

Rui Aristides Bixirão Neto Marinho Lebre

From the organization of space to the organization of society
A study of the political commitments in
post-war Portuguese architecture, 1945-69

Ph.D thesis in Architecture with the guidance of Prof. José António Oliveira Bandeirinha and
Dr. Nuno Manuel de Azevedo Andrade Porto and presented at Department of Architecture of
the Faculty of Sciences and Technology of the University of Coimbra

October 2016



UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

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With the support:



Abstract

This dissertation emerged in the wake of the 2008 real-estate crisis and a will to discuss, understand and project the role professional architecture might play in reorganizing collective stakes. The aim was to understand how architecture's expert knowledge contributed to the political construction of reality. This was developed through the study of a group of Portuguese architects and architecture practices from mid-20th century, specifically from 1945 to 1969. The study of the career of Portuguese architect Fernando Távora (1923-2005) was the starting point and mediator to a specific collective universe of professional formation, urban development and political embattlement. Távora was agent of a culture of architecture in which the ideas of respecting the context, commitment to local needs and history, internationally projected by the reputation of Porto architects Álvaro Siza Vieira and Eduardo Souto de Moura, were first articulated. Thus, this dissertation transports a dual questioning: how did post-war Portuguese architects interpret the discipline as politically committed? And, what can we learn from this specific case about the political constitution of the practice of professional architecture?

These questions are answered through the study of two elements of professional-political construction: expert discourses and their relations to government, power and political ideology; architecture designs and their relation to the transformation of Portuguese landscapes. The study of discourses cross-reads the development of architecture expert discourses with the emergence of problems of government and languages of power and government. This study of discourses derives from an ethnographic study of architecture designs, based on guidelines from material and spatial anthropology. This dissertation attempts to seize architectural designs in their articulations and projections of community, comfort, modernity and culture.

The first part of the dissertation, comprising chapters 1 to 3, addresses the formation of a collective project for professional architecture developed by young architects in the post-war, and attempting to draw democratic ideals and practices closer. The second part, comprising chapters 4 to 6, addresses how this collective project of architecture involved the putting forward of a particular view of the city and its edifying mission in national well-being. The third part, comprising chapter 7, addresses how this style of apprehending the city was practiced in the case of an urban renewal process. These parts assemble together a specific urban history and culture, pedagogical experiments in architecture education, and architectural practices that sought to reframe Portuguese urban reality through a professional reframing.

This dissertation discusses the intimacies and distinctions between a professional and a political project, transported by the debated identification of being Portuguese with being modern. It discusses how a project of architecture practice articulated a style of apprehending the city and, thus, of performing a desired urban community through the bodies of architecture. It presents arguments for the discussion of how modern architecture practices perform the nation-state and national culture. It identifies how an architecture for a true national culture, with a style of apprehending the city, made a political construction pass through the practice of spatial organization. This dissertation aims to contribute to the identification of some elements allowing to draw architecture's expert culture closer to democracy.

Resumo

Esta dissertação surgiu no debalde da crise imobiliária de 2008 e de uma vontade de discutir, perceber e projectar o papel que a prática profissional de arquitectura pode desempenhar na reorganização de interesses colectivos. O objectivo foi perceber como o conhecimento especializado da arquitectura contribui para a construção política da realidade. Isto foi desenvolvido através do estudo de um grupo de arquitectos e práticas arquitectónicas portuguesas de meados do século XX, especificamente de 1945 a 1969. A análise da carreira do arquitecto português Fernando Távora (1923-2005) foi o ponto de partida e mediador para um universo colectivo de formação profissional, desenvolvimento urbano e confronto político. Távora foi agente de uma cultura de arquitectura em que o respeito pelo contexto, o compromisso com necessidades e história locais, projectadas internacionalmente pela reputação de arquitectos portugueses como Álvaro Siza Vieira e Eduardo Souto de Moura, foram articuladas pela primeira vez. Como tal, esta dissertação transporta uma dupla interrogação: como é que arquitectos portugueses interpretaram no pós-guerra a disciplina como politicamente comprometida? E o que podemos aprender deste caso específico acerca da constituição política da prática profissional de arquitectura?

Procura-se responder a estas questões estudando dois elementos de construção profissional e política: discursos especializados e as suas relações com governo, poder e ideologia política; projectos de arquitectura e a sua relação com a transformação de paisagens portuguesas. O estudo de discursos cruza a leitura do desenvolvimento de discursos arquitectónicos com a emergência de problemas de governação e linguagens de poder e governo. Este estudo de discursos parte do estudo etnográfico de projectos de arquitectura, baseado em directrizes da antropologia material e espacial. Esta dissertação procura capturar projectos de arquitectura nas suas articulações e projecções de comunidade, conforto, modernidade e cultura.

A primeira parte, do capítulo 1 ao 3, trata da formação de um projecto colectivo para a prática profissional de arquitectura, desenvolvido por jovens arquitectos no pós-guerra, e que tentou aproximar-se de ideais e práticas democráticas. A segunda parte, do capítulo 4 ao 6, trata de como este projecto colectivo de arquitectura implicou a projecção de uma visão particular de cidade e da sua missão edificante no bem-estar nacional. A terceira parte, capítulo 7, trata de como este estilo de apreender a cidade foi praticado no caso de um processo de renovação urbana. Estas partes reúnem uma história e cultura urbana particular, a experiências pedagógicas em educação de arquitectura, a práticas arquitectónicas que procuraram reformular a realidade urbana portuguesa através de uma reformulação profissional.

Esta dissertação discute as intimidades e distinções entre um projecto profissional e um projecto político, transportadas pela disputada identificação de ser português com ser moderno. Discute como um projecto de prática arquitectónica articulou um estilo de apreender a cidade e, como tal, de realizar uma desejada comunidade urbana através dos corpos da arquitectura. Apresenta argumentos para a discussão de como práticas modernas de arquitectura realizam o estado-nação e uma cultura nacional. Identifica como uma arquitectura para uma verdadeira cultura nacional, com um estilo de apreender a cidade, fez uma construção política passar através da prática da organização espacial. Esta dissertação pretende contribuir para apontar alguns elementos que permitam aproximar a cultura especializada de arquitectura da democracia.

Cover images

Dissertation's cover: picture of Esposende's estuary, Braga, from a balcony in Ofir's hotel, unknown author, in "Praia de Ofir." *Arquitectura*, May 1950.

Section I cover: three pictures of Ramalde's neighborhood during a public celebration in the 1950s, unknown author, Porto municipal archive (F-NP-CMP-01-07721; 07722; 07725).

Section II cover: picture of Ofir's hotel from a restaurant terrace, unknown author, in "Praia de Ofir." *Arquitectura*, May 1950.

Section III cover: picture of demolitions in old central Porto, Ribeira-Barredo, unknown author, 1950s, José Marques da Silva Foundation Institute (FIMS) (FIMS_FT_Foto4046).

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Abbreviations:

ANT actor-network-theory
CCP *Centro Católico Português* - Portuguese Catholic Center
CEAA *Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo* - Arnaldo Araújo Research Center
CIAM *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne*
CRUARB *Comissão de Reabilitação Urbana da Ribeira-Barredo* - Ribeira-Barredo Urban Renewal Commission
DGS *Direcção-Geral de Segurança* - General Secretariat of Security
DGSU *Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização* - Urbanization Services General Secretariat
ESBAL *Escola Superior de Belas Artes de Lisboa* – Lisbon Fine-Arts Superior School
ESBAP *Escola Superior de Belas Artes do Porto* – Porto Fine-Arts Superior School
FAUP *Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto* - Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto
FCP *Federação das Caixas de Previdência* - Welfare Funds Federation
HE *Habitação Económica* - Economical Housing
IAC *Instituto de Alta Cultura* - High Culture Institute
INTP *Instituto Nacional do Trabalho e Previdência* - National Institute of Work and Welfare
IST *Instituto Superior Técnico Superior* - Superior Technical Institute
IUA International Union of Architects
JUC *Juventude Universitária Católica* - Catholic University Youth
LNEC *Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil* - National Civil Engineering Laboratory
MP *Mocidade Portuguesa* - Portuguese Youth
MRAR *Movimento de Renovação da Arte Religiosa* - Religious Art Renovation Movement
MUD *Movimento de Unidade Democrática* - Movement of Democratic Unity
ODAM *Organização Dos Arquitectos Modernos* - The Modern Architects Organization
PIDE *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* - International and State Defense Police
PGU *Plano Geral de Urbanização* - General Urbanization Plan
PVDE *Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado* - Surveillance and State Defense Police
SNBA *Sociedade Nacional de Bellas-Artes* - National Society of Fine Arts
SPN *Serviço de Propaganda Nacional* - National Propaganda Service
STS science-and-technology-studies

Introduction

The problem and its re-making

In this dissertation I try to recompose how post-war Portuguese architects negotiated with a myth of spatial government associated with the dictatorship that governed Portugal from 1933 to 1974. It aims to disentangle how a professional autonomy from the regime, imbued with a politically oppositional attitude, was advanced and articulated. In the following chapters I will try to identify the elements, dialogues and projections making this process and its values. The dissertation ranges the period from 1945 to 1968 and a particular set of actors. It does not involve all Portuguese architects active in the post-war, but a confined group of institution-building architects that grew into professional maturity in this period, more specifically a group of architects centered in Porto and connected by the architect Fernando Távora (1923-2005). This involves focusing on the practices and discourses of one particular architecture institution, that named *escola do Porto* or *the Porto School*. Simply stated, the present study is also a questioning of this institution's foundations.

Since at least the 1980s there has been, in Portugal and abroad, an active re-construction and re-presentation of this institution. The beginning of this process can be traced back to the international divulgation of Portuguese architecture happening in 1976, that is, with the instauration of democratic Portugal. Much of this projection of national architecture was owed to the SAAL program,¹ the international connections of its coordinators and the ability to muster the attention of architects in Spain, Italy, France and Germany. Within this early presentation of the spatial possibilities of democratic Portugal, increasingly it was the work of Álvaro Siza Vieira that started leading attentions and directing the focus to the institution by him enacted.² Through him and his works we may say that *the Porto School* began emerging with its contemporary contours.

By the mid-1980s, in Portugal, the construction of its centrality to Portuguese architecture emerged with an exhibition dedicated to the legacy of its longest and most influent director, Carlos Ramos. In it a specific time-frame in Porto's school, from 1940 to 1969, was presented by the architect Octávio Lixa Filgueiras as a particularly important experimental phase of Portuguese architecture.³ Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, several publications from its prominent alumni assembled and projected its specificity and power,⁴ as well as from alumni of other national architecture institutions.⁵ By the late

¹ A public housing program promoted by the provisory revolutionary government of 1974 that assumed power in the wake of the dictatorship's overthrow in April 25 of 1974. The program aimed to house the thousands of homeless and badly housed Portuguese, many of which took to the streets in the months following the April revolution. SAAL stands for *Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local*, roughly translatable as Local Ambulatory Support Service. For a detailed historical analysis see José António Bandeirinha, *O Processo Saal E a Arquitectura No 25 de Abril de 1974* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2011).

² See Cristina Emília Ramos Silva and Gonçalo Furtado, "A Construção Do Conhecimento Internacional Sobre a Arquitectura Portuguesa Anos 70 Do Séc. XX," in *Cabo Dos Trabalhos* (IV Colóquio Internacional de Doutorandos/as do CES, Coimbra, 2013); based on the forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation from Cristina Emília Ramos Silva, "A Percepção Internacional Da Arquitectura Portuguesa 1983-2009" (Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto, n.d.).

³ Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, "A Escola Do Porto (1940-69)," in *Carlos Ramos, Exposição Retrospectiva Da Sua Obra* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1986).

⁴ For instance: Sérgio Fernandez, *Percursos, Arquitectura Portuguesa 1930/1974* (Porto: FAUP, 1988); Alexandre Alves Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa* (Porto: Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto, 1995).

1990s an international exhibition of Portuguese architecture, between Lisbon and Frankfurt, collected mostly northern architecture works emanating from Porto's area of influence.⁶ By the early 2000s the institution named by *the Porto School*, was well established as a subject, widespread throughout the early 2010s as both guaranteed historical fact of an architectural quality and provocative legacy, especially animated by the confirmation of its second pritzker recipient in 2011: the architect Eduardo Souto de Moura.⁷ As no better measure of its reality, this institution has a wikipedia page where we may read "The Porto School is one of the most influent currents of contemporary architecture in Portugal."⁸

This institution was made to enact a specific culture of practice with a particular history of symbols and causes, deriving its foundation from a political-professional script set against the dictatorship. In it lay the claim to a way of practising architecture that confronted and went beyond two prepositions of practice: that of modernizing for modernization's sake and that of respecting the local for the sake of a provincial nation. Taken as fake for not, on the one hand, respecting local being and, on the other, this being's continuous change, the new claim lay with an architecture practice that met "reality" and integrated "the context," promoting a redemption of both local and universal dimensions. This professional proposal was later projected as a politically emancipating attitude, both against the dictatorship and modernism's wrong-doings.⁹

In what this culture of practice concerns the formation of *the Porto School*, it is usually cast in a specific genealogy, a sort of family history whose "father" was Távora, then followed by Siza as prodigal son and, lastly, Souto de Moura as translator to a new generation.¹⁰ All of whom shared school, both as teachers and students in different periods; offices, first Távora's, then Távora's, Siza's and Souto de Moura's combined in the nº 53 of *Aleixo* street in Porto; and the latter city itself as the basis of their lives. To these "family" members and their experiences is more usually attributed the rich construction of design concepts and tools that transformed the original moment of critique towards the dictatorship and modernism alike, into a celebrated architecture practice. Furthermore, celebrated for its "social" commitment to histories and contexts.

Yet, this family was made by many other members, some of which not from Porto, others not even from Portugal. In what follows I will assemble another family tree, not so concerned with re-including its more famous members, as the above mentioned and its international "cousins," such as Le Corbusier

⁵ Such as, for instance from Lisbon, Ana Tostões with her Ph.D. dissertation: *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50* (Porto: Faculty of Architecture of the Univeristy of Porto, 1997).

⁶ Annette Becker, Ana Tostões, and Wilfried Wang, eds., *Arquitectura Do Século XX: Portugal* (Portugal-Frankfurt: Prestel, 1997).

⁷ See the Ph.D. dissertation by Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Actualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*; and the article by Nuno Grande, "Oporto School: Critical Universalism, Abstract Informalism" (Arrivals/Departures, Navarra: Fundacion Arquitectura Y Sociedad, 2011); or the issue 7/8 of the architecture magazine *Werk, Bauen+Wohnen*, wholly dedicated to Porto's modern architecture institution. Siza received his pritzker in 1992.

⁸ "A Escola do Porto é uma das mais influentes correntes da arquitectura contemporânea em Portugal" in https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Escola_do_Porto, accessed 18 May 2016. The english wikipedia page regarding Porto's architecture school refers only to its actual building, designed by Siza.

⁹ This was the point driven across between Fernandez, *Percurso, Arquitectura Portuguesa 1930/1974*; Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*; Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50*; but also recognized by Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in *The Anti-Aesthetic. Essays on Postmodern Culture*, Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), 16–30; and William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, third edition (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2010).

¹⁰ See, for instance, Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Actualização de Uma Ideia de Escola* and the conference lectures promoted by Nuno Grande, titled "A escola de Távora," within the event *Porto Poetic*, organized in 2013 by Roberto Cremascoli.

or Alvar Aalto, for instance. But trying to include also its faraway relatives, irritating uncles and more neglected brethren. The aim is to develop a family portrait of the culture of practice making the institution of *the Porto School*, including and letting speak many others, while keeping the famous members in frame. I propose to accomplish this by paying specific attention to the “father” frame in the genealogy, that is, to Távora and his career, allowing it to drive us through some of the key experiences, practices and projections making the “family” foundation. In this sense, this research is both a biography and an anti-biography, for lack of a better term. For Távora’s life and career is here taken-up in detail not for its own sake but as an interface of the elements forming a specific culture of practice. He will be its unsuspecting guide, connecting the various spaces, histories and architectural visions of its making.

This dissertation is built within a vast edifice of research about Távora and *the Porto School*. As said above, since at least the 1990s, this institution and its probable heroes have received much scholarly attention. Animated by a desire to strengthen disciplinary and professional self-definition in a period of urban expansion, market liberalization and competition, the much written about a Portuguese modern architecture culture stemming out of Porto informs a broad range of concerns, namely in the network practiced between Porto and Coimbra.¹¹ This dissertation is directly inspired by a number of more recent works developed from this network. Foremost, the research of architect José António Bandeirinha regarding the embattlement of construction experts for central positions in post-war Portugal.¹² Amidst calls by engineers and architects to assume the government of national space, moved by prospects of territorial reform and North American reconstruction funds, Távora was described as the creator of an original architecture project. One that, informed by a need to review both national and international norms regarding the role of architecture, advanced a constructive professional autonomy. Bandeirinha specially traced this project to a manifesto article of 1945, comparing its claims to those for a post-modern scientific culture in the late 1980s.¹³ This placement of an original culture of architecture, growing in the post-war, is one of this dissertation’s starting points. This manifesto article is here a platform to pursued other routes into the expert architecture culture forming in the post-war. Beyond affinities to a post-modern scientific revolution, I intend to re-assembled this original moment as a collective project and not a singular creative foundation.

More recently, the research of architect Eduardo Fernandes impregnates this original moment with an “idea of school.”¹⁴ In Távora’s persona and career, Fernandes reads more than the formation of an identifiable coherent culture of architecture, but also one of the main structures of 20th century Portuguese architecture. Stated differently, Fernandes takes Távora’s agency and authorship of a specific way of producing architecture much further, greatly producing the claims of Távora as the “father” of Porto’s architecture culture. The present dissertation draws from this argument and the vast amount of historical analysis and interpretation undertaken in its name. Yet, it aims to study this father-framing in a different light. A culture of practice does not mean here a coherent, closed and stable community, as if

¹¹ It is from Porto’s architecture school that came the foundations, most of the ideas and staff making Coimbra’s architecture school, opened in the late 1980s. Between the two places there is a consistent re-writing and expansion of the legacy of the first. Lisbon’s architecture institutions also re-make this legacy, although regarding a distinct variety of agents and concerns, not being possible to claim the presence of an hegemony in architectural discipline there as that found in the north.

¹² José António Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*. (Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 1996).

¹³ Namely those developed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Introdução a Uma Ciência Pós-Moderna* (Lisbon: Afrontamento, 1989).

¹⁴ Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Actualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*.

it were the *caduveo* in the amazon rainforest. Contrary to Fernandes' aims, which put great effort in seizing a clear bounded and well defined expert culture, the present work starts from the assumption that there is no culture to start which, unless that which is practiced through time. If a specific and coherent culture of practice, headed by Távora, existed and still exists, I intend to find out how it was practiced and around which objects and subjects it crafted its limits. This, however, will not be accomplished by identifying certain objects and discourses as this culture in themselves, but by trying to assemble what flowed through certain enigmatic objects and discourses. Thus, trying to show what processes an expert culture of spatial organization was scripted and designed.

A key object around which much of this culture was written to belong is the architecture school itself, in Porto. Around and through it are constructed many of the claims identified to this culture of practice. The comprehensive research on Porto's school modern pedagogy, by architect Gonçalo Canto Moniz, as a central position in this process. Partly, the present dissertation would not be entirely possible without his contribution to the knowledge of modern architecture pedagogy in Portugal. Throughout the dissertation Moniz' work is used to frame questions back into the institution of the school and its crafting. His research was crucial to better grasp the contours of a productive loop between classroom, architecture office and state department, from which not only a pedagogy, but also a number of common professional practices fabricated an expert culture in Porto. This dissertation aims to integrate Moniz's broad and comprehensive research within the circles here enacted between collective projects, urban renewal, professional reinvention and the search for a country-itself. Stated differently, it aims to assemble his detailed description of modern architecture pedagogy in some of the movements re-making Portuguese landscape in the post-war, hopefully enlightening how professional development joined a political reinscription of the country.

Together with these researches, a number of other researched sources on an architecture culture springing from Porto is here put to use. Yet it does so with the specific intent to review its constitution, in order to better understand the relation between a group of professional dispositions and political commitments and productivities. In line with an adjoining yet distinct research on this legacy, this dissertation aims to re-question the institution and acting heritage brought forth by the founding frame Távora allows to grasp. There are three pertinent researches developed with yet outside the scopes of the scholarly work building a Portuguese culture of architecture, namely around Porto, and specially aiming to question its contemporary validity. Beyond the researches already mentioned, this dissertation opens a specific dialogue with three others. (1) Architect Tiago Castela's dissertation on the production of urban clandestinity in 20th century Portugal, focusing the formation of government and expert discourses around the expansion of informal urbanism in the country.¹⁵ (2) Architect Ricardo Agarez's dissertation on the relationship between modernism and regionalism, centered on the analysis of regional limits and regionalizing operations activated in the built landscape of *algarve*, the furthest southern region in mainland Portugal.¹⁶ (3) Architect Nelson Mota's analysis of the possible political commitments articulated within the architecture practice of Álvaro Siza Vieira and the school, network

¹⁵ Tiago Castela, "A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalized Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 2011).

¹⁶ Ricardo Agarez, "Regionalism, Modernism and Vernacular Tradition in the Architecture of the Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, 2013); for a succinct overview see Ricardo Agarez, "Regionalism, Modernism and Vernacular Tradition in the Architecture of the Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965," *ABE Journal (Online)*, no. 6 (2014), <https://abe.revues.org/894>.

of architects and works by him brought about. He identifies in Siza's *malagueira* neighborhood in Évora, around which the dissertation develops, a productive "thirdness" regarding the supposed opposites of populism and top-down government.¹⁷

Castela's work ranges a broad time-frame and network of discussions pertaining to the government of urban growth, specially from mid-20th century onwards. His analysis, however, starts with the 19th century and the identification of a group of government and expert patterns crafted to deal with the construction of clandestine urbanity in Portugal. His study combines a comprehensive intellectual review and elaboration, with detailed ethnographic work, developed from a group of informal neighborhoods in Lisbon's periphery. Among other elements, the study permits a number of pertinent discussions regarding Portuguese government, expert culture and urban development, specifically: rethinking the Portuguese dictatorship as a liberal regime; discussing an architecture and planning culture as the search for specific moral values in the landscape; mapping the construction of citizenship through clandestinity and informality. The first two are here specially relevant, namely regarding the formation of an expert culture together with a moral and political re-mapping of the country. In a brief yet incisive move, Castela chains the possibility of a modern Portuguese architecture with a long history of ethical discussion of the right house for workers. This idea became a key interpretation to the movements enacted in the present dissertation, helping to question the limits of an expert history also made around the possibility of a right house. Yet, while Castela aims to discuss the construction of informality and marginality in Portugal in a broad, global, frame, I aim more specifically to grasp the political performance of an expert culture remaking itself in the post-war. This dissertation, thus, aims to go beyond his retelling of expert architecture culture in Portugal throughout the late 20th century, by focusing in greater detail in its circumscription in the post-war.

Agarez' work is here specially relevant regarding the analysis of a survey of vernacular architecture, developed by young Portuguese architects in the mid-1950s, which will be the object of chapter 3. He portrays this key episode in the history of a Portuguese modern architecture culture, as part of a process of regional identity building by metropolitan exports, that is, as an exterior, colonizing, gaze and production of a peripheral and largely poor section of the country. This goes in the way of demystifying the heroic lens through which this survey is read by architects, namely by Portuguese architects concerned with ideologically inscribing practice as compromised with context. Agarez's emphasis on the cosmopolitan, urban, detached and educated, character of this survey is here used as an important lead. However, while the present dissertation shares this attitude of re-writing parts of our architecture culture, it tackles the survey from the mid-1950s in a different movement. Firstly (1), it aims to assemble the disciplinary contaminations, that is, the various knowledge practices, activated in its process, arguing for the disciplinary ambiguity at the inception of a professional project. Secondly (2), by privileging the disciplinary gaze in this manner, it aims to understand how the survey dialogued with the dictatorship's political script and government anthropology of Portugueseness, namely by way of a specific set of ethical categories through which it made the country emerge. Lastly (3), by analysing how this ethical construction was produced, together with a political economic description of the vernacular landscapes in view, it aims to highlight the skewed relation between professional project and the objects rallied for its realization.

¹⁷ Nelson Mota, *An Archaeology of the Ordinary: Rethinking the Architecture of Dwelling from CIAM to Siza* (Delft: Delft University of Technology, 2014).

Mota's analysis of a Portuguese architecture culture, originated in the post-war and taken up by Siza, takes him on a wide and comprehensive analysis of European architecture throughout the 1950s until the 1980s. Like in Agarez's work, the mid-1950s survey speaks loudly in this analysis of architecture practices compromised with a "third" political solution, along various other episodes and agents, such as Távora. His detailed and wide reaching description of architecture problems is key to understand how modern Portuguese architecture fits within a broader history of post-war modernist architecture in Europe. Nevertheless, the present work disagrees with the claim that this architecture culture, of which Álvaro Siza is the most eloquent spokesperson, was and is politically committed in the particularly productive manner argued by Mota. Using the concept of "thirdness" Mota argues the *malagueira* process to be a case in which the architect, by maintaining its autonomous professional position, both from the populace and local state, constituted an emancipating political agency *per se*. While the fieldwork to prove this case is compelling, the aim mainly consists in depositing in the architecture discipline itself a political capacity for change and emancipation, because of its particular erudite culture and not besides or against it. I disagree with the idea that there is an inherent political content that can be ascribed to the disciplinary practice of architecture. As I will expose further down, while architecture should be understood as a technology and knowledge for governing political construction. It should not be taken as the political construction itself, making its partial role stand for a performed whole. Like Mota, hopefully, I will proceed to re-frame this supposedly politically engaged architecture culture, yet not departing beforehand with a finished idea of what constitutes the political exercise of architecture.

Both Agarez's and Mota's dissertations were precious discussions for the present dissertation, although in a later phase of its making, around mid and late 2015. This was specially so regarding the will and work to reposition an inherited architecture culture, supposedly competent for regionalized global times, as well as for politically bipolar ones. This is not, however, the research's main aim and impulse. Started in late 2011, the project for this dissertation involved a broad questioning of the political of architecture or of how professional architecture might be said to constitute a political exercise. This question was transported from 2007, carried by the power of the anthropologist Nuno Porto's words,¹⁸ a sequence of various field trips to the middle and far-east and a desire to search the discipline's power for creating distinction and critique in a planet apparently seized by a neo-liberal house of cards. By early 2012 the dissertation project was composed by various international case-studies ranging from Portugal, to Norway and India, a variety of gradations in the Human Development Index. Different architectural works throughout this route would allow to understand how the socio-political commitments of architecture were made.

Among a number of issues, such as connectivity of case-studies and structural coherence, one in particular turned the research on its head. The definitions of "social commitment" and "politics of architecture" framing the research derived from the Portuguese case-study, the institution above described and, more specifically, could be traced to Távora's rendering of the connection between "social" and "spatial organization." The dissertation rested on an unacknowledged pre-conception of architecture as a specific form of political exercise, about which the more I questioned, the less I knew about its constitution and power by defect. As the architectural sociologist Robert Gutman framed it, if for "young people who are innovative and radical" it is advantageous "to stand on the shoulders of

¹⁸ Who questioned my master's dissertation with a question in the following terms: "Would you say that architecture is mainly an artistic or a political exercise?"

ancestors,” then this realization should have been advantageous.¹⁹ Except for the fact that I knew little about the constitution of these ancestral “shoulders,” how broad they were and what family traditions it involved passing on to yet other shoulders.

Once this became the dissertation’s main question mark – in which definition of architecture’s political role I am actually sitting? – the research developed into a detailed study of ancestral shoulders, namely Távora’s, who had been guiding the research problems from the beginning, sometimes unsuspectingly. To my surprise, Távora was and is generally considered by most, if not all, the least politically driven architect of *the Porto School*. At best recognized for his artistry in architectural design and lecturing at school, at worst for his conservative upbringing not worthy of mention in periods in which space is thoroughly connected to politics, such as from 2008 onwards. Yet, the more his persona and career was anaesthetized by these elements, the more his connections to *the Porto School* and its specific notion of the political character of architecture as a “good regionalism,” as Agarez wrote,²⁰ seemed vaster and stronger. In fact, the more I unravelled his career, the more many key episodes making this institution’s culture of practice seemed dependent on his acting. There was something to be said, then, of a “socially committed” architecture culture holding its own in the face of the 2008 crisis, that much depended on this apparently least political of architects. As there was regarding the shoulders on which I had grown accustomed to stand, without actually asking where they were moving.

From late 2012 onwards, the research became an inquiry into the constitution of this culture of practice, as an interpretative key for architecture’s political acting, abandoning the long route through various gradations in the Human Development Index. In democratic Portugal, that is, after 1974, it became common to treat this culture of practice as emerging from a history of activism against the dictatorship. This was specially so and influential in historic accounts by architects close to events that came to assume key positions in national institutions such as, for instance, central and local state, Porto’s architecture school. This was the case of architects Nuno Portas (1934) and Alexandre Alves Costa (1939), who in their twenties at the 1950s inception of this culture and close to its causes, later re-presented it as politically committed for democracy, specifically of a socialist brand, and against the dictatorship.²¹ The argument goes that this political activism was not open, but covertly developed through the advancement of modernist disciplinary aims and tools. Furthermore, moved by a keen awareness of the Portuguese condition, this culture of practice was also critical of a form of modernism effacing local needs and cultures. It was, accordingly, actively militant, yet through specialist languages and practices, against both the dictatorship’s and modernism’s violence and dispossessions. The main research question then became: how was the discipline constituted as politically engaged against both the dictatorship and the forces of modernity? The specific contours and contents of this formulation opened, as I hope to show, a simultaneously particular and general way to reach the problem of how can the practice of architecture constitute a political exercise. And Távora, surprisingly, through the various connections and articulations he acted, had far more to tell about the basic frames developed in

¹⁹ Taken from the sentence: “Young people who are innovative and radical often are bolstered by an awareness that they are part of a noble historical tradition, that others before them have fought the same battles, perhaps for similar reasons. It is an advantage for movements, architectural or otherwise, to stand on the shoulders of ancestors.” in Robert Gutman, “Two Questions for Architecture,” in *Architecture from the Outside In*, Dana Cuff and John Wriedt (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010), 239–45.

²⁰ Agarez, “Regionalism, Modernism and Vernacular Tradition in the Architecture of the Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965,” 2014.

²¹ Namely in Nuno Portas, “A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação,” in *História Da Arquitectura Moderna*, Bruno Zevi (Lisbon: Arcádia, 1973), 687–744; and Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*.

Portugal for dealing with this issue than granted. Especially as these frames started looking more and more like the foundations of *the Porto School* and the diffuse influence of its notion of modern landscape, the role of the state, space, the profession and their political meanings. Thus, the questioning of this latter institution and its culture of practice aims to help us answer the larger question: how is architecture articulated as a practice that affects the political constitution of reality? How is it constituted as a political exercise? And not just to brush ancestors away, together with their awkward ways, and repopulate the past with more fitting shoulders.

The two questions structuring this research are thus the following:

(1) how did post-war Portuguese architects re-constitute the discipline as politically committed against the dictatorship and the forces of modernity?

(2) what can we learn from this specific case about the political constitution of the practice of professional architecture and its possibilities as a political exercise?

Architecture and the political

Answers to these two questions depend beforehand on the setting of their two base terms: architecture and the political. The need to circumscribe their definition emerged with the transference of the dissertation's initial notion of the political agency of architecture from theoretical framework to case-study: as the political-professional claim of Porto's architecture institution passed from lens to object. The conceptual vacuum created by this operation allowed the case-study to speak its own re-creation of the political operation, namely by not filling that vacuum with an overdetermined definition of either the political or of architecture. Hence, the concepts here used for these elements are intended to work as general pre-dispositions, opening fields of action that can be made specific by the case-studies. As this study involves interpreting the constitution of modern things, projects and actors, these concepts were drawn from works that address anthropologies of modernity and of the moderns.

This form of anthropology does not as much constitute a distinct branch of anthropology, as it does a redirection of the discipline's tools to areas and actors until recently out of its scope: those individuals, ideas and things that did the anthropology of everybody else in the world, specially of exotic tribe folk. While this definition is broad enough to include many different works, in this study it is derived from two specific authors, each contributing more to either an anthropology of modernity or to one of the moderns, these are the philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) and the sociologist Bruno Latour (1947). Albeit neither was formed in anthropology, their research projects followed and follow to give form to an anthropology of modern times.²²

Regarding the first, the late work of Michel Foucault elaborating on the subject-creating power of modern disciplinary fields that govern, such as economics for instance, has here a central role to the

²² Regarding Foucault as an anthropologist of modernity see Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); regarding Latour's focus on an anthropological turn specifically in the study of science, see Bruno Latour, *Nous N'avons Jamais Été Modernes. Essai D'anthropologie Symétrique* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991).

ideas of government, power and architecture.²³ Regarding the second, *actor-network-theory* (ANT), specially through its rendering by Bruno Latour and his specific deconstruction of the relation between first and second nature, between a social and a factual realm, assumes here an equally central role regarding the concept of the political.²⁴ Furthermore, it also informs key methodological choices.

Informing the distinction between studying modernity or the moderns, Foucault's research greatly involved capturing what might be called matrixes of subjectivity and power, potentially generalizable to the mechanics of modernity itself in its north-western projection. Paul Rabinow in a book section titled "Toward an Anthropology of Modernity" would write: "Foucault was in the process of adding an analysis of welfare to Marx's analysis of capitalism and Weber's of bureaucracy, forming a third leg of modernity."²⁵ From this we may state that his research involved, at least in part and mostly his later work: decomposing modernity as a vast civilizational project constituted by specific philosophies and technologies of government.

On the other hand, Latour's research is built on many and various efforts of showing how "we have never been modern," that is, of how being modern or of making modernity exist, always depended and depends on its *de facto* rejection. His project is not as much concerned with delimiting a general phenomenon called modernity, as it is with the tracing of the actual, material, operations and channels through which such large "scripts" and "transformers" are kept working and made to have a power on the planet. Much of this relates with Foucault's own efforts in identifying specific forms and fields of knowledge with the power to conjure up modern realities, as well as the history of their *management* and *government*. In fact, both authors may be said to share similar key interpretations of, for instance, being and the modern construction of subjectivity. Traceable to a Nietzschean critique of humanism and a Marxist critique of individualism, both authors articulate personal subjectivity as a profoundly, on the one hand, collective and, on the other, alienating phenomenon. In Latour's perspective, that needs to "pass-through" many other things in order to exist, subject and object being dependent on specific forms of "alterity" or a "hiatus."²⁶ In Foucault's perspective, that only exist as a negotiation with various acting regimes of truth, the subject emerging in the intersection between the dynamic relation of self-government with governments of the self.²⁷

This common point between both researches into modernity is key to what will follow, for it presupposes the individual subject or object not as a thing-in-itself, absolute, but as always the result of various intersecting elements, such as Távora will here be used as one key node of the intersections making an architecture culture of practice. Furthermore, it unites both authors in the anthropological suspicion that there are key distinctions between enunciated values and practices. If this unity between both is crucial to frame the pertinence of anthropological inquiry into the workings of modern things,

²³ I am specially referring here to: Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*, trans. Graham Burchell, Michel Senellart (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics - Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*, trans. Graham Burchell, Michel Senellart (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

²⁴ For a comprehensive introduction into *actor-network-theory* see Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

²⁵ Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*: 8.

²⁶ See Bruno Latour, *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence: An Anthropology of the Moderns* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013).

²⁷ Argument specifically grounded on Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*, vol. 1 (London: Penguin, 1998); and Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics - Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*, that is, on a later Foucault more concerned with a dynamic interpretation of power and government, and not as much with the more monolithic notion of the *panopticon*.

their distinctions are equally central. While Foucault's research focuses on developing synthesis of regimes of truth, active through modern forms of practical knowledge, in order to acknowledge their framing properties. Latour and most ANT coming out of *science and technology studies* (STS), on the other hand, greatly focuses on how many different elements and operations need to be brought together to maintain just the possibility of one regime of truth.²⁸ If Foucault tried to capture modernity as a whole group of historical modes of governing the self, Latour and ANT try to capture how and by what means those they call moderns keep on transforming and dividing the planet in manageable sections, and for what ends.

This implies different inquiry processes. Foucault greatly relied on textual analysis, while Latour and many ANT researchers summon a variety of modes of analysis emerging with the different objects of study. The latter appropriates more of anthropology, such as the detailed ethnographic survey, symmetrical relativism, the attention to material and spatial conditions. So, for instance, Foucault's history of sexuality is grounded on the analysis of how Greek men, mostly philosophers, reflected on a number of essential personal and collective managements of sex, erotism, procreation and property.²⁹ While Latour, to prove that "we have never been modern," assembles the controversial co-existence of supposedly factual and social elements in constituting socio-political reality.³⁰ Namely, for instance, by putting Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan theory in dialogue with Robert Boyle's vacuum pump, and their mutual stakes in English politics.³¹ This is key to this research as it informs two different objects of focus and a combined methodology.

Following from Foucault's analysis of discourse practices, a considerable portion of this dissertation consists in the analysis of texts by Portuguese architects, as it aims to understand the emergence of a professional culture in its terms of engagement with the government of the nation-state. The architect Greig Crysler's dissertation on the evolving discursive practices of english-speaking architects, from mid to late 20th century, is pertinent to picture a translation of Foucault into architectural practice.³² Analyzing architecture discourses as situated social practices he showed how a series of architecture discussions and problems structured symbolic and distributive enactments of city, society, economy. Foucault's working idea of making-appear a discursive form of power is here specially relevant. By moving through the various texts by architects - manifestos, essays, magazine articles, dissertations and books - I hope to assemble a set of common concepts, meanings and projections around which the power of architecture was formulated. Stated differently, part of this dissertation hopes to assemble the terms crafted for a government script of architecture, that is, a narrative that establishes its relation with the political construction of reality in its particular disciplinary language. Hopefully this may borrow itself to a broader history of architecture's discursive practices of power and agency, while the

²⁸ In a simplified manner, *science and technology studies* constitute various branches of study into the history, sociology and anthropology of science, and from which ANT was made to emerge. For an early circumscribing of STS see Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*, vol. 80, Sage Library of Social Research (London: SAGE Publications, 1979).

²⁹ I am specifically using here Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Use of Pleasure*, vol. 2 (London: Penguin, 1998).

³⁰ Latour, *Nous N'avons Jamais Été Modernes. Essai D'anthropologie Symétrique*.

³¹ Mostly drawing on Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985).

³² Greig Crysler, *Writing Spaces: Discourses of Architecture, Urbanism and the Built Environment, 1960-2000* (New York, London: Routledge, 2003); Crysler, however, gives the front stage to the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's notions of situated practice and discursive judgement. Based on the ideas in Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction - a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London, New York: Routledge, 2010).

discourses here at stake are almost exclusively by Portuguese architects and the problem of a modern Portuguese architecture.

Among recent appropriations of Foucault to study the power of architecture, one common group of research projects directly inspired the discussion of the political in architecture in this dissertation. This is the research developed and coordinated by Pier Vittorio Aureli, among others, in various research studios in the Berlage Institute and the AA in London, and giving body, for instance, to his re-interpretation of architecture history in *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*.³³ A key part of this re-integration of Foucault in architecture research involves re-writing the latter's ideas as supplying the terms for the study of productivities. Contrary to the more common interpretation of Foucault's ideas of power as being all pervading and powerful: modern society as a straight jacket of amestrations from above. This implied moving beyond the early application of Foucault's ideas to architecture by anthropologist Paul Rabinow, but specially that by architect Kim Dovey.³⁴ The latter applied the idea that power is exerted through space in an unilateral sense, assembling a series of diagrams and a diagrammatic idea of analysis of architectural space. Aureli's researches imply turning this idea of architecture's diagrammatic power into a positive potentiality. Along Foucault, architecture's political agency regards here the production of subjects and subjectivities, that is, of normative relations of cohabitation and not the exertion of an invisible power from above. Thus, it follows, architecture may also have the power to rewrite current hegemonies and dominations. This research into the power of architecture involved analysing the potentiality of architecture texts and designs, such as enigmatic treatises and architecture artifacts, reading in their textual and projective practices the seeds for other political visions and forms of government.

The present dissertation directly dialogues with this analytical proposal, rescuing Foucault's terms and ideas for an analysis of productivity and not one of negative power: power being productive in any instance. This implies a specific use of language through which to address the discursive practices of power in architecture culture. Two words are here key: apparatus and technology. Apparatus is the english translation of what Foucault meant by *dispositif*, in his words:³⁵

(...) a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical and moral propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. (...) the apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements.³⁶

³³ Pier Vittorio Aureli et al., *Rome: The Centre(s) Elsewhere*, Pier Vittorio Aureli, Maria S. Giudici, Gabriele Mastrigli and Martino Tattara (Milan: Skira, 2010); Pier Vittorio Aureli et al., *The City as a Project*, Pier Vittorio Aureli (Berlin: Ruby Press, 2013); Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 2011). Although Aureli did not cite Foucault once in the latter work, his ideas are very present. The connection to Foucault can be better read in the first two references named above.

³⁴ Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*; Kim Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

³⁵ Some also translate apparatus as "device." For a pertinent overview of the uses of Foucault's *dispositif* see Hervé Dumez and Alain Jeunemaitre, "Michel Callon, Michel Foucault and the " Dispositif": When Economics Fails to Be Performative: A Case Study.," *Le Libellio d'Aegis*, 2010.

³⁶ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, Gordon Coline (New York: Harvester Press, 1980): 194 (orig. 1977).

The apparatus, according to him, was also something moved by an historical “urgent need,” propelled by a strategy and continued by the functional rearrangement of tactical goals with the latter. This came in reply to the philosopher Alain Grosrichard question: in which sense was Foucault studying sexuality in his *History of Sexuality*, what did he mean by “apparatus of sexuality.”³⁷ In the context of the study of Greek sexuality, apparatus refers here to a proposal of government of subjects and their bodies. It possesses, according to Foucault, two moments of “genesis:” (1) an original and prevalent strategy, emerging from “urgent need” regarding a given problem afflicting a community; and (2) the perpetuation of the strategy through a double process, functional overdetermination and continuous strategic elaboration. According to Foucault, the apparatus could be seized both in discursive and non-discursive elements.³⁸ Yet the route to find the relations making it, greatly depend on the interpretation of the rationalities put forward by discursive practices, as Foucault accomplished for Greek sexuality and also, for instance, liberalism.³⁹ In this dissertation, speaking of architecture as an apparatus presupposes identifying a set of relations between discourses, institutions, government decisions, moral statements and forms, that craft a project of architecture or an ensembled way of addressing the problem of spatially organizing a community. This dissertation is specifically about how a group of architects crafted an apparatus around the “urgent need” of housing Portuguese in Portuguese houses. And, importantly, it will firstly involve identifying an original strategy put forward in the post-war, and its continuation through adaptation and functional determination. This latter term meaning here the constant evaluation of new proposals in relation to the functional application of the original strategy.

If apparatus aims to circumscribe the crafting of an institution for governing, technology, on the other hand, pertains to the tactical productivity of specific rational goals. The definition of technology here used follows Foucault’s specific re-elaboration of the Greek word *techne*. In its ancient form it articulated two meanings, *tekton* and *espisteme*, or the action pertaining to the material transformation of nature, on the one hand, and the action of thinking this material transformation within a human world-system, on the other. Bluntly, the first was the domain of the artisan, the second of the philosopher, and the two were brought together with *techne*.⁴⁰ Foucault rescued this ambiguity in the etymology of the word to include as technological, that is, as practical rationality, that which after the advent of the industrial revolution was relegated to the deemed less practical and rational world of social relations. In Latour’s parlance, with the division of the world into a scientific nature and an artificial social realm, technology became technique or that pertaining only to the artisan, to the rational transformation of nature and elements that could be described as natural. Foucault used *techne* to position as equally technological those processes by which one governs oneself and others, or those

³⁷ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*; Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Use of Pleasure*.

³⁸ Ibid: 194-5.

³⁹ Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics - Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*.

⁴⁰ On possible misunderstandings regarding the use of the word technology instead of technique to signify *techne*: Foucault himself used the French word *technique*, yet his point, as also that of Heidegger in the immediate post-war, was exactly that the purely technical was a late reduction of the complexity of the technological and the technical; for every technical act presupposes a *logos*, that is, a philosophy and discourse namely regarding the targets of productive management, such as the artificial units of society, population and nature. See Michel Foucault, “Space, Knowledge, and Power,” in *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984: Power*, James D. Fabion (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 349–64; regarding the early questioning of the modern meaning of technology see Martin Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977).

relations managing subjectivities and taken not as “hard” or as “factual” as the technical transformation of nature.

Foucault was concerned with what became known as *techniques de soi* or “technologies of the self” in English.⁴¹ In this articulation, technology is a form of power over oneself and the collective, with its specific rationality, form of discourse and effective transformations. As Foucault responded to a question regarding architecture history, in an interview with Paul Rabinow:

(...) what interests me more is to focus on what the Greeks called the *techne*, that is to say, a practical rationality governed by a conscious goal. (...) The disadvantage of this word *techne*, I realize, is its relation to the word “technology,” which has a very specific meaning. A very narrow meaning is given to “technology”: one thinks of hard technology, the technology of wood, of fire, of electricity. Whereas government is also a function of technology: the government of individuals, the government of souls, the government of the self by the self, the government of families, the government of children and so on. I believe that if one placed the history of architecture back in this general history of *tekhnē*, in this wide sense of the word, one would have a more interesting guiding concept than by the opposition between the exact sciences and the inexact ones.⁴²

The present research tries to follow this suggestion to heart, as arguably Paul Rabinow has with his comprehensive study of French moderns.⁴³ This implies understanding technology as a more complex human practice, whose acting extends not only to transformations of the material world but also of individuals and collectives. This implies reading power, especially the power of transformation, not as an unilateral force exerted from above or beyond that which is transformed, but as a dialogue between governing and governed. Power becomes government through the elaboration of technologies for governing. And these, on the other hand, become prepositions for governing on the basis of conscious goals to rationally transform societies, that is, on the basis of certain apparatuses. Producing architecture through this notion of technology implies conceiving that it too governs through the production of a world-view and a desired subject. Along this dissertation, this implies a specific attention to how Portuguese architects, in their writings, drawings and designs, sketched a desired mode of being: a subject, a possible landscape, a specific combination of relations between state, space, economy, people and nature. Stated in other words, it implies understanding how the strategy assembling an apparatus was tactically articulated in disciplinary terms and forms.

The emphasis on discourse analysis that these two concepts presuppose - apparatus and technology - bears a specific limitation to the study of the political in the exercise of architecture, as an expert knowledge and practice over common space. The dissertation was progressively confronted by this limitation as it unfolded. In this sense, and more specifically in the conclusions, it hopes to identify some of the limits in translating Foucault’s ideas into the analysis and interpretation of architecture’s agency. It is in this respect that Latour’s ANT is here brought forward to dialogue with Foucault. His emphasis on the anthropological process of every form of knowledge, that is, on the need to account for

⁴¹ This phase of Foucault’s inquiring concerns became clearer with *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*; but especially so with *The History of Sexuality: The Use of Pleasure*.

⁴² Michel Foucault, “Space, Knowledge, and Power,” in *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984: Power*, James D. Fabion (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 349–64: 364 (originally published in 1982).

⁴³ Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*.

the concrete objects, experiences and symbols through which truths are made to appear, is key to understand how a discourse of power is also a material power enacting discourse.

The integration of some ANT ideas emerged from a form of exhaustion in Foucault's theoretical frame. This was felt more strongly when visiting the architecture works used here as case studies. While trying to apprehend their position and presence in a landscape, their living habits, a sense of their historical genesis and strategy, apparatus and technology were not sufficient. Namely because the deployment of their conceptual possibilities depended on the analysis of the discourses built with the case studies. As I explain in more detail further down, the approach to the architecture artifacts followed its own process, more concerned with finding a performance within an experience of the landscape. In this respect, neither the notion of the apparatus, nor of technological productivity, opened the field to absorb this performance. Latour's take on ANT is a late comer in this dissertation's process. It derived from this frustration at grasping the working urban presence of an object and its livelihoods, and from the advice of Greig Crysler, who directed my attention to ANT in late 2014.

Latour's emphasis on the anthropology of knowledge production did not start out as an anthropologic project. Instead, the growing emphasis on the material fabrication of truths grew from a concern to show the social construction of scientific facts. In the process, Latour, alongside many others, became alert to a structuring gap between the truths emerging from scientific inquiry, namely from the so-called hard sciences, and the actual means for their production. This gap led to a research with Steve Woolgar analyzing the production of scientific facts.⁴⁴ Later, this led to the defense of the *constructivist* position in capturing the pre-modern performance of modern science in *We have never been modern*.⁴⁵ It is from within this inquiry of the construction of the modern division of science and nature, politics and society, technology and social effects, that an anthropologic perspective connected with the idea of network was developed.

The notion of network as deployed by ANT involves addressing any actor, being it a person, a text, a car, a bacteria, as the result of a network of effects and transformations. This brings about the key idea, already present in anthropology, that any active element is animated by several other things beyond itself. In Latour's words, something in order to exist must pass-through something other, such is the idea of "network, defined by a particular way of *passing through*, going by way of, another element (...)." ⁴⁶ More than situating discourses or embedding objects with discourses, this implies bringing about the material and environmental constitution of a thing. The etymology of thing itself is used by Latour, not unlike Foucault with technology, to spell the original ambiguity in the German word *Ding*, meaning both a meeting or assembly, and matter or body.⁴⁷ Thus, the idea of *passing through* is animated by the notion that a thing is always the assembling, in equal measure, of disparate materials and concerns. This brings forth the idea that agency cannot be ascribed solely to humans, their

⁴⁴ Latour and Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*.

⁴⁵ Latour, *Nous N'avons Jamais Été Modernes. Essai D'anthropologie Symétrique*.

⁴⁶ That should be read together with: "The continuity of the course of action – laboratory life, for example – would not be ensured without small interruptions, little hiatuses that the ethnographer must keep adding to her ever-growing list. Let us say that it involves a particular pass (as one speaks of a passing shot in basketball), which consists, for any entity whatsoever, in passing by way of another through the intermediary of a step, a leap, a threshold in the usual course of events." See Latour, *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence: An Anthropology of the Moderns*: 33, 34.

⁴⁷ Bruno Latour, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*.

discourses and inventions.⁴⁸ Objects, nature, copper wiring, glass, also act and are made to enact in the latter. Within this broad notion, a study of any thing mostly involves tracing passes, transformations, actings extending different agents.

