Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies: Travesia
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cjla20

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Published online: 05 Jun 2015.

To cite this article: Adrián Gorelik (2015): Images for a Mythological Foundation. Notes on Horacio Coppola's Photographs of Buenos Aires, Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies: Travesia, DOI: 10.1080/13569325.2015.1040746

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13569325.2015.1040746

Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies, 2015
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13569325.2015.1040746

Adrián Gorelik

IMAGES FOR A MYTHOLOGICAL FOUNDATION. NOTES ON HORACIO COPPOLA'S PHOTOGRAPHS OF BUENOS AIRES

This article situates Horacio Coppola's photographs of Buenos Aires from 1929 to 1936 as part of one of the main programs of the porteño avant-garde: the criollista quest for identity along the edges of the metropolis, the working class and immigrant suburbs where the avant-garde experimented its double search of synthesis between modernity and tradition, and the city and the pampas. Jorge Luis Borges —with whom Coppola used to explore these distant neighborhoods and who selected two of his first photographs taken there to illustrate the first edition of his Evaristo Carriego in 1930— is a key figure in this quest for identity, and the article postulates that the photographs of Coppola have to be seen as a version and necessary complement of Borges' "mythological foundation" of Buenos Aires.

Keywords: Horacio coppola; buenos aires; Jorge luis borges; urban history; urban culture

1. In barely a few years, between 1929 and 1936, Horacio Coppola constructs a way of seeing the city of Buenos Aires with enduring productivity in the urban imaginary.[1] One could say that it was the first modern gaze on Buenos Aires which was systematically translated into images: the construction of a modern Buenos Aires that still today has the capacity to appear contemporary to us. It was, actually, a portrait of the elements that had until then been scattered within the old urban configuration in the very moment when they began to take stable shape within a new urban imaginary, when they came together with new meaning and became the starting points for the modern city. This programmatic character of Coppola's photographs has not yet been emphasized: all artistic production entails an aesthetic program, but his photographs constitute an architectural, urban, and cultural program; they bet on a definition of a certain kind of modernity for this city that was changing so rapidly.

Thus, the worst injustice that can be done to these photographs is to see them outside of this program, as an engine of nostalgia for the Buenos Aires that was disappearing in the very moment when they were taken.[2] It's this programmatic character that allows Coppola to avoid the leading trends of 'urban photography': he practically never photographs *scenes*, never captures *moments* of the city *in movement*.

FIGURE 1 Horacio Coppola, *Jean Jaurés and Paraguay*, 1929. This is one of the two photographs that illustrated the first edition of Jorge Luis Borges's *Evaristo Carriego* in 1930. Almost exactly the same shot was taken once again by Coppola in 1936, in better technical conditions (he selected this second shot to publish in the following years), showing the crucial importance he gave to this image shared with Borges.

He constructs formal a-temporal motifs, postulates archetypes that locate themselves in a double search for synthesis, characteristic of a segment of the *porteño* avant-garde: the synthesis between modernity and tradition, and between the city and the pampas.

2. From the point of view of this dual search for synthesis, the first photographic motif that ought to be pointed out in Coppola is the suburban landscape, the landscape of the city's edges in the moment of their vertiginous modernization. Coppola begins his photographic itinerary on these edges, roaming and identifying in these scraps of city mixed with pampas something unique to Buenos Aires. Plain houses with straight blind walls, wrought iron gates, a few poles, some trees, and the cobbled streets, which reconstruct the imaginary line of a few half-finished streets lost in the vastness of the flatland. It is a precise figurative program that radically inverts the vision of the city that prevailed until barely a decade before, when Buenos Aires was only its downtown, emanating its modernizing energy in all the cardinal directions, and those suburban borders were barely a provisional excrescence.

