

# North-South: Rationalism and Tradition in the New Towns of the Reconstruction in Spain (1939-1958)

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On June 14, 1940, in the Palacio de Bibliotecas y Museos in Madrid, General Franco (1892-1975) inaugurated the first exhibition of the Reconstruction of Spain. The show was organized by the Department General of Devastated Regions (*Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas*) and mounted with the help of students and young graduates of the School of Architecture of the University of Madrid. At its heart were the plans, models and first photographs of a dozen of towns and villages in the initial process of reconstruction: among them, the heroic centers of Republican resistance and Falangist victories, Guernica, Toledo, Brunete, Nules and Belchite. It was “the first attempt of the postwar era to coalesce the concept of New Spain into an architectonic language, and to make this language popular in its most didactic meaning.”<sup>1</sup>

Long a victim of the indifference and negative criticism that dominated its historiography until the 1980s, the experience of the Reconstruction is currently being reexamined. So far, the interest has remained primarily historical and, in that sense, the reconstruction tends to be seen as a mere “episode” of twentieth century architecture and urbanism in Spain. However, an analysis of the most notable projects underscores the critical dichotomy between the morphology and typology of the new towns, which were deeply rooted in rationalism, and the “regionalist” vernacular architecture that was adopted everywhere with varying degrees of abstraction. This essay evolved from a review of the monthly periodical *Reconstrucción*, and the early works of the architects Alejandro de la Sota (1913-1996) and José Luis Fernández del Amo (1914-1995).<sup>2</sup> It focuses on three cases that exemplify the evolving stasis between “northern” influences and “southern” tradition: the reconstructed town of Brunete near Madrid (1941-1946), and the experimental foundations of Esquivel near Sevilla (1952) and Vegaviana in the province of Cacerés (1954-58).

## THE PROGRAM OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Between the Caudillo’s uprising of July 1936 and the fall of Madrid in 1939, combatants of both sides of the Civil War and their international allies totally destroyed one hundred and ninety-two villages, towns and cities. The periphery of the capital and the larger circle of Republican resistance that included the small town of Brunete and the historic center of Toledo lay in ruins. In the North, the symbols of devastation were Guernica, Oviedo, and a large section of Bilbao and its iron belt. In the East, destruction followed the front line of Aragón with Huesca,

Belchite and Teruel, and the battle line at the Ebro River with Lérida and Tortosa. The South was hard hit as well, particularly Almería, Guadix and other towns between Córdoba and Granada.

The task of reconstruction was entrusted to the Department General of Devastated Regions, created within the Ministry of the Interior well before the end of the war, on March 25, 1938. Under the direction of José Moreno Torres and later of Gonzalo Cárdenas, the Department implemented an ambitious program of reconstruction that was completed according to schedule in the early 1950s.<sup>3</sup> A large staff of architects, engineers and other professionals (reaching more than two hundred in 1945) was assembled to design, control and direct the process. Planned in Madrid, but subdivided among thirty regional offices, the program included the reconstruction of devastated cities and towns, the construction of new towns to replace destroyed settlements, and a vast enterprise of restoration of civic and religious public buildings. It had its own periodical, *Reconstrucción*, which in spite of its propagandistic overtones provided a well-documented review of the operation.

Although the most urgent needs were in rebuilding the large cities and their industrial peripheries, the reconstruction initially focused on the rural “front.” The main rationale was the State’s economic policy to bolster new agrarian development in order to allow the necessary reorganization of private capital, at that time without opportunities for rapid investment. The implicit objective was to stabilize the impoverished rural population away from the big cities and thus prevent rural flight, excessive urban expansion, and potentially explosive socio-economic conditions.<sup>4</sup> The National Institute of Colonization or *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (I.N.C.) was created in 1943 to strengthen that strategy and implement a pro-active policy of rural settlement. Until 1958, the Institute created and built a network of new towns and villages linked to the post-war program of drainage and irrigation in depressed southern areas. Altogether these priorities adjusted to the demands of the oligarchy, the primary supporter of Franco, whose immediate goal was to recuperate the land lost in the Republican agrarian reform; likewise, they were fueled by the low cost of labor in the countryside, and the international embargo on exportation.<sup>5</sup> Propaganda was also instrumental in this policy: the schematic—and at times simplistic—prewar partition of the country between the Republican industrial cities and the Falangist small towns remained in the memory of the victors. Thus the New Spain not only thanked the “agrarian man” but also took pains at presenting him as the model of the New Spaniard, long-suffering and reserved, anchored in the old tradition of individual courage in the face of adversity and exacting daily labor:

