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Refurbishing the Keep of Asilah Castle (Morocco): A Controversial Intervention
Preliminary Communication
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Obnova kule dvorca Asilah (Maroko): sporni zahvat
Prethodno priopæenje
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Fig. 1. Asilah keep after restoration

Sl. 1. Kula Asilah nakon obnove
When architect Viana de Lima was commissioned to restore the main tower of the Portuguese castle of Asilah in 1987, the building was in complete ruins. But neither the architect nor the historian responsible for refurbishing the building managed to restore the old tower to an acceptable state. The intervention was too aggressive and the surprising part of the old fort’s keep now is the fact that unsuitable parts have been included, or parts that never existed in the past.
INTRODUCTION
UVOD

In June 1987, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation decided to recover the old keep of Asilah Castle, a Portuguese fort situated on the Atlantic Coast of Morocco that belonged to Portugal for just over a century (Fig. 3). It was taken in 1471 and abandoned in 1550, but returned to Portuguese rule between 1576 and 1589. The town was an essential strategic point for Portugal's African trade.

The task was given to Alfredo Viana de Lima (1913-1990), an excellent architect and a pioneer in introducing the Modern Movement in Portugal with the Honorio Lima house in Porto (1939), which no longer stands. A follower of the principles of Corbusier, although he was not adverse to accepting the influence of certain expressionist modes, perhaps encouraged by some Brazilian examples that he discovered in the early fifties. However, in the planning of spaces and in the formal tendency of pure volumes, he remained within the parameters of the Swiss-French maestro.1

The work was scheduled to last five years (1988-1993). Viana de Lima had a top-flight team of people to help him: architect João Campos and engineer Eduardo Marques; for historic advice, he went to Rafael Moreira, from the Nova University of Lisbon. Most of the funding came from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon) and the Al Mohi-hit Association (Asilah). The contractor who would take care of the building work was La Asociación Lamnini S.A. from Rabat; the carpentry would be done by Carpintería do Norte (Porto), with Asturiana de Minas, also from Porto, also taking part.2

Despite the good references, the refurbishment criteria suggest that the main objective was to convert the remains of the tower into a "monument" in line with restoration theories that, in our opinion, are more than doubtful, attempting to support this approach with documents whose contents were not interpreted as they should be. Thus, the original idea of the fortification was sacrificed, without giving any consideration to its historic and artistic merit.

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BUILDING
KRATAK POVIJESNI PREGLED GRAĐEVINE

When Viana de Lima put into writing the problems he faced in refurbishing the Asilah keep, he wrote the following: "The task I attempted to carry out, offering my best efforts, turned out to be a particularly arduous one, to a large extent due to the scarce information available, the imprecision with regard to the building components and because of the lack of sufficient historic documentation (iconographic and written)."3

The city of Asilah was conquered in August 1471. During the early years of occupation, it enjoyed an agreeable calm due to the two truces signed between King Alphonse V and Muley Chej, follower of Al-Idrisi and pretender to the throne; the first lasting twenty years and the second, ten. However, the arrogance of the Portuguese governor and, above all, the death of the sultan led to a period of hostilities breaking out in 1500. A consequence of this change was the 1508 siege that clearly showed up the weakness of the city defences. As a result, the town’s fortifications had to be strengthened.4 Hence, from the beginning of the 16th century, building techniques were modified, shifting from stone and clay masonry to stone and lime masonry. At the same time, measures were taken to reduce the area of the Portuguese city to make for a better defence (known as "atalho").

1 1996a: 949
2 Commemorative plaque placed on the building.
3 Viana de Lima, 1995: 55
4 Guevara, 1940: 17-18
5 Correia, 2008: 197-198
6 Guevara, 1940: 48-49
7 Guevara, 1940: 48-49
8 In the case of Asilah, which has a very small text, the information provided is quiet innocuous, such as when it says: "Arzilla formed the largest city of Africa, now confine don the borders of the Christians", or "It grew in prosperity and became stronger. The inhabitants were rich, educated and well-armed. The land around the city was fertile and all kinds of cereals and vegetables could easily be
A few years later, when architect Diogo Boytac was staying in Asilah, work started on building the keep, which Correia situates in 1509 and 1510. Its layout moved away from the austerity of most medieval towers in an attempt to demonstrate the strength and wealth of the power that it represented, by adorning it with the characteristic ornaments of the domination that it symbolises. It is comprised of a pronouncedly prismatic body, with an accentuated embankment on the ground floor, from which it rises in a straight line until a break, almost at the top, narrows its perimeter, making the whole keep lighter. This is a typical solution for towers that wish to flee from the significance of the characteristic heaviness and dryness of their merely defensive function. This has been confirmed in buildings with the same purpose, such as the towers of Beja or Belem in Lisbon. The tower is finished off with embattlements, crenels, merlons, embrasures, etc., and a discreet but rich late Gothic or Manueline ornamentation.