The 1920s were the decade when the suburb emerged as an urban, literary, and political question. Two simultaneous cultural debates arose: one opposing the downtown to the suburb (typical of tango and urban reform) and another which contrasted different suburbs with each other as territories with competing definitions for the essence of Buenos Aires: 'I am a man who dared to write and even to publish a few verses that memorialized two of this city's neighborhoods, so tightly interwoven into his own life,' wrote Borges in 1926, 'At that very moment, two or three critics came after me [. . .]. One called me retrograde; the other pointed out to me more picturesque neighborhoods than those upon which I had stumbled by luck and suggested I should take tram No. 56 which goes to Patricios instead of No. 96 that goes to Urquiza; some attacked me in the name of skyscrapers; others, in the name of skid

rows [rancherías de latas].'[3] The quote is important not only because Borges's vision dictated a good part of the program that Coppola would pursue, but because it highlights to what extent the city was part of the well-known debate about the construction of a cultural tradition carried out by the artistic and literary avant-garde. The city stood as a reservoir of competing cultural models that those artists would roam in order to identify with them, and in that very act of recognition, construct them. There had been very few moments in Buenos Aires when culture would so explicitly refer to urban imaginaries in order to define their programs and enact their conflicts, as happened in the 1920s.

Borges and Coppola's suburb has a key definition: classicism. Borges looks for it in the inscriptions of street carts, in its twilights, in the trees lining of suburban streets, in two men who confront each other on a corner; and Coppola composes it with severe and detached framings of primordial images.

The search for the city's epic brings about, in this case, a classical figuration, because the search for this epic is at the same time a search for essence. Where to locate the character of the city that is so intended on changing every day? On what substantive core should it be founded? How to particularize an overwhelmingly monotonous, flat, and homogenous city that lacks historical attractions and picturesque nature, itself the product of an abrupt, faceless modernization?[4] Against the hopeless vision of the majority, there were two optimistic positions. One of them suggested that strength be gained from this precariousness, thus making that inessential modernization the city's very essence: Alberto Gerchunoff, for example, defiantly declared that: 'Everything is young in Buenos Aires, everything is from yesterday, everything will be from tomorrow. And making disdainful grimaces because of it is like looking at a robust, exuberant young man with disdain because, in his virile beauty, he doesn't offer any traces of old age, any melancholy of grey hairs, of wrinkles. [...] We are unfamiliar with these obstacles. We achieve the marvelous everyday. We don't care about the origin of anything. [...] We are the barbarians, the beautiful and crude barbarians of civilization.'[5] What is the essence? That which would grant coherence to this vast array of urban and social fragments: the future, answers Gerchunoff in a modernist, progressive figuration that must have come accompanied by expressionist or futurist images, in which the passing of time was itself the subject.

FIGURE 2 Horacio Coppola, *Barrio Saavedra*, c. 1936.

The classicist response is the other form of optimism, which fared better in the local avant-garde. It rejected the passing of time as essence: because the 'lightness' of time is what most quickly passes in young countries, those without history, as Borges will repeatedly declare, nothing that wants to attach itself to this movement is able to. It must attach itself to what remains after time has already passed: an essential order. It's obviously a counter-progressive aspiration that will recover the traces of an archaic temporality in the modern city: the distanced street cart in the rush of the avenue; the square of pampas in the patio behind the garden wall. But what's notable and adds ambiguity is that, for some in the 1920s avant-garde, this counter-progressive aspiration settles in the suburb, the most progressive area of the city, the site most resistant to being included in the traditionalists' image of *the city*.

This ambiguity is present in Coppola's photographs, in his paradoxical resolution of the modernity/tradition dilemma: opting for classicism allows him to portray the traditional houses as if they were modern objects and the most modern and thriving parts of the city as if time never touched them.

It's the classicism that can be found in Alfredo Guttero's images of the modern city, wherein modernity's characteristic artifacts, like the port's silos, are also filtered through the *return to order* of the European avant-gardes of the twenties. Many of the photographs that Coppola takes are quite explicit regarding the direct influence exercised upon him by the painter, whom he met at the end of the twenties, when Guttero had just returned from a long stay in Europe. But classicism had already intervened in the debates on cultural identity in Buenos Aires from a modernist perspective, just as Alberto Prebisch stated early on in *Martín Fierro*: 'Every man, every era tends to obey this urgent necessity for order. Order that results from a harmonious equilibrium between interior and exterior life, between spirit and nature, between idea and form, to use the Hegelian expression. Every era searches for equilibrium. [...] Our own era wants to achieve this accord, this equilibrium; it searches for a classicism, *its own* classicism.'[6]

It's a classicism that would describe a cycle, in which the avant-garde will define their different cities. At least two of them, one from the twenties and another from the