This bears a direct effect on this dissertation's use of expressions such as passing through, assembly and assemblage, chaining and unchaining, acting and enacting. As a central motivation and considerable portion of this work regards concrete architecture artifacts, this specific anthropologic point of view on chaining together an object with many other agents is particularly pertinent. Namely considering the aim to identify the practices of community, of urban connection and social remaking involved in the development of an apparatus of Portuguese architecture. The other central object of this dissertation is, thus, the concrete makings of a limited number of spaces: chalets by the coast, renewed cities, miserable villages, architecture works that perform modernity, their materials and dwellers. The movement here imposed on the two objects, discourses and spaces, will not be from mind to body, from speech to act. Instead, along the dissertation I will try to mingle them together as several parts in a mutual constitution of an experience of modern Portugal. Both discourses and spaces will pass through each other in the formation of a professional project and a project for the Portuguese landscape.

Latour's ANT is also brought here to confront Foucault's framework with a more open notion of the political. The latter focused on the discursive construction of power and government, namely on expert cultures - police, physicians, planners, economists - and often leaving aside political processes. This has led some to accuse of him of diagnosing a post-political nihilism.⁴⁹ Latour's research, instead, led him to focus the political as one particular mode of being, invested and passing through various other modes.⁵⁰ His idea of the political, however, follows in the wake of an entirely different discussion of the political state of the world, than that to which Foucault was addressing himself. While the latter was, at least in part, directly dialoguing with strong statehood, emerging in the post-war, and the modern development of effective government mechanisms. Latour's discussion of politics and the political follows more closely the neo-liberal momentum after 1989. In this sense, we can claim Foucault's discussions of the political mostly refer back to the institutions of political power in the form of government apparatuses, while Latour attempts to grasp the political as an existential phenomenon, circulating in specific institutions and modes, yet more fluid than these. In this respect, his idea of the political is worth reading together with a colleague French philosopher's, who I speculate to have developed a reading key to Latour's.

The philosopher Jacques Rancière, largely inspired by the famous Greek - Plato, Aristotle and Socrates - argued politics as an original artificial act based on the destruction of two given ways of governing. This is what he called the "killing of the King's two heads" and the art of the "lost shepherd."⁵¹ The king's two heads are his own, physical head, as symbol of direct patriarchal right, and the projection of his father-figure, enclosing the collective in the projection of his patriarchal rights. Politics for Rancière started when these two heads were "chopped off," that is, when patriarchal right

⁴⁸ This line of research bears a fruitful supply. See, for instance: Barry Andrew, *Political Machines: Governing a Technological Society* (Cambridge, 2000); Isabelle Stengers, *The Invention of Modern Science*, trans. Daniel W. Smith (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Latour, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy*; José Pinheiro Neves, *O Apelo Do Objecto Técnico* (Lisboa: Campo das Letras, 2007); Jane Bennet, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

⁴⁹ For a recent accusation of this sort see, for instance, David Graeber, *The Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity, and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy* (Brooklyn, London: Melville House Publishing, 2015).

⁵⁰ Especially so in Latour, *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence: An Anthropology of the Moderns*.

⁵¹ See Jacques Rancière, *Hatred of Democracy*, trans. Steve Corcoran, Steve Corcoran (London, New York: Verso, 2006) (orig. 2005).

was no longer “naturally” ensured and, as a result, neither was a pojection of a father-figure collecting everybody in an unity. Following closely from Aristotle’s notion of politics, the political thus became the art of not having a shepherd. No primordial right, no pre-deployed collection uniting humans in a group. Politics is here taken as the most radical, rooted, form of participatory democracy, always depending on the insaciable destruction of the whole and continuous inclusion of more dissenting voices. Democracy, as the most fulfilled form of the political, is thus the unfethered and open discussion of everybody by everybody, marked by cycles of inclusion and exclusion.

This notion of the political does not differ much from Mouffe’s and others, yet by leaving Schmitt behind, as well as the reliance on the agonistic principle of friend/enemy, it makes politics even more unbearable and rich.⁵² For Rancière it is not the act of casting limits (friend/enemy) that is truly political, but that of ever expanding the limits given to the collective, continuously proposing new *distributions of the sensible*.⁵³ A similar notion of the political was put forward by Latour. Also learning from the famous Greeks, according to him politics constitutes a specific mode of arranging reality, knowable by its particular act of collecting and enveloping. Like Hobbes’ *Leviathan*, it has to do with collecting a group and its specific claims in a representable and acting whole, that then stands for the variety of groups and their claims. A part of the whole is made to stand for the whole.⁵⁴ But to this distinctivite action of enveloping or “assembling the collective,” corresponds a perpetual motion, taken by him to be expressed best in the form of an unfinished circle.⁵⁵ In this political circle, one assembling of the collective or one act of collecting a group and its claims, is immediately confronted with its fragmentation and dissolution. For the part can never stand long for the whole. There emerging the necessity, for the political act to happen, to continuously start over the operation of circling a collective. In this process, new voices and *sensibles* may be included, yet what makes its specificity is the process of the unfinished circle: the act of enveloping a collective having to be restarted from scratch everytime it closes on itself for politics to occur.⁵⁶ As Rancière’s, this is an art of the “lost shepherd,” the impulse of politics being the precarious constitution of an imaginary “shepherd” that can guide the collective for as long as its claims remain vital within the political circle’s continuous re-drawing. Its power and meaning resides in the articulation: in the permanent absence of a shepherd, politics is put in motion by the need to collect the collective in ever fragile and temporary envelopes, continuously put in question by new voices, effects and transformations.

This is the preposition of politics and the political used throughout the dissertation and that aims to put aside more monolithic understandings of power and politics, especially when addressing a dictatorship, as I will do throughout. Its advantage lies in its general contours and the fact that it does not preemptively uphold the quality of either clear party politics, of radical democracy or even of the more dictatorship-appealing Schmittian friend/enemy border. On the other hand, it permits a clear

⁵² Chantal Mouffe, *The Return of the Political* (London, New York: Verso, 1993).

⁵³ Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus, on Politics and Aesthetics*, ed. and trans. Steve Corcoran (London, New York: Continuum, 2010).

⁵⁴ Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*.

⁵⁵ Latour, *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence: An Anthropology of the Moderns*.

⁵⁶ The idea of the political circle was a re-elaboration of the theory of assembling an came with a later phase of Latour’s work, in *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence: An Anthropology of the Moderns*; See Graham Harman for an interpretation of the various definitions of politics attributable to Latour, in *Bruno Latour: Reassembling the Political* (London: Pluto Press, 2014); See Conor Heaney for a reading of the limitations of this interpretation that provides a synthetic overview of Latour’s debate of politics, in “Review of Graham Harman’s Bruno Latour: Reassembling the Political,” *Theory, Culture & Society*, February 2, 2015, <http://www.theoryculturesociety.org/review-of-graham-harmans-bruno-latour-reassembling-the-political/>.

distinction between politics, government and power, and hence to better grasp how Foucault's technology of government helps us place architecture in relation to the political.

If politics is the continuous process of reconstituting collectives, government stands to this process as the ensemble of practical rationalities, in Foucault's terms, or organizations and institutions, in Latour's, developed in the wake of a particular enveloping of the collective. In the measure that any such enveloping requires the making of a script, government transforms this script into a series of effective operations, associations and bodies of knowledge. It practices and projects the enveloping through a number of operative frames or, in Foucault's sense, technologies of the self. So, its relation to politics is multiple and dynamic. Government does not simply mirror politics or makes it permanent, it puts in motion the claims or "conscious goals" of an enveloped collective through practical measures. In the process, it creates common associations, organizations and institutions that follow through on political scripts and their strategies of government. Thus, politics and government have parallel and sometimes confronting lives in the measure that the rhythm of remaking of the first is usually not the same as the second's. Politics is always remaking the envelopes in which collectives and claims are circumscribed. While government follows the slow history of adaptation and change of its specific technologies and practical rationalities, that is, of its institutions and the historical apparatuses they carry. Power emerges as a result of this transformation of political scripts into practical organizations, reproducing the enveloping of the collective from which the latter depart, and, through its effects, creating the questioning of collective scripts.

This dialogue between Foucault and Latour, besides the terms already exposed above, is translated in this dissertation through a specific use of language. This is related with the use of the words design and project, and their conjugations. In part, the deployment of their distinction serves to envelop the group of terms borrowed from each philosopher of modernity into two clean categories. This is a frail enveloping, yet it identifies the two actions through which this dissertation tried to transform the acquired knowledge and resilient objects of a Portuguese modern architecture.

As signified by most professional architects, the word design identifies and perpetuates one of its core actions of disciplinary meaning and distinction. In its use in the profession, design means literally "to draw," "to sketch," but also more broadly "to concoct," "to proceed strategically." Most meanings derived from the Italian *disegno*.⁵⁷ To draw, to strategically sketch an environment with the mediation of drawing is, at least since the renaissance, the architect's disposition over all other possible organizers of space, land and form.⁵⁸ Independently of whether architecture as a professional discipline and practice originated with the technical appropriation and development of drawing,⁵⁹ as contained in the

⁵⁷ For a more complete etymology see Kostas Terzidis, "The Etymology of Design: Pre-Socratic Perspective," *MIT DesignIssues* 23, no. 4 (Autumn 2007): 69–78.

⁵⁸ Stephen Cairns and Jane M. Jacobs argued "We would like to linger on the technique and art of drawing because architectural design originated in (and sustains itself through) the act of drawing" in Stephen Cairns and Jane M. Jacobs, *Buildings Must Die: A Perverse View of Architecture* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 2014): 17.

⁵⁹ It is not difficult to observe architectural works coming to life without drawing, nor great the effort to understand architecture does not begin, nor end with drawing. Any compilation of premodern vernacular spaces seems devised to test this, such as the Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, ed., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, 2 vols. (Lisboa: Gráfica São Gonçalo, 1961) or the planet-ranging Paul Oliver's *Dwellings: The Vernacular House World Wide* (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2003), while these compilations also usually attest, not willingly, to the politically charged meaning of drawing and design, namely by pitting undesigned third and second worlds against the architect-designed first one.

word design, it holds a specifically important place in the formation, identity and practice of the modern architect.⁶⁰

Desenho, the Portuguese word for design, is closer to the old Italian *disegno* than its English cousin, specifically retaining its original and more globally meaning Latin form, *designō*, which is more closely related with “concocting.” The word is of essential usage for Portuguese architects: we speak of the *desenho* of a piece of furniture, a sidewalk, a building, a city, a car, a pedagogical program, among many other transforming things and, sometimes, even of nonhuman things, such as a mountain-range, which can be deemed beautiful to the point of being *desenhado*. It is an essential lexicon for producing and understanding architecture and its projections, and it is as such that it was widely used by Távora, Teotónio Pereira, Keil do Amaral, Lixa Filgueiras, among many other post-war modern architects that we will meet shortly. However, what most interests me for the following chapters is not its wide and essential performance for professional architecture to occur, but more the possible meanings contained in its concoction. In its Latin form the meaning is not so literally related to drawing, as with the common use of design, but is a composition of the prefix *de* and the verb *signare*, which in combination means “to mark out,” to craft a “derivation” from something – the prefix *de* is used as a constructive category.⁶¹ Hence, the derivation of the Latin *designō* into design and designate, in Italian *disegno* and *designare*, and in Portuguese *desenho* and *designar*. Drawing is also the marking out, the delimitation of certain possibilities, select derivations from an observed reality.

To this and specifically regarding the work of professional architecture, we should add another important action associated with *disegno*. At least from the renaissance onwards the word *progetto* became as important as the latter for the architect. The idea of *progetto* acted in the verb *progettare*, deriving from the Latin *pro-jacere*, combines the action “to throw” with “forth,” meaning literally to throw something forward. While this word may have a diminished currency in English-speaking circles, in Portuguese ones it is essential and of daily usage. To do *projectos*, the Portuguese equivalent to the Italian *progetto*, is the daily routine of any Portuguese-speaking architect: we speak of the *projecto* of a chair, a house, a city and even, sometimes, of a pedagogical program, when not of a natural reserve. Furthermore, *projecto* is the crux of any Portuguese architecture student, as the main course in any architectural school is usually called *Projecto*, and usually that in which teachers decide if one is to be an architect or not. This word may be said to hold a greater import than *desenho*, because a *projecto* is what is usually asked of an architect, it is the thing that should result from her/his proficiency. On the other hand, *desenho* is the means by which that which is thrown forward is made to appear and be marked out from a vast array of possibilities.

By understanding design as simultaneously the activity of drawing and marking out, that is, the form giving action of a selected derivation. And by associating design with *projecto*, the action of projecting something forward. I aim to use the word design as also meaning that which is actively crafted from a selected derivation and projected forward. The design is the crafting, the *projecto* is what is brought alive

⁶⁰ This is at least the case in Portugal. For instance, Távora came to be an architect because he drew well, see chapter 1. In Portugal, still today future architects are mainly identified by their propensity for drawing well. Independently of such situated considerations, there is not one architecture degree, to the best of my knowledge, that does not define the professional through drawing, being by hand, computer or ipad. For an understanding of the different curricular weights of drawing in Portuguese architecture curricula see Gonçalo Canto Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)” (PhD Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2011).

⁶¹ See Terzidis, “The Etymology of Design: Pre-Socratic Perspective”: 69.

by the crafting. As this dissertation aims to identify an apparatus and its specific passing through certain objects, bodies and materials, it will follow between the *projectos* and the *desenhos* making a Portuguese modern architecture culture in the post-war. This work moves between accounts of what was projected forward and crafted by an architecture project attempting to seize the country-itself, with the aim of understanding which political commitments and possibilities were animated in this process.

Methods

This dissertation follows the notion that the social is not something in itself, with its own existence and parallel to other well defined worlds, such as science, economy, technology, nature. Stated in other terms, there is no social that can be added to the complex and continuous reconstruction of collectives.⁶² Being Society, for instance and following Foucault, a political technology for organizing multitudes within political, economical, physical units of efficiencies.⁶³ Furthermore, and following Latour, a technology recognized with creating a structural misunderstanding between the act of collecting a collective and that of making it durable and permanent, namely by dividing society and politics.⁶⁴ This notion that the social and society are not something pre-existing, as natural as supposedly nature itself, follows the learned intuition of social and cultural anthropology.⁶⁵ Showing, for instance, how through complex intellectual traditions, elaborate networks of scientific institutes, scholarship and museums, and specific political embattlements, *other* societies are made to appear cohesive, bounded and “natural.”⁶⁶ Or how they are made to emerge within a colonial process of government intent both on expropriating and preserving the *other's* nature.⁶⁷ After passing through these filters, culture of practice, as used here is not the collecting of a group in a stable form and through the evidence of its social structures. Instead, it collects the variety of practices, *projectos*, professional stakes and political reinscriptions, with which a loose and flexible professional collectivity formed itself. Culture of practice stands here for the possibility of an anthropology of the early collectivity and collection of *the Porto School*, as an institution bringing forth a meaningful apparatus and technology for governing the problem of housing Portuguese in Portuguese houses.

⁶² Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*; Latour, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy*. The social not being a thing-in-itself does not imply not using the word altogether, but instead to season it with caution.

⁶³ Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*.

⁶⁴ Using Walter Lippman's notion of the *phantom public* Latour argued *Society* as an operational collector, that made "the moving shape of the Phantom Public now cast in bronze." An act based on the confusion "(...), entertained early on in the history of sociology, between assembling the body politic and assembling the collective." in Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*: 159-163.

⁶⁵ Namely the insights in Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); A. V., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986). Although Latour sites the first work in Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), he later leaves this reference from social and cultural anthropology for Gabriel Tarde's sociology and Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology.

⁶⁶ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁶⁷ Nuno Porto, Nélia Dias, and José António Bandeira, *Angola a Preto E Branco - Fotografia E Ciência No Museu Do Dundo*, Nuno Porto (Coimbra: Museu Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra, 1999).

This collectivity and collection is here made to emerge from the analysis and interpretation of four different elements: (1) texts, from the short architecture theory essay, the legal decree, the newspaper article, the novel, to the geographical handbook; (2) architecture drawings, formal and informal kinds – sketches, doodles, etc...; (3) built landscapes, architecture artifacts and urban landscapes; and (4) interviews of architects, project collaborators, teachers and dwellers, among others involved in making architecture emerge. Each one of these elements will be made to draw its agents, connections and objects. Following ANT's notion of tracing the social through its networked acting, these different elements are brought together in noded strings of histories made active either in a book, a text, a drawing, a building or in someone's experience of a building or built landscape. The objective is to produce a threading of architects, geographers, philosophers, anthropologists, politicians, entrepreneurs, social workers, families and different populations, with urban projections, government and economical strategies, design transformations, black and white lines on tracing paper, personal aspirations, specific territories in the making, elegant compositions of concrete, stone and wood.

Most attention is devoted to the voices and to the what, how and where of what is being said, by both people and things.⁶⁸ I try to balance the actings or "voices" of both people and things, following with material anthropology's and ANT's emphasis on the acting of non-human elements.⁶⁹ Yet, two warnings must be made on how this research unaccomplishes both ethnographic method and ANT. Regarding the first, contrary to most ethnography this study does not primarily rely on accounts collected with fieldwork. The field here consists of a vast urban territory ranging from central to northern Portugal, with Porto at its center. Although various field trips were made to many places within this territory, and notes of various accounts of the latter's experiences were taken, these were not made the key narratives from which each chapter and the history it tells was built. On some topics, field notes are brought to expand our reading of a particular object. On others, they are made to express the coordinates through which a particular object will be threaded, nodes of meaning-making, as we will later observe. Notwithstanding, the acting of oral accounts and the importance of field notes follow together with the analyses of other objects.

Regarding the second note, with its emphasis on the material fabrication of knowledge, specifically scientific knowledge, ANT tends to foreground non-human "actants," sometimes more than other kinds of agents. Those delicately contrived pieces of glass within a microscope that make it possible to "discover" DNA or the extraction and making of copper into miniscule wires enabling the connection of wide territories through communication. These material constitutions of modern knowledge and technology, from my point of view, hold fundamental lessons. Yet, in the present work such emphasis on non-human agents will not form key connectors or "transports" for knowledge. I will not be going into the material constitution of architect's pens, tracing paper or the projective capabilities of

⁶⁸ The base bearings for ethnography are from: James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1997); Daniel Miller, "Introduction: Anthropology, Modernity and Consumption," in *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local* (London: Routledge, 1995); V. A., *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, Daniel Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Teresa Caldeira, *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in São Paulo* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000).

⁶⁹ Regarding the first, A., *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*; and the second, Latour, *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence: An Anthropology of the Moderns*.

architecture models,⁷⁰ nor the machine making behind specific ways of seeing the city.⁷¹ Although any of these topics would be entirely pertinent to study. The main non-human elements passing things around in this research are either books, pamphlets, reports, pictures or buildings and cities, experienced directly or captured through books, reports and pictures. In this sense, this research constitutes a case of weak application of ANT, even though it aims to retain its key insight, derived from anthropology: that in order for something to exist it must “pass-through” something other, which usually is made of a specific material combination, spatial delimitation and symbolic and political performance.

Thus, this research did not focus primarily on either personal accounts collected over a relatively long period of time, nor the material and technical performances through which ideas actually have to pass in order to exist. Instead, its primary focus departed from the power of certain texts and architecture artifacts. The key resources in this work are thus a select group of buildings, having Távora as one of its authors, and texts obtained from archival research: a variety of fictions, impressions, debates, histories and projections regarding the emergence of Portuguese spatial problems, the making of new places and the rewriting of old ones. The research also departed from the role of written institutions, such as a specifically celebrated book in Portuguese architecture circles, or an architecture and urban planning magazine, in casting the paradigmatic truths for a determined set of ongoing problems.⁷² In this respect, it dwells in great detail over the constitution of certain texts, trying to capture the discourses, categories and prepositions of government put forward. Most chapters are connected through texts, their passing down onto others, their reinterpretation, and their circulation through other bodies. The socio-spatial problems with which we will be dealing will, for the most part, emerge from their determination through texts in dialogue. Stated differently, they will be made to emerge through the discourses that script them. This goes in the way of trying to supply a composed history of the scripting of modern forms of life in Portugal, in the post-war. The focus on texts aims to capture how a certain art of government was historically fabricated, more than accomplishing detailed ethnographies of either design processes or the making of urban communities. Even though these are not necessarily self-excluding. In combination, on the contrary, they may enable a better grasp of the “production of space,”⁷³ with which this research tries to assemble *the Porto School* “father” episodes.⁷⁴

Texts and actual books, their shape, reproduction, material and graphic quality, however, constitute one of two main research resources. The other being buildings. If texts are here made to supply the

⁷⁰ As architect Albená Yaneva did in Albená Yaneva, “A Building Is a ‘Multiverse,’” in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Karlsruhe, Cambridge: Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe and MIT, 2005), 530–35; based on Albená Yaneva, *Made by the Office for Metropolitan Architecture: An Ethnography of Design* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2009).

⁷¹ See, for instance, Jeanne Haffner, *The View from Above: The Science of Social Space* (Cambridge, London: MIT Press, 2013).

⁷² The main bearing was here Crysler, *Writing Spaces: Discourses of Architecture, Urbanism and the Built Environment, 1960-2000*.

⁷³ From Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell, 1991). Although Lefebvre’s work is not dealt in this introduction his ideas on the “social production of space” are a central interpretative key in this research, inasmuch as they inspire spatial ethnography and ANT’s emphasis on the material fabrication of knowledge.

⁷⁴ This articulation of textual analysis, based on detailed archival research, was influenced by distinct works combining archive with ethnographical work. With a highly detailed archival research: Becky Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002). Combining a detailed historical survey with fieldwork ethnography: James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008). Combining archive, theory and history of architecture, as well as ethnographic accounts: Abidin Kusno, *The Appearances of Memory: Mnemonic Practices of Architecture and Urban Form in Indonesia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010).

scripts casting the formation of specific political matters of concern, regarding the organization of Portuguese space. Buildings are the mediators of not only these scripts, but also of possible communities, technical developments, artistic reinvention, economical landscapes and political reinscription. Buildings and built space, however, mediate these elements through mostly a mute reproduction of their sustainance, as a rock silently perpetuates its presence.⁷⁵ To speak with buildings we usually need the power of texts, drawings, guides, among other mediators, to explain what happened and is happening. What all of these share is an action of dislocation or displacement of our physical experience, needed, controlled and enriching. Yet, this action also overdetermines our feeling of a built space or how it may act upon us. One clear example of this is a walk through sand dunes next to a pine-tree forest in, for instance, Ofir, a beach in northern Portugal. Most naturally, we are walking in “nature” despite the fact that both the dunes and the pine-trees were as much arranged in their form and spatial disposition by the sea, winds and small flocks of birds, as they were by dozens of workers erecting a “natural” resort. As with these dunes, it is almost impossible, as well as barely desirable, to distinguish between the non-human we experience and the technologies deployed to experience it. Yet, it is not impossible to try to let non-human things, built landscapes, buildings, act more instead of less upon our structure of feeling. Namely if we conceive a sort of designed ignorance or, as argued by Lefebvre, if we divert codification by stop reading spaces as texts and our bodies in space as phrases within these texts.⁷⁶

This research attempts a form of *drifting*, similar to that originally argued by Lefebvre and proposed by the *Situationists*.⁷⁷ Contrary to the latter, however, this research does not argue for the possibility of a “pure experience” outside the governed self, nor for an elevation of *drifting* as essentialist method into the “truths” of urban experience. As I set out to find certain architecture works and their places, of course I knew these beforehand through drawings, pictures and texts, mainly from researching Távora’s production. I also departed to these visits framed by a very specific set of goals, both personal and research related. Yet, the approach to these places followed a designed ignorance or “morphological maladaptation” based on two self-limitations: (1) not knowing exactly where the sought place was, which involved abstaining from using *googlemaps* or any other mapping interface to locate the place, forcing me to get lost and having to ask around; (2) the previous consulted elements involved solely architecture drawings, texts and pictures, mostly from Távora’s practice, that is, the interior world of architecture techniques, and not reading about its urban or social history, neither consulting historical archives. As a rule, most archival research followed after the visiting of the architecture places and not otherwise. Albeit limited rules, these enabled architecture works to emerge through a series of confrontations between the representations of buildings by architects, their projected aura and community, and the confused process of actually arriving somewhere, of placing that somewhere within an urbanity and, lastly, of trying to absorb its environment. There was no direct matching and the

⁷⁵ For a notion of non-human reproduction see Latour, *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence: An Anthropology of the Moderns*.

⁷⁶ Lefebvre concluded on the social character of any fabrication of space: “The diversion and reappropriation of space are of great significance, for they teach us much about the production of new spaces,” adding, against the *Grand Ensemble* spirit of his time, “(...) one upshot of such tactics is that groups take up residence in spaces whose pre-existing form, having been designed for some other purpose, is inappropriate to the needs of their would-be communal life. One wonders whether this morphological maladaptation might not play a part in the high incidence of failure among communitarian experiments of this kind.” in *The Production of Space*: 167-68.

⁷⁷ Specifically in the reinterpreted frame discussed, for instance, by Stuart Burch, “Reading the City: Cultural Mapping as Pedagogical Inquiry,” in *Cultural Mapping as Cultural Inquiry*, Nancy Duxbury, W. F. Garrett-Petts and David MacLennan (New York: Routledge, 2015), 193–216.

difference between the codes with which I departed and the ones I made on the ground became productive, namely by pointing to other elements and agents also producing the visited places.

This method of walking to and in, gathers its methodological frame more from cultural geography than from *situationist* drifting. Specifically from the branch of cultural geography practiced in the wake of J.B. Jackson's (1909-96) studies of North American vernacular landscapes.⁷⁸ Since the early 1950s Jackson worked on ways of surveying that were usually based on some sort of movement, walking, cycling, riding a motorcycle or a car, what we might call accessible means into the landscape. Specially walking and the value of first impressions, but also free-hand drawing, assumed a central role as interpretative keys of a landscape. Performances for getting to know the impressions and paths that chained it.⁷⁹ The present research appropriates this particular emphasis on walking the landscape and letting first impressions speak at least as seriously as archival research.⁸⁰ Also in the measure that this method for knowing landscape, by displacing and re-placing, may enrich a method for knowing the city, similarly keen on walking, inherited from *the Porto School*. As we will see, at its beginning there too lay a desire for uncodified contact with urban life.

Lastly, both the texts and visited built landscapes are derived from our guide into the formation of this latter institution: Fernando Távora. He will be, so to speak, the "gatekeeper" to the early collectives and collections animating Porto's architects, planners, dwellers, teachers and politicians from 1945 to 1969. Thus, the texts and built landscapes chosen for analysis have him as author, among other authors. The built landscapes here tackled are: a public housing estate in *Ramalde*, an early peripheral extension of the city of Porto; a summerhouse in Ofir, a beach north of Porto; and a central neighborhood in the latter city, *Ribeira-Barredo*. A triad of spaces articulating three key areas of modern development, artistic invention, economic possibility and political reinscription in post-war Portugal: the collective housing block in the periphery, the leisure suburb by the beach, and the urban renewal of the "historic" neighborhood. Correspondingly, the main texts framing the analysis of discourses bring forth the subjects and landscapes activated to produce these key areas of modern change: a manifesto on the true modern Portuguese house; an inquiry of Portuguese vernacular architecture; an article on the fundamental elements of the city of Porto; a trip diary reporting on modern urbanity; and, lastly, a dissertation on the ethical service of professional architecture. Through these various objects and texts, and the energies they enact, Távora is here a negotiator of the fabrication of modern forms of being Portuguese, as well as of the ways in which professional architecture, as a technology of government, has dealt with modernization, culture and community. By combining the various above mentioned transforming objects, as the anthropologist Daniel Miller wrote, I hope to project the "very very small society" of Fernando Távora into a "very big society."⁸¹

⁷⁸ For an overview of cultural geography following from Jackson's practices and ideas see Paul Groth et al., *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson*, Chris Wilson and Paul Groth (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003); and also, although in a silent form, Denise Scott Brown, "Learning from Brinck," in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 49–61.

⁷⁹ Regarding walking and first impressions, John Brinckerhoff Jackson's "The Stranger's Path," in *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America*, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 19–29 (orig. 1957) is especially relevant for this research.

⁸⁰ Following some of the tenets in the cultural geography works V. A., *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, Paul Groth and Todd Bressi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) and Jake Kosek, *Understories: The Political Life of Forests in Northern New Mexico* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006).

⁸¹ Debating the place of anthropology in a globalized world Daniel Miller proposes we might argue "(...) that anthropology is an anachronism, that its topic based on the plural term societies or cultures assumed to be relatively homogeneous internally and associated with specific

Writing choices and chapter organization

Although this dissertation concerns Portuguese objects and discourses, I chose to write in English for mainly two reasons. (1) It was developed in dialogue with several non-Portuguese speakers such as UC Berkeley Prof. Greig Crysler, among others. Thus the choice of English, in this case, was about translation and extension of the dissertation's discussions to a broader peer group. (2) In the process of researching the written works regarding Portuguese modern architecture, namely in 2012 and 2013, I realized very little was written in other languages besides Portuguese. Safe for the ever growing amount of texts on Álvaro Siza's persona and career, Portuguese architecture exists mainly in Portuguese.⁸² This is a structural limitation to the disciplinary and professional advancement of Portuguese architecture, namely of its institutions. Specially since there is a growing number of foreign exchange students that, attracted by the international reputation of Portuguese architects, cohabit the country's schools of architecture. Having been myself an exchange student, the temporal residence in a culture of practice to which one does not have access, presents a demoralizing barrier. More so when within a country supposedly part of an international federation of common laws and practices. Thus, this dissertation is written in English partly to make available to foreign architects, exchange students and other visiting non-Portuguese speakers, the historic formation of an European culture of practice. The choice of English is about enlarging the collective motion of such an endeavour as a dissertation.

Even the most individual scholarly work, viewed in terms of the economic, intellectual, and psychological support necessary to its accomplishment, turns out to be a social enterprise.⁸³

Wrote the historian Carl Schorske in the acknowledgements of his book on *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Likewise, this dissertation is a specific collective endeavour that ranges a not so small community between advisors, reviewers, colleagues and informants, friends, family and the kindness of strangers. Yet, I chose to write it in the first person singular because what is here presented results exclusively from my selection and crafting of this collective process. But also because when one writes in the academic first person plural, we, responsibility may run up to the clouds. As the Norwegian architect Dag Nilsen once asked me: "Who is this we? Is God writing with you?" God is not writing with me.

This writing process was not that of developing several papers and then collecting them in a single document with clear boundaries. The writing was continuous and mostly interrupted by second and third incursions into the archive and the field. Yet, I chose to write each chapter as its own piece. Thus, every chapter starts by a short introduction into its specific discussion, in which particular research problems and resources are laid down. At the beginning of each chapter is also explained the particular body of scholarly work with which each dialogues, as well as the possible contributions to the latter and possible advancement of the topics at hand. Each chapter can thus be read separately, despite the fact

regions, are being dissolved away and replaced by a growing individualism on the one hand and globalisation on the other. As a result anthropology should give way to psychology for the individuals and macro-sociology for the global. I will argue the opposite, that the study of a society or a culture is the foundation for studying these other entities, as long as we treat the global as one very big society and treat the individual as many very very small societies." In "Very Big and Very Small Societies," in *The Urgency of Theory*, A. Ribeiro (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2007), 79–105.

⁸² Although much was written in Italian and Spanish, see Silva and Furtado, "A Construção Do Conhecimento Internacional Sobre a Arquitectura Portuguesa Anos 70 Do Séc. XX."

⁸³ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981): xiii.

that the dissertation was written in continuum with the intent of chaining every and each chapter with every other. This, of course, implies that reading in portions has the risk of missing some key links.

The writing followed from the experience of the three architecture works structuring the research: the modern housing block in Ramalde, the summerhouse in Ofir and the “historic” neighborhood of Ribeira-Barredo. Most of the writing followed from visits to these places. As said above, archival research was largely accomplished after the field visit. The latter, then, propelled the writing and organized its priorities and rhythms. For this reason, the dissertation is structured through three architectural places in three parts: a beginning section, a middle one and an end. Each section is initiated by one of these chapters, dealing with the experience of the place. So, the first section is initiated by the description of Ramalde; the second by that of Ofir; and the last and concluding by that of Ribeira-Barredo in Porto.

Starting by Ramalde, chapter 1 introduces the architects, the institutions, government and the initial coordinates of the architecture project moved against the myth of spatial government of the dictatorship, in the immediate post-war. This chapter aims to deploy a broad picture of the moment identified in Portuguese architecture historiography as the start of a covert political “resistance” to the regime.⁸⁴ This argument relies in identifying a call to modernist architecture in post-war Portugal, by some architects, with the general rise of political opposition to the regime in the aftermath of the WWII. Stated differently, it involves writing modernist architecture as the expert claim to democracy or socialism that was being argued by some sectors of Portuguese society. This popular opposition to the regime in the post-war was, however, very brief and by 1947 the dictatorship was back on its governmental feet, with reinvigorated forms of control and suppression. Following from this, the call to modernist architecture supposedly continued the oppositional claims in the expert language of professional architecture culture. Contrary to this re-telling of events, this chapter aims to introduce how modern objects did not stand for a political opposition, but instead elaborated a specific dialogue with the dictatorship’s anthropologic grasp of Portuguese-ness. This is key to understand the discussions, objects and processes that will follow.

This chapter starts with a written search for a modern artifact, a public housing project built in the periphery of Porto and aiming to house “workers,” within post-war *Marshall Plan*’s welfare measures. This written search develops slowly as I moved through the periphery of the city to find a group of modern buildings hidden amidst many other cities. This is interspersed by descriptions of its author, Fernando Távora, and the institutional environment animating the artifact’s crafting, such as produced in Porto’s school and the municipal urbanization office. After describing these, the search for the modern artifact is extended into a search for its modern livelihoods. This was accomplished mainly by informal interviews to old residents, among others. Throughout early 2015 I met with: Mr. Artur Pereira, a social worker, part of the council of Ramalde; Mr. Albino Pinto, his wife and brother, original residents of Távora’s modern housing blocks, moving in the 1950s and who allowed me to experience the domesticity they built there; the shopkeeper José David Almeida, that moved to the neighborhood

⁸⁴ The word resistance was first used in the 1970s by Portas, “A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação”; for later re-inscriptions of this argument see Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*; Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*; and Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50*.

in 1968, staying ever since; and through Ramalde's Community Center a group of women residing in and in the vicinity of the latter, moving in the late 1950s and 1960s and from varied walks of life.⁸⁵

The description of the modern artifact is followed by an overview of the Portuguese dictatorship, implemented by law in 1933. This overview focuses the ideological families present in the construction of the latter and some of its key government apparatus. This is accomplished by initially comparing the Portuguese with other European dictatorships of the time and, more importantly, by trying to produce a nuanced portrait of its complexity of interests, governing objectives and architecture productions. This description is largely derived from historian Fernando Rosas' comprehensive research on the dictatorship's ideological, economic and government history, moving beyond monolithic interpretations of the regime into more complex accounts of its games of power and government.⁸⁶ This is then articulated with a brief description of the regime's architecture programs, highlighting their variety and not their supposed unitary character. This aims to overcome a certain block reading of the relation between architecture and dictatorship, namely regarding its first decades, such as emblematically argued by architect José Manuel Fernandes' identification of an architecture style to the regime.⁸⁷ This chapter aims to show that there was no such thing, only the possibility of a specific form of spatial government, carried forward by an active myth.

Chapter 2 draws the original strategy of a project for architecture developed in the post-war, by a younger generation of architects aiming to review the profession's service to Portuguese society and the building of the nation. The drawing is accomplished by reading the proposals and intimacies between three manifesto texts, authored by young modern Portuguese architects in the aftermath of WWII. This involves showing how they assembled a view of the profession and its possibilities in relation with a desire for a new relationship with Portuguese landscape and international developments. The formation of this collective project is framed within a broader history of the emergence of the house as an object of expert concern for building the nation. This historic chaining much owes to the arguments of historian Paulo Varela Gomes, anthropologist João Leal and architect Tiago Castela.⁸⁸ All of which, with distinct objectives, assemble the emergence of Portuguese modern architecture in the post-war together with a long historical discussion of the Portuguese house, as a problem of nation building starting in the late 19th century. However, this chapter goes beyond their different readings of this long history, namely: (1) by not arguing that the discussion of a Portuguese house was a nostalgic and reactionary exercise;⁸⁹ and (2) by not defending that the architecture project by the three young architects in the post-war revolutionized this history of thinking the nation through the house.⁹⁰

Moving beyond the circumscription of this history to Portugal, the chapter starts with an overview of the importance of the house for early efforts at delimiting the national community and its values.

⁸⁵ The meeting was arranged by the Community Center and the group was largely composed of women that dwelled in the public housing projects later developed around Távora's original blocks, most dwelling in the public housing projects named *Campinas*.

⁸⁶ As specifically summarized in the publication: Fernando Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2012).

⁸⁷ José Manuel Fernandes, *Português Suave: Arquiteturas Do Estado Novo* (Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico - Ministério da Cultura, 2003).

⁸⁸ Paulo Varela Gomes, "Quatre Batailles En Faveur D'une Architecture Portugaise," in *Points de Repère: Architecture Du Portugal* (Brussels: Fondation pour l'Architecture, 1991), 21–62; João Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional* (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2000); Castela, "A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalized Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon."

⁸⁹ Gomes, "Quatre Batailles En Faveur D'une Architecture Portugaise"; Castela, "A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalized Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon."

⁹⁰ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

This concerns studying a specific crafting of the simple and honest vernacular house or that form of living traced to an harmonious community, beyond modern urbanity. This chapter aims to trace the search for this object along a broad array of national stories, moving from the *arts and crafts movement* to early elaborations of the English cottage and German *heimat*, and then to the discussion of a Portuguese house in early 20th century. Following which the chapter analyzes the three manifesto texts, proposing yet another relation to the idea of a Portuguese house and, more importantly, a new found relation with the simple and honest truths of a vernacular nature of dwelling. The chapter aims to read these modern manifestos within an intergenerational and transversal return to the vernacular, “our grandparent’s time,” the purer truths of the countryside. It argues this constituted many and original ways of trying to be modern autonomously, that is, despite lost sovereignty, lost modernization, lost history, the lack of a cohesive national society and the lack of a democratic relationship between society and its objects. The vernacular was, for a long returning bundle of historical trajectories, a structuring matter of concern, an object of desire and ethics, continuously activated as a necessary compromise with roots, bounds and the re-invention of a way to dwell nationally.

Chapter 3 pursues this lead of the vernacular recreation of modern architecture by analysing the process and result of a survey of Portuguese vernacular architecture developed between 1955 and 1961, by the younger generation of Portuguese architects. This survey is the target of much scholarly attention, mostly as a key episode in histories of the formation of Portuguese modern architecture. Only very recently has it been analysed in itself and its own stakes.⁹¹ Even so, two determining readings structure its study: (1) it was a key moment in the covert political opposition to the dictatorship, by young modernist aspiring architects;⁹² (2) it was the practice of an urban gaze over the poor Portuguese countryside, unilaterally accomplished for the advancement of a particular mode of professional architecture, and not as a political opposition or process of social revelation.⁹³ This chapter deploys a third reading, moving between both, yet closer to the second reading: the survey as the search for a country-itself, supplying landscape truths worked into modern architecture forms and norms, not against the dictatorship but advancing its project of housing every Portuguese in a Portuguese house. This reading is developed by focusing on the analysis of an aspect commonly neglected in the study of the survey:⁹⁴ the categories and methodology applied to seize the countryside. Thus, the chapter examines the various disciplinary contaminations activated in the survey, namely with geography and anthropology. The third reading will also be advanced by assembling this with a political economic portrait of the surveyed bodies, namely through the study of a population census of 1962 and the dictatorship’s managing of the bodies inhabiting vernacular landscapes. This aims to assemble the

⁹¹ This ranges a broad number of researches that were kept out of the introduction for brevity. They are fully exposed in the introduction to chapter 3.

⁹² Portas, “A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação”; Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*.

⁹³ Pedro Vieira de Almeida, *Apontamentos Para Uma Teoria Da Arquitectura* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2008); Alexandra Cardoso and Maria Helena Maia, “Tradition and Modernity. The Historiography of the Survey to the Popular Architecture in Portugal” (Approaches to Modernity, Budapest: BUTE, 2010); Ricardo Agarez, “Vernacular, Conservative, Modernist: The Uncomfortable ‘Zone 6’ (Algarve) of the Portuguese Folk Architecture Survey (1955-1961),” in *To and Fro: Modernism and Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia, and Alexandra Cardoso, Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia and Alexandra Cardoso (Porto: CEAA - Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo, 2013), 31–50.

⁹⁴ According to Cardoso and Maia, “Tradition and Modernity. The Historiography of the Survey to the Popular Architecture in Portugal:” 113. Their research has been moving to correct this gap in the survey’s analysis.

process of the survey with what usually is amiss in most works about it, besides some brief lines about general poverty: the actual conditions and needs architects set out to study, together with the study of vernacular architecture.⁹⁵ Lastly, the chapter finishes with some of the survey's most immediate impacts at the time, ranging its critical appreciation in architecture reviews and its translation into architecture works and knowledge. I aim to argue the survey animated, in a crucial way, a particular project for architecture progress or, stated differently, a specific vision of how the country's landscape should be spatially modernized by modern architects.

If chapters 2 and 3 mainly concentrate on textual production, chapter 4 focuses the production of an architecture artifact directly connected with the process of the survey. In it we will move to the written search for a summerhouse in Ofir, designed by Távora in the mid-1950s. This modern house was presented by architects then and afterwards as a signaling object of a new project of modern architecture, whose strategy is exposed in chapter 2. The chapter unpacks this attributed quality by studying the house's design and construction process, urban projection, practiced community and connections to a re-centering of the country's development in the 1950s and 1960s. During this period, economic growth, closely tied to an increasing real-estate market, targeted the country's coast as a new site of leisure, modern comfort and economic opportunity. I intend to assemble this process together with that of designing the Ofir summerhouse.

Firstly, the chapter describes the enterprise of urbanizing Ofir, what energies and possibilities it gathered, and what urban dream it practiced. This is followed by a detailed account of the design of the summerhouse. For this purpose, I conducted an informal interview with Álvaro Siza Vieira in mid-2015, Távora's collaborator at the time, and met with Fernando Barroso and Carlos Martins, later collaborators, with which I talked several times throughout 2013 and 2015. The description of the summerhouse's design is then articulated with the memories of its dwellers, their aspirations and the living habits described to have occurred in Ofir. For this, I met with the Ribeiro Silva family at the summerhouse in mid-2015. Here, the chapter aims to show that a particular form of suburban community was enacted in modern places such as Ofir. Lastly, the chapter describes how enterprises such as Ofir and the architecture of Távora's summerhouse circulated into broader urban and economic projects, placing new Portuguese communities by the coast. This part greatly relies in architect Susana Lobo's research on seaside urbanism in Portugal.⁹⁶ Her work essentially allowed to map how a re-centering of a modern Portugal by the coast passed-through the projections of community and architecture modernity enacted in Ofir's summerhouse. However, this chapter aims to move beyond the agency and importance given by her to architects' and planners' designs for the coast and, instead, focus on how the active architectural dream of Ofir was largely unrealized or accomplished outside of its functional rules. This chapter also moves beyond linear descriptions of planning in Portugal, by making its efforts and failures reflect back to architectural discussions of the time, namely regarding the possibility of a larger role for architects in urban planning. This is accomplished by assembling together the experience of Ofir, the design of the summerhouse, the prospect of business and modernity by the coast, with the urban discussions advanced in the architecture magazine *Arquitectura*, the only architecture magazine in the country by then. This is done with the aim of showing how a project of

⁹⁵ The main exception is here Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

⁹⁶ Susana Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2012).

architecture, first developed in three manifestos right after WWII, also articulated an urban vision, a desired *projecto* for the city.

The first four chapters, in a sense, form a group of discussions and subjects around the issue of constituting a Portuguese house. They try to trace how a search for a true Portuguese house animated a professional project for the renewal of the country's modern landscapes. This problem, of enacting through the house a broad idea of national cultural change, animated its own questions. Although I came to acknowledge this as a subliminal argument to the dissertation, these first chapters form a discussion around the possibility of architecture for the nation-state. Finding a true house was about finding what architecture apparatus for the modern collection of the nation-state. This became a pervading question. Thus, in part, the first chapters might be seen to join with other histories of the relation between nation and architecture, such as Mia Fuller's analysis of Italian architecture and urban practices in the 1940s, or Abidin Kusno's interpretation of memory in architecture and urban form in modern Indonesia.⁹⁷ When writing chapter 4, however, the discussion of the constitution of a Portuguese house increasingly appeared to involve the discussion of the constitution of a Portuguese city. As I made Ofir connect with many other agents changing Portuguese landscape, the intuition became clear: to a modern constitution of the Portuguese house follows one for the Portuguese city. The next three chapters departed from this intuition, as they try to articulate how a project of architecture, aiming to project the truths of the national landscape, involved a project for the city.

Chapter 5 faces this problem by setting the base terms for the discussion followed in chapters 6 and 7. In it, I go back to the early post-war and the formation of urban expertise in Portugal, as the grounding platform from which architects' discussion of their urban position and agency was animated. The chapter starts by describing the emergence of a government institution, created by the dictatorship to oversee urban development for the whole country. This involves the study of the laws, stated missions and models deployed through the ministry of public works to deal with the deficit of both planning and planners. This part draws heavily on existing research regarding the urban politics and government designed, specifically, in the dictatorship's first decade.⁹⁸ The chapter contributes to existing scholarship on Portuguese urban planning history by analyzing in greater detail its connections to the development of urban planning in France in the early 20th century. While the importance of foreign architects and planners to the development of Portuguese planning is widely acknowledged and as recently received more attention, its accounts remain shy. This happens by focusing more in comparing planning methodologies within Portugal and its empire, than in tracing the genesis of a way of appropriating and crafting the city, passed on to Portuguese institutions and architect-planners by French agents.⁹⁹ This chapter develops this genesis by describing the institutions and the projects of government from which a form of urban planning, that came to ground Portuguese expertise, was crafted. This specifically involves examining the ideas, forms of knowledge and planning models active

⁹⁷ Mia Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007); Kusno, *The Appearances of Memory: Mnemonic Practices of Architecture and Urban Form in Indonesia*.

⁹⁸ Namely: Margarida Souza Lôbo, "Planos de Urbanização: A Época de Duarte Pacheco" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto, 1995); Sandra Vaz Costa, "O País a Régua E Esquadro: Urbanismo, Arquitectura E Memória Na Obra Pública de Duarte Pacheco" (Master's Dissertation, Faculty of Literature of the University of Lisbon, 2009).

⁹⁹ I am specially referring to: Teresa Marat-Mendes and Vítor Oliveira, "Urban Planners in Portugal in the Middle of the Twentieth Century: Étienne de Groër and António Almeida Garrett," *Planning Perspectives* 28, no. 1 (2013): 91–111; Teresa Marat-Mendes and Mafalda G. Sampayo, "The Plano de Urbanização Da Cidade de Luanda by Étienne de Groër and David Moreira Da Silva (1941-1943)," in *Urban Planning in Lusophone African Countries* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 57–75.

in a small group of French institutions emerging in the late 19th century, and with a concern to design social peace. This description draws greatly from Paul Rabinow's study of the construction of modern urban government in 19th and early 20th century France.¹⁰⁰ Without his account, the expansion of the history of urban planning in Portugal to its genesis in France would not have been possible.

To this description of a way of crafting urbanity for social peace, follows an analysis of how it was translated into Portuguese architecture curricula. With the intent to create national planners, the dictatorship enforced the teaching of two new courses in architecture degrees, dedicated to planning theory and practice. The chapter tries to grasp how these worked by studying their application in Porto's school. This draws from recent biographical research regarding one of its main urban planning teachers and from Moniz' comprehensive account of the school's modern curricula.¹⁰¹ This section's main material, however, are student assignments ranging from 1945 to 1955, collected at the school's archive. The chapter proceeds to analyze each batch of yearly assignments, focusing the ideas and objectives deployed, together with a planning history of Porto. The analysis of school assignments is interspersed by the description of specific plans developed for Porto, during the same time-frame. This assemblage of assignments with the actual planning of Porto articulates what in reality were extensive spaces of knowledge and practice of planning: the classroom and the municipal urban office. This aims to show how the translation of a way of crafting the city circulated through the actual planning of a city and, in the process, enabled young Portuguese architects to develop a style of apprehending the urban.

Chapter 6 further develops the idea of a style of apprehending the urban, developed in the post-war together with the search for a true Portuguese landscape, by examining in detail Távora's specific discussions of the city and its experiences. This chapter aims to reconnect the urban mission, pedagogy and practice, described in the former chapter, with the architecture project developed by Távora and others in the immediate post-war. This involves analyzing his writings regarding Porto and its planned change, the importance of the architect and the planner, the need for a national urban policy, among other discussions dealing with the agency of the architect in planning the country. It aims to show how, for Távora, the project for a true Portuguese architecture was intimately connected with a project for a true Portuguese city. Furthermore, it also aims to show how this connection depended on a specific articulation of profession, culture and state. The meaning of this articulation is then extended by examining the written experience of North American cities, to which Távora travelled in 1960. As in chapter 2, his account is assembled together with two others, passing judgement and transforming North American urbanity in a specifically charged object. This serves to grasp a form of reading the city, emerging more sharply when confronted by a "bad" example, such as North American urbanism was for these three architects. It aims to argue that the combination of a way of crafting the city, coming from France, with the search for a true Portuguese landscape, was practiced in a particular form of urban judgement, with specific ideal visions and practical proposals in mind. Similarly to chapter 2, this one proposes to re-write as collective what is more often taken as idiosyncratic, here regarding a way of projecting a "right" Portuguese city and architects' role in its execution.

The final chapter 7 aims to interpret how a *projecto* for the Portuguese city was designed through an urban renewal proposal of the late 1960s for central Porto. Developed by a municipal commission

¹⁰⁰ Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*.