For the interior layout, we have resorted to the contribution made by Adolfo Guevara in the study conducted on Arcila. The lower floor acted as a dungeon while the governor’s residence was above, in the main audience chamber, which was combined with what Guevara calls "parlatorios", a kind of offices.6 The connection between the tower and the castle allowed other functions to be shared with this latter building. This was the case of the rooms of the Governor, the arsenal, etc.7

STATE OF THE TOWER AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WORK

STANJE TORNJA PRIJE OBNOVE

All of the interventions commissioned to layout the skyline of the city of Asilah that we know about from historical references have disappeared. The first image that we have is the one offered by Civitates Orbis Terrarum (Fig. 2), a major work of six volumes directed by Georg Braun, whose sketches come from different hands, although Flemish artist Joris Hoefnagel was to stand out. He had to journey to several different countries to do his work. The engraver was Franz Hogenberg, author of practically all the plates. Braun was also responsible for writing the texts in Latin, and for descriptive, political and historical comments.8 The six volumes came out in Cologne one after another in 1572, 1575, 1581, 1588, 1598 and 1617. Not all the cities studied and represented however came from a direct knowledge of them by the artists. This was the case of the Portuguese cities in Morocco, erected in accordance with descriptions and drawings provided at the time, but which no longer exist.9

Despite later engravings and reproductions, almost three hundred years would have to go by before we see another picture of the dungeon10, now in a decrepit state, but with all the accuracy of a photograph. These are the pictures taken in 1912 by Spanish photographer Villalba.11 Thirteen years later, in 1925, another set of photographs of Asilah were to appear, in the text Alcacer Seguer en agosto de 1923.12 Finally, in 1940, another, fairly extensive set appeared, attached to the work by Adolfo L. Guevara, some of them taken from the aforementioned book.

In all these, the state of the dungeon was always one of total ruin. The building had lost all the coping, including the paving of the upper terrace, and even to the point that in the north-east wall, the panel of the wall was seriously cracked as much of the mantle was missing from the floor below the rooftop. Most of the recesses were missing much of...
For a while, stone buildings were abutted against the wall that made an angle with the castle, and these were repeated at the base of this latter fortification (one of them was a small building of certain importance announced as a pastry shop) (Fig. 5 and 6), although these had disappeared by 1940. The castle wall however, which overlooked the main square, conserved two Manueline-style recesses and it was crowned by Portuguese battlements.

The surrounding area was also clean and cleared. The castle wall had been repaired, unfortunately entailing the disappearance of the windows and the chemin de ronde or protected walkway for sentries.

**MAIN FUNCTIONAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE ASPECTS**

This is the heading used by Viana de Lima for the process of his intervention in Asilah dungeon. To gain insight, both into his attitude towards the building and into the critical opinion presented below, I feel it is advisable to transcribe it for the reader to discover it too:

- **Exterior panels** – the existing stone work must be properly cleaned. An acrylic resin will be applied and the vertical planes of the façade will be rendered (in accordance with local techniques) whitewashed with a fixing additive. These renderings will go up to the facings of the stonework that constitute the corners of the building and the beadwork of the openings, windows and balconies.
- **Corners of the tower** – these are the frameworks that remain in the elevations; the corners must be carefully restored, avoiding merely facing them to get the visual effect. This issue deserves greater attention; therefore, we propose the right measures so that the stonework of the corners of the tower is done with paired blocks of stone, the only way to guarantee the necessary solidity in the exterior panels of the façade as well.
- **Openings in the facade** – the stone surroundings (the edges) of the windows and balconies must be properly restored. As far as the upper opening of the west facade is concerned, given the role it plays in the composition of the facade, its representativeness and the existence of remains of arches over the small columns of the jambs, we have designed a particular proposal for its restoration that takes the language of the late Gothic Manueline style of some characteristic Portuguese Gothic openings.
- **Doors and windows** – The trimmings of the doors and windows will be in wood. If the windows go down to the ground, there are plans for a painted wrought iron railing.
- **Interior walls and ceilings** – the walls and ceilings show signs of damp. It would make sense to first discover the origin of this anomaly in order to take the necessary steps. The final appearance must be of a rendering with a fixing additive or stucco, this is not appliable to the sanitary facilities over the walls, for which we propose white, full-height marble slabs.
- **Flooring** – all the interior floors must be finished in rustic tile mosaics.
To this, we must add a chapter devoted exclusively to the *top floor and roof*, which we shall also refer to.