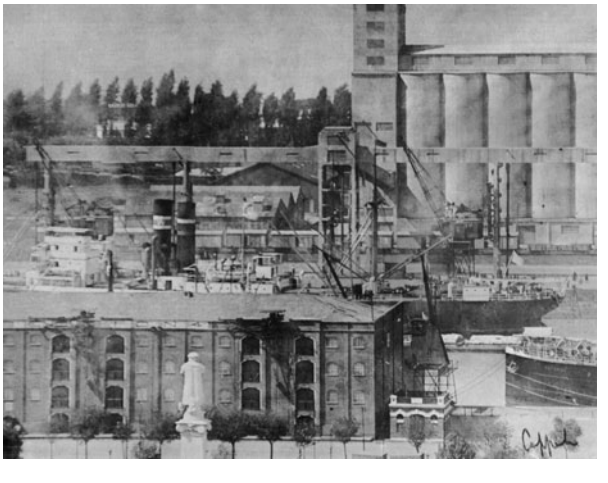

FIGURE 3 Horacio Coppola, *Puerto*, c. 1936.

thirties, marking two eras in the representation of the city, two spaces for its positioning and two competing social and ideological notions. In the 1920s, the intense cultural combat over Buenos Aires' character was located in the suburbs, the newest and most volatile site of the metropolis in formation; in the 1930s, within the framework of active state policies, a reactive modernization recovers the symbolic value of the downtown area, applying, in its urban renewal, many of the same conclusions drawn from earlier discussions of the periphery. While the city had grown 'from downtown towards the neighborhoods' (to return to the figure of James Scobie), the avant-garde solution to the dilemma of urban cultural identity seems to be to choose the reverse path: along with tango and the literature of the *arrabal*, the literary avant-garde's debates produce at the city's margins the main responses which will be used again in the city downtown by avant-garde architecture's urban solutions in the following decade.

Just as Borges's classicism will remain inscribed in the coordinates plotted in the first part of that period, Prebisch's will flow naturally into the second; Coppola, in his own way, traverses the entire cycle, as can be seen in the photographs from 1936, where both the downtown area and the neighborhoods are celebrated using the terms of the classicist avant-garde. At the end of the 1920s, he begins to outline his program for the suburbs, especially in the images of the immigrant working-class houses, where the avant-garde would find one of its pillars of synthesis between tradition and modernity.

That is what seems to remain of Buenos Aires' essence, outside of the passage of time: that which is most traditional, that is to say, the most modern: the harmonious equilibrium of the suburban houses, in a sort of ambiguous continuity that the *porteño* culture of the 1920s suggests exists between the images of the traditional Hispanic houses with their patios, and the house typical of the Italian builders who had begun to populate the suburbs in those first decades, the *casa chorizo* (railroad house), with a wall facing the street and a long row of rooms along the lot bordered on by a patio. But here classicism diverges again: if the classicism that Borges sought forces him to find in those houses 'so regrettably similar' the 'patricialidad' (patricianness) cemented on 'earth and sky,' Coppola's own classicism identifies the modernist translation that is developing in the city, and contributes to sanction a version of modernism which

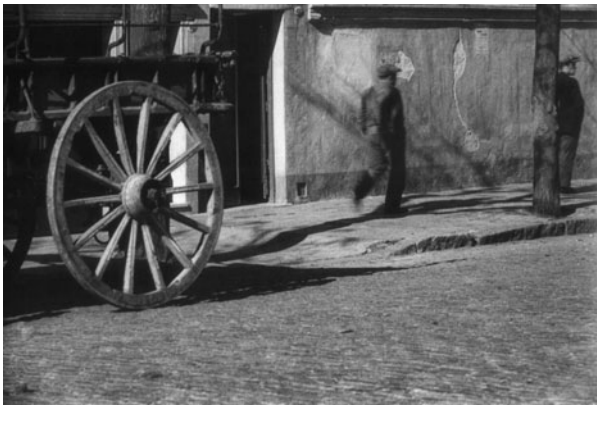

FIGURE 4 Horacio Coppola, *Bulnes entre Sarmiento y Cangallo*, 1931.

FIGURE 5 Horacio Coppola, the same Houses in a more open shot, 1931.

would become very influential in local architecture, one made up of sober forms and austere surfaces.[7] This translation finds in 'the house' a motif with much more direct external legitimation than it does in the generic return to order.