¹⁰¹ Maria do Carmo Marques Pires, "O Ateliê de Arquitectura/Urbanismo de David Moreira Da Silva E Maria José Marques Da Silva Martins: Visibilidade E Memória" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Architecture of the Technical University of Porto, 2012); Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)."

coordinated by Távora, the renewal plan sought to embrace the whole city and the way it was thought and planned, through the precise rehabilitation of an old neighborhood. The chapter develops around the analysis of this proposal and its dialogue with the modes of dwelling of the city's poorest, but also with a pedagogical experiment in Porto's school and a proposal for the architect's mission in society. It will start, as chapters 1 and 4, by a written search, this time not of a modern artifact, but of an old neighborhood and its historical experience. This search was mediated by one of its old dwellers, Mr. Cândido Venceslau, whom I met a couple of times throughout late 2015 and early 2016. He was my guide into the area. My concern was not to develop a comprehensive account of the oral memories of the place, specially as this task was already accomplished by several sociological researches into the area.¹⁰² Instead, my main concern was to enter the old neighborhood through the guiding script of someone that had been directly involved in the renewal plan of the 1960s. Also for this reason, I met with engineer Almeida e Sousa, the director of the neighborhood's community center during the 1960s and 1970s, and the architect Rui Loza, during the plan's process an architecture student, then its coordinator in a re-modeled version of it applied in democratic Portugal.

This chapter assembles a history of the dwelling modes of the underprivileged in Porto, with the description of a pedagogical experiment in the city's architecture school, the detailed description of the urban renewal proposal, and, finally, with an interpretation of a dissertation proposing the architect as a specific social actor for a future harmonious organization of space. After finding the old neighborhood, the chapter moves to examine the history of Porto's poorest modes of dwelling. This draws greatly from recent sociological works regarding the city's urban history, but also from municipal reports and plans, and newspaper articles, mostly of the 1960s.¹⁰³ This part aims to capture a specific pattern of dealing with the poorest's form and placement in the city. To this follows a description of the architecture school's environment in the 1960s, focused specifically in examining a pedagogical experiment that translated the surveying process, applied in the search for a true landscape, into the vernacular bodies of Porto. This involves the analysis of school assignments, teacher's biographies and interviews with architect Rui Loza and also architect Ricardo Figueiredo, student in the late 1960s then becoming a long-term teacher in the school. This section is key to frame and understand the development of the professional knowledge and experiences that passed through the renewal plan. The latter was partly accomplished through the work of students within this pedagogical experiment. This connection between classroom and municipal office follows an already established pattern in the dissertation, but is also directly inspired by a recent assemblage of the urban renewal proposal with the classroom.¹⁰⁴ The chapter, however, aims to extend this assemblage by a more thorough analysis of the urban plan, the several agents that made it possible and its connections to the pedagogical experiment. Furthermore, it proceeds to extend its urban claims by linking these with a proposal for the architect's mission in society, written by Távora when coming back from North America. In it, Távora advanced a group of leading ideas regarding the role of the architect, participation, the production of harmonious urban

¹⁰² For instance: João Queirós, *No Centro, À Margem. Sociologia Das Intervenções Urbanísticas E Habitacionais Do Estado No Centro Histórico Do Porto* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2015).

¹⁰³ Regarding sociological research, the central references were: Virgílio Borges Pereira, "Uma Imensa Espera de Concretizações... Ilhas, Bairros E Classes Laboriosas Brevemente Perspectivados a Partir Da Cidade Do Porto," *Sociologia: Revista Da Faculdade de Letras Do Porto* XIII (2003): 139–48; Virgílio Borges Pereira and João Queirós, *Na Modesta Cidadezinha: Gênesis E Estruturação de Um Bairro de Casa Económicas Do Porto* (Pronto: Afrontamento, 2012). In the chapter the full extent of research used is dealt in detail.

¹⁰⁴ Gonçalo Canto Moniz, Luís Miguel Correia, and Adelino Gonçalves, "O Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo. A Formação Social Do Arquitecto Para Um Território Mais Democrático," *Estudos Do Século XX*, no. 14 (2014): 315–37.

relations, the needs and challenges facing Portuguese space. The urban proposal for the old neighborhood is read together with this dissertation on the architect's mission, allowing to understand the former's planned desire to embrace the whole city as a specific *projecto* for architecture and the city. This assembling of an urban plan hopes to show how a *projecto* for the city was practiced through a variety of livelihoods, materials, pedagogical trials, proposals to seize culture and country. But also how these were harnessed for a specific gathering of the architecture profession and its institutions, set on absorbing the country in a true relation with itself through architecture. The chapter finishes with a brief account of the urban plan's failures and successes, tracing its late presence through various agents involved in crafting Porto. To which follow some conclusions.

I.

Ramalde



1 New avenues¹⁰⁵

Ramalde

February 2015.

Arriving at *campanhã* train station in Porto, early in the morning, is always softly inebriating due to the bustling feeling of its loading and unloading of bodies and wills. Most of these continue walking past the station's main building into an adjacent hangar, recent and modernly looking. The possibility of more trains, many more destinations, Porto is a central node to northern Portugal. But most bodies go past these many more tracks, take an escalator leading under the hangar, and then reemerge on the other side, only to walk a little bit further before reaching a more recent track, that of the metro. A technological wonder of infrastructural Europe, Porto's subway, which is simultaneously a lightrail, has been a slow cooking process of the city's transport modernization. With its conflicts, budget slippages, planners and architects, it takes the urban commuter a long way across the metropolitan area of the city, enabling the urban gaze to seize the innards of old suburbs, old industrial areas, villages that endured amidst the urbanization of the city. It is to one of these enduring while modernized urban hybrids that I go.

I descend at Ramalde station. To the east there is a group of four storied buildings emanating a public-housing look, walls complemented with graffiti tags, abused sidewalks and greenery, old cars enduring solemnly, and other cliché attributes of those post-war suburbs built around Europe, although this one was built much later. To the west there is an old narrow street, bound to the north by what seems to be an old farmhouse or maybe an old industrial unit from the beginning of the past century, a family-factory as it were. To the south, the street is bound by a couple of small houses, modest looking, for the exception of a two-storied façade, standing in the air, no house behind it, looking like the home of a once wealthy family.

This street is still made of stone, my feet feel like it is the 18th century, my eyes are conflicted but a young citizen informs me that the shopping mall – Norte Shopping - is just one subway stop ahead. Strangely I did not ask where the shopping mall was, but which way was north. I have to go west, past the industrial zone and into another post-war suburb.

Going around the industrial zone is not as uncomfortable as I imagined; the sidewalks are actually wider and better taken care of than those in many central areas of Porto. Also, there is plenty of people walking around, another surprise. One look at the satellite view of this area and one gets the image of running scared amidst big trucks and industrial carriers. It is not the case at all, although I will have to find a path around the freeway leading north to the port and the airport, and dividing the industrial area in two.

I have driven this freeway plenty of times, always assuming that I was beyond the city, not even in a suburb but just passing through an industrial area. All you can see from the freeway are old modern looking warehouses and more recent ones, also modern looking. I never suspected these warehouses also

¹⁰⁵ New avenues is the name by which Lisbon's urban expansion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries came to be known. The city was expanded north on the tracks of new boulevard avenues. In the 1930s and 1940s, the entrepreneurial engineer and politician, Duarte Pacheco, first as Lisbon's mayor and then as minister of public works, consolidated these new avenues within a new urban expansion plan. The new avenues came then to signify, as before, urban modernization and progress. It is in this sense, as a symbol of modern development that the name is here used.

served as a buffer, even if unwittingly, to housing neighborhoods around them. The old and tall platanus trees siding the fast road are a good clue that this was probably not a freeway as such, at least not in the contemporary sense, but instead a 19th century styled avenue, a walkable boulevard, wanting to serve more than the mere flux of merchandise.

In March of 1948, Porto's municipality approved the design project of a road extension connecting the *5 de outubro* street, which leads directly to one of the city's central areas - the *boavista* roundabout -, to the port of *leixões* or what we might call "the Douro-Leixões economic complex,"¹⁰⁶ at the time, one of the country's main ports and import/export nodes. By the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s, Porto became one of the main industrial landscapes in the country, surpassing Lisbon in terms of active population involved in the industrial sector¹⁰⁷. The 1948 avenue emerged from the political will to modernize the economy in the footsteps of, first, a wartime urban plan for industrial development, and then a post-war economical restructuring of Western Europe. Specifically in this case, it involved creating a more efficient corridor between the nodes of distribution and the various productive and storage units spread throughout the city and its outskirts. In other words, it involved making fast tracks for the drainage of the city's productivity, as part of a reform oriented toward industrial growth.



1 New road system proposed in the 1952 master urban plan, Antão Almeida Garrett, *Plano Regulador da Cidade do Porto*.

¹⁰⁶ Expression used by an architecture student in the 1950s, related to the fact that the port of *leixões* was originally built for boats that could not sail the river Douro, where the city's commercial activity was historically concentrated, see José Borrego, *Anteplano Duma Zona Portuária - Urbanologia* (FAUP, 1954 1953), Porto, FAUP.

¹⁰⁷ Fernando Rosas, ed., *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*, vol. 7 (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1993): 65.

This avenue also implied the functionalization of the city's economical activities, namely the concentration of headquarters, technical offices, storage and distribution centers, as well as the removal of these programs from downtown, freeing its central spaces for an emerging service sector. Business needed to appropriate key sections of town and, to do this, urban policy had to create the conditions by which the occupation and use of those key sections was redrawn. From the onset, the road extension approved in 1948 drew its efficient logic not from the territory that it would occupy, but from the desired reorganization of central Porto and its welcoming of a modern economical urban effectiveness. Hence, it is curious to see that the municipality's urbanization office, with the approval of the road's plan later that year, proposed an urbanization plan for the adjacent lands with several housing quarters. They worked around the idea that this new road needed to be more than a corridor of merchandise, but also an extension of the city, its outgrowth into one of its rural outskirts.

The problem of the freeway of our days was then the problem of rearranging the city's population and, thus, tending to those that would be without a place after the transformation of central Porto into a third-sector hub. In this respect, the reformist economic avenues faced the reverse side of the city's industrial and commercial productivity - its historically consolidated concentration of human labor.



2 Urban design for a neighborhood of economical housing in *Ramalde*, 1948, Porto's municipal archive (D-CMP-03-526-013).

I go beneath the freeway, through the east side tunnel, the sidewalks are still generous and ample. As I reach the other side of the freeway, coming out of the tunnel, the landscape is entirely different from the one I just came from. On my right side, to northwest, there is a large estate with old and tall trees, encircled by a stone wall that has the looks of an aristocratic fence. I say aristocratic because it encloses *Casa de Ramalde* (House of Ramalde), the past residence of an old local noble family. Behind this estate, further westwards, there is a group of collective housing blocks, state promoted in its apparent cheap materials and pre-made appeal. Facing these is the other side of the industrial zone I have departed from.

To my left there is a group of small two-storied houses with a meek complexion. Behind them a multi-storied condominium rises, probably not built twenty years ago, and deeply contrasting with the pauper, smallish, houses. I go past the first couple of small houses, symbolically taking me back to somebody's village, as if all of a sudden it doesn't really matter the industrial area, generous sidewalks, and freeway tunnel that I just came through, for now I am somewhere in the past, an unrecognizable, yet familiar, eternal past. As I go by these houses I reach an open space, at the corner where this street intersects another coming from the south. A communal laundry place occupies the street corner, old cement and stone structure, with large back-to-back cement tanks, where the water to rinse clothes is deposited. This old public service space, where mostly women used to gather, is beneath the intersecting streets almost a full story; these were probably laid after the communal laundry and menacingly insinuated themselves over that place. The open space created by the communal laundry enables one to look within the innards of the old houses' plots. I can see a combination of metal and wooden shacks, outgrowing or imposing on slightly more permanent brick walls. In between these, some trees and chimneys pop up. There is probably some garden space in between the shacks, walls and old houses. But besides these packed gardens, the inner space of the quarter, constituted by the old houses on the intersecting roads, seems almost completely filled with what we could take as a village of its' own. In other words, it is a collective housing complex, not by design but by gradual use, made of appropriations, fillings, and small corrective structures of need. The inner parts of the plots accommodate unforeseen tenements, residents and others. It is that unrecognizable familiar past that persists to exist and which came to be called *ilha* around these parts.¹⁰⁸

I continue up the road leading from the communal laundry and its rural *ilha* to the townhall and the main street of Ramalde. On one side stands the new church, on the other the cemetery with its old chapel. I am not interested in the accumulation of what seems to be housing blocks erected sometime in the 1990s, with ground floor shops and parking adjacent. I move past these, the street becomes wider as white four story blocks disposed in a strict geometrical pattern emerge. Walking down a straight and generously spaced avenue, on both sides of it these blocks create intervals in-between. The blocks are at times parallel and perpendicular to the avenue, so the in-between spaces oscillate between courtyard and

¹⁰⁸ The *ilha*, literally translatable as island, deriving its meaning from the latin *insulae* is the name associated with an architectural typology for workers' quarters represented as specific to Porto's modern urban history. It is also an old word to signify that which belongs to the outcast city, the imaginary ghetto of Porto. Its history, evolving elements and livelihoods will be further developed in chapter 8. Regarding a succinct overview of the *ilha* in Porto's urban history see: V. A., *As "Ilhas" do Porto: Estudo Socioeconómico*, ed. Manuel Pimenta and José António Ferreira (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto - Pelouro de Habitação e Acção Social, 2001); Gaspar Martins Pereira, "As Ilhas No Percurso Das Famílias Trabalhadoras Do Porto Em Finais Do Século XIX," in *Família, Espaço E Património*, Carlota Santos (Porto: CITCEM - Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória, 2011), 477-93; Paulo Castro Seixas, "Ilhas E Novos Condomínios No Porto Do Século XX, Reflexos Do Passado, Interrogações Do Presente," in *Família, Espaço E Património*, Carlota Santos (Porto: CITCEM - Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória, 2011), 495-502.

green boulevard. These later have grass that needs some caring, lumps of dirt appearing here and there. There are also cars parked more or less with an informal logic, usually right next to small steel structures for drying clothes, recently built by the township to improve the neighborhood's living conditions, namely by physically suggesting inhabitants to not dry their clothes in the block's balconies and windows.

Central stone paths in-between the blocks connect their different entrances. To enter the blocks, other smaller stone paths lead perpendicularly away from the main path onto common entrances. The base of the blocks is coated in granite, rising to waist level and then giving way to white towed clean façades. This creates the impression that the blocks' emerge from rock itself, that its foundations are stable and deep. In reality they are not so deep, most blocks don't have basements and the ones that do, don't run very deep. It is more the symbolic gesture of gravity, both physical and social, as granite is a stone widely used in the north of Portugal, sometimes identified with beautiful and noble permanence.

The white towed facades are blind on the block's shorter extremities and opened by groups of waist height windows and small balconies on regular rhythms, no deviation from an orthogonal metric. These rhythms are interrupted by the staircase that distributes to apartments on both sides of it. Inhabitants that have been here since the late 1960s told the staircase used to be open: each staircase landing facing the exterior was an open balcony where people used to gather and talk during the day, in-between home shores – mainly women – and, when in summer also during the night, making the stair landings small public living rooms from where they could talk with people walking in the stone paths, grass and on other staircases.¹⁰⁹ Nowadays, however, these stairways are semi-enclosed by frosted glass blades that reach well above medium Portuguese heights; the ground floor entrance was also closed probably by the same time as the stairways, originally it was open.

The average number of apartments per block is between twelve and eighteen, each block built from six apartments, three on each side of the central staircase. This neighborhood was named *Campinas* and it was promoted through public housing policies from the early sixties that aimed to solve, in a more systematic way, the housing problem of the lower working-class of Porto. It was when the exclusivist logic set out sixty years earlier by the *Comércio do Porto* neighborhoods was first contradicted in urban polity. The *Campinas* neighborhood came to house all sorts of working-class families, including some from then recently demolished "islands." This neighborhood, however, was just a portion of a greater urban plan publicly announced through the newspaper *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, in 1950, in the following terms: "A truly new city for 6 thousand inhabitants is going to be built in Ramalde – according to the most modern urban conceptions."¹¹⁰

The urbanization plan developed in the late 1940s,¹¹¹ involved a large area between the *boavista* avenue and the new avenue, filled with old farmlands and steads, aristocratic estates (House of Ramalde), several *ilhas* and some factories. It was part of a more general master plan for the city and its metropolitan region, in development since the late 1930s.¹¹² The main strategy of the latter was to

¹⁰⁹ Collected from a group interview with old residents in 11 of March of 2015.

¹¹⁰ "Uma Verdadeira Cidade Nova Para 6 Mil Habitantes, Vai Ser Construída Em Ramalde, Segundo as Mais Modernas Concepções Urbanísticas," *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 1950, my translation.

¹¹¹ Maria Tavares, "Casas a Norte: As HE (Habitações Económicas - Federação de Caixas de Previdência) Num Processo de Continuidade," *Revista Arquitectura Lusitana*, semester 2011: 80.

¹¹² The master plan started in 1939 stemming from a government program for the creation and execution of urban master plans throughout Portugal, and developed under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Works headed by Duarte Pacheco. Its first planning coordinator was the Italian architect-planner Marcello Piacentini, namely two of his collaborators, the architect Giorgio Calza Bini and engineer Vincenzo Civico.

establish a new road network, delimiting central from peripheral areas and centralizing the city as movement node to the whole north. The new network infrastructured a desired strict zoning policy, operating the functional distinction between housing, commerce, service, industry and leisure. This also involved a campaign of urban renewal and new housing construction, organized according to the projection of Porto as an organic “great estate,” structured along a hierarchy of socio-environmental typologies, whose grounding example was the village.¹¹³

The urbanization of Ramalde, on the one hand, emerged within this urban strategy as a new organic urban unit, specifically as a modern service and housing area delimiting the city’s growth west. On the other hand, the urbanization plan was also foreseen to house present and future displaced inhabitants, deriving from the clearing of “dangerous” situations from central Porto. So, simultaneously keeping with Porto’s master plan priorities and adapting *Marshall Plan* strategies, it also aimed to “solve” the city’s housing crisis. As the newspaper clarified:

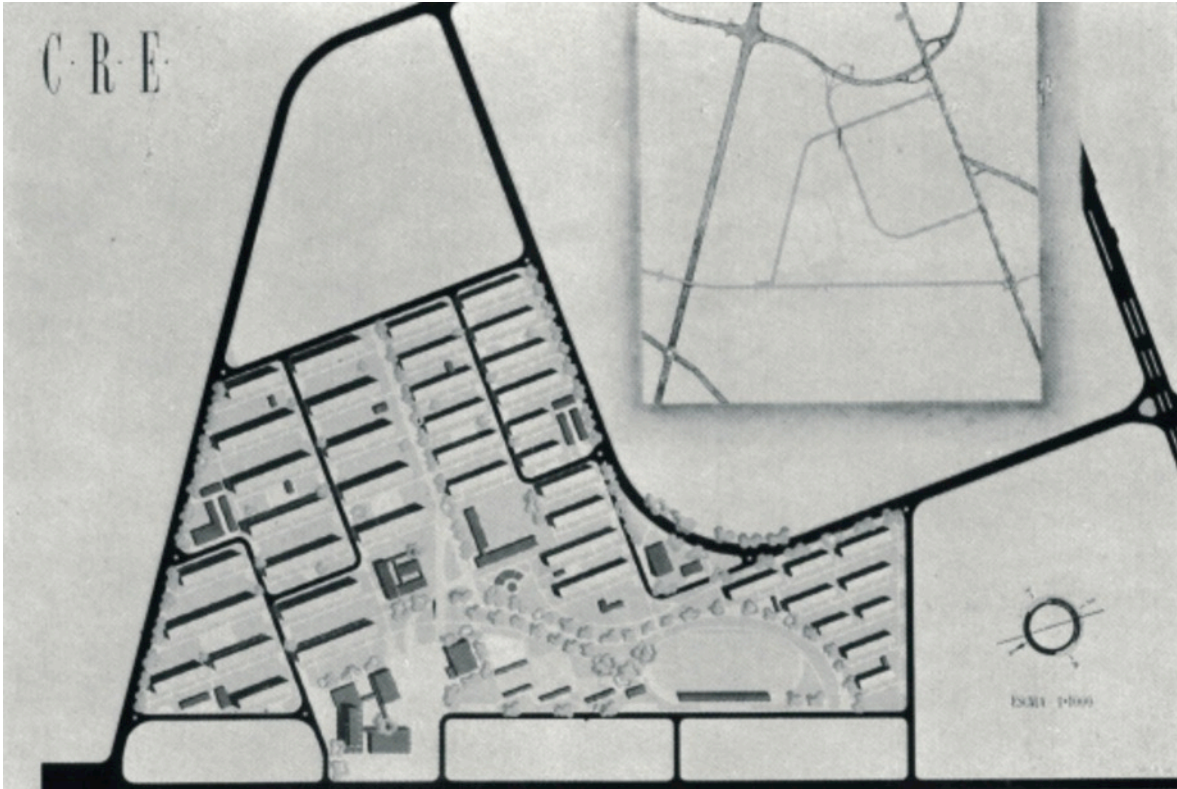
This initiative – owed to the *Federação das Caixas de Previdência* (FCP)¹¹⁴ – is of the greatest import to Porto, where the housing problem is far from finding a solution. (...) The construction of the new residential neighborhood, if it doesn’t completely solve the problem – we must not forget that in Porto more than 50.000 people live in *ilha* houses – it is a positive contribution, worthy of the biggest praises.¹¹⁵

They were replaced in the early 1940s by the architect-planner Giovanni Muzio and, in 1943, the latter was replaced by the engineer Almeida Antão Garrett, from Porto and who had collaborated with Muzio. Garrett then remained the master plan’s coordinator in Porto’s urbanization office, especially created for its development, until the early 1960s. Távora worked under Garrett during the late 1940s and early 1950s, as he joined the municipality’s urbanization office in 1948. In the early 1960s, Garrett was replaced, as lead planner, by the French architect-planner Robert Auzelle. See: Lôbo, “Planos de Urbanização: A Época de Duarte Pacheco”; Maria Adriana Pacheco Rodrigues Gravato, “Trajecto Do Risco Urbano : A Arquitectura Na Cidade Do Porto, Nas Décadas de 30 a 50 Do Século XX, Através Do Estudo Do Conjunto Da Avenida Dos Aliados À Rua de Ceuta” (Master’s Dissertation, Faculty of Literature of the University of Porto, 2004).

¹¹³ Garrett, in the public presentation of Porto’s master plan in 1952, wrote its motivation in the following manner: “In a village, the lords are like the natural protectors of the most in need that know to have in them a support – and the first feel themselves morally obliged to do so. Everybody knows each other and everybody counts on one another. If a poor dies, the neighbors support does not falter, whatever their economic situation. (...) It becomes indispensable to return to the natural local organization and complete it with the greatest sum of gains that today’s life affords.” (“Numa aldeia, os senhores são como que protectores naturais dos mais necessitados que sabem ter neles um amparo – e os primeiros se sentem moralmente a isso obrigados. Todos se conhecem e contam todos uns com os outros. Se morre um pobre, não lhe falta o acompanhamento dos vizinhos, qualquer que seja a sua situação económica. (...) Torna-se indispensável voltar à organização natural local e completá-la com a maior soma de ganhos que a vida de hoje oferece.”) in Antão de Almeida Garrett, *Plano Regulador Da Cidade Do Porto* (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1952): 16.

¹¹⁴ The Welfare Funds Federation, as FDP might be translated, was a welfare organization legislated in the immediate post-war, influenced by *Marshall Plan* directives, namely its housing program, and followed from the dictatorship’s worker welfare and control apparatus, the *Instituto Nacional do Trabalho e Previdência* – INTP, translatable as National Institute of Work and Welfare. It functioned from Lisbon alone, above local administration, and so too did the FDP housing program. On the INTP’s work until 1943, presented by their own, see Instituto Nacional do Trabalho e Previdência, ed., *Dez Anos de Política Social 1933-1943* (Lisboa, 1943); For an overview of FDP’s housing program see Maria Tavares, “Leituras de Um Percurso Na Habitação Em Portugal. As Habitações Económicas - Federação de Caixas de Previdência,” in *Habitação Para O Maior Número. Portugal, Os Anos de 1950-1980*, Nuno Portas (Lisbon: IRHU - Lisbon Municipality, 2013); On the relation of these government institutions with the dictatorship’s administrative and executive structure see José Luís Cardoso, “Corporativismo, Instituições Políticas E Desempenho Económico,” in *Corporativismo, Fascismo, Estado Novo*, Fernando Rosas e Álvaro Garrido (Coimbra: Almedina, 2012), 101–20.

¹¹⁵ “Esta iniciativa – que se deve à Federação das Caixas de Previdência – é do maior interesse para o Porto, onde o problema da habitação está longe de se encontrar solucionado. (...) A construção do novo bairro residencial, se não vem resolver completamente o problema – não pode esquecer-se que no Porto vivem mais de 50.000 pessoas em casas de “ilha” – é uma contribuição positiva, digna dos maiores louvores.” in “Uma Verdadeira Cidade Nova Para 6 Mil Habitantes, Vai Ser Construída Em Ramalde, Segundo as Mais Modernas Concepções Urbanísticas.”



3 The new urbanization plan for *Ramalde* of 1952, Porto's municipal archive (D-CMP-05-66-3-037).

And this tone of reformist enthusiasm went on through the rest of the article but, as we will see, the solutions were delayed and partial. As the article stated, the initiative departed from an organization beyond local control, in this case belonging to the central state's realm of authority. The plan was acted out within a mixed financial and organizational structure. The municipality advanced the urban plan and the technical group that would further develop the housing design and its construction; the FCP funded the enterprise, stipulated the housing models and supervised the design and construction process.

This was made possible by the regime's adaptation to the post-war's reconstruction environment, namely felt in the influence of Marshall Plan housing politics and to the integration of technicians with a reforming spirit in the ranks of civil corporations. In the 7th of May of 1945 the state approved the decree-law n° 2007 that reformulated the norms by which public housing was to be promoted, built and made available.¹¹⁶ Departing from the new framing for housing policy, the FCP, a branch of the "almighty" INTP that, in the words of Fernando Rosas, was the "supreme guarantee of social discipline" through which an "embryonic and paternalistic social assistance" was developed¹¹⁷, created the program HE - *Habitções Económicas* (Economical Housing), which would take on the tutelage of several urbanization and housing plans, namely the one through which I am walking.

The Campinas blocks seem to result from the "modern conceptions" talked about regarding the "new city" of Ramalde, like the newspaper article said: "The new residential zone will not be a group of

¹¹⁶ Tavares, "Casas a Norte: As HE (Habitções Económicas - Federação de Caixas de Previdência) Num Processo de Continuidade": 78.

¹¹⁷ Fernando Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2012): 294-295.

houses with their gardens, but a great garden with their houses.”¹¹⁸ Even though the grass needs tending, its suggestion is easily conveyed: the blocks do seem to stand on a garden, bringing forth a scenography of the garden city.¹¹⁹ Yet Campinas is a later phase of the whole plan. In fact, it is one of the derivations of an original post-war species.

Soon enough I find it, but not easily as there aren't many elements to distinguish the spatiality of the later phases from the first one. A paint stamp, printed on the blank white walls at the extremities of blank walls give it away, it reads: HE. These marked blocks were not the first ones built; they were built in-between the Campinas' and the first phases. The roofs identify their distinction: they are sloped and so not very “modern” looking, just like the ones in Campinas. On the contrary, they give the impression that those “most modern conceptions” had some setback along the way. I walk past these HE blocks that are made vivacious by richly cultivated garden, with many different flowers and vegetables. They seem personal appropriations of the wide grassed open spaces between the blocks, which are a constant in all of the urbanization's phases. In fact, many of these richly treated gardens are communal, organized by the tenants of each group of flats. Moving past the gardens and reaching a wide road where, next to it, a recent housing project seems to have been caught in the real-estate crash of 2008. Apparent concrete, unfinished windows, plastics of all sorts springing from a dark empty space inside, the whole complex boarded up with aluminum sheets. The road curves along this incomplete project and, on its other side, facing the later, the first phase of Ramalde's urbanization appears.

The blocks seem smaller because of the terraced roof; the walls and rhythms of openings are similar, if not the same, as in all the other blocks I saw. The entrance and the staircase are, however, quite different. Its gardens are also richly cultivated and personalized. In-between the blocks the original trees, planted in the late 1950s, have grown higher than the blocks. Tenants closed the open balconies with sheets of glass - the typical *marquise*.¹²⁰ An old tenant,¹²¹ moving here in 1964, told me the place is famous. Many architects come here to see the neighborhood, “sometimes even in buses full of them,” he says. Let us try to understand why this is so. At this point we must meet one of its main authors: the architect Fernando Távora.

In 1948 Fernando Távora was hired to work as an architect in Porto's urbanization office. His first known work, the urban plan of *Campo Alegre*, emerged from the discussion of the new urban corridor and its embodied strategies for the city's modernization. The plan was inserted within the works for the master plan, namely the adaptation of the former designs by the Italian architect-planners into a new plan. Contrary to their designs, however, Távora's *Campo Alegre* enacted a direct translation of CIAM's urban norms into Porto's urban landscape, proposing the modernist recommended mix of spatial solutions: segregation between pedestrian and vehicle traffic, as well as between different programs; housing blocks standing “freely” amidst open green spaces; the concentration of public

¹¹⁸ “A nova zona residencial não será um grupo de habitações com seus jardins, mas um grande jardim com suas habitações.” in “Uma Verdadeira Cidade Nova Para 6 Mil Habitantes, Vai Ser Construída Em Ramalde, Segundo as Mais Modernas Concepções Urbanísticas.”

¹¹⁹ For a comparison of Ramalde's urbanization in the 1950s with garden-city models see Eduardo Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Atualização de Uma Ideia de Escola* (Guimarães: Escola de Arquitectura da Universidade do Minho, 2010): 125-132.

¹²⁰ Widely used in Portugal in all sorts of balconies and open spaces in apartments, mainly for the purpose of extending the interior space, allowing more room for some specific domestic function, laundry for instance, which is a quite common solution to the “un-functional” space of the balcony. Usually *marquises* are done by the tenants themselves and have created, all along the recent history of Portugal, several polemics between those who design and those who live designed space. Worthy of notice: middle-upper and upper class apartment blocks usually do not use such dispositifs, as they are identified with lack of taste, but probably not because of that.

¹²¹ Interview in 3 of March of 2015.

activities in a common “precinct” that allowed “intense social life within the area.” The whole thing would be, at least partially, self-sufficient and conceived to have its own traffic, public equipments and so forth.¹²²

Like the urban plan of Ramalde it aimed to house “about 6000 inhabitants.”¹²³ Campo Alegre, much closer to the city’s central areas than Ramalde, was the unrealized prequel, the original elaboration then adjusted to the urbanization of Ramalde. Actually, the similarities are many, despite some key differences as, for instance, the block’s height: in Campo Alegre housing was designed as tower blocks, in Ramalde these were more modest and horizontal three-story blocks. This difference can be traced to the decree-law nº 2007 of 1945, which established the maximum of four stories for economical dwelling buildings, This should give us a clue about why the Campo Alegre plan was destined for reproduction in exhibitions and theoretical considerations.¹²⁴

Independently, the disposition of housing blocks, the open green spaces and their function, the articulation between housing and public buildings, as also the logics in internal and external, as well as pedestrian and vehicle, traffic were the same as in Campo Alegre. The former was, however, some months older than the first partial plan for the latter. To the best of my knowledge, the first known official document regarding Ramalde’s urban plan dates back to March 1948, and was approved in 13 of April of the same year, with the following title: Partial Urbanization Plan of a Zone Destined for Houses of Economical Rent in Ramalde.¹²⁵ While the first known drawings of Campo Alegre’s plan date to July and August of the same year.¹²⁶ Ramalde’s plan precedes the modernist exercise of Campo Alegre. However, the spatial codes and logics of the former, although following very specific guidelines, were transformed by those of Campo Alegre. It is essential to have a sense of this passage.

The first plan departed from the spatial and urban model tried out in Lisbon in the *Alvalade* neighborhood, namely the first phases conceived by the architect Miguel Jacobetty and within FCP norms. The model was very specific. Regarding urban structure, it proposed the reproduction of the existing city in its diagram of building-sidewalk-road-sidewalk-building. Housing blocks were assembled in rows contiguous with streets and enclosing internal spaces to be used, as their nineteenth-century original examples, as functional patios for the provision of light and fresh air, as well as for the drying/washing of clothes, along other chores deemed unfitting for the public eye. Regarding the building type and aesthetics, it proposed housing blocks with one central access, namely a main stairway, distributing to apartments on each side, reaching a maximum of three or four stories. The apartments themselves were designed to be comfortable for a burgeoning middle-class, with modest but ample rooms, living spaces, full kitchen and bathroom. In terms of materials, wood was extensively used in the flooring, cabinets, doors and other inner toolings. This is to say: although the apartments were designed with some restraint in view - after all, they were called economical housing (HE) - the construction materials and techniques were of high quality. At the time these houses defined a high

¹²² For a contemporary reading of Campo Alegre’s relation with CIAM norms see Nuno Portas, “Arquitecto Fernando Távora, 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional, Um Estudo Crítico,” *Arquitectura*, July 1961; for a recent one, see Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Atualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*.

¹²³ Távora cited in José António Bandeirinha, ed., *Fernando Távora: Modernidade Permanente* (Porto: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012): 198.

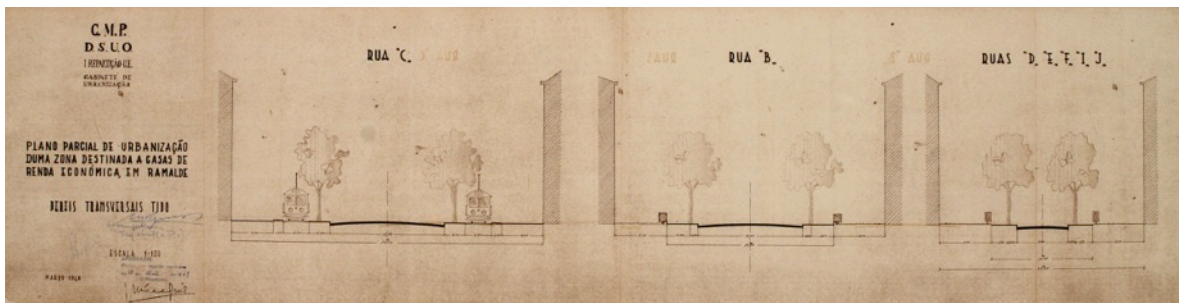
¹²⁴ Tavares, “Casas a Norte: As HE (Habitações Económicas - Federação de Caixas de Previdência) Num Processo de Continuidade”: 78.

¹²⁵ *Plano Parcial de Urbanização de uma Zona Destinada a Casas de Renda Económica em Ramalde*, Historical Archive of Porto Municipality, document D-CMP-03-526, see image 2.

¹²⁶ José Marques da Silva Foundation Institute, documents FIMS/FT/0007-MM 0002 and FIMS/FT/0007-MM 0003.

standard for middle-going-up-class comfort, namely for families whose men came from the public sector - teachers, bureaucrats, cabinet employees, among other state-protected professions.

In the mid-1980s, Távora recalled: “Alvalade had a configuration that in that moment, to us architects, seemed terrible. It was a plan with streets disposed in blocks, with main and secondary streets (...) Well, the guidance we received was to do a similar plan and I, yet again, thought that it should be a modern plan and modern implied the continuity of spaces and open blocks (...)”¹²⁷ He later argued that the first urban plan for Ramalde, based on Alvalade’s, “was not adapted to the *desenho* and characteristics of Porto.”¹²⁸ Doing modern architecture and urban planning was being embedded with a sense of professional calling that simultaneously involved producing an identity pertaining to the city of Porto. On the one hand, modernist architecture, as Távora later stated, was then “(...) an architecture of war, was a declaration of war.”¹²⁹ On the other, its causes could mingle with the specific characteristics of a place in such a way as to pertain to “belong” to the identity of a city such as Porto.



4 Street section of the 1948 urban plan for *Ramalde*, Porto’s municipal archive (D-CMP-03-526-018).

Campo Alegre was an original object through which the spatial codes and logics of Ramalde’s early urban propositions were re-articulated as a modernist problem. Such a framing was not without its controversy, given FCP’s housing types. The Campo Alegre plan was, after all, rejected. Nonetheless, the incarnation of the later in Ramalde’s was enacted and later represented as the embodiment of a wider national and regional fight over the symbolical languages and practical logics governing the Portuguese cities. A fight introduced to younger generations, through late-night discussions in a friend’s house, in the café, in some architecture offices, but also in the corridors of officialdom and in architectural schools.

¹²⁷ “Alvalade tenía una traza que en aquel momento a los arquitectos nos parecía terrible. Era una planta de calles dispuestas en cuarteles, con calles principales y secundarias (...) Bueno, la orientación que recibimos fue la de hacer un plano semejante y yo, una vez más, pensé que debía ser un plano moderno, y moderno implicaba continuidad de espacios, bloques abiertos (...)” in Javier Frechilla, “Fernando Távora, Conversaciones En Oporto,” *Arquitectura, Revista Del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid*, August 1986: 23.

¹²⁸ Távora, interview, in Nuno Lacerda, “Projecto E Modos de Habitar” (PhD Dissertation, FAUP, 2008).

¹²⁹ “(...) uma arquitetura de guerra, uma declaração de guerra.” in Fernando Távora and Jorge Figueira, “Fernando Távora, Coisa Mental: Entrevista,” *Unidade*, June 1992: 102.

A modern way according to Távora

By 1948 Távora was 25, not yet having his degree in architecture at the *Escola Superior de Belas-Artes do Porto* - ESBAP,¹³⁰ which he enrolled in 1945, right after having concluded a bachelor's degree in architecture that same year in the same school.¹³¹ He first entered the school in 1941, at a time when the fine-arts curriculum, specially the architecture course, was going through determinant changes. In the early 1940s Porto's school accommodated desires of modernization, namely by rethinking its pedagogical program in line with the modern architectural pedagogy professed by Walter Gropius after a decade in Harvard.¹³² The demarcating sign to a possible modernization of architecture education came with the hiring of the architect Carlos Ramos (1897-1969).¹³³ Essential for the rethinking of the school's orientation, Ramos was widely portrayed as having a deep effect on what Moniz identifies as the "three steps towards a modern teaching" of architecture in Portugal.¹³⁴

Ramos' pedagogical projects involved moving the classroom closer to architectural practice and municipal urban office, substituting the neo-classical and romantic mimetic exercises that until then had dominated the school, for exercises based on concrete situations, namely those found in Porto. This was accomplished with a relatively open classroom environment, in which students could experiment with various spatial codes and solutions. In the 1980s Távora remembered Ramos as being born from an "(i)llustrious and illustrated family," what one could call "a cultivated man," a "superior intelligent" man, whose motto was "maximum freedom, maximum responsibility."¹³⁵ This motto, complemented by the notion that a teacher should not use his pencil too much, formed an enduring inspiration, around a father-figure that opened the school to the modernist possibility. After José Marques da Silva's (1869-1947) schooling,¹³⁶ it was a late but permanent opening of the school's doors to modernist notions of architectural education, practiced outside the country.¹³⁷ As one of Ramos' colleagues¹³⁸ from

¹³⁰ Translatable as *Porto Fine-Arts Superior School*, from this point onwards simply referred to as Porto's school, to be distinguished from the *Porto School*, which is a much later symbolical and representational circumscription of the latter.

¹³¹ Departing from the pedagogical reform of 1931, the fine-arts course was organized in two units, a graduate course ranging various artistic practices but mainly structured around drawing, history and mathematics, and a superior course organized in more flexible studio units, see Gonçalo Canto Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)" (PhD Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2011): 220.

¹³² Published, for example, in Walter Gropius, "Blueprint for an Architect's Training," *L'architecture D'aujourd'hui*, February 74; for the connection of Porto's new fine-arts program with the latter's ideas see Bárbara Coutinho, "Carlos Ramos 1897-1969: Obra, Pensamento E Acção" (Master's Dissertation, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of Nova University of Lisbon, 2001).

¹³³ Ramos taught from 1940 to 1946 in Porto, from 1946 to 1948 in Lisbon's school of fine-arts and in 1948 came back to Porto's school as a teacher. In 1952 he was elected school president.

¹³⁴ Moniz associated Ramos with the following pedagogical processes: "the only architect and teacher of its generation that has a teaching proposal when he starts teaching in 1940, a School proposal when he administers the E.S.B.A.P. (Porto's school) in 1952 and a legislative proposal when he prepares the reform of 1950-57." in "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69):" 213.

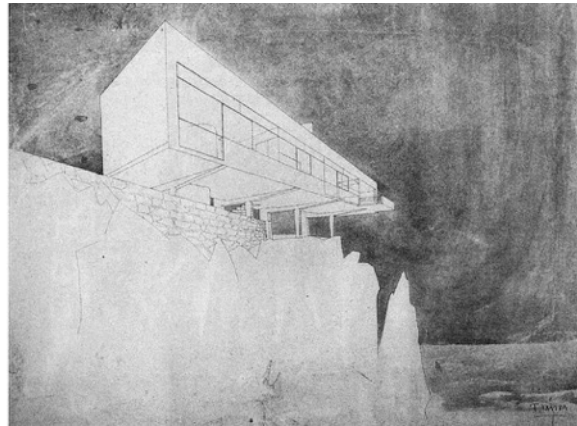
¹³⁵ "Nascido de uma família ilustre e ilustrada (...) um homem culto (...) era um homem superiormente inteligente (...) máxima liberdade, máxima responsabilidade." in Fernando Távora, "Evocando Carlos Ramos," *RA - Revista Da Faculdade de Arquitectura Da Universidade Do Porto*, October 1987: 75-6.

¹³⁶ Marques da Silva followed the beaux-art studio tradition he acquired from learning his architecture trade at Paris' Beaux-Arts. He was Porto's school director from 1914 to 1939, with a small interregnum between 1914 and 1918.

¹³⁷ However, the first three years, corresponding to the graduate level, were vinculated to a beaux-arts teaching method where "the classic snuffed the modern," according to Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)": 237.

his student days in Lisbon said: “Ramos was the one that brought foreign magazines to class and knew that *Bauhaus*.”¹³⁹ The creative freedom promoted by Ramos was, however, responsible for its own problems. It was not uncommon for architecture students to go through the following eclectic batch of programs and styles:

(...) a fountain for garden in *classic*, a lobby and staircase in *germanic*, a costume museum in *old Portuguese*, a casino in *modern*, a presidential palace in *italian*, a holy place in *lecorbusian*.¹⁴⁰



5 Model drawing class, 1941-2, and final design studio exercise by Távora, 1950, José Marques da Silva Foundation Institute - FIMS (FIMS/FT/F1-0005).

Which led Távora to claim, a decade after his degree, that it was not truly a modern teaching method but a teaching process in which what was called “modern style” could be used.¹⁴¹ The modernizing desire was assembled on top of a classical, beaux-arts inspired, school, so the students went through a variety of “styles.” Nevertheless, this freedom to do “modern style” among others promoted the search for points of contact between architecture as style and its function in the managing of urban problems, namely within the most immediate social and urban problems of Porto. Points of contact that were desired in the program set forth by Ramos, but delayed by a series of established boundaries between the school and the city, namely the functioning of its urbanization office.

During the same period and propelled by the school’s internal changes, students started mobilizing and professing their claims in a more collectively organized manner. Put differently, student activism and participation grew, incrementally assuming a larger role in the school’s dynamics and also through spaces of debate in central parts of Porto, bridging the school’s cultural production into cafés and

¹³⁸ Carlos Ramos integrated what came to be called the first generation of portuguese modernist architects, together with Cristino da Silva, Pardal Monteiro, Cassiano Branco, among many others who would become prolific during the first decades of the regime. Most of whom studied in Lisbon’s *Fine-Arts Superior School* – ESBAL, which will be referred here solely as Lisbon’s school, following the formula for Porto.

¹³⁹ Unknown, cited in Nuno Portas, “Carlos Ramos (1897), Walter Gropius (1883), ‘In Memoriam’”, *Diário de Lisboa*, July 17, 1969.

¹⁴⁰ “(...) uma fonte para um parque em *clássico*, um vestíbulo e uma escadaria em *germânico*, um museu do traje em *português antigo*, um casino em *moderno*, um palácio presidencial em *italiano*, um lugar santo de peregrinação em *lecorbusiano*.” in Távora, “Evocando Carlos Ramos:” 75.

¹⁴¹ Mário Cardoso, “Entrevista Com O Arquitecto Fernando Távora,” *Arquitectura*, Setembro-Outubro de 1971: 152.

galleries.¹⁴² One such civic space was the *Ateneu Comercial*, a 19th century bourgeois club and liberal stronghold in the center of Porto. The students' claims grew around calls for less isolation and more compromises with the concrete situations of Porto and the country - "the students need to be called to reality," some clamored.¹⁴³

The student activism and the proposal of pedagogical change resulted, in part, from the convulsions in the international system arising with the end of Second World War that, although filtered into Portugal, were deeply felt in the fine-arts school.¹⁴⁴ The reorganization of the western world around a new international order premised on North-American economic, military and cultural guidance, and the vindication of modernist spatial codes in the *international style*, all contributed to the identification of the need for openness and confrontation. Further, contributing for the identification of one with the other: modernist architecture with openness, democracy and progress. Thus we find the more politically engaged students and architects in Porto rallying, in these early post-war years, around Le Corbusier's CIAM and its *Athens Charter*. This was the case, for instance, of Júlio Pomar (1926) painter and co-founder of the Porto's school Student Group, Fernando Lanhas (1923-2012), Nadir Afonso (1920-2013) or José Borrego, painters and architects also involved in the latter and organizers of various public events, such as the *Independent Exhibitions*. Most of which, at some point, gathered at the *Primus* creamery,¹⁴⁵ close to the *Ateneu Comercial*, a place accustomed to the modern erudition of the art and architecture students. This was a late Portuguese equivalent of the *Café Central* in Vienna or *Café Arco* in Prague. Likewise, in *Primus*, writers, artists, architects amassed and articulated their proposals for change, reform and modernization.

Just above the creamery was the office of architects Arménio Losa (1908-1988) and Cassiano Barbosa (1911-1998), graduated in the early 1940s and advocates of a Portuguese application of modernist spatial codes. They co-founded in 1947, with the architects Alfredo Viana de Lima (1913-1991) and Artur Andrade (1913-2005), as well as active students such as José Borrego, an association for the advancement of modernism in Portugal, named *Organização Dos Arquitectos Modernos* – ODAM (The Modern Architects Organization). This group played a key role in knitting together student activism, the school's modern reform and the need to do modern, namely by advocating for the lessons of the "great modern masters" in Portugal. This environment of compromise with modernism, gravitating around the school, student activism, the *Ateneu*, the creamery, one and another architecture office, produced the image of Porto's school as modern stronghold. In the early 1940s it became a place where something new was happening, to where Lisbon's architecture and arts students occasionally migrated, to escape the portrayed as conservative environment of Lisbon's school.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² The *Independent Exhibition* is an example of this. Organized by a group of students from the whole fine-arts course, involving painting, sculptor and architecture students - Nadir Afonso, Júlio Resende, Fernando Lanhas, Júlio Pomar, Amândio Silva are some of those involved -, this exhibition aimed to form a movement where the lack of commitment to any specific aesthetic was celebrated. Also worth mentioning as an example of student activism from this period is the student reading cooperative founded in 1945, where Le Corbusier, Tolstói, Sartre and Baudelaire were studied.

¹⁴³ "há que chamar os alunos do curso á realidade" in *Porto Fine-Arts Student Group Bulletin*, 1946, cited in Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69):" 286.

¹⁴⁴ Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, "A Escola Do Porto (1940-69)," in *Carlos Ramos, Exposição Retrospectiva Da Sua Obra* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1986), this architect studied in Porto's fine-arts school from 1942-54.

¹⁴⁵ Lucio Magri and José Luís Tavares, *Arménio Losa, Cassiano Barbosa* (Vila do Conde: Quidnovi, 2011).

¹⁴⁶ Nuno Teotónio Pereira, *Escritos: 1947-1996*, Manuel Mendes, 2 - Argumentos 7 (Porto: FAUP, 1996): 28-33. Teotónio Pereira (1922-2016) was a student of architecture in Lisbon in the early 1940s and one of those that migrated, for a year, to Porto's school during his studies.

This reputation was most directly performed in the articulation between school and practiced, advocated by Ramos and desired by students. Most of the latter worked in architecture offices during their education, going back and forth between the office and the classroom. Young practicing architects, namely the modernist inclined, were also integrated in the school's faculty, first as unpaid assistants, then filling assistant and professor vacancies, and supplying new pedagogical contributions to Ramos' modern program.¹⁴⁷ This school-practice loop, creating professional and social intimacies, and feeding the pedagogical program with much desired concrete situations, was the reinvention of the established *beaux-arts* tradition. On the other hand, the intimacies created within the feedback between practice and classroom accomplished a sharing of motivations and stakes, both political and professional. Equally important, it built a common set of architectural and urban programs/problems between the actual changes of Porto and the school's assignments. Building projects and urban plans being developed by practicing architects were integrated as school exercises, their authors acting both as private service-providers and teachers; the students practicing both for the realization of concrete objects and the tutored maturing of their skills.

This system of interconnectivity between school, practice and the cityness of Porto, its concrete urban problems, possible livelihoods and architectural commissions, was slowly consolidated throughout the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁴⁸ In 1951, the first group of students from this period reenter the school as teachers, informally hired. The group was composed by Delfim Amorim (1917-1972), Mário Bonito (1921-1976), Fernando Távora, José Carlos Loureiro (1925) e João Andresen (1920-1967), all of which were intimate with ODAM, student activism and involved with varying degrees in Porto's recent urban changes. Távora, for instance, was working as municipal architect in Porto's urbanization services since 1948, leaving them in 1954.

Further, the pedagogical program internalized official urban agendas into its curriculum, by this is meant that urban plans being drawn and thought within the municipality by its technical corps, were often translated into student assignments. In 1945, the school created two new courses on urban planning, *Urbanologia* and *Projectos e Obras de Urbanização*,¹⁴⁹ incorporating the task of training architects for the urban renewal that was to follow with European reconstruction, but more specifically with Porto's master plan. From the outset, these two courses introduced the students to Porto's urban plans in development. Assignments from 1946 to 1952¹⁵⁰ in these two course, directly involved Porto's immediate periphery and adjacent satellite cities, such as Matosinhos, Leça and Ermesinde, which represented important nuclei for urban development within its master plan.

¹⁴⁷ For instance, Arménio Losa was briefly hired in 1946, together with Januário Godinho, another founding member of ODAM.