*Nowadays survive in Spain many towns and villages whose laments, curses, and tears tell us of a past of squalor and poverty. Spain used to live at the expense of its villages. At the best they served as the scenography of a picturesque drama, glimpsed through the window of a train or of an automobile... It is the war itself that eventually brought the city dwellers nearer to the countryside.*<sup>6</sup>

## MODERN INFLUENCES ON TRADITIONAL TOWN DESIGN: PLANS, PLAZAS AND TYPES

As a branch of the Ministry of the Interior, the Department of Devastated Regions was under political pressure to act quickly and adopt the most efficient methods of planning and construction. Spain was destroyed, and its productive system was in shambles. Recovery was made difficult by the destruction of the Civil War (especially of the railway system and communications in general), by a loss of skilled labor, and by the restriction of imports on capital goods imposed by the World War and its aftermath. These difficulties were increased by the misguided policies of autarky, particularly the state control of prices and industrial development within a protected national economy cut off from the international market. Thus, in the short term, there were few architectural options possible. The return to tradition and to the vernacular forms of building—the reassuring “style of the devastated regions”—was, first of all, a pragmatic solution imposed by the economic shortages and technical obstacles endemic in the country.<sup>7</sup> However, the architects benefited from a high degree of autonomy to improve the miserable conditions of housing, particularly in rural areas.<sup>8</sup> This often included total reconstruction if deemed necessary. An order issued in 1938 forbade anyone to rebuild without prior authorization to be granted in accordance with the approved town-planning scheme of reconstruction or restoration:

*It was seen at once that, since destruction was—alas—an accomplished fact, it should at least be turned to advantage in better planning to raise modern, healthy and cheerful towns and villages that should, nevertheless, retain their local character and their traditional architecture.*<sup>9</sup>

Arguably, the program of reconstruction was not a creation *ex novo*. From the Renaissance, Spain had forged a rich and brilliant tradition of new urban foundations, both in America and in the Peninsula itself.<sup>10</sup> Architects and planners of the Reconstruction found a fertile ground in that heritage and were unambiguously aware of modern European planning, particularly in 1920-30s Germany and Italy.<sup>11</sup> In the words of historian Lluís Domènech, “Brunete, Seseña, Esquivel, Nules, Montarrón, Los Blázquez, Villanova de la Barca... were names dispersed across the geography of Spain, which revealed serious experiments, never repeated, of rigorous planning.”<sup>12</sup>

### 1. The plans

Whether the town was rebuilt adjacent to the destroyed settlement (Ganagejos) or superimposed over it (Brunete), the orthogonal grid was the common feature of the reconstructed towns by the Department of the Devastated Regions. This morphology strongly contrasted with the medieval, often irregular and chaotic, organization of the blocks and lots in the destroyed towns and cities. An efficient system of land redistribution permitted this complicated process of urban re-planning or transfer of property rights from the destroyed area to the new town.<sup>13</sup> The elongated rectangular blocks were functionally oriented according to modern solar charts; they were divided and dimensioned to accommodate a limited number of housing typologies that fit the needs of the agricultural or industrial population. Moreover the towns were built as if they were “a single edifice,” that did not have to grow

and reflected the precise quantitative conditions of the reconstruction project. The models and perspective drawings reinforced the “finite and autonomous edge” of the foundations, the “vision from afar” that in some way made them analogous to the German *Siedlungen* of the Weimar Republic.<sup>14</sup> The grid and its edges provided spaces for new programs such as parks, sport fields, small hospitals, and other necessary buildings for modern life, while the peripheral blocks acquired the characteristic of a genuine urban façade.