In 1929, in one of his famous lectures, Le Corbusier, equipped with drawings, urged the *porteño* architects to 'open their eyes': 'You say: "We don't have anything. Our city is so new." [. . .] Look: I draw an enclosure wall, open a door in it, the wall extends along the triangular roof to the left of a shed with a small window in the middle; to the left I draw a very neat, square veranda. Upon the house's terrace I raise that delicious cylinder: the water tank. You all think: "Wow, here we have what makes a modern city!" Not at all: I have drawn the houses of Buenos Aires'. Two years later, the German city planner Werner Hegemann, whose assessment of Buenos Aires was the total opposite of Le Corbusier's, nevertheless agreed with him with regard to the modernist recovery of the traditional house starting with the reevaluation of the 'spirit of Schinkel' in South America: 'The construction companies are still building thousands of small houses today that fall completely within the classic forms that have been simplified and cleansed of the baroque additions and have completely, immediately and innocently, given themselves to an incredibly modernist materialism (*Sachlichkeit*). [. . .] There was no need for European architects to import post-war cubism to South America because it formed here on its own, as a natural and logical consequence of its own robust tradition. [. . .] Between these buildings and those of the young generation of architects there is nothing more than a small but decisive step.'[8]

3. It's obvious that the modernist classicism of the 1920s couldn't be found in the social miserabilism of Patricios, neither in the colorful picturesque of La Boca, nor in the strident expressionism of the downtown. But then, what was it that suggested it could indeed be found in those northeastern suburbs: 'now an insipid site of Anglo-Saxon style tiles, three years ago of smoky brick ovens, and five years ago of unruly pastures' as Borges himself recognized? To what can a classicist ambition be reduced in the midst of a modernizing whirlwind, at the very site where modernization is at its most dizzying, where (as the writer Arturo Cancela lamented) men live longer than houses, and the landscape changes before our very eyes? The answer is simple and, at the same time, shows the most original side of this vision of Buenos Aires: although later Coppola would

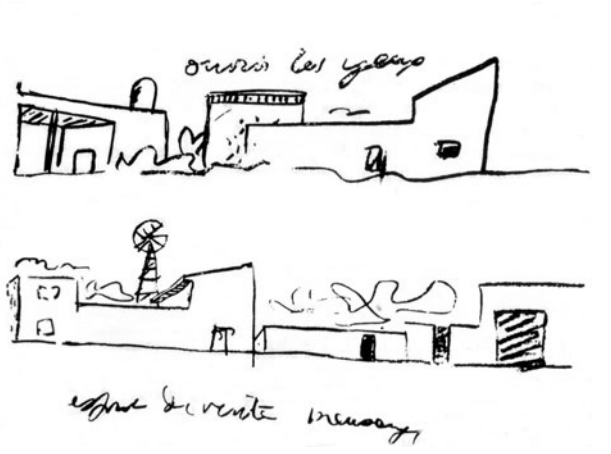

FIGURE 6 Le Corbusier, 'Ouvrir les yeux' [open the eyes]. The image illustrated the 8th lecture Le Corbusier gave in Buenos Aires on October 17th, 1929, in his *Précisions, sur un état present de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme*, Paris, 1930.

be able to see the whole city in this manner, he found his answer in that suburb, where it bordered the pampas, and above all, in a structure that defined it: the grid.

The importance of the avant-garde's recovery of the pampas as an essential element of *criollismo* is well-known. Nonetheless, the link between the grid and the pampa is not straightforward, it does not unify the whole spectrum of avant-garde practices and it deserves an explanation. Within the Western tradition, the grid has been identified with capitalist rationality in its crudest form, with a radical modernization of the territory without any cultural mediation, taking the American city as a referential framework. In this sense, the grid would find its detractors – 'those

FIGURE 7 Horacio Coppola, 'Jean Jaurés al 1000' [*Jean Jaurés St.*], 1929, second photograph that illustrated the first edition of Jorge Luis Borges's *Evaristo Carriego* in 1930.

checkerboards are not prisons for the body but graves for the soul' John Ruskin stated – and very few advocates. However, the main tradition in Buenos Aires concerned a cultural interpretation of the grid that rejects it not for representing the most modern but the most traditional: in this version the grid fulfills the opprobrious fate imposed by the double barbarism of the Spanish tradition and the pampas' nature.[9] This can be attested from Domingo F. Sarmiento to Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, and for many others who reflected upon the city. It is not always the same grid: at the turn of the century, the government had laid out a modern grid for all the broad territory that the city encompassed. But actually this only fed into the wiles of the cultured model: the city, through its grid, realizes the threat of the pampas; its expansion could not be seen as integration into culture, but as metamorphosis into barbarian nature. The hegemony of picturesque models in the first decades of the century and the later modernist rejection of the *rue corridor* influenced the reflections upon the city so as to maintain a negative relation between city and pampa, and thus the pampa became the explanation of the *modern* city's barbarism: precisely, the materialization of its failure.