¹⁴⁸ Cityness is a concept more commonly used in recent urban sociology, geography and anthropology that pertains to an understanding of the city's uses that escape the formalized Western notion of public space. It is a conceptual lens through which to read what is sometimes called the "informal city" and what Henri Lefebvre defined as the appropriation of space. See Saskia Sassen, "The City: Its Return as a Lens for Social Theory," *City, Culture and Society*, no. 1 (2010): 3–11 for an early definition of cityness. For a overview of the formal contours of the Western concept of public space see Reinhold Martin, "Public and Common(s)," *Places Journal*, January 2013. The inflection of cityness here used draws closer to the network of meanings in Edgar Pieterse, "Introducing Rogue Urbanism," in *Rogue Urbanism: Emergent African Cities*, Edgar Pieterse & AbdouMaliq Simone (Cape Town: Jacana, 2013) and AbdouMaliq Simone, *Jakarta: Drawing a City Near* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). For these authors, subjects such as centrality, boundary-making and spatial structure are not central to the notion of cityness, which pertains mainly to capturing the broadest sense of publicness, that is, of practices re-making the public. In their definition, the division between private and public space, for instance, does not play a central part. It is in this sense that I am using cityness.

¹⁴⁹ Literally translating as "Urbanology" and "Urbanization Projects and Works," the history of their philosophy and development will be taken up in chapter 6.

¹⁵⁰ Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)": 285.

Through these compromises between students and teachers, practice and theory, the café, municipality and school, there was the slow construction of a field of rituals, attitudes and practices that produced a specific sense of professional calling. A calling that was being cast as modernist, braking old habits and leading the way to more enlightened practises of space and society and validated through direct collaboration in official assignments. Stated differently, from the post-war onwards, a tight group of architects weaved a specific cultural sense of practice between the various fields they occupied. Having as center of the movement the school and the compulsion to be modern, that is, the professional and social duty of applying the lessons, codes and logics of the European “revolutionary architecture.”¹⁵¹

Given this relationship between school, municipality, practices, urban development and modernism, it is not surprising to find Távora worked on Ramalde’s plan from a plan previously elaborated by João Andresen, that was also studied by his students, in the urban planning course he was teaching at the time. In the school year of 1948-1949, under the coordination of David Moreira da Silva and with the assistance of Andresen, students were assigned two urban problems: (1) the first targeting the city’s center and titled Urbanization plan for the central nucleus of a district capital; (2) the second targeting a peripheral zone and titled Urbanization plan for a residential nucleus in an important district capital.¹⁵² The later was sited in Ramalde, between the new and the *boavista* avenue.

For lack of information, I cannot determine the specific exchanges between the students’ proposals and those developed by Andersen for Ramalde, neither their connection with later versions of the plan. However, compelled by the FCP in 1949 the municipality opened a competition for the development of the urban plan’s housing types, specially directed at two architects from the school, one of them being Andresen. It is probably safe to assume that some student creativity, even if only indirectly, poured into Ramalde’s plan. The other competition entry was authored by the architect Manuel Magalhães and followed more strictly the example of Alvalade and Miguel Jacobetty’s housing-model.¹⁵³ The submitted design proposed apartments with four-bedrooms, living-room, a study, full kitchen and maid’s room, linked by a common stairway hall that crossed the building in its width, opening two entrances on the ground floor, one in each frontal façade.

Andresen’s proposal, developed in collaboration with Rogério Martins, while maintaining the spatial dispositions of the “petit-bourgeois” typology, namely the maid’s quarter, the study and the total number of rooms, proposed its translation into a modernist spatial rationalization, specifically: the elimination of the corridor; the functional segregation between sleeping and working - rooms, living room, study and maid’s quarters, adjoining the kitchen and laundry, are all segregated with the walls’ design and by doors. Also regarding the original model and Magalhães’ proposal, they projected a larger glassed opening in the living room area and a roomy balcony extending it outside, moving closer to the modernist more of leisure and its’ relationship with domesticated nature.

In February of 1951, these two typological proposals were the target of the concerned opinion of the *Comissão Municipal de Arte e Arqueologia* (Municipal Commission of Art and Archeology), a branch of

¹⁵¹ As the architect and studio assistant, João Andresen, named modernism in “Que Pensa Sobre O Desenvolvimento Actual Da Arquitectura No Nosso País? João Andresen,” *Arquitectura Portuguesa E Cerâmica E Edificação*, April 1952: 16.

¹⁵² Respectively translated from *Anteplano de Urbanização do núcleo central duma capital de distrito* and *Anteplano de Urbanização dum núcleo residencial numa importante capital de distrito*, FAUP Documentation Center, FAUP-CDUA/AE/URBLG/001.

¹⁵³ Tavares, “Casas a Norte: As HE (Habitações Económicas - Federação de Caixas de Previdência) Num Processo de Continuidade”: 84.

the municipality's urban regulating apparatus.¹⁵⁴ In a letter addressed to the municipality's president, in a tone of indignancy, the commission complained that, given the lack of sensibility in the choice of architects for the task at hand, it was not surprising that one proposal was “undoubtedly integrated in the spirit of the plan”, while the other was “totally unaware of its fundamental significance.”¹⁵⁵ To which the municipality's urbanization office replied with polite solidarity one month later that, “without enthusiasm,” they accepted the design of the first housing blocks sanctioned by the FCP. They could not have it any other way, so they claimed.¹⁵⁶ The supervising power of FCP, effective regulator and sponsor of the housing program, suggested these agonisms, which, in fact, reflected deeper conflicts between different perspectives of how to organize the national taste of Portuguese architecture and urban landscape.



6 Alvalade's "cell 8" housing blocks, built between 1952-4, unknow date and author.

After the construction of the first “cells” of Alvalade according to Jacobetty's designs, the federation started promoting housing typologies that escaped the initial models. This occurred through the efforts of young architects that, cultured in the revisionist environment of the post-war and the first architects' national congress of 1948, promoted a proximity to modernist codes and logics. Thus, a later phase of Alvalade, the “cell 8,” planned by the architects Formozinho Sanches and Ruy d' Athouguia during the latter part of the 1940s and constructed in the early 1950s, blatantly assumed a Le Corbusian spatial

¹⁵⁴ These comissions were formalized by national decree in 1936 and were responsible for passing judgement on local urbanization and building plans, specifically regarding their relationship towards the city's heritage. Their main area of surveillance was, thus, the city's historical center and monuments, but these comissions also passed judgment on the “defense of art, culture and popular education.” For a brief historical description see Fátima Abraços, “História Da Conservação E Restauo Do Mosaico Romano, Subsídios Para O Conhecimento Do Estado de Conservação Dos Mosaicos No Sul de Portugal” (Master's Dissertation, Faculty of Literature of the University of Lisbon, 2000): 40-43.

¹⁵⁵ Cited from an official letter dated 15 of February of 1951, Porto's Municipality Historical Archives, document D-CMP/5.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

rationality: functionally dimensioned apartments, rejection of the road, elevation of the building from the ground and an urban articulation of Le Corbusier's specific take of the on garden-city ideal. This was the first building of its kind in Portugal, creating an immediate standard.

It was from this internal reconfiguration of sensibilities within the FCP that Ramalde's original plan, reflecting Alvalade's first phase, was altered in the steps of Távora's Campo Alegre proposal. The role of Nuno Teotónio Pereira, one of the younger architects, was instrumental in this change of heart. He started his career as a consultant to Jacobetty's plan for Alvalade in 1947, assisting the construction process. He also participated in the congress of 1948 and other cultural-class events reinforcing a changing mood. Soon afterwards he was invited to integrate the technical staff of the housing branch of FCP and made responsible for the first competition for new architectural solutions for economical housing. In these, he helped substitute Jacobetty's idea of architectural models for the notion of functional element types, in a broad sense involving simultaneously housing typology, construction and aesthetic types, and open to various combinations.

This competition served as recruiting platform for the younger, more modernist inclined, architects. And so, when Porto's municipality applied for the housing program, the recruitment of young architects active in Porto's school through a competition by invitation was already the strategy at hand. The architects selected were, in fact, picked from Teotónio Pereira's acquaintance circle, having himself "fled" from Lisbon's school in 1946, to study in Porto's, at the time considered a bastion of artistic and cultural freedom.¹⁵⁷ Through these internal insurgencies and solidarities, the proper language for the modern Portuguese house was partially appropriated by the modernist languages of a new generation. At the local level, this appropriation had its specific embattlements, such as the letter authored by ODAM members, addressed in November of 1949 to Porto's mayor, urging against the municipal constitution of a commission charged with regulating a national and *portuense* (Porto-ish) style, rooted in tradition.

Therefore, the indignancy of the arts and archeology commission and the confirmative nodding of the municipality's urbanization office came in the following of these cultural-class embattlements. Somewhere in the midst of these reactions, that is, between early 1951 and 1952, Távora, who had been working as a technician in the urbanization office for four years, was charged with solving the Ramalde process' impasse. Thus, the last adjustment to the embattlement between the FCP's renewed housing models and Porto's municipality urban policy was by him quelled. I could not determine with rigor when Távora was first appointed to work on Ramalde, however, in the school year of 1953/1954 one of the assignments he gave students was that of designing a residential unit for Ramalde.¹⁵⁸ We can thus assume that somewhere between the 1951 complaint from the art and archeology commission and 1953, Távora was working on the housing plan, adapting Campo Alegre's formal and structural problems to a similar setting. As we will see in the next chapter, Távora's election to solve this process was due simultaneously to Teotónio Pereira's weight in FCT's housing program and the latter's intimacy with him.

Távora integrated Andresen's typological proposal, that is, the exclusion of corridors and other obsolete functional elements from the plan. He did, however, take this rationalization process further.

¹⁵⁷ See Maria Tavares, "Leituras de Um Percurso Na Habitação Em Portugal. As Habitações Económicas - Federação de Caixas de Previdência," in *Habitação Para O Maior Número. Portugal, Os Anos de 1950-1980*, Nuno Portas (Lisbon: IRHU - Lisbon Municipality, 2013): 8.

¹⁵⁸ Some of these student designs are published in the magazine *Arquitectura Portuguesa e Cerâmica e Edificação*, 9, Sept./Dec. 1955.

While Andresen's proposal was in some ways just a modernist formal translation of the typology erected in Alvalade's first phases, and also present in Magalhães' proposal, Távora's excluded some of its aspects of middle-class luxury. The housing typology was made to converge as close as possible to the *existenzminimum* studies, early on presented at CIAM. The study disappeared from the design, as also the maid's room. The rooms, especially the living room, which in Andresen's proposal was generous, were reduced in size, almost to the limit of usable space but not quite reaching Le Corbusier's minimal measurements. Within this logic, cabinets were placed above room entrances and above the reduced halls that result from the intersection of various rooms, such as the bathroom/main-room access space in the two-bedroom flat, or the small corridor distributing to rooms in the three-bedroom one.

The kitchen was also made smaller both in width and length. Widthwise, the reduction served to place the bathroom in-between the kitchen and the first room, creating a small hall in front of the bathroom, so as to segregate the latter from the living room to which it directly leads. Lengthwise, it created a semi-exterior balcony serving various functions, namely as laundry hidden by concrete blades, behind which there is the bathroom window. Stated differently, it created a service balcony, made to better accommodate women to their daily chores. The dirty, wet, cooking section of the flat was thus accommodated in a neatly tied square area, adjoining the flat's entrance and enclosing the stairwell. This permitted the concentration of all piping in the central wall dividing each flat, where the kitchens touch. This tidying up of the service areas also represented a departure from Andresen's and Magalhães' proposals, which designed bathrooms in the sleeping area and laundries with no direct access outdoors. In these plans, the balcony was exclusively for leisure, not for service. To this rationalization of Ramalde's typologies to a single rational code Távora corresponded a frugal expression, namely in the façades. This elaborated a specific dialogue with Alvalade, specially with Jacobetty's Alvalade.

Jacobetty started his career in the 1930s as a prized modernist architect thanks to his Manuel Roque Gameiro house, in *campo de ourique*, Lisbon, an up-and-coming upper middle-class neighborhood.¹⁵⁹ When Alvalade came up he came back to an older form of modernism or a proto-modernism. The buildings he designed, filling most of Alvalade's housing plan, were reminiscent of late 19th century liberal middle-class housing blocks, such as those we find in end of century Vienna, namely those developed by Otto Wagner.¹⁶⁰ Blocks conceived as the reproduction of a single rational model that was then repeated in height according to investment and planning regulation. A rationalization that, however, was covered up in a 19th century combination of *art-déco* decorated windows and panels, iron details, and monumental aspiring entrances with neoclassical symmetries. So, Jacobetty's Alvalade presents a qualified living archeology of that late liberal spirit observable in central European countries: the desire to be one with the industry of the times while, simultaneously, not disguising its century old wish to civic ascendancy by aristocratic approximation.¹⁶¹

Alvalade's later "cell 8" by the hands of Formozinho Sanches and Ruy d' Athouguia formally rejected this late 19th early 20th century language with a Le Corbusian slab façade scheme, erasing any decorative surplus, symbolic capital, unnecessary for functional truth. Hence, there was no emphasizing of the block's entrance, no reference to symmetry, at least not in the neoclassical sense, and no compromise with decorated detailing. The housing typology conformed to the spatial and technical

¹⁵⁹ He won the nationally esteemed Valmor prize in 1931. For his biography see Luís André Cruz, "O Estádio Nacional E Os Novos Paradigmas de Culto: Miguel Jacobetty Rosa E a Sua Época" (Master's Dissertation, Lusíada University, 2005).

¹⁶⁰ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981): 24-115.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

rationalization also undertaken later by Távora in Ramalde. But between the late liberal civility of the first Alvalade quarters and the collective authoritarian public civility of Sanches' and Athouguia' Alvalade, Távora proposed the civic expression of yet another way of standing towards modern times: that of the Weimar social-democrats.

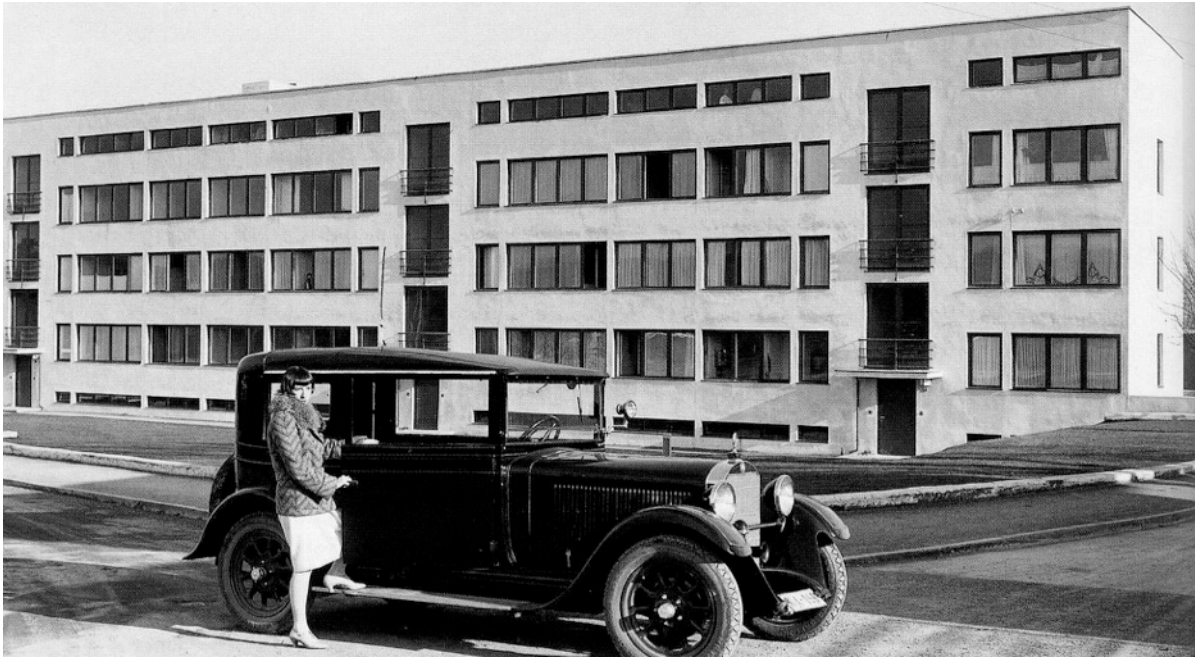


7 Távora's *Ramalde* neighborhood in the 1980s, unknown author, FIMS (FIMS_FT_0017-Foto0003).

In the spirit of Frankfurt's, Stuttgart's and Berlin's *siedlungen*, built throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Ramalde's blocks were given austere façades, in tones of crème, and a rigid rhythm of fenestration, enhancing verticality and slightly interrupted by the rectangular horizontality of balconies that enact the extrusion of regular cut portions of the façade. The block's entrance, for instance, is a direct reference to Mies van der Rohe's solution for the entrance of the *Weissenhof siedlung* built in 1925-27 in Stuttgart. Ramalde's entrance is signaled by a protruded slab below windows that, lighting the stairwell, have their own vertical rhythm, different from the apartments', yet confined itself to the horizontal grid create by these. The entrance door is also austere and unpretentious: a simple wood panel in-between glass panels that conform to the intervals of the overall metric. Finally, the façades are topped by a timidly protruding slab, finishing off the verticality of the fenestration with a concluding horizontal line that, winking down to the waist-high granite clad foundation, reasserts the block's claim to grounded stability.

It is relevant that in 1951, the same year Távora started working as Carlos Ramos assistant in the school, together with Viana de Lima, he went to the CIAM meeting at Hoddesdon, where he meet Gropius, Le Corbusier and similar modernist protagonists for the first time. This first contact most likely produced some resolving impact on Távora's view of the housing problem and its modern solutions, because from his initial Campo Alegre's Gropian solution of high-rise housing blocks, he switched in Ramalde for a solution closer to that of Ernst May, namely that proposed, together with Max Bromme in *Römmersstadt* in 1920's Frankfurt. In the 1929 CIAM meeting in the later city, May disagreed with Gropius about the best housing solution: for the first it should be resolved in low-rise blocks of prefabricated concrete and brick, for the latter in ten-story steel-frame construction.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*: 124.



8 Mies van der Rohe's housing block in the *Weissenhof siedlung*, 1927, unknown author.

Having in account that the decree-law nº2007 restrained housing heights to a maximum of four-stories it would be only natural to claim that Ramalde can't be portrayed as a figuration of this modernist conflict; there was no possible choice between high and low-rise. However, this was not the case. The fact that Távora chose to design three-stories instead of four, which would house more people, was not due to imposition, but his authorship and the FCP technicians' approval, must probably of Nuno Teotónio Pereira. As it was also partly his choice, after discussion with the technical services of the FCP, to opt for a concrete structure filled with prefabricated brick as the construction solution. The choice was, then, for the *Römmerstadt* garden-city or Hans Scharoun's *Siemensstadt*, or still Bruno Taut's and Hugo Häring's *Onkel-Toms-Hütte*, all developed during the same period of social-democratic urban renewal in the first post-war.

Like in all of these city extensions, which “just as much in any English garden city” produced an environment of “peacefulness,”¹⁶³ the “new city” of Ramalde did just that: between the grown trees and the plan's segregating disposition, between block and street, one has the feeling of urban tranquility, felt even more dramatically when arriving from busy adjacent avenues, from the city's later expansion. Feeling corroborated by some of its dwellers, young and old alike, who rejoice and never tire of emphasizing the marvel of living in such a peaceful place while in the midst of a bustling urbanity; “so close to everything and so peaceful,” they say.¹⁶⁴

When the first phase of Ramalde was finished in the late 1950s, only nine blocks out of the forty-three originally advertised were built, 138 apartments in total built. There was no bus or tram to promote the commuting that had justified the German housing experiences above cited. The blocks were surrounded by agricultural land, vacant fields, some dirt roads, industry here and there, the old

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ From interviews with old residentes of Ramalde, 2015. See also interviews conducted in João Paixão, in “Um Bairro Intemporal No Porto - Unidade Residencial de Ramalde” (Masters Dissertation, 2011).

noble estate of Ramalde and a public housing development from two decades earlier, made of semi-detached single family houses in national style, with their private gardens and common square.

People commuted by foot and car, either their own car, which were not many at the time, or sharing rides into town; the men that is, because most women stayed in the peaceful neighborhood, tending the home. Groceries were either brought by the men, when returning home, or bought by women from local farmers and other small providers; there were also some services that came to the doorstep through the diligence of fishwives, bakers and milkmen. Of course the postman came to the neighborhood, as also inspectors from the electrical company and garbage men. All of which were overseen by the urbanization's inspector, centrally appointed to manage all sorts of aspects of the neighborhood's livelihood, ranging from repairs and maintenance to social supervision of guests and tenants.

Apparently the garbage men had the hardest task, because Távora designed a centralized waste disposal system for each group of six apartments – part of the technical core -, through which people would dispose of garbage by a shoot that would then converge on a basement depot. Garbage men would have to go down into the basement of each group of six apartments, pick up, then come up the stairs and dump the trash into the wagon, so they had to do it twenty-three times in total per couple of days. It was not long until they decided they were under-paid for the smelly basement trips and until tenants started cementing their shoots because of bad odors.

Maintenance also had other setbacks as municipal authorities progressively rolled back on the upkeep of the area's public spaces, namely its gardens, but also regarding buildings. Only very recently, when tenants organized in condominium associations did some restoration works get underway and, even so, there is a big disparity between those with greater organizational skills, more free time, and more money, from those with less of each of these aspects or all of them combined. The result is apparent: in the same block of three units or group of apartments, one group may be glittering the original splendor, while the other two are in-between some appropriated state of decay.¹⁶⁵ In terms of services, it may be said that the neighborhood also had some problems regarding its position and the retreat of public intervention. Bus only came much later and the tram only in the 2000s. For the longest of times, the residents of Ramalde, namely women who were mostly confined to the home, dwelled in a sort of island of modernity. They shared more in terms of everyday with the agricultural-industrial landscape of the city's outskirts, than they did with the cosmopolitan habits of central Porto.

In the 1950s Ramalde's modernist blocks, however, represented a celebrated modernization of the country through the upgrading of its urban territory. It also spoke of how the county was joining, at least in part, the rest of Europe in reconstructing the continent anew, sharing its Marshall Plan strategies and welfare prerogatives. As well as how a group of willing politicians and technicians were making Porto modern, stringing its territories with new avenues of economy and living. For some Portuguese architects, this recreation of a new post-war world was seen as a chance to wage modernist "war" on the dictatorship. So, the Ramalde blocks came to stand for one of the few works in the country opening routes for a represented-as more democratic language of space, infused in early 20th socialist claims. Its flat roof, rigid window grid, austere language, made to bear the phantasmagoria of socialism, welfare and democracy. Celebrated as such, it stood for a sign that Portuguese architects,

¹⁶⁵ However, it must be said that recent pressures to resell apartments and the desirability of the place have been increasing, which as promoted restoration efforts and some rehabilitation.

despite the dictatorship, were not behind the times and the technical advancements of the rest of Europe.¹⁶⁶

This was, however, a “covert” language of “war” on the dictatorship, as later argued by Távora.¹⁶⁷ Unlike other garden-cities, including the first English experiments by the hands of Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) and Barry Parker (1867-1947), and the socialist inspired German ones above cited, this “new city” that was actually just a neighborhood was highly selective, socially and economically.¹⁶⁸ In fact, if Ramalde was made to articulate claims of political, professional and cultural novelty, it did so mostly through the silent language of concrete, wood and glass arranged as an well proportioned assemble of elegant boxes. If a “war” on the dictatorship by architects was created and practiced, it had a very specific life and contours. A key part of the path to grasp the latter involves understanding the selected form of welfare practiced in Ramalde. Who was entitled to live through that island of modern comfort, and why? To do so one must proceed by putting together a particular dictatorship among the several afflicting Europe during the first half of the 20th century.

A dictatorship

From 1933 to 1974, Portuguese in all places, being these in the imperial colonies, the immigrant cities of Paris, London and Boston, the cabinets and halls of renowned universities and governmental institutes in North-America and France, in the derelict and impoverished national countryside, in the slowly progressing capital cities of Lisbon and Porto - or in any other place where life conceived as Portuguese might be happening - articulated their life plans with a powerful interlocutor: the *Estado Novo*, literally meaning New State or the self-appointed title of the dictatorship headed by António Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970), imposed in 1933. The newness of this designation was the projection of a political differentiation from, on the one hand, other European dictatorships and, on the other, previous national regimes, while simultaneously performing a *tabula rasa* signifying the refoundation of the Portuguese nation anew.¹⁶⁹ This refounding of the state anew strategically articulated a cultural refoundation. Given this and the meanings that have been historically embedded in the words *Estado Novo*, I will refer to the later, more abstractly, as regime of governance and, more specifically, as

¹⁶⁶ For two of the most influent readings, at the time, of Ramalde’s innovation and power, see Portas, “Arquitecto Fernando Távora, 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional, Um Estudo Crítico”; Pereira, *Escritos: 1947-1996*.

¹⁶⁷ Távora and Figueira, “Fernando Távora, Coisa Mental: Entrevista.”

¹⁶⁸ While in the first cases there was an emphasis on cooperative organization, distribution and selection of housing, varied communities of workers were supposed to get together and deliberate locally amongst themselves the provision of housing. In Ramalde, the dweller selection process was centralized, conducted by the INTP, and intended to reward a high middle-class namely composed of high-ranking technical staff in private companies and public service. Furthermore, the community was centrally managed and supervised by the INTP, namely through the local inspector, who reported on its life. For an overview of the initial dwellers of English and German garden-cities, see Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*: 87-141.

¹⁶⁹ For a discussion of the definition of *Estado Novo* see Luís Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos, Estado Novo*, vol. 1 (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2009); for comparisons between the portuguese dictatorship and the German and Italian ones see João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler E Franco* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2000).

dictatorship.¹⁷⁰ For a dictatorship, founded on totalitarian and reactionary structures, was the measure of its historic existence.

Like Hitler's *Third Reich*, Mussolini's fascism and Franco's dictatorship, Salazar's arose from a wide social and political rejection of liberalism and democracy. Closer to Mussolini's governmental structure, Salazar's was also made possible through the coalition of a variety of right-wing, conservative, parties and political associations, joining with liberal forces, namely from republican ranks and economical elites, as well as with catholic and monarchical circles. It was an anti-democratic compromise between those that had grown disenchanted with the short-life of Portuguese parliamentary politics, the lack of a strong state, and the melting away of stable social customs and identities, not to mention acquired profits.¹⁷¹ Contrary to Hitler's and Mussolini's regimes, the Portuguese was not democratically elected, neither the result of a bitterly fought civil war with vast European dimensions such as occurred in Spain. In its embryonic form, the dictatorship grew within long existing government structures by progressively dominating the leading political and ideological positions within the military regime, put in power through a military coup in 1926.¹⁷² This coup, accomplished by a conservative military leadership against the republican regime governing the country since 1910, was the prelude for a campaign against politics itself.

Like in Germany, Italy and Spain, the dictatorship enacted its conception of a strong state around a father figure. António de Oliveira Salazar studied economy and political economy at the University of Coimbra, a centuries old bastion of the educated elite. He was both influential in the university, being given a professorship soon after finishing his degree, and in catholic circles that, in the 1920s, were coalescing into a powerful political organization, the *Centro Católico Português* – CCP.¹⁷³ He went to Lisbon and to the center of state power in the late 1920s, first as an advisor on economical and financial matters to the military regime, “finance wizard” he was called, afterwards as finance minister to the same regime.¹⁷⁴ From this position of power, that of coordinating the country's political economy, he consolidated the script and projection of *Estado Novo*, garnering behind him the catholic party and all those, including liberals and republicans, that saw his austerity strategy as both a means for economic consolidation and as a suitable governmental philosophy. This coalescing of interests, however, gathered to a vision of economical development as much as this vision brewed a particular enveloping of the Portuguese collective and the remaking of the category, used by all other European regimes, standing for this collective: the nation. Salazar and his closest allies had a specific and powerful political vision for the nation. In this operation, political program and persona were translated into testament and messiah.

Salazar elaborated his public persona with the founding myths of his Coimbra days: the “humble professor” detached and critical of the mess of politics, beyond and above both the street and parliament; only concerned with the “truths” and good health of the nation; set on correcting the misshapings of its body-politic by democracy, liberalism and bolshevism, and in bringing Portugal back

¹⁷⁰ The abstract use of regime and regime of governance signifies here any state organized form of government, being it liberal, democratic or dictatorial. The notion of governance follows from Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics - Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*.

¹⁷¹ See “A Nova República (1919-1926)” in V. A., *História Da Primeira República Portuguesa*, Fernando Rosas e Maria Fernanda Rollo (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2009): 407-567.

¹⁷² For an historical description of the coup of 1926 and the end of the first republic see Luís Farinha, “A Caminho Do 28 de Maio,” in *História Da Primeira República Portuguesa*, Maria Fernanda Rollo and Fernando Rosas (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2009), 535–67.

¹⁷³ Translatable as *Portuguese Catholic Center*, founded in the city of Braga in 1915 as the political institution/party of a wide catholic union, of moderate yet stringently conservative tendency.

¹⁷⁴ Medina, *Salazar, Hitler E Franco*; Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar*; Torgal, *Estados Novos, Estado Novo*, 2009.

to its senses.¹⁷⁵ Contrary to Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, Salazar feared and rejected mass politics and mass performances of government and parades of power. This does not mean, however, that the dictatorship did not have its parades of power. However, from early on and by his bidding and authority, the dictatorship grew with the image of a calm, orderly, not given to thrills, representation of power, as well as a general sense of everyday public correctness and orderly “habitual living.” In practice governmental power exuded from a political “Olympus,” formed by Salazar’s closest allies and friends, and which was defended as the only site proper to politics, as the art of tending to the nation, as a shepherd would towards his flock.¹⁷⁶ All other state apparatuses, governmental branches, political institutions and agents were “ideally” insulated from politics, freed to work as able technicians, in order to better fulfill the above determined disciplining of the nation.

Even if self-portrayed as a calm dictatorship, a common sense regime of quietness, like other dictatorships it relied on a vast governmental apparatus for its reproduction. (1) A powerful propaganda agent, the *Serviço de Propaganda Nacional* – SPN, headed by the early advocate and patron of modernist artists and writers, a self-proclaimed modernist himself, António Ferro.¹⁷⁷ (2) An all-embracing censorship, surveillance and correction apparatus, the *Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado* – PVDE with its beyond legality practices of violence, political suppression and network of offshore prisons, such as the infamous prison in Tarrafal, Cape Verde.¹⁷⁸ (3) A labor surveillance and disciplining apparatus, the INTP under the *Subsecretariado de Estado das Corporações e Previdência Social*.¹⁷⁹ This latter apparatus, through a series of workers’ homes, patron and sectoral economic associations, and labor laws, was charged with pacifying employees with the national “plan.” National solidarity was the main cause. In practice, it surveilled and disciplined labor force in detriment of established economical interests, through performances of Portuguese culture and custom, as well as through direct violence.¹⁸⁰

Like many regimes during the 1920s and 1930s, Salazar’s dictatorship sought to domesticate the liberal impulses of an open world economy through corporatization, state protected monopolies, a delimited national market. But also through the ensurance of established social relations and hierarchies, or what was sometimes referred to the social balance of the nation.¹⁸¹ The latter came to be

¹⁷⁵ Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar*.

¹⁷⁶ In the regime’s first decades, this political “Olympus” was formed by following men: from CCP and the university of Coimbra Salazar’s old friends Quirino de Jesus, Mário Figueiredo, José Nosolini e Costa Leite Lumbrales; from *Integralismo Lusitano*, Pedro Teotónio Pereira, Marcelo Caetano and João Ameal; from the republican right or conservative republicans, Bissaia Barreto, Albino dos Reis, Duarte Pacheco, Mário Paes de Sousa; from the military elite, insuring the state’s political control over the army, Santos Costa, Câmara Pina, Gomes de Araújo and Mário Silva; from the business elite, Ricardo Espírito Santo, Caeiro da Mata, Queirós Pereira and Sebastião Ramires. See Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar*: 46.

¹⁷⁷ Translatable as *National Propaganda Service*. For account of António Ferro and his managing of SPN see Jorge Ramos do Ó, *Os Anos de Ferro. O Dispositivo Cultural Durante a “Política Do Espírito” 1933-1949* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1999); for an overview of the early architectural translations of this propaganda machine see José António Bandeirinha, “Portugal Do Estado Novo. Arquitectura E Política Do Espírito” (V Congresso Docomomo Ibérico - El G.A.T.C.P.A.C y su tiempo: política, cultura y arquitectura en los años treinta, Barcelona: Fundación DOCOMOMO ibérico, 2005), 61–71.

¹⁷⁸ Translatable as *Surveillance and State Defense Police*. This prison has been popularly and widely remembered as a concentration camp, owing this reputation to the number of political prisoners that lost their lives there. About the secret police and their activities see Irene Flunser Pimentel, *A História Da Pide* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2011).

¹⁷⁹ Translatable as *Subsecretary of State of Corporations and Social Welfare*.

¹⁸⁰ See Instituto Nacional do Trabalho e Previdência, ed., *Dez Anos de Política Social 1933-1943* (Lisboa, 1943); about its various forms of cultural production and indoctrination see Daniel Melo, *A Cultura Popular No Estado Novo* (Coimbra: Angelus Novus, 2010).

¹⁸¹ I am following here the idea that Keynesianism, as well as dictatorial protectionisms, emerged from and simultaneously formed the crisis of liberalism starting in the 1930s, see Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics - Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*: 69; Portuguese

encapsulated by phrase *Deus, Pátria e Família*, holding the key structuring values around which Portuguese living was projected for success.¹⁸² Following CCP and its reading of society as an organic whole, formed by “natural” social units - the parish, the noble estate, the peasant community - God, country and family articulated a social pacification in a pastoral view of society.¹⁸³ A projection used to give meaning to the violent suppression of labour and democratic impulses that Salazar’s political economy implied, as well as to the unequal distribution of rights and economical possibilities that would characterize the regime until its demise.

Economical possibilities and civic rights followed a clientelist logic, for instance, regarding the attribution of public housing: houses and flats were awarded to policemen, state bureaucrats, high-ranking technical staffs from private companies and public corporations, in other words, to those that consolidated the regime’s social base and came to be directly involved in its maintenance.¹⁸⁴ The regime’s political economy, comprising fiscal austerity and controlled state expenditure, as well as an economical reform that consisted in defending and promoting the growth of already established economic sectors,¹⁸⁵ that is, that consisted in not advancing any determinant economic reform, did not only promote the pacification of labor and the appeasing of dissenting social forces, it relied on it for its success. The regime itself relied on it for its becoming as a “new” state.¹⁸⁶ Its pastoral grasp over the living forces making the Portuguese nation operated not only as an ideological cover, but more importantly, as an effective recreation of national identity with various implications for the normalization of public and private life, what was good and bad, tasteful and not, what should be personally and collectively desired, what constituted truth and what constituted subversion; in other words, it put in place a very specific and effective common landscape that predisposed certain social positions, and performed the country anew as a great collective endeavour.

corporativism is highly influenced by Mihail Manoilescu, *A New Conception of Industrial Protectionism* (Bucarest: Regia M.O. Impremeria Nationala, 1931); for a succinct interpretation of Portuguese corporativism see José Luís Cardoso, “Corporativismo, Instituições Políticas E Desempenho Económico,” in *Corporativismo, Fascismos, Estado Novo*, Fernando Rosas e Álvaro Garrido (Coimbra: Almedina, 2012), 101–20; for a detailed overview see Dulce Freire, Nuno Estevão Ferreira, and Ana Margarida Rodrigues, *Corporativismo E Estado Novo: Contributo Para Um Roteiro de Arquivos Das Instituições Corporativas (1933-1974)*, Estudos E Relatórios 1 (Lisbon: ICS-UL, 2014); for a critical reading of the dictatorship’s political economy in relation to other attempts of socially controlling economies see Carlos Bastien, “Corporativismo E Keynesianismo No Estado Novo,” in *Corporativismo, Fascismos, Estado Novo*, Fernando Rosas e Álvaro Garrido (Coimbra: Almedina, 2012), 121–39.

¹⁸² Literally translatable as God, country and family. First exposed by Salazar, as a catholic intellectual, during the conference *A Democracia e a Igreja* (Democracy and Church), May 2 of 1914 in Porto, in the opening of the second congress of the Portuguese Catholic Youth Federation, see Ernesto Castro Leal, “A Transformação Política Da República: As Direitas Da Direita Antiliberal,” in *História Da Primeira República Portuguesa*, Maria Fernanda Rollo and Fernando Rosas (Lisboa: Tinta-da-china, 2009), 485–502: 487.

¹⁸³ The Catholic Center’s views on the autonomy of the social, as well as the redefinition of the state and economic relations from the social, were indebted to the works of French catholics and social progressives who, against the violent uprisings of the mid 1800s saw the nation’s salvation in the strengthening of “natural” social bonds, setting the stage for researches into the “natural social order,” such as Félicité de Lamennais (1782-1854), Comte Saint-Simon (1760-1825) and Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882). For a take in these social technicians see Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*; for a brief description of CCP’s connections with French catholic and social progressives see Leal, “A Transformação Política Da República: As Direitas Da Direita Antiliberal.”

¹⁸⁴ See Marielle Christine Gros, *O Alojamento Social Sob O Fascismo* (Lisboa: Afrontamento, 1982).

¹⁸⁵ Until the late 1950s, these consisted mainly in industries from the first sector, extraction and production of raw materials. The main sectors were agriculture, fishing and mining; in the 1940s, due to the war, the chemical and construction sectors grew, as well as the banking sector, seeing the emergence of the big banking houses that since 2008 have been under various forms of bankruptcy, such as *Banco Espírito Santo*. See Rosas, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*: 31-80.

¹⁸⁶ The violent suppression of labour claims and democratic practices had been initiated during the military dictatorship in 1926, Salazar, in various senses, only continued and massified said program of social and economical stability.

In this sense, the dictatorship had the ambition and appropriated the power to invent Portuguese culture, at least considerable parts of it. To grasp the rhythms of its operations it is important to have in mind Eric Hobsbawm's definition of tradition and its modern re-invention:

It is the contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant (...). 'Tradition' in this sense must be distinguished clearly from 'custom' which dominates so-called 'traditional' societies. The object and characteristic of 'traditions', including invented ones, is invariance. The past, real or invented, to which they refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices (...).¹⁸⁷

Equally important, invented tradition "(...) is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seem to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviours by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."¹⁸⁸ Thus proceeded the dictatorship, promoting conducts both ritual and symbolic in nature, with the overt approval of the country's elites and the tacit, mostly unwarranted approval of a majority of its people that, so to speak, joined the party of recreating themselves.

Through various cultural initiatives and government apparatuses, the regime reinvented the meanings and practices of being Portuguese by deploying a sophisticated recreation of history. It gave sense to an historical becoming of Portuguese culture by producing an ethnographical sense of the typical and normal Portuguese, as well as of its aspirations and desires. Stated differently, the dictatorship activated an anthropology of government based on traditional values, race attributes and historical identities that came together in a naturally given social entity that was whole, despite including such varied landscapes as Goa, Macau, Moçambique and Angola. This anthropology for governing Portuguese conjured various compromises that enabled the ascent and reproduction of the dictatorship.

Politically, God, country and family were also transformed into the basic coordinates around which the various political and cultural forces coalesced: God standing for the catholic wings of the regime and also its more reactionary right-wingers; country, standing both for the military elites, with differing republican, totalitarian and liberal inclinations, and those rallying under the monarchical alternative; and family, appeasing various reactionary forces, but also signaling the continuation of the bourgeois social project of civic morality, in its social unit par excellence. Its power of political agregation mapped, in effect, the key agents bent on ensuring its existence: the Church, the Military, monarchical circles and the high bourgeoisie. It also assured the key terms for a performance of the collective that had vast and lasting effects, achieved through the complex and costly functioning of the apparatuses described above. Its enveloping of the Portuguese collective, however, relied specifically on two main agents and their scripts for a Portuguese sense of being: the CCP and the Church, and the diffuse cultural movement called *Integralismo Lusitano*.¹⁸⁹

The already mentioned CCP contributed with its notion of a "natural social order," answering the social claims of clergy, feudal-like landlords and monarchical advocates, as well as patrons interested in maintaining old habits and hierarchies, especially pertaining to work and property relations. *Integralismo*

¹⁸⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 2.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.: 1.

¹⁸⁹ Literally translatable as *Lusitanian Integralism*.

Lusitano expanded this “natural” unity into past and future historical threads, most importantly elaborating the notion of the nation’s destiny for greatness.¹⁹⁰ Mainly constructed by intellectuals from monarchical and aristocratic circles, this cultural translator of the nation dated back to the proclamation of the first Portuguese republic in 1910 and grew specifically as a reaction to liberal republicans’ radical secularism. Through various clubs, events, magazines and books, the groups subscribing to *integralismo* defended Portugal’s return to its given historical fate, as the prophetic becoming of a self-constituted noble soul, territory and race. This fate was understood in key mythical historical events that were taken to point the skeleton structure of the Portuguese being. In practice, *integralismo* defended a return to the social and political units inherited from the monarchy and what, in their view, were the golden years of the nation, namely the period ranging from the 15th to the 17th centuries, before the rule of the enlightened minister Marquis de Pombal.

Foremost, they advocated a profethic and existential renewal of the country in relation to its immanent fate as the “fifth empire.” This latter idea was formulated from an old evangelizing narrative, attributed to priest António Vieira (1608-97), who from his tabernacle in Bahia, Brasil, announced the fulfillment of a future spiritual empire covering the world and whose agent would be the Portuguese empire. The idea of the “fifth empire” was tied in its inception with a messianic projection of spiritual revolution and the Portuguese as its elected operators. This imaginary disappeared and reappeared throughout the history of conquests and retreats of the actual empire, until through the *integralista* movement it became a wide acknowledged, among certain elites, disillusionment between the country, its empire, and its immanent possibility of greatness. Furthermore, it was portrayed by *integralistas* not solely as a material greatness translated in the body of buildings, armies and economies, but also as a spiritual and global one replacing, in order, the Greek, the Roman, the Christian and the European empires. The Portuguese would finally unite the whole world, spiritually and culturally. The famous poet Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), in the early 1930s reinscribed this myth with a new modern narrative power, extending its influence. Stated differently, it was a master script built up by boosters of Portugal and its early thwarted imperial claims. In it lay the nation’s testament for greatness and the equally great disillusionment in its continuous unfulfillment. More importantly, however, its immanence within the dictatorship conducted concrete apparatuses such as, for instance, the elementary school curriculum, which was the same all over the empire. Black Angolans and Goese, as well as white Portuguese boys and girls, had to know mainland Portugal’s regions by heart. This example might be evaluated as a feeble, yet it was a concrete and lasting effort to make Portugal the center of a global cultural empire.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ If society had its own laws and equilibriums, which was argued by both catholic circles and *Integralista* ones, then it followed that there existed places and bodies where these natural laws could be observed raw, crystalized, as it were, in their natural habitat. This habitat was largely traced back, by these two cultural forces, to a rural world, still highly feudal and medieval – compared with other situations in Europe – and its representation as a social organic entity.

¹⁹¹ See Fernando Pessoa, *Mensagem* (Lisbon: Parceria António Maria Ferreira, 1934); for a notion of its current importance in popular parlance see António Valdemar, “Sonho Mítico Do Quinto Império Percorre a Cultura Portuguesa,” *Diário de Notícias*, January 27, 2005, <http://www.dn.pt/arquivo/2005/interior/sonho-mitico-do-quinto-imperio-percorre-a-cultura-portuguesa-607305.html>; for an analysis of its power as interpretative key in Portuguese colonial relations see Agnès Levécot, “Construção E Desconstrução Do Mito Do Quinto Imoério Na Literatura Colonial E Pós-Colonial Portuguesa: O Branco Da Motase de Rodrigues Júnior vs O Esplendor de Portugal de António Lobo Antunes,” *Carnets*, 2010, 141–57; for its articulation in the dictatorship see Luís Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos, Estado Novo*, vol. 2 (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2009).

From the imaginaries of CCP and *integralismo*, together with determinant influences from the liberal and republican elites that joined Salazar's political project, the dictatorship recreated the country's cultural "truths" and, most relevantly, gave the notion of being Portuguese a historical direction. This created the idea of Portugal's civilizational autonomy and exception regarding the world, most immediately regarding a Europe dominated by multilateral compromises, influences and amestrations. This national fulfillment followed a specific set of socio-ecological myths regarding Portugal and the Portuguese, which I consider essential to understand the degree of cultural recreation accomplished by the dictatorship.¹⁹² Briefly walking through the seven: (1) Portugal was essentially a rural country because it was in the rural countryside that the true virtues and qualities of the Portuguese race emerged from. (2) Portuguese had *uma vocação de pobreza*,¹⁹³ that is, they were noble in the poverty and modesty of their simple ways, amiss of any disruptive desires and ambitions, content with their proclaimed "habitual living." (3) The nation possessed a natural social order that sprung from the family, the parrish, the church, the school and the corporation. Therefore, Portugal was by vocation a corporative society, organically hierarchical and law abiding, following a social structure emerging from centuries of history. (4) Portuguese were catholic by nature, the history and identity of the nation and its people emerged and was present through that particular exercise of faith, thus the regime went around the State/Church division by making the latter more than a pre-existence to the former, the foundation of national history and being. (5) There existed an "imperial vocation to the nation,"¹⁹⁴ that is, the idea that the Portuguese were given the spiritual task of civilizing, by colonizing, indigenous people. Namely because of their unquestionable moral and ethical values, inherited from their natural social order. The colonies thus became members of a *luso-tropical body*,¹⁹⁵ having the nation as its divine heart and mind: "he (Portugal) will be the spiritual reality of which the colonies are the fulfillment."¹⁹⁶ (6) The dictatorship was the operator of a new beginning, fulfilling the prophecy of a national refoundation, which brings us to a final myth regarding the regime's "ontological essence." (7) The dictatorship did not constitute another regime in the history of Portuguese statehood, but instead "the" state responsible for the redemptive regeneration of the nation and, thus, it was Portuguese destiny fulfilled, embodied and practiced. It was the thread recreated by wise men to give the nation its historical continuity. So, the slogan borrowed from fascist Rome, "Everything for the Nation, nothing against the Nation," was here articulated with a vast cultural-psychology and identified with a specific spatial and material anthropology: the rural countryside and a calling for poverty.

¹⁹² I am namely referring to the seven myths identified by Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar*: 323-326.

¹⁹³ Translatable as "a vocation for poverty," expression coined by Salazar cited in *Ibid.*: 325.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: 324.

¹⁹⁵ Sociological concept created by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in the 1930s and within a specific modernist cultural process in Brazil. It was integrated by the regime in the 1950s as a way of legitimating the colonial empire in the face of the post-colonial moment. The concept held that Portuguese colonization was historically exceptional in its multiculturalism, because of its gentle and mixed ways, creating multiracial nations such as Brazil. From this arose the myth of the gentle and multicultural character of Portuguese imperialism, still very present today. For an analysis of its effects see Leah Fine, "Colorblind Colonialism? Lusotropicalismo and Portugal's 20th Century Empire in Africa" (Master's Dissertation, Barnard College Department of History, 2007); for an overview of its place, for instance, in the government of Angola see Gerald J. Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese, the Myth and the Reality* (London: Ibadan, 1978); for a discussion of its use in spatial government see Tiago Castela, "Imperial Garden: Planning Practices and the Utopia of Luso-Tropicalism in Portugal/Mozambique, 1945-1975," in *Architecture, Tradition, and the Utopia of the Nation-State*, vol. 238 (International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments, Traditional Dwellings and Settlements, Beirut, 2010), 75-98.

¹⁹⁶ Armindo Monteiro, *Para Uma Política Imperial*, Agência Geral das Colónias (from an official document of the General Colonial Agency), cited in Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar*: 324.

The culture emerging from this socio-ecological government of the Portuguese in the world, was given representation through SPN's propaganda campaigns, cultural events and spaces of exhibition. Specially through the INTP's and other public corporations' networks – workers' homes, patron associations, nurseries, summer camps and others – and a prolific “pedagogical” production and the national school system. It was articulated and projected within the various cabinets by the pressure and influence of Salazar's “Olympus” and the coordinating roles of his trusted men. Lastly, it was spelled and made into a group of concrete material experiences by a set of architectural practices, ways of reading the Portuguese landscape, of reappropriating it as Portuguese, and of promoting a simultaneously ideological and material experience for being Portuguese.¹⁹⁷

The recreation of culture and tradition projected by the dictatorship manifested itself in a series of conducts, ideas, truth-games - what could and should be said - and reflexive behaviors, but also in very concrete material and spatial “natures.” Architecture and city planning emerged for the dictatorship, as happened in different degrees throughout many other dictatorships, as a prime matter and field for the enactment of its language of government. Stated differently, if the dictatorship gave Portugal a past, which is saying it gave it a future, architecture production reinvented part of this past and its possible future in a spatial language of government.¹⁹⁸ It constituted a considerable portion of the dictatorship's myths and involving Portuguese ethnographical truths, namely their specific bodily concentrations and dispersions.

In what follows I attempt to frame the spatial anthropology of the dictatorship's language of government in its concrete productions of architecture.¹⁹⁹ Hereof, this anthropological ambition is limited to the professional fields directly responsible for the organization of space - architects, planners, and engineers - and not with a broader inventory of the material practices and modes of life reinvented and produced during this period.

The possibility of a spatial language of strong government

Marielle Gros, in 1982, wrote that during its first years the dictatorship performed two attitudes regarding spatial production, both of which adapting modern tendencies in European architecture. Stated differently, both attempting a translation of modernizing influences into the nationalist, pastoral and imperialist language of the regime.²⁰⁰ The pertinence of this interpretative key for understanding the dictatorship's spatial predilections resides in the genealogy which it tracts to specific governmental patrons. One of them was António Joaquim Tavares Ferro (1895-1956), director of SPN from 1933 to 1949, and advocate for the regime's protection of a national avant-garde under its civilizing mission,

¹⁹⁷ For an interpretation of the dictatorship's mystification of the landscape and creation of spatial myths see Joaquim Sampaio, “Mitificação E Paisagem Simbólica: O Caso Do Estado Novo,” *Cadernos - Curso de Doutoramento Em Geografia*, 2012, 101–22.

¹⁹⁸ That the dictatorship “constructed Portugal's past” is an idea put forward by Paulo Varela Gomes, *Ouro E Cinza* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2014): 55-56, article first published in October 2009. I must clarify that I do not agree with this author's idea that building a past does not necessarily imply building a future, quite the opposite, I argue it always, necessarily, involves projecting a future.

¹⁹⁹ For a discussion of the problem if we can attribute to dictatorship a particular spatial language that was hegemonic during its efficient rule see Marta Baptista, “Arquitetura Como Instrumento Na Construção de Uma Imagem Do Estado Novo” (Master Thesis, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2008): 70-76.