With the works of de la Sota and del Amo for the National Institute of Colonization, the standards of urban design became somewhat looser. The grid lost its absolute character to be replaced by a more organic version, akin to the super-blocks advocated by Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) and many urbanists of post-war reconstruction in northern Europe (Vegaviana, Entrerriós).

### 2. The plaza mayor

The political ideal of civil life under the national-catholic regime could be summarized in the triad family/work/town; it was thus logical that the *plaza mayor* became the point of crystallization of the reconstructed urban context. Scores of new, geometrically designed *plazas*, often in a style reminiscent of Juan de Herrera’s (1530-1597) works at the Escorial and Valladolid, were built or rebuilt anew to appear like they had always been there:

*The center will always be the traditional plaza mayor. The plaza, with its arcades, is faced by the representative edifices of the City, of the State, and of the Party. The streets that depart from it lead to the workplaces in the fields and in the factories. In addition to the deeply rooted municipal and political tradition of the plaza mayor as civic center, the {new} town will have a second religious center. It consists of the plaza de la Iglesia, with its attached rector and catechesis house, its church and tower, dominated by a cross whose open arms will watch over the future life of the population.*<sup>15</sup>

Yet, in contrast to the traditional Spanish plaza carved out of the urban fabric or to the Latin American one created by the removal of a block within the grid, the *plazas* of the reconstruction were new and modern creations. They were often placed asymmetrically within the plan, in order to have a more direct access from the outside and to open directly to the surrounding greenbelt and the countryside (Brunete, Villanueva del Pardillo, Gajanejos). Moreover, as in Sabaudia and other Italian new towns, the squares were essentially defined by thin “bar-like” buildings, and assemblage of interconnected objects.<sup>16</sup>

In the 1950s, under the influence of Alejandro de la Sota and José Luis Fernández del Amo, a more modern interpretation of the traditional plaza took roots in the new foundations of the Institute of Colonization. In Entrerriós (Bádaajoz), Esquivel (Sevilla) or Vegaviana (Cacérès), the plaza grew in size and lost its strict urban edges to acquire the character of a densely planted park, often connected to the adjacent landscape. Public buildings were no longer intimately connected to the urban fabric as in Brunete or Giménez, but they appeared more and more like floating objects in the landscape of the *plazas*.

### 3. Typologies and style

Period aerial photographs clearly make explicit the strong correspondence between the rational town layout and the housing typologies. A limited amount of party-wall types, generally organized around a patio, established the fabric of the towns. In order of decreasing size, they were destined for farm owners, farm administrators and agricultural workers. Other special types were planned around the squares and at some significant street corners, generally with commercial ground floors.

In the towns developed by the Department of Devastated Regions, houses were rationally conceived behind a vernacular mask. Designers systematically documented the architectonic elements of tradition (ironwork, balconies, doors, arches, etc.), and catalogued the different typologies in relation to the climate and other regional characteristics. This scientific labor was supported by a series of publications such as *Construcciones rurales*, *La vivienda rural*, and *La vivienda de los pescadores*.<sup>17</sup>

During the 1950s, Alejandro de la Sota and José del Amo embarked on a process of abstracting the vernacular sources. They eliminated most of the decorative elements, except those that had a functionalist overtone such as the protective metallic window screens known as *rejas*. In so doing, they designed increasingly pure volumes and set out to emphasize their modern character by loosening their relationship to the overall structure of the towns. Blocks became increasingly like grouping of attached townhouses and could be read as large-scale objects within the urban context, a strategy similar to Atelier V's *Siedlung Halen* near Bern (1959-61) and other projects promoted by Team X architects.

