

EJE TEMÁTICO 1: Instituciones y campo intelectual

Thematic Area 2. Institutions, intellectual field and specialized press.

Continuity and change in the teaching of architecture at the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes (National School of Fine Arts) of Rio de Janeiro in the 1920s

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Abstract

Originated from an ongoing research on the formation of the field of knowledge in history of Brazilian architecture in the context of cultural and educational institutions of architecture in Brazil, the present paper investigates the gradual and controversial process of inclusion of Brazilian architectural works among the exemplary cases of European architecture studied by the students of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts founded by Dom João VI in Rio de Janeiro in 1816. The Academy was composed by a group of French intellectuals and artists hitherto renowned in bonapartist circles which became known in Brazilian historiography as "French Mission".

The structuring of the Academy by the French Mission represented the direct transplantation of French artistic models into the then small colonial town of Rio de Janeiro, suddenly raised to the status of seat of the Portuguese court in Brazil. In general, throughout its first century of existence, the teaching of architecture at the Academy followed the great cultural and esthetic changes that took place in 19th century Europe, characterized by the gradual diversification of the available architectural repertoire.

In the decade of 1920, the first signs of esteem towards Brazilian colonial architecture begin to emerge, as opposed to the European orientation of the Academy – then named

National School of Fine Arts. This movement, which became known as Neo-colonial, attracted many young architects who later would become very famous worldwide, such as Lucio Costa. The present paper will address the process of inserting this nationalist movement into the teaching method of the School.

Keywords: architectural teaching; Brazilian architecture; Neocolonial; French mission

The present paper has originated from an ongoing research project on the formation of the field of knowledge in history of Brazilian architecture in the context of cultural and educational institutions of architecture in Brazil, Although it does not specifically address the *Beaux-Arts* method of architecture education, it provides information and analyses which, from a different perspective, can shed light on the trajectory and the challenges faced by one of the first official models of higher education established in Brazil.

In fact, the introduction of the teaching of fine arts in Brazil is directly related to the coming of the Prince Regent D. João to Portugal's South American colony, in the context of the bonapartist siege of the city of Lisbon by the troops of Napoleon.

Such a situation meant the entrance of Brazil into the international division of labour under English control, since England supported the initiative. The installation of the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro showed the precariousness of the artistic and cultural colony compared to its European metropolis; so, one of the first and most urgent tasks of the Regent Prince was to establish, with the greater possible promptness, the minimum conditions required for the town to become the temporary seat of the Portuguese Empire.

In addition to measures relating to building legislation, which directly benefited England¹, Dom João founded cultural institutions and schools, in an attempt to establish a cultural pattern closer to the European one. To this respect, the Portuguese prince agreed to hire a group of French artists and intellectuals - which became known in Brazilian historiography as the "French Mission"- to establish a Fine Arts school in Rio de Janeiro. The French Mission was composed of prestigious names in bonapartist circles who had fallen into disgrace after the fall of Napoleon: Joachim Lebreton, Perpetual Secretary of

¹ Such as elimination of *muxarabis* and other traditional forms of window protection, replaced by glass panes, and the mandatory installation of metallic gutters, pipes and drains to prevent rainwater to fall directly from the eaves to the sidewalks. England was then a major producer of such products.

the Institute of France; Jean Baptiste Debret, historical painter at the Court of Napoleon; Nicolas Antoine Taunay, landscape painter, boarder of the French Academy in Rome; and Auguste Henri Victor Grandjean de Montigny, official architect of Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, and brother of Napoleon Bonaparte.

The "French Mission" was the original core of a Royal School of Fine Arts, created by Dom João VI in 1816, but implemented effectively only in 1826, as the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts – an essential episode in the history of fine arts in Brazil, representing a direct transplantation of French models into the modest colonial artistic milieu.

Much could be said about the vicissitudes of the newly established Academy in Brazil. In fact, despite the great prestige, if not hegemony, of French artistic culture in the 19th century – of which the French Mission is itself a testimony -, the new institution faced many difficulties in Rio de Janeiro. This, however, is not the subject of this paper: its purpose is to identify how the study of Brazilian architecture was introduced among the disciplinary contents of the curriculum of the architecture course of the Academy, structured by the architect Grandjean de Montigny according to the classicist orientation prevalent at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, where he graduated.

For a better assessment of the impact of the course organized by Montigny, it is necessary to remember that, at the time, not even Portugal had an Art School equivalent to the Academy founded in Brazil. It is also necessary to remember that, in general, Brazilian colonial architecture was extremely simple, built with technical and formal solutions quite primitive. Only the exceptional works - the most important buildings, linked to the administration of the colony or the Church – were designed by the only qualified professionals then available: the Portuguese military engineers, who had studied the Renaissance treatises in their military courses. On the other hand, some of the most important Brazilian churches of the gold cycle were being finished still in the Baroque and Rococo styles.

It is difficult to know how the course of architecture was actually taught in a cultural environment so different from its origins. We know that the architecture professed by Grandjean de Montigny was of evident neoclassic orientation. As for the teaching method itself, in the initial stage, we know only what the head of the Mission, Joachim Lebreton, proposed in 1816:

“The course of architecture will be theoretical and practical. The theoretical part will have 3 sections, namely: history of architecture and its principles, established according to ancient and modern monuments; construction and stereotomy. [...] [The professor] will present the students only with examples chosen from the most perfect models of antiquity, and from the most beautiful monuments of modern architecture. [...] When the students have acquired enough knowledge to go on to architectural composition, there will be every month a contest of sketches and finished projects. These competitions will be judged by all the professors and the competent Minister will be notified of the result” (Barata, 1954, p. 290).

Thus, the objective of this paper is to identify the inclusion, among "the most beautiful monuments of modern architecture", of architectural works built in the Brazilian colony. In this respect, a first problem is the lack of systematic studies on the contents of the discipline of history of architecture effectively taught to Academy students.

There are statements that describe the curriculum of the architecture course in different moments of the Academy's history. In 1884, for example, a report of the Polytechnic Institute regarding the teaching of architecture in Brazil states that the course was composed of the architecture section and the auxiliary sciences section. The architecture section was made up of the subjects of ornate design, geometric design, and civil architecture; the auxiliary sciences comprised the subjects of applied mathematics, anatomy and physiology of the passions, history of art, aesthetics and archaeology. There is no mention of a specific discipline on 'history of architecture' – which, possibly, was part of 'history of art'. The statement is, however, still excessively vague.

Ernesto da Cunha Araújo Viana and his technical visits

More details on the teaching of history in the course of architecture can be extracted from a recent research work about the engineer Ernesto da Cunha Araújo Viana (Marques, 2018), admitted at the end of the 19th century as professor of 'History and Theory of Architecture' and 'House Hygiene Legislation' of the institution (*A Notícia*, 20/04/1901, p. 1), whose name was changed to Escola Nacional de Belas Artes – ENBA (National School of Fine Arts) after the proclamation of the Republic, in 1889.

Araújo Viana used to make field trips with his students to new and old buildings of Rio de Janeiro, as a didactic activity related to the discipline of 'History and Theory of

Architecture'. In the year 1898, detailed descriptions of the excursions made to Ilha Fiscal (Customs Island), to the Church of Saint Francis and to the Monastery of St. Benedict were published in the newspapers (Figure 1). Reading these descriptions, it seems that the purpose of such trips was to show built examples of the main architectural styles.

Thus, considering the lack of genuinely medieval works, Araújo Viana took his students to Ilha Fiscal, a neo-Gothic building recently completed, "to show his disciples a work where they could observe some reproductions or imitations of medieval architecture". Analyzing the facade of the building on-site, Viana noted that "it was a syncretic construction of elements taken from the military architecture of the middle ages, from three different historical periods: the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries". Highlighting the quality of the stonework, he recalled that "the civil and military architecture of the Romanesque and ogival periods had many elements of sacred architecture" (*A Notícia*, 1898//07/27, p. 3)

The excursion to the Church of St. Francis, on Santo Antonio hill, was a practical class about the 17th century Baroque style. After presenting the great masters of the European Baroque Bernini and Borromini, Viana showed the characteristics of the style from the analysis of the building itself, manifesting his own predilection for the Renaissance in relation to the "decadent" Baroque, since in his opinion this style would be "more a built decoration than a decorated construction ". Viana also pointed out that "[the Church of] St Francis was not an imitation, a reproduction, but a building contemporary of the Baroque period; it was begun in the 17th century and completed in the 18th century ". The students made sketches of the decorative motifs of the Church and watched the painting of the ceiling, made by the painter José de Oliveira. In conclusion, Araújo Viana took the opportunity to praise the reform recently undertaken in the Church, saying, in Ruskinian tones, that "he was usually very suspicious of restorations, which were sometimes worse than vandalism itself, but that he was pleased with what he saw" in that building. (*A Notícia*, 1898/08/10, p. 2).

The next tour – which also included the school's professor of technical drawing, Ludovico Berna - visited the Monastery of St. Benedict. Initially, Viana analyzed the Church facade, which, in his view, "... belonged to the so-called Jesuit style, emphasizing the employment of elements of the classical style, such as pilasters, moldings and acroteria on the belfries, mixed, however, with Baroque or Borrominesque elements on the porches

and in some points of the churchyard wall". Viana also mentioned the Church of the Holy Cross of the Military as an example of facade "which resembles the Italian Jesuit style", and, to confirm his remarks, showed engravings of the *Encyclopédie d'Architecture et Construction*, by Paul Planat.

Inside the Monastery's church, Araújo Viana indicated "the difference between the Church of St. Francis, object of the past visit, and that of St. Benedict, which has three aisles; at St. Francis, the *borrominesque* or Baroque elements are independent of the main lines of the building; it is an exclusively sculptural ornamentation - a built decoration, so to speak; but, at St. Benedict's, both the sculpture and painting are subject to the construction lines, blending harmoniously with them, so that the decorative elements fulfill more rationally their function, which is a very important differential characteristic" (*A Notícia*, 1898/08/22, p. 2).

Other technical visits were planned – not only to colonial buildings, such as Glória do Outeiro Church, Santa Casa de Misericórdia (a charity hospital), the Mint, the Asylum for the Insane -, but also to contemporary buildings, such as the Portuguese Library, the Church of Our Lady of the Conception and the Asylum for the Poor, in addition to visits to factories and workshops (*A Notícia*, 22/08/1898, p. 2). It is not known whether such visits were carried out, since no information about them was found.

A few years later, in 1902, News about a far more ambitious tour was published in the papers: a trip to São João Del Rey, in Minas Gerais state, with students of ENBA's sculpture course, in order to make plaster casts of the works of the well-known sculptor Aleijadinho, "who will be studied by the professor" (*Jornal do Commercio*, 1902/09/26, p. 2). Finally, in January 1920, a month before his death, Araújo Viana requested permission to travel to Minas Gerais to collect notes on "artistic colonial archaeology"- which suggests his purpose to study and register decorative elements of the baroque colonial architecture of that state (*O Paiz*, 1920/01/13, p. 3).

The date is significant, because it coincides with the first attempts to include, among "the most beautiful monuments of modern architecture" to be presented to the students (in the words of Lebreton, a century before), also examples from Brazilian architecture. Such

attempts were inspired by the exhortations that Ricardo Severo², a Portuguese engineer living in São Paulo, directed to the "young national architects", urging them to start "a new era of Brazilian Renaissance ..." (Severo, 1916, p. 82). Severo's ideas would result in the movement that championed the valorization of Brazilian colonial architecture that came to be known as 'Neocolonial'.

Ricardo Severo and the emergence of the Neocolonial style

The architectural proposal advocated by Severo was characterised by a philological approach to reclaim the decorative vocabulary of Brazilian traditional architecture, in order to use it in contemporary designs.