²⁰⁰ Gros, *O Alojamento Social Sob O Fascismo*.

comparable to Mussolini's rallying of the modern avant-garde. His ambition was to produce a specific aesthetic elaboration of the dictatorship that would simultaneously be actual with European and American, both north and south, artistic and media developments. Leading the dictatorship's into a specific graphic language, reinscribing Portuguese simplicity and honesty with recourse to rural and historic imaginaries, Ferro's SPN created manuals and pamphlets, sponsored the creation of artistic and tradition-focused institutions, founded museums, created tv shows. All in all making the nation re-appear through various new mediums as something utterly novel. Ferro's name for this vast campaign was "policy of the spirit."²⁰¹

The other patron was Duarte José Pacheco (1900-1943), minister of public works from 1932 to 1936 and from 1938 until 1943, and whom was not as much concerned with employing the avant-garde as he was with producing the spatial modernization of the country and, in the process, of the regime. His program involved modernizing the country by modernizing its built infrastructures, such as industrial nodes, harbors and ports, improving cities and laying the foundations for the state's active role in public works. Contrary to Ferro, who was a writer, artist, curator, Pacheco, a civil engineer, desired to use the dictatorship to advance an expert transformation of the city, ideally substituting political and bureaucratic positionings in public offices, with enlightened technical bodies. His organization of the ministry of public works created a key foothold in the regime specially for engineers and architects, as these became instrumental for the accomplishment of its vast public works. In his own expert field on the other hand, so too Pacheco wished the dictatorship to rally an avant-garde, yet one of technicians formed in the country's engineering and architecture schools.²⁰²

In the regime's first decade, both patrons promoted influent renditions of the dictatorship's power as nation builder, both materially and symbolically. Both translating the original political core of Salazar's regime, his political olympus. Both, however, moved past the frugality and economical restraint of Salazar's austerity driven catholic ideal and political economy. In the face of high and rising unemployment, the need to secure the dictatorship's public representation, as well as the recognition of the operative character of grandiose works in educating the national soul, made a vast propaganda campaign and public works program desirable. Furthermore, the latter had a compelling economical rationale. Even though Salazar's economic strategy relied on deficit balancing and financial stabilization, the social-democratic inspired tactic of reanimating the economy by state investment allowed two major actions: the consolidation of existing industrial, commercial and financial sectors, namely banks such as *Banco Espírito Santo* and the cement and glass industry; and the mitigation of possible public unrest by creating a relatively affluent job market, centered on construction works. The possibility of grandiose public works, accordingly, served the consolidation of the regime, fueling its corporatist model and supplying a strong embodiment to its "policy of the spirit." From this period of national reconstruction Salazar emerged as "o obreiro da Pátria," that is, the country's builder, standing both for the morally edifying and literal edifying of the nation.

²⁰¹ "política do espírito" in Ó, *Os Anos de Ferro. O Dispositivo Cultural Durante a "Política Do Espírito" 1933-1949*; Luís Torgal, "Jorge Ramos Do Ó, Os Anos de Ferro. O Dispositivo Cultural Durante a 'Política Do Espírito'. 1933-1949, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1999.," *Análise Social* XXXVII (2002): 299-303.

²⁰² See Lôbo, "Planos de Urbanização: A Época de Duarte Pacheco"; Sandra Vaz Costa, "O País a Régua E Esquadro: Urbanismo, Arquitectura E Memória Na Obra Pública de Duarte Pacheco" (Master's Dissertation, Faculty of Literature of the University of Lisbon, 2009); and Bandeirinha, "Portugal Do Estado Novo. Arquitectura E Política Do Espírito."

Given this, between Ferro's and Pacheco's programmatic agendas, it was the latter's that gained prominence, mostly because the task of actually reconstructing the nation was laid at his cabinet. This involved rehabilitating and sometimes rebuilding anew various heritage sites, designing and planning cities, industrial and infrastructure placement, building a network of public services throughout the country and, lastly, forming the experts to accomplish all of the above. Ferro's program was enclosed within SPN's range of action, that is, to its propaganda missions, education campaigns and cultural institutions. Even though SPN was from the start one of the dictatorship's most avid promoters, the initiative of summoning the artistic avant-garde generated disapproval within the regime's conservative base.²⁰³ Nevertheless, Ferro's attitude was a key declaration of intent, a program for the "spirit," as he put it and, for that matter, a highly modern proposal: not to build tradition but to create tradition itself.²⁰⁴ In the process, various aesthetically rich mediators of the dictatorship were advanced and made to infuse a new collective, yet in the spatial organization and representation of the nation it was Pacheco who set the terms for the recreation of the collective.

During his stewardship of public works, the regime's spatial reorganization was designed around the following main programs: (1) the decree-law nº 24 802 of 1934, which for the first time institutionalized the importance of state conducted urban planning by creating *planos gerais de urbanização* - PGU that should be developed by local initiative, yet supervised by Pacheco's cabinet.²⁰⁵ (2) The creation of a new network of public buildings, including courthouses, prisons, people's houses, *grêmios* (labor associations), post-offices, banks, health clinics, hospitals and schools. Effectively, the state's enactment of justice, public information, labor exchange, health, education, was dependent on the ministry of public works' expertise. (3) Lastly, the creation of a public housing program through which part of the tax revenue of INTP could be applied in a national network of economic dwellings. To these enterprises of construction, renovation and regulation amounted the infrastructural works of road and bridge construction, railroad and port extensions, developed under the aegis of economic modernization. To better understand how these different yet centrally controlled programs articulated a spatial language of government, we need to capture each one in more detail.

The decree of 1934 forced municipalities over 2.500 inhabitants to develop urban plans, growth strategies and regulations. For lack of proper technicians, such as engineers or architects with city planning experience, and local power's inexperience in such subjects, Pacheco's cabinet created in 1938 a commission for the inspection of topographical studies and another for urban improvements. The first approved urban plans date from 1941. The plans were structured in three steps, the following: (1) a long historical description, ranging back to the first stones set in the village, town or city in question; (2) the present morphological, economical and sanitary conditions, habitually lacking in modern standards – most urban situations lacked basic infrastructure such as water and electricity; lastly (3), the new regulating urban plan through which infrastructure improvement, public building provision and urban limits had to be conceived.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ Until his dismissal from the regime, Ferro was continuously accused of two things: preferring young innovative artists to established ones and hiring artists that were not entirely politically validated, that is, with the regime, see Torgal, *Estados Novos, Estado Novo*: 69-70.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*: 62.

²⁰⁵ Translatable as *master urban plans*. For an insightful overview of Pacheco's urban policies see Sandra Vaz Costa, "A Palavra Tornada Pedra," in *Arquitetura Moderna Portuguesa 1920-1970*, Ana Tostões e Sandra Vaz Costa (Lisbon: IPPAR, 2004), 39-47.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*: 45.

The plans normalized the habit of identifying historic nuclei to be valued, usually proposing and accomplishing the demolition of civilian buildings that compromised cultural values. The logic came from the corporatist ideal of autonomous social units possessing specific regional and local limits, that is, it followed from the notion that there were natural communities to a specific space, with their specific spatial language. The plans' reliance on a long historical narrative served such purposes of identification of cultural values and inherent socio-spatial limits. Which history was perceived as truthful and which as delinquent remained within the technical circles and official constructions of the experts hired for the task. Not surprisingly, urbanization master plans had in common the identification of a civic center, the heart and soul of the community, usually localized in the square serving the local church, town hall, commercial club or/and nobleman's estate, and which usually provoked proposals of renewal and reification. In these civic centers new public facilities were sometimes erected, many times alongside old ones, others claiming new centers of their own, while public housing more generally would be implemented on the fringes of a city's limits.

Coupled with the planning practice of identifying the cultural center of a place, as well as its historic values, many of the new networks of public buildings were conceived as so many exercises in the attainment of a Portuguese modern national style. They constituted a sort of double brand for the rejuvenated national culture: on the one hand, symbol of the grandiose calling of its enterprise, of modern monumental contours, on the other, symbol of an eternal and continuous Portuguese identity. As such, many public buildings springing from this public works program came to materially articulate the dictatorship's regionalist propensity and provincial will of expression. Architects and engineers produced this by following a group of formal arrangements and material combinations, sometimes derived from surveys on local architectures, others from encyclopedic manuals of style such as the contemporary architect Raul Lino's (1879-1974) influent *A Casa Portuguesa* from 1929, or combining various sources.²⁰⁷ The new taste, that is, the new modern style being tested, was a combination of historic styles, usually traced back to enigmatic buildings such as churches and estates, and modern spatial practices and conceptual methods: rational and efficient layouts, monumental simplicity, modern structural and construction methods that, however, in Portugal were not very technologically advanced. It is worth describing one example, among the various, to understand how these priorities, expertise and materials came together.

Évora's courthouse, built as late as 1960 and designed by Carlos Ramos is such a case in point. It was composed from an arched central courtyard through which people may enter the court as an open public plaza. Arches and pillars were formally deputed, what one might call a modern take on a vault and arch system of small dimensions, erected in stone. On top of the archway the second floor windows were entirely modernist in their mechanical rhythm and efficient disposition of light. The walls, in between stone coatings, were plastered and painted white. Untill waist level they were covered in traditional looking ceramic tiles. The interiors were spatially and materially refined: a succession of ample spaces and waiting rooms, imposing staircases, a central proceedings room with a high vault ceiling and natural lighting accomplished through thermal-inspired windows; the flooring done in stone and marble; all doors, cabinets, windows and furniture finely worked in wood. The roofs were done in clay bricks and sloped, and the main entrance was designed as a simplified classical *portico*, modestly

²⁰⁷ Based on an interpretation and compilation of vernacular aesthetic norms and forms, following two other books published in the early 20th century on the same topic, see Raul Lino, *A Casa Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1929). Lino became one of the main advocates of the need for a *national style*, in chapter 2 we will meet him in more detail.

monumental, as if stating that the only monumentality proper to this landscape is a modest and strangely constrained dwarf-sized monumentality. The north façade, on the *mendo estevens* street, was coated in stone at ground level, a material mass then interrupted by a string of small windows, topped by regular individually framed windows and finished in another string of small windows punctuated by the traditional looking sloped roof. From this façade a corridor elevated over the street composed an arched bridge, such as that found in Venice linking the *pallazo ducale* to its prison, linking the interior of the courthouse to an adjacent public park.



9 Carlos Ramos' leprosy hospital in Tocha, 1950, unknown author.

This work was produced throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s, when North America was busy building levittowns and modern shopping malls, and most of Europe was busy with rationalist public housing, some garden-city derivatives and also its shopping malls and suburbs.²⁰⁸ Similar spatial answers to the questions posed to Portuguese space by the dictatorship, like that of Évora were also produced by Bissaya Barreto's, a personal friend of Salazar from his university days, patronage of child clinics, maternities and hospital units around the district of Coimbra. In, for example: *Leprosaria Nacional Rovisco Pais*, a leprosy hospital in the town of Tocha, also by Carlos Ramos; or the architect's Luís Benavente's many *casas da criança*, infant health units built from the 1930s onwards; among many

²⁰⁸ See, for example, for the USA, Robert A. Beauregard, *When America Became Suburban* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); and, for Europe but mainly from the point of view of England's urban developments, see Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*.

other health care spaces.²⁰⁹ Although with many variations, the architectural experiments in the building of the new networks of public buildings coalesced often on a common problem: how to cast modern functionalities in the good values of the Portuguese race, history and culture or, at least, in their performance by state agents. More often than not this followed a historical morphologic inquiry combined with a late *beaux-arts* inspired practice that aimed to produce a spatial improvement while fitting-in, respecting, as it were, the rules of the Portuguese landscape. This did not derive from a written taste policy by the ministry of public works and Duarte Pacheco's authority. Instead it emerged as general cultural problem, taking part in similar problems and experiments in Germany, Italy and Spain. The problem of producing the modernization of a country's public territories while keeping with its culture came to form a key concern supporting the blueprint for the dictatorship's spatial production.²¹⁰

The same occurred with the ministry's public housing program, as can be observed in the housing quarter built in the 1930s in Ramalde, between the *conde covilhã* and *plátanos* streets, to the north of the quarter around which Távora, Andresen and others worked on a modernist language of housing. This neighborhood is composed of one-story single-family houses with clay sloped roofs, traditional aspiring windows, door frames made from local stone - granite - and walls painted in soft pastel colors. Each house having its own front and back garden, and assembled in an orthogonal grid of small streets that derive in a central green square facing houses in three of its sides and an elementary school on the other. It was conceived as a self-enclosed small peripheral city, with its own services and provisions and building the regime's central bio-political unit, according to Duarte Pacheco:

The new political and social unit – the family – shall possess (besides the arm or the brain that gives it bread) its own house that shelters, that defends, that may give welfare and, with it, the sense of preservation and social responsibility towards the contribution to the common good.²¹¹

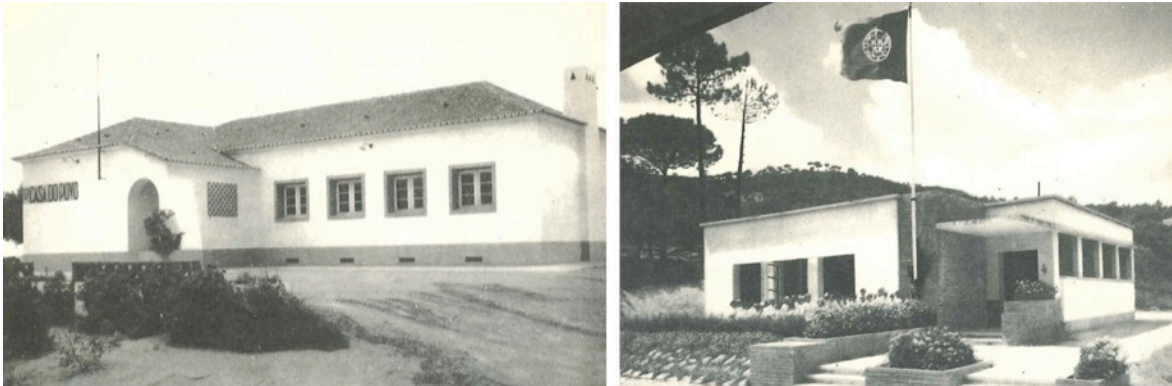
Similar spatial codes and scales were applied to people's and fishermen's homes: regionally derived habitable objects, modest yet with highly formalized details, with clay sloped roofs and surrounded by small gardens for flowers and trees. The elementary schools outside big cities also enforced the same socio-spatial blueprint. Like employer's *grêmios* that, to a lesser degree, also rehearsed this combination, yet most were activated in 19th, beginning of the 20th, old bourgeois clubs, as well as in modern-looking new buildings.²¹² Here, the social gap between employers and workers was made blunt through the "educational" contents of each spatial language: employers were allowed enough freedom to articulate their reformist and progressive desires in the languages of international architecture, while poor workers were destined for the pleasant pastiche of a desired national style.

²⁰⁹ See Ricardo Jerónimo Silva, "Arquitetura Hospitalar E Assistencial Promovida Por Bissaya Barreto" (PhD Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2013).

²¹⁰ This follows the idea that to the dictatorship a specific set of architectural practices might be attributed, such as argued by José Manuel Fernandes, *Português Suave: Arquiteturas Do Estado Novo* (Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico - Ministério da Cultura, 2003), although I do not agree with this author's specific framing of the problem of style in a neatly arranged block.

²¹¹ Speech by Duarte Pacheco in 1934, apropos the first public housing Project and the intent of the legal decree nº 23 052 of September of 1933, in which was regulated the construction of houses for public provision, cited in Freguesia de Ramalde, *Ouvido Ramalde: Memórias E Registos*, Luiza Cortesão, Francisco Coelho Neves e Maria da Luz Sampaio (Ramalde, Porto: Junta de Freguesia do Ramalde, 2013).

²¹² See Instituto Nacional do Trabalho e Previdência, *Dez Anos de Política Social 1933-1943*.



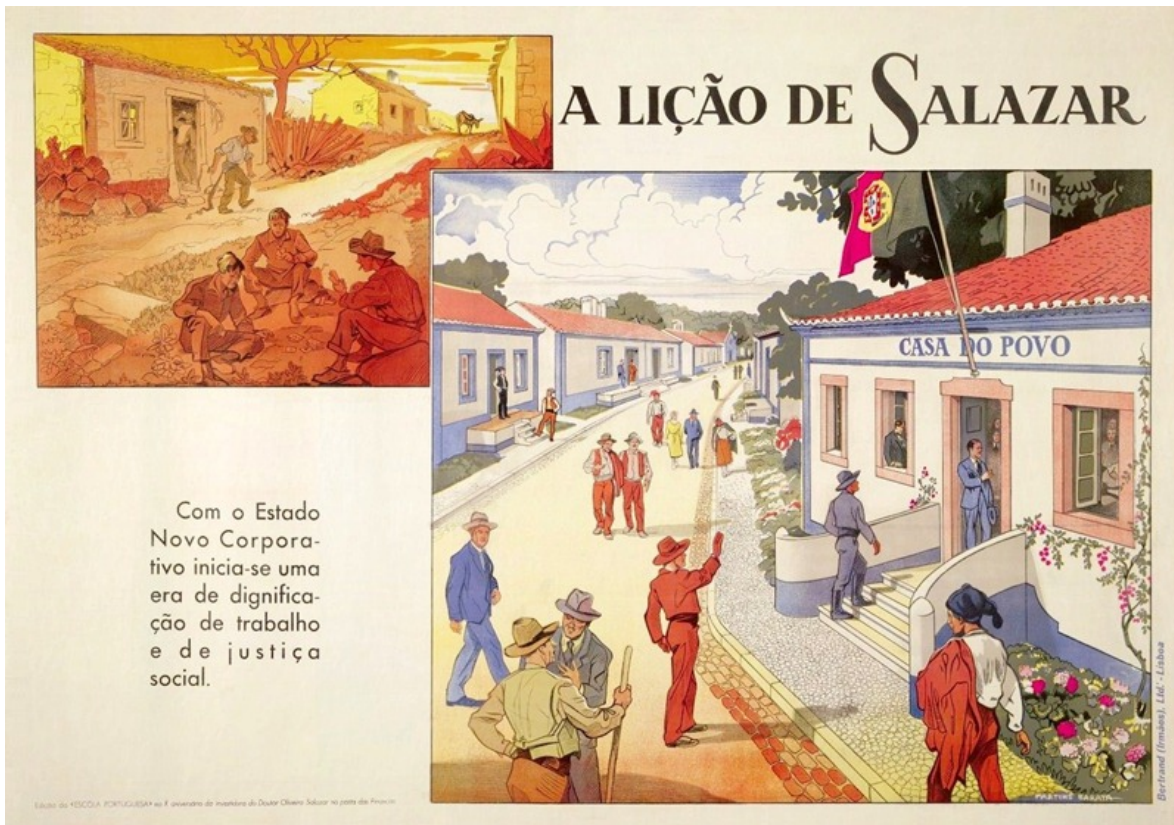
10 A people's home in Freixo (left), Évora district, a regional headquarter for INTP staff (right), 1943, in INTP, *Dez Anos de Política Social 1933-1943*.

Part of the spatial language of government thus came to rely on a kind of vernacular pastiche, not unlike in procedural and conceptual terms 19th eclecticism of historical and oriental styles, to promote the spatial habits and values of its political construction of the social. Yet, it was not only a question of symbolism, that is, of morally educating through aesthetics, but also of legally and culturally programming possibilities. The problem of a *national style*, in its vernacularism, provincial symbolism and “humanist” aesthetic, was the object of wide national attention and coverage. In the forefront, there were Ferro’s SPN media campaigns, whose topics and ideas flowed into associations and clubs with conservative programs, many and influent, as well as to people’s and fishermen’s homes. Images of its ideal models, as presented for instance in *Lições de Salazar* (Salazar’s Lessons), were in school walls. Students themselves went everyday to classes in such a modern traditional space, with its clay sloped roof, painted white walls, façades with simplified “historic” stone frames. There was a whole new physical sensibility in the care-taking.²¹³

Most importantly, this national style was not taken as conservative by its proponents and sympathizers. On the contrary, it was understood as innovative, not only standing for the dictatorship’s creative and governmental power in the reinvention of a cultural “revolution,” but also considered itself a creative and innovative artistic movement, thoroughly connected with Portuguese values, yet modern, avant-garde. To this contributed that the most influent active architects during the forming years of the regime were part of artistic, cultural and social elites. Firstly, Raul Lino as the “innovator” behind the new style’s artistic formulation and conceptual foundation. Then, there were those much later named the first generation of Portuguese modernists such as Carlos Ramos, Cottinelli Telmo (1897-1948), Porfírio Pardal Monteiro (1897-1957), Luís Cristino da Silva (1896-1976) that, in the years preceding the dictatorship, had produced some experiences of modernism in national soil, such as Ramos’ radiography pavilion for the Portuguese Institute of Oncology in Lisbon, built between 1927-33. All of which, among many others, were called upon by the regime to realize the spatial settings of the great national work, oriented by Pacheco’s intent of pitching a modern attitude and entrepreneurialism to the conservative pastoral base of the regime. Francisco Keil do Amaral (1910-75), Januário Godinho (1910-90) and José Segurado (1913-88) were other noticeable architects from this generation that worked for

²¹³ Till this day, the dictatorship’s elementary schools, courthouses and post-offices, surreptitiously muster the nostalgic respect of many, from either side in the social and political spectrum of contemporary Portugal.

the regime's great public works but that, soon after, created more unstable relations with it due to dissent and "wrong" political engagements.²¹⁴



11 One of the panels in Salazar's lessons, portraying the government's edifying correction of rural Portugal, Martins Barata, 1938.

Nothing celebrated this professional intimacy and experience like the *Exposição do Mundo Português* in 1940 as the "great party" of the nation that it was: a massive national exhibition-fair celebrating Portuguese autonomy and historical becoming and happening in Lisbon right after Paris fell to the Germans.²¹⁵ For it Pacheco's cabinet hired the most prominent architects and artists, himself personally conducting the works with the architect Cotinelli Telmo. In the image of the *world exhibition*, this architectural event was intended as a massive performance of the nation, yet of the nation for the nation. In it the regime practiced, through the artistry of its architects and artists, the architectural celebration of its existence and the power of its projection, in the assemble of an architectural monumentality side-by-side with physical lessons of Portuguese history, coupled also by traditional parades and true Portuguese costume-wearing. Producing a full-fledged rendering of the regime's use of "(...)history as an illusory space idealizing the past so as to idealize the present."²¹⁶ It was the Portuguese

²¹⁴ See A. V., *Os Anos 40 Na Arte Portuguesa*, José-Augusto França (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1982); I only name these due to their prominence as truth-makers in national architecture culture, all of which assumed leading positions in architectural institutions and practices, either in education, in the Architect's Union or through their offices' production.

²¹⁵ Translatable as the *Exhibition of the Portuguese World*. For a comprehensive description of the event See Pedro Nobre, "Belém E a Exposição Do Mundo Português: Cidade, Urbanidade E Património Urbano" (Master's Dissertation, Faculty of Social and Suman Sciences of Nova University of Lisbon, 2010).

²¹⁶ Allan Pred, *Recognizing European Modernities: A Montage of the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995): 70.

“world-as-exhibition” imposed to the people as a finished cultural object, to which every Portuguese would eventually have to own up to, as a participant-consumer of its values, forms and conducts.²¹⁷ Stated differently, this event marked the enigmatic public inscription of the desired world-interior of the dictatorship, its crystal palace of Portugueseness.²¹⁸

This event also constituted the training ground for an elite of modernist architects in a vernacular monumental, not unlike that practiced by Albert Speer in Germany, although less neo-classical than the latter and rehearsing, for the first time, a monumental spatial language for Salazar’s conservative revolution.²¹⁹ Because the exhibition was meant to be temporary, the structural solution for the pavilions was a modern one, namely industrial in nature. They were made of modular steel and wood structures, easy to assemble and disassemble, that were then coated in plaster imitating stone and concrete. The desired fusion between vernacular and historical with monumental, modern, fascist-like public spectacles was built as fair stalls, not unlike the construction methods used in the ephemeral *world exhibitions*. This ephemerality was a contradiction in terms: the regime’s spatial language was aiming for permanence and continuity, not only with supposed history, but also with the future, translating the will to last, to govern into an eternal Portuguese future. How strange all of it might have seemed for those more acutely aware of this message when the pavilions were being torn away by winds, rains and workers just a few months after the event. The artificiality of the historical ontology into which the regime wanted to cast itself as “the” government of the Portuguese, could be observed in its modern spectacular mechanics. One of the exhibition’s high points is worth mentioning to better illustrate this point.

The *monumento dos descobrimentos*, a monument to Portuguese seafaring, was done likewise with a steel structure covered in plaster imitating stone. Thought by the architect Cottinelli Telmo, the coordinator of the whole exhibition, and the sculptor Leopoldo de Almeida (1898-1975), the monumental piece was not disassembled when the exhibition finished, namely because Salazar much appreciated it. By 1955 a competition for a new monument to replace the old temporary one awarded the first prize to a team composed by João Andresen, the sculptor Salvador Barata Feyo (1899-1990) and the painter Júlio Resende (1917-2011). All of which came from Porto’s school and its environment of modernist compromises. The new proposal was inspired in the brutalist and sensualist aesthetic of Brazilian modernism. It created public spaces around its curving design, instead of being mainly just a monumental sculpture. At some point, Salazar stepped in and annulled the competition. Instead, the old monument was rebuilt in more concrete materials, thus making its fake stone truthful, and there it stands in Lisbon as a monument to seafaring and Salazar’s resistance to the internationalization of Portuguese culture.

This goes in the way of arguing that the *national style* was always and from the start an artificial machine, barely kept together and that needed to be justified by a constant appropriation of history by political operations, in this case by the dictatorship’s performance of a permanent and unchanging Portuguese culture with vast historical roots and a bright future. Furthermore, to its regionalist, vernacular sensibility there corresponded a specific political economy of construction. Building with

²¹⁷ Timothy Mitchell, “The World as Exhibition,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1989): 217–36.

²¹⁸ I am here using the crystal palace metaphor put forward by Peter Sloterdijk, *In the World Interior of Capital: Towards a Philosophical Theory of Globalization*, trans. Wieland Hoban (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), which essentially elaborates that the modern world is composed of various interior worlds, zoomorphic and disciplined shows of variety and transformative power under glass roofs.

²¹⁹ As defended by Gros, *O Alojamento Social Sob O Fascismo*: 229.

industrially made structures and covering them up in plaster and stone was not very common. In fact, the construction methods applied in courthouses, post-offices, people's homes, public housing and other public buildings, were far more antiquated than the attempts by architects to combine history and modernity. It corresponded to a specific group of construction methods and materials: the use of simple brick fillings and of concrete mostly in structural elements; clay and wood for roofs, ceramic tiles for indoor and outdoor coating, the use of local stones. It also involved, on the other hand, a continuity in working relations: the cartelization of the construction industry, namely cement, brick and glass; cheap access to local materials, such as stone; and an equally easy access to labor due to the forced precarization involved in the promotion of "habitual living."

The quality and variety of construction methods also derived from this social production of the labor of construction. By the 1940s and well into the 1970s, there still existed many skilled and accessible masons, carpenters and other construction *maitres*, as much as unskilled and badly paid ones, easy to hire and equally easy to fire. As a result, the quality of construction of most of these buildings, that is, of the public buildings raised during the first decades of the regime was of high standard. Yet confined to a relatively small number of construction solutions and expertise, differing from region to region and from city to village and, thus, also creating a local proclivity of architecture. The architectures produced with a national style in mind came with an equally Portuguese styled division and form of labor.

From the germinal years of the regime, by the hands and minds of entrepreneurial characters such as António Ferro, Duarte Pacheco and Bissaya Barreto, there was an active experimentation and fast fixation of a spatial language of government. Its ingredients derived both from reactionary and conservative social circles, inspired by catholic and *integralista* historic tastes, and the circles of modern technicians, artists and entrepreneurs such as Pacheco, Ferro, Cottinelli Telmo and Carlos Ramos, among many others. The latter, contrary to the majority of the regime's political base, constituted an enlightened urban elite, simultaneously in contact with international tendencies and acutely aware of the national calling. From this combination, a very specific built landscape originated as the dictatorship performatively inaugurated the nation itself in its organic, provincial, essential culture. Stated differently, the spatial production from this initial period lasting from 1933 to the late 1950s, but extending diffusely throughout the rest of the dictatorship, created a symbolic and material language for the public and modern invention of tradition performed by the regime.

The managing of behaviors and conducts, as well as the national effort of educating "the spirit," was cast in brick and stone, with tiled sloped roofs, fluent in a historical language and plush with agreeable regionalist decorations, materials and spatial combinations. As Hobsbawm argued, invented tradition "(...) does not preclude innovation and change up to a point (...). What it does is to give any desired change (or resistance to innovation) the sanction of precedent, social continuity and natural law as expressed in history."²²⁰ This is especially pertinent to the case of the Portuguese dictatorship's architectural invention. The regime's spatial production, namely coordinated by the ministry of public works, constituted a rich period of architectural production within its economical, cultural and political stakes. Architects assumed a position of technical and artistic predominance in the great public works, historically celebrating Duarte Pacheco, after whom their predominance in the spatial production of

²²⁰ Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions:" 2.

government, supposedly, was never the same or imbued with a similar sense of public service.²²¹ The richness of this period of spatial production was not only due to the amount of public works, but also to the variety and creativity of spatial solutions that, despite all sorts of contrivances, composed a lush field of artistic and technical productivity around the problem of building nationally while modernly.

At the same time, as this problem was translated into so many different spatial operations of improvement and advancement of the country, its power derived as much from this concreteness as it did from a founding myth. The spatial configuration of the dictatorship's national spirit in a national style was mostly a mythical structuring of reality. Stated differently, a way of creating expectations over what space must and should mean, but that, in practice, was never fully realized or only made concrete in some private dwellings, a few public housing developments, some public spaces, and some punctual service and state buildings. Borrowing from the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, the *doxa* contained in the national style was constituted through exemplar objects and a mass of formal and informal education, disciplining in intent and enforming expectations for a Portuguese spatial culture that, in fact, did not exist.²²² It is telling, for instance, the architect Raul Lino's evaluation of almost a decade of state sponsored architecture:

If I were a preacher, I would advise calm, moderation, cooling towards the fantasy by whom today is proposed to build houses; if I were a dictator, I would go further: would establish types, extremely simple, of windows, doors, etc.; and would make these patterns obligatory through a special emergency law, while the transition period that we now cross has not stopped. Gentlemen, here you have the elements registered for use during a season of sanitation, époque of retraction and penitence; make use of them, and only of them, as you please, until the advent of the period of good sense.²²³

Even though the mass of public works were of grand scale compared to former spatial investments by the Portuguese state. And even though much was accomplished in the sense of proclaiming a national style. As we can read from Lino, a profound believer in the environmental determinism of an architectural style, the country was still and only in a hybrid phase, a state of "bad sense," aching for the

²²¹ For instance, the architect Francisco Castro Rodrigues (1920-2005), early on active in the communist party and then throughout his career in several democratic associations, and architect that portrayed himself in the 1950s as a "democrat of heart and soul" said the following regarding Pacheco: "Works, many works have been done (...) But the important works, those are owed, in their majority, to a Man: Duarte Pacheco (...) I am convinced that in a democratic system Duarte Pacheco would have been very useful to the Portuguese People, so more so that he was a Republican and, so, surely willing to collaborate with a Democratic Government." ("Obras, muitas obras se têm feito. (...) Mas obras importantes, essas devem-se, apenas, na sua maioria, a um Homem: Duarte Pacheco. (...) estou convencido que num sistema democrático, Duarte Pacheco, teria sido utilíssimo para o Povo Português, tanto mais que era Republicano e, portanto, estaria disposto com certeza a colaborar num Governo Democrático.") See Francisco Castro Rodrigues, "A Entrevista Com O Arquitecto Francisco Castro Rodrigues," *Diário de Lisboa*, April 16, 1958, J. Chrisóstomo edition.

²²² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction - a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London, New York: Routledge, 2010); for a succinct and useful overview of Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit see Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1998).

²²³ "Se eu fosse pregador, aconselharia calma, moderação, resfriamento na fantasia a quem hoje se propõe construir casas; se eu fosse ditador, iria mais longe: estabeleceria tipos, extremamente simples, de janelas, portas, etc.; e tornaria estes padrões obrigatórios por uma lei especial de emergência, enquanto não passasse o período transitório que atravessamos. Senhores, aqui tendes os elementos registados para uso durante uma temporada de saneamento, época de retração e penitência; usai deles, e só deles, como quiserdes, até ao advento do período do bom senso." in Raul Lino, "Ainda as Casas Portuguesas," *Panorama*, September 1941: 45.

final “sanitation.” States of exception were common to the functioning of the dictatorship, but such event never actually occurred. The final sanitation was as much a myth as the realization of a fifth empire. Yet, it is in the discussion with this myth that a spatial production associated with the dictatorship’s political script finds the richness of its concrete experiences, materials and desires. Furthermore, this richness greatly contributed to the perseverance of the problem of how to built modernly and nationally, that is, respecting a well-delimited context, having in mind a people, a way of life made of essentials, which is historic and that, being so, must also be projected forward.

As we will see, this was a problem picked up by the architects that we will follow along this work. But before these arrived in the forefront of national architecture culture, the architectural species for the dictatorship’s government of the Portuguese had plenty of time and opportunity to establish itself in the way public services were experienced, a few citizens enjoyed garden-city pastoral derivations or aimed for these, and in the manner by which the urban itself and its expansion was understood and planned. In this respect, Marielle Gros’ encapsulation of the normative urban *doxa*, so conceived, could be considered accurate for many instances, while ideologically accurate for all:

(...) the city appears as a group of “semi-rural” houses and of monumental buildings whose finality consists, on the one hand, in imposing a cultural and ideological model, involving the materialization of the dominant class’ power, of its strength and uncontested authority, and on the other, in creating a falsely unifying arrangement of urban space, in fact already portioned and differentiated in function of the divisions of class. Again we find in nazi Germany this conjunction of a critique to modern architecture, assimilated to bolshevism, of an idealization of traditional houses (with sloped roofs contrasting with modern terraced roofs) and of a cult of monumentality.²²⁴

From the whole country to the house

After WWII the world at large was rapidly changing. Even if the government of its territories and sociality was made to resist this change, made skeptical of disruptive effects, clinging to old hierarchies and distinctions, Portugal too was changing. The nation’s technicians, such as architects, seized the moment by articulating in various voices a needed modernization of the country’s social engineering efforts and cultural languages. With the downfall of the totalitarian political projects, the small European country was then compared by some of these tecnicos to the growth-oriented winning democratic powers. This implied, for the reform minded, coming to terms with needed social and economical developments. Yet this motivation for modernization had to live within the regime’s mode of Portuguese possibilities. It had to circulate within the continuous balance of civil, state and economic

²²⁴ “(...) a cidade aparece como um conjunto de casas “semi-rurais” e de edificios monumentais cuja finalidade consiste, por um lado, em impor um modelo cultural e ideológico, passando pela materialização do poder da classe dominante, da sua força e da sua autoridade incontestável, e por outro, em criar um arranjo falsamente unificador de um espaço urbano, de facto parcelarizado e diferenciado em função das divisões de classes. Voltamos a encontrar na Alemanha nazi esta conjunção de uma crítica da arquitectura moderna, assimilada ao bolchevismo, de uma idealização das casas tradicionais (com telhados inclinados contrastando com os telhados-terraços modernos) e do culto da monumentalidade.” in Gros, *O Alojamento Social Sob O Fascismo*: 231; The author’s reliance on what we could call a canonical marxist perspective limits some crucial readings of spatial organization, given that space is always the reproduction of Capital and its unequal conditions of distribution. Even so, her analysis of the spatial conditions of the early decades of the dictatorship deserve detailed attention.

powers assembled for the dictatorship's durability. As well as, and more concretely, within the strategies and discourses of its government apparatuses.

Younger architects argued for a national realization of modernism and its functional reorganization of city planning and design that, until that point, had only very constrained expressions. Occurring when the dictatorship was reconsolidating and entering European agreement around *Marshall Plan* funds, the 1948 architects' national congress was the vehicle for their claims of change and modernization. There, many argued for the remodeling of architecture courses, the creation of a national housing policy, the removal of design constraints at national and local levels.²²⁵ Soon enough, however, the militantly modernist architects had to season their claims for grand works and changes with (1) the state's withdrawal from grand public works accomplished under Duarte Pacheco's tutelage, (2) the architects union's²²⁶ and the profession, in general, secondary role in determining national urban polity, and lastly (3) with the general cultural retrenchment lead by anti-democracy and nationalistic reactions.²²⁷

In this environment of tempered changes, openings and compromises with the recent re-emergence of democracy in Europe, new stakes and ways of looking at and for Portuguese architecture ensued. At the same time Ramalde started settling its burgeoning middle-class, doubts regarding modernism's claims on the evolution of modern society were already strongly suspected by many of its authors. Suspicions that led some of the younger generation of architects to search for a middle-way between the apparently opposing positions of a modernizing social engineering by modernist shapes and a reactionary pastoral engineering by traditional shapes. Doubts regarding the *athens charter*, the justification of functionalism and the identification of architecture with emancipating social engineering, diagnosed by J.B. Jackson²²⁸ and Jane Jacobs²²⁹ in the 1950s and early 1960s, and later by architects Reyner Banham²³⁰ and Kenneth Frampton,²³¹ was already there at the beginning. This was the case in Portugal.

Fernando Távora was one of those architects from a younger generation that experienced these doubts and travelled the route to an alternative from the conflicting oppositions. Even before Ramalde, he started moving in the direction of a spatial language, taste and education that made itself possible by not blatantly contradicting the regime's ethnographic grasp over the idea of Portugal and its modes of

²²⁵ For a detailed account of the various claims by architects at the congress see Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*.

²²⁶ During the dictatorship, all professional unions were publicly administered organizations, that is, centrally supervised and sanctioned by the state, namely by the *Subsecretary of State of Corporations and Social Welfare*, in the 1950s named *Ministério das Corporações e Previdência Social* (Ministry of Corporations and Social Welfare). See Rosas and et al, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*; Freire, Ferreira, and Rodrigues, *Corporativismo E Estado Novo: Contributo Para Um Roteiro de Arquivos Das Instituições Corporativas (1933-1974)*.

²²⁷ After signing pacts of European cooperation, namely developed from the *Marshall Plan* frame, the dictatorship's political elite called upon its reactionary base and propaganda to occupy the spotlight, realigning its discourses of Portuguese integrity against the disorderly democratic and communist experiences. For a detailed account of the political organization of discourses in the post-war, see Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar*.

²²⁸ See, for instance, John Brinckerhoff Jackson (as Ajax), "Living Outside with Mrs. Panther," *Landscape*, 1954; for a take on Jackson as early critic of modernism in North America, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "J.B. Jackson as a Critic of Modern Architecture," in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson*, Chris Wilson and Paul Groth (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 37–48.

²²⁹ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

²³⁰ Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (New York: Praeger, 1967).

²³¹ Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

living. Contrary to some of his more militantly modernist colleagues, he worked on the cultural matter itself of the regime's focus: the truths of national identity. Namely, by making them accessible for professional reformulation. To understand how a post-war renewal of Portuguese modern architecture came about, somewhat autonomous from the regime's spatial taste and, simultaneously, from canonical modernism, we need to go back to a time before Ramalhe and its *Marsall Plan* intentions. We need to go back to one of the nodes of concern inhabiting its core: the Portuguese house.

2 A recurrent problem: dwelling nationally, 1890-1947.

In this chapter, the object I will attempt to bring forward is nothing more than an idea of a house. One, however, where both the individual and the whole of society, the collective, are performed to dwell. An idea dependent on producing the house as an object of collective reconstruction, that is, as an ethical, political and material, projection connected with an evolving sense of modern development. More concretely, I aim to retell how different houses, books written about houses, sketches, poems and reports on houses, reframed collective projections and, on the other hand, architecture's mission in producing this reframing. This implies gathering two different connections supporting the production of the house as culture-in-object. (1) First, how the house becomes an ethical object in dialogue with modernity, framing community and its social-material bounds. (2) Secondly, how the house becomes a very specific group of material combinations and functions, produced by a number of architectural works and knowledge, that activate a national art of dwelling. Combining these two I hope to re-articulate how a specific idea of dwelling, grounded on a specific production of landscape, emerged in post-war Portugal as a key mediator to a desired architectural renovation. To accomplish this, however, we must go back to the "demolishing" 19th century, as Távora would categorize it.²³²

Sometime between the mid and late-19th century, and the beginning of the 20th, most European countries undertook what Hobsbawm as termed the "mass-production" of traditions.²³³ By this is meant that in the face of profound ruptures in pre-existing reproductive structures, given units, social hierarchies and distinctions, various reforming agents seized the mission of creatively conceiving new devices to enform, and discipline, the collective. Technologies around which the conflict-ridden nature of modern production could be balanced on the basis of new projections of the collective.²³⁴ Hobsbawm identified two agents producing these. Even if mainly for purposes of "convenience," these were an official and an unofficial agents. That is, one that can be ascribed to official political and cultural institutions, such as the state and its production of new civic habits through various educational and policing institutions; and another that can be ascribed to "social groups not formally organized as such, or those whose objects were not specifically or consciously political..."²³⁵

The importance of these two sources of collective reproduction resides not in their distinction, but in their interdependence, the productive operation residing somewhere in-between both agents. This type of operation is the target of the ensuing discussion on the formation of the idea of an authentic Portuguese dwelling, developing in late-19th and early 20th. I will attempt to reconstruct this subject mainly from the "social groups not formally organized as such" and from the "not specifically political" objects they cast. This chapter will, thus, be about the project of the *Portuguese house* and its evolving history until the post-war.

Reconstruction here should be understood as similar to the effort of redrawing a building of which we only have isolated elements, such as its ruined foundations, some windows, a door, some sketches

²³² Fernando Távora, "O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa," *Aléo*, November 10, 1945, Gama edition.

²³³ Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in *Representing the Nation: A Reader - Histories, Heritage and Museums*, David Boswell and Jessica Evans (New York: Routledge, 1999), 61-85.

²³⁴ By modern production I mean those relations that emerge directly from the original articulation between modern industry, urbanization, imperial colonialism and the initial rehearsals of a modern nation-state and welfare.

²³⁵ Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914": 61.

from a travelling wanderer, one and another scientific report. The effort involves collecting the different and, sometimes, unrelated elements together, and observing how its sketch comes alive, while trying to identify in it the persistent agents or structural elements that carry forth its presence, or at least the active part of its presence.

The subject of the *Portuguese house*, the recovering of national representations of architecture and their role in the history of 20th century Portuguese nation building, is widely covered by a variety of scholars.²³⁶ Most diagnosing, namely, the parallel developments of a nationalist architectural styling and a political re-foundation of the country post-1890. So, by attempting to reconstruct this already vast and strongly elaborated object I do not aim to question the majority of interpretations regarding the emergence of a nationalist architectural taste with the sovereign becoming of the country in the early 20th century. I do, however, aim to expand its reading into the post-war and contradict the notion that by then it was no longer a key matter of concern around which architects and the problem of building the nation came together. This chapter's central objective is to unfold parts of this robustly researched topic in order to get at how some of its elements acted in a central way to the professional becoming of a limited, yet influential, group of modern Portuguese architects. Namely Távora and those around him that, coming to professional maturity in the 1950s, played key roles in the organization of modern Portuguese architecture knowledge and practice.

A first part of this chapter will take us through a reconstruction of the house as culture-in-object, by a brief description of its constitution as an ethical object for limiting modern forces. This will involve drawing articulations between causes, objects and agents, in the attempt to identify how the house emerged in late 19th century Europe as a polemical space of reinscription of modernity as culturally responsible. The agents in focus are mainly architects. The objects are those brought about by the latter to circumscribe the edifying potential of design. And the causes are those for a reification of regional and national culture in the face of international and abstract forces. This chapter departs from secondary sources, specifically from historians, anthropologists and architects' accounts of late 19th and early 20th century spatial problems. With this chapter I hope to suggest how the house emerged as an important technology for thinking and reframing the collective: a drawing room of empires. Further, I hope to identify how it did so by activating very specific times, landscapes and social-material experiences, namely traced to premodern accomplishments, to the countryside, the village and vernacular worlds.

A second part will follow centered on the formation of a national art of dwelling, proactively framing the collective and picturing socio-political identities. This will focus on the Portuguese case. The aim is to produce detailed accounts of how an idea of Portuguese house was built as an art of dwelling nationally. It concerns how a group of buildings, texts and *projectos* were translated and transformed into a social-material language of national causes. This will rely on various primary sources from those doing this translation and transformation, as well as on some key scholarly works on the

²³⁶ Some of the reference texts: José-Augusto França, *A Arte Em Portugal No Século XIX*, 2 vols. (Venda Nova: Bertrand, 1990); José-Augusto França, *A Arte Em Portugal No Século XX, 1911-1961* (Venda Nova: Bertrand, 1991); Paulo Varela Gomes, "Teoria Da Arquitectura Em Portugal: 1915-1945. O Modernismo E Raul Lino," *Vértice*, II, no. 11 (1989): 67–79; Rui Jorge Garcia Ramos, "Casa Portuguesa," in *Dicionário de História Da I República E Do Republicanismo*, Fernanda Rollo, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Assembleia da República - Divisão de Edições, 2014); Maria Calado, "A Cultura Arquitectónica Em Portugal 1880-1920. Tradição E Inovação" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Architecture of the Technical University of Lisbon, 2003); Rute Figueiredo, *Arquitectura E Discurso Critico Em Portugal 1893-1918* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2007).

subject. Namely two are especially important here: the anthropologist João Leal's account of the formation of national ethnographies,²³⁷ and the historian Paulo Gomes' account of the evolution of modern Portuguese architecture.²³⁸ I do not aim to critically review these works and their theses, but make use of their rich historical accounts, while dispelling some of the categories deployed, at times clouding the actions contained in these accounts. For instance, the emphasis on epochal categories, such as *romanticism*, is one such clouding mechanism. My account of what was framed in Portuguese historiography as the *Portuguese house movement*, however, will simply try to understand how specific agents made the house a political mediator of collective reconstruction, promoting a new architectural good taste in the process and framing the country's culture in specific premodern landscapes.

To this will follow an account of what is commonly cast as a revolutionary process against the *Portuguese house movement*. A revolution activated by a few architects in the immediate post-war and elaborated through a number of texts and practices identifying common causes. Against the labelled as conservative attitude of the *Portuguese house movement*, the latter are commonly credited with authoring a professional renewal, engaged with Portuguese reality. But also credited with the identification of a broader critical imagination of the country and its modern development.²³⁹ In this process, mainly two architects are credited with having promoted, in their mediation of the problems of national architecture, a group of structuring discussions regarding professional redefinition and its agency in the reorganization of the nation. These are Fernando Távora and Francisco Keil do Amaral. Specially two manifesto-like articles from the mid-1940s authored by these, are credited with the power of provoking the architectural renovation reinscribing the profession as socially committed because, (1) of its consideration of the "real" country, (2) of its proposed revision of modernist norms in the face of the latter.²⁴⁰

I do not aim to disempower these manifestos, nor to remove their authorship from the process of forming new stakes and methods for a modern professional architecture culture. The fact that they remain highly active in contemporary accounts of the stakes of Portuguese architecture disproves such an enterprise of rejection. Stated differently, they have been made to act as structuring structures for modern Portuguese architecture professional identity, knowledge and practice. Especially the one by Távora, which is portrayed as creating the terms for a whole generation of architects,²⁴¹ founding a

²³⁷ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

²³⁸ Gomes, "Quatre Batailles En Faveur D'une Architecture Portugaise"; Gomes, "Teoria Da Arquitectura Em Portugal: 1915-1945. O Modernismo E Raul Lino."

²³⁹ Both Leal and Gomes emphasize the revolutionary aspect of these architects proposals facing the *Portuguese home movement*, see *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*; Paulo Varela Gomes, "Questions of Language. Architects and Recent Works in Portugal," *A&V, Monografias de Arquitectura Y Vivienda*, 1994; for what became the common historiography of this dynamic see Ana Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50* (Porto: Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto, 1997).

²⁴⁰ The manifestos in question are Távora, "O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa," November 10, 1945, and Francisco Keil do Amaral, "Uma Iniciativa Necessária," *Arquitectura*, April 1947; for an account of their revolutionary power, regarding Távora see Eduardo Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Actualização de Uma Ideia de Escola* (Guimarães: Escola de Arquitectura da Universidade do Minho, 2010); regarding Keil do Amaral's see Ana Tostões et al., *Keil Do Amaral: O Arquitecto E O Humanista*, Irisalva Moita (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1999).

²⁴¹ Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40.*; Luísa Lopes Clementino, *Fernando Távora: De "O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa" ao "Da Organização Do Espaço"* (Coimbra: Departamento de Arquitectura da Universidade de Coimbra, 2013).

school of architecture,²⁴² and enticing the “critical regionalism” read by Kenneth Frampton in Álvaro Siza’s work.²⁴³

Instead I account for the ideas put forward by Távora and Keil do Amaral by interpreting them as different voices in the formation of a common strategy, and not as individual originators. I am interested in their historical role in the formation of a collective project of professional reevaluation, whose driving agents were the *Portuguese house* and a Portuguese art of dwelling. In this sense, I will add a third contributor that is rarely put together with these two: the architect Nuno Teotónio Pereira and his manifesto-like article of the same period.²⁴⁴ This article, contemporary to the ones by Távora and Keil do Amaral, is acknowledged regarding this net of references and actions, yet its participation is somewhat neglected. Two reasons can be offered for this: (1) the article concerned a more specific object than the other two and was published in a forum not directly connected with architectural forums; (2) its translation was traced in architectural works not as emblematic as the ones used to trace the actions of Távora’s and Keil do Amaral’s texts.

While these three architects are granted the reputation as forefathers to a Portuguese modern architecture culture, distinct and singular, their interdependencies and relationships have, at best, remained in the shadows created by thick volumes. Similarly, so have their family backgrounds, their concrete experiences of the country, their activation of premodern landscapes and their relation to a Portuguese art of dwelling. By highlighting what experiences drove them together and how they constituted a common universe of proposals and attitudes, I hope this chapter will produce a richer account of the architectural common sense that was traced to these texts and surrounding embattlements. In the process, some elements may appear in a new light, others may disappear altogether, while the aim will be to apprehend the proposals promoted by the three “founding” architects in their relationships with the *Portuguese house*’s collective reenactment. We must, however, start by the house, its ethical *projectos* and the object where we were to imagine an authentic Portuguese life.