Confronting this tradition was the classicist sector of the avant-garde position itself, sustaining its cultured relation between city and pampa, though inverting its conclusions.

This is the reason why Borges would propose the mythological foundation of Buenos Aires on a square block, 'a whole square block, but set down in open country,' thus provocatively bringing together both symbols of that repudiation.[10] Nothing more essential than this abstract structure, the fabric of the city blocks – as abstract as that which is most central to this culture, the pampas – insisting on weaving together and giving meaning to each new part of the city, providing it with a formal unity ('as if it were all of them / the shuffled, superimposed memories / of a single block') that support all the social or cultural heterogeneity.[11] Here is where this counter-progressive version of the avant-garde presents another paradox: the vindication of the grid's expansion, which in that very moment was producing the most complete social integration of the city's new popular sectors: the grid as a promise of public equality in the market.

Coppola will further this vindication of Buenos Aires' essential structure through a series of motifs. The first is the celebration of the city's horizontality, a typical product of the expansion of the city blocks into a large, empty territory through a series of the

FIGURE 8 Horacio Coppola. Desde Avenida del Trabajo y Lacarra, 1936.

low, flat-roofed houses in which the 'dreadful' sky of the pampas will always stand out. In the 1936 album, there are multiple photographs with the title 'Un cielo de Buenos Aires' ('A Buenos Aires Sky') with an indiscernible line of 'city' at the lower bottom and a infinite pampean sky that directly alludes to certain landscapes painted by Pedro Figari (1861–1938), the Uruguayan painter promoted by the avant-garde: 'What does Figari not know or cannot do in his skies?' Ricardo Güiraldes wondered in *Martín Fierro*. (In order to analyze Figari, a sentence by Roger Caillois, typical of the vindication of the pampas in which the local avant-gardes so liked to see themselves, has also been used: 'I thank this land which has so exaggerated the part that's sky').[12]

The other motif that Coppola presents is the grid itself, ubiquitous in the interminable views of the always identical streets, at the corners – key to the intelligibility of the block itself – in the smoothness of the homogenous facades, in the abstract games produced by the unbroken superimposition of the dividing walls. It's enough to note Coppola's ecstasy in the face of these cityscapes to understand the measure in which, despite what he says – and surely what he himself believed – he did not internalize Le Corbusier's destructive assessments of the city chessboard. Faced with the canonized modernism and the classicist-*criollista* version that was in the process of development, Coppola clearly opted for the latter.

He distances himself then from Prebisch, who continued to be more orthodoxly modern and, because of this, would embody the reactive moment of the urban imaginings of the 1930s without any contradiction (in 1936, at the presentation of Coppola's album which consummated the celebration of Buenos Aires' essential

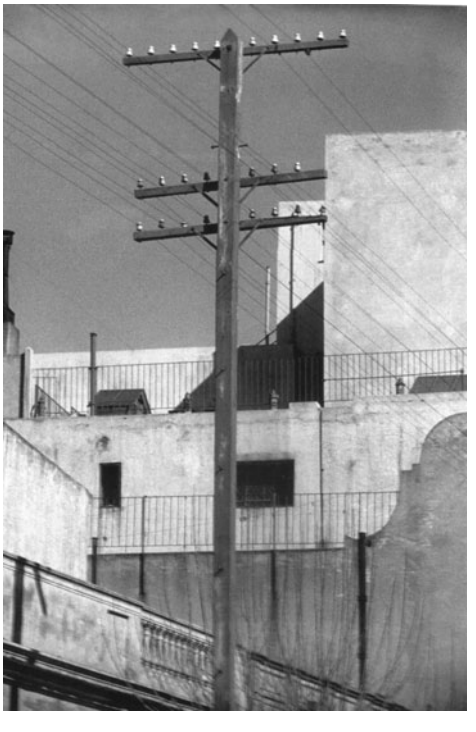

FIGURE 9 Horacio Coppola. *Medianera [Dividing Wall]*, 1931.