The nationalist character of his approach was of great originality in those years, in which few dared to challenge the hegemony of European architecture. In fact, the new style became immediately very popular in quite diverse *milieus*, showing itself capable of promoting meaningful symbolic mobilizations, as shown by its presence in two important events held in the year 1922: the Week of Modern Art, sponsored by São Paulo modernist artists who wanted to update Brazilian art, and the International Exhibition of the First Centennial of the Independence of Brazil, held in Rio de Janeiro, where the Neocolonial style was adopted as the official style of the Brazilian pavilions. However, Neocolonial lacked a reliable base of knowledge about its sources: the Brazilian architecture of the colonial period, which was practically unknown until then. Thus, the emergence of the style was accompanied by the recognition of Brazilian architecture of the early centuries as worthy of study, promoting research and documentation activities towards that goal - as it seems to be the intention of Araújo Viana, when requesting permission to travel to Minas Gerais.

Neocolonial in Rio de Janeiro: José Mariano Filho and Lucio Costa

In Rio de Janeiro, Ricardo Severo's ideas became well known through the numerous newspaper articles and initiatives promoted by the physician José Mariano Filho, an art lover who was very influential among the city's artists and architects. Mariano Filho promoted many design contests in which it was mandatory to follow the Neocolonial

² About Ricardo Severo's role in the awakening of interest for Brazilian colonial architecture, see Pinheiro, 2011 e 2013.

style. These contests attracted the participation of many students and alumni of ENBA such as Nereu Sampaio, Raphael Galvão, Nestor de Figueiredo and Lucio Costa.

The first contest sponsored by José Mariano Filho occurred in 1921; it aimed at residential designs, and achieved great repercussion in the press. Its first edition was won by Nereu Sampaio and Gabriel Fernandes (Figure 2). The second contest aimed at the design of garden elements, and was won by Angelo Bruhns; Lucio Costa was awarded the second and third places. In 1923, José Mariano reissued the contest for residential designs, won by Angelo Bruhns, with Lucio Costa in second place, and Nereu Sampaio in the third place (Pinheiro, 2011, pp. 137-138).

In addition to the design contests, Mariano Filho also undertook efforts to address the shortage of studies and repertoire on Brazilian colonial architecture through the granting of scholarships for architecture students to study and produce drawing records of old Brazilian gold towns. Granted by the Brazilian Society of Fine Arts (SBBA), of which José Mariano was Director (Pinheiro, 2011, p. 141-143), these scholarships made possible Nestor de Figueiredo's trip to Ouro Preto; Nereu Sampaio's trip to São João Del Rei and Congonhas do Campo; and Lúcio Costa's travel to Diamantina (Figure 3).

José Mariano Filho also enjoyed great prestige within the country's leading elites, since, in May 1926, he was appointed Director of ENBA by the government. However, besides being alien to the School faculty, he became involved in petty institutional quarrels which abbreviated his mandate. This was actually very short, unlike most studies about the episode tend to imply³, for it lasted only one year, from May 1926 to May 1927.

One of the initiatives taken by Mariano Filho in this short period is the proposal to create a discipline on Brazilian art history, which shows his intention to promote studies on Brazilian art and architecture, as he had already done in SBBA. But the course was not approved: professor Gastão Bahiana, who was in charge of analyzing the proposal, considered that its contents could be distributed among the existing disciplines of History of Art and of History and Theory of Architecture. According to his opinion,

“Brazilian Art (unless one wants to get into pointless minutiae) does not need a 80- lesson course; some of the 160 lessons of History of Art and the 160 of History and Theory of

³ Yves Bruand, for instance, implies that Mariano Filho remained as Director of ENBA until 1930 (1981, p. 71).

Architecture will be quite enough to expose the history of our national artistic life” (Pinheiro, 2011, pp. 175-176).

Thus, José Mariano’s proposal for the creation of a discipline on Brazilian Art History – clearly inserted into the Neocolonial campaign he had been promoting – was not successful.

At that time, the course of architecture did not seem to differ greatly from its initial structure, judging by the testimony of the architect Raphael Galvão, a former ENBA student, in 1927. According to his words, the architecture course lasted six years, three of which were directed to the basic course, and three, to the special course. The basic course comprised the following disciplines: calculus, analytic geometry, resistance of materials, mechanics, descriptive geometry, and topography, among others. The three years of the special course focused on the discipline of architectural composition, taught by architect Arquimedes Memória. In the last year of the composition course (the highest degree) monthly contests, to be done in 8 hours, were held. It was necessary to participate in at least six monthly contests in order to qualify for the maximum degree contest, so described by Galvão:

“The maximum degree contest is made as follows: once given the subject, the student has 12 hours to do the sketch, remaining alone in a carefully sealed room. Once this sketch is approved, the candidate has nine 8-hour sessions to develop it. The program required is vast, since it consists of plans, sections, perspectives, details, calculations, explanatory memorials etc. As one can see, it is one of the most serious contests held in architecture colleges in our country” (Pinheiro, 2011, p. 169).

Thus, the course was still divided in two parts, one theoretical and the other practical, as initially proposed by Lebreton. It also remained focused on design contests, according to the traditional methodology of the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. However, Galvão made no mention about the teaching of history of architecture in his description of the course.

In this regard, it seems that José Mariano Filho was right in stating that, during the period in which he was ENBA’s Director, “... This high artistic education institute [did not possess] any documentation related to the architecture of the Brazilian colonial period,

the analysis and understanding of which, I believe, are essential for the development of the national architectural style”, as he advocated.

In view of such a state of affairs, Mariano Filho launched yet another initiative aimed at the study of Brazilian traditional architecture: the proposal, to be repeated during three years, of “an annual award of three contos de reis [the Brazilian currency at the time], in favor of the student who completed his course of architecture with the best grades, for the special purpose of gathering documentation of architectural and ornamental details of the work of the great artist Antonio Francisco Lisboa (known as *Aleijadinho*, or the Cripple) in the old cities of Ouro Preto, Congonhas do Campo, São João D'El Rei and Mariana. The elements and details thus collected, which must be surveys properly measured on a scale to be established by the scholarly Congregation, will constitute a special archive to be used by the professors, students and architects, under the name "Araújo Viana Archive" in a tribute to the great master whose voice first arose, in the ENBA precincts, in defense of the Brazilian colonial art, and of the humble masters who created it” (Pinheiro, 2011, p. 177).

This time, his proposal was approved, although not unanimously - which nevertheless indicates a more favourable ground for the study of Brazilian colonial architecture within the institution.

Maybe this favorable environment was inspired by the approach of the Bi-centennial of Aleijadinho – the only colonial artist then renowned -, to be celebrated in 1930/08/30.

The approach of the event seems to have caused the proliferation, in the press, of references to the architecture of Minas Gerais and the works of Aleijadinho in the year 1929. Among them, there was an article by Lucio Costa entitled " Aleijadinho and Traditional Architecture", praising what in his view were the essential characteristics of Brazilian colonial architecture – the "true spirit of our people" – to the detriment of the excessive decorativism that he attributed to the artist. Indeed, to highlight the qualities of colonial architecture, Lucio invested boldly against its biggest - and its only recognized - icon, in words that denote affinity to the ideas of Mariano Filho:

“And so we understand that he [Aleijadinho] had the spirit of a decorator, not of an architect. The architect sees the whole, subordinates the details to the whole, and he only

saw the detail, got lost in the detail, which sometimes required of him unforeseen, forced, or unpleasant solutions.

[...] The essential [of colonial architecture] is the other part, this other part alien to his work, and where we feel the true spirit of our people. The spirit that formed this kind of nationality that is ours” (Costa, 1962, p. 15).

Such arguments are very similar to the ideas of José Mariano Filho who, in his article "False arguments"- written between 1926-1928, according to Telles (Amaral, 1994, p. 239) – criticizing those who argued that the "colonial style" was more expensive than any other, by demanding "the compulsory employment of tiles, ornaments, pine cones, spires and other decorative elements hardly found on the market", stated:

"... the essential qualities of our national architecture, its serenity, the robustness of its attributes, the severity of its lines, the harmony of its structural elements, do not depend at all on the intervention of any requirement of decorative character" (Mariano Filho, 1943, p. 6).

Lucio Costa, Director of ENBA

Therefore, at the end of the 1920's, Lucio Costa still shared many of the ideas of José Mariano Filho, according to his public statements. By that time, he was invited by Francisco Campos, Minister of Education and Public Health (MESP) of the new government established by the revolution of 1930, for the position of Director of ENBA, where he had graduated not more than five years ago. His appointment was due exactly to the ideas he then expressed, according to a piece of news about the recent MESP appointments: "A young man 28 to 29 years old, [Costa] took his humanities course in Europe, with rare brilliance. With a degree in architecture, he participated successfully in the design competition for the façade of the Argentina Embassy [in Rio de Janeiro]. [...] Mr. Lucio Costa is the author of a very interesting study on the art of Aleijadinho, published in the Special Edition of the newspaper *O Jornal*, dedicated to the State of Minas Gerais. " (*O Jornal*, 1930/12/10, p. 3)

Thus, the merits of the young architect listed in the news article suggest that the invitation of Francisco Campos was due exactly to the traditional features present in Lucio's architectural work until then (Figure 4). Shortly after his appointment, on December 29th,

1930, the architect was interviewed by the newspaper *O Globo*, stating that “a change in the whole School was imperative, as is the Government opinion”, with emphasis in the course of architecture, which “requires a radical transformation. Not just the course itself, but the programs of the disciplines and mainly the general teaching orientation”. Specifying some of the problems he identified - related, basically, to the “divergence between architecture and structure”, and also the falsehood of the materials (using mortar simulating stone, for example) – he enunciated an unexpected self-criticism that was to become famous: “We make cenography, style, archaeology, third-hand Spanish houses, miniature medieval castles, fake colonial buildings, everything but architecture”.

After emphasizing the need to improve the technical part of the architecture course, Lucio stated his intention to "... guide the artistic education in the sense of a perfect harmony with construction. The classics will be studied as a form of discipline; the styles as a critical subsidy and not for direct application”.

The most surprising part of the interview concerned the so-called “Neocolonial style”, since Lucio said: “I think it's essential that our architects leave school knowing perfectly our colonial architecture – not in order to ridiculousty transpose its motifs, not to order false jacarandá furniture (the real one is beautiful) - but to learn the good lessons it gives us of perfect simplicity and adaptation to the environment and the program, and consequent beauty” (*O Globo*, 1930/12/29, p. 4).

It is not possible, here, to go into detail about the sudden change of Lucio Costa in relation to the style architecture practiced at ENBA – and, especially, his critique of the Neocolonial style. But it might be in order to recall that, in December 1929, returning from a trip to Argentina, the already famous architect Le Corbusier spent a few days in Rio de Janeiro and in São Paulo, on a visit organized by the Russian architect based in São Paulo Gregori Warchavchik, and by the intellectual Paulo Prado. On that occasion, Le Corbusier gave a conference at ENBA – which, according to his own statement, Lúcio Costa attended "by chance", from the outside of the room (Bruand, 1981, p. 72).

Maybe this first and occasional contact with Le Corbusier, in 1929 – which took place while Gregori Warchavchik’s first design in Rio de Janeiro, the Nordschild House⁴, was under construction (Figure 5) – had inspired him some thoughts, since the Russian

⁴ The Nordschild House was inaugurated in October, 1931 (Ferraz, 1965, p. 38).

architect was a prominent figure of the still incipient Brazilian modernism. His ideas and works were always very publicized⁵, and aroused many controversies.

On the other hand, the contrast between Rio de Janeiro's architectural panorama and the Nordschild House is undeniable: the house's bold lines look effectively *avant-garde* in comparison with its neighbours.

These, however, are conjectures not sufficiently clarified yet. What is known for certain is that the "radical transformation" advocated by Costa in the teaching of architecture at ENBA resulted in the hiring of Gregori Warchavchik himself and of the German architect Alexander Buddeus as professors of Architectural Composition (the name of the discipline of architectural design) of the fourth and fifth year of the course, respectively (Ferraz, 1965, p.35; Xavier, 1987, p. 54).

If the hiring of Warchavchik is not surprising, the reasons for the choice of Alexander Buddeus are still obscure. Little is known about the German architect, except that he was in Rio de Janeiro in July 1930, as reported by the press, which referred to him as "one of the greatest architects of Germany", highlighting his participation in the Antwerp Exhibition as author of the design of the Germany Pavillion. It was also mentioned that "his studies of the new architecture in Central Europe are today worldwide known" (*O Jornal*, 1930/07/03, p. 8).

It should be stressed, moreover, that the regular professors of the disciplines in which Warchavchik and Buddeus were allocated remained at their posts. In this way, students could choose the professor as they wished - a possibility welcomed with great enthusiasm by the student body.

Thus, Lucio's intended 'radical reform' was restricted to the design disciplines, without reaching the theoretical ones, like history of architecture. Despite their limitation, such institutional measures strongly displeased the permanent School Faculty, as well as going against the new bureaucratic structure of the courses, recently established by the Government that had taken power in 1930, which was the very reason of the nomination of Lucio Costa as ENBA's Director. Therefore, his mandate was quite short, lasting only

⁵ In 1931, Warchavchik's works were published in *Cahiers d'art* and in the anthology *Gli Elementi dell'Architettura Funzionale*, by Alberto Sartoris (Ferraz, 1965, p. 38). Lucio Costa himself first knew about the work of Warchavchik through the magazine *Para Todos* (Costa, 1995, p. 72).

from December 1930 to September 1931, less than one year, despite the strike sparked by students in support of the new measures (*O Jornal*, 1931/08/25, p. 2). However, everything was in vain. On 14 September 1931, the Congregation of ENBA elected a new Director for the institution: the professor of composition Archimedes Memoria – one of the professors who suffered direct competition from the new architects hired by Lucio Costa. Just a few months before that, Memoria had stated his own understanding of "modern architecture", in an interview to *O Jornal*:

“The moment we are currently experiencing is of great creative intensity and as we find ourselves within this very movement, we can't fully realize it, giving it the importance it deserves. Only in the future will we be able to judge it. The different trends of modern architecture, in its evolution, always deserved from me, as a professor, a lengthy attention, because of my position as mentor of the few architects of our School of Fine Arts. I have searched, and will always search, to guide their steps through the knowledge of the three main expressions of western architecture: the Greek revival, the Romanesque and the ogival style. With such background, the students are able to give expansion to their emotions with a logical sense, within the balance of classic proportions” (*O Jornal*, 1930/05/30, p. 3).

His words are illustrated with the prospect of one of the year's final contest designs: the "Palace for Rotary Conventions " designed by Antonio Severo (Figure 6). The design is *beaux arts*, with a rather austere *art deco* ornamentation; but the student who got the first place in that contest was Paulo Camargo e Almeida, with a similar design, but of a classicist *art deco* imprint.

It must be remembered that Memória, along with his partner, Francisque Cuchet, made several works in the neocolonial style, including the Pavilion of Small Industries of the 1922 Centennial Exhibition, nowadays the headquarters of Museu Histórico Nacional (National Historical Museum). It is worth mentioning that Lucio Costa collaborated in this particular design as an intern. But, as it turned out, the Neocolonial style was not included among those the professor recommended for the students in 1930, which indicated a wider design flexibility in his private professional activity than on his teaching orientation at ENBA – an attitude that can be generalized to the vast majority of the School staff at the time.

Final Considerations

In this incomplete narrative, the lack of a more detailed knowledge about ENBA's teaching orientation and its translation to the curriculum of the school, especially concerning history of architecture, an important pillar of the academic education, becomes evident. It is always difficult to grasp such information, given the great distance that usually exists between the programs of the disciplines and the contents effectively discussed in the classroom. The little evidence here presented – obtained, as mentioned initially, from scattered materials, found in research work from a different perspective – indicate that although the discipline History of Architecture, or rather, History of Architectural Styles, was always included in ENBA's curriculum, it's difficult to know which themes and buildings were in fact presented to the students. Nevertheless, it seems that the inclusion of the study of Brazilian colonial architecture was never a general concern within the School's staff, with the exception of Prof. Ernesto da Cunha Araújo Viana – whose technical visits to Brazilian buildings were primarily intended to illustrate the European styles used in Brazil, rather than to investigate the particular nature of these same styles in their transplantation to this country.

Perhaps the most definitive observation to register here is the remarkable resilience of the *Beaux-Arts* education system inherited from the French matrix, strongly based on design competitions of different levels of difficulty, as well as the resistance to any expansion of the spectrum of the officially recommended architectural models. As it turned out, the changes introduced in the years 1926-7, with José Mariano Filho, and in 1931, with Lucio Costa, were rejected by the institution, despite the recognition, if not outright popularity, achieved by the Neocolonial style and by modernism - not only on the part of the students in general, but also among many professors of the School, in their private professional practice.

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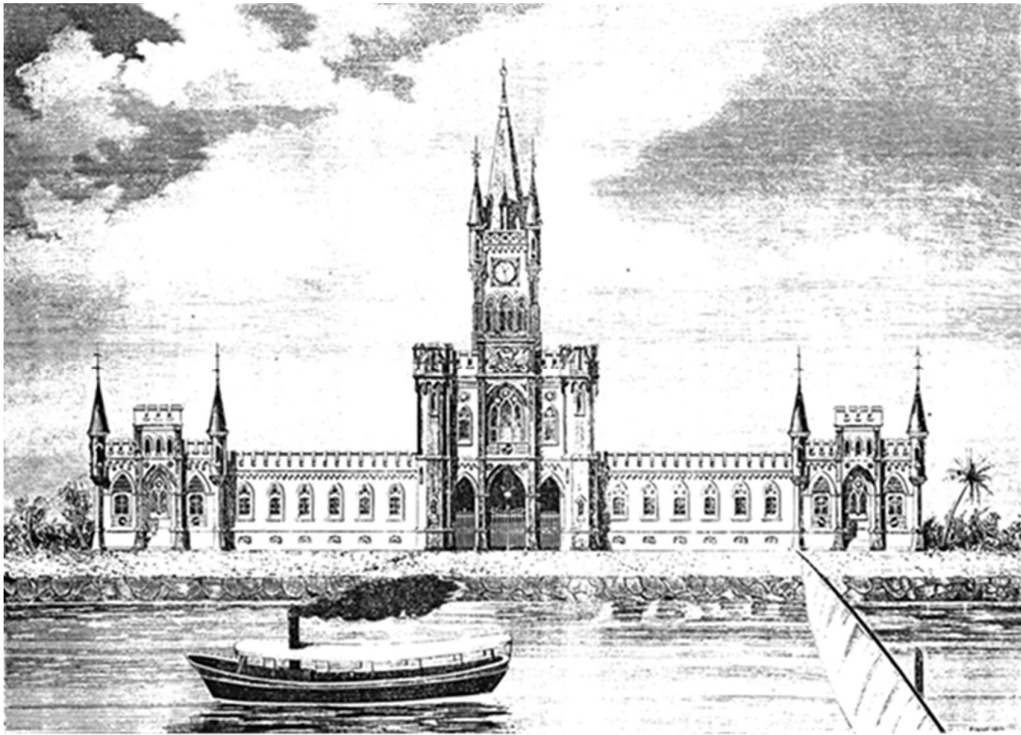


Fig. 1. Buildings visited by Araújo Viana and his ENBA students. Above, Customs Island. Source: *Revista dos Construtores* (1886). No. 5, p. 65. Below, Church of Saint Francis (left) and Church of St. Benedict (right), in Rio de Janeiro. Photos by Augusto Malta. Source: bndigital.bn.gov.br.

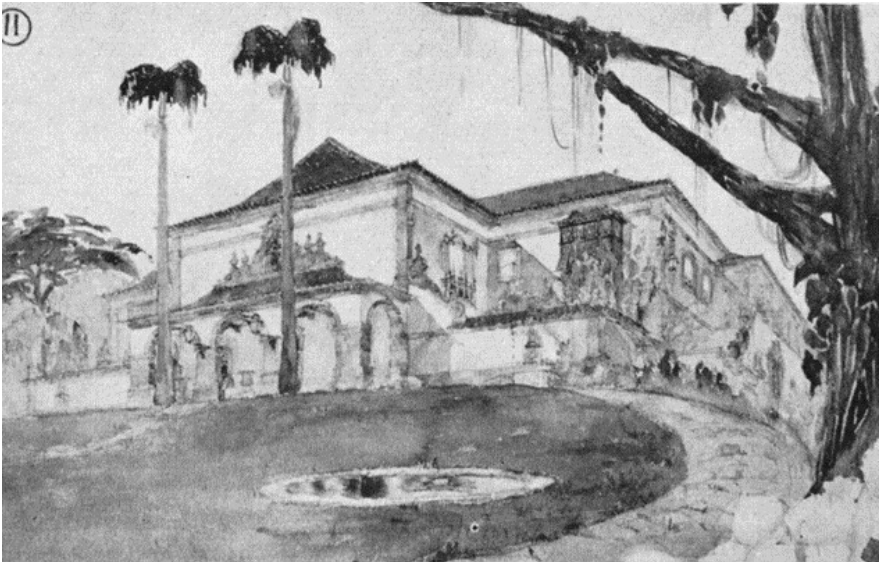
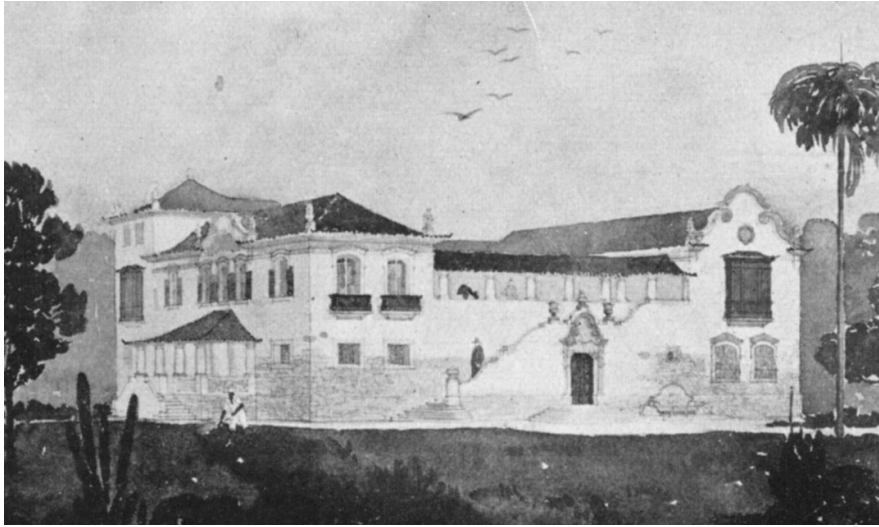
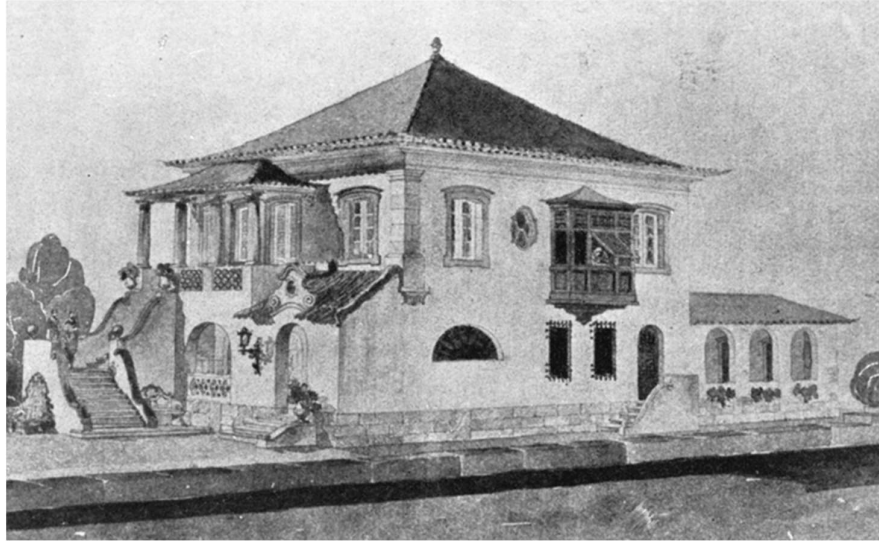


Fig. 2. Residential projects awarded in the design competitions established by José Mariano Filho. Above, the winners in 1921: Nereu Sampaio and Gabriel Fernandes. Below, the winners in 1923: the

first prize was awarded to Ângelo Bruhns' design (center); the second prize, to Lucio Costa (below).
Source: Pinheiro, 2011, p. 135 and 138.

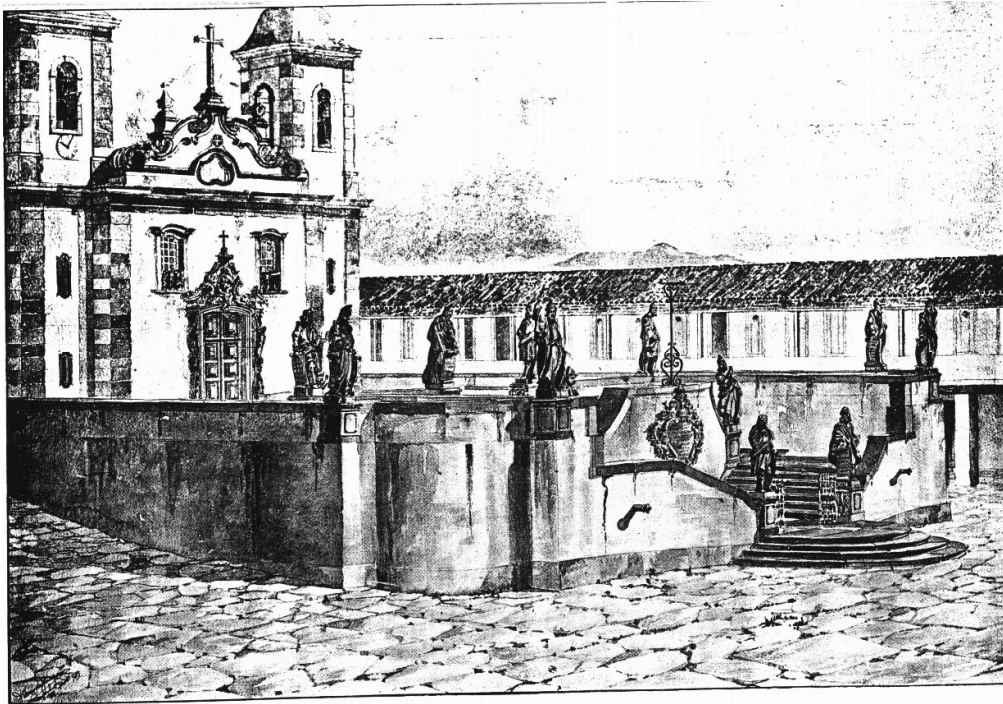


Fig. 3. Forecourt of the Sanctuary of Bom Jesus de Matosinhos in Congonhas do Campo, MG. Drawing by architecture student Nereu Sampaio in field trip sponsored by José Mariano Filho. Source: Pinheiro, 2011, p. 142.

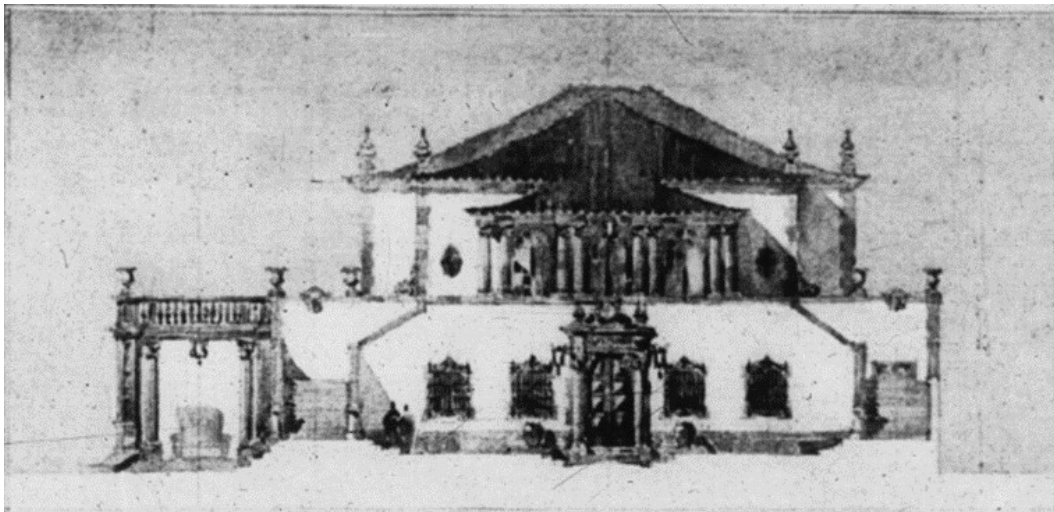


Fig. 4. Lucio Costa design entry for the competition for Argentina Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, 1928.
Fonte: Pinheiro, 2011, p. 198.