Houses, rooms of empires.

Coming back to Hobsbawm’s historical lessons. Official and unofficial initiatives that aimed for the creation of symbols, habits and values to unite what otherwise were colliding forces, emerged in large scale, in “mass,” around the 1870s.²⁴⁵ This was the heyday of the East India Company and the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie’s rise to power through various forms of parliamentary and other, less democratic, political systems. This was the “great boom.” When the planet’s nations and colonies were reorganized as a global economy in political and infrastructural interdependence.²⁴⁶ This

²⁴² Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Atualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*.

²⁴³ Carlos Machado, *Anonimato E Banalidade: Arquitectura Popular E Arquitectura Erudita Na Segunda Metade Do Século XX Em Portugal* (Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 2006); Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance.”

²⁴⁴ Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “A Arquitectura Cristã Contemporânea,” *ALA - Quinzenário Dos Universitários Católicos de Portugal*, January 1947, JUC-Juventude Universitária Católica edition.

²⁴⁵ Hobsbawm, “Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914.”: 61.

²⁴⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (London: Abacus, 1995).

was also identified as the cultural and administrative forge of modern nations and the formation of the umbilical connection between state, nation, citizenship and spatial delimitation. The latter enacting the aspirations and values: cities needed to be sanitized and beautified, factories needed to be made more efficient, industrial labor, peasants and colonized, pacified and civilized, the economy needed to be free to produce well-being.²⁴⁷

This was a restructuring moment for colonialism and its economies of domination. Colonial enterprises were reorganized as cultural-political projects based on English notions of self-government and the French *mission civilisatrice*, departing from essentially economical-military operations into cultural, civilizing, political projects of amestration. Domination was rewritten as a dialogue with the colonized, one in which the subdued participated in the process of its own domination, instead of simply submitting to an external military force.²⁴⁸ In the imperial metropolises this involved the rise of what some have called a “bourgeois international style,”²⁴⁹ manifested as grand urban operations, such as the Viennese *Ringstrasse* (1857-73) or Haussman’s Paris (1852-70). City, capital and nation were performatively connected and made to coincide through “(...) a neobaroque urbanism of broad avenues, palatial architecture, grand public squares, scenic pleasure grounds, and massive infrastructures,”²⁵⁰ performing the spectacle of empire.

The involvement of these productions with new cultural performances, much sparked by archeologists, anthropologists, the importance of history and the need to reduce resilience, activated rediscoveries of past customs, vernacular objects and habits, heritage and autochthonous elements. A group of landscapes, objects and narratives that came together with definitions of nation-state, national culture and colonized identities, forming a varied set of references for producing social-spatial limits. National tradition was being invented and governed.²⁵¹ Within this governmental cultural turn set on pacifying the conflicts arising from various forms of domination - either between colonizer and colonized or between employer and employee – the vernacular, the provincial, the primitive, emerged as key terms for the forging of bonds and frames.

At the same time that each European region was playing the game of differentiating the characters of each, creating the mores and jokes that still define our clichés about German coldness, Italian charm, French glamour, Spanish fervor, etc... Discussions on the right form of dwelling were also emerging, as the house was made to translate a contested object of differentiation and identity.²⁵² During the early 20th century, some European writers, politicians, economists, architects and builders were busy casting the discussion of which authentic shapes for which authentic people in many different domestic molds. The question of which house-form and city-form better transmitted a national character was not

²⁴⁷ For interpretations of the urban culture of 19th century liberalism see, for England and the North-America respectively and for instance, Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London, New York: Verso, 2003); David M. Scobey, *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).

²⁴⁸ See Hosagrahar Jyoti, “City as Durbar: Theater and Power in Imperial Delhi,” in *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, Nezar AlSayyad (Aldershot and Burlington: Avebury, 1992) for the strategic reorganization of British Colonialism, also in the same volume see Michele Lamprakos, “Le Corbusier and Algiers: The Plan Obus as Colonial Urbanism,” 183–210, and Shirine Hamadeh, “Creating the Traditional City: A French Project,” for the French *mission civilisatrice*.

²⁴⁹ Scobey, *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*: 166.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ See, for example, the texts gathered by Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin, eds., *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012).

²⁵² Gwendolyn Wright provides a compelling and detailed account of this formulation for North-America, in *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

limited to Europe's new walls, however. It circulated through its empires, namely in the government exercise of casting orderly and bound colonial subjects.²⁵³ In architectural production, this identity creating exercise was highly experimental, anchored in richly elaborated images of history, practices and world-views. Much of the raw material of which resided in the study, appropriation and representation of the formal expressions of the primitive, the vernacular and the provincial.

Even though the process of building different rooms within imperial houses summoned radically eclectic architectural productions, more often than not these came together when regarding the productive role of the vernacular and the past. These were subjects drafted as consistent interlocutors to the disaggregating effects of industrialization and colonial violence. Regionalism, simplicity, artisanship, vernacular objects and landscapes, primordial meanings and essentialist functions, were called upon to produce wholesome things, breeding new life, a more beautifully moral life, into the mechanized bodies of the industrial city. And a more docile and disciplined one into the unbound bodies of the colonial repressed.

Partly, the terms for this connection with vernacular and regionalist objects, in the architectural profession, were early on proposed by the writings and practice of English architect Augustus Pugin (1812-1852), re-elaborated by designer and poet William Morris (1834-1896), and writer John Ruskin (1819-1900), the last two gathering in what came to be known as the *arts and crafts movement*. They harnessed what Pugin elaborated in 1836 as architectural beauty, that it be "(...) the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended, and that the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the spectator may at once perceive the purpose for which it was erected." While it was clear, for him, that this purpose and fitness was essentially articulated in the "middle ages," which possessed a "wonderful superiority" over anything done in "the last three centuries."²⁵⁴

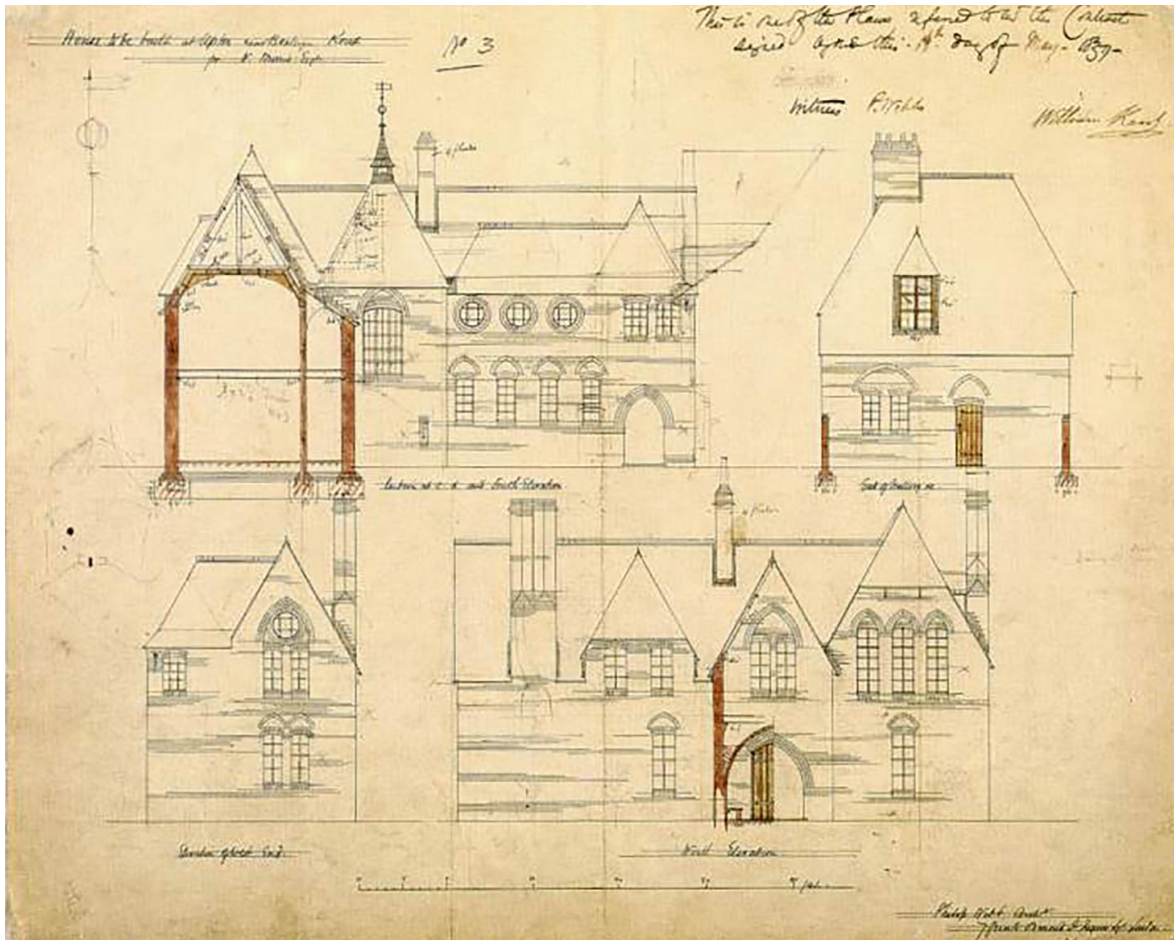
Morris extended the argument by arguing true art emerged from the study of both present nature and works of the past, for these were "clearly" superior. The medieval reference, namely in the bodies of the guild, the artisan and their imagined free labor relationship, emerged for him as the paradigm for a fuller, more wholesome, relation between art and life.²⁵⁵ Ruskin pressed on by elaborating moral precepts for achieving good architecture, based on artisanship and a direct relationship between the work of art, its producer, its utility, English values and religious elevation. A truthful relation between all these elements achieved good architecture and working relations, for which the medieval environ supplied the center of meaning, namely in its supposed more direct relationship between needs and

²⁵³ For an account of this regarding French colonies see Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991); regarding English colonies, namely India, specifically Delhi, see Hosagrahar Jyoti, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (New York: Routledge, 2005); for similar discussions regarding various African colonies, see Fassil Demissie, *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012); for an overview on imperial exercises of constructing bounds and cultural orders by the house and the city see AlSayyad Nezar, ed., *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Empire* (Avebury: Aldershot, 1992).

²⁵⁴ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *Contrasts: Or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*. (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1898): 1; Pugin would become one of the main instigators of the gothic revival in 19th century England. For an overview of his life and career see Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 2007).

²⁵⁵ William Morris, *An Address Delivered by William Morris at the Distribution of Prizes to Students of the Birmingham Municipal School of Art on Feb. 21, 1894* (London: Longmans & Co., 1898); For a comprehensive overview of his career and influence see Fiona MacCarthy, *Anarchy & Beauty: William Morris and His Legacy, 1860-1960* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).

expressions.²⁵⁶ This collection of proposals, as they circulated through lecture halls and design products, molded an artistic, industrial and architectural production in England, North-America and central Europe in late 19th and early 20th centuries. For instance, their indirect participation in the development of the garden-city model and modernist functional ethics is widely recognized.²⁵⁷ But it was also influential in the putting-forward of a common modern problem concerning industrial nations: the house, its utility, quality and beauty in modern times, how to dwell with purpose and fitness.



12 Philip Webb's elevation and section drawings for the red house, 1859, Victoria and Albert Museum (E.60-1916).

Because these reinscriptions of modernity condemned, reviewed and aimed to transform the architectural programs stemming from industrialization, the factory, the warehouse, the worker's tenements, the proliferation of poor material experiences, its stakes were early on centralized in the

²⁵⁶ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Sunnyside: G. Allen, 1889); for a critical appraisal of Ruskin's arguments see Cornelis J. Baljon, "Interpreting Ruskin: The Argument of the Seven Lamps of Architecture and the Stones of Venice," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 55, no. 4 (Autumn 1997): 401–14.

²⁵⁷ For a comprehensive overview of their association see Alan Crawford et al., *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Europe and America: Design for the Modern World 1880-1920*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (London, Los Angeles: Thames and Hudson, The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2004); for its role in the development of modernist architecture see William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, third edition (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2010); for its influence on urbanism see Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

house as node of creativity, morality and polemic. It held the greatest connection to individual property and expression. William Morris proceeded in the 1860s to build his *red house* (1859-60) in the London suburbs of Upton, becoming a trying ground for his ideas on collaboration, artisanship and a rooted style. He invited several friends to help produce the house, with the design of his friend and architect Philip Webb (1831-1915). Out of which process was borne the interior decorating and furnishing firm *Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co.*, in which Webb was partner. The house applied a formal language close to the gothic revival happening throughout Europe in 19th century. Yet it compromised its possible high-born stylistic rules and logical cohesion by the use of local materials, such as the red brick that named the house; the creation of many idiosyncratic elements, namely visible in the types, shapes and sizes of windows; as well as in the collective achievement of detailing and decoration, practicing Morris' notion of liberty of expression. This house, according to Morris, came close to the medieval enactment of freedom of use and production, in an egalitarian environment where designer, artisans, local materials, customs and surrounding landscape came together to form the work of art by their consistent dialogue.²⁵⁸

Philip Webb proceeded to have an influential architecture career that, together with that of a younger generation composed, for instance, by Richard Parker (1867-1947), Raymond Unwin and Edward Lutyens (1869-1944), produced the houses around which these concerns translated into many exemplary architectural forms. In, for instance, Webb's Standen house (1892-94), Unwin's and Parker's model village at New Earswick (1902), Lutyens *deanery garden* house (1901), the modern house was already thoroughly established as an *English house*. This deployed conversations with vernacular elements, the thatched roof, the tall brick chimney, the wood carvings and frames, the decorative elements, the traditionally manufactured red brick and white lime plaster, recreating a performance of rooted place. This was unseparable from the efforts at re-creating *Englishness*.²⁵⁹ The lessons contained in these houses then travelled the English canal into central Europe by the hands, for instance, of German architect Hermann Muthesius (1861-1927), who saw in that collection of houses and their recreation of a sense of place, a profound architectural and political renewal. One which, furthermore and according to him, held particularly productive lessons for a desired wealthy national economy.²⁶⁰

In Germany, the dialogue with the vernacular and the idea of the nation was initiated by architects of the gothic revival, for example, Edwin Oppler (1831-80) and Hugo von Ritgen (1811-89).²⁶¹ It then gained new breadth as Muthesius translated his English lessons. Together with the architect Henrich Tessenow (1876-1950), among others, this translation was re-articulated into a series of productive relations. Relations that came into fruition, for instance, in the garden-city of *Hellerau* in Dresden

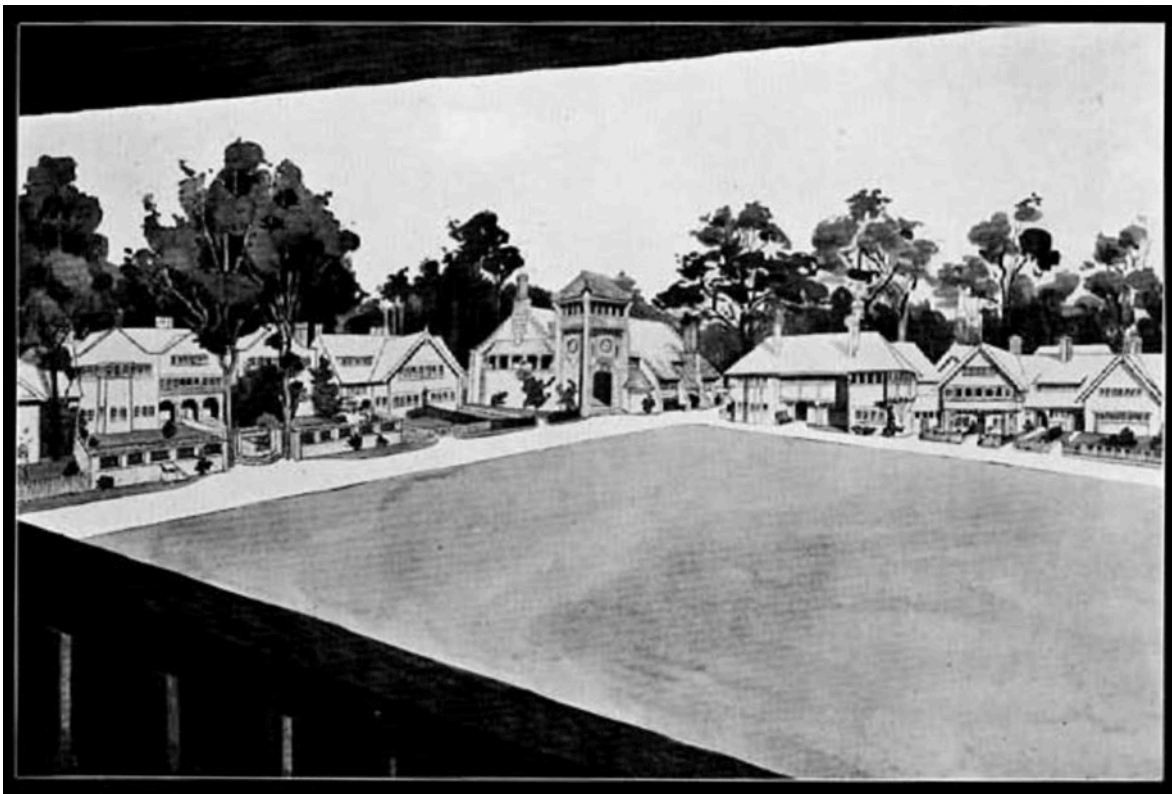
²⁵⁸ See MacCarthy, *Anarchy & Beauty: William Morris and His Legacy, 1860-1960*.

²⁵⁹ Writer and folklorist Sidney Oldall Addy, *The Evolution of the English House* (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1898) produced relevant accounts of the *English house* as a mediatic, moral, cultural and political subject. When, for instance, he stated: "In discussing the evolution of the English house we are more concerned with the popular and native art of building than with forms or styles borrowed from other countries." For an understanding of the construction of *Englishness* see Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (Dover: Croom Helm, 1986)," specially the text from this volume by Dodd, "Englishness and the National Culture."

²⁶⁰ Hermann Muthesius, *The English House*, ed. Dennis Sharp, trans. Janet Seligman and Stewart Spencer (London: Frances Lincoln, 2007); Originally published in German as *Das englische Haus*, in 1905.

²⁶¹ Michael J. Lewis, *The Politics of the German Gothic Revival: August Reichensperger (1808-1865)* (New York, Cambridge and London: The Architectural History Foundation and the MIT Press, 1993); For a detailed account of the emergence of vernacular articulations in Germany and their implications see Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1990).

(1908), in which both architects worked.²⁶² In Germany the question of the right house for the right people, of dwelling with purpose and efficiency, was early on connected with the question of race, namely with *blut und boden* or the blood and soil moralizing deployed for sovereign and domestic consolidation, and later instrumentalized by the *Third Reich*.²⁶³ Also here, the house was built together with practices of delimiting the nation and the creation of a domesticity that pictured a homeland, with consistent and well established limits, to the concreteness of a vernacular and provincial materiality. This conjunction of homeland and domesticity, vernacular and provincial material anthropologies, and the search for an art of dwelling nationally was produced throughout various instances in late 19th century Europe. Such as, for instance, in Italy with the productions of *Itallianità* in the wake of the *risorgimento*,²⁶⁴ or in Portugal with the productions of a *Portuguese house*, following the 1890s embattlement for sovereignty against other European empires.



13 Unwin's and Parker's design for an hamlet in *The Art of Building a Home*, 1901, plate 38.

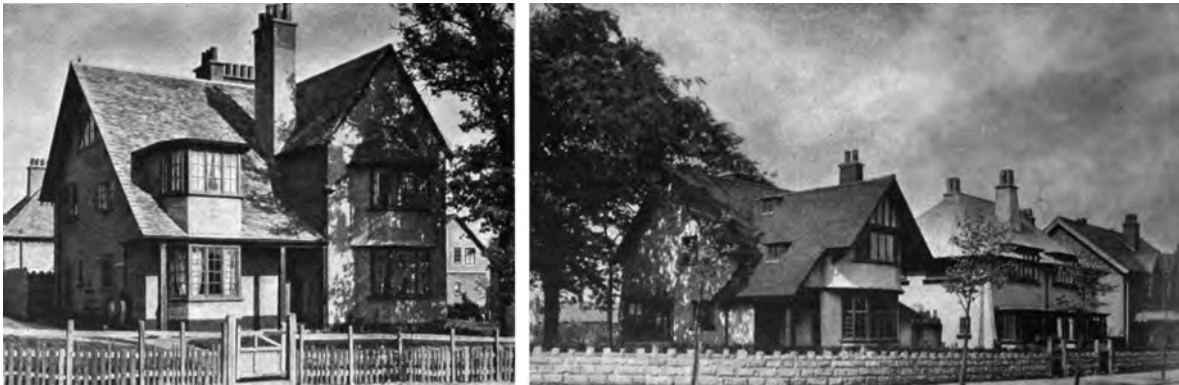
The house, both as the concrete body for the dwelling of a family and as active metaphor for the imagined nation, was made a capacitor for the striving of a morally and economically healthy national

²⁶² Specifically about Tessenow's role see K. Michael Hays, "Tessenow's Architecture as National Allegory: Critique of Capitalism or Profascism," *On Rigour*, 1989.

²⁶³ For a debate of these intersections see the interesting discussion promoted by Mathew David Allen, "Towards a Nomadic Theory of Architecture: Shelter, Dwelling, and Their Alternatives in the Architecture of Homelessness" (Graduation Thesis, University of Washington Comparative History of Ideas program, 2005).

²⁶⁴ Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979); Michelangelo Sabatino, *Pride in Modesty: Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

life. It is as such that its relation with the vernacular promoted the creativity to make a pre-renaissance past an active present. A past from which the act of dwelling and its mediator, the house, operated as modern ethical reinvention. As European domestic environments were being overcrowded by the flow of industrial products, workers, colonized emigrants and captives, thinkers, writers, social critics, engineers, architects and builders took it to reinvent the house as an essential measure of civilization. Thus we find among the architects mentioned above, various books, treaties and manuals on homebuilding. The house was somewhat of a common fixation: the proper rules for the construction of a house, its proper decoration and furnishing, etc. Observed in works such as, for instance, the above cited by Muthesius,²⁶⁵ Tessenow's *House-building and Such Things* (1916),²⁶⁶ Unwin's and Parker's *The art of Building a Home* (1901).²⁶⁷



14 Portraits of english houses in the suburb of Bournville, near Birmingham, unknow photographer, in Muthesius, *Das englische Haus*, 1905, pp.202-4.

While the house and the practice of homebuilding was designed as a moral category with ranging implications, it was also made to stretch in time and place for fountains of morality. This was a search for objects that condensed healthy habits as opposed to the unhealthy ones produced in the industrial city in the turn of the 20th century.²⁶⁸ Morris and Ruskin used the medieval environment of the guild, the small country village, the peasant and artisan community as the object of liberating lessons to modern men and women. Likewise, Tessenow and Muthesius, although in different manners and causes, searched the peasant household and communitarian village for the elements of a new architectural dialogue of community. And so too did Portuguese ethnographers, writers and architects search the countryside and question its stone walls and pitched roofs for a new language of domesticity.

Within the vast creativity put in motion with the government of imperial, multi-cultural and industrially productive state units, the recourse to a vernacular world found in peasant communities and a reconstructed past, became a common trait among so many and so disparate attempts at reinventing

²⁶⁵ Muthesius, *The English House*.

²⁶⁶ Henrich Tessenow, "House-Building and Such Things," trans. Wilfried Wang, *On Rigour*, 1989.

²⁶⁷ Raymond Unwin and Richard Barry Parker, *The Art of Building a Home. A Collection of Lectures and Illustrations* (London, New York, Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901).

²⁶⁸ As a curious late manifestation of this assemblage, notice how Lefebvre refers to the house in 1974: "Consider the house, the dwelling. In the cities – and even more so in the 'urban fabric' which proliferates around the cities precisely because of their disintegration – the House has a merely historic-poetic reality rooted in folklore, or (to put the best face on it) in ethnology." in Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell, 1991) (orig. 1974): 120.

the ethics of dwelling.²⁶⁹ If by mid-19th century studies into the vernacular and provincial were diffuse and conducted by amateur ethnographers, collectors, preservationists, such as in Portugal, in Germany and England, among other European nations.²⁷⁰ From the 1890s onwards, vernacular objects and articulations became a common reference to folklorist accounts of the nation, to the creation of social mores, to government projects of morally and economically healthy customs. As well as to architects' inspirations regarding how to house modern life. Objects and articulations that, promoting a broader number of agents, inclined architects to systematically replace the abstract action of the primordial hut found in architectural theory throughout the 18th and 19th centuries,²⁷¹ for the concrete examples of the national vernacular.²⁷² The primitive dwelling became that which housed not the primitive man, but a primitive culture, a race, a nation in desire.²⁷³

Architects and builders were experimenting with a vivacious eclecticism, greatly grounded on references from rebuilt vernacular worlds, which cast so many different molds for dwelling regionally and with roots. Molds that occasionally condensed in a single image such as the *English house*.²⁷⁴ But that shared and constructed a number of international references, causes and relations between culture, form and space that had much to do with a shared livelihood of the industrial European city and landscape. Around this livelihood, an ethics of the house and architectural experiments formed a common and wide articulation: the idea of the “fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended,”²⁷⁵ given the purpose was to house nations redeemed in their history and identity. This constructed a specific problem: that culture, form and utility were connected to truths seized in the premodern foundation of the modern nation. By correctly capturing and exercising these truths, an original expression could be made to emerge. A discovery that was supported by the influential art history books of Gottfried Semper (1803-1879) and Alois Riegl (1858-1905).²⁷⁶ Despite being possible or not to see a whole world-view in a simple formal detail, as Riegl defended, the “will of art”²⁷⁷ embraced vernacular subjects and their projections of cohesive civilizations. The house was the site for a critical existential recovery, before becoming the reflexive rejection of anything outside the industrialization of the planet in modernism.

²⁶⁹ See, for instance, Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*.

²⁷⁰ See Jeannette Redensek, “Manufacturing Gemeinschaft: Architecture, Tradition, and the Sociology of Community in Germany, 1890-1920” (Ph.D. Dissertation, City University of New York Faculty of Art History, 2007); and Michelangelo Sabatino, *Pride in Modesty: Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy*.

²⁷¹ Two of the reference texts on this were Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai Sur L'Architecture* (Paris: Chez Duchesne, 1753); Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de L'Habitation Humaine Depuis Les Temps Pré-Historiques Jusqu'à Nos Jours* (Paris: Bibliothèque d'éducation et de recreation, 1875).

²⁷² See, for instance, Linda Van Santvoort, Jan De Maeyer, and Tom Verschaffel, eds., *Sources of Regionalism in the Nineteenth Century: Architecture, Art and Literature* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008).

²⁷³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, New York: Verso, 1983).

²⁷⁴ For an overview of the architectural production in-between the wars in central Europe see Leen Meganck, Linda Van Santvoort, and Jan De Maeyer, *Regionalism and Modernity: Architecture in Western Europe, 1914-1940* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013).

²⁷⁵ Pugin, *Contrasts: Or a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*.

²⁷⁶ Alois Riegl, *Historical Grammar of the Visual Arts*, trans. Jacqueline E. Jung (New York: Zone Books, 2004), originally compiled in late nineteenth and early twenty-century; Gottfried Semper, *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*, trans. Henry Francis Mallgrave and Wolfgang Hermann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), originally published in mid-nineteen century.

²⁷⁷ As Riegl's famous expression *kunstwollen* is usually translated in English, more specifically meaning what is desired by art, that is, the world that it brings to life by itself, see Riegl, *Historical Grammar of the Visual Arts*.

A house where whole Portugal fits

In Portugal, the *Portuguese house movement* emerged as one such sort of process, where the study of vernacular forms and landscapes was made to bring to life a Portuguese world that, until then, had not yet fully manifested. Yet, the architectural experiments that spring from a vernacular sensibility and national cause did not form a cohesive group of objects and practices that could be delimited as a unitary national language. They formed a discussion in many voices, with differing connections and influences, yet early on connected with government performances of sovereignty and political representation.

With an inspirational vein for the long lost search of national things, a lieutenant-coronel named Henrique das Neves (1841-1915), assigned to the 2^a military division of Viseu in 1892, came across a “Portuguese type of dwelling.”²⁷⁸ During his placement in Viseu and for approximately four months, Neves studied the city and its old monuments, writing reports, making drawings, and gathering information from local historians, such as priests. He was most impressed with the supposed original abode of the tribal leader of the Lusitanian people, Viriatus.²⁷⁹ Unsatisfied by current historical accounts of it and as a noble way of filling “idle times,” he took to study its generation and the identification of its landscape truths.²⁸⁰ In the process, he stumbled upon the “existence of a national type” of dwelling, identifiable, in his words:

(...) in Beira Alta, in the fields and villages around Viseu. They (the typified dwellings) vary, of course, in the number of floors and the disposition of one and another part, yet in general subordinated to a single type, from the granite estate palace, strong and majestic, to the single floor, provisional, log, wood beam and board, shack.²⁸¹

This type was summarized in a specific spatial arrangement regarding the arrangement for the dwelling’s outer walls, its material and its emotional suggestion, simulating a specific landscape of feeling. Grey, thick and cold granite blocks rose from the ground to approximately two meters height, at which point a protruding balcony emerged; the dark and damp ground floor was used for either sheltering cattle or wine, or both, of course not at the same time. The protrusion of the upper floor, taller and roomier than the ground one, gave the dwelling a defensive militarized look, both against the harsh weather of mountainous inland Portugal, and against supposed raiders, or so Neves understood. The amateur ethnographer identified in this balcony solution a generalizable Portuguese spatial disposition, accomplished with simplicity of forms and materials, in a climatic functionalism and a picturesque beauty tied to an harmonious relationship with the landscape and its most immediate needs, such as protection and defense. Furthermore, this national type shamed the supposed functionalism of what in Neves’ time was considered modern architecture:

²⁷⁸ “tipo português de casa de habitação,” Henrique das Neves, *A Cava de Viriato* (Figueira da Foz: Imprensa Lusitana, 1893): 10, 47.

²⁷⁹ who led his tribe-folk against the roman occupiers sometime in the second century B.C., or so it goes.

²⁸⁰ “entreter os ocios,” Neves, *A Cava de Viriato*: 5.

²⁸¹ “um tipo nacional (...) na Beira Alta, nos campos e aldeias em volta de Viseu. Variam é claro, no numero de pavimentos e na disposição d’uma ou outra parte, mas subordinadas em geral a um tipo unico, desde a casa solarenga de granite e alvenaria, forte e majestosa, até à casinhota de um andar amanhada com troncos, vigas e tábuas,” my brackets, Ibid: 47. Neves uses an old form of Portuguese, this is why Viseu is written with a z. Beira Alta is the name of the northern central inland region of Portugal.

Here, on the table we are writing, we have drawings that we sketched in Vizeu, to firm in our memory these constructions. But what drawings, holy God! However, seeing them is remembering the conviction we brought, that the house with balcony or porch, depending on the situation, is far more agreeable and appropriate to our variable climate than many of private use and costly that we see around.²⁸²

This was regarding a very specific landscape. Even though this was openly acknowledged by Neves, it did not stop him from projecting in it a national contemporary vocation. Its shape, material and aesthetics held pertinent lessons for the architecture production of his time. If anything, he regretted “(...) not being possible to order the building of such a house.”²⁸³ His found taste for vernacular aesthetics, specially retrieved in peasant houses was the making of a desire for a possible typical Portuguese house. An object of polemic that was finding its way into the cultural discussions of the day, amidst a very specific embattlement for sovereignty.

The state, a constitutional monarchy, had just been reconstituted after going through the embarrassing situation of what is commonly referred in Portuguese historiography as the *ultimatum*.²⁸⁴ An episode of lost sovereignty sparked by an English memorandum that undermined the Portuguese claims for possession of African colonies, in the face of the Berlim Conference of 1887. As Europeans are now accustomed to understand European memorandums, in the 1890 memorandum the issue was also about lost sovereignty. Right after a deal was struck between the Portuguese and the British Crowns, the state imploded and fell, pressed from all sides, causing riots and innumerable official and unofficial demonstrations of repulse. The public humiliation, imputed to the weakness and corruption of the Portuguese state had bloody repercussions. Not only the state’s entrepreneurs and elites rebelled, but also the file and rank of everyday men and women, causing a general uproar and wide public instability. This episode of lost sovereignty may be said to have had some long lasting effects, namely in the problems articulated by an intellectual and artistic elite, nationalist in cause and objectives, and set on returning to the tarnished national soul its greatness. In fact, these *national* elites were those that more violently denounced the ensuing lost of national faith.²⁸⁵

Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915), a prominent producer of cultural stakes at the time, journalist for various magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, intellectual in several official institutions and early advocate of *integralismo lusitano*, helps us capture the extent of the disenchantment.²⁸⁶ In an essay published in 1896 and devoted to the appreciation of the state of art in Portugal, he lamented:

²⁸² “Temos aqui na meza em que estamos escrevendo uns desenhos que gatafunhámos em Vizeu, para fixar na memoria estas construcções. Mas que desenhos, santo Deus! Não obstante, vê-los é rememorar a convicção que trouxémos de que a casa com balcão ou varanda, conforme a situação, é bem mais agradável e apropriada ao nosso clima variaual do que muitas que por ahi se vêem para uso particular, dispendiosas.” Ibid: 48.

²⁸³ “(...) não poder mandar edificar uma casa assim.” Ibid.

²⁸⁴ For an overview see Rui Ramos, *História de Portugal: A Segunda Fundação (1890-1926)*, vol. 6 (Lisbon: Estampa, 1994): 37-39.

²⁸⁵ For a brief yet informed take on this period’s Portuguese elites’ pessimism and national disenchantment see Paulo Varela Gomes, *Ouro E Cinza* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2014): 71-74; It must be said that Portuguese intellectuals at the time came almost exclusively from aristocratic families and the richest liberal families, studying abroad in the French academy, travelling often, many times working abroad, in fact, having everything except national lives.

²⁸⁶ Journalist for wide read publications such as *O Occidente* and *Renascença*, official institutions such as Lisbon’s Science Academy and the Royal Library. For his biography see Maria João L. Ortigão de Oliveira, *O Essencial Sobre Ramalho Ortigão* (Lisbon: INCM - Imprensa

Politics, after the disastrous bankruptcy of all modern liberal theories, has ceased all over to be the focus of attraction to ideas or human sentiments. Laws continue to be done with the sole fate of being repeatedly and invariably decreed, infringed and revoked, only to be replaced by new laws that are then decreed, infringed and revoked (...)²⁸⁷

A pessimism built upon the writer's monarchical affiliation and building up to the literary momentum:

(...) if for each people art is the security of tradition, conscience's hideaway, the most pure reflection of the nation's benign image, the most plentiful fountain of all moral, economic and even political progress - for each man, in the torture of so many moral uncertainties, in the sorrow and ruin of so many extinct beliefs, of so many undone ideals in the melancholic course of our age, art is still - as Schopenhauer says - *life's only flower*.²⁸⁸

Art, contrary to the political situation of Portugal, tapped the stream of national life and conscientiousness directly, more accurately and truthfully making its universal values appear solid and alive, as naturally and organically as a flower. Yet, the "cult of art" in Portugal, as Ortigão defined it, was afflicted by the following:

Dissolved the artistic cult by the negligence or fumble of bastardized leading classes, the faithful disband for lack of a church that may gather them, and it is already evident this enormous catastrophe: that in Portugal's art portuguese hearts are missing.²⁸⁹

Henrique das Neves inhabited different national landscapes from Ortigão, this later centralized between Porto, where he grew up, Lisbon where he made most of his writing career and Paris, where he exiled when the republicans came to power in 1910. Neves centralized between Figueira da Foz, Viseu and the islands of Açores, following the mobility of the military career. They did not share personal circles, nor professional fields, yet in 1893, when trailing the history of Viriatus' abode, Neves emerged as a "portuguese heart." His curiosity for that vernacular landscape, its aesthetic, folk-functionalism and cultural values was one proposition of feeling for a true Portuguese art. In this sense, it performed a not formally organized campaign to revisit and rescue what was essential to the becoming of a strong

Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2007); for an overview of his cultural milieu and fellow opinion makers see Álvaro Manuel Machado, *A Geração de 70: Uma Revolução Cultural E Literária*, 3ª ed. (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa - Ministério da Educação, 1986).

²⁸⁷ "A politica, depois da desastrosa fallencia de todas as modernas theorias liberaes, cessou por toda a parte de ser um foco de attracção para as ideas ou para os sentimentos humanos. As leis continuam a fazer-se com o destino unico de serem consecutivamente e invariavelmente decretadas, infringidas e revogadas, para se substituir por leis novas, que por seu turno se decretam, se infringem e se revogam (...)," Ramalho Ortigão, *O Culto Da Arte Em Portugal* (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1896): 173.

²⁸⁸ "(...), se para cada povo a arte é a segurança da tradição, o refugio das consciencias, o mais puro reflexo da imagem benigna da patria, a fonte mais caudal de todos os progressos moraes, economicos e até politicos, - para cada homem, na tortura de tantas incertezas moraes, na magoa e na ruina de tantas crenças extinctas, de tantos ideaes desfeitos no melancholico decurso da nossa idade, a arte é ainda - como diz Schopenhauer - *a unica flôr da vida*." Ibid: 175, 176.

²⁸⁹ "Dissolvido o culto artistico pela negligencia ou pela inepcia de abastardadas classes dirigentes, os fieis debandam por não haver egreja que os reuna, e é já evidente esta enorme catastrophe: que na arte de Portugal faltam corações portuguezes." Ibid: 110.

nation. A desire that had some success given his idea of “a Portuguese type of dwelling” was reproduced in various publications, namely in cultural and building magazines such as *Arte Portuguesa* (1895), *Ocidente* (1896), where Ortigão was a leading collaborator, *A Construção Moderna* (1902) and *Arquitetura Portuguesa* (1915).

Trough various re-publications, the idea of a Portuguese way of dwelling assumed a central role in the developing cultural discussion of the time, yet as the notion of “A Casa Portuguesa” (*The Portuguese house*) and no longer as Portuguese type.²⁹⁰ The discussion of a *Portuguese house*, as defined by the lieutenant-coronel, was connected to the national identity crisis from the outset. In his words, the ethnography of the *Portuguese house* was “(...) the awakening of a strong passion for *portuguesismo*,²⁹¹ phenomenon whose reason we find in our blood, in heredity.” This house was not just another typical element enriching “our powerful individuality,” but an operative proposition that would serve “(...) to reconstitute to our urban architecture, ... the traditional type created by observation and ingenuity of our ancestors, that in all were more worthy than us...”²⁹² It was both a proposal of interpretation of the national self and a social-material project for a perceived as needed renationalization of space.

Approximately from 1890s to the 1910s, the idea of a *Portuguese house* was expanded in mainly two intellectual milieus, from which it proliferated into the arts, architecture and other technical fields concerned with space, form, taste and morals. First of all, it was present from the outset in the constitution of modern anthropology and ethnography in Portugal. As recognized by some, in the post-*ultimatum* environment, Portuguese ethnography coalesced in the problem of formulating the elements of a national culture, objects and causes.²⁹³ The development of modern Portuguese anthropology was framed on bringing-forth the discussion of what ought to be the forms and norms of a national “type” of living conduct, of an essential and truthful, as in honest with its roots, national being. The *Portuguese house* was symbol and practice, as well as foundational problem for an anthropological focus tied to the national cause. In operating this articulation, it offered a group of problems based on mystifications of national life that enabled new cultural critiques of modernity, the role of the state, of private business.²⁹⁴ Most significantly, it enabled the activation of deemed premodern landscapes as both sites of analysis and *projectos*.

Secondly, the discussion was not only alive in a few parlors and clubs or in the minds of some well-intentioned ethnographers.²⁹⁵ As architects, engineers and builders rallied around its architectural potentials, the *Portuguese house* was given concrete shapes, livable spaces, a sense of position, expression

²⁹⁰ See Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*: 107-44.

²⁹¹ Similar meaning to, for example, Americanism.

²⁹² “(...) foi o acordar de uma forte paixão de *portuguesismo*, fenómeno cuja razão de ser descobrimos no nosso sangue, na hereditariedade (...) não seria somente um característico (...) a mais a definir a nossa ponderosa individualidade nos tempos idos; serviria também praticamente na actualidade a restituir à nossa arquitectura urbana, especialmente das Beiras inclusive para o norte o tipo tradicional criado pela observação e engenho dos nossos antepassados, que em tudo valiam mais do que nós,” Henrique das Neves, “Casa Portuguesa,” *O Ocidente*, 1896.

²⁹³ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*; see the overview of the history of modern Portuguese anthropology by Ricardo Seica Salgado, “O Inacabo Caminho Até à Antropologia Da Performance Em Portugal,” *Baldio*, n.d., <https://baldiohabitado.wordpress.com/antropologia-anthropology/>.

²⁹⁴ Behind the ethnographic discovery and program of a *Portuguese house* lay an homogenizing view of popular culture, indifferent to the internal cultural and social variety of the country. In this sense, the whole enterprise was more about imposing an active cultural model on top of studied rural, peasant and popular cultures, than about a complex interpretation of various modes of life and their material worlds. See Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

²⁹⁵ A list of notable exponents is given by *Ibid.*: 107-143.

and being. At the same time, as it became a central object of concern for architects, it also contributed to the consolidation of professional stakes and the slow construction of architecture's disciplinary autonomy, namely from engineering. As with anthropology, Portuguese professional architecture culture was early on committed to the national cause.²⁹⁶

By 1893, time of the publishing of Neves' article, there were already some architecture experiments that tried out a stylistic nationalization or, in Portuguese, a *reaportuguesamento*.²⁹⁷ In the early 20th century examples proliferated. As a case in point the following are worth mentioning: the O'Neil summer residence built in 1904, now called the Count of Castro Guimarães' palace, located in Cascais, a beach resort near Lisbon and designed by the architect Francisco Vilaça (1850-1915);²⁹⁸ also in Cascais, the *ficinho* chalet, designed by the architect Manuel Ferreira dos Santos;²⁹⁹ in Lisbon there was Álvaro Machado's (1874-1944) design for the house-museum for the republican poet Cruz Magalhães, built in 1914; but also the work of architect Edmundo Tavares (1892-1983) in, for example, the *arco do cego* block, developed between 1919 and 1935, where other influent architects, such as Arnaldo Adães Bermudes (1864-1948) and Frederico Caetano de Carvalho (1890-1976) also came together.³⁰⁰

From these examples we can observe a sort of progression from the time of Neves' inspiring text to the 1910s and 1920s: those works emerging in the first decade of the 20th century have more elements feeding from a stylistic eclecticism, both grounded in vernacular and erudite objects; and those appearing in the second and third decades of the century were already its own hybrid, that is, more gathered condensations of two decades of study into a projected national expression. Edmundo Tavares, who in 1915 presented a celebrated project called *casa portuguesa* in the *Sociedade Nacional de Belas-Artes* - SNBA,³⁰¹ was one of its eminent producers. Much later in 1951, he argued in a book titled *Portuguese Dwelling: modern houses* that what guided and to what tended those earlier architectural experiments was the following:

(referring to style) ...what is needed, is not to purposely make old *oeuvre*, nor to purport to dazzle with artificially modernist realizations.³⁰²

What was being sought was a style of building and a spatial taste that was "natural," spontaneous and organic, just like the vernacular house was the organic result of a "natural" way of life and national way of being. A formal taste acquired by Portuguese life itself and apprehended by the cultivated eye of the amateur ethnographer. Ortigão, being one of the most relevant agents in the discussion partly

²⁹⁶ It can be argued the two are indissociable: the construction of an architectural discipline in Portugal in early 20th century and the designing of forms for an "imagined national identity", see Tiago Castela, "A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalized Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 2011): 73-74.

²⁹⁷ Meaning literally re-portuguelization, if the word existed.

²⁹⁸ The palace was built as a summer refuge for the aristocratic O'Neil family.

²⁹⁹ Which had the purpose of accommodating the daughter of the aristocrat António Máximo da Costa e Silva, who suffered from a respiratory condition.

³⁰⁰ See Marieta Dá Mesquita, "O Bairro Do Arco Do Cego: Paradigmas E Contradições," *ARTiTEXTOS*, September 2006; and Castela, "A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalized Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon:" 67-89.

³⁰¹ Translatable as National Society of Fine Arts. See Sociedade Nacional de Belas-Artes, "Decima Segunda Exposição," 1915; for an overview of Tavares career see Sérgio Miguel Franco, "A Obra de Edmundo Tavares No Funchal" (Master's Dissertation, Fernando Pessoa University - Faculty of Science and Technology, 2012).

³⁰² "O que é preciso, é não fazer propositadamente obra antiga, nem tampouco pretender deslumbrar com realizações artificialmente modernistas," Edmundo Tavares, *A Habitação Portuguesa: Casas Modernas* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1951): 22.

sparked by Neves, negatively commenting on the general eclecticism in architecture of the late 19th century, clarified where this organicism, spontaneity and Portugueseness should be sought:

Such is the delirious epidemic of which our contemporary builders are afflicted that, to have a national hint of our tradition, in the midst of the country and summer houses built around Lisbon in the last twenty years, we must go to Cascais to see the type, unique, of the Arnoso Counts' house, so yearningly similar to the house of our grandparents, with its small terrace over an archway, its porch door on the landing of an exterior staircase, by the side of a ceramic altarpiece for the family's saint (...), in the most sweet and peaceful smile of yesteryear.³⁰³



15 The Arnoso estate, Cascais, unknown date and author, Cascais municipal archive.

It was the performing of the past through a modern idealization that allowed for the opening of fields for cultural re-foundation. Interestingly, this performance also listed a number of concrete socio-material solutions transmitting the values sought for modern architecture. The archway, the porch and exterior staircase, elements estranged from their vernacular settings, could be a language for a sane and wholesome dwelling, against the “delirious epidemic.” Even though it can be argued that the architecture works from this period form part of a larger romantic international tendency,³⁰⁴ it would be neglectful to summarize the importance of the “discovery” of a “Portuguese type of dwelling” by ethnographers and experimented by builders, as well as its cultural and political implications, under such an abstract signifier. If a global fashion was identifiable it is only because within the unbounded

³⁰³ “Tal é a delirante epidemia de que estão combalidos os constructores contemporaneos, que, para ter um indicio nacional da nossa tradição, entre as casas de campo ou de praia construidas em torno de Lisboa nos ultimos vinte annos, temos de ir a Cascaes vêr o typo, unico, da habitação dos condes de Arnozo, tão saudosamente semelhante á casa de nossos avós, com o seu pequeno eirado sobre uma arcaria de meio ponto, a sua porta de alpendre n’um patamar de escada exterior, ao lado do retabulo em azulejo do santo padroeiro da familia (...), no mais doce e tranquillo sorriso d’outr’ora.” Ramalho Ortigão, *O Culto Da Arte Em Portugal* (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1896): 117, 118.

³⁰⁴ Gomes, “Teoria Da Arquitectura Em Portugal: 1915-1945. O Modernismo E Raul Lino.”

tensions of each nation in desire, artists, builders and intellectuals took it upon themselves to re-create its limits, namely through the house.

This is a movement easily traceable in the Portugal. What happened from the production of a “Portuguese type of dwelling” onwards was a rich intellectual, artistic and spatial production incrementally targeting a national architecture language. Supposed to operate in Portugal what the English and German cottages, in the opinion of some Portuguese intellectuals, had already accomplished with their “re-enchantment” of domesticity: to fully and wholesomely reinvent national being through the modern house.³⁰⁵ The *Portuguese house movement*, made of Neves and Ortigão, ethnographers and archeologists, architects and summerhouses, connected the “survival of the nation” to a homesickness for a past that didn’t actually occur, for a land that didn’t actually exist, fueled by a nation they themselves articulated. This brings us to an essential aspect of this period of intellectual and architectural experimentation: which concrete livable spaces within national territory were promoted as essays on dwelling purposely?

Until 1910, when the first Portuguese Republic was implemented, most of these experiments were concentrated in summer palaces and chalets for aristocratic families, as illustrated by most works mentioned above. Either in their seaside chalets, recommended by doctors for the healing properties of fresh air and temperate climate, or in their rural estates. These new architectures were part of a medicalization of landscape promoted with the *victorian* articulation between physical and moral health, and environmental determinism.³⁰⁶ Just as parks were seen as essential “lungs” to congested city life, areas of moral-physical purification, so were beach resorts and rural estates seem as the needed healing ritual of the high bourgeoisie and aristocracy, from the “delirious” ways of the city. The colonization of seaside locations and villages for leisure purposes proliferated in the late 19th century by a travelled European high-class, to which many of the *Portuguese house* intellectuals belonged. It is worth citing the spatial habits by which this colonization usually took shape:

On the one hand, (seaside resorts) want to be different from the places of permanent dwelling, organized preferentially in a “natural” fashion, that is, privileging the picturesque character of the site, fulfilling the romantic ideal, also present in the leisure explosion maximized by liberalism; on the other, they need to answer the demands of its clients, offering animation, equipments and services, proper to the big city.³⁰⁷

Sometimes these colonies were built in “virgin” landscapes, but mostly they were implemented in already built sites, like small fishermen villages or towns that were usually kept at a distance, displaced or destroyed.³⁰⁸ If we take the term “Bourgeois International Style”³⁰⁹ to mean how the liberal elites

³⁰⁵ Ramalho Ortigão produced a detailed account of the various international connections and intersections see *O Culto Da Arte Em Portugal* (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1896).

³⁰⁶ See Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose, “Governing Cities: Notes on the Spatialisation of Virtue,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17 (1999): 737–60; Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City*.

³⁰⁷ Maria da Graça Briz, “Vilegiatura Balnear - Imagem ideal/Imagem Real,” *Journal of IHA - Instituto de História Da Arte*, no. 3 (2007): 254–67: 255.

³⁰⁸ For Portuguese cases see Maria da Graça Briz, “A Vilegiatura Balnear Marítima Em Portugal. Sociedade, Urbanismo E Arquitectura (1870-1970)” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Social and Suman Sciences of Nova University of Lisbon, 2003); and Susana Lobo, “Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2012).

organized urban cosmopolitan landscapes in view of their imperial economic strategies, than to the cosmopolitan neobarroque of grand avenues and neoclassical buildings we should couple the romantic, exotic and “organic” seaside palaces, chalets, cottages. These enacted the domestication of nature for a healing leisure, while simultaneously morally healing domesticity from the negative aspects brought from the industrial city. It was within this urban pattern that the initial experiments in a *Portuguese house* were practiced and felt, and from where Ortigão’s critique of a spatial epidemic emerged.³¹⁰



16 *Comércio do Porto* workers’ houses, designed by José Marques da Silva, Porto, 1905, FIMS (FIMS/MSMS/Foto0119).

