Propaedeutic Architecture Theory, which contains the definition of the '*Historical Present*,' she starts experimenting with exhibitions, as curator and designer. Thus, it is through her curatorial practice that we can first see spatially materialised the '*Historical Present*'.

Lina Bo defines 'The Ugly' as a right

The archives considered for the analysis of this study case are the following:

- (1) Photographic archival material from the 1959 exhibition '*Bahía*'
- (2) Photographic archival material from the 1963 exhibition '*Nordeste (Northeast)*.'
- (3) Photographic archival material from the 1947-1968 expography '*Glass Easel*.'

As expected, Lina Bo's curatorial practice is as wide and diverse as her other creative areas. Hence, the first thing to mention is that the selection criteria for this review was based in; post-war framing, access to archival material considering the long distance and language barrier, and affinity with the report's theme. Exhibitions may have been left out, but the sample considered for the present report is sufficient to prove the point.

One of the most well-known examples is Bo's art display design or expography, was the one she created for the main collection of MASP that debuted in 1968 when it opened to the public. The display allocates paintings from different historical moments side by side, hanging from a glass structure with a concrete base. The design not only challenges the '*canonised*

⁷⁶ Beatriz Colomina, "Radical Pedagogy in the Jungle: Towards the Trans-species Architecture of Lina Bo Bardi," July 16, 2022.

<https://www.nottinghamcontemporary.org/record/keynote-beatriz-colomina-and-mark-wigley/>



023

Image 023
Lina Bo Bardi glass easel at MASP,
Digital image, 1968.

*standards of the Western art world*⁷⁷ but also provides a unique experience for the spectator that is free to surf the collection as their wish. As noted by van den Heuvel if analysed within the singularity formal aspect, the *glass ease (fig.023,024)* has a clear influence of Albin's slender design (fig.025).⁷⁸ Hence, the striking difference comes from their capacity of relationality with the context and with the user. Explained by van den Heuvel, while Albin's scheme promotes a '*private relation*' with the user in a way that each piece works independently as an '*art-object*,' Bo's programme aimed to manage a '*public relation*' with the user and context.⁷⁹ Bo is interested in working with a method that enables an associative mass effect that relies in the experience of the user and not in chronological curation.

Behind this quest, Bo's intention was to address an on-going cultural conflict of '*internationalism*' in Brazil. Her intention was to promote a way of doing architecture that was somewhere in the middle of the aesthetical lines of progressive modernism (in Brazil embodied by Oscar Niemeyer) and the regional culture of the crafts.⁸⁰ The globalised society was feeding the binary where the international modernism invading Brazil was '*the beautiful*' as in an Aristotelic view hence under these parameters, the regional vernacular was '*the ugly*.'

(1) Defining the curatorial approach

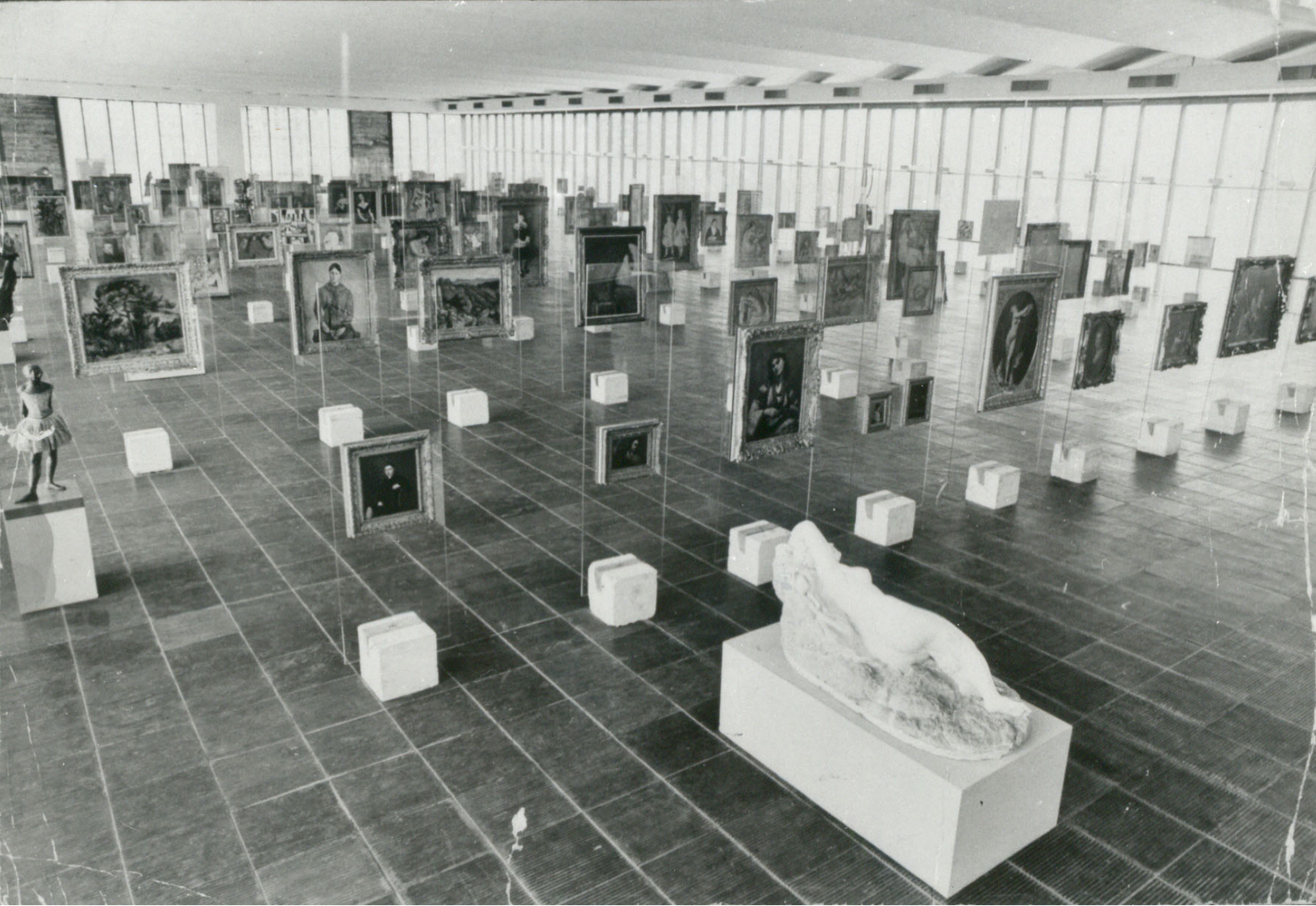
Bo's curatorial approach was highly driven by contemporary anthropological views. Her practice as curator was actively looking for ways to transfer her theory first into a visual design (paper architecture) and then into spatial design with the exhibitions. The '*glass easels*' (fig.023,024) were ground-breaking in Bo's curatorial career because they demonstrated that her theory could be materialised by using a non-linear methodology, that as in Warbug's Library proposed an arrangement based in relations and not in chronology.

⁷⁷ Veikos, *Lina Bo Bardi: The Theory of Architectural Practice*, 33-35.

⁷⁸ Van den Heuvel, *Art on Display*, 52.

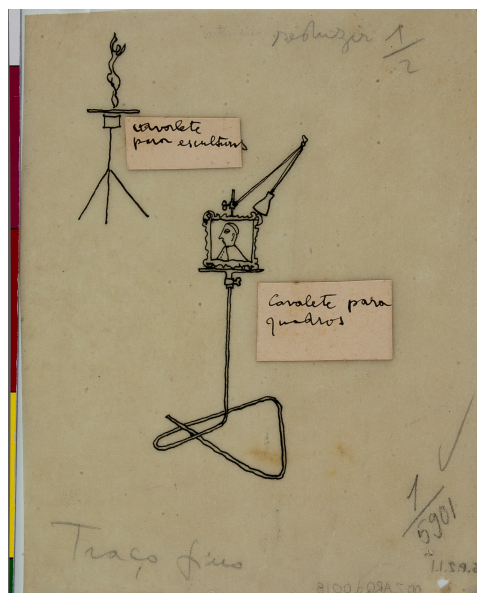
⁷⁹ Van den Heuvel, *Art on Display*, 52-54.

⁸⁰ Hilary Macartney, and Zanna Gilbert, "Lina Bo Bardi: Three Essays on Design and the Folk Arts of Brazil," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 20, no. 1 (2013): 115. <https://doi.org/10.1086/670978>.



024

Image 024
Lina Bo Bardi MASP glass easel,
Photoprint digitalised, 1968.



025



026

Image 025

Lina Bo Bardi glass easel at MASP,
Digital image, 1947

Image 026

Lina Bo Bardi glass easel at MASP,
Digital image, 1968

(2) Describe the curatorial programme

Bo's method produced a curatorial programme of associations. There are three main relations are one could see reproduced across her post-war exhibitions. The first one is a democratic and equalitarian relation among the artworks themselves. For example, in the 'glass easels'(fig.024,026) the art is organised as an experiential narrative, skipping chronology, and leaving all formalist aspects of the painting behind it, so the visitor is confronted with the art itself.⁸¹ I associate this technique with Banham's comments of the 'As Found',⁸² where in this case the rawness of the material are the proportions, colours, and forms of representation used in each piece.

The second relation encouraged is the association between the exhibited content and the visitor. Bo's method takes classical art down from the pedestal and mixes it with popular local crafts, to accentuate their openness and immediacy to the visitor. This is also manifested in the layout of the *Bahía* exhibition (fig. 028) in which anonymous local craftwork is exhibited as art, even including agricultural tools. Bo repeats the approach in the *Nordeste* exhibition (fig.027), where anonymous raw crafted pieces are the central attraction. As noted by Coutinho and Tostões Bo's displays were closer to a market stall than a museum expography.⁸³ In this sense, Bo used every recourse available to connect with the audience, including smell. An example of the later is appreciated in the flooring of the *Bahía* exhibition (fig.027) in São Paulo, which Bo fills with the scented leaves of a local tree typical from an agricultural region of Brazil, contributing to the main topic of the fair.

The third relation that Bo's method address is the connection with the context and environment. From the scented leaves to the liberated walls of MASP to the selection of iconic materials and crafts from different regions to be exposed as works of art, Bo's method

⁸¹ Van den Heuvel, *Art on Display*, 52-54.

⁸² Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," in *Architectural Review*, July ,2010.
<https://www.architectural-review.com/archive/the-new-brutalism-by-reyner-banham>

⁸³ Bárbara Coutinho, and Ana Tostões, "The Role of Architecture in an Engaging and Meaningful Experience of Physical Exhibition.," *Sophia Peer Review Journal*, Vol. 5, issue 1 (2020): 115.



027

Image 027

Lina Bo Bardi Nordeste, exhibition, 1963

Image 028

Lina Bo Bardi Bahía, exhibition, 1959



028



029

Image 029
Lina Bo Bardi MASP esplanade,
Collage, 1968

is constantly trying to connect with a landscape, the context a territory. The former is also manifested early on in her process when planning the exhibition. This is clearly recognisable in the graphic representation for MASP's inaugural exhibition (fig. 029). Bo projects the famous public esplanade of the museum as a cultural archaeological site, where art from different periods and regions co-exist with the raw natural vegetation and endemic species, hence all forms of occupation are equally important.

3) What is the meaning of it?

Lina Bo's method is producing a non-linear curatorial approach to exhibitions as a mean to introduce an alternative way of thinking and projecting architecture. With her method, she is taking a political stand against modernism. She is criticising the uncontrolled emancipation of an amnesic 'functional' practice that at that time was embodied at its maximum expression in Brasilia. As a forager coming from the nest of modernist architecture, Bo did not had issues identifying the flaws of these inherited way and stated looking for new design forms. Her Hybrid non-linear approach that conjugated local crafts with industrial techniques in an uncommon aesthetical manner, was claimed by her as a right, the right to the ugly, in the sense of a cultural expression.

'The Ugly' is transdisciplinary non-linear concept that Bo adopts to produce a curatorial practice informed by anthropological values and a sense of the public. Her interest was to test different associations to reach an inclusive collective programme. This approach emancipates from her curatorial practice to her most famous projects, like the Museum of Modern Art in São Paulo (1968) and SESC Pompeia (1977-1986).

Re-Tracing Singular Thoughts

Alison Smithson and Lina Bo: Relational Authors

When confronted with this investigation the first question that came to my mind was: did they know each other? A fair reductionist inquiry considering the aesthetical similarities found in the archival photographs from the exhibitions. After a thorough detective research, the answer is *'I don't know'* and I have come to realise that it doesn't matter. To base concordances in theories on the only fact of being familiarised with each other's work seems too specific. Although both of their architectural projects and drawings were featured in relevant European-based specialized magazines of the time, their exhibitions were only covered as local news and, their theoretical thinking was not explicitly included.

Besides the lack of coverage of their theoretical approach towards exhibitions, the difficulty to trace their curatorial approach was incremented either by omission or dilution by association. On the one hand the fact that all Alison Smithson's successful architectural practice was performed collaboratively with her partner concentrates the interest in their production as a couple, therefore overshadowing her contribution as a singular subject. An example of the above is that despite of Alison Smithson's extensive writing, most of her texts remain unpublished and the only way to have access to them is by personally visiting the Alison and Peter Smithson archive at the Frances Loeb Library.⁸⁴ On the other hand, the controversy around Lina Bo's partner and his political associations with Mussolini, thus the fact that Lina Bo's 1957 theoretical manifest *'Propaedeutic Contribution to the teaching of Architecture Theory'* was translated to English for the first time in 2014⁸⁵ speak for themselves.

⁸⁴ The Alison and Peter Smithson Archive is in the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University. The majority of Alison Smithson's theoretical written work is not accessible online, just by in-person appointment, which considerably reduces accessibility. See

https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/7/resources/6799/collection_organization

⁸⁵ Lina Bo's *'Propaedeutic Contribution to the teaching of Architecture Theory'* was translated to English and analysed by Cathrine Veikos in *Lina Bo Bardi: The Theory of Architectural Practice*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).

For which the investigative work of this dissertation fulfilled a double objective, by analysing the curatorial methodologies of Smithson and Bo, I am also contributing to fill the gaps of a piece of overseen architectural history. Then the entire research adopts the '*technique of re-tracing*,' selecting and consciously leaving out pieces of information to build a narrative. In the excluding part I want to clarify two points. The first one is that by including Alison Smithson independently in this research, I am not aiming to silence that fact that the exhibitions were produced in a collaborative way. I am just advocating for the singularity of personal contributions within associations, in this case I was reviewing Alison's contribution. Secondly, I am borrowing and following an initiative started by Beatriz Colomina⁸⁶ to separate Lina from her '*supporting role*' and enable her personal approach to rise, therefore avoiding the use of '*Bardi*' -her partners last name- when referring to her personal creation.

Going back to the initial inquiry about whether Smithson and Bo were familiar with each other's work, my argumentation was based in context more than in particular encounters. In that sense I think it is relevant to mention two theories that offer a feasible answer to transcultural synchronicities present in their curatorial methodology that I have reviewed in the previous chapters. The first one is the post-war emergence of *non-linear feminist theories*, and the second one is a reflective concept in relation to authorship called '*author-self*.'

Josie McLellan explains that the *non-linear feminist theories* commenced to appear in the post-war period as a critique to a mistaken general understanding that after the war "*women have taken -or were in the process of taking- their place in society.*"⁸⁷ McLellan associates the prior to the '*notion of linear progress*' inherited from the modern evolutionary model.⁸⁸ Likewise, the academic Victoria Browne singles out the post-war period as the active moment

⁸⁶ Beatriz Colomina, "Radical Pedagogy in the Jungle: Towards the Trans-species Architecture of Lina Bo Bardi," July 16, 2022.

⁸⁷ McLellan, Review of *The "Problem of Women,"* 935.

⁸⁸ McLellan, Review of *The "Problem of Women,"* 936.

where feminists developed a critical discourse towards the *'great linear hegemonic model'*.⁸⁹ In a quest to define the general notion of *'non-linear'* in feminism Browne (2014) claims it as *'polytemporal'* affirming that as such there is no *'one single time'* that can combine diverse histories, hence the conception of time should be understood *"through the intersection of various times and temporalities."*(26) Overall, the critical approach towards the modern conception of linear historical time permeated all cultural productions; from the fine arts as exemplified with Aby Warburg, to post-war feminism, as exposed here. This implies that the non-linear view was part of a larger milieu and not an isolated tendency based in acquaintances.

Although not from the same country or exact generation, it becomes apparent that both Lina Bo (1914-1992) and Alison Smithson (1928-1993) were part of critical transcultural social environment. As I have shown throughout this research, non-linear time approaches have originated as an alternative way to articulate associations. In art Warburg's method shows relational path to elucidate the meaning of an art piece. In feminism, non-linear theories have become a key in articulating women's ontological relations. In architecture, non-linear narratives, as used by Bo and Smithson, have introduced a critique to the hegemonic idea of architecture programme and re-think what kind of relations to build.

As a last reflection on the craft of *'re-tracing'* Bo's and Smithson's singular contributions I have come to think about which would be a fair authorial representation for them. Besides the fact that they are not alive to claim their authorial voice, there are some observations that help trace their contributions. Both had a paradoxical architectural career. It is true that they enjoyed a privileged position as their names had a protagonist role within the architectural scene of the moment, which was (and still is) uncommon for female architects. The former does not exclude the fact that while owning the lead role they were being targeted with unjustified criticism because of their gender. Lina Bo's work was under constant suspicion of authorship, which was usually attributed to the architects with whom

⁸⁹ Victoria Browne, *Feminism, Time, and Nonlinear History*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1.

she collaborated (Pagani, Ponti, Zevi).⁹⁰ Similarly, in a book chapter dedicated to Alison Smithson, Rachel Cooke comments on how Smithson has gained an unfounded reputation of being difficult due to her 'relentless' voice.⁹¹ They were urged by their '*architectural intersectionality*' to look for alternative ways to address their intellectual environment. Consequently, it is through their exhibitions and writings with a selective between temporal cultural moments, that they first criticised modernism's core predicament the 'tabula rasa.'

Regardless of the being constantly targeted with criticism that had nothing to do with their work, both Smithson and Bo never stopped looking for ways of producing critical thinking, the exhibitions are proof of that. Hence, their authorial quest was driven by something different than just public recognition or copyright. Their singular contributions were constructed by the idea of the '*relational author*,'⁹² which thinks of the creator not as a source of origin or authority, but rather as a participant and a citizen. This kind of author is closer to a citizen than an authority⁹³, thus recognises the cultural and social context as a contributor to their production, in the same way, Alison Smithson and Lina Bo did.

⁹⁰ Beatriz Colomina, "Radical Pedagogy in the Jungle: Towards the Trans-species Architecture of Lina Bo Bardi," July 16, 2022.

⁹¹ Rachel Cooke, "A Monumental Ambition: Alison Smithson, Architect," In *Her Brilliant Career: Ten Extraordinary Women from the Fifties*, edited by Rachel Cooke (London: Virago Publishers, 2013), 89-118.

⁹² Carys J. Craig, "Symposium Reconstructing the Author-Self: Some Feminist Lessons for Copyright Law," *Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law* vol.15, nº 2 (2007): 207-268. <https://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/jgspl/vol15/iss2/5/>

⁹³ Craig, "Symposium: Reconstructing the Author-Self," 265

Conclusion

A Critique of Modernism's 'Tabula Rasa'

This research examined in which ways did the non-linear time approach initiated by art historian Aby Warburg, permeated the post-war curatorial practices of architects Alison Smithson and Lina Bo. Through the consultation of archival material thus adopting an iconological methodology, I first reviewed two exhibitions in which Smithson collaborated, to determine her definition of the '*as found*'. Employing the same method, I thoroughly analysed Bo's '*glass easel*' expography and three exhibitions in search of her interpretation of 'the ugly.' Lastly, I critically reflect on the how and where to allocate their authorial contribution.

This research breaks two main conclusions. The First one is that both Alison Smithson and Lina Bo adopted the non-linear curatorial approach to challenge the predominant conception of a functional architectural scheme into a collaborative programme. While Smithson's practice used anthropological influences to determine the essential necessities of living. Bo's approach borrows from anthropology to address cultural hybridity. The second outcome is that although Smithson and Bo were influenced by modernism, their respective '*architectural intersectionality*' empowered them to criticise modernism's '*tabula rasa*' by revalorising identity within the architectural space through the development of programmatic collective relations.

This research was conducted with two main methodologies, archival research, and iconology. I made this decision based in the necessity to consult the documentation of the post-war exhibitions in a non-historical way, avoiding historical-based biases in order to reach the meaning of the intellectual proposals. The iconological mode enabled me to interpret the archival evidence by focusing on their context and reason to be, and not relying on the name of the authors, style, or other linear-based information. In this way, the selected methodologies are also in the spirit of non-linear approach. Through the hybrid format of analysis, I set out to find the conceptual relations employed in the design of the consulted

exhibitions, which enabled me to approach their architectural meaning. Overall, I find the reached results of the present investigation to be accurate and representative of the selected methodologies.

Although the outcome of this investigation clearly illustrate how the architects Smithson and Bo were developing a radical new way of thinking and designing the architectural space, the study does not consider evidence from the inhabitant's point of view. Consequently, it must be taken into consideration that the results did not reflect any data from the visitor's experience. The aforementioned, opens up new possibilities for research, this time from the point of view of the inhabitant. Based on the positive results of this research, I would recommend for future investigations to also consider a hybrid methodological approach, this time within the social sciences. In this way, a study of the exhibition audiences of based on interviews and ethnographical methodological research would give insightful data to reflect on the relation between designer, user, and programme.

By re-tracing Alison Smithson's and Lina Bo's singular critiques developed through their curatorial practices this research accomplished two main contributions. On the one hand filling the gaps of the architectural history narrative, which is in debt to many female architects' and their intellectual productions. With this I am not only fulfilling a goal of representativeness, but I am also reintroducing the methodological and theoretical connections between art and architecture, that have been practically muted from the recent critical thinking discourse. On the other hand, the results of this research showed that by focusing on the collective architectural programme relevant contingent matters can be raised. For example, Alison Smithson's archaeological approach of the '*As Found*' relates with the selection of materials, how to re-use them and embodies a sustainable approach extremely pertinent to global warming issues and the Anthropocene era. Lina Bo's quest to design a curatorial space in the sense of '*The Ugly*' actively searches to connect with all forms of living beings, landscape, humans, insects, animals. This view relates with contemporary

discourses of posthumanism, interspecies and postcolonialism and inclusion, specially of minorities and overlooked social groups.

What next? Alison Smithson and Lina Bo had a well-known architectural practice career. After reflecting on the results of this investigation, I think it would be interesting to analyse how these experimental exhibitions influenced their architectural projects. To expand the study cases from ephemeral curatorial design into concrete materialised architectural projects could open new relevant questions and test how the non-linear concepts of the '*As Found*' and '*The Ugly*' developed and influenced collectiveness in a longer scope of time. In a globalised world where the built environment has come closer to 'homogenisation' than a '*singularisation*,' the '*As Found*' according to Alison Smithson and Lina Bo's '*The Ugly*' make space to discuss and speculate on how aspects of the architectural programme of a project may affect the construction of society, well-being, and culture.

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Image Index

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Two houses at "The Dwelling of Our Time" exhibit in Berlin, 1931. Digital Image. 1931.

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Image 002

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Image 003

Franco Albini and Franca Helg, Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, 1949–51. Digital Image. Fondazione Franco Albini collection.

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Franco Albini, Pinacoteca di Brera, 1949–51. Digital Image. Fondazione Franco Albini collection.

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Interior of "Novo mundo do espaço de Le Corbusier" exhibition, MASP, São Paulo, 1950.

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Photograph by Maurice Jamoux. André Malraux working on Le musée imaginaire (Museum Without Walls), Boulogne, France, 1950. Getty images.

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Lina Bo Bardi 'crystal easels,' MASP, São Paulo, 1983. Photoprint digitalised. Archivo MASP (not available online).

Image 009

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Image 014

Nigel Henderson, Parallel of Life & Art, 1953. Photoprint. Tate Britain Collection.

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John Maltby, 'This is Tomorrow' exhibition, Whitechapel Art Gallery. Photoprint. 1956. John Maltby / RIBA Collections.

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Danae Santibañez, Collage intervention, Parallel of Life & Art, 1953. Digital Image.

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Danae Santibañez, Collage intervention, Parallel of Life & Art, 1953. Digital Image.

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Nigel Henderson, Parallel of Life & Art, 1953. Photoprint Digitalised. Tate Britain Collection.

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John Maltby, 'This is Tomorrow' exhibition. Photoprint. 1956. John Maltby / RIBA Collections.

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Image 023

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Lina Bo Bardi, Nordeste exhibition, 1963. Courtesy of Instituto Bardi. (Not available online)

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Lina Bo Bardi, Bahía exhibition, 1959. Courtesy of Instituto Bardi. (Not available online)

Image 029

Lina Bo Bardi MASP esplanade, Collage digitalised, 1968. Courtesy of Instituto Bardi.

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