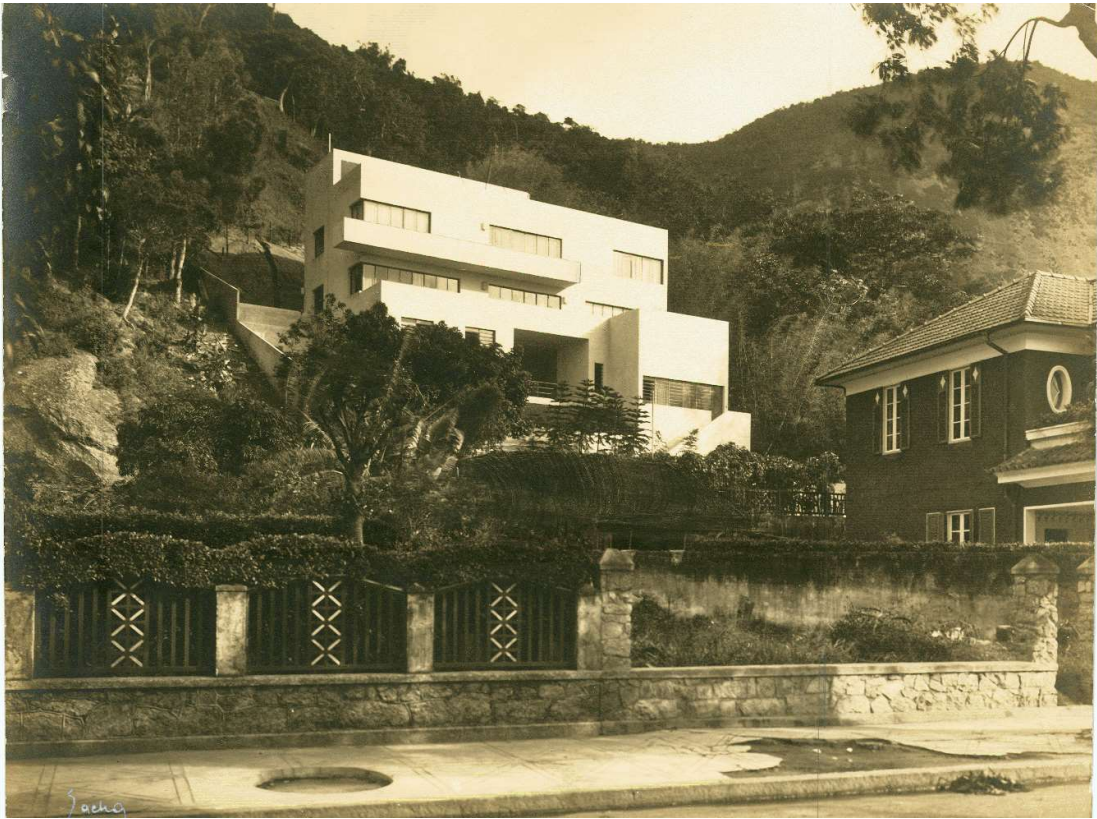


Fig. 5 – Nordschild House, on Toneleros street, first work by Warchavchik on Rio de Janeiro, opened in 1931. Fonte: Acervo FAUUSP.

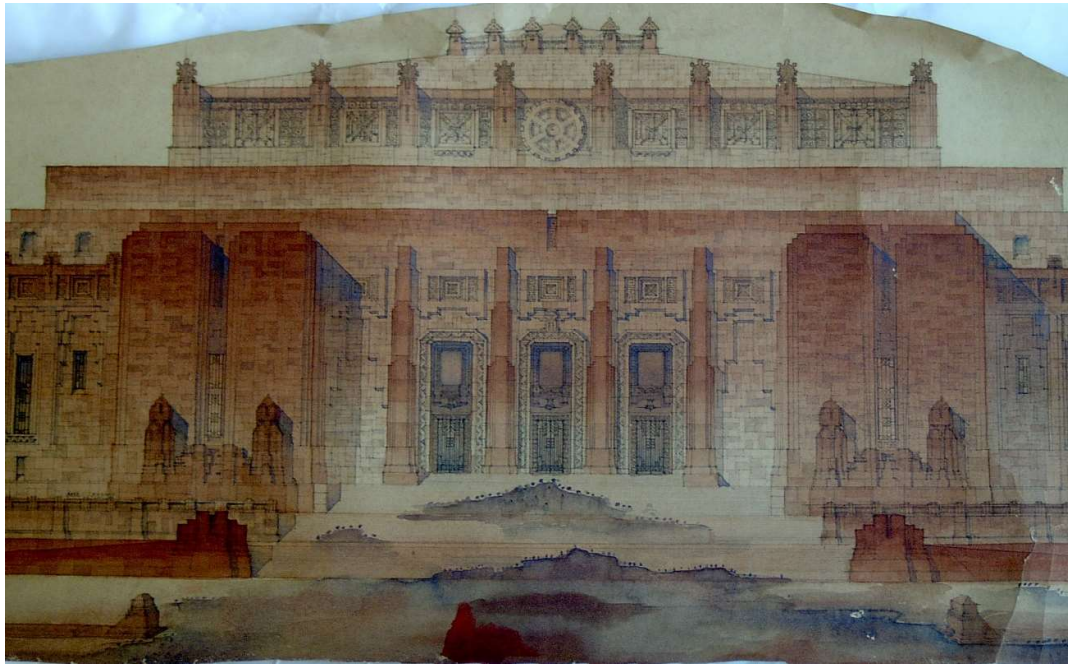


Fig. 6. Final works of ENBA students in 1930, with the theme "Palace to Rotary Conventions". Above, the design by Paulo Camargo e Almeida, awarded with the first prize. Below, the project of Antonio Severo, considered exemplary by the professor of composition Arquimedes Memória. Source: Pinheiro, 2011, p. 171.