**CRITICAL ASSESSMENT**

**KRITIČKA PROCJENA**

From my own experience, it is worth pointing out that there can be pronounced differences between the restoration report and the work that is actually done to recover a building because, as work progresses on the building, a reading of this can provide a multitude of surprises. But there is one thing that does not change in the one or the other, and that is the basic philosophy that will establish the right defining traits from the beginning.

For all these reasons, it is significant that the architect had his doubts when considering the intervention, when adopting the proposal suggested by the historian’s research, indicating that despite his intentions with regard to restoration practices, this also took him into the field of hypothesis, and he ended up rebuilding parts of the project using a different philosophy from that which was used in the initial construction of the building. Viana de Lima himself, warned of this quite honestly when, in his section “About the contents of the proposal”, he states: “...that he can return to the state certain constructive elements in the best conditions of safety, functionality and architectural integration”.14

The final result was reflected in the reconstruction of the coping of the tower from a base that differed from the one the building had originally. We are not referring to the wood and metal facing that we will discuss at another time, but rather to another, just as specific aspect: how the chemin de ronde, battlements, etc. were dealt with (Fig. 8).

In general, the issues of adaptation, of returning to the origins took priority, but even so, these are most certainly not principles based solely on a purity of style that have emanated from the hypothesis of Rafael Moreira, whereby the intention with the tower was to establish a formal archetype of architectural representativeness of keeps "as a symbol of the sovereign power".15 The consequence of this was to promote a type of monumental style in which cliché merges with the imagination of the artist who wants to leave his or her own mark, with whatever additions were deemed fit, neglecting the respect that is due to the historic past. This led them to one of the great dilemmas of the different theories of restoration: to define the line that marks the boundary between the expert's creativity and a rigorous respect for the monument. Viana de Lima chose the former premise, a practise aimed at solving the serious consolidation problems suffered by the tower, neglected for four centuries, and he saw the restoration as an opportunity to "improve" the image of the building pursuant to his proposals (Fig. 1), which in reality, take their inspiration from a series of castles, such as Beia, Braganza, Chaves, etc.

And furthermore, we now have no idea about the values of the parts that were destroyed, quite a serious issue. We are referring to, among other details, the original recesses that could have taught us about techniques that may no longer exist, and although this problem can be partially off-set by using local labour this is not sufficient guarantee to order that they be "properly cleaned". Had they survived, we believe that these remains would offer reliable information about some parts of the building. The exceptional nature of the construction, practically unique in its genre, does not justify the process. Its cost has been enormous, with the almost complete destruction of important remains and historic testimonies. It required a more stringent investigation, as we do today; one that is not just limited to the figures of the architect and the historian, but also includes other professional fields in the restoration team, such as geologists, archaeologists, etc.

But this was not the only controversial aspect. The intervention in the tower tackled the restitution of a piece that had practically disappeared, the Manueline style window on the south west flank, although the truth of this is doubtful, as the discovery of a few remains is unlikely to make it possible to reconstruct such a complex piece (Fig. 7). The author himself, understanding the risk he was running, preferred to call it simply "janela à maneira Manuelina".

All these facts should lead us think about the methodology to use in research into cultural heritage and, in particular, into the restora-

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13 Viana de Lima, 1995: 66-70
14 Viana de Lima, 1995: 60
15 Moreira, 1995: 44
The dilemma of the roof of the building

Concerning the layout of the Arcila castle dungeon, it has been an unquestionable fact to date that there was a tower finished off with a four-sided pitched roof. But we believe that this statement raises certain doubts. The reason this is so generally accepted is based on the view of the only existing graphic document available, at a time in which the tower was still intact: the engraving by Jaris Hoefnagel, in the volumes of Civitatis Orbis Terrarum, printed at the end of the 16th century.

However, I believe that before accepting or rejecting this issue, we should stop and consider some ideas that could lead us to modify the criterion that has been maintained to date.

When the custom of representing urban views started to spread at the end of the Middle Ages, these were done for them to be "read" by the lower medieval classes, so that they could understand them in their original language, that is, the images were adulterated to make them easier to understand. It is, in consequence, a language and not the observation of a reality. The pictures are drawn in whatever language makes them easiest to read. There are countless examples of this. In the last quarter of the 15th century when Passquier Gremier’s workshop in Tournai (Belgium) was commissioned to make the Pastrana tapestries, the pictures of Asilah represent a Northern European City, rather than an Islamic town, with Gothic towers and where the houses have staggered hanging walls with sloping roofs, just like in any Flemish town16 (Fig. 9). Years later, in 1514, when Juan de Borgoña painted the conquest of Oran in the Mozarabic Chapel of Toledo Cathedral, the walls, towers with battlements and houses are still the reproduction of a Christian City.17 When Charles V ordered an iconographic reproduction of the conquest of Tunis to be made, the engravings that were made for the future tapestries maintained the appearance of a European city (here, we are talking about 1555-1560).18 Moving now to a model taken from the same work, when Hoefnagel draws the small town of Azemur in Civitates Orbis Terrarum, he adorns it with so many towers (eleven) that it immediately enables you to understand the artist’s19 fantasy (Fig. 11).

Did the tower of Asilah have a wooden frame? We believe not. Having consulted Duarte d’Armas’s20 book, we find that there are only a very few towers with roofs in comparison with those without roofs. Viana de Lima quotes four examples for their similarity, but there is something they almost all have in common, their geographic location, always in the northern part of the country. The fortresses of Montalegre and Chaves (Fig. 10 and 12)

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16 Bunes Ibarra, 2010a: 50-65
17 Bunes Ibarra, 2010b: 27
18 Checa, 2010: 160-163
19 León el Africano, 1995: 171
20 Duarte D’Armas: Livro das fortalezas...
21 Guevara, 1940: 50
are a very short distance from the border with Galicia, in the district of Vilarreal, sub-region of Alto Tras os Montes, while the fortress of Almeida is in the district of Guarda, province of Beira, almost bordering on the province of Salamanca in Spain. Only Nisa (Fig. 13) is further south, in the district of Portalegre, region of Alentejo, bordering on the Spanish province of Badajoz. So, the climate factor could probably have had an influence on the configuration of the steeply sloping roofs.

With just this one assertion, I am not saying that the Asilah tower had no cover over the top, but was that layout with such steeply sloping roofs necessary? It makes no sense in a place with such low rainfall, despite the fact that, as Rafael Moreira so right says, it is a style whose purpose is to project an image of power.

Nevertheless, we continue to believe that the African keep had no wooden roof. We take Adolfo Guevara to support this hypothesis. Following Anales de Arcila by Bernardo Rodrigues, Guevara, in his section devoted to the Servicios de Información – Avisos, writes: “They also lit a large bonfire on the top of the Keep, so that it could be seen by the Watch Towers of Cape Espartel.” If the tower had had any kind of wooden construction at the top, it would undoubtedly have been impossible to light the bonfire that the Anales talk of. So, there was probably no roof as has been claimed to date.

**INTERPRETING THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERVENTION**

_VUMAČENJE NAČELA ZAHVATA_

Viana de Lima made it very clear what his principles of intervention were going to be in restoring the Asilah Keep: “Remember (...) the concerns raised by the different international agencies”. To that end, he focused on such fundamental texts adopted by UNESCO or ICOMOS as The Venice Charter, The Declaration of Amsterdam, The Nairobi Meeting or the Charter of Toledo.

The interpretation given to these documents does not however, appear to be entirely correct because it takes them out of context and, therefore, biases their content. Hence, for example, in the report conclusions, it transcribes literally an ICOMOS text that says “The introduction of elements of a contemporary nature, provided that this does not upset the harmony of the whole, can help to enrich it”, a reference that could be aimed at justifying one of the most fiercely criticised actions of the restoration, the embattled coping of the tower, for which they not only used shapes that where totally out of character with the idiosyncrasy of the building, they also highlighted the traditional materials by putting them in sharp contrast with the bare concrete.

In this case article 9 of the Venice Charter that starts the chapter on restoration is obvious, a paragraph that leaves no doubt about it: “...it is based (restoration) on respect for original material and authentic documents”. This same article continues with a declara-
tation that is very clear with regard to certain attitudes put into practice in the refurbishment in question: "Restoration must stop where conjecture begins".\textsuperscript{22} We do not know what application the architect gave it when he was adding the false Manueline style window and the four sided wooden pitched roof, finished off with broad gambrels.

But the responsibility for these mistakes is shared. Article 11 of the Venice Charter concludes with a crystal-clear phrase: "Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work".\textsuperscript{23} Consequently, the historian, who must be in continual contact with the architect, is just as responsible, as by not objecting to anything, he shows his agreement with the decision taken.