### A NEW REFLECTION UPON VERNACULAR TRADITION

Reconstruction was the central theme of the First National Assembly of Architects held on June 26-29, 1939, in the Teatro Español of Madrid under the presidency of Pedro Muguruza Otaño (1893-1952). Muguruza gave confidence to his colleagues and rallied them to the task of reconstructing towns and cities, and of solving the problems of housing for the poorest classes in the country.<sup>18</sup> The premises were clearly stated:

*It is absolutely indispensable to think that one critical element {to achieve the goal of eliminating the condition of poor housing} is to get rid of the purely material concept of making the housing unit a "machine for living." This idea cannot but annihilate or negate the concept of place. By extension, the dwelling unit must be considered as the primary cell of the living organism that is the city. Thus we need to dissolve the inorganic groupings that surround the city and in part make it what it is; they asphyxiate it, make it a purely material environment where the city loses its essential meaning: to be a living body whose various organs provide vitality to the whole. . . .*<sup>19</sup>

Muguruza's attack against Internationalism and the avant-garde during the Republican period has more often than not been seen as reactionary statement by a conservative and pro-regime architect. Yet, in recent years historians such as Carlos Sambricio have started to dismantle the comfortable myth of an epistemological rupture between the Republican period and Franco's regime.<sup>20</sup> On the one hand, Sambricio has put into question the so-called "Bohigas' axiom" that the architecture of the 1930s had been marked by an orthodox avant-garde, which was culturally monolithic, formally coherent, and "politically correct."<sup>21</sup> On the other hand he has refused to "attribute to Francoism a capacity of abstraction or any aptitude to define an original ideology, which has in fact never existed." Thus he argued that "the different architectural options proposed at the beginning of the 1940s were the fruitful outcome of heterogeneous ideas, whose gestation can be traced back to the decade preceding the Civil War."<sup>22</sup> Moreover, and contrary to Mussolini's Italy during the late 1930s, the use of traditional architecture did not reflect a particular vision of the Fascist regime for architecture, but rather the balance of power among the architects themselves. In the words of Anton Capitel, "the Franco regime did not request any predetermined architecture from the architects. . . . It only supported some of their ideas and interests that, for a variety of reasons, might have interested the State as well."<sup>23</sup>

From the end of the World War I onwards the study of popular architecture was seen as the basis for a new architecture of low-cost houses—for instance, the workers' houses in the garden cities. This was

important in order to respond to the increasing migratory flux from the countryside toward the cities. The specialists of popular architecture oriented their reflection toward normalization and a new classification of the vernacular production in order to conserve the brick-based systems of production and to adopt solutions confirmed by tradition and the availability of abundant and qualified manpower. Spanish historians usually agree that the years 1925-1930 marked the genuine renewal in the architectural debate. Against the defenders of a nostalgic-monumental architecture connected to history (exemplified by the works of Antonio Palacios and Leonardo Rucabado), the proponents of change adopted two converging yet distant axes of reform. On the one hand, the modernist schemes inspired by the European avant-garde, a direction represented by Josep Lluís Sert (1902-1983) and the GATCPAC; on the other hand, a deliberate return, not to the past, but to the essence of tradition. This important distinction was emphasized by historian Leopoldo Torrès Balba and philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) who wrote that "those who claim tradition are precisely the one who do not follow it, for, who talks about tradition means change."<sup>24</sup> This direction emphasized the study of the real vernacular and tended toward typological simplification within the context of Spanish regional traditions.<sup>25</sup>

The analysis of this polemic is not the focus of this paper, but to illustrate our remarks, it is useful to point out Luis Gutiérrez Soto's (1900-1977) theory of the functionalist dwelling presented at the same First Congress of 1939. Gutiérrez Soto's speech contradicts the supposed isolation of Spain from the modern European tradition. In it he developed a functionalist attitude, devoid of any international "rigidity" or formalism, and anchored in a serious understanding of working-class life in poor families. For Soto, styles were to be used as pure instruments of design in order to wrap up the logical structure of the architecture. To the excessive decomposition of functions advocated by the Bauhaus, he opposed simple arrangements inspired by tradition:

*In the minimum dwelling unit, only one zone living room is admissible; it must support multiple functions: eating, working, playing, family reunions, etc. A detailed analysis of life, furniture and other needs for space demonstrates that the minimum dwelling does not depend on size and dimensions of rooms, but on a good organization of space.*<sup>26</sup>