Within the short republican period, from 1910 to 1926, there was a proliferation of experiments in dwelling nationally. The Republic sponsored public works, such as school construction, where the formal richness tried out in chalets and palaces was worked into more cohesive, more normalizing, and also much more economical, sets of formal codes and combinations. Sloped roofs done in clay tiles, the use of local stone, white lime plastered walls; the use of a specific range of colors for doors, windows and detailings, such as red-wine red, light blue, dark green, burned yellow. Assembled in simple geometric shapes, of reduced scale, preferably isolated as single objects in the landscape; and fulfilled in instrumental and constrained plans, with clear functions. Another interesting example of the progressing experimentation on the *Portuguese house* can be found in the *Comércio do Porto* neighborhood, designed by the architect José Marques da Silva in Porto, from the early 1910s. Or still, the above mentioned *arco do cego* neighborhood in Lisbon. Both of which made the desire for a national

³⁰⁹ Scobey, *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*.

³¹⁰ For a detailed overview of the various seaside and leisure colonies in Portugal see Lobo, “Arquitetura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia.”

expression of space identify with the republican regime and its policy for housing workers.³¹¹ Nevertheless, the public works undertaken were few and short-lived, mainly due to the dire economic situation, yet *Portuguese houses* continued to proliferate in the homes of seaside and rural private comfort.³¹²

From the summer parlors, secluded and fresh rooms of the chalet, and from the evening strolls in the seaside promenade this Portuguese common taste for a national style matured, more so in confrontation with its antithesis, in the words of Tavares: the “purposely” old and the “artificially” modern. These were, on the one hand, those eclectic chalets and palaces applying any sort of combination of old shapes and styles - from German castle tops, Swiss chalets, Italian *villas* and French palaces - producing a-local hybrids embedded in erotic imageries of exoticism. On the other, and mainly from the 1920s onwards, the appearance of *art déco*, *art nouveau* and other modernist aspiring houses produced much artificially modern.

Both, the purposely old and the artificially new, in the words of the architect Raul Lino, were the fruit of foreign influences. These brought to Portugal the “(...) construction barbarism that undervalues most Portuguese localities and that amply testify to the absolute corruption of the national taste.”³¹³ The foreign-looking chalet, house, palace and its myriad shapes and aspirations, observable in “nature” walks and evening promenades, came to constitute a target of attack for the aspiring patriotic critique of the *Portuguese home* advocates. They were symbols of a profound evil: denationalization. Ramalho Ortigão, for instance, appropriated the following portrait of the mishmash circulating in resorts around Lisbon:

The so comfortable, so modest and so gracious type of our old country house is substituted in modern constructions by the forms of a composite exoticism, the more groveling, more pretentious and more noisy, hallucinated hybrid confusion of the Swiss chalet, the English cottage, the Normand fortress, the Tartar minaret and Moor mosque, - stain and humiliation of the Portuguese landscape in Lisbon’s surroundings.³¹⁴

Within this embattlement, it is important to come back to the architect Raul Lino, credited as the figurehead to the *Portuguese house movement*. His importance to the fate of the *Portuguese house* and its architectural and governing lessons was thoroughly identified and accounted.³¹⁵ Relevant to the

³¹¹ It must be clarified that the first departed from private initiative and capital, that of the newspaper *Comércio do Porto*, while the second departed from public initiative. Taken together, they also help to illustrate the Republic’s liberal attitude towards the housing crisis that was a heated topic of discussion in Portugal since the late 19th century.

³¹² On Portugal’s economic situation in the Republic see Ramos, *História de Portugal: A Segunda Fundação (1890-1926)*; on the proliferation of summer and other high-end houses see Rui Jorge Ramos, “A Casa Unifamiliar Burguesa Na Arquitectura Portuguesa: Mudança E Continuidade No Espaço Doméstico Na Primeira Metade Do Século XX” (PhD Dissertation, FAUP, 2004).

³¹³ “(...) barbarismo de construções que deslustram a maioria das localidades portuguesas e que amplamente atestam a corrupção absoluta do gosto nacional” in Raul Lino, *A Nossa Casa. Apontamentos Sobre O Bom Gosto Na Construção Das Casas Simples* (Lisbon: Tipografia do Anuário Comercial, 1918): 16-17.

³¹⁴ “O tão commodo, tão modico e tão gracioso typo da nossa antiga casa de campo é substituido nas construcções modernas pelas fórmas de um exotismo composito, as mais delambidas, mais pretenciosas e mais chinfrins, hybrid confusão allucinada do chalet suiso, do cottage inglez, da Fortaleza normanda, do minarete tartaro e da mesquita moira, - nodoa e vexame da paizagem portuguesa nas redondezas de Lisboa.” Ortigão, *O Culto Da Arte Em Portugal*: 115.

³¹⁵ Publications and research about Raul Lino abound, see, for example: Nuno Portas, “Raúl Lino. Uma Interpretação Crítica Da Sua Obra de Arquitecto E Doutrinador,” *Colóquio*, 1970; Gomes, “Teoria Da Arquitectura Em Portugal: 1915-1945. O Modernismo E Raul Lino”; Rui

purposes of this research is how his career so distinctly reflected the creations and tensions of the cultural project in the *Portuguese home*, especially in how the vernacular, the provincial and the past was transformed in collective morality. According to him, the return to a “lost balance” found in old architectures and landscapes “(...) is not a romantic impulse towards antiquities; it is just the recognition of the importance of architecture as frame of civilization, feeling the need for a great reform.”³¹⁶ To talk of his career, works and ideas is to supply a composite picture of how a specific combination of shapes and material experiences consolidated a political imaginary around dwelling nationally.

The citation from Lino used above is a relevant starting point. It is from a book published in 1918 and programmatically titled *Our House. Notes about good taste in the construction of simple houses*.³¹⁷ The discussion at hand concerned “our house,” as in “our nation,” and the language it should demarcate is that of “simple houses,” like those of our ancestors. “Our nation” and “simple houses” were the structuring coordinates for a new good taste. The stakes projected by the *Portuguese house* were rarely so succinctly framed. This book came to stand as a high point to the movement. For a number of his contemporaries, Lino stood at the forefront of the cultural project: “No architect until now tried to renationalize the portuguese house, I said? – well, I was mistaken, there is one and young, Mr. Raul Lino (...).” Thus appreciated the journalist Fialho de Almeida, although skeptical regarding if his artistic efforts truly achieved a coherent Portuguese style.³¹⁸

Studying in England and Germany, and working for many years under the architect Albrecht Haupt (1852-1932), Lino was early on viewed as a young promise.³¹⁹ In his early career the search for exotic primitive beauty and its erudite combination was very present, until at least his *casa dos patudos* in Alpiarça in 1904, not making him stand out from the “composite exoticism” Ortigão identified in Lisbon’s resorts. Soon, however, namely through the publication of some unbuilt house designs, he gained wide acknowledgment. This occurred namely with the first exhibition of the SNBA in 1903, in Lisbon. A contemporary commentator introduced Lino in the following manner: “Various disciples of

Jorge Garcia Ramos, “A Perspectiva Das Coisas: Raul Lino Em Cascais,” *Monumentos*, 2011; Michel Toussaint, *Da Arquitectura À Teoria : Teoria Da Arquitectura Na Primeira Metade Do Século XX* (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2012); Luiz Trigueiros and Claudio Sat, eds., *Raül Lino: 1879-1974* (Lisbon: Blau, 2003). For an alternative interpretation of Lino’s career, originating a fierce polemic among architects, see Pedro Vieira de Almeida, Manuel Rio de Carvalho, and José Augusto França, *Raul Lino: Exposição Retrospectiva Da Sua Obra*, Pedro Vieira de Almeida (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1970).

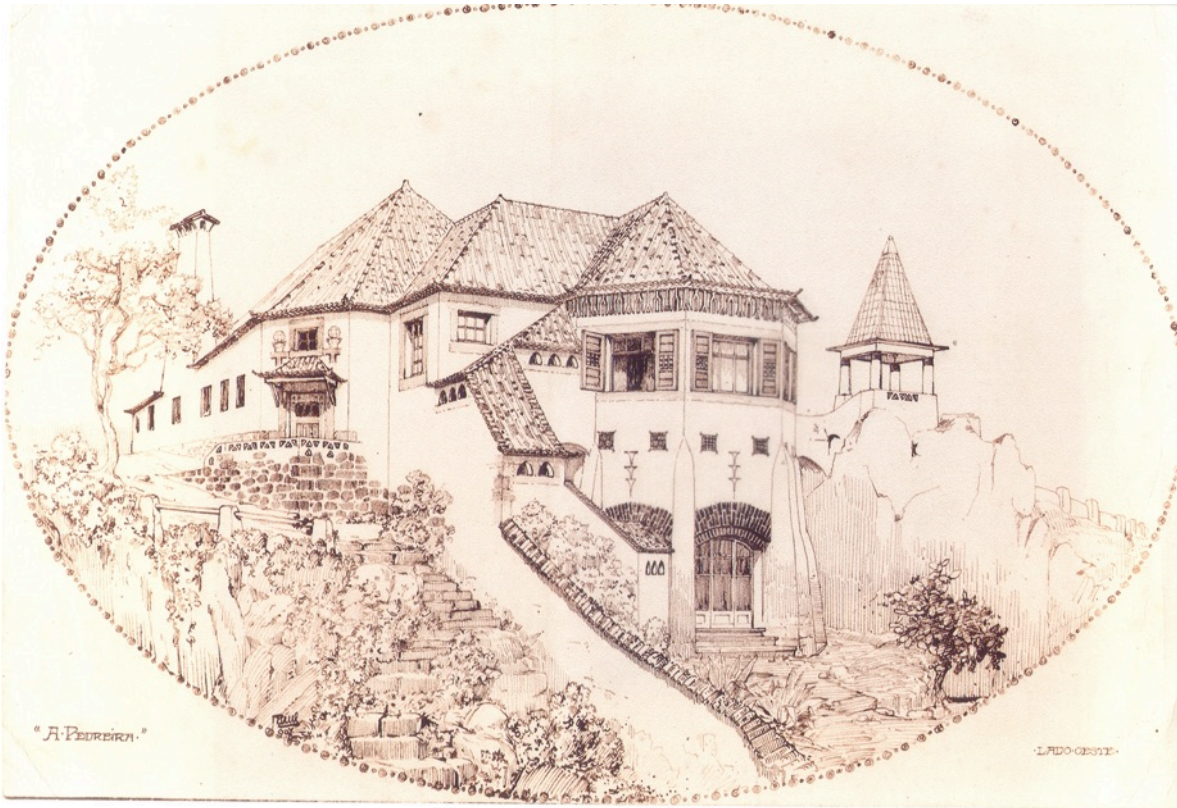
³¹⁶ “(...) Não se trata de um impulso romântico para as velharias; é apenas o reconhecimento da importância da arquitectura como marca de civilização, sentindo-se a necessidade de uma grande reforma.” in Lino, *A Nossa Casa. Apontamentos Sobre O Bom Gosto Na Construção Das Casas Simples*: 17.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ “Nenhum architecto té gora tentou renacionalisar a casa portugueza, disse eu? – pois enganei-me, ha um, e novo, o sr. Raul Lino(...).” His doubts: “I do not know if in the work of Raul Lino, these aggregates are already homogenized in an integrate whole or if, by now, they are only picturesque appositions, (...). I know however, these beautiful composites evoke fresh ideas of past ancestry and motherland (...).” (“Eu não sei se na obra do sr. Raul Lino estes agregados se homogenizam já num todo integro, ou por agora não passam d’aposições pictorescas, (...). Sei porém que o vulto destes lindos compostos me evôca airosamente ideias d’ancestralidade e patria recuadas (...).”) in Fialho d’Almeida, *À Esquina (jornal Dum Vagabundo)* (Coimbra: Lumen, 1903): 205, 207.

³¹⁹ Born in 1878, son of a successful home and construction goods seller, Lino was sent in 1890 to study in England by wish of his father. Following which he went to Germany where he studied and worked under the architect Haupt. In 1897 he returned to Portugal, already the discussion of the *Portuguese house* was well under way. He became involved in the movement, contributing to it, namely through some chalet designs in Cascais and other leisure sites close to Lisbon. He travelled extensively to Sintra, a royal resort northwest of Lisbon, and Alentejo, a region that, at the time, was beginning to be appreciated for its harsh beauty of desert-like landscapes, simple and poor houses and towns. He continued further south and in 1902 went to Morocco. See, for instance, Ramos, “A Perspectiva Das Coisas: Raul Lino Em Cascais.”

the distinct architect Souza Monteiro are present in the exhibition, but what allows hope of seeing gathered in works of architecture true artistic sense and a genuinely Portuguese facet is Raul Lino.”³²⁰



17 One of Raul Lino's first sketches of *casa do cipreste*, Sintra, unknown date.

Barely over twenty, Lino presented himself to Lisbon's cultural circles as a designer with a plan: an architect finally able to correct, according to this commentator, the chronic "lack of art" of Lisbon's modern buildings. The later went on to explain - praise - Lino's "program:"

He has promised to build naught if not Portuguese, and to accomplish this vow, he has studied in detail all the architectonic motives of our old monuments, of our old buildings, working hard to interpret these in a modern manner. He does not copy but appropriates them by leap of imagination, presenting projects of an unmistakable personal originality.³²¹

³²⁰ "Varios disciplinos do distincto architecto Souza Monteiro se fazem notar na exposiçao, mas o que permite esperanças de vêr nas obras d'architectura reunido verdadeiro cunho artistico e feiçao genuinamente portugueza é Raul Lino." in Ribeiro Artur, *Arte E Artistas Contemporâneos*, 3 3 (Lisbon: Empreza da Historia de Portugal, 1903): 281.

³²¹ "Prometeu a si mesmo nada construir que não fosse portuguez, e para realisar este voto, tem estudado minuciosamente todos os motivos architectonicos dos nossos antigos monumentos, dos nossos velhos edificios, esforçando-se por interpretal-os sob uma forma moderna. Não os copia mas apropria-os por um esforço d'imaginação, apresentando projectos d'um cunho d'originalidade pessoal inconfundivel." in Ibid. Several design projects were named, being the Paris Pavillion of 1900, the house in Estoril for a family member, the Roque Gameiro house annex, and the Count of Valmor's mausoleum, especially worthy of notice.

The famous *casa do cipreste*, built in Sintra between 1912-14, solidified this shining position in the patriotic cultural stakes and its announced architectural renaissance, propagated by Lino himself. With his contribution, by the mid-1910s, the discussion of a national good taste and a Portuguese way of dwelling moved more confidently.³²² The book of 1918 was, thus, already the result of this confidence in step and a clear identification of concerns, shapes and ideas presented by the *Portuguese house* discussion. Various design experiments, models and types started proliferating in national magazines. However, it was Lino's texts and designs that more successfully organized a compilation of shapes and motives, inspired in past vernacular architecture, and that constituted a stable and recognized channel to a patriotic spatial language.

The construction of a simple house, as published in 1918, was for Lino a moral operation. This aspect is essential for the grounding of the discussion around the *Portuguese house* and its architectural productions, for it expressed the whole set of ideas by which a generation of national identity boosters understood the "purposely old" and the "artificially modern." For Lino, the simple house, that is, that house done with modesty and honesty, was the embodiment of "good manners," of a "common-sense," a symbol of the "simple things and direct ideas" that one could find in traditional life or, in other words, in an essential diagram of wholesome Portuguese life. The vernacular home was both an inspiration and a rulebook for the making of a simple, honest, artistically organic shell for modern living.

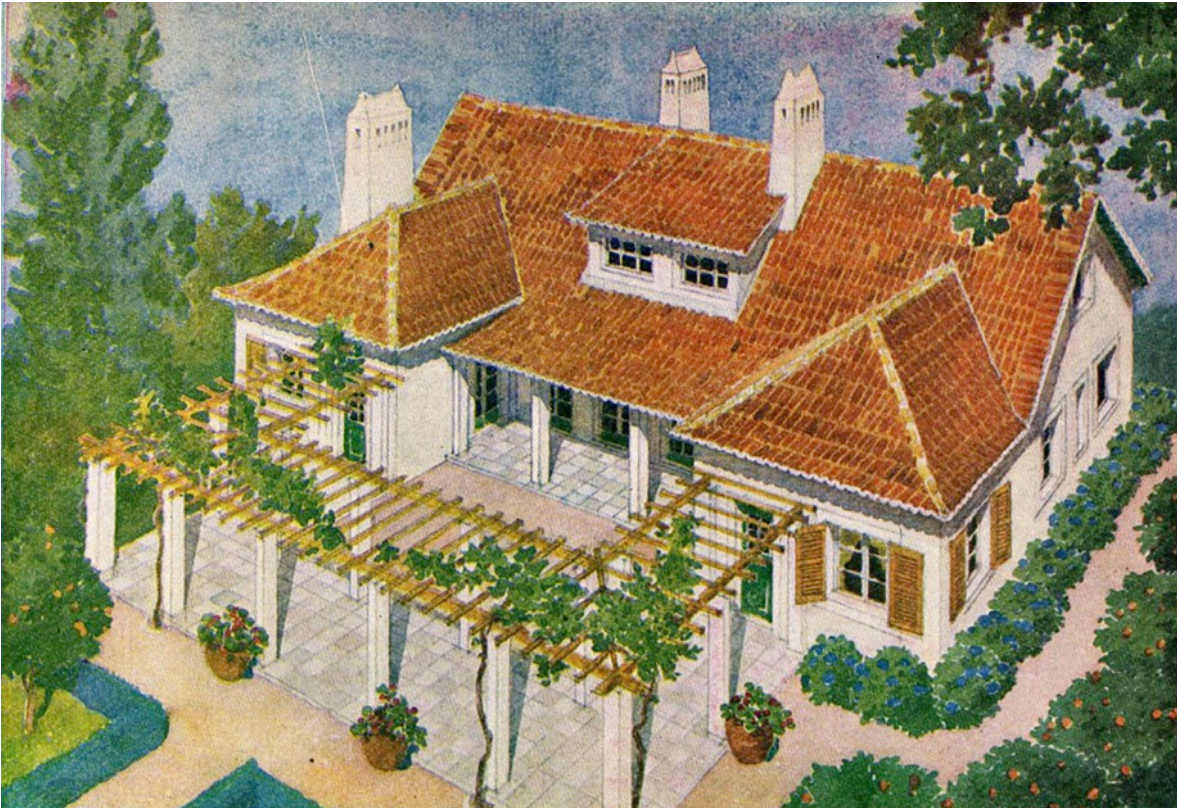
There are here two important activations of the vernacular house. One concerns the aestheticization of the house's position within the landscape and how both, natural landscape and built, should be composed as mutually embracing, creating a beautified harmony between the work of "man" and that of nature. The other concerns how the design and construction of the house should directly emanate from the composition, proportions and decorative details found in vernacular houses, which were taken as embodiments of a "common-sense" art. To this corresponded a canonical anthropological reading of the Portuguese hinterland as inhabited by undividable primitive social units.³²³

Both readings of the vernacular and its living forces structure the stylization of a *Portuguese house* by Lino. From them he presented a number of design proposals for the right combination of plans and elements to produce a "simple portuguese house." The house plan itself, although it integrated some traditional elements such as a vast fireplace, smallish alcoves and a certain organicism in disposition, was mainly informed by the needs and uses of modern comforts. Lino was, after all, building and partly talking to an urban high middle-class to which it tailored Portuguese designs. Yet, in his formulation stylistic composition, proportions and scale became central design motifs. The scale had to involve some measure of smallness and containment, a kind of moral-anthropomorphic approximation to an ideally sober, modest, smallish national living. The decorations consisted in a set of element types: such as a front porch made for reception and summer evenings soirées; a modestly sized wooden front door; a robust chimney; window and door eaves done in simple stone elements or painted, to suggest stone eaves; the roof protrusions should be decorated with clay figurines or other small clay elements; the walls should be covered in whitewash, a common aspect of southern vernacular construction due to the

³²² See Trigueiros and Sat, *Raúl Lino: 1879-1974*; Portas, "Raúl Lino. Uma Interpretação Crítica Da Sua Obra de Arquitecto E Doutrinador."

³²³ See Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

accessibility of lime stone;³²⁴ the whitewash would be made more elegant by painting yellow ribbons in the walls at waist high, and yellow stripes at the walls' edges, simulating pilasters.³²⁵



18 Lino's design for a suburban house in the south of Portugal, in *Casas Portuguesas*, 1933.

Lino presented all these elements combined in finished designs: prototypes ready for consumption. Yet they were also thought to be freely combined, as they constituted an open grammar for the *Portuguese house*. In this sense, they constituted a public language for being Portuguese. However, this is where a central aspect to Lino's contribution to the cultural discussion, the making of good taste, and the future of the *Portuguese house* emerged. It concerns the possible freedom in the combination of his modern-vernacular prescriptions: how was the plan, the scale and different decorations supposed to be combined in order to produce the "correct" simple home? Not as freely as might be imagined. Lino's central aim was to give a high-standard architectural response to the *Portuguese house movement* and its problems. It was not aiming to create a set of elements that just anybody could appropriate, such as what happened with foreign-influenced houses. His efforts were, on the contrary, set on turning the situation by making the possible *Portuguese house* a subject of professional mediation and regulation.³²⁶ Because building Portuguese homes served higher purposes, it could not just fall on anybody's hands to wheel its effects. Culturally, morally and technically informed people should be in charge. In order to

³²⁴ Lino spent considerable periods in the South of Portugal and Morocco, studying vernacular architecture.

³²⁵ If we consider accurate the interpretation of painted wall edges and door eaves argued by Domingos Tavares, *Francisco Farinhas: Realismo Moderno* (Porto: Dafne, 2008).

³²⁶ Following from Hobsbawm's ideas cited before, traditional is used here to mean the transformation of vernacular into popular. The vernacular house goes from custom, to mass object, to institutional subject. See, for example, Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions."

correctly produce the *Portuguese house* one needed knowledge of scale, composition, decorative balance and functional elegance, as well as a firm and educated grasp on the construction techniques of the national type and its ethical and moral implications. In other words, one needed to be an architect or builder of high standard, especially informed by the theoretical production of nation-caring ethnographers.

In the 1920s, Lino was voicing concerns and criticism regarding the uninformed uses the *Portuguese house* had fallen victim to, even if his 1918 book much contributed to the situation. For him, behind the conjugation of spatial and decorative elements lay the idea of a social organic whole, activated through the “spontaneous” combination of style, scale and scenery. A well formalized and established mold for an ethics of being Portuguese. Behind the mold lay a renaissance inspired process of articulating scale with external expression and internal logic; articulating scale and decoration with the wider landscape; and promoting the right construction techniques.³²⁷ Thus the “Portuguese type of dwelling,” far from popular symbol and consumable imaginary, wanted to be the consumation of a good taste, the invisible bond of the organic whole that the nation should become, elaborated and practiced by knowledgeable technicians.³²⁸

Common taste and usage, however, would immediately subvert this master logic and safeguard the proliferation of many non-canonical *Portuguese houses*. In the meantime, the homogenization of national culture in agreed ethnographical generalizations, which grounded the discussion of the *Portuguese house*, was progressively broken down to accommodate regional variety. To which some critiques were articulated regarding the becoming of a national architectural style, based on vernacular models that were not representative of the whole country. Gradually, the original Portuguese type identified by Neves was rendered more ethnographically and formally complex.

In the 1920s, modernist practising architects also made marked appearances in Lisbon and Porto, as well as in some few other smaller cities, as the moment itself was for the articulation of the possible modernization of the republican state with a modern, secular, efficient, language of space. It was under republican dreams of modernization that the few examples of early modernism in Portugal were built. The coup of 1926, however, subverted the process and the general political disorganization was reorganized into Salazar’s dictatorship. By then, the *Portuguese house* discussion was fragmented and partially demoralized: its ethnographical categories were being reviewed and the architectural experimentations had proliferated in so many “bad” examples that it became polemical to assent a unitary stylistic movement, although certain practices, such as Lino’s, reserved considerable weight on a good national taste.

The dictatorship’s cultural policy, namely formally guided by the aesthetization of politics achieved by António Ferro’s SPN, partly recycled *Portuguese house* formal models and some of the cultural movement’s ideas pertaining to a cohesive and organic Portuguese existence. This suited specially an initial government idealization of the Portuguese as simple, modest, poor but honorable. In this sense, the *Portuguese house movement’s* tracing of wholesome Portugal to a specific set of vernacular forms, assumed a key role in national invented tradition. These architectures, built landscapes, local materials and colors helped mobilize a discourse of the grounded, harmonious and orderly nature of the

³²⁷ See Ramos, “A Perspectiva Das Coisas: Raul Lino Em Cascais”; and Gomes, “Teoria Da Arquitectura Em Portugal: 1915-1945. O Modernismo E Raul Lino.”

³²⁸ We may find these ideas reinforced in a later book, see Raul Lino, *Casas Portuguesas. Alguns Apontamentos Sobre O Arquitectar Das Casas Simples* (Lisbon: Cotovia, 1933): 51, 60.

Portuguese *ethos*. One clearly against and above the conflict-ridden, industrial labor driven, “denationalized” urban “epidemic.”

Continuing the violent pacification of productive relations started by the 1926 military regime, for the dictatorship the active projection of an harmonious Portuguese collective was especially dear. Taste campaigns were mobilized, marketing certain parts of the country as the country itself. More importantly, however, insofar as the dictatorship was remaking an objectified Portugal by reconstructing medieval castles, remodeling palaces, building squares and monuments, literally building Portugal’s history. The social-material project devised by Lino, Tavares and many other “Portuguese hearts” was difused through postcards, textbooks, paintings. We might claim the medicalization of urban habits in seaside resorts and countryside estates, where their objects had started practising a dwelling nationally, was then articulated into a broader sanitation of Portuguese society, helping out in the framing of a non-defiant national environment.

The point is that when reaching the dictatorship the *Portuguese house*, its architectural iconography, ethnography and projection of a unified Portuguese collective, was difuselly disseminated in various forms. Sometimes these became concrete state buildings, such as regionalized elementary schools or courthouses and postoffices. Others just a vague notion for what stood for Portuguese landscape and its supposedly undying values. Its acting, however, had a determining presence for modernism practising architects that raised it as a controversy. It became one of the main complaints and topics of contestation in the 1948 architects’ congress, in which a younger generation of architects voiced the will and need to abolish the *Portuguese house* taste, conditioning the full realization of modernist architecture. Some of these younger architects would come to write-off Lino as a reactionary enemy.³²⁹

Despite the twists and turns of the *Portuguese house*, its cultural stakes and architectural experiences, Raul Lino, together with many others, succeeded in creating a practical imaginary of how to be Portuguese through architecture. The role of this structuring-object should not be understated. A certain combination of local stone, whitewash and sloped roofs, quaint arrangement of ceramic tiles, eaves and flower frames, came to perform a Portugueseness. They were successful in creating a national and public good taste. But before this good taste disseminated somewhat diffusely, Lino’s books had a wide circulation and were part and parcel of many respectable houses. It is in one of these respectable houses in the 1940s, that we will find one such book creating a most interesting and relevant reaction for recent Portuguese architecture.

Between country and city

Foz do Douro, home of a small fishing community west of Porto, was gradually transformed from the mid-19th century onwards, into a seaside suburb. Porto’s upper classes and landed gentry from the upper Douro region elegantly flocked to its natural beauty, fresh air and urban proximity. Contrary to the Cascais suburb west of Lisbon, instilled with the pastoral city-escaping habits of noblemen and the

³²⁹ Especially after Lino received Albert Speer in Lisbon for an exhibition of German architecture, prior to the WWII, see Trigueiros and Sat, *Rail Lino: 1879-1974*; and Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50*.

Portuguese Crown, Porto's Foz was more cosmopolitan in nature and intent.³³⁰ Started in the 1860s, new avenues, public spaces and scenic promenades defined its urban frame. The chalets facing these were not so much isolated makings of family privacy and travelled exoticism as they were the reproduction of Porto's boulevards. With two to three-stories compact houses elbowing each other and cast in austere and ordered shapes, close to *victorian* norms of public taste due to the influence of the English colony in Porto's upper-class cityness.³³¹

In one of these houses by the beach, José Pinto de Tavares de Mendonça Ferrão (1882-1964), heir to an old noble house and undeterred *integralista lusitano*, made summer excursions, partly dividing his family's leisure between an inherited country estate in Recardães, Águeda, his wife's estate in Guimarães and the summer house in Foz. Together with his wife, who was also his cousin in second degree, Maria José Lobo de Sousa Machado e Couros (1892-1951) and their seven sons and daughters, they practiced the recently acquired urban leisure rhythms. José Ferrão studied law in Coimbra where he shared the classes, corridors and urban habits with José Hipólito Vaz Raposo (1885-1953), Luís de Almeida Braga (1890-1970), Alberto de Monsaraz (1889-1959) and José Adriano Pequito Rebelo (1892-1983), early supporters of *integralismo lusitano*, all of which studying law during the same period.³³²



19 Picture of Foz do Douro during summer, 1930s, unknown author.

³³⁰ For a brief historical account of Cascais rhythms see Ana Teresa Morgado, "A Arquitectura de Veraneio E a Sua Imagética: Da Boca Do Inferno Aos Banhos Da Poça, 1870-1920" (Master's Dissertation, Lusófona University of Humanities and Technologies, 2013).

³³¹ The start of the official summer period in Cascais was determined by the Crown, in Foz it started whenever the climate impelled. Foz do Douro was also more cosmopolitan in the sense that its attendance was not as surveilled as in Cascais, all kinds of social classes spent leisure time in the beaches of Foz. See Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia": 153-165.

³³² Many of which came from monarchical circles, like Ferrão, and supported the dictatorship in its early constitution. Some of which, such as Pequito Rebelo were inclusively close advisors to Salazar. For an overview of their political affiliations see Leal, "A Transformação Política Da República: As Direitas Da Direita Antiliberal."

Ferrão owned various of Lino's books, whom he admired and whose work he considered a pinnacle of the times.³³³ There existed an intimacy between the causes of *integralismo* and the cultural discussion of the *Portuguese house*, as Lino's books inspired national passion and produced "portuguese hearts." Thus, in the family summerhouse and the various estates, a Portuguese way of dwelling had a fecund enactment. It was something vivid. It was present in the estates' noble yet modest construction, performed by a long and rooted family history rendered in stone, such as in Recardães estate in Águeda. It was part and parcel of the family's upbringing and social dialogue with Portuguese society. And it was richly illustrated and narrated by Lino's norms and forms.

Given Ferrão's erudition and position, his first two sons opted for civil engineering careers. Both entering university in the 1930s, when the engineer career was at its peak in social representation, having such role models as Duarte Pacheco and the numerous virtuous technicians mobilized for the dictatorship's great public works. Engineers were the "makers" of the nation. Being an engineer meant being much more than an architect, between the one and the other technician of space, the first was the best fitted for the shaping of the nation, or so it was socially rated.³³⁴ The Ferrão household was no exception to this norm and so its two first-born sons choose the noble career.³³⁵

The third son, however, was a more complicated matter. Fernando Távora liked to draw. Drawing well probably impelled to the architect's career, as drawing well was usually that attribute, still is, that distinguished those with a probable future in architecture from those without. But also his father's erudite interest in history had a role to play in the son's artistic motivation, as well as Lino's books laying about the summerhouse's and estates' parlors.³³⁶ Independently of the why, Távora applied in 1941 for the special course of architecture, taught at the fine-arts school of Porto, against his family's will according to him.³³⁷ For someone who grew up amidst Lino's books, Ferrão's cultivated interest in history and national becoming, in houses embodying rooted pasts, in the environments of Foz and the secluded countryside, entering the architecture course was not the most dissenting feat conceivable, it was probably regrettable as we may speak of the regret an ambitious father may hold against the "artistic" son who fails to choose a "serious" career, such as doctor or engineer. The combination of this upbringing with Porto's school modern environment, however, produced its own tensions.³³⁸

In 1945, aged 22, Távora wrote a manifesto-like article articulating this complex network of ties between the family, the seaside in Foz, rural Guimarães and Águeda, and the urban Porto school with its modern aspirations. It was simultaneously an architecture critique and *projecto*.³³⁹ For some of his closest colleagues in Porto, it was the setting apart of an answer to the problems arising from the

³³³ According to Távora, see interview in Mário Cardoso, "Entrevista Com O Arquitecto Fernando Távora," *Arquitectura*, Setembro-Outubro de 1971: 152.

³³⁴ About early and mid-20th century inequality in representation between architects and engineers see Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*.

³³⁵ "Entrevista Com O Arquitecto Fernando Távora": 150.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Interview with Távora in Cristina Antunes, "Fernando Távora," *Arquitectura* (Lisbon: RTP1, 2001), <http://www.rtp.pt/arquivo/?article=687&tm=22&visual=4>; also, his colleague and friend Sergio Fernandez, recalls the similar argument, in "Fernando Távora a Través de Su Obra," in *Renovación, Restauración Y Recuperación Arquitectónica Y Urbana En Portugal*, Javier Gallego Roca (Granada: University of Granada, 2003), 101–12.

³³⁸ Távora spoke of an inner conflict since an early age, between innovation and continuity or, more accommodated to the present argument, between rupture with the family's taste and respect for its tradition and history, see "Entrevista Com O Arquitecto Fernando Távora": 152.

³³⁹ For a discussion of the manifesto nature of Távora's article see Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*.

school's eclectic education, moving freely between an Albert Speer influenced neo-classicism and a Le Corbusian modernism. For some of his generation it was the clearing of a path beyond the supposed opposites of internationally influenced and nationally derived architecture.³⁴⁰ A trail amidst the “purposely” old and the “artificially modernist.”

The article was titled *O Problema da Casa Portuguesa*,³⁴¹ published in November of 1945, a few months following the unconditional surrender of the Japanese empire. For a 22 year old the 8th of May popular demonstrations, celebrating the victory of the allies in front of their respective embassies in Lisbon, and the 5th of October demonstrations of the *unidade antifascista* (antifascist unity), grounding the subsequent opposition organization *Movimento de Unidade Democrática* - MUD,³⁴² must have produced flashes of proactivity. This much seems to be suggested by the text's infused tone, with strong wording and moving to the sound of a great change.

It was published in a magazine called *Aléo*, founded in April of 1942 and having the playwright, actor, *integralista* and monarchist in cause, Fernando Amado (1899-1968) as director until 1946. In its first issue the cultural causes of this forum were transmitted with absolute clarity. In an editorial, titled “Why Aléo?” the editors re-enact the story of the siege of Ceuta in 1415, a North-African conquest of King João I. Having conquered the town, the challenge was then to successfully defend it against the moors, with this in mind the King turned to Count Lord Pedro de Menezes, at the site, and asked if he was up to such “noble” task, to which he answered, in the midst of a *jogo de choca*:³⁴³ “With this stick (*aléo*), my Lord, and no other weapons, I shall defend the square!”³⁴⁴ This first issue celebrated António Sardinha, the main founder and eminent exponent of *integralismo lusitano*, republishing one of his verses, next to the editorial piece.³⁴⁵ Titled “Ao princípio era o verbo” and exclaiming the primacy of the “spirit” over matter. It argued for the need of the “reaportuguesamento de Portugal” grounded on the noble filiation of its people.³⁴⁶ Stated differently, this was an intellectual mediator conceived as a mighty “stick” against the enemies of *reaportuguesamento*. A bearer of the “noble” cause of renationalizing Portugal through the cultured contributions of monarchial intents and filiations. Thus Távora's emerged, in his 22 years of age, also as a defender *reaportuguesamento*. Yet his article proposed a very specific articulation of the later, as it constituted a reaction to the reaction, albeit cautious: he did not sign the article with his family name, but instead with one of his middle names.

By 1945 the magazine had not lost its stringent *integralista* register, on the contrary, it seemed to have enrolled in an even stringier campaign against the vast threats of bolshevism and democracy unleashed with the allied victory. As if tied to an ever increasing parade of reactionary arguments, an editorial of late 1945 claimed the “(...) electoral mechanism expresses, without shadow of a doubt: the belief or submit” post-war condition. Voicing against the democratic and populist “idolaters and

³⁴⁰ See Nuno Teotónio Pereira, interview in Antunes, “Fernando Távora.”

³⁴¹ Translatable as the Portuguese house problem or *the* problem of the Portuguese house.

³⁴² Translatable as Movement of Democratic Unity. It was a political organization, not formally constituted as a party, constituted in the wake of WWII's end and allowed by the dictatorship. It gathered a vast opposition to the latter, from various political sectors, from marxists to christian democrats. Its main objectives in the immediate postwar were to push forward the issue of free elections. In 1948, with the regime's post-war recovery, the organization was banned.

³⁴³ A medieval equivalent to modern hockey.

³⁴⁴ “Com este aléo, meu Senhor, sem mais armas, defenderei a Praça!” in Fernando Amado, “Aléo nº1” (Edições Gama, de Abril de 1942): 1.

³⁴⁵ António Sardinha had died 17 years ago from the date of publication of this first issue.

³⁴⁶ Translatable, respectively, as “in the beginning there was the verb” and “the reaportuguelization of Portugal,” António Sardinha cited in Amado, “Editorial,” April 1, 1942.

iconoclasts,” it claimed: “(...) the ballot-box cult is religion. Secularism is religion. Anti-corporatism (symbol of individualism) is religion. Traditionalism is heretic; heretical the most peaceful and conciliating social autarchies.”³⁴⁷

During 1945, the magazine published various articles heralding the importance of keeping with the *reaportuguesamento* of architecture, culture and being. Such was the case of the article by C. da Silva Lopes titled “A tradição na arquitectura e o ambiente regional,” published in the above cited issue of October 1945.³⁴⁸ In it the most recent renationalization of architecture by central and local state authorities was praised. Lopes’ article was grounded on formal cultural typologies, reminiscent of the early ethnographical discussions of the *Portuguese house*. The quaint detail and formal combination, a neo-classical window frame, an eaved sloped roof, an exterior staircase in granite, contained regional “spirits” and Portugueseness itself. He made wide use of the dichotomy between “box” architecture and “chalets,” which were foreign as against the vernacular “organic” houses of “natural” and “regional” communities. The article reproduced a whole set of elements, by then taken as granted by the *Portuguese house* discussion. One of its most entrepreneurial arguments was the proposal to establish a national spatial hierarchy between three basic social layers: the rich, the median and the poor. To which should correspond three types of “traditional” architecture, each mediating and delimiting its own bounded and divided social sector. Regional “spirits,” vernacular forms and cultural “truths” were fairly ingrained as a ways of framing national landscape, in this case for the advancement an orderly Portuguese collective. A month later, Távora’s article can be seen as starting a dialogue with this way of framing the problems of national landscape and architecture.

The article started by identifying a pathology in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Through this period, Portuguese architecture was “(...) losing what today is called *character*,” fruit of a “decadence” of international dimensions, of a “tremendous, indecisive and demolishing” age. Yet, also a “constructive and creative” age, putting forward “(...) solutions that today we enjoy and the future will certainly congratulate.”³⁴⁹ The liberal, industrial, tradition-inventing late 19th century was presented as a long creatively destructive historical agent, riddled with paradoxes and decadence. This setting shared arguments with *Portuguese house* critiques against denationalized international forces and the collapse of national communities. But it was also a reaction to mass industrial culture, a critique to individualism and the petit-bourgeois character, as elaborated by Oswald Spengler and Ortega y Gasset, both influential philosophers to Távora.³⁵⁰ These forces disaggregated a national sense of being whose

³⁴⁷ “(...) a mecânica eleitoral exprime, sem sombra de dúvida o: crê ou submete-te. (...) idólatras e iconoclastas (...) O culto da urna é religião. O laicismo é religião. O anti-corporatismo (corolário do cioso individualismo) é religião. O tradicionalismo é herético; heréticas as mais pacíficas e conciliadoras autarquias sociais.” in Fernando Amado, “Aléo n°7 Série IV” (Edições Gama, de Outubro de 1945).

³⁴⁸ The title can be translated as “The tradition in architecture and the regional environment,” C. da Silva Lopes, “A Tradição Na Arquitectura E O Ambiente Regional,” *Aléo*, October 27, 1945, Gama edition.

³⁴⁹ “(...) estava perdendo o que hoje se denomina por carácter (...) tremendo, indeciso e demolidor, ao mesmo tempo que construtivo e criador de algumas soluções que hoje aproveitamos e o futuro certamente consagrará.” in Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

³⁵⁰ Namely: Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, trans. Charles Francis Atkinson, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1928); and José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (London and New York: W.W. Norton, 1993); for their acknowledged influence see Bernardo Pinto de Almeida, “A Arquitectura É O Dia-a-Dia: Entrevista a Fernando Távora,” *Boletim Da Universidade Do Porto*, 1993; Manuel Mendes, “Para Quê Exigir À Sombra a Rectidão Que Não Possui a Vara Que a Produz?,” in *Leonardo Express*, Rita Marnoto, 2 (Coimbra: FBA, Ferrand, Bicker & Associados, 2004), 111–38; and Fernando Távora and Jorge Figueira, “Fernando Távora, Coisa Mental: Entrevista,” *Unidade*, June 1992.

remedies in Portugal, as Távora argued, were partly sought in a “traditional architecture.” Yet, the attitude with which this was achieved failed:

Among us and in the field that especially interests us – that of dwelling – the problem was thought to be resolved by a very superficial study of our old architecture and, in practice, by the senseless employment of some forms of that architecture. From the praise worthy intention resulted a sad reality.³⁵¹

We should have in mind that at the time of writing, the *Portuguese house* was already somewhat of a mass consumable good and myth, which the upper and upper-middle classes could buy into by hiring a *Portuguese* architect to make a traditional chalet, and practice by discussing the latest book by Lino at dinner time or dwelling into long discussions on the archeology of a stone detailing, a wood carving, the shape of an exterior staircase, and their projection of a regional “spirit.”³⁵² This culture, for Távora however, did not introduce anything “new” in Portugal. The object of comparison was modernist architecture and the feeling of advancement it performed: “(...) while outside, the bases of modern architecture were put forward, we restrained our activities, searching to create an independent art and of national character, but wholly incompatible with the thinking, feeling and living of the world being born.”³⁵³

The *Portuguese house* productions were, for Távora, “superficial” and accused of “(...) architecture of archeologists and never an architecture of architects.”³⁵⁴ The problem was traced to the way its object of concern, the vernacular house and landscape, was studied. For him this study had been insufficient and not fully committed. Thus, even though the “époque” is more to blame than “men,” the right solutions did not follow because they were based on wrong assumptions. The right ones should depart from the distilled “eternal,” Távora argued:

A style is born of the people and the land as naturally as a flower, and people and land find themselves present in the style they have created through many generations. What sense, thus, can the will to create in one generation a *portuguese style* have, without conducting, for that end, integral studies of our needs and of our conditions?³⁵⁵

This departs, as we can observe, from the same organic platform as that of the *Portuguese house*: a view of the people, land and an authentic architecture as one united whole, a cultural essence

³⁵¹ “Entre nós e no campo que especialmente nos interessa – o da habitação – o problema julgou-se resolvido por um estudo muito superficial da nossa arquitectura antiga e, na prática, pelo emprego sem neço de algumas formas dessa mesma arquitectura. Resultou da louvável intenção uma triste realidade.” in Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

³⁵² Something in which Távora delighted, when after office working hours he joined some friends in an antiquarian’s shop in central Porto. According to Carlos Martins, one of his longest collaborators, this happened, at least, in the 1980s and 1990s, from interview with Martins, 2015.

³⁵³ “(...) enquanto lá fora se lançavam as bases da arquitectura moderna nós restringíamos as nossas actividades, procurando criar uma arte independente e de carácter nacional, mas de todo incompatível com o pensar, sentir e viver do mundo que nascia.” in Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

³⁵⁴ “(...) uma arquitectura de arqueólogos e nunca uma arquitectura de arquitectos.” in Ibid.

³⁵⁵ “Um estilo nasce do povo e da terra com a naturalidade duma flor, e povo e terra encontram-se presentes no estilo que criaram em muitas gerações. Que sentido poderá ter, pois, a vontade de criar numa geração um *estilo português* sem, para tanto, proceder a estudos integrais das nossas necessidades e das nossas condições.” in Ibid.

untouched by the “race” dilution provoked by modern urbanization. The question of race was not secondary to Távora’s argument, namely as powerful symbology of a cultural genesis. This becomes specially strong if we read it through Spengler’s arguments: “A race has roots. Race and landscape belong together. Where a plant takes root, there it dies also, (...) landscape exercises a secret force upon the plant-nature in them (...).” And concerning dwelling: “Of all expressions of race, the purest is the House...everywhere a product of feeling and of growth, never at all of knowledge. Like the shell of the nautilus, the hive of the bee, the nest of the bird, it has an innate self-evidence, and every trait of original custom and form of being...is reflected in the place and in the room-organization of parterre, hall, wigwam, atrium, court, chamber, and gynaeceum.”³⁵⁶

The structural problem Távora imputed the *Portuguese house*, as treated by Lino and others, was viewing the house as product of knowledge and not of feeling, furthermore a wrong type of knowledge, not “integral.” On the other hand, a *portuguese style* was the end, yet its clauses needed to move past this mistake. A national style should follow from the times, and this did not mean doing modernist architecture, substituting one race for another anew.³⁵⁷ Instead it meant a deeper, more reflected, connection with what Távora named “*portuguese truth*.” This could be reached by comprehensively studying vernacular architecture afresh, putting aside its formulaic uses.

The issue then to what forms and forming of landscape belonged a Portuguese spirit was not in question. Henrique das Neves continued to be the original discoverer of a “Portuguese type of dwelling.” The key for a true national architecture, in contrast with the “*architectural lie*” of the *Portuguese house*, was the word integral.³⁵⁸ Only a correct, modernist, study of needs and conditions would enable a redemptive architecture. Thus, what did integral imply? What rules, what kind of knowledge of space, culture and society did it involved? Távora followed by anthesis.

The national style had been “established,” Távora emphasized the top-down sense of “was established,” from a number of “decorative motifs,” producing houses that represent “(...) nothing other than a catalogue of decorative elements subtracted from old houses from the XVII and XVIII centuries, and even others strange to our civil architecture.” This simply produced “false” results. In effect, those architects forgot that the “art of edifying”³⁵⁹ was not about “(...) decorative whim or baroque manifestation,” they forgot “there is an ethic in Architecture and if Man is the measure of its scale, we must demand of her the same qualities we demand of true Man.”³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ Spengler, *The Decline of the West*: 119-120.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.: 119.

³⁵⁸ “Existe nas “casas portuguesas” – e podemos afirmá-lo sem receio – uma *mentira arquitectónica*, (...)” in Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

³⁵⁹ The use of “art of edifying,” in Portuguese *arte de edificar*, manifests a specific production of the architect’s activity as invested with a moral mission, or in which its classical aesthetic mission is made to correspond to an ethical operation. This is the meaning held by the canonical architecture theory of Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, and that together with the ideas of the Roman architect Vitruvius, formed the grounding narratives used by Carlos Ramos to introduce young students to the profession. For accounts of these influences in the 1940s and 1950s Porto’s school see Jorge Figueira, *Escola Do Porto: Um Mapa Crítico* (Coimbra: e|d|arq, 2002); and Gonçalo Canto Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)” (PhD Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2011).

³⁶⁰ “(...) motivos decorativos (...) não representam mais do que um catálogo de elementos decorativos tirados das velhas casas dos séculos XVII e XVIII, e outros até estranhos à nossa arquitectura civil. (...) capricho decorativo ou manifestação barroca (...) Há uma ética na Arquitectura e se o Homem é a unidade da sua escala, devem exigir-se a ela as mesmas qualidades que todos exigimos do verdadeiro Homem.” in Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

If architecture was an ethical activity and at its core laid “Man,” the issue was then how to bring about its true qualities, of both this man and architecture. For the emergence of a true national style, it followed that a new relation to objects, spaces and needs needed to be re-elaborated. Here, the modernist-inspired environment performed by Carlos Ramos in Porto’s school, promoted a specific elaboration of this sought new relationship. How were objects supposed to be understood in order to enable a truer reading of Portuguese “Man”? Answered Távora: “At the start – and there with its true meaning – architectural forms result from the conditions imposed on matter by the function it is required of it. Thence that in truthful architecture everything has a reason...” Put simply: “form depends on function and form without function cannot be justified.”³⁶¹ With these glasses for seeing truth, understood as the absence of glasses, the architecture apprentice argued a honest relationship with the “needs and conditions” of the Portuguese.

Portuguese truth should then be functional in spirit. Through this articulation of an essential and underlying reason, the true “needs and conditions” of Portuguese in their “plant-like” existence would be made accessible. The meaning of integral was thus conjured in this combination of Spengler’s environmental ontology, an ethical rendition of the art of building, and the logic of functionalism. Through this conjugation, race, culture, ethics and efficient form were realigned as both architectural cause and conceptual chain between form and life, and through which it was argued possible to access the reality itself of traditional Portugal, beyond its prolific “false” representations. Here culture played the double role of emanating from nature and being designed by “Man:” the flower was naturally functionalist.

This conjuring of a new way of looking through the object of desire of the *Portuguese house*, was as much about dispelling “fake” traditions, as it was about the promotion of functionalism, as the only knowledge of space capable of mediating *portuguese truth*. At the same time, functionalism was the possibility of a renewed and edifying national language of architecture. It enabled to promote the reordering of the organic collective, enveloped by the “fake” *Portuguese house*. Here, prophetic *integralista* voices whispered to a peculiar architectural mission, that of restoration of balance, unity, harmony.³⁶² This *projecto* of architecture aimed to restore *portuguese truth*, but also give “*portuguese houses to all portuguese*,” as Távora finished the article. The intimacy between this edifying mission of architecture and national accomplishment was also about a dreamed *fifth empire*, a desire for greatness in the return.³⁶³ Confronting the fakeness of the *Portuguese house* and proposing a functionalist take on the vernacular was not about to put Portugal at the center of the world. Yet the movement instilled by Távora in this proposition casted it as a national collective mission: a true portuguese architecture holding a true Portugal.

So far we have gone through the general framing of Távora’s manifesto in 1945. Yet, he proposed a number of concrete measures to make modern Portuguese architecture truer and more edifying. He

³⁶¹ “De início – e aí com o seu verdadeiro sentido – as formas arquitectónicas resultam das condições impostas ao material pela função que é obrigado a desempenhar. Daí que na verdadeira arquitectura tudo tenha uma razão (...) Numa palavra: a forma depende da função e a forma sem função não pode justificar-se.”Ibid.