orthogonality, Prebisch stated, was: 'One of the most distressing graphic spectacles I've seen in my life is a map of Buenos Aires').[13] For Prebisch, the classicist-*criollista* recovery couldn't be translated into a modern city unless there was a radical removal of everything which had caused the traditional city to lose its 'coherence and unity' (it's well-known: the *nouveau riche* eclecticism, the uncouth mania of the immigrant *parvenu*; with this racist form of contempt for the 'non-*criollo*,' everyone, including Coppola, was in agreement, which only goes to demonstrate that the appropriations of *criollismo* that Adolfo Prieto finds in the working-class immigrant sector already appear with a similar degree of transvestism in the artists of that origin).

To the architectural avant-garde, the modern city can assimilate into the *criollo* city but at the cost of a great abstraction of its elements in their translation by modern city planning. The search for order that those who work in the city undertake will be expressed in architecture but not in the city. Except as a mark and symbol of a particular ambition: this is the meaning of the Obelisk, a monument that in 1936 – a moment in which the 'white city' of the architectural avant-garde was defined by its symbolic recovery of the city downtown area – is built by Prebisch and filmed and photographed by Coppola as key in the search for a relationship between the classic, the *criollo*, and the modern.

And Cancela would wisely link it to the grid:

> How we have protested against the regularity of our urban drawing, its lack of surprises and agreeability, as if that were possible when building a city upon an uninterrupted flatness and, in fact, without limits! However much we try, we'll never escape geometry. [...] In this respect, isn't it significant that, in order to perpetuate the initial pageantry of our history as a nation, our founding fathers raised, in the center of the glorious plaza, the most plain and striking of all geometric constructions, the pyramid? [...] In its mathematical nudity, the

FIGURE 10 Horacio Coppola. *Plaza de Mayo*, 1936. The intended relation between the pyramid and the obelisk is noticeable through the recently opened diagonal norte avenue.

> modest construction seems to indicate a path for Argentine art: the cult of pure lines and the search for beauty in the Pythagorean number. If they hadn't moved it twenty-six years ago [...] it would face, through the city's first diagonal street, the white Obelisk in the Plaza de la República, a monument that audaciously affirms the same aesthetic canon.[14]

This constructive ambition for an order allows one to understand why, having been at the very center of artistic experimentation, Coppola was never interested in collages (and this demonstrates the differences between his and Grete Stern's, his first wife, initial education), just as he couldn't be interested – more than a kind of very early and isolated pursuit – in expressionist exasperation.[15] But, in the same way, it is that constructive ambition that, in the end, makes it so difficult to call our avant-garde 'avant-garde,' unless we change all of the conventional criteria. The local *avant-garde* turns all of the tasks of an *avant-garde* inside out: mainly, it *constructs* a language and a tradition. Coppola looked to construct that language with a handful of motifs: 'the traditional house' as a modernist motif, the suburban landscape as a classicist one, and a permanent structure that timelessly supported it all: the grid. That was how one of the most powerful imaginaries of Buenos Aires was shaped; one that, in the midst of its elitist *criollismo*, had fleeting encounters with progressive features of developing modernism, in which it also knew how to capture much of the best of this new city.[16]

Notes

1 Horacio Coppola was born in 1906; at the age of twenty he began his first series of photographs of the city, registering the paths he took through various neighborhoods, often with other members of the literary and artistic avant-gardes. Jorge Luis Borges chose two photographs from this first series to illustrate the first edition of *Evaristo Carriego* (1930). Coppola began his second series in 1931, after a trip to Europe; some of these photographs were published in issues 4 and 5 of the magazine *Sur*. Upon returning from his second trip to Europe, he took the third series between 1935 and 1936, having been commissioned by the government of the city of Buenos Aires to create the commemorative album for the 4th centennial of the city's founding: resulting in *Buenos Aires 1936*, with introductory texts by Ignacio Anzoátegui and Alberto Prebisch. For more on Coppola's career, see the interview that I conducted with him in 1995, published as 'Horacio Coppola: testimonios', *Punto de Vista* No. 53, Buenos Aires, November 1995, in the same issue in which this text was first published.

2 This injustice was committed in a book from 1980 which was significantly titled *Viejo Buenos Aires adiós* (*Goodbye, Old Buenos Aires*), in which Coppola's photographs appear as a kind of mourning for the transformation that they were trying to interpret (and the fact that Coppola himself may have been the one behind this nostalgic rereading is just another lesson on the fate, in the last few decades, of the city's avant-garde). The book reproduces photographs from the book *Buenos Aires 1936* with misguided texts by J.J. Giacobbe and a pathetic yellow patina added to all the images.

3 'Profesión de fe literaria', *El tamaño de mi esperanza*, Seix Barral, Buenos Aires, 1993, p. 127. (Otherwise noted, translation by the editors.)

4 Graciela Silvestri and I have explored many of these questions in 'El pasado como futuro. Una utopía reactiva en Buenos Aires', *Punto de Vista* n° 42, Buenos Aires, April, 1992. The new answers that are tested here, using Coppola as the object, are doubtlessly complementary, and this article should be read almost as a continuation of the former.

5 Alberto Gerchunoff, 'Buenos Aires, metrópoli continental (1914), *Buenos Aires, la metrópoli del mañana*, Cuadernos de Buenos Aires n° XIII, Buenos Aires, MCBA 1960, pp. 15–18.

6 *Martín Fierro* n° 5–6, May 15–June 15, 1924, *Revista Martín Fierro 1924–1927. Edición facsimilar*, Buenos Aires, Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1995, p. 35.

7 The quote from Borges is from *Inquisiciones*, Seix Barral, Buenos Aires, 1993, pp. 89–90. On the nature of modernism in local architecture, Jorge F. Liernur has extensively developed this argument. Cf., for example, 'El discreto encanto de nuestra arquitectura: 1930–1960', *summa* n° 223, Buenos Aires, March, 1986.

8 Le Corbusier, Buenos Aires lectures republished in *Le Corbusier en Buenos Aires, 1929*, Buenos Aires, Sociedad Central de Arquitectos, 1979, p. 59. Werner Hegemann, 'El espíritu de Schinkel en Sud América', *Revista de Arquitectura* n° 142, Buenos Aires, October, 1932.

9 See in particular the section dedicated to Martínez Estrada in chapter 1, 'Mapas de identidad' (Maps of Identity) in Adrián Gorelik, *Miradas sobre Buenos Aires. Historia cultural y crítica urbana*, Siglo XXI, Buenos Aires, 2004, which includes a version of this present essay.

10 See Jorge Luis Borges, 'La fundación mitológica de Buenos Aires', *Cuaderno San Martín*, Buenos Aires, Proa, 1929.

11 The verses are from 'Arrabal', *Fervor de Buenos Aires*, 1923.

12 Güiralde's phrase can be found in *Martín Fierro* n° 8 and 9, September 6, 1924, *Revista Martín Fierro 1924–1927. Edición facsimilar* (edited and with introduction by Horacio Salas), Buenos Aires, Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1995, pp. 129 and 61. Caillois's sentence in Carlos A. Herrera Mac Lean, *Pedro Figari*, Buenos Aires, Poseidón, p. 52.

13 Alberto Prebisch, 'La ciudad en que vivimos' (The City we live in), MCBA, *Buenos Aires 1936*, p. 10.

14 Arturo Cancela, 'Buenos Aires a vuelo de pájaro' (Buenos Aires bird's eye view), MCBA, *Homenaje a Buenos Aires en el cuarto centenario de su fundación* (symposium of literary-historical lectures sponsored by the city government), Buenos Aires, 1936.

15 Coppola met Grete Stern in 1932, during the brief time he spent in the photography workshop of the last Bauhaus (the one that Mies van der Rohe tried to operate in Berlin after Dessau was closed). Afterwards, they traveled through Europe together and came to Buenos Aires, where in 1935 they put on the photography exhibition sponsored by *Sur*.

16 On the ideological ambiguity of the elitist criollismo as appears in the work of Coppola and Borges, see A. Gorelik, "Horacio Coppola, 1929. Borges, Le Corbusier y las casitas de Buenos Aires", in AAVV, Horacio Coppola. Fotografías, Fundación Telefónica, Madrid, 2008, pp. 48–59.

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