### THE NEW BRUNETE (1941-1946)

Brunete was a small medieval town, located in the midst of a farming region, twenty miles west from Madrid, at the crossing of two major roads. It lived a poor and languid life until its name entered history with the battle that led to its total destruction in the summer of 1937. Its organic medieval plan formed a system of more or less radial roads terminating into streets and converging toward the triangle-shaped *plaza mayor*, dominated by the post-Renaissance plateresque-style facade of the church.<sup>27</sup>

It took fifteen hundred days to rebuild the town; the new Brunete was inaugurated on the tenth anniversary of Franco's uprising, July 17, 1946. For obvious symbolic reasons it was decided to rebuild the new town upon the very ruins of the former; yet nothing but the reconstructed—and partially redesigned—church at its previous location reminds of the destroyed town.<sup>28</sup> Its organic plan was totally erased and, in its place, the architect Luis Menéndez Pinal y Quijada laid out a rationalist grid of rectangular blocks centered on a new *plaza mayor*. Whereas the former plaza marked the intersection of the main roads, the new square appeared like an idealized and modernized vision of the late sixteenth century classical type established by Juan de Herrera in Toledo and Valladolid.<sup>29</sup> The square, whose fourth side opened onto the landscape, served as a town entrance from the main road and the sports center. An arcade surrounded it on the ground floor. Built out of local granite from the Sierra de Guadarrama, it boasted a "makeup of imperial

tradition.<sup>30</sup> Around the plaza were the town hall, the post and telegraph office, dwellings and shops. In contrast with the informal typologies of the pre-war houses, the houses and lots occupying the new rectangular blocks were rationally based on the agricultural needs of the residents. Houses for laborers were seventy feet deep and had a patio at the center; houses for farmers were larger, one hundred feet deep and were organized around a courtyard with agricultural outbuildings. In total, four types of houses constituted the town, varying from eight hundred to fifteen hundred square feet; most windows and doors were prefabricated.

### ESQUIVEL (1952) AND VEGAVIANA (1956-58)

The I.N.C. or National Institute of Colonization was created as an *ex novo* department deriving from the technical Ministry of Agriculture and Public Works. As such it was better sheltered from ideological pressure than the Department of Devastated Regions, and its architects were able to work according to more flexible architectural criteria. It is in this service that the young graduate Alejandro de la Sota launched a career that would lead him to national prominence a decade later:<sup>31</sup>

*I started working at the National Institute of Colonization, where the job was to create towns and villages... I went all over a large number of hamlets and small towns, but I neither drew nor made photographs... It is only at my return in the office that I took paper and started recording my visits... In this manner I am sure that I drew and invented quite a lot....<sup>32</sup>*

From 1943 to 1958, the new towns of Gimenezells, Entrerriós, Vegaviana, Cañada de Agra, Valuenga, La Baza, Pla de la Font, Esquivel and others sprang up all over the country from the drawing boards of de la Sota and his university companion, Fernández del Amo. Like their colleagues of the Devastated Regions they investigated the typologies of vernacular architecture, but they did so in the spirit of abstraction of European modernism. They reconnected with the experiments of Sert and the GATCPAC, and it is in their works that Gutiérrez Soto's "Mediterranean" vision of functionalism, discussed above, found its genuine expression. A modern type of "architecture without architects" was born, the Spanish equivalent of the Italian Fascist settlements of the Pontine Marshes.

De la Sota's most notable work for the I.N.C. was the small town of Esquivel near Seville (1948-52). Whereas his plan for Gimenezells (1943) was loosely asymmetrical and centered on a relatively traditional plaza, he designed Esquivel as a fan-shaped grid that for the first time isolated pedestrian streets from the vehicular ones. The scheme was symmetrical, with a neighborhood center on its central axis, and recalled, at a smaller scale, Ernst May's unrealized first project of Siedlung Bornheimer Hang in Frankfurt (1926). The low and sober houses had details—doors, windows, grills (*rejas*), fences—inspired from the white villages of Andalusia, but this resemblance was purely architectural. The small patio houses were not part of enclosed blocks like in Brunete or Gimenezells, but rather formed discontinuous groupings whose alternation of mass and void along the streets and alleys recalled the German settlements of the Weimar Era.<sup>33</sup> Likewise, the parish church and town hall did not partake of the walls of the plaza; they rose freestanding in its midst, separating it from the adjacent countryside. Together they formed an elegant and corporeal complex, whose abstract architecture reinterpreted the simple white volumes of the public buildings of the region.

Esquivel, the Spanish Sabaudia, suggests a twofold reading: on the one hand, its architecture has a strong anonymous character, due not only to the methodology of design and the materials of construction, but also to the acceptance of the very nature of the commissions. On the other hand, it shows itself as "utopian", introducing a subtle and playful commentary on the social or physical context within which it

was inscribed. In one of the very few essays published by a non-Spanish historian about Spanish architecture of the post-Civil War decades, William Curtis wrote:

*Let us look at the plan for Esquivel. It is without doubt a project of urbanization, whose roots lie in the quality of local vernacular architecture. We find in Esquivel the traditional manner of designing urban spaces, but they have been abstracted in order to adapt them to a new order and a new landscape. The forms of the buildings in the plan of the town do not differ from other attempts to reach a regional expression. Yet, it is also clear that we are not in presence of another vernacular imitation, it is the touch of surrealism that permeates its reality.<sup>34</sup>*

It is in the later towns of San Isidro de Albaterra (Alicante, 1953-56), Villalba de Calatrava (Ciudad Real, 1955-59), and especially Vegaviana (Cacérés, 1956-58) that José Luis Fernández del Amo developed further the abstract vision of a modern vernacular. Planned by the I.N.C. as a settlement of three hundred and forty houses to accommodate six hundred agricultural workers and their families, Vegaviana was located in the midst of a thousand-year old landscape of oak trees. Aware that the countryside would disappear over time for cultivation, del Amo decided to conserve the oak groves throughout the town, as natural relics and first monuments of the foundation. He allowed the landscape to penetrate the whole organism, and made it indispensable to the loose definition of the streets and squares. At the geometric center, he located the church, the town hall and tribunal of justice, the post office, the cinema-library and all the necessary commercial areas. The *plaza mayor* still came into view but its edges mutated into an informal and poetic mix of built fabric and landscape.<sup>35</sup>

Altogether, the town plan does not display the formal harmony of Gimenezells and Esquivel; in contrast, it possesses a new type of organic character, unique in Spanish urban history. The traditional block structure is on the brink of complete dissolution, and the plan consists of fragments of urban fabric connected together by the landscape. The super-blocks are more loosely articulated than in Esquivel, and the automobile circulation is likewise separated from the pedestrian-oriented center.

Presented at the Fifth Congress of the International Union of Architects in Moscow in 1958, the experiment Vegaviana fell into oblivion. A mere sixteen years later, a "revolutionary" Portuguese architect initiated the design of a new settlement near Evora. In spite of their opposite contexts—a derelict suburb versus a pristine landscape—the parallels between Alvaro Siza's Quinta da Malagueira, del Amo's Vegaviana and de la Sota's Esquivel are astounding and deserve special consideration. In his notes about Malagueira, Siza wrote in 1979:

*The decaying things in ruins lend the new structures form, undergo transformations and change the forms themselves. Just like the tail of a comet, they detach themselves from the domes. The entire world and all of the memories of the world incessantly design the city.<sup>36</sup>*

### NOTES

This research is entirely based upon material published in Spanish and Catalan language. All translations were made by the author.

Graphic material related to Brunete and other towns rebuilt by the Department of the Devastated Regions comes from the periodical *Reconstrucción*.

All graphic material related to Alejandro de la Sota's works comes courtesy of the Fundación Alejandro de la Sota in Pontevedra.

