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Lina Bo Bardi's School of Craft and Industrial Art and the Bauhaus legacy

In the article-manifesto 'Industrial Art', the Italian-born Brazilian architect Lina Bo Bardi published her idea for a Museum of Craft and Industrial Art that should be carried together with a School of Industrial Art, envisaging the emergence of a Brazilian industry of crafts from popular roots. The architect conceived this art and industrial design school in a complex process of reception and critique of the Bauhaus myth. However, in contrast to the industrial-based conception of the Bauhaus, the Museum-School was conceived with the aims of agency, tying its premises to local needs and popular culture. These questions were present in the founding manifesto of the Bauhaus in Weimar, when Walter Gropius called on architects, sculptors, and painters to return to craftsmanship and remove the arrogant barrier that separated the work of the artist from that of the craftsperson. The paper analyses how Lina Bo Bardi's conception of an industrial design school in Brazil sought to overcome the polarisations between the fine arts and craft trades, reversing the prominence of an erudite culture that have subjugated the local and popular production. These revelations are further linked to questions of the role of local and popular production in relation to the foundational concepts of the Bauhaus School and the grassroots movements for social-political and cultural emancipation in the Brazilian Northeast region.

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Introduction

In her weekly column 'Crônicas de arte, de história, de costumes, de cultura da vida' ['Chronicles of art, history, customs, culture of life'], published in the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* from September to November 1958 in Bahia, Lina Bo Bardi disclosed the article-manifesto 'Industrial Art',[1] in which she advocated for the creation of a school of industrial art to be constructed in Brazil (Fig. 1).[2] She suggested in her manifesto of an 'immediate gathering of all the ancient and modern handicraft' of the country, and especially of the Brazilian Northeast region, to create together with a school of industrial art, 'a large living museum, a museum that could be called of Craft and Industrial Art, which would serve as the roots of the country's historical-popular culture'.[3] Her aim to foster craftsmanship and industrial art education was based on two crucial ideas. On the one hand, the concept of a 'living museum' as a radical pedagogical project embraced wider public participation; on the other hand, the notion of 'historical-popular culture' rejected the

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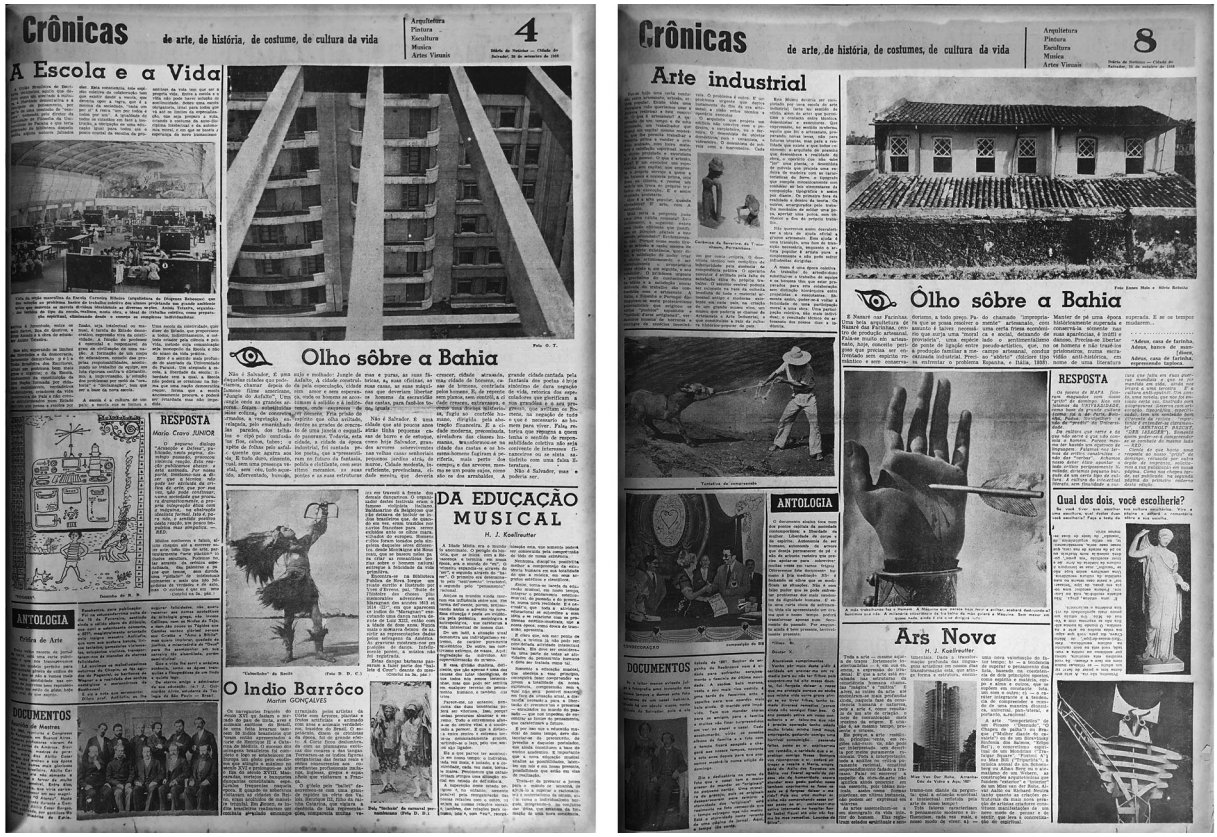

Figure 1.
The manifesto 'Industrial Art' in the weekly column 'Crônicas de arte, de história, de costumes, de cultura da vida' ['Chronicles of art, history, customs, culture of life'], 1958, photographed by Weslley Pontes, 2019, reproduced with permission from the Biblioteca Central do Estado da Bahia

hegemonic and hierarchical erudite-popular dichotomy. By adding the prefix 'historical' into the idea of 'popular', she intended to reposition the so-called 'popular culture' as the factual and essential basis of the cultural roots of a place or country. The article-manifesto marked the start of a significant turn in Lina Bo Bardi's work towards an activist-curatorial engagement, rethinking the role of the museum and the school as 'living' places and as collective engines, of 'movements' articulating art, design, and architecture with local 'historical-popular' roots. She sought to consolidate such ideas in the years following the publication of the article, as the founder and director of the Modern Art Museum of Bahia (1959–1964).

Bo Bardi had devoted the previous decade to work linked to the Museum of Art of São Paulo (MASP), founded in 1947 by the art dealer and historian, also her husband, P. M. Bardi; it was known as the most important art museum in Latin America. In October 1958, the launch of the article-manifesto corresponded to Bo Bardi's third visit that year to the state of Bahia, situated in the Northeast region of Brazil, where a new scope of work and activities had opened up for her since her first time in Salvador de Bahia in February. As the first colonial city in Brazil with its mix of indigenous and African-Brazilian

people's cultures that flourished in the city's customs and traditions, Salvador de Bahia disclosed for Bo Bardi the prospect of engaging in a project inspired by the grassroots movements that were emerging throughout the Northeast region. Aware of the art circle's demand for a museum dedicated to modern art and nourished by her curatorial and designer experience of the previous decade, Bo Bardi foresaw the need for a pedagogical approach to foster art and industrial design from so-called popular roots, which would contribute to the process of emancipation and articulation of a non-hegemonic history of art and design.[4] Inspired to work together in what she called a collective project, Bo Bardi advocated in her manifesto the enhancement of art and design from 'the country's historical-popular culture' and encouraged the creation of a museum with a school devoted to craftsmanship, design, and industrial art.

Bo Bardi's project of the school-museum of Craft and Industrial Art was related to the debate around the Bauhaus School founded in 1919 in Germany which consolidated and widely disseminated its innovative experiences in industrial design education across the twentieth century, especially by the diaspora of the Second World War.[5] In October 1958, the same month that Bo Bardi published her article-manifesto 'Industrial Art', Tomás Maldonado engaged the polemics of the spread of the Bauhaus' myth by re-examining the origins and influences of the German school and tracing discussions amongst significant scholars such as Nikolaus Pevsner, Sigfried Giedion, Giulio Carlo Argan, and Bruno Zevi.[6] The article released in the second issue of *Ulm* magazine[7] by Maldonado, the director since 1957 of the Ulm School of Design [Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm], inaugurated a new debate about the Bauhaus influences and legacy, coinciding with Lina Bo Bardi's inception of the School and Museum of Craft and Industrial Art program in Brazil. Although Bo Bardi's project came out four decades after the creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar, and two decades after the beginning of the diaspora of Bauhaus masters, in architecture and industrial design schools, mainly in the USA, it coincided with lively discussions on the dissemination of didactic aspects of the Bauhaus School. Her manifesto took place seven years after she engaged P. M. Bardi in the foundation of the pioneering Institute of Contemporary Art (IAC) in São Paulo, which was influenced by the German school; her ideas also took shape five years after the opening of the Ulm School of Design, founded by the former Bauhausler Max Bill, which was considered in Europe the successor to the Bauhaus School.

During the decade of creation and activities at IAC, Bo Bardi linked the relevant pedagogical experiences derived from the Bauhaus to the call for the 'cooperative effort of all craftsmen' that included architects and artists, without distinctions or hierarchies, which was the principle held by Walter Gropius.[8] This understanding was closely related to the Gramscian influence on Bo Bardi's thinking since her early years in Italy. The reading of Antonio Gramsci accompanied her trip to Bahia, during which she transcribed the notes from *Il Materialismo Storico e la Filosofia di Benedetto Croce* [*Historical Materialism*] (1948) to her travel notebook. This cross-reading, upon arriving

in Bahia, led her to argue for the idea of the museum and school to position craftsmanship, popular culture, and design together, echoing her lecture on Gramsci's theories and the foundational idea of the Bauhaus. She linked these ideas to the most transformative educational endeavours in the Brazilian Northeast region, from Anísio Teixeira's radical pedagogy on education and democracy, implemented in the progressive Escola Parque [Park School] in Bahia, to the ground-breaking Movement of Popular Culture (MCP) founded in Recife by intellectuals, pedagogues, and artists — Paulo Freire, Ariano Suassuna, Francisco Brennand, and Abelardo da Hora — with the support of the progressist Mayor Miguel Arraes.[9] Bo Bardi moved to Bahia with the aim to implement these ideas, in the same period when Freire, influenced by Teixeira, put into practice the principles of focusing education on 'political and cultural democratisation', expressed in his thesis *Educação e Atualidade Brasileira* [*Education and Brazilian Present Time*, 1959]. He started the activities of the Círculos de Cultura [Culture Circles], MCP's dialogue-based learning workshops promoting participation for political emancipation, in order to take steps towards action and not to 'get lost in everything that means "anti-dialogue", "anti-participation" and "anti-responsibility"'.[10]

This paper discusses two issues. On the one hand, it examines the origins and influences behind Bo Bardi's project for the Museum and School of Craft and Industrial Art, encompassing the Bauhaus, the radical pedagogics, as well as local grassroots movements claiming socio-political emancipation in Brazil. On the other hand, this study unravels the steps Bo Bardi intended to use to build her project, later implemented and expanded into the concepts of a Museum of Popular Art and a Popular University.

Craftsmanship and Popular Art with capital 'A'

Advocating for the creation of the School and Museum of Craft and Industrial Art during her three-month stay in Bahia, Bo Bardi expressed her ideas on what she considered a still pressing dichotomy between popular art and Art with capital 'A'. She also referred to the 'non-hierarchical collaboration' that should drive the incipient industrial production and its relation with craftsmanship. Bo Bardi addressed one of the crucial issues in the creation of art, industrial design, and architecture schools in the first half of the twentieth century by referring to the ideals of modernity established by the Bauhaus School. Gropius' Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar challenged the separation that existed in Europe between 'erudite' teaching in the Academies of Art and practical teaching in the Schools of Arts and Crafts, a position shared with many other schools in Central Europe, as Pevsner remarked.[11] Lina Bo Bardi, without mentioning Walter Gropius directly, engaged in a dialogue with the ideas expressed in his Bauhaus founding manifesto in which the German architect identified the excluding duality between arts and technique, and between arts and craftsmanship, which should be overcome in the new school advocating a 'new structure' in the 'construction' of the future.[12]

Bo Bardi's terms and concepts in 1958 to counter the split between the architect's and the engineer's activities, and between the worker's and the craftsperson's labour, echoed Argan's description of Walter Gropius' speech in 1951.[13] He referred to the duality between 'qualified and manual work', and between 'intellectual or conceptual work and manual or physical labour'.[14] The historian's words that regarded Gropius' discourse as the 'revolt of the "minor" or "applied" arts against "pure" art' were recurrent in Bo Bardi's reflections in Bahia.[15] In 1960, she published the article 'The Minor Arts: Notes for Creating an Industrial Design Chair' to advocate teaching of industrial design in Bahia, which reflected Argan's framing of Gropius' ideas.[16] In parallel, Argan's genealogy of the principles in the origin of the Bauhaus, discussing, among others, the influence of John Dewey's ideas on art and experience in the Bauhaus origins, was of great importance in Lina Bo Bardi's theoretical scaffolding.[17] As Gropius followed Dewey, Bo Bardi was also interested in the relationships between arts, crafts, architecture, and industry, but above all in their participative components and pedagogical roles.

Bo Bardi established in her 'Crônicas' a dialogue with Argan's sociological interpretation of the origins of Gropius' Bauhaus philosophy, articulating a critical parallel with Gropius' statement. Experiencing in Bahia the imminence of a rushed and top-down industrialisation disconnected from local cultures and needs, already underway in São Paulo, she launched the idea of a bottom-up industrial design through her own manifesto:

> Ours is a collective time. The work of the craftsman and owner is replaced by teamwork and men have to be prepared for this collaboration without hierarchical distinction between designers and performers. Only in this way can one return to the happiness of moral participation in a work. A collective participation, no longer individual; [Here is] the technical result of today's craftsmanship: the industry.[18]

Expanding on the Gramscian thesis of struggle for the emancipation of popular culture, Lina Bo Bardi's call to collective and collaborative work championed the ideas expressed by Gropius in his Bauhaus manifesto:

> Today the arts exist in isolation, from which they can be rescued only through the conscious, cooperative effort of all craftsmen. […] Architects, sculptors, painters, we all must return to the crafts! For art is not a 'profession'. There is no essential difference between the artist and the craftsman.[19]

Bo Bardi's interest in the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright and Antoni Gaudí is well-known.[20] However, the importance of the work of Walter Gropius for Bo Bardi has not been explored yet. This is surprising, as Walter Gropius was one of the most quoted by her, along with Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, and Pier Luigi Nervi, in her thesis *Propaedeutic Contribution to the Teaching of Theory of Architecture* (1957).[21] The German architect is certainly one of the most influential in Lina Bo Bardi's thoughts on key issues such as art and technique, craftsmanship and industry, summarising for her the scope of modern architecture.

The paths of Lina Bo and P. M. Bardi mirrored in some respects that of Walter and Ise Gropius, who migrated to North America as a consequence of the

Second World War, exactly a decade before the Bardis. This path was also followed by other Bauhaus masters including Josef and Anni Albers, Marcel Breuer, László Moholy-Nagy, Hannes Meyer, and Mies van der Rohe. Since the Bauhaus exhibition at MoMA in 1938, Walter Gropius took on the role to herald the Bauhaus experience as a paradigm of modernity, enabling the Bauhaus experience to be strongly disseminated, influencing schools all over the world. Like Gropius in the USA, and like P. M. Bardi himself in Brazil, Lina Bo Bardi sought to take in the country of arrival an active and purposeful role in the field of arts and architectural education, the dissemination of modern architecture, as well as the emerging field of industrial design.

Museus Vivos: 'Living Museums' and art schools in the USA and Brazil

Five years after migrating to Brazil in 1946 with P. M. Bardi, Lina Bo Bardi participated in the foundation of the art and industrial design school named Institute of Contemporary Art (IAC) linked to the Museum of Art of São Paulo (MASP). Lina Bo Bardi, who played a crucial role in the early years of the museum, was responsible for designing the museum's facilities and exhibitions, and implemented IAC's pedagogical approach to industrial design.

The IAC inaugurated the teaching of industrial design in Brazil, articulating, like the Bauhaus School, different artistic expressions in connection with industry, such as graphic arts, advertising, fashion, and filmmaking. The IAC was opened in 1951, the same year that MASP dedicated an exhibition to the Swiss artist and architect, and former Bauhausler, Max Bill, one of the main references for students and professors at the IAC.[22] Bill had won the Grand Prix of sculpture in the First São Paulo International Art Biennial with his *Tripartite Unity* (1951), which influenced artistic movements in concrete art in Brazil. Two years later, Max Bill founded the Ulm School of Design in Germany, which was considered to be the most influential successor to the Bauhaus School. In the same year of IAC's foundation and Bill's journey to Brazil, Bo Bardi designed the Glass House as her and P. M. Bardi's residence, which was part of an idea of creating MASP and IAC live-work studios in the style of the Bauhaus Masters' Houses in Dessau, Germany, which also inspired similar experiences in the US art schools.[23] Bo Bardi also undertook in the same year a trip to the USA to visit some of the main American art centres and industrial design schools with two missions: to publicise MASP internationally and, particularly, to articulate the curriculum of the IAC with the most innovative art and industrial design schools of its time. She published her reflections on her visits in an article in the *Habitat* magazine, 'Os museos vivos nos Estados Unidos' ['The Living Museums in the United States'].[24] During her trip, Bo Bardi visited centres such as the Art Institute of Chicago, founded as both a museum and an art school, Syracuse University, which she described in the article as 'the new Bauhaus', and the Black Mountain College, known for the pedagogical coordination of the Bauhauslers Josef and Anni Albers from 1933 until 1949, two years before Bo Bardi's survey.[25] Inspired by the didactic approach of these active and participative schools and museums, she conceptualised their significance as *museus*

vivos [*living museums*], which she subsequently used in the manifesto 'Industrial Art' to advocate the unfolding of analogous museums and design schools in Bahia. According to her, the 'living museums of the United States' and educational centres of industrial design constituted an example of 'various and multiple activities, not crystallised into obsolete patterns, but committed to the initiative, the inventiveness, the imagination and experience of men'.[26] The 'Living Museums' were illustrated by Bo Bardi in *Habitat* with pictures showing the participation of the public involved in activities in the museum's design schools and educational institutions, as well as children and young people learning and working in manual artistic practices.

Pedagogical research was the driving force behind Bo Bardi's survey trip, in which she pointed to 'the educational potential of museums, since one could find in them what the school could not teach'. The 'Living Museums' were therefore entities imbued with a new organisation influenced by progressive pedagogical currents, surpassing and complementing the school in the 'feeling of creative activities and awareness of historical facts', as Bo Bardi observed, stating that these aspects 'had already known practical and theoretical assumptions in European experiences, starting from the Bauhaus'.[27]

These progressive, educational currents present in such didactic and participatory museums were, as Bo Bardi stated, at the origin of the Bauhaus. The relationship between the ideas put into practice at the first years of the Bauhaus School, especially in the *Vorkurs*, and the progressive movements of the beginning of the twentieth century was reviewed throughout the 1950s and 1960s by historians and critics. They related the didactics of the initial Bauhaus course to the 'movement of artistic education' of Hans von Marées and Adolf von Hildebrand, the 'active school movement' of Kerschensteiner, the 'activism' of Maria Montessori, John Dewey's American 'progressivism', and Fröbel's pedagogy of 'learning by doing'.[28]

The didactics of the 'active school' and the progressive educational experiences at the origin of the Bauhaus, which in turn fed the art and educational institutions in the United States, nourished Lina Bo Bardi's project. She condensed in Bahia this *continuum* or circularity of pedagogical contribution that flowed through the Bauhaus' legacy, which can be considered as one of the most multi-faceted, innovative, and cross-border design didactics of the century. Culminating her first decade of work in Brazil, Bo Bardi released and unveiled in Bahia a transforming force by her immersion in a liberating cultural and anthropological experience. The Bahia period allowed Bo Bardi to take a distance with the context of accelerated industrialisation experienced in São Paulo and disclosed to her the urgency of a pedagogical action to develop critical understands of Brazilian cultural components, pointing to the possibility of a different path in the country's industrial design endeavour.

The context of the Brazilian Northeast region motivated Bo Bardi to rethink the founding ideas of the Bauhaus School and address the transition between craftsmanship and industry present at its origin, as well as the progressive pedagogical ideas that formed the active and participatory basis of art schools and institutions. She sought to promote the 'cooperative effort'

advocated by Gropius in the Bauhaus manifesto, translating it into the field of emancipatory political action for the benefit of all, as proposed by Gramsci. When in Bahia, Bo Bardi turned to the experiences and movements pressing for transformations, and engaged in the most active local initiatives in the fields of art and education. The position of the state of Bahia as a precursor in the country to have Dance, Music, and Drama degree programs in a public university, where leading artists and intellectuals in 1956 were commissioned by the dean Edgar Santos to teach, motivated Bo Bardi to pursue her project, championing the cause of the 'synthesis of the arts'.[29] This disruptive context of prioritising the arts in university education was articulated also in the progressive experience of the public school led by Teixeira. In São Paulo, Bo Bardi had disclosed in *Habitat* his ideas and the new schools' projects implemented by him, as well as the launch of the Arts studies of the University of Bahia. Her journey to Bahia was the opportunity to interact directly with the local movements advocating for progressive education and with the artistic-social movements claiming for the enhancement of so-called popular culture.

The meaning of 'popular culture' for Bo Bardi was linked to her work in *Habitat*, which focused on it as a transformative condition, as opposed to a contemplative gaze. More recently, *Habitat* and other militant journals of Brazilian modernism have been criticised to reproduce the colonial traits of popular culture by promoting the concept of 'modern' as that which is 'connected both to the language of modernism as well as to popular, indigenous, "primitive" forms of art'.[30] This paper intends to counter these criticisms by arguing that the way the term 'popular culture' was used in the context of Bo Bardi and her generation of cultural-activists expressed political and social urgency, which should not be denied if these expressions were taken out of their contexts. Bauhauslers identified the same contemplative gaze in the 'study and appropriation of cultural production from outside the modernist mainstream by focusing on non-Western sources[,] […] premodern artefacts and practices', following the school's closure. Contrary to this, the transformative influence from the Bauhaus allowed the modernist to question 'the division between high and low arts' and to pave the way 'for a broader contestation of the classical orientation of European art academies'.[31] As an exemplary of an alternative modernism, Bo Bardi sought grassroots emergence rather than appropriation in the modern gaze. For her, the political-artistic commitment to foster the place of 'popular culture' in Brazilian panorama involved a collaborative action of artists, intellectuals, educators, and curators, like herself, advocating for the pedagogical basis of emancipation. By working together with those, she envisioned a counter-hegemonic cultural alternative in the sense of 'decolonising knowledge' and 'reinventing power', as defined by Boaventura de Sousa Santos more recently. This transformative basis was a process as relevant then as it is today.[32]

What has emerged from this distinction in the understanding of 'popular culture' promoted by Bo Bardi is evidence of how she deliberately subverted the common use of the terms 'popular' and 'primitive' in relation to culture and art. It is important to unravel here the crucial distinction between what

she meant by these terms in the Brazilian context then, contrary to now, as well as in relation to different international contexts. In the Brazilian context, the current use of the expression 'popular culture' has negative connotations, as inferior, un-civilised, or unrefined. The contemporary art production scene in the country, following international mainstreams, has largely separated itself from the so-called 'popular art'. The concept of the 'popular' in the first modernism driven by the European avant-garde, as well as the international association of the 'popular culture' with folk crafts, had been eclipsed by the widespread 'heroic' period, such as that which has been symbolised in Brasilia's architecture. While the folkloric approach to 'popular culture' had been instrumentalised by nationalisms and fascisms, Bo Bardi criticised this prospect countless times. She stated in her article 'Industrial Art' that 'Italy, Spain and Portugal have distinguished themselves in this paternalistic protectionism that gave rise to the various "Pueblos Españoles" [city-scenarios in Franco's dictatorship] and "Istituti d'arte artigianali", true museums of horrors'.[33]

For Lina Bo Bardi, the significance of 'popular culture' and 'popular art' must be distinguished from the Brazilian and international perspectives. Through writings in *Habitat*, she insisted on the use of these terms which were used from a colonial perspective and were commonly considered to be derogative: 'popular, 'primitive', 'spontaneous', 'local', 'native', 'indigenous', 'dilettante', and 'amateur'. However, the work of *Habitat* effectively demystified these concepts, even if it seemed today to be based on a colonial discourse. Bo Bardi's strategy sought to reiterate and exhaust their existence in the discourses on art as a necessary step to overcome the separation of high and low art. *Habitat* thus placed at the centre of all the production rejected from the official discourse. In the same vein, Bo Bardi later examined this issue in her article 'Industrial Art' and asked: 'What is popular art, when it is true? It is art with a capital A'.

Bo Bardi connected Gropius and Gramsci's ideas to the educational experiences of Teixeira and Freire, and projected them in Bahia and throughout the Northeast to establish the pedagogical basis necessary to reposition the knowledge and expressions of local communities as a cultural-historical basis for creative endeavours. Just as the local movements of self-assertion sought to enhance the position of the art of the original Amerindian peoples and Afro-Brazilian cultures, other émigrés contributed to the pedagogical basis of this transformative process, mainly at the new Art Schools of the University of Bahia.

The empowerment of popular culture and the valorisation of local agency were set within Brazil when transitioning to an industrial economy, marked by the height of movements and counter-movements[34] that fostered a populist policy pattern.[35] This local, political, and socio-economic context that underpinned the battle over the notions of 'popular', 'native', and 'national' — either framed in resistance to the hegemonic Eurocentric discourse or as a form of populist nationalism — has overridden the modernist search for local values in the various artistic expressions. The rupture with the colonial model, the structure of society, and the colonial notion of 'popular' was

fuelled by the growth of an urban culture that sought a 'more authentically national' references; however, this was instrumentalised in politics, which became not 'popular', but populist.[36]

Thus, the tactical and critical approach based on the agency of the popular must be differentiated from the colonial conception of the 'popular culture'; it also differed from the more acceptable and less threatening notion like that of 'pop culture' from within the hegemonic capitalist forces. This populist ideology finally became fully manifest with the dictatorship installed in 1964 and the internationalisation of the Brazilian economy. Indeed, the critical approach of Bo Bardi repudiated the populist opportunism in its use of the terms 'savage', 'native', and 'popular' promoted by the dominant nationalist discourses of the time. This dangerous vision, which had the intention of hiding the annihilation of ethnic and socio-cultural differences, justified, and still justifies, extreme right-wing, white-male-centered and supremacist currents, and the anti-freedom bias on which Brazilian politics still rests today.

Thinking the school and the museum in the Crônicas

Bo Bardi used the *Crônicas*, her weekly newspaper column, as an arena to discuss the school and the museum in the context of popular movements and claims. Such a panorama enabled her to envisage a role of the museum and art school attached to popular production as social-cultural and pedagogical equipment. She drew a parallel with the Park School project in 1950 by Teixeira, then the Secretary of Education in the state of Bahia, as an equipment in which arts were not divorced from education and making, but rather assumed as a work useful to society. The Park School, set up together and working with the Class Schools, was a free public primary education school advocating learning through not only intellectual but also manual, physical, and artistic practices, fostering an integral training for young people, especially in relation to the field of industrial arts.

Teixeira, whose work served the cause of radical transformations in education and political action in Brazil, had launched the essay 'Educação não é privilégio' ['Education is not a privilege'] in 1957, which criticised the Brazilian conservative elite and the Catholic Church as supporters of private and elitist education. He was also one of the founders of the *Escola Nova* [*New School*] movement in Brazil since 1932 as part of the progressive education currents, which engaged in the struggle for public and secular education in the country. The New School advocated for a new education: artistic, inclusive, participatory, and experience-based.

A month before the manifesto 'Industrial Art', Bo Bardi published the article 'The School and the Life' in the *Crônicas*. In her article, she stated that the goal of the school was to give equal values to both intellectual and manual activities, arguing that: 'the equality of all citizens in the face of instruction, the obligation of equal education for all to the crucial point of choice of profession, whether intellectual or manual, is the task of the democratic State, a living expression of the collectivity'.[37] In the same article, Bo Bardi published a photograph of the Pavilion of Arts and Work Activities at Teixeira's Park School designed by the

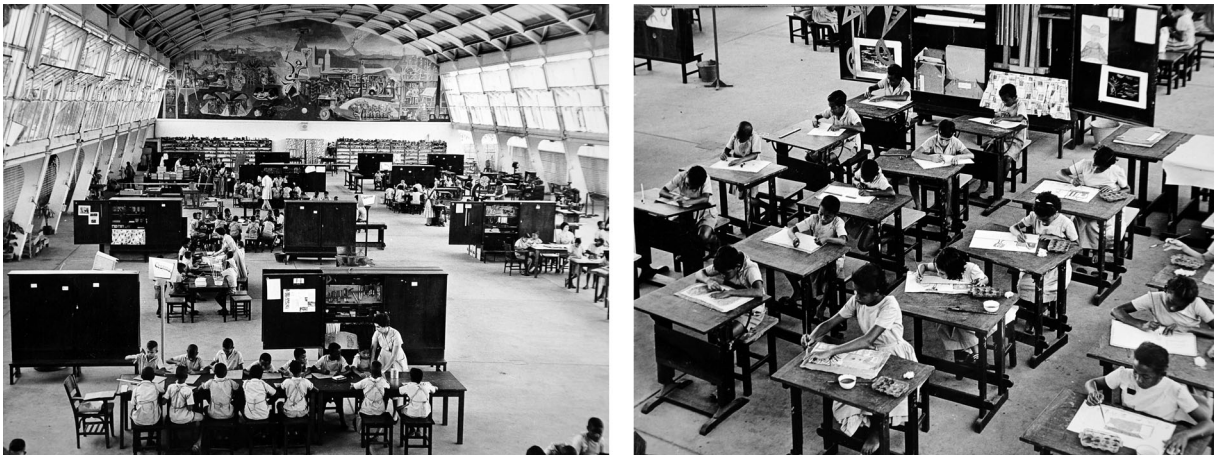

Figure 2.
Escola Parque Carneiro Ribeiro [The Park School], unknown photographer, c. 1958, courtesy of the Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira

Bahian architect Diógenes Rebouças, stating that 'Anísio Teixeira, the technical organiser of the school's conception, carried out in this work the ideal of collective work as a spiritual preparation, eliminating from the beginning individualistic complexes'.[38] The Park Schools' Pavilion of Arts and Work Activities was an essential reference in the Brazilian context for Bo Bardi's School and Museum of Craft and Industrial Art (Fig. 2). The Park School was also directly linked to the ideals of John Dewey's pedagogical principle of 'learning by doing', which was applied in Bahia as the basis of the active school.[39] This was thus related to the foundational premises of the Bauhaus School. The experience further inspired Lina Bo Bardi's project of the Museum and School of Craft and Industrial Art and helped her to bridge the ideas from the Bauhaus to the Brazilian context.

Following the principles of the Park School, the school and the museum that Bo Bardi intended to create in Bahia should not reproduce the existing split in the Brazilian society. This split, in the reflections of Teixeira, was to be found in the opposition of the traditional and the modern, the old and the new, the privileged and the unprivileged.[40] Furthermore, in his critique of those antagonistic peers, analogous to Bo Bardi's enquiry of the same polarisations, Teixeira stated that, since 'the origin of this split is beyond the will of the social actors, it would be up to education to push one side of this bipolarity and leverage social transformation'.[41]

Bo Bardi's work in progress in Bahia became more powerful and took on a more radical sense by connecting with the most transformative actions in education and art in the Brazilian Northeast region, as well as with the self-assertive movements of the so-called popular culture. This movement demanded the validation of local socio-cultural expressions, customs, living traditions, and indigenous and Afro-Brazilian foundations in the pursuit of its political space, representation, and visibility in the Brazilian society. Outside the context of academia, the movement for self-affirmation was related in Bahia to the validation and recognition of the cultural aspects of Afro-Brazilian religions practiced by

the descendants of slaves brought from Africa to Brazil in the colonial period. These practices centred on the *terreiros de candomblé* [Afro-Brazilian cult houses] started to influence the local arts in all manifestations, including visual art, dance, and music. The first phase of the movement occurred in the 1930s and corresponded to the decriminalisation and legalisation of *capoeira*, a dance-fight of African origin, resulting in the visibility of *capoeiristas* in the national context. The 1950s corresponded to the second phase of reclaiming the African roots of Brazilian culture. It was first manifested in social interests, followed by artistic and academic activities, and eventually gaining a political recognition. Shortly before Bo Bardi's visit to Bahia, *Habitat* devoted a fifteen-page article in 1957 to an exhibition in São Paulo of fifteen artists from Bahia. The show comprised a heterogeneous group, with well-known artists and others lesser-known, which was described as popular, primitive, or naïf, akin to dilettantes. United by the evocation of a universe of 'popular' religiosity, the exhibition showcased the iconography of objects of worship and of everyday use, which were handcrafted and assumed the influence of African cultures in Bahia. This heterogeneous panorama of artists who sought in popular culture the basis of their work was recognised to have initiated the movement to value the local art.

However, it is necessary to address the complexities and differences between groups, and the tensions stemming from the use of local subjects. This interest has not always been linked to a critical artistic quest towards an anthropological-based political equality. When it was used for artistic self-celebration and self-referencing, it resulted in uncritical regionalisms and provincialism, which served to boost the division between 'us' and 'others'. This undiscriminating localism was easily assimilated into the contexts of ultra-nationalism and isolationism, then and now. The legitimisation of local subjects also prompted exclusion and aversion to bordering practices and exchange processes, fostering the maintenance of 'official' artists on the local scene. In Bahia, among such artists embraced by economic elites in power, the most famous 'émigré' was the painter Carybé, who was born in Argentina, but whose work and adult life were deeply rooted in Bahia. This problem of exclusion and isolationism within the artistic community at the time was referenced by some specialised media, such as the magazine *Caderno da Bahia* [*Bahia's Booklet*] published between 1948 and the early 1950s, which became responsible for promoting the so-called popular art movement without excluding influences from outside.

The school and the Modern Art Museum of Bahia

When invited by the governor to take over the role of director and curator of the Modern Art Museum of Bahia (MAMB) in 1959, Bo Bardi was organising the 'Exposição Bahia' ['Bahia Exhibition'] in Ibirapuera Park, a side event of the fifth São Paulo Art Biennial. Together with Eros Martim Gonçalves, head of the Drama School of the University of Bahia, who was also part of a collective of invited artists, they curated the 'Exposição Bahia' which advocated the need to counter the prioritisation of high culture and the separation between folk, or

popular, art, considered inferior, from erudite 'Art', which was regarded as superior. This intention was the same as her campaign for the creation of the School of Craft and Industrial Art in Bahia that led to the foundation of MAMB.

Bo Bardi's first intention for constructing MAMB's facilities was to adapt and reuse the former colonial Conjunto do Unhão, which was in ruins, for the museum and school installation, but it was stopped by the government's project of a seaside road which impacted the site. She then found alternative temporary facilities that enabled her to set up the museum in the partially destroyed Castro Alves Theatre, a monumental modernist theatre for 1500 spectators, supposedly the largest in Latin America and destroyed by fire five days before its inauguration. She occupied the semi-destroyed premise of the theatre with her idea of a museum imbued with a pedagogical mission: 'from the Museum-School will focus attention on things, respect for everything that man represents'. stated Bo Bardi at its opening.[42] The concept of a 'Museum-School' was used by Bo Bardi to describe a didactic, participatory and experience-based museum, aimed at practical experience and education. In December 1959, she announced the creation of 'several art courses, including the Technical School of Arts that will be a School of Industrial Design focused on the problems of craftsmanship', evoking her former idea for a School and Museum of Craft and Industrial Art.[43]

Bo Bardi occupied the modernist theatre by creating several schools together with the museum, for which she invited the most active intellectuals and artists to participate, including Yanka Rudzka to direct the Dance School of the University, H.J. Koellreutter to direct both the Youth School of Music and the Music School of the University, as well as Martim Gonçalves to direct together with Bo Bardi the Escola da Criança [Children's School of arts]. Due to a lack of support from the rectory, which preferred to situate the schools in independent buildings far from each other, the music and dance schools could not be set up in the museum according to the idea of 'synthesis of the arts' envisioned by Bo Bardi. However, she succeeded in establishing the Children's School in the museum, applying the principles based on Dewey's pedagogy and relating it to the project by Teixeira.

According to Bo Bardi, the Children's School sought to 'develop in the children the natural possibilities of creation' through active techniques of 'free improvisation' guided by Gonçalves, in order to 'develop the imagination, the creative spirit, the intellectual gifts', the 'creative freedom', as well as to 'awaken and cultivate the senses' life' and to enhance the 'liberation from inhibitions', based on the 'practice of manual work'.[44] Their Children's School program recalled the Bauhaus *Vorkurs* curriculum as described by Tomás Maldonado in 1958, according to which 'the students must give free rein to their expressive and creative forces through manual and artistic practice; develop an active, spontaneous and uninhibited personality; exercise their senses integrally'.[45] Bo Bardi and Gonçalves created the Children's School program that recalled the sense of 'complex didactic, expressive, [and] communicative activity' that is 'committed to the initiative, inventive spirit, imagination and

Figure 3.
Modern Art Museum of Bahia, photographs attributed to Renato Ferraz, 1960, courtesy of the Sculptor Mario Cravo Jr. archives

experience' associated with art schools and 'living museums in the United States', fostering the legacy of the Bauhaus.[46]

Since the foundation of MAMB, Bo Bardi resumed with urgency the creation of the School of Craft and Industrial Art attached to the museum, which was named in MAMB's program as a School of Industrial Design and Craftsmanship. This school was crucial in Bo Bardi's project since it manifested the revolutionary stance of the museum as a movement transforming Brazilian industrial design, assuming a didactic mission inseparable from its cultural, social and political scopes (Fig. 3). Bo Bardi expanded the school's program and redefined the project of the School and Museum of Craft and Industrial Art as a Popular University and a Museum of Popular Art. She connected the museum's pedagogical basis to Gramsci's thesis for the enhancement of popular culture, conceiving the Museum-School's contribution to the transformation of society and grassroots movements.

In planning the Popular University and Museum of Popular Art project, Bo Bardi sought the connection with movements that were emerging in other capitals of the Brazilian Northeast region, such as Recife (Pernambuco) and Fortaleza (Ceará), challenging the assumed superiority of 'official' culture dictated by the dominant classes and leveraging the position of popular culture. This context had shortly before led to the creation of a Museum of Popular Art in Recife, directed by Abelardo da Hora, which in turn prompted the Movement of Popular Culture (MCP), involving intellectuals and artists Suassuna, Brennand, and Freire as mentioned above. Bo Bardi found in the popular culture movements the spark of revolution and sought to join the actions advocated by the groups, encouraging her young followers in MAMB to work on Freire's popular alphabetisation campaign[47] and establishing a solid collaboration with the group's leadership, especially Brennand in Pernambuco and Livio Xavier in Ceará.

Figure 4.
(left) Modern Art Museum of Bahia, photographed by Armin Guthmann, 1960, courtesy of Guthmann archives and the Instituto Bardi; (right) Museum of Popular Art, photographs attributed to Painter Sante Scaldaferri, 1963, courtesy of Scaldaferri archives

A popular university and a museum of popular art

The dialogue with the movements for popular culture encouraged Bo Bardi to advocate the radical aspect of the Museum-School, overcoming the limits of MAMB, to participate in an effective grassroots transformation in the country through pedagogical action. She devised curatorial strategies at MAMB to focus on works of popular art, handicrafts, and objects of domestic use, which planted in the daily life of the museum the seed of the Museum of Popular Art and the Popular University with its School of Industrial Design and Craftsmanship (Fig. 4). Bo Bardi attempted to reverse and cross borders with concepts that were previously excluded from 'art' or discourses on 'civilisation', as well as a whole 'forgotten' set of manifestations of humankind, banned from museums and educational institutions as considered inferior or 'popular'. The purpose of Bo Bardi's use of the word 'popular', and sometimes 'primitive', was to criticise precisely the colonial attitude towards the common, anonymous, and collective manifestations excluded from the status of art.

In this radical project, Bo Bardi discarded both the alleged superiority of arts in relation to everyday life and needs, and the primacy of the museum in relation to the school. The Museum-School was an arena in which agency and art coexisted. For Bo Bardi, in 'a Country founded on the culture of the People',[48] the concept of arts is in the popular experience: 'Art is not a useless thing, reserved for a small restricted and intellectualised group. This is what we intend to prove with the plans that we have for the Modern Art Museum […]. The industrial artist, the simple craftsman, the one who makes a funnel from a tin sheet, will see that his work is also art.'[49] The empowerment in the project of the Museum-School by merging the concepts of Popular University and Museum of Popular Art reflected the whole political potential of Bo Bardi's project in resonance with a bottom-up revolution in the context of industrialisation. This process coincided with her embrace of the most emancipatory currents of popular culture in the Brazilian Northeast region. It was then necessary, according to her, to differentiate the project for the Popular Univer-

sity and the Museum of Popular Art from European and North American examples, stating:

> Brazil has not yet started an original national production of industrial objects, limiting itself only to importing foreign shapes and designs. A national production cannot be created without connection to the cultural heritage of the past and without being founded on the actual reality and needs of the country. The elimination of utopia in the creation of such a School is the first indispensable requirement for its success in the field of the practical needs of the country (a school like Bauhaus or Ulm School of Design,[50] metaphysical-experimental, would be useless in a young country …).[51]

The difference between Bo Bardi's School of Industrial Design and Craftsmanship and the Bauhaus and Ulm Schools was thus in the non-utopian character that this school should have in Brazil. Her project aimed to engage on bottom-up transformations in a country divided between the rapidly industrialising South Central and the regions such as the Northeast or the North, where handicraft and manual production, linked to African and indigenous Brazilian people's traditions, should claim more significance in the country's cultural and productive expression. She then stated that a school like Bauhaus or Ulm School of Design would be useless in Brazil, 'a young country, with a civilisation of strongly primitive factors and directly attached to nature, very modern factors from the modern cultural point of view'.[52] Bo Bardi's use of the word 'primitive' is controversial. On the one hand, it expresses modern colonialism. On the other hand, it points out that she was aware that this 'modern cultural point of view' reduced the local and grassroots factors to 'primitive' and 'natural' factors, distancing herself from this colonial point of view. Bo Bardi saw herself as a modern architect, yet she continued to question the utopic and colonising imperatives within modern architecture, which was expressed in the Popular University project as a dialectic relationship between her modern project and the Bauhaus program. She performed, as Tomás Maldonado and some of her contemporary did, a critical examination on the legacies of the Bauhaus. The experience in Bahia empowered Bo Bardi to become more political and transformative in the context of the Brazilian Northeast region movements of popular forces pressing for emancipation from hegemonic structures.

Conclusion

During her time spent in Bahia, from 1958 to 1964, Bo Bardi critically developed her project of a Museum and School of Craft and Industrial Design by learning from the pedagogical basis of the first Bauhaus and the experiences of the diaspora that spread its foundational precepts in museums and industrial design schools around the world, as well as expanding this experience in Brazil through the founding the IAC in 1951 by the Bardis. In the Exposição Bahia, which assembled and displayed 'popular' knowledge within the framework of the fifth São Paulo Art Biennial, Bo Bardi set to work on her project for the Museum and School of 'immediate gathering of all the ancient and

modern handicraft' in the country. This implied Bo Bardi's deeper immersion with the cultural movements in the Brazilian Northeast that 'focused on education and development of culture from its popular basis'.[53]

Bo Bardi boosted her project when she took over the direction and conception of the Modern Art Museum of Bahia. In the construction of the museum and curatorial works, she implemented a didactic programme to take up the idea of the School and Museum of Craft and Industrial Art. At the opening of MAMB, Bo Bardi conceptualised her project as a 'Museum-School' for the first time, and began to materialise the project by installing the museum's schools: first the Children's School, followed by the School of Craft and Industrial Art, which was defined in the plans for MAMB as a School of Industrial Design and Craftsmanship. The Children's School helped to build the scaffolding of the Museum-School as a 'complex didactic, expressive, communicative activity', articulating the Brazilian experiences of Teixeira's Park School and with the 'living museums' and design schools in North America, as presented by Bo Bardi in *Habitat*. The Children's School program connected to the very tradition of the first Bauhaus, whose originality of the preparatory course essentially consisted, according to Maldonado, of having transferred the children's progressive education to the training of young people and adults.[54] The School of Industrial Design and Craftsmanship — a work in progress since the foundation of MAMB — was as a crucial part of the broader project of the Museum-School, articulating the relationship between architecture and art in their pedagogical role of redefining industrial design in Brazil, a path to be built from the 'historical-popular' roots in the country. For Bo Bardi, that meant critically questioning the split between intellectual and manual work, Arts and popular arts, high culture and low culture, taking up Gropius' critique of the split between arts and craftsmanship in his foundational manifest of the Bauhaus.

Bo Bardi critically echoed this Bauhaus principle in guiding her idea of an industrial design and craftsmanship school that reflected the need to reverse 'the anonymous and degrading character of manual work, compared to the excessive intellectualism with no practice connection of design endeavour.'[55] The Museum-School conceived by Bo Bardi operated to counter the dynamics of the 'violent development of industry' that separated 'work from the projecting mind' and 'work from the hand that performs'.[56]

However, Bo Bardi's project gradually transformed itself in parallel to her deeper immersion and collaboration with popular culture movements in the Brazilian Northeast. The Museum-School broadened its concept to include the Museum of Popular Art and Popular University, with the School of Industrial Design and Craftsmanship, projecting a critical perspective in the Brazilian context of industrialisation. This bottom-up industry did not fit, however, in the so-called 'industrial design' as experienced and developed in the Western practice of the Industrial Design Schools with the Bauhaus as a precursor. The School of Industrial Design and Craftsmanship, as part of the Museum-School or Museum-University, was conceived differently from the Bauhaus model; instead, it was based on the perspective of agency, tying its premises

to everyday habits, local needs, and grassroots movements. Contrary to the prevailing self-styled 'civilised' thought, which reduced the so-called popular to 'primitive', this 'popular industry' had in itself an improvement tanned by the common, a tradition built on scarcity, and an invention fuelled by necessity. For Bo Bardi, the success of the movement depended on an action towards the Brazilian 'civilisation' with its popular traits, which according to her were 'very modern factors'.[57]

Bo Bardi's increasing detachment from the idealised and, according to her, utopian proclaims of the Bauhaus School opened up a critical review of the Bauhaus project and, above all, a questioning of the project of modernity itself by proposing an alternative. In this sense of an alternative modernity, which she expressed in projects through her 'modern' vocabulary, the Brazilian Northeast confirmed and radicalised her critical thinking. The question 'what is craftsmanship?' posed in her article 'Industrial Art' recalled an implicit issue: in which context do we ask ourselves what craftsmanship is? She responded, through her project of the School of Industrial Design and Craftsmanship, with a ground-breaking work firmly situated in Brazil, or more specifically, in the Northeast, upon her arrival in Bahia. By stating, a few years later, that what existed in Brazil was not a craftsmanship, but a 'pre-craftsmanship', she referred to the popular productions with scarce means, excluded from industry and from the history of European industrial design, but with artistic, social and political potential for transforming the hegemonic structures of modernity.[58] These practices, artefacts and cultural production, considered non-Western or premodern, such as those that had inspired the 'original' Bauhaus, featured a hidden side of modernity, writing its co-extensive 'others'. The Museum-School, the name used by Bo Bardi instead of Modern Art Museum, established the collaborative and pedagogical basis for this change, for which she launched a complimentary pair, the Museum of Popular Art (Fig. 5). Both projects soon surpassed the dimension of a Western myth of modernity to reveal themselves as part of a project towards 'other modernities' that were excluded from the mainstream discourse on modernism.

This is the meaning of what Bo Bardi called, two and a half decades later, a 'Brazilian "popular" civilisation', in the sense of an alternative modernism, and addressed to the 'perspective "seen from the other side", the participant perspective'.[59] She also explained that the opening show of the Museum of Popular Art, the show 'Nordeste' ['Northeast'] should be called 'Northeast's Civilisation', searching to remove associations with nobility and wealth, and also of 'hegemonic modernity'. The collective experience of the Northeast, 'the participant perspective', was the capacity and possibility of changing the course of dominant modernity with a more plural one. The opening up of these new perspectives also re-defined modernity's productive processes, industrialisation, and the industrial design through a participatory mode, as 'seen from the other side', upon a different basis, which is more local, multiple, popular and critical.

Figure 5.
(left) Modern Art Museum at Conjunto do Unhão estate; (right) Model of the Museum of Popular Art, both photographed by the author, 2018

Just as the Bauhaus failed in its internal and external processes, the experience in Brazil also failed, rejected by the ruling elites and the military dictatorship that interrupted the work of the Museum-School and the continuity of the Museum of Popular Art. Instead of a plural conception of the 'popular', the rise of populism since then to the current Brazilian political scene rejected views 'from the other side', which had been replaced by an excluding, dominant and ultra-nationalistic position. The understanding of what is the 'popular culture' has significantly shifted.

Without a strong understanding of the possibility of another framework of modernity, and the persistence of an uncritical acceptance of a singular modernism, the dominant neoliberal ideology has been allowed to flourish. Ignorance of, or even a deliberate rejection of, alternatives has paved the way for the rise of 'populism' in contemporary media and neoliberal production processes. This has also led to quite a different association to what it means to be popular and to be part of a 'popular culture' of today. Bo Bardi reflected that 'regeneration through art, the Bauhaus credo, turned out to be mere utopia' with the drift of progress.[60] She optimistically believed in the pedagogical and democratic potential of a transformative model of industrial design. However, to base this on the contribution and creativity of popular culture and grassroots movements would require a critical development of an alternative modernity, or pluralistic modernities. In her years in Bahia (1958–1964), as well as in her later reflections and work, she showed, through her projects of 'living' Museum-Schools connected with local alternatives, how misleading was the singular myth of modernity and the Western progressive ideology of a singular course of civilisation. By raising awareness of the values of pre-industrialisation impulses of Brazilian craftsmanship through the new lens of pluralistic modernities, there remains a firm possibility of the formation of a new collective basis of both artistic creations and cultural critiques accessible to all.

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34. Between the 1920s and the 60s, the accelerated industrialisation of Brazil and the consequent break with the traditional colonial structures allowed for working-class protests and the politicisation of younger, anti-traditionalist sectors of the armed forces (especially 'tenentism', a movement of the low-ranking members of the military forces). These changes created the conditions for, and were operationalised by, the success of *mass politics* as the basis of the so-called populist 'democracy'.

35. As Octavio Ianni stated in his book *O Colapso do Populismo no Brasil*, translated in Phyllis B. Eveleth, *Crisis in Brazil* (New York, NY: Columbia Univeristy Press, 1970), that between the governments of Getúlio Vargas (1930–1954), JK (1956–1960) and Jânio Quadros-João Goulart (1961–1964), 'the period of transition to an industrial economy in Brazil […] can be symbolized by *mass politics*, as a pattern of political organisation and support to the new style of power. Mass politics […] is the foundation of *populist democracy*, which was organized gradually in the decades preceding the sudden change that occurred after the coup d'état of April 1st, 1964. As a result […], political and cultural activities flourished, a different and more authentically national urban culture was created […] and left-wing political organisations were established. The winding-up of the Getulian pattern [Getúlio Vargas government, 1930–1954], or populist pattern of social economic development, began in the Government of Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira (1956–60), which brilliantly combined mass politics and the growing commitments to foreign capital.' These policies of the so-called populist democracy, were brought to an end in the stage of authoritarian internationalisation of the Brazilian economy, enforced by the military dictatorship, which was closely tied to foreign capital: 'The coup d'état of 1st April 1964 […] implied the combination and regrouping of Brazilian and foreign enterprises', characterising a new stage of 'technocratic dictatorship', based on broad association with foreign capital. See Octavio Ianni, *O Colapso do Populismo no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1975), pp. 9, 11–12.
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49. Lina Bo Bardi [attributed to], 'Lina Bardi diz que Museu será Escola', *Diário de Notícias*, 6 January 1960.
50. The Brazilian original contains 'a school like Bauhaus or Hulm School of Design'. The name Hulm was corrected in this translation to better understand that Lina Bo Bardi was referring to the Ulm School of Design.
51. Lina Bo Bardi, 'Projeto III. Escola de Desenho Industrial e de Artesanato e Museu de Arte Popular', [1961(?)], p. 1, Salvador, Museu de Arte Moderna da Bahia Archives.

52. Bo Bardi, 'Projeto III', p. 1.
53. Tempos de Grossura, p. 60.
54. Maldonado, 'Otra vez la Bauhaus', p. 177.
55. Bo Bardi, 'Projeto III', p. 1.
56. Bo Bardi, 'Artes Menores', p. 122.
57. Bo Bardi, 'Projeto III', p. 1.
58. Bo Bardi, 'Arte popular e pré-artesanato Nordestino', in *Tempos de Grossura*, p. 28.
59. Bo Bardi, 'Um Balanço Dezesseis Anos Depois', in *Tempos de Grossura*, p. 12.
60. Ibid., p. 13.