But the Venice Charter is not the only document that indicates the conditions for conducting a restoration properly, the Declaration of Amsterdam too, is in favour of using materials properly ("Steps should be taken to ensure that traditional building materials remain available and that the traditional crafts and techniques continue to be used.").\textsuperscript{24} Years before, article 13 of the Venice Charter said: "Additions cannot be allowed except in so far as they do not detract from the interesting parts of the building, its traditional setting, the balance of its composition and its relation with its surroundings".\textsuperscript{25} In the middle of that square made up of the Sea Gate, the old mosque and the old castle wall, apart from the traditional houses, the pigmentation and form of the sentry boxes, battlements and turrets offer a total contrast to the "traditional atmosphere, the balance of the whole and its relations with its surroundings".

**METHODODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE OF APPLYING THE PRINCIPLES OF CONSERVATION AND ANALYSIS OF A COMPARATIVE EXAMPLE OF RENOVATION**

There is no reason why an architect should also be a good restorer, as the artistic creativity factor is by no means an essential condition for carrying out work of this kind. We make this claim on the basis of Cesare Brandi’s axiom when he wrote that "It is the work that determines the restoration, and not the other way around".\textsuperscript{26} As for how the renovation is done, Brandi himself establishes the different criteria:

- **Plumbing Restoration**, disrespectful of the work of art per se and, therefore, to be rejected.
- **Re-establishment Restoration**, which takes the work back to its origins and strips the monument of all the additions it has accumulated over time.
- **Archaeological Restoration**, which, while being the truest restoration, does not allow the re-establishment of the additions that

\textsuperscript{22} Martínez Justicia, 1996: 65
\textsuperscript{23} Martínez Justicia, 1996: 66
\textsuperscript{24} Martínez Justicia, 1996: 107
\textsuperscript{25} Martínez Justicia, 1996: 66
\textsuperscript{26} Brandi, 1988. This text has acted as the foundation for the content of this section.
history has gradually deposited on the monument, hence stripping it of a substantial component.

That is why in some cases, such as the one in hand, in which the monument represents a sign and a symbol of the future of a country, certain re-establishment is acceptable, or in other words, each restoration is subject to its own characteristics, but always provided that the part that is added can be easily identified in comparison with the previous remains. Under no circumstances is it legitimate to fantasise with the restorer’s personal recreations.27 In short, the restorer must apply certain inalterable principles such as:

- Minimum intervention.
- Appropriate materials, always leaving open the possibility of reversing the restoration.
- Exhaustive documental knowledge.

In some countries, legislation backs the sincerity of the restoration, with sufficient jurisprudence for later actions. In Spain, the most controversial, but also the most definitive case of actions of this kind, is the intervention on the Sagunto Theatre, where the old building was mistreated when the lay-out of many of its parts was changed (terraces, cavea, etc.) by fracturing the original set-up using more aggressive structures that disfigured the original building. The Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando de Madrid brought the case before the courts. The sentence of 16 October 2000 ruled in favour of the Royal Academy. Although the building could not be restored to its original state, it did pave the way for jurisprudence to be established to safeguard listed buildings facing restoration in Spain today.28

CONCLUSION

ZAKLJUČAK

The restoration of the keep constitutes yet another chapter in this accumulation of errors of some experts that have been carried away by their sense of creativity, transforming an outstanding building, unique in its style, into a hybrid construction half-way between the past and the present. The cause could possibly lie in the fact of a disassociation from the guidelines that the specific agencies have suggested for interventions of this kind. Following this axiom, it seems only correct to finish this article by remembering point 4 of the recommendations made by the UN in the Nairobi meeting (1976): “Historical areas and their surroundings should be actively protected against all kind of deterioration, especially deterioration resulting from improper use, additions, parasites and abusive transformations or insensitivity that damage their authenticity and those caused by any form of pollution. All restoration works undertaken should be based on scientific principles. Special attention should also be paid to the harmony and aesthetic emotion resulting from linking or from contrasts of the different elements that comprise the areas, giving each one of them their particular character.”29

27 *** 1996b. Really, we remain within the application of Brandi’s theories, as it was he, in collaboration with Guglielmo De Angelis D’Ossat, who established the basic premises for drafting them when he was running the Central Restoration Institute that he had founded years beforehand.
28 DARIAS PRÍNCEPE (in print)
29 CASTILLO RUÍZ, 1997: 146
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Biography

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