<sup>1</sup>Lluís Domènech, *Arquitectura de Siempre: Los años 40 en España* (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1978), 44. Other similar exhibitions were organized in the following years and traveled from city to city. The *Falange* (*Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-sindicalista* or Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx of the Juntas

of the National Syndicalist Offensive) was an extreme nationalist political group founded in Spain in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the former dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera. Influenced by Italian fascism, the Falange issued a manifesto of twenty-seven points (February 1934) repudiating the republican constitution, party politics, capitalism, Marxism, and clericalism, and proclaiming the necessity of a national-syndicalist state, a strong government and military, and Spanish imperialist expansion. The Falange was dissolved in 1977.

<sup>2</sup>The first issue of the periodical *Reconstrucción* was published in April 1940. The magazine was discontinued in the early 1950s.

<sup>3</sup>Its first director José Moreno Torres left the Department in 1946 when he became Mayor of the Municipality of Madrid.

<sup>4</sup>Domènech, 23-24. The analogy with Fascist policies in the Pontine Marshes following Mussolini's Speech of the Ascension Day are thus quite obvious, but a comparative analysis remains to be done. Eventually and logically, the I.N.C. all took over the responsibilities of the Department of Devastated Regions in the 1950s.

<sup>5</sup>Domènech, 16-17.

<sup>6</sup>"Muerte y reconstrucción de unos pueblos," *Reconstrucción X*, 8 (1949).

<sup>7</sup>Carlos Sambricio, "L'architecture espagnole entre la II<sup>e</sup> république et le franquisme." *Les années 30—L'architecture et les arts de l'espace entre industrie et nostalgie* (Paris: Editions du patrimoine, 1997), 184-5. I found the expression "style of the devastated regions" in the special issue of *Reconstrucción* (November 1946) VII-67, 268-9.

<sup>8</sup>All affected persons were granted the right to solicit long-term loans at a low interest rate from the National Reconstruction Credit Institute which was created for this purpose by the Law of the 19th of March 1939, a couple of days before the end of the Civil War. Interest rates for a 30-year loan went from one to three per cent.

<sup>9</sup>José Moreno Torres, *La reconstrucción urbana en España* (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Faure, 1945): unpaginated.

<sup>10</sup>On Spanish America, see Graziano Gasparini, "The Spanish-American Grid Plan, an Urban Bureaucratic Form," *The New City I* (Foundations, 1991): 6-17; and in the same volume, "The Laws of the Indies": 18-33. On 18th foundations, see Carlos Sambricio, *Territorio y Ciudad en la España de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Ministerio de Obras Públicas y Transportes, Instituto del Territorio y Urbanismo, 1991). On the *ensanches* (city expansions of the 19th century), see Manuel de Solá-Morales, *Los Ensanches (I): el Ensanche de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Laboratorio de Urbanismo, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, 1978).

<sup>11</sup>In his article "Hermann Jansen y el concurso de Madrid de 1929" in *Arquitectura* 303 (1995): 8-15, Carlos Sambricio demonstrated the high readership of German periodicals such as Baumeister in Spain from the late 1920s. It is important to remember that Albert Speer presented the exhibition of the new German architecture in Madrid in 1941. The connection with Italy was equally important, particularly through the figure of Marcello Piacentini. According to historian Lluís Domènech, this "contradiction" resulted in fact into a long lasting but covert internal conflict between proponents of the populist trend and supporters of rationalist criteria closer to the Nordic and German experiments of the 1920s.

<sup>12</sup>Domènech, 13.

<sup>13</sup>See José Moreno Torres, unpaginated.

<sup>14</sup>Alberto Ustarroz and Manuel Iñiguez, "Città con luce di patio: Da Brunete a Vegaviana," *L'altra modernità* (Savona: Dogma Edizioni, 2000), 174-175.

<sup>15</sup>Quoted from a government pamphlet by Carlos Sambricio, "Ideologías y Reformas urbanas. Madrid 1920-40" in *Arquitectura* 198, 78. Philip II was one of the heroic figures of the Falange and the Franco regime.

<sup>16</sup>On issues of typology in Fascist new towns, see Jean-François Lejeune, "Guidonia città aerofuturista: A Fascist and Rationalist Company Town" in *Proceedings of ACSA International Conference 1997—Architecture as Politics* (Washington DC: ACSA, 1998): 73-78

<sup>17</sup>Domènech, 23. A similar investigation was realized in France and in Italy during the same post-war years.

<sup>18</sup>Domènech, 18 & sq.

<sup>19</sup>Sesiones de la I Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos, *Servicios técnicos de FET y de las JONS* (Madrid, 1939), 4.

<sup>20</sup>Sambricio, 181. It is useful here to put in parallel Muguruza's declaration quoted above with José Luis Sert's statements that followed the CIAM IV held on the Patris ship from Marseilles to Athens in 1933. Sert wrote at that time: "Every country has a timeless architecture which is generally termed vernacular, not in the sense as understood in architecture schools, which means regional, but rather vernacular of the lowest class, classified according to the economic means at their disposal... The pure functionalism of the "machine à habiter" is dead, but it will kill, before its demise, the old styles and teachings at the schools of architecture. Architects and theorists, above all Germanic, carried functionalist experiments to absurd extremes" (from Josep Lluís Sert, "Arquitectura sense 'estil' i sense 'arquitecte'," *D'Ací i d'Allà* 179, December 1934). About Laugier and the vernacular, see Alan Colquhoun, "Vernacular Classicism," *Modernity and the Classical Tradition—Architectural Essays 1980-1987* (Cambridge-London: The MIT Press, 1989), 21-31.

<sup>21</sup>Sambricio, 181, in reference to Oriol Bohigas, architect.

<sup>22</sup>Sambricio, 181.

<sup>23</sup>Anton Capitel, *La arquitectura de Luis Moya Blanco* (Madrid: 1982), 143.

<sup>24</sup>Quoted by Carlos Sambricio, 183. The GATCPAC was a group of architects and artists active from 1930 and 1937. Created by Fernando García Mercadal, it promoted avant-garde modernism in Spain. From 1931 to 1937, the group published the periodical *AC*.

<sup>25</sup>See for instance Fernando García Mercadal, *La casa popular en España* (Bilbao: Espasa-Calpe, 1930). Mercadal was a member of the CIAM.

<sup>26</sup>Domènech, 33-34. For a more thorough discussion of the vernacular in the modern movement, see Jean-François Lejeune, "The Other Modern: Between the Machine and the Mediterranean," *The Making of Miami Beach 1933-1942: The Architecture of Lawrence Murray Dixon* (New York: Rizzoli, 2001): 200-225.

<sup>27</sup>Most information upon the reconstruction of Brunete comes from the special issue "Brunete" of *Reconstrucción VII*, 67 (Noviembre 1946).

<sup>28</sup>This policy differed from many other projects that relocated the new towns on another site.

<sup>29</sup>See for instance Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera, Architect to Philip II of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

<sup>30</sup>Domènech, 23.

<sup>31</sup>Alejandro de la Sota graduated in 1941. On his work, see Pedro de Llano, *Alejandro de la Sota: O nacemento dunha arquitectura* (Pontevedra: Deputación Provincial de Pontevedra, 1994), and M. A. Baldellou, *Alejandro de la Sota* (Madrid: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1975).

<sup>32</sup>Alejandro de la Sota, in an interview with Martha Thorne, *Quaderns d'Arquitectura i Urbanisme* (April-May 1983), 106.

<sup>33</sup>See Jean-François Lejeune, "From Hellerau to the Bauhaus: Memory and Modernity in the German Garden City" in *The New City*, III (Modern Cities, 1996): 50-69.

<sup>34</sup>William Curtis, "Dúas obras." *Grial* 109 (Vigo 1991), 17. Quoted by Pedro de Llano, 41. Esquivel was de de la Sota's last major work with INC. His national career took off in the late 1950s and he built his most famous building in 1961 in Madrid, the Gymnasium of Colegio Marabillas.

<sup>35</sup>Ustarroz and Iñiguez, 184-5. On José Fernández del Amo, see *Arquitectura* 192 (December 1984) and *Bauwelt* 43-44 (24 November 2000).

<sup>36</sup>Alvaro Siza, "Evora," *Alvaro Siza: City Sketches* (Birkhäuser Verlag: Basel-Berlin-Boston, 1994), 38.