³⁶² On *integralismo lusitano* see chapter 1.

³⁶³ Regarding Távora’s reading of this *integralista* ideology, the poet Fernando Pessoa was the main articulator of its premises and dream. He was widely and obsessively read, cited, transformed by Távora. Pessoa held the *fifth empire* lay in waiting, dormant in the minds and bodies of the Portuguese, an empire of the mind and soul to replenish the country to its place at the center of the world. See *Fernando Pessoa: A Little Larger Than the Entire Universe - Selected Poems*, trans. Richard Zenith, Richard Zenith (London: Penguin, 2006); on Távora’s intimacy with Pessoa see Mendes, “Para Quê Exigir À Sombra a Rectidão Que Não Possui e Vara Que a Produz?”

advanced: “Everything must be redone – starting from the beginning.”³⁶⁴ The problem was that such attempts by young architects, his colleagues, were mostly “(...) unfounded, because it rests more in an intuition than in an analysis of what needs to be done.”³⁶⁵ The discipline’s potentialities thus lay dormant, specially the development of national scientific tools for architecture. A problem traced to the situation: “Many times is said: portuguese architects copy foreign works, but it is never said that the same architects have not yet been given the possibilities of creating their own solutions.”³⁶⁶ His proposal envisioned to afford these opportunities.

The discipline of architecture however, was not the only called for the edifying mission. This required the country’s various “specialized elements,” because it was a project that should “satisfy all.” Távora called upon the expertise of engineers, geographers, archeologists, ethnographers, architects, for the producing of a truthful national landscape. All these experts would gather around an “integral study” of *portuguese truth*, which he grouped in three areas: “the portuguese environment;” “portuguese Architecture” and “modern architecture in the world.”³⁶⁷ A three-step approach in which, foremost, a comprehensive analysis Portuguese built landscapes should be accomplished, followed by an evaluation of available tools and lastly possible tools/solutions to the problem of given Portuguese houses to all Portuguese.

Regarding the first step, in the “(...) study of the portuguese environment we should look to two fundamental elements,” deemed interconnected and constituting the precondition for the architectural work to follow: “Man” and “Land.”³⁶⁸ Távora framed the need to study these two elements in the face of the concrete organizational problem of “houses for all.” This idea lay imbued in the ideological skeleton of the dictatorship – “The new political and social unit – the family – shall possess (besides the arm or the brain that gives it bread) its own house...”³⁶⁹ – playing an instrumental role in social expectations.³⁷⁰ The analysis of “Man” foremost implied understanding actual “needs and conditions.” “Man” and “Land” are from the outset connected with the housing problem. Távora selected the study of social and economical conditions to focus the analysis of “Man,” while that of “Land” should involve mostly geographical elements such climate, luminosity and materiality. He further added that these should proceed “(...) in what may directly concern architecture.”³⁷¹

The second step involved the study of the “portuguese house (erudite and popular), or lets call it instead, of construction in Portugal,” a work that, he recognized, despite certain efforts by archeologists, remained mostly unaccomplished.³⁷² Távora then acknowledged the *Portuguese housee* agents, which he partially reproached: “(...) some archeologists already spoke and wrote about our houses but of what we know none gave a contemporary sense to its study, making it a collaborating element in the new

³⁶⁴ “Tudo há que refazer – começando pelo princípio.” in Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

³⁶⁵ “ (...) infundadas porque assenta mais numa intuição do que numa análise do que é necessário fazer-se.” in Ibid.

³⁶⁶ “Muitas vezes se diz: os architectos portugueses copiam a obra dos estrangeiros, mas nunca se diz que aos mesmos architectos se não forneceram ainda as possibilidades de criarem soluções próprias.” in Ibid.

³⁶⁷ “ Do meio português; Da arquitectura portuguesa; Da arquitectura moderna no mundo.” in Ibid.

³⁶⁸ “(...) estudo do meio português devemos atender a dois elementos fundamentais (...): o Homem e a Terra.” in Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Duarte Pacheco, 1934, in *Ouvindo Ramalde: Memórias E Registos*.

³⁷⁰ See Pedro Ramos Pinto, “Housing and Citizenship: Building Social Rights in Twentieth-Century Portugal,” *Contemporary European History* 18, no. 2 (2009): 199–215.

³⁷¹ “(...) naquilo em que directamente possa interessa a arquitectura.” in Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

³⁷² “O estudo da casa portuguesa (erudita e popular), ou chamemos-lhe antes da construção em Portugal (...).” in Ibid.

architecture.”³⁷³ Equally grave, these studies did not speak about “(...) the relation between our old and popular architecture with all the conditions that have created and developed it.”³⁷⁴ Gap Távora proposed to fill with the analysis of “Man” and “Land.” These archeologists were accused of studying the “vernacular house” for its “picturesqueness,” estranging it from its context. He argued this “(...) is not the way to reach the heart of the matter,” because the “vernacular house...is the most true, the more functional and the less fanciful.”³⁷⁵ In this second step of analysis, the vernacular should already be part of a functionalist lens and integrate a grammar of modernist architecture.

Lastly, the third step, “modern architecture in the world,” drew a theoretical exercise in which international architectural tendencies could be mixed with the truths produced on the ground about “Man, Land” and its habitats. Távora here started by stating that his colleagues and he were “(...) men of an époque that if not accomplished in various aspects, in those concerning architecture it seems to have acquired a promising solidity.”³⁷⁶ This was the solidity of Le Corbusier’s concrete, Mies’ slab-and-glass and the whole prolific production stemming from Weimar, the CIAMs, and then from North-American universities and Californian villas. The victorious models of modernism were called to the forefront. From these productions, he diagnosed, a “new character” emerged from where Portuguese architecture “must branch” itself “without fear of losing its character.” Adding: “If today we have individuality, the studying of foreign architecture no harm will cause us.”³⁷⁷ However, his proposal was not an eulogy to international trends, instead: “(...) if we do not have it (foreign architecture) then it is useless to have the pretension of speaking of a Portuguese Architecture. It is not fair nor logical that we close ourselves in a procured ignorance to the works of great foreign architects or to the new materials that soo many of our problems may resolve if rationally applied.”³⁷⁸

As probably became clear, Távora’s emphasis was not on copying the foreign “promising solidity,” but on the apprehension of its “character,” which was foremost formed through functionalism: the “portuguese house...the most true, the most functional, the least fanciful.” In short, a functional articulation of tradition, Portuguese vernacular worlds, of “Man and Land” was argued as needed for a wholesome edification of national landscape. But, furthermore, to the welfare of Portuguese in the post-war. “It is our intention,” Távora completed the manifesto, “to raise solely, with clarity and without factionalism, a problem that imposes itself and of which everyone speaks, problem not only of aesthetical character but mostly of *social character*. The portuguese want housing and faced with this desire new architects cannot remain in a state of comfortable passivity but useless and in all condemnable.”³⁷⁹

³⁷³ “(...) alguns arqueólogos falaram e escerveram já sobre as nossas casas mas do que conhecemos nenhum deu sentido actual ao seu estudo, tornando-o elemento colaborante da nova arquitectura;” in Ibid.

³⁷⁴ “(...) a da relação da nossa arquitecatura antiga ou popular com todas as condições que a criaram e desenvolveram;” in Ibid.

³⁷⁵ “(...) não é deste modo que se penetrará no âmago da questão;” and “(...) casa popular fornecer-nos-á grandes lições porque ela é a mais verdadeira, a mais funcional e a menos fantasiosa.” in Ibid.

³⁷⁶ “Somos homens de uma época que se em muitos aspectos não afirmou ainda, no da arquitectura parece ter adquirido já uma prometedora solidez.” in Ibid.

³⁷⁷ “(...) um carácter novo (...) e é nele que deve entroncar-se (...) sem receio de que perca o seu carácter. Se hoje temos individualidade, o estudar a arquitectura estrangeira nenhum mal nos causará;” in Ibid.

³⁷⁸ “(...) se a não temos será então inútil ter a pretensão de falar em Arquitectura Portuguesa. Não é justo nem lógico que nos fechemos numa ignorância procurada às obras dos grande architectos estrangeiros ou aos materiais novos que tantos problemas nossos poderão resolver quando racionalmente aplicados.” in Ibid.

³⁷⁹ “É nossa intenção, aliás, levantar apenas, com clareza e sem facciosismo, um problema que se impõe e em que todos falam, problema não só de carácter estético mas sobretudo de *carácter social*. Os portugueses querem habitações e perante êste desejo os novos architectos não podem

His proposal was not just about substituting one national style for another, this time in tune with modernist norms and forms. It was also about the correction of the nation's dwelling deficit by a true architecture. The ethics "our house," as Lino wrote, was translated into an ethics of collective dwelling and a needed good taste afflicting all portuguese and not solely those housed in summer and countryside resorts. By hiring the forces of functionalism and the needs of "Man and Land," a renewed national architecture was thought to doubly accomplish the nation: through the verity of its vernacular forms it would accomplish a cultural essence, while through its wide application it would literally house the majority.

This combination of elements in the articulation of an edifying proposal for national architecture is what came to be known as the "third-way" in Portuguese modern architecture culture.³⁸⁰ What according to many readers of this founding moment was the humanist, socially compromised, articulation between universal and local, invention and tradition, progress and culture.³⁸¹ Returning to the paternal tension, this was a "compromise with modernity without foregoing its ties to tradition."³⁸² A compromise that has been represented as "imposed as necessary for the enabling of modern architecture in the post-war,"³⁸³ given the common idea of the embattlement between modernist and traditional styles, the first for the emancipating modern architects, the second for the dictatorship and its taste policy. In short, this proposal in 1945 by Távora was credited with having formulated the drawing of priorities and architectural problems guiding Portuguese architecture to its social commitments: "Man, Land" and houses for all. Unsuspectingly, it was through an *áleo* to defend King, monarchy and God, that this came about.

We should read Távora's problematization of national architecture as a suggestive epistemological and methodological sketch, combining a dialogue with the outside - modernist aspirations, "the great masters" - with the reinvention of a domestic object - the vernacular dwelling, "the portuguese house" - with the projection of an edifying professional mission - a "service" to the collective, the *portuguese truth*. His brief architecture proposal mediated a number of different and sometimes contrasting elements: vernacular landscapes, functionalism, housing for all, the accomplishment of a Portuguese essence, the harmonizing of the nation's spatial expression. Houses needed to be provided and they needed to reify Portugal, mainland Portugal that is, the small piece of land west of Spain and at the time stretching long arms into Africa and Asia. Távora's *portuguese truth* apparently did not extent

manter-se num estado de passividade cómoda mas inútil e em tudo condenável." in Ibid. The housing shortage in Portugal had a specific brutal and polemic facet in Porto, namely in the immediate post-war, when several surveys, moved by urban plans, tried to account for general living conditions of working classes. About Porto's housing problem see, for instance, Marielle Christine Gros, *O Alojamento Social Sob O Fascismo* (Lisboa: Afrontamento, 1982).

³⁸⁰ As Távora would later label what he initiated with his 1945 article. See Távora Fernando, "As Raízes E Os Frutos," *Diário de Lisboa*, July 3, 1986; Fernando Távora, "Prefácio," in *Raul Lino, Pensador Nacionalista Da Arquitectura* (Porto: Architecture Faculty of the University of Porto, 1994); and Javier Frechilla, "Fernando Távora, Conversaciones En Oporto," *Arquitectura, Revista Del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid*, August 1986.

³⁸¹ See, for instance, Nuno Portas, "Arquitecto Fernando Távora, 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional, Um Estudo Crítico," *Arquitectura*, July 1961; Alexandre Alves Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa* (Porto: Faculty of Architecture of the Univeristy of Porto, 1995); and Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*.

³⁸² Nelson Mota, "Quando O Mito Da Intocável Virgem Branca Se Desfez: A Arquitectura Vernácula E a Emergência de Um Outro Moderno Em Portugal," *Vitruvius*, June 2012, <http://www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/13.145/4382>.

³⁸³ Jorge Figueira, "A Periferia Perfeita: Pós-Modernidade Na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2009): 46.

beyond this limit. Neither did it need to, for within these and the confines of the *integralista* and monarchical magazine, this brief proposal for an architectural renovation expanded and started to look like a desirable program for others.

I will not account, as many have done, for how this text almost single-handedly generated its proposed architectural renovation.³⁸⁴ Neither do I aim to discuss the “third-way” notion, the compromise between tradition and modernity or the humanist modernism cast into it. Instead, I propose to read Távora’s proposal through its translation in others’ motivations and aspirations. More specifically through colleagues that one way or another were appropriating the idea of grounding a Portuguese practice of architecture in new tools but also dialoguing with *portuguese truth*, and reviewing its collective projections. I will, in short, assume a plural perspective of the construction of the problems enunciated in the 1945 manifesto, as the latter is taken here as intersecting different motivations and agendas within a young professional class, avid of commitments, filled with personal and class ambitions. Hence, we will continue with the question: who read Távora’s proposal as something wider, an architectural culture to be made and not just as a reaction to a reaction in a somewhat unknown *integralista* magazine?

Letters and friends

Let us say every text ever written, with some existential or self-interrogating aim about it contains an invisible but very active friendship request. Said differently, any text can be a call to those others who, either in the present or in the future, believe in similar causes, rally under similar stakes, joining an invisible solidarity created by letters, a friendship of letters.³⁸⁵ Távora’s 1945 article has many friends in recent times. Many different architects and architecture students identify with the energetic and ethically motivated architectural attitude he articulated.³⁸⁶ We could say that, in posterity, his letter friends form a specific professional and scholarly community. But who were his “friends” at the time of writing? Who actually read the article and saw in it a friend request, an intimacy of intentions in time and place?³⁸⁷

Luis Teotónio Pereira (1895-1990), son of insurance baron João Teotónio Pereira Jr. (1869-1948), followed his father footsteps and became administrator to the *Fidelidade* insurance company. Brother of Pedro Teotónio Pereira (1902-1972), member of Salazar’s “olympus,” Luis Pereira was also a politician

³⁸⁴ For instance, Fernandes, in *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Atualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*, exaggerates the power of this short article by Távora.

³⁸⁵ The comunist manifesto is one eloquent example of the possible number of letter friends a questioning text can muster. While this notion of letter friendship can be found in many letter friendships, I owe it more immediatly to Peter Sloterdijk’s reading of text, books, treatises, etc..., as mediator of a desired collective, in *Regras Para O Parque Humano: Uma Resposta à “Carta Sobre O Humanismo,”* trans. Manuel Resende (Coimbra: Angelus Novus, 2007), originally published in 1999, Frankfurt Suhrkamp, under the title *Regeln für den Menschenpark. Ein Antwortschreiben zu Heideggers Brief über den Humanismus.*

³⁸⁶ Besides the works already cited there exist a vast number of articles, essays and masters’ dissertations, namely developed in the architecture schools of Porto and Coimbra, that summon up Távora’s manifesto.

³⁸⁷ To the best of my knowledge it is almost impossible to determine with some measure of certainty how many people read the article in 1945 or in the following years. A safe bet would be to assume that mostly conservative individuals, satisfied by *integralista* language and monarchical causes read the article, to which the magazine was directed. This is another way of saying the article’s proposal probably fell mostly on deaf ears, as Távora claimed the national picturesque, so dear to conservative circles, to be a “lie.”

in the dictatorship and avid reader of *Aléo*. The Teotónio family rallied under the values and social stakes of *integralismo* and the conservative catholic right. It was ideologically, politically and economically connected with the dictatorship.³⁸⁸ Luis Pereira's son, Nuno Teotónio Pereira, 23 years old in 1945 and on his way to become an architect by Lisbon's school, was since an early age an enthusiastic participant in events and associations either flowing from right-wing circles or directly from the regime. The *Mocidade Portuguesa* – MP,³⁸⁹ the dictatorship's organized youth movement, is one example of the latter. But also as a teenager and later in college, he connected himself with various catholic associations.

Maturing professionally in the immediate post-war implied, at least for some, that the construction of one's subjectivity, personality and wants, had to deal at some level with those powerful liberating and destructive forces circling abroad. As it seems to be the case, architecture school environs, both in Lisbon and Porto, constituted prime places for the formation of irreverence. Just like in Porto's school, irreverence came to be fermented through the medium of modernist architecture and art. Like many other colleagues, it was through some international magazines, one or another colleague that had worked or been with somebody from the European avant-garde, that Teotónio Pereira contacted with the *international style*. And just like with the MP and catholic associations, also in this invisible association he was active. In 1944, together with his colleague architect Manuel Costa Martins (1922-96), they published probably the first translation into Portuguese of the *athens charter* in the magazine *Técnica: Revista de Engenharia dos Alunos do IST*. A magazine mostly founded by engineering students from Lisbon's *Instituto Superior Técnico Superior* – IST.³⁹⁰ Modernism constituted, especially for architecture and art students, as we have seen regarding Porto, a field of identity formation through cultural militancy. In Teotónio Pereira's words:

There was a fighting spirit, of resistance. Our ideal was modernism and our enemies or adversaries were Portuguese power, where the school director itself was included, the professor Agostinho da Silva (...). This made us learn how to fight, to resist, to oppose.³⁹¹

Modernism mediated a fighting spirit these students sought for themselves, as it constituted in classrooms, student associations, hallway discussions and through a few magazines, various controversial objects that allowed the questioning of the conservative social backgrounds from which many came, such as Teotónio Pereira and Távora. In the citation above, the former, late in his career, expressed what by then had become a retold common experience of his generation, and which I discussed in the first chapter regarding Porto: the identification of modernism with a heterotopic environment where newness was tried out, and through which students articulated art's and architecture's possible social

³⁸⁸ Nuno Teotónio Pereira, interview in Franklim Rodrigues et al., "Era Uma Vez Um Milénio: Entrevista Com Nuno Teotónio Pereira E Fernando Rosas," *Em Tempo de Mudança, a História Do Século XX* (Lisbon: Antena 2, May 15, 1998).

³⁸⁹ Translatable as *Portuguese Youth*.

³⁹⁰ *Superior Technical Institute* of Lisbon. The magazine's name can be literally translated as *IST Engineering Students Magazine*. See Fátima Coelho, "Arquitecto Nuno Teotónio Pereira: Selecção de Obras Existentes No Acervo Documental Da Biblioteca Keil Do Amaral" (Ordem dos Arquitectos - SRS, 2010).

³⁹¹ "Havia um espírito de luta, de resistência. O nosso ideal era o modernismo e os nossos inimigos ou adversários era o poder português, onde se incluía o próprio director da Escola, o professor Agostinho da Silva (...) Isto fez-nos aprender a lutar, a resistir, a contrapor." in Nuno Teotónio Pereira, interview in Carlos Guimarães, João Crisóstomo, and Luís Loureiro, "Entrevista a Nuno Teotónio Pereira," *Vitruvius*, April 2008, <http://www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/entrevista/09.034/3288?page=2>, accessed March 3 2016.

compromises. While this may be the broad sketch of a rebellious scenography, usually imputed to art and architecture schools, critique and dissent were not always found there. In Teotónio Pereira's family houses, his father and uncle kept various books, magazines and other texts on the nation's wholesome becoming, the validity of the national union, Salazar's political economy, of Portuguese culture, of the merit of christian values. It so happened that among these readings there was also the magazine *Áleo*, casually rehearsing a meeting between Teotónio Pereira and Távora's.³⁹²

When reading the article, Teotónio Pereira, according to him, was taken-a-back by the clarity and courage of the article. By then he didn't know the author, nor that he was 22 years old and, like him, studying to become a modern architect.³⁹³ As he recounts the episode, he was so inspired and felt so intimate with its ideas that he tried, by every means available, to find out the author's identity. Eventually he succeeded, putting his family's social network into use, influential in *integralista* and monarchical circles, it identified the *integralista* family to the north. Having found the author, he sent a letter to Távora, bespeaking his appreciation and intimacy with the latter's ideas. They started a string of letters between Lisbon and Porto, the result of which was a meeting in Porto: Teotónio Pereira came up to the northern capital and met Távora in front of a church, the "marriage" of minds proceeded.

To the best of my knowledge the direct outcome of this meeting and early interaction between the two remains uncertain and, therefore, unnamable regarding eventual influences and shared objects. Nevertheless, several actions and elements can be related with Teotónio Pereira's recognition of a "friend" in Távora's ideas of architectural modernity. In 1946, he transferred to Porto's school, thus constituting one of Lisbon's students fleeing the conservative administration, to the more edgy environment produced in Porto by Carlos Ramos and many others. More importantly, when coming back to Lisbon, together with the architect Manuel João Leal he started to edit Távora's article for republishing. It would form the contents of the first issue of an architecture magazine entirely devoted to one-piece essays, and directed by them. The magazine was called *Cadernos de Arquitectura*³⁹⁴ and inaugurated in 1947 with Távora's project for dwelling nationally, with some corrections by the author.³⁹⁵ Teotónio Pereira thus became partly responsible for the re-publication that would make Távora's article widely accessible to architects and architecture students from then on.³⁹⁶

Through these, among other, means a professional culture was shared in claims and experiences, in which functionalism and the new lessons from abroad had an important role in personal and professional formulation. Equally important, however, this "friendship" was also constituted from a specific ambivalence and tension, between tradition and novelty, shared by both. Both Teotónio Pereira's and Távora's desires for change can be said to have been constructed in relation to a father-culture, enacted in their conservative families, performing clear and strong ties to the dictatorship's political project and governance. So, for instance, to compromise modernism with a local and particular subject, material landscape and culture, emerged in both as a central issue. As *integralista* narratives and catholic ideals shared the idea of an essential organic Portuguese being, found in its "natural state" in the village, the parish and their harmonious organization, so too they departed from the need to

³⁹² Nuno Teotónio Pereira, interview in Antunes, "Fernando Távora."

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Literally translatable as *Architecture Notebooks*.

³⁹⁵ Fernando Távora, "O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa," *Cadernos de Arquitectura*, 1947.

³⁹⁶ The 1947 re-publication is that usually cited, instead of the 1945 original article in *Áleo*, it is not so common nowadays to dwell on monarchical magazines from mid-20th century.

understand the spirit of the land. This production of the country transmitted a series of conflicts and tensions that each dealt in different fashions. Távora tried to annul supposed opposites via a “middling,” downplaying inequalities and dispossessions in detriment of larger cultural stakes and professional realization, as in his 1945 article. While Teotónio Pereira moved more dangerously close to the conflicts present in the spirit of the land, progressively emphasizing the need for rupture with established practices. The first tried to remain within his family historical becoming and provenience, the second was gradually ostracized by his. Nevertheless, before the paths of each traced two different sets of socio-spatial attitudes and practices,³⁹⁷ they coalesced in the fulfillment of the problems and methods for a modern national architecture committed with “Man and Land,” in the wake of the post-war,

The intimacy shared by both to this professional mission can be read in Ramalde. At the time, Teotónio Pereira was part of the FCP’s housing program technical corps, growing in administrative responsibilities. The initiative of creating architecture competitions by invitation was his prerogative. As said before, this was a way of assuring that public housing was given a modern facet by hiring younger, more modernist-sympathizing architects. Távora’s presence in Ramalde should be understood in this light: hired by a fellow-in-arms, as it were.³⁹⁸ The rallying to the same professional cause, however, is more clearly read in a letter by Teotónio Pereira, in part replying to Távora’s.

In 1947, before Ramalde, he also published his own manifesto on the need for an “authentic” Portuguese architecture, neither forcefully traditionalist nor superficially modernist. The article was titled “A Arquitectura Cristã Contemporânea” and published in *ALA*, a journal founded and promoted by members of *Juventude Universitária Católica* - JUC, an activist association of catholic and non-catholic university students involved in catholic unionism and modernization.³⁹⁹ JUC was part of a broader campaign for developing and infiltrating catholicism within universities and other schooling institutions, active since the early 1930s. This was a program sanctioned by the Portuguese Church’s leadership, namely cardinal Manuel Cerejeira, and fostered by the dictatorship.⁴⁰⁰ The movement grew along the 1940s and 1950s, creating several societies and associations within educational spaces, numerous in member size.⁴⁰¹ Also because of this, that is, because of the amount of young and diverse university students present in this program for making religion contemporary, some of its associations started to reformulate their engagements, such as JUC.

For instance, in an issue from 1947, prior to the one carrying Teotónio Pereira’s manifesto, JUC gave notice that its “social doctrine” was being erected around the individual and not the family, nor

³⁹⁷ A discussion that, regrettably, will not be developed in this research.

³⁹⁸ On Teotónio Pereira’s career in the FCP see Maria Tavares, “Leituras de Um Percurso Na Habitação Em Portugal. As Habitações Económicas - Federação de Caixas de Previdência,” in *Habitação Para O Maior Número. Portugal, Os Anos de 1950-1980*, Nuno Portas (Lisbon: IRHU - Lisbon Municipality, 2013): 8.

³⁹⁹ JUC is translatable as *University Catholic Youth*, while the article’s title literally means “Contemporary Christian Architecture.” See Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “A Arquitectura Cristã Contemporânea,” *ALA - Quinzenário Dos Universitários Católicos de Portugal*, January 1947, JUC - Juventude Universitária Católica edition; for a brief overview of the magazine and student association see the official website of the Portuguese Catholic University: http://www.ft.lisboa.ucp.pt/site/custom/template/ucptpl_fac.asp?SSPAGEID=1012&lang=1&artigoID=232, accessed 20 of May, 2015.

⁴⁰⁰ It is worth remembering Salazar and Cerejeira were personal friends from their studies in Coimbra and their participation in the CCP.

⁴⁰¹ Namely with a vast presence of women, which formed the majority of some regional branches of JUC, see Albérico Afonso Costa, “A Juventude Universitária Católica Organiza-Se,” in *Uma Desordem Perfumada*, JUC-Juventude Universitária Católica, Os Anos de Salazar 10 (Barcelona: Multiactiva Creación y servicios Editoriales, 2008), 36–47.

the state or any other institution they identified as provisory.⁴⁰² In the same issue and the same page, a piece criticized the nacionalization of companies undertaken by the dictatorship, point by point explaining its harmful aspects to the nation. Among these, the following formulated part of JUC's social doctrine: "because (nationalization) takes from man one of his biggest stimulus in life, the desire to rise, of valuing oneself not only intelectually, but also even materially."⁴⁰³ It was not a question of the Church being against market nationalization, as she explained, but of ensuring this process respected individual rights and freedoms. In short, in the post-war JUC slowly became a network made by young and motivated christians tied by claims for progressive change, better rights and freedoms, some of its most progressive agents eventually becoming burdensome to the dictatorship.⁴⁰⁴

In such a network of affinities with this catholic social doctrine, Teotónio Pereira launched a critique to the state of affairs of catholic Portuguese architecture and the failure of its social commitments. While Távora's article was designed against a broader, more abstract, field - architectural *reaportuguesamento* and houses for the majority - Teotónio Pereira's was directed at religious architecture and how it translated JUC's proposals to rejuvenate catholicism and promote national welfare. He found it lacking. As Távora before him, he started by speaking of Portuguese religious architecture as "lacking authenticity," suffering the same "affliction as civilian architecture."⁴⁰⁵ Both architectures suffered a divorce "from People, Land and Époque."⁴⁰⁶ Also for Pereira, the 19th century was a troubled century, specially in terms of architecture production, promoting all sorts of "empty" traditionalisms and different "fashions" disaggregated from an attentive understanding of what moves both local and universal societal movements. The "fake" traditionalism imputed to some sectors of the regime and the Portuguese Church was condemned as an "inversion of the natural order," because "(...) forms are no longer the result, but deliberate imposition."⁴⁰⁷

Like Távora, he argued the architectural crisis of the 19th century provoked the search for a "solidly structured and authentically national" architecture, well achieved in more advanced countries and which should be studied without fear of losing one's character if, in fact, he quandered, "we have a collective personality."⁴⁰⁸ Also like Távora, for him only vernacular architecture, "(...) that of the poor city neighborhoods"⁴⁰⁹ kept together in the face of said crisis. He then claimed that to accomplish an authentic architecture one should not only "copy the forms, but study the processes."⁴¹⁰ With a "childlike innocence," national architecture should be "created anew," should gather the strength once

⁴⁰² Unknown, "A Origem Da Doutrina Social Da Igreja," *ALA - Quinzenário Dos Universitários Católicos de Portugal*, January 1947, JUC-Juventude Universitária Católica edition.

⁴⁰³ "(...) porque tira ao homem um dos seus maiores estímulos, na vida, o desejo de subir, de se valorizar não só intelectualmente, como mesmo materialmente." in Isabel Maria Athayde, "O Problema Da Nacionalização Das Empresas," *ALA - Quinzenário Dos Universitários Católicos de Portugal*, January 1947, JUC - Juventude Universitária Católica edition: 3.

⁴⁰⁴ See, for instance, Costa, "A Juventude Universitária Católica Organiza-Se."

⁴⁰⁵ "(...) falta de autenticidade;" "(...) do mesmo terrível mal que a Arquitectura civil;" in Pereira, "A Arquitectura Cristã Contemporânea."

⁴⁰⁶ "(...) do Povo, da Terra e da Époque." in Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ "A ordem natural é, assim, invertida. As formas já não são um resultado, mas uma imposição deliberada." in Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ "Se temos, realmente, personalidade colectiva, não há razões para temer uma desnacionalização arquitectural." in Ibid. I argue Teotónio Pereira was indirectly referencing Swedish and Swiss modern architecture from the 1930s and 1940s, which were influential for him as student, see Guimarães, Crisóstomo, and Loureiro, "Entrevista a Nuno Teotónio Pereira."

⁴⁰⁹ "(...) a dos bairros pobres das cidades (...)" in Pereira, "A Arquitectura Cristã Contemporânea."

⁴¹⁰ "(...) não copiemos as formas, mas estudemos os processos." in Ibid.

had to “nationalize universal movements.”⁴¹¹ An original style would emerge and not a fashion, he argued, if “(...) grounded on the Land, connected to the People and paced with the Age.”⁴¹² Thus, the “architectural lie” could be overcome, according to him, by listening closely to those words of a “lucid articulator,” citing Távora’s “there is an ethic in Architecture (...)”⁴¹³

If so far this article seems to echo Távora’s main points, we shall now turn to the distinctions, which are many and structural. To begin with, Teotónio Pereira wrote a short introduction to the article, stating that it was a piece devoted to architectural critique yet written by an architect, which has “inconveniences, for it is not advisable that the critique of a determined activity be practiced by whom has investments closely related to that activity.”⁴¹⁴ He justified the need for the article on two reasons: (1) because critique of architecture was almost inexistent, or highly incompetent when it did exist; and (2) because of the subject, which according to him was the victim of a long silence that could not be silenced anymore. With this introduction, he exercised a self-awareness of professional bias and commitments, not only absent from Távora’s, but also rare at the time.

Also in the introduction, he claimed not to address “condemnations” at any class or community in particular, because the responsibility of architecture fell “(...) mostly on the dominant mentality.”⁴¹⁵ While it resembles Távora’s accusation of a national “spirit of the times,” mislead and forcefully numb, it was actually quite different. A “spirit of the times” is made by a race⁴¹⁶ and an equally difficult-to-grasp, polemical, entity called “the times,” not to mention the more troublesome notion of spirit. All of which are difficult to pin down to specific objects, classes and individual agents. A “dominant mentality,” on the other hand, is something produced by that which dominates and domination is not very abstract. Teotónio Pereira’s use of dominant should be understood as meaning hegemony and, hence, possible to be contested. A “dominant mentality,” is concretely conflictual, always the result of a specific inequalities of power. In this sense, Távora’s framework was much more devoted to an interior work of change, simultaneously more personal and more abstract, than Teotónio Pereira’s, which was more connected with the concrete settings and expressions of the Portuguese Catholic Church. His accusation was directed at a simultaneously bigger and more concrete beast.

While this difference between spirit and dominance may appear secondary, it gives us an important insight into Teotónio Pereira’s critique. It was both more specific and global. Throughout the article he referenced various specific buildings and agents, always turning larger critiques of contemporary “civil and religious” Portuguese architecture into specific critiques directed at church architecture or taken-for-granted ideas. In turn, these were transformed into broader ethical judgements. Nevertheless, like Távora, he claimed that for an authentic architecture the “(o)nly premises should be functional (...) and constructive (...)”⁴¹⁷ Yet his take on the resolution of these premises was divided between the able

⁴¹¹ “Se outrora tivemos a força vital necessária para nacionalizarmos as correntes universais, hoje essa força parece não estar enfraquecida.” in Ibid. He gave the example of national gothic, romanian, renaissance and baroque religious monuments.

⁴¹² “(...) enraizado na Terra, ligado ao Povo e compassado à Época.” in Ibid.

⁴¹³ “lúcido articulista” in Ibid.; the full citation from Távora’s 1945 article is “there is an ethic in Architecture and if Man is the measure of its scale, we must demand of her the same qualities we demand of true Man.” in Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

⁴¹⁴ “(...) inconvenientes, pois não é recomendável que a crítica de uma determinada actividade seja praticada por quem tem interesses estreitamente ligados a essa actividade.” in Pereira, “A Arquitectura Cristã Contemporânea.”

⁴¹⁵ “(...) a responsabilidade da Arquitectura cabe sobretudo à mentalidade dominante.” in Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Spengler, *The Decline of the West*.

⁴¹⁷ “As únicas premissas deverão ser funcionais (...) e construtivas (...)” in Pereira, “A Arquitectura Cristã Contemporânea.”

technician – the architect – his immediate collaborators – engineers, clients, builders, urban policy makers – and a “high collective ideal.” In other words, the able architect, even if great, would not accomplish such a task, because according to him architecture was a “mirror” of its society: “(...) each society has the Architecture it deserves.”⁴¹⁸ In part, this reinforced Távora’s statements about the need to muster the “collaboration of all” in order to achieve a true national architecture. Yet, closer to JUC’s affinities, Teotónio Pereira was also using the words of the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon to put the weight on the side of broad cultural and societal changes, instead of the able technician. In his mediation of the Patriarch’s words, artists could and should work in the “opening of paths” to the future society, but they would not produce it. Citing the Benedictine monk and writer Claude Jean-Nesmy: “To us falls hastening the coming of this New Middle Age.”⁴¹⁹

This made an important distinction with Távora. Teotónio Pereira, while recognizing the importance of designers in creating “new paths,” spent the largest portion of the article arguing how these paths were made by many other things and people. His critique was also an early caution to the supposed power of architecture in making the nation whole again, by producing a true spatial expression. A critique, however, grounded on a similar grim description of state of affairs:

Faced with the magnificent blossoming of this authentic Christian Architecture (new fact since the Gothic), the portuguese outlook is painful to behold, battlefield of fake modernists and fake traditionalists, those more reasonable than these, of course, but all removed from the good path.⁴²⁰

Teotónio Pereira would soon test the “good path” through various practical experiences, namely in the FCP and its housing program, which was partly responsible for his growing criticism of the dictatorship. Namely because, through it, he had a direct relationship with how the *portuguese houses for all portuguese* was actually not being achieved.⁴²¹ But also through church designs developed together with others connected with the emerging *Movimento de Renovação da Arte Religiosa* – MRAR, co-founded by him in the early 1950s and developed as an artistic and architectural experimentation based on the evolving social doctrine developed of JUC.⁴²²

Likewise, Távora early on trailed his “good path,” investing practice in the ordeals of an authentic Portuguese modern architecture. Simultaneous to Ramalheira he developed a number of private commissioned designs, later in the 1950s, such as an apartment block in Foz, a summerhouse in Ofir and the model buildings for SACOR’s gas stations. As well as publicly commissioned works such as the Vila da Feira municipal market and the *cedro* elementary school in Gaia. These last two designs and the summerhouse in Ofir were later celebrated as moments of “synthesis.”⁴²³ Put differently, as objects

⁴¹⁸ “(...) cada sociedade tem a Arquitectura que merece.” in *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ “A nós pertence-nos apressar a vinda desta Nova Idade Média.” in *Ibid.*

⁴²⁰ “Em face do desabrochar magnífico desta Arquitectura cristã autêntica (facto novo desde o Gótico), é doloroso contemplar o panorama português, campo de batalha de falsos modernistas e falsos tradicionalistas, aqueles mais razoáveis que estes, é certo, mas todos afastados do bom caminho.” in *Ibid.* Teotónio Pereira was referring to new modernist churches in the north of Europe.

⁴²¹ Nuno Teotónio Pereira, interview in Rodrigues et al., “Era Uma Vez Um Milénio: Entrevista Com Nuno Teotónio Pereira E Fernando Rosas.”

⁴²² Translatable as Religious Art Renovation Movement. For an overview of this movement see José Carlos Pereira, “Movimento de Renovação Da Arte Religiosa,” *Arte Teoria - Revista Do Mestrado de Teorias de Arte Da Faculdade de Belas-Artes Da Universidade de Lisboa*, no. 1 (2000): 111–31.

⁴²³ Álvaro Siza Vieira referring specifically to the Municipal Market and the Ofir Vacation house, interview in Antunes, “Fernando Távora.”

symbolizing “solutions” to a modern yet national architecture, working both with *portuguese truth* and modernist claims on the socio-functional productive operations of architecture.

Most projects from this period in Távora’s career can be understood as different transfusions of the discussion inaugurated in the article of 1945 into the problems of design and urban planning. We may look in a similar vein to Teotónio Pereira’s professional practice. Yet, each design project carried its stakes and problems, its own production of a good path to modern Portuguese architecture. Each was as much the manifestation of a larger agenda for architecture and its commitments to improving collective conditions, as this larger agenda was the manifestation of various and differing designs to particular problems. In the next two chapters we will go with more detail into some of the specific disciplinary and professional designs, grounding a true Portuguese modern architecture. Before, however, I must speak of another “letter friend,” specially important in opening the field for the landscapes we will be going through.

This friend was the architect Francisco Keil do Amaral (1910-1975). Son of Viscount Francisco Coelho do Amaral Reis (1873-1938) and Guida Maria Josefina Cinatti Keil (1885-1965), both descendants from influential families in business, politics and the arts. His father was a committed republican liberal, along with most of his family. Arriving the dictatorship, he assumed high-ranking governmental positions, such as governor-general of Angola. It was also in the dictatorship that he was conceded the noble title of Viscount. Guida Keil was highly cultured, devoted and friendly to the arts, hosting a number of soirées sponsoring new artists, poets, and otherwise promoting the arts by various means. We can understand the Keil do Amaral family as representative of a liberal high-class, republican by inheritance, and with which the dictatorship had to compromise in order to achieve its “new state.”⁴²⁴

Keil do Amaral studied architecture in Lisbon from 1929 and 1933, leaving the school before graduating, disenchanted with most teachers’ rejection of a “Rational, logic architecture.”⁴²⁵ He joined Carlos Ramos’ office in Lisbon soon after. This introduced him in to Ramos’ modern “school,” not in the classroom but enacted in the office, in which he was “taught the need to be modern.”⁴²⁶ Leaving Ramos’ office, he integrated Duarte Pacheco’s technical avant-garde, working on Lisbon’s urban expansion plan, working under the French urban planner Alfred Agache, responsible for the plan.⁴²⁷ In 1938 he joined the technical staff of Lisbon municipality. As municipal architect and part of Pacheco’s avant-garde, he worked in various important public works in Lisbon, such as Eduardo VII Park and the emblematic *Exposição do Mundo Português*.⁴²⁸ After Pacheco’s death in 1943 Keil left the municipality and in 1947 opened his office in *arco do cego* Street, where various *Portuguese house* experiments were built and where a thriving technical middle-class lived.

⁴²⁴ Most biographical notes about Keil do Amaral are taken from a text by his son Francisco Pires Keil do Amaral and another by Irisalva Moita, in Ana Tostões et al., *Keil Do Amaral: O Arquitecto E O Humanista*, Irisalva Moita (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1999): 20-36.

⁴²⁵ “Arquitectura racional, lógica (...)” in Keil do Amaral, 1933, cited in Ibid: 29; he finished the architecture degree three years later.

⁴²⁶ “(...) a necessidade de ser moderno.” in Ibid.

⁴²⁷ On Agache see David K. Underwood, “Alfred Agache, French Sociology, and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50, no. 2 (June 1991): 130–66; on Agache’s connection to Portugal, namely through his collaborator Etienne De Gröer, see Lobo, “Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia”: 609-42.

⁴²⁸ See chapter 1, “the possibility of a spatial language of strong government.”

While still working for Lisbon's city-hall, he rehearsed some national styled experiments in, for instance, two neighborhoods: the Lisbon chauffers cooperative quarter (1938-1940) and the *santa cruz* quarter (1945), following with FCP norms before their reorganization by Teotónio Pereira. However, both by his experience with Ramos, as also by his various trips abroad⁴²⁹ – he participated, for instance, in the 1933 CIAM - Keil do Amaral's allegiance in the embattlement between modernism and traditionalism weighted in favor of the former. A performance we can read, for example, in his project for the *city's palace* (1946-48) topping Eduardo VII Park's central axis, never realized.

Not straying from his family's historical role in civil and political leadership, during the early post-war Keil do Amaral created a scission within the architects' union, confronting the then president, the architect Pardal Monteiro, with accusations of incompetence and paternalism. This confrontation was later written as a confrontation with the regime.⁴³⁰ The discussion came about the Portuguese participation in the *Union Internationale des Architectes* - UIA,⁴³¹ within UNESCO. It also regarded wider topics of class organization, education and promotion, as well as disagreement between a younger generation, desiring proximity with the European modernist avant-garde and an older generation, supposedly entrenched in acquired positions and lessons. The debate rose to a boiling point in 1946, election year at the architects' union. Pardal Monteiro was reelected through what is retold as an internal electoral fraud. Despite this, the ground was then opened for a boldening of positions. Keil do Amaral, along with many others in the following years, continuously promoted meetings, discussion sessions and other events creating room for the voices of younger architects, disenfranchised with the union's strategies. During this period of discussion, the group of disenchanting architects searched the solidarity of Porto's architects, arranging tours and meetings, namely with the modernism-advocating ODAM. Stated differently, in the process of affording a stronger voice to the modernist-inclined younger generation, Keil do Amaral assumed a key role. Specially in the central institutional positions, such as the union.⁴³² After the congress of 1948, he was elected union president, only to be dismissed by governmental decree the next year, due to improper political affiliations. It was during this heated period that he, in his mid-thirties, also wrote a short yet determinant manifesto.

In 1947, in the architecture magazine *Arquitectura*, he published a text entitled "Uma Iniciativa Necessária."⁴³³ This is a widely prolific document in Portuguese architecture culture, standing for a professional activism portrayed as heroic and foundational to Portuguese modern architecture.⁴³⁴ I will not go into the various opinions, arguments and positions producing this meaning, as it would imply a chapter on its own on the re-enactments of history of discourse. The above description is generally accepted and reproduced.⁴³⁵ So being, I will take it as integral to a common sense of 20th century Portuguese architecture culture, and will not directly concern myself with its deconstruction. In

⁴²⁹ On the importance of trips abroad to Keil do Amaral, as well as to this generation of Portuguese modern architects, see Ana Sofia Vaz Santos, "Memórias Deslocadas: Experiências de Keil Do Amaral E Álvaro Siza Entre Portugal E a Holanda" (Master's Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2012).

⁴³⁰ See, for instance, Tostões et al., *Keil Do Amaral: O Arquitecto E O Humanista*.

⁴³¹ International Union of Architects.

⁴³² Although the union was state-controlled, it was a central institution for class and professional promotion, namely for its proximity with Lisbon's and, thus, the central government's, nodes of decision.

⁴³³ Translatable as "A necessary initiative" see Amaral, "Uma Iniciativa Necessária."

⁴³⁴ For an argument defending the centrality of this text for modern Portuguese architecture culture's political activism, see Machado, *Anonimato E Banalidade: Arquitectura Popular E Arquitectura Erudita Na Segunda Metade Do Século XX Em Portugal*.

⁴³⁵ See, for instance, Tostões et al., *Keil Do Amaral: O Arquitecto E O Humanista*.

interpreting said text and its relations to Távora's and Teotónio Pereira's projects, and the broad problem of composing a true national modern architecture, I will only try to answer two questions: What initiative? And why necessary?

Regarding the first. Keil do Amaral called upon the energies, both cultural and material - as in money - of a wide array of civic agents, "(a)rchitects, cultural institutions, editors, or simple individuals, interested" in problems of architecture, for the "(...) gathering and classification of elements peculiar to Portuguese architecture in the country's different regions."⁴³⁶ The aim was to produce a "(...) book, lengthily and carefully documented, where students and construction technicians could come to find the basis for an honest, lively and healthy regionalism."⁴³⁷ He emphasized these three qualifications, because "our" regional architecture "(...) honestly deserves a better fate."⁴³⁸ What so far was produced by the *Portuguese house* its experiments in *reaportuguesamento* was bluntly portrayed as "façade" architecture, close to Teotónio Pereira's critique. Keil do Amaral provoked: "But do we not possess, really, more pure and cohesive sources for the formation of a portuguese modern architecture than what our regionalists, of façade, want us to believe?"⁴³⁹

His answer: only those who haven't walked the beaten paths of "our cities, towns and villages" can agree with this. Because those familiar with the Portuguese landscape could answer: there is something deeper at work in our regional architecture than superficial decorative elements. It is worth mentioning that Keil do Amaral's family estate was in the village of Canas de Senhorim, in central-interior Portugal, where he spent lengthy periods every year. Similarly to Távora, from the hinterland he saw, lived and enjoyed, in trips to his estate, an essential reality possessing coherence and a deep culture. This shared experience of the hinterland was also shared in principle: "(...) our regional architecture holds many and valuable lessons."⁴⁴⁰ And, although the "initiative" was targeted for all those interested in problems of architecture, it was specially directed at those "young, cultivated, scholarly and freed of prejudice (...)" technicians like "(u)s, those who believe in a functional architecture," in the "useful work."⁴⁴¹ To these fell to "(...) search, in each region, the ways through which the inhabitants managed to resolve the diverse problems that the climate, the materials, the economy and the life conditions inherent to the region imposed on building."⁴⁴²

If the text seemed to follow Távora's lead on studying "Man and Land," in the next passage it added an element that, although present in the former's manifesto, was not as clearly exposed: "Afterwards, (what also matters is to) analyze to what extent the solutions are good and remain up-to-date, that is, remain the most adequate, functional and economically."⁴⁴³ Once again, the centre for this architecture renewing process was the vernacular house. For Keil do Amaral it needed to be dealt with

⁴³⁶ "Arquitectos, instituições culturais, editores, ou mesmo simples particulares interessados (...) da recolha e classificação de elementos peculiares à arquitectura portuguesa nas diferentes regiões do País, (...)" in Amaral, "Uma Iniciativa Necessária:" 12.

⁴³⁷ "(...) un livro, larga e criteriosamente documentado, onde os estudantes e técnicos da construção pudessem vir a encontrar as bases para um regionalismo honesto, vivo e saudável." in Ibid.

⁴³⁸ "(...) merece, realmente, melhor sorte." in Ibid.

⁴³⁹ "Mas será que nós não possuímos, realmente, fontes mais puras e coerentes para a formação de uma arquitectura moderna portuguesa do que pretendem fazer crer os nossos regionalistas...de fachada?" in Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ "(...) a nossa arquitectura regional encerra muitas e valiosas lições." in Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ "novos, cultos, estudiosos e libertos de preconceitos (...). Nós, os que acreditamos numa arquitectura funcional (...) obra útil." in Ibid.

⁴⁴² "(...) procurar, em cada região, as maneiras como os habitantes conseguiram resolver os diversos problemas que o clima, os materiais, a economia e as condições de vida inerentes à região impuseram às edificações." in Ibid: 13.

⁴⁴³ "Depois, analisar até que ponto as soluções são boas e conservam actualidade, isto é, continuam a ser as mais adequadas, funcional e economicamente." in Ibid.

“comprehension and love,” to make their architecture “(...) better serve and gain a human warmth more accessible to the hearts of Portuguese.”⁴⁴⁴ In insight we can now observe that the sense of urgency in claiming this project “necessary,” enacted a conflictual dual relationship with hearts and minds: between the warmth of a lost homeland and the steel coldness of the new logics of modernism. A tension difficult to pacify, as it implied the recognition of a truth by imposing another: that which is most functional is necessarily more “honest.”

This tension, traceable back to Távora’s unresolved conflict between a social continuity and a will to modernize, enacted a paradigmatic program to his generation, at least to some influent agents within it. Contemporary architecture was portrayed as decadent, “lying,” “false,”⁴⁴⁵ or “counter-nature,” as Teotónio Pereira wrote.⁴⁴⁶ It should be replaced by a collective program of national renovation, which implied a refreshed cultural awareness, although based in the same matter and subject produced under *reaportuguesamento* and the *Portuguese house*. This renovation claimed a new relationship with this matter and subject: a self-proclaimed honest one, stemming from functionalism and its unveiling of natural truths. It so happened that the architects of the *Portuguese house* had many opportunities to build their cultural revolution, since the early 20th century, while Távora, Teotónio Pereira and Keil do Amaral spoke in these manifestos for a generation looking for theirs. This was also a fight for a place in the design of the nation, as well as for the class and cultural capital needed to ensure the latter.

Keil do Amaral’s article sharpened the edges of Távora’s project, namely its first two steps regarding the study of “Man and Land.” He gave this a very specific concrete object and possible product: a vast survey into regional architectures and a “big and beautiful book, filled with teachings.”⁴⁴⁷ He also clarified its underlying strategy: a national architectural renaissance authored by a younger generation of architects, composed of socially ambitious, freed of prejudice, “construction technicians.” As such, the terms used to classify the productions of architectural *reaportuguesamento* registered as encompassing moral judgements, enacting, according to Keil do Amaral, a mentally “poor country.” Against the latter, yet through the same means, Távora, Teotónio Pereira and Keil do Amaral sought to create a new, rich and cultured country.

In all probability, Keil do Amaral was aware of the two other manifestos. Firstly, because at the time architects were few. Secondly, because most belonged to closely knit social circles and, thirdly, because there were equally few cultural spaces for the profession: two schools, Porto and Lisbon, the union in Lisbon, one or two private societies and a couple of cafés, equally distributed through the two capital cities. Independently of direct proof of mutual recognition between the three, to which the similarity of words and claims attest, the central point here regards the formation of a collective professional project. Taken together, these three manifesto-like articles articulated a questioning of the profession and its practices, argued for its repositioning regarding a desired modern Portuguese society and landscape, and sketched the objects and products for the becoming of a true Portuguese modern architecture, against the “false” and “poor” *Portuguese house*.

By looking at these three texts in conjunction my aim was to enable a reading of Távora’s proposal together with the wider formation of a generational agenda for post-war Portuguese modern architecