Latin American Architecture at MoMA

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Abstract

The article describes in detail the path of ideation and construction of the exhibition "Latin America in Construction: Architecture 1955-1980", MoMA (Mar. 29 - Jul. 19, 2015), organized by Barry Bergdoll (Curator, Department of Architecture and Design, MoMA) and Patricio del Real (Assistant Curator, Department of Architecture and Design, MoMA), Jorge Francisco Liernur (Professor, Torcuato di Tella University, Buenos Aires, Argentina) and Carlos Eduardo Comas (Professor, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil) . In addition, the exhibition was assisted by an advisory committee composed of specialists from all over Latin America. The exhibition presented architectural drawings, models, photographs and videos of the important modern architecture produced in the region between 1955 and 1980.

Palavras-chave: Latinamerican architecture. Curatorship. Exhibition.

Welcome, the invitation received from *arq.urb* allows me to recall six and a half years of work as guest curator of an exhibition on modern architecture in Latin America held at the Museum of Modern Art of New York- MoMA, an institution whose sense of cultural opportunity equals its firepower. In the new century, the North once again became interested in the modern architecture of the South. The 2000 DOCOMOMO International congress in Brasilia was a success, and so was the 2003 exhibition *Utopie et crueuté: villes et paysages d'Amérique Latine* at the Center International pour la Ville, l'Architecture et le Paysage de Bruxelles, CIVA, organized by architect Jean-François Lejeune, a professor at the University of Miami; I lent documents and wrote an essay in the catalog of the same title (Brussels: CIVA, 2003). The exhibition traveled to Miami and the catalog got an English version, *Utopia and cruelty: cities and landscapes of Latin America* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), which won the 2005 Julius Posener Award for the best exhibition catalog, from the Comité Internationale des Critiques d'Architecture- CICA, of the Union Internationale des Architectes- UIA.

MoMA considered associating with the Florida International University's Wolfsonian Museum, which publishes an outstanding journal, *the Journal of Propaganda and Decorative Arts*. In October 2008, art historian Barry Bergdoll, professor at Columbia University, then MoMA's chief curator of architecture and design, Lejeune and Marianne Lamonaca of the Wolfsonian organized the *Modern Spirit in Latin America Colloquium*, for which I was invited along with architects Jorge Francisco (Pancho) Liernur of Argentina, Silvia Arango of Colombia, Louise Noelle of Mexico, Enrique Fernández-Shaw of Venezuela and others. But negotiations did not prosper. MoMA decided to work alone. Barry, Pancho (professor at the Universidad Torcuato di Tella) and I (professor

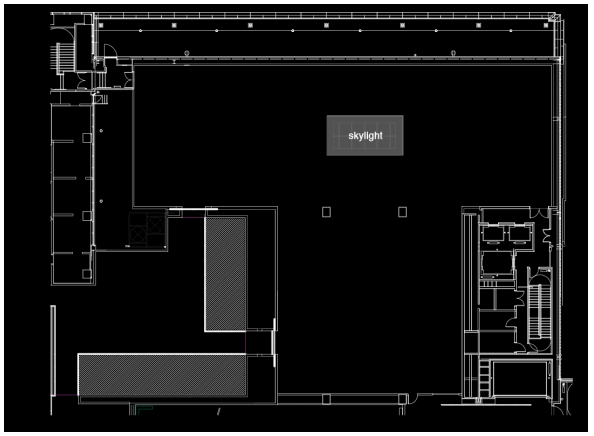

Figura 1. MoMA's sixth floor plan. Source: The Museum of Modern Art Archives, digital drawing (2013).

at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul) discussed a possible exposition in several meetings during the two subsequent years, in Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Buenos Aires, Mexico and New York. We wanted to cover half a century of architecture in Latin America, recognizing at the same time the convenience of that geographical designation and the diversity of architectural manifestations from the 1930s to the 1980s: skeptical about the existence of a "spirit of the place" common to the region's architecture and in consortium with a universal "spirit of the time", convinced that we had to have Lina Bo Bardi's SESC Pompéia (1976-86) in the show.

Ironically, our collaboration was formalized during another academic seminar at the University of Miami, *Latin American architecture: now and then*, in February 2012, held at a postmodern project by Leon Krier, the Jorge Perez Auditorium. But the occasion had a bonus, the long visit to 1111 Lincoln Road by Jacques Herzog and Pierre de Meuron, showing that the interest of the North in the modern architecture of the South was not confined to historians: the Brazilian DNA of 1111 Lincoln Road was confirmed by the owner Robert Bennett. The exhibition's inauguration date was set for April 2015. It would be held at MoMA's most important gallery of temporary exhibitions, at the sixth floor. We would have at our disposal a foyer with two voids and two galleries with a total T-shaped area of 1200m2 comprehending two freestanding pillars between the galleries. The first gallery measured 19x19m, the second measured 16x42m, and featured a large skylight. (Figure 1) Barry made it clear that the exhibition should feature primarily archival material, including drawings, photographs, models, and clips from films of the period, with a minimum of new items: a few site models, a few models showing buildings in section, photographs showing the current situation of some buildings for comparison, the video compilation of those film clips.

We had no doubts about the value and extension of Latin American architectural production in the period. But the visits to archives made up to 2012 had not been very encouraging. Although they had not been exhaustive, we were aware of embarking on an adventure. It was not only a matter of finding enough material, but also of finding material of sufficient quality to win the MoMA public, which was cultivated but not restricted to architects. We crossed our fingers and went forward with reinforcements. The architect Patricio del Real was hired in July by MoMA as assistant curator; he had just graduated from Columbia, defending his thesis entitled *Building a continent: the idea of Latin American architecture in the early postwar*. Filmmaker Joey Forsyte was commissioned to research film footage and make video compilations; Joey had worked on "Home Delivery," Barry's previous exhibit at MoMA. Brazilian photographer Leonardo Finotti embarked on an essay covering Argentina, Brazil, the Caribbean, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and

Venezuela. The directors of Constructo, MoMA's NGO partner in the program Young Architects, Jeannette Plaut and Marcelo Sarovic partnered with the School of Architecture of the Catholic University of Chile to do the sectional models. The University of Miami became responsible for the execution of the site models under Lejeune's direction. In practical terms, and for obvious reasons, the coordination of activities was divided into three geographical blocks: Barry and Patricio were responsible for Mexico, the Caribbean, and Venezuela; Pancho, for the Southern Cone and Peru; the author, for Brazil. The curatorship, however, was teamwork; we all shared responsibility at the conceptual level. No document would be exhibited that at least two curators had not seen live and approved.

The crucial decision taken at that 2012 meeting was to concentrate the exhibition on the 1955-80 period, considering the limitations of the available galleries and the contents of MoMA's previous exhibitions of modern architecture in Latin America. *Brazil Builds: New and Old, 1652-1942*, in 1943, focused on Brazilian architecture through the eyes of architect Philip Goodwin and photographer George Kidder Smith. *Latin American architecture since 1945*, in 1955, covered Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, and was the only real antecedent of our exhibition. It was Henry-Russell Hitchcock's personal critical testimony, supported by Rosalie McKenna's large photographic panels. It featured the production of a single decade, the immediate post-war in which modern architecture triumphed everywhere, and it emphasized the common formal features of modern Latin American architecture. Hitchcock's exhibition was sympathetic to Latin American architecture, as Goodwin had been regarding Brazilian architecture. Hitchcock ignored the organicist Bruno Zevi's contempt for modern Brazilian architecture of Corbusian roots. He disregarded the 1953 diatribes against Brazilian architecture criticism by Max Bill, the newly appointed dean of the Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm, who claimed to be the heir to the Bauhaus, and the condescendence towards it shown by former Bauhaus director Walter Gropius, then dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Design. Nor did Hitchcock care about the criticism of modern Mexican architecture made concurrently by the widow of another Bauhaus professor, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy. But Hitchcock's opinion amounted to little in the 1960s. In the first half of the 1970s one could learn from Las Vegas with Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, but not from Brasilia, demonized by European and American critics. In the second half of the 1970s, critics decreed the death of modern architecture and the rehabilitation of the Beaux-Arts. Latin American architecture was totally irrelevant, as can be read in Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco dal Co (*Architettura Contemporanea*, Milan: Electa, Milano 1976, translated in English in 1979), or Kenneth Frampton (*A critical history of modern architecture*, London: Thames & Hud-

son, 1980). The exception confirming the rule was Luis Barragán, who exhibited at MoMA in 1977 and won the Pritzker Prize in 1980.

Our period was reduced to a quarter century, extending from a time when modern architecture made in Latin America was still a reference, despite strong criticisms, to a time when the new manuals condemned it to oblivion, despite some isolated praise as regional expression. We were not going to talk about postmodernism, but if 1955 was a plausible entrance, so was 1980 a plausible exit: they defined a period of formal re-elaboration within a modern architecture that was hegemonic but fragmented by open competition between groups. And it extended from the dissolution of CIAM (1956) to the First Architecture Biennial in Venice, when neo-historicism triumphed with *La presenza del passato and Strada Novissima* by Paolo Portoghesi (1980), passing by the demolition of Pruitt Igoe (1972); without excessive rigor, considering works under construction after 1955, such as the University City of Caracas (1940-60), by Carlos Raul Villanueva, and works in progress designed before 1980, such as SESC-Pompeia (1976-86) and the Open City in Ritoque (1972-present), by the Amereida Cooperative.

This quarter century was troubled. It was a time of persistent Cold War and fear of the atomic bomb, artificial satellites (1957) and men in the moon (1969), Glasnost (1956) and the establishment of the European Economic Community (1957), the escalation of Vietnam War (1954-75), the Cuban Revolution (1959), Alliance for Progress and the invasion of Playa Girón (1961), the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), the Martin Luther King marches (1968) and the Watergate scandal (1974). No less important, it was time for developmentalism, Raul Prebisch's theory influencing actions of international organizations such as CEPAL- *Comisión Económica para la América Latina*, created in 1948, before the popularization of the idea of a globe divided into Three Worlds, first articulated by the historian Alfred Sauvy (1952). It was a time where military dictatorships ruled Venezuela (1952-58), Argentina (1955-58, 1966-73, 1976-83), Brazil (1964-1985), Peru (1968-75), Uruguay (1973-85) and Chile (Pinochet, 1973-1990). And it was also a time of sexual revolution and counterculture, of economic growth, and even miracle; unfortunately, followed by an energy crisis (1973) that was minimized in Brazil for another half decade (1980) as the country substituted alcohol for gas (1976), but that there as elsewhere ultimately undermined confidence in the powerful, entrepreneurial and benevolent State, paving the way for the neoliberal policies of Ronald Reagan (1981-89) and Margaret Thatcher (1979-90).

We remembered that developing, industrializing, modernizing, and urbanizing were synonyms for Juscelino Kubitschek, the builder of Brasilia (1957-60), or Fernando Belaunde, the Peruvian architect-president who sponsored the PREVI - Proyecto Experimental de Vivienda (1969) project in Lima.

a landmark in the treatment of housing problems and economic urbanization in underdeveloped countries, in a sense the counterpart of the Peugeot contest in Buenos Aires (1962) for what would then be the largest office skyscraper in the world.

As archival research advanced, and doubts about the quantity and quality of material available for the exhibition were dispelled, the idea of development grew in importance to us in a double sense. On the one hand, as the economic development of the region, to which its modern architecture was committed, considering that the dependence of Latin American countries on the developed world did not preclude a degree of cultural autonomy. On the other hand, as the development of the syntax and vocabulary of modern architecture understood as a formal system, to which the leading Latin American architects were committed, considering that the dependence of architectural creation on social, economic, and political factors is never absolute. Hence, c. 2013, a provisional title, *The Poetics of Development. Architecture in Latin America*, 1955-80, and it was not unanimous - Pancho thought it too artistic- but other decisions had priority.

For our contentment, doubts about the existence of appropriate historical material had then disappeared. The problem was now of excess and not scarcity. The very first idea about the exhibition considered a select number of well-documented works, involving a limited number of radiating centers (Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Caracas, Havana, Mexico). This organization by cities was soon discarded. The idea of an inclusive selection appeared more slowly, and contributed to disarm eventual conflicts of opinion between the curators. We opted finally- around July 2014- for a panoramic exhibition including projects and works, valuing both quantity and quality, in a total of five hundred documents: an exposition that was suggestive rather than exhaustive, an exhibition that was exploratory rather than argumentative. Or rather, the argument was very simple, in view of the American and European public, and the Latin American public inordinately influenced by the American and European public.

On the one hand, our aim was to show that modern architecture made in Latin America was not a derivative or degenerate copy of the architecture made in the developed centers, but a crucial chapter in the history of the discipline, one that expanded its frontiers in different directions, aiming at diversity of expression within a consistent formal system, informed by the logic of structure, construction, materials and the feeling of its expressive potentialities. On the other hand, the objective was to stimulate the discussion of the complex relations between this architecture and the physical, political, social and economic environment that it reflects and transforms- with a predominantly developmentalist vision, and a scope largely dependent on State action.

But we did not want to be didactic. We wanted to let the documents speak for themselves, minimizing the texts that articulated them, and in hindsight perhaps we could have been a bit more explicit given the richness and novelty of the material exhibited. I confess that I was annoyed when MoMA management vetoed the provisional title because it thought that "development" could be confused with real estate business, and when the alternative, Architecture for Progress. Latin America, 1955-80, presented by Pancho and seconded by me, was vetoed by his political allusions. We strongly disagreed with the management's suggestion, but we ended up finding it was pertinent. *Latin America in Construction* had a lower semantic load and matched the exploratory tone the exhibition had taken. As nothing gets lost, and everything may be transformed, I used *The Poetics of Development* in the title of my essay in the catalog, and Pancho used Architecture for Progress in the title of his essay.

Guidelines for the design of the exhibition were discussed between January 2013 and September 2014. To begin with, we wanted to be able to read the two galleries as spaces not interrupted by walls up to the ceiling, as usual; the foyer would have the introductory text on one of its walls, and a volume disposed so as to clearly organize the flows of visitors in and out. We would hang in this volume a box by the Uruguayan Carlos Gomez Gavazzo, carrying the suggestive title of Equation of the development (1960). Barry suggested that the squarish first gallery should have four rooms, the first three defining a linear path. The first room would house the Prelude, sub-titled "a region in motion," recalling events and projects of the quarter century prior to the period in focus with material essentially available in MoMA, plus the projection of video contextualizing the modernization of Latin American capitals. The second room, still transitional about chronology, would be dedicated to University Campuses, especially those of Mexico and Caracas, the construction of the latter extending into our period. The third room would show Brasilia. The fourth room would be titled at home with the architects, showing architects' houses for their own families or close relatives; combining historical documents with digital resources to multiply the number of projects exposed, it would have niche characteristics, where the catalogs would be placed for visitor handling. The larger rectangular gallery would present two differentiated sectors close to the exit, one called Export, which would feature works by Latin American architects outside their countries of origin, and the other called Utopia, where the Open City found its place.

Pancho proposed a rhizomatous scheme for the gallery, almost a labyrinth, with random circuits. (Figure 2) I thought of exhibiting the houses of architects in the foyer, and of something more structured for the larger gallery, with the underlying idea of using the four functions of the Athens Charter as the layout's organizational reference:

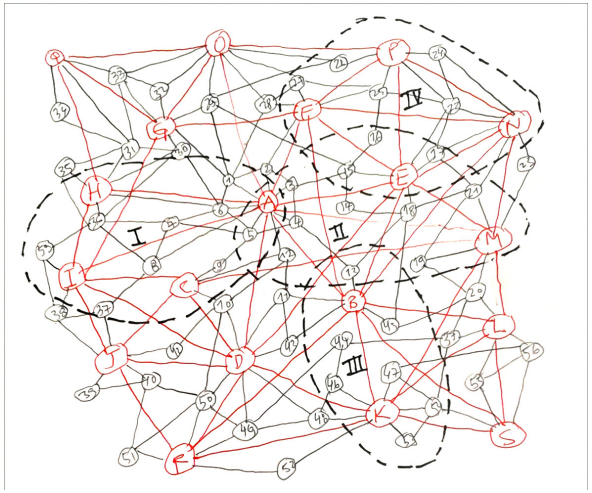

Figure 2. Exhibition design study. Jorge Francisco Liernur. Source: author's file, drawing (2013).

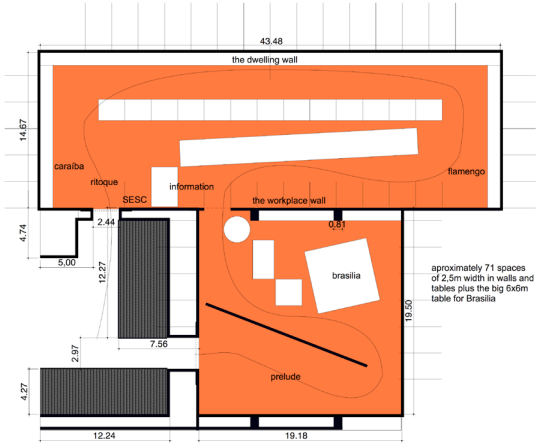

Figura 3. Exhibition design study. Carlos Eduardo Comas. Source: author's file, digital drawing (2013).

collective housing in its various forms would take the background wall, of 42m without distinguishing between housing for the poor and for the rich, but respectful of chronology, beginning in 1955 and closing in 1980; workplaces would occupy part of the long opposite wall between the galleries; the Flamengo Park would be the anchor of the transverse wall, featuring projects that involved urban circulation as well as landscape design; the center would be occupied with further projects aiming at the cultivation of body and spirit, with SESC Pompeia at the end; the transverse wall near the exit with the Cidade Nova de Caraíba by Joaquim Guedes (1976-1982) and the Open City. (Figure 3)

In September 2014 we finished listing all the documents that would appear on the exhibition, with a one-year delay. The checklist was made jointly by the four curators and considered both relevancy and availability; it did not necessarily represent the selection each would make alone. In the Brazilian case, losses to regret included the large model of Brasília on display at the Lucio Costa Space beneath the Plaza of the Three Powers, which measures 13x13m. It could only be displayed at MoMA's triple-height hall below our foyer, with which it communicates through the voids already mentioned. Unfortunately, that hall was not available. Cost considerations precluded the loan of the original model of the Museum of Modern Art, MAM-Rio, by Affonso Eduardo Reidy (1953-67), as well as the making of a facsimile of the museum's transverse structural section. We did not feature Caraíba in the exhibition due to the lack of adequate documents, and for the same reason we did not feature Cafundá Housing Complex (1977-82) by Sérgio Magalhães and team, or the DNIT Building (1972-79) in Brasília by Rodrigo Lefèvre. It is worth remembering that part of the curatorial effort was spent on logistics, due to the large number of institutions and people involved in document lending. In 2013, MoMa presented *Le Corbusier: an atlas of landscapes* in the same galleries and with the same number of documents. However, 95% of the material came from a single source, the Fondation Le Corbusier. In our case, we dealt in Brazil with fifteen lenders in three distinct cities, most of which had no prior experience of lending their documents, and a considerable amount of time was spent on understanding and reconciling local bureaucracies and MoMA's own bureaucracy.

In September 2014, we received orders to tighten belts. MoMA is rich, but it spends more than it earns, and the funds it raises do not always arrive on schedule. Barry then had the idea of exposing at different heights the final stretches of the metal uprights between the galleries' temporary walls. Leaving them mostly unfinished reinforced the idea of construction in progress and allowed for some spatial continuity within the galleries. The final solution, developed under the direction of Barry and Patricio by the skilled architects of the Museum's Department of Exhibition Design and

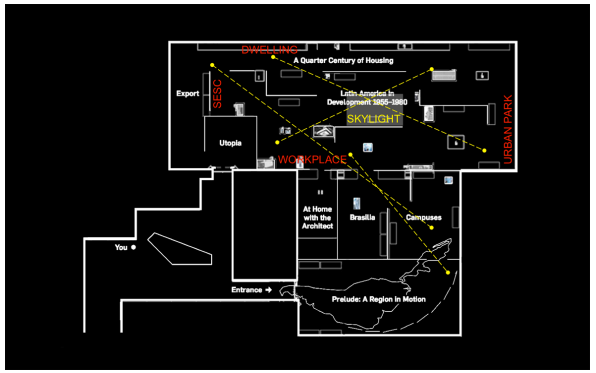

Figure 4. Floor plan of the exhibition Latin America in Construction with emphasis on diagonal views and the organization of partitions in relation to the "Development" Hall's skylight. Carlos Eduardo Comas. Source: author's file, digital drawing (2015).

Figure 5. Foyer, with "Ecuación del Desarrollo" and Tietê City model. Source: Thomas Griesel/The Museum of Modern Art Archives, photography (2015).

Production, was a successful synthesis of previous suggestions, with displays on walls, desks, consoles, monitors and iPads. (Figure 4) Large photographs were printed on adhesive vinyl and applied to walls; we called them wallpaper. The drawings were framed if the loan specifications required it, or placed between a magnetized opaque surface and kept pressed by magnetized steel discs; an independent frame fixed to the wall allowed for a protective acrylic sheet. The 1:50 sectional models were painted in deep gray; the 1: 200 site models in were left in light wood.

Ecuación del Desarrollo was fixed to a pentagonal box in the foyer along with the bronze model of the Tietê City project (1980) by Paulo Mendes da Rocha, which aimed to connect São Paulo to the River Plate basin. (Figure 5) As allegories in samba school parades, the two documents spoke of development and urbanization, and clearing and technological effort. The skew of the pentagonal box pointed to the entrance walkway, emphasizing the point corresponding to Patagonia on the map of South America drawn on the floor, which extended through the Prelude Room and ended in the Campuses Room. The distinction between these rooms was accentuated by the color of the walls, black in the first and white in the second. The gap between the dividing walls of the Campus Room and the equally white Brasilia Room defined a diagonal with the gap between the two galleries; the rooms appeared as two imbricated L's. The exposed steel frames made it possible to glimpse the Architects' Houses Room, painted yellow, accessible by the larger gallery. There, L-shaped internal walls were fixed around the skylight, reiterating the emphasis on diagonal views.

The Prelude evoked the visits of Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright to South America, the Technical Architecture of Juan O'Gorman in Mexico, an Uruguayan hospital, the exhibition of the Modernist House of Gregori Warchavchik and the conversion of Lucio Costa, the success of the Latin American pavilions at the 1939 New York World's Fair, Brazil Builds (featuring the Ministry of Education model), avant-garde proposals by Gavazzo and the Argentine Amancio Williams, gardens by Luis Barragan and Roberto Burle Marx, Latin American Architecture since 1945, and the São Paulo Architecture Biennales in Ibirapuera Park. Barry conceived the idea of seven videos showing the process of modernization in the interwar period in seven cities (Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Caracas, Havana, Mexico – remnant of the idea of the organization of the exhibition by cities), projected in suspended monitors from the ceiling arranged in arch and synchronized from time to time. (Figure 6)

The Mexican extreme of the Latin American map drawn on the floor entered the Compuses Room featuring the campuses of the Universidad Autónoma de Mexico and the Central University of Venezuela. One of its highlights was the presentation for the first time of the original drawing of Teodoro

Figure 6. Exhibition entrance. Drawing of Latin America on the floor. Source: Thomas Griesel/The Museum of Modern Art Archives, photography (2015).

González de León (1940). The Brasília Room featured the competition report of Lucio Costa (1957) accompanied by drawings from the entries by Vilanova Artigas and Rino Levi. A photo of a smiling Mies van de Rohe while examining with Lucio a model of *superquadras* completed the references to the modern architecture pioneers. A Villanueva sketch analyzed the Pilot Plan as implemented for the inauguration. Prepared for his classes, it alluded to the exchanges between Hispano-America and the architecture that Brazil Builds had made famous. There were plans from the roof slab carrying the congressional domes, classic photos of their construction by Marcel Gautherot, an original model of the Central Institute of Sciences of UnB (1963-71), as well as a 1980 model of the monumental sector with the annexes of the ministries. Along with new photos of the government palaces by Finotti and the Forsyte video, a notion of the city as an evolving artifact was insinuated. The opening to the larger gallery framed on one side Finotti's monumental photograph of the Monumental Axis and on the other side the old model of the Museum of Art of Sao Paulo- MASP (1957-68) by Lina Bo Bardi. (Figure 7)

The larger gallery was divided into three rooms. The first and bigger one had access through the Brasilia Room and gave access to the Room of Architects' Houses, the earlier proposed Housing Wall at the rear being its largest boundary. Considering that the Campuses and Brasilia Rooms were already playing the development tune, I called it the

Figure 7. Brasília room. Source: Rafael Saldanha Duarte, photography (2015).

Development Hall, bounded at the left by the Export Corridor and the Utopia Room, where the exit door was located. Circulation was linear between these spaces, and two of the walls between the Utopia Room and the Development Hall stretched to the ceiling. The Housing Wall was painted yellow, like the Room of Architects' Houses. Like the walls of the Campuses and Brasilia Rooms, those of the Development Hall and the Corridor Export were painted white. The walls of the Utopia Room were painted black, like those of the Prelude; more about that later. (Figures 8, 9, 10, 11)

Theme and chronology organized the virtual division of the Hall into sectors. As suggested by a timeline at the top along the Housing Wall, to the right of the person entering the gallery were the older projects, and to the left - near the exit - the newer ones. In a first try, the wall between the galleries, opposite to the Housing Wall, was re-

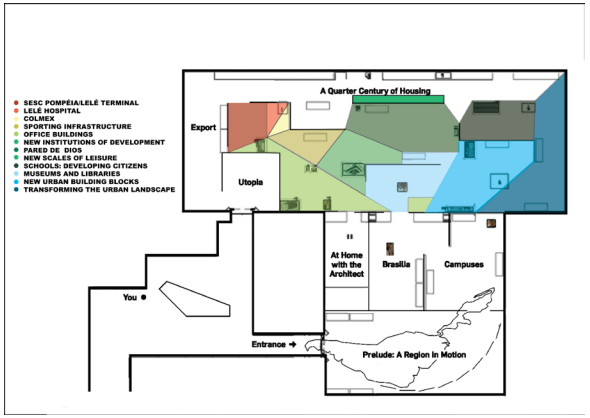

Figure 8. Floor plan of the exhibition Latin America in Construction with color zoning. Carlos Eduardo Comas. Source: author's file, digital drawing (2015).

Figure 9. Elevation of exhibition walls, study. Source: The Museum of Modern Art Archives, digital drawing (2015).

served for projects of workplaces, and the intermediary strip intended to accommodate projects involving the cultivation of body and spirit as well as circulation, to use the CIAM jargon.

Later, the lateral boundary to the right was definitively linked to the Rio de Janeiro Flamengo Park, by Affonso Eduardo Reidy and Roberto Burle Marx (1962-65), which included urban freeways, pedestrian walkways and buildings: Reidy's MAM-Rio as well as two contributions from Lucio, the ramps of Gloria Hill (1960-69) and the Monument to Estácio de Sá (1969-73). The adjacent, final section of the wall between the galleries got two projects in Valparaíso, the proposal for Avenida del Mar (1969) of the School of Architecture of the local Catholic University and Francisco Mendes Labbé's Naval Academy competition entry (1956-57), set on a windswept promontory. The lateral boundary to the left received the SESC-Pompéia, a kind of covered pocket park with important open spaces. The perpendicular partition received drawings of the

Figure 10. View of the Development Hall with the FAU-USP model in the foreground to the left and the Housing Wall to the right. Source: Rafael Saldanha Duarte, photography (2015).

Lapa Transshipment Station (1979-82) in Salvador, by João "Lelé" Figueiras Lima, reinforcing the correspondence between the two boundaries.

Given the destination of the final section of the wall between galleries to projects involving the landscape, documents related to workplaces slid along that wall and advanced through the parti-

Figure 11. View of the Development Hall with the MASP model in the foreground. Source: Rafael Saldanha Duarte, photography (2015).

tions bounding the Utopia Room. The entrances into the Brasília Room and the Room of Architects' Houses defined three sections: one was to be occupied by mixed-use buildings occupying a whole downtown block or infilling a downtown perimeter block, the others receiving office buildings. To the right of the opening communicating with the Brasilia Room, Lucio's Brazilian Jockey Club building (1956-72) exemplified a shrewd update of the perimeter block, with office buildings and club headquarters surrounding an eleven-story garage, topped by recreational equipment and terraces, while the San Martin Cultural Center (1960-70) in Buenos Aires by Mario Roberto Alvarez packed vertically several kinds of theaters, classrooms and galleries.

Preceded by images of the Tarpeya Rock Helicoid (1956-61) in Caracas, by Neuberger, Bornhost and Gutierrez, another multipurpose building occupying a whole block, and Mercado de la Merced (1957) in Mexico City by Enrique del Moral, the study for the Jaysour office building (1961-64) in Mexico City by Augusto H. Alvarez was the highlight in the stretch between the two openings, because of a tentative section recalling the columns of Niemeyer's Alvorada Palace. Just to the right were the images and historical model of various projects submitted to the Peugeot competition (1961), including twisted prisms strangely prophetic of twenty-first century iconic buildings. The interior corner with the partition of the Utopia Room received the sectional model of the Celanese Building (1966-68) by the Mexican Ricardo Legorreta, a hybrid structure of suspended slabs assuring the enormous cantilevers on the ground floor. In the next external corner stood the sectional model of the Corporación Venezolana Guayana headquarters (1967-68), in Ciudad Guayana, by Jesus Tenreiro-Dengwitz, a stepped pyramid in steel and brick proposed as tropical architecture. Among the two new models were documents of office buildings in Colombia, Mexico, and Argentina, including the German Samper's Sena (1958-60), Ernesto Katzenstein's Conurban (1969-73), and Las Palmas (1975) by Juan Sordo Madaleno; the original models of the Orinoco Insurances (1971) and the Metropolitan Bank (1976), in Caracas, by José Miguel Galia were close by.

The internal partitions in the Development Hall were set around the skylight constituting squares, reiterating the emphasis on diagonal views and allowing multiple circuits that recovered Pancho's path randomness. A disguised quasi-symmetry and thematic correspondences organized their sectorization, resulting in corridors expanding into pockets and virtual spaces with hidden boundaries.

In front of the Flamengo Park, documents depicted the Hotel Humboldt (1956) on a Caracas hilltop by Tomás Sanabria, implanted simultaneously with the San José Cable Car and its stations. Beside the Park, the Copacabana sidewalks (1970) by Burle Marx stood next to Barragan's drawing for Cigarette Square (1956), at Jardines

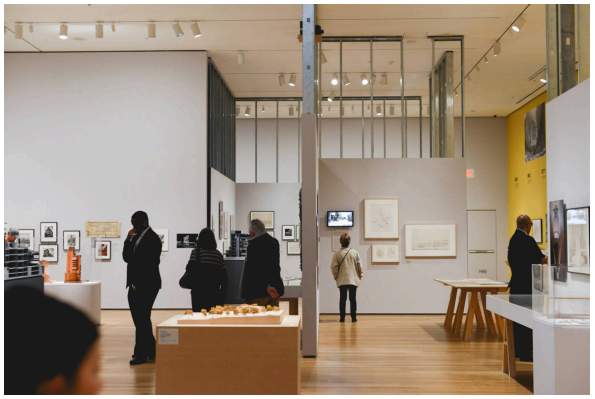

Figure 12. North Cementery Columbarium model in the foreground. Office buildings to the left. At the center, stretch of SESC Pompeia on the backmost wall. PREVI competition to the right. Source: Laura Krebs, photography (2015).

Figure 13. PREVI competition and the Housing Wall. Source: Rafael Saldanha Duarte, photography (2015).

del Pedregal (1945), his first upscale residential subdivision. The corner between the Housing Wall and that of Flamengo Park featured the sectional model of the School of Architecture of the University of São Paulo (1961-69) by Vilanova Artigas and the site model of the National School of Ballet (1961-65) in Havana by Vittorio Garatti; they anchored the schools sector, with graphic and photographic documentation of these and other projects in the adjacent walls. FIG 10. In the left side of the Hall visitors found Colégio de México (1976), by Teodoro González de León and Abraham Zabludovsky, next to Lelé's Hospital for Diseases of the Locomotive Apparatus (1976) in Brasilia, and Transshipment Station in Salvador.

Alongside the schools, the gymnasium of the Club Atlético Paulistano (1958-61) by Paulo Mendes da Rocha exemplified the "new scales of leisure", and faced the center of the Housing Wall. Its counterpart was to the left on the opposite side. Called Sporting infrastructure, it included Samper's Cartagena Stadium (1956), Felix Candela's Sports Palace (1968), and the original model from the Mendoza Stadium (1976), by MSGSSV-Manteola, Sanchez Gómez, Santos, Solsona, Viñoly. Next to the gymnasium, in correspondence with the space allocated to the Peugeot Competition in the wall between galleries, tables and partitions to the right of the Housing Wall center, showed Previ Project material provided by Peter Land, who organized that housing competition. (Figures 12 and 13)

The core, under the skylight, correlated religion and institutions for development. One end of what was informally called the Wall of God and then Sacred architecture, parallel to the Housing Wall, featured the Church of Christ the Worker (1958-60) by Eladio Dieste, including structural drawings and an original model for the study of stresses. Ahead, the site model of Montevideo's North Cementery Columbarium (1960-62) by Nelson Bayardo represented a surprising prefiguration of the São Paulo brutalism. At the other end, on the perpendicular wall, visitors found the sectional model of the Chapel of the Benedictine Monastery (1963-64) in Santiago de Chile, by Fathers Martin Correa and Gabriel Guarda, and next to the Chilean church, the new model of the Bank of London (1959-66) in Buenos Aires by Clorindo Testa, Mammon next to God. Opposite this model, to the left, and also visible from the entrance hall of the gallery, Emilio Duhart's CEPAL (1960-66) sectional model was an imposing presence. Cradle of the developmental discourse, CEPAL's graphic documentation was placed on the L- shaped wall opposite the Wall of God. Very allegorically, the cultural equipment was flanked by the intergovernmental agency and the private bank.

The extreme right-hand section of this wall showed the Luis Angel Arango Library in Bogotá (1956-59), by Esguerra Saénz Urdaneta & Suarez, which was part of the sector of museums and libraries ahead of visitors entering the large gallery from the Brasilia Room. The MASP model, already mentioned,

was an anchor seen between the models of CEPAL and the Bank of London. Behind the MASP model, the display included a video showing its inauguration by Elizabeth II, drawings from the Mexican Museum of Anthropology (1964) by Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, and a pioneering computer drawing of the National Library of Argentina (1962-92), by Clorindo Testa, facing the original model of the MSGSSV competition entry for the same library on the right side of the gallery entrance. Infilling the corner lot of a perimeter block, the Bank of London was in the same league as the Brazilian Jockey Club and the San Martin Cultural Center. Accordingly, the graphic documentation of the bank faced those of the latter. Between them, a site model of the Santa Rosa Administrative Center (1955-63) recalled another building by Testa as remarkable for its integration of structure and ductwork as the Bank of London.

The Room of Architects' Houses had wallpaper in the background showing the patio of Henry Klumb's house in Puerto Rico and its BKF chairs. A platform housed a real BKF chair as well as the Puzzle Chair by Chilean Juan Inacio Baixas. Some Paulistano chairs by Paulo Mendes da Rocha furnished the room, the private counterpart for the wall of collective housing across the large gallery. FIG. 13 At the top of the Housing Wall could be seen images of paradigmatic projects: the Housing Complex 23 de Enero (1955-57) by Villanueva and the Banco Obrero team; Niemeyer's COPAN (1952-66); La Habana del Este Housing (1959-61) by Hugo d'Acosta and team; the Tlatelolco Housing Complex (1960-64) by Mario Pani; the Residential Complex San Felipe (1962-69) in Lima, by Enrique Ciriani, Mario Bernuy, Jacques Crousse, Oswaldo Nunez, Luis Vasquez, Nikita Smirnoff; the Rioja Housing Complex (1969) in Buenos Aires by MSGSSV; the Boulevard Artigas Housing Complex (1971-74) in Montevideo by Ramiro Bascans, Tomás Sprechmann, Héctor Vigliecca, Arturo Villaamil; the Parque Central Housing Complex (c. 1971) in Caracas by Daniel Fernández-Shaw and Enrique Siso. Below, a timeline recorded the major political events of the period in the region. At eye level and below, the visitor found more material on the projects mentioned and other relevant projects. Barragán was represented by its real estate projects: Jardines del Pedregal, Las Arboledas (1957-61), Satelite City (1957). From Montevideo came the Pan American Building (1958-64), by Raul Sichero; From Caracas came the Palic Building (1956) by Federico Guillermo Beckon and the Altolar Building (1965) by Jimmy Alcock, in brick and concrete. A brick skin distinguished the triad of Calderon, Wilkie and Santos (1963) houses by Fernando Martinez Sanabria, as well as the El Polo apartments (1959-62), the San Cristobal housing complex (1963) for Fundación Cristiana and the Towers of the Park (1964-70) by Rogelio Salmona, the latter represented by a site model in the middle of the wall. Chilean examples comprised the Salar del Carmen Housing Complex (1960) in Antofagasta, by Mario Rodríguez de Arce; Diego Portales

(1955-68) in Santiago, by Bresciani, Valdés, Castillo, Huidobro, and the Plaza de Armas Building (1955) by Sergio Larrain. From Brazil, in addition to COPAN, there were photographs of Reidy's Gávea Housing Complex (1952-57). A central monitor played the video recording the speech of Jacqueline Kennedy in Spanish at the launch of the Alliance for Progress (1961).

Irrespective of the income of the population targeted by the enterprises remembered in the right half of the Housing Wall, their approach was in principle totalizing, and as far as possible, aimed at completeness, with the marked separation between housing and its complements corresponding to separate sources of financing, and not always equally effective. In the left half, towards the exit, the exemplification registered the appearance of incrementalism as an alternative, often implying the improvement of traditional construction techniques, and the valuation of low-height, high-density solutions using traditional patterns of territorial subdivision. In the left half, towards the exit, the exemplification registered the appearance of incrementalism as an alternative, frequently implying the improvement of traditional construction techniques, and the valuation of low-height and high-density solutions using traditional patterns of territorial subdivision. The pioneering project was La Fragua (1958-61) by the Colombian Samper, self-help and mutual aid construction. The Housing Module in Asbestos (1964-68) by Hugo d'Acosta and Mercedes Alvarez, the Multiflex housing system (1965-70) by Fernando Salinas showed the Cuban interest in alternatives to heavy precast systems.

Taipa, in Cajueiro Seco, Recife district (1963), by Acacio Gil Borsoi, was as remarkable for the prefabrication of the wattle-and-daub panels as for its checkered urban layout. A pioneering experience of favela requalification by improving its road system with permanence and participation of the residents in the redesign of their dwellings was Brás de Pina (1969), Rio de Janeiro, directed by Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos; the exposed material included house plans designed by the *favelados* themselves. Winner of a competition, the project by Mauricio Roberto & associates for the requalification of Alagados (1973), in Salvador marked the rise of incrementalism as an alternative Brazilian public policy. Next to the drawings in comic book style of the Alagados project stood Lina Bo Bardi's watercolors depicting the project for the relocation of the Sergipe community of Capumirim (1975), due to floods planned for the construction of hydroelectric dam on the São Francisco River.

The separation of the Export Corridor was accentuated by its position and the rectangular configuration resuming the linearity of the course. One wall documented pavilions in international fairs, such as those of Brazil in the XIII Triennial of Milan (1964), by Lucio Costa, and in the Osaka World Fair (1970), by Paulo Mendes da Rocha; the one of Mexico in the XIV Triennial (1968), by Eduardo Terrazas; at Expo 1967 in

Figure 14. French Communist Party model between Export Corridor and Utopia Room. Source: Rafael Saldanha Duarte, photography (2015).

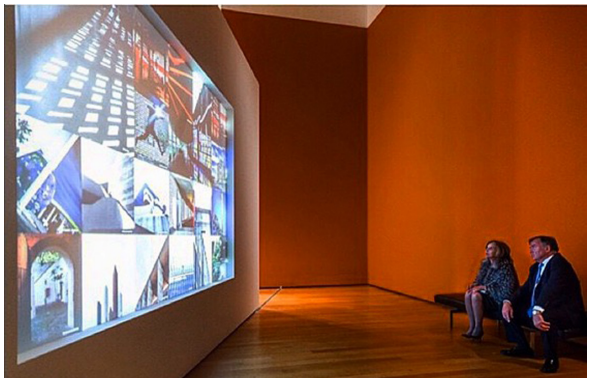

Figure 15. The box with photos of the #ArchiMoMA project on Instagram. Source: The Museum of Modern Art Archives, photography (2015).

Montreal, Villanueva's Venezuela pavilion, and Vittorio Garatti's Cuba pavilion. The opposite wall featured Reidy's Paraguay-Brazil School (1962-66) in Asuncion, Burle Marx's Parque del Este (1956-61) in Caracas, and a monitor displaying videos on the pre-fabricated Mexican Rural School (1958) by Pedro Ramirez Vazquez, sold to seventeen countries, including Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey. In an external corner, the historical model of the French Communist Party (1965-80), by Oscar Niemeyer, participated at the same time in the Export Corridor and the Utopia Room. Painted black as the Prelude, it featured L'Unitor (1981), Uruguayan Justino Serralta's answer to Le Modulor, the Open City Cemetery (1976), by Juan Inacio Baixas, the project for Body Transformers (1966) by Argentines Marta Minujin and Mario Gandelsonas, and the disturbing photo collages of Jorge Rigamonti, with science fiction connotations, as the Caracas Transfer Node 2 (1966-76). The tone was nocturnal as in the Prelude, but while the Prelude pointed to dawn with its seven monitors, the Utopia Hall suggested the party had ended. (Figure 14) In the pentagonal box, back to the foyer, the terracotta walls framed the shifting exhibition of thousands of current photographs of some of the buildings on display, the product of an agreement between Instagram and MoMA, Barry's idea. (Figure 15)

The catalog complemented the exhibition. Prepared during 2014 to be released at the inauguration, it comprises four parts. A photographic essay by Finotti precedes three lengthy panoramic essays by the curators. In "Learning from Latin America", Barry places our exhibition in the context of the MoMA exhibitions about the region. In "Architecture for Progress", Pancho considers the architectural production of the period in the light of the different possible political positions. In "The poetics of development. Notes on two Brazilian schools", I speak of the Brazilian contributions to the development of the formal system of modern architecture in the period. Different from the exhibition, where the organization of the material was not geographical, and aiming to become a reference work, the next section of the catalog is divided by country, reproducing historical documents next to short texts on each country by guest scholars. It should be noted that the buildings mentioned in the essays and short texts do not necessarily coincide with those present in the exhibition. The catalog closes with an essay discussing the existing bibliography on modern architecture in Latin America by Patricio, followed by short texts commenting on each country's specific bibliography accompanied by a selection of twenty basic titles for each country. An expanded bibliography and an anthology of texts by Latin American architects translated into English remained a project. The exhibition was welcomed positively by newspapers and periodicals such as *The Guardian, The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, Architectural Record, The Architectural Review, Summa +, Arquine, The Wall Street Journal, Domus, Cuban Art News, The Architect Magazine, JSAH* and *JAE*, and the catalog received the Philip Johnson Award 2017 from SAH for the best exhibition catalog for the 2015-2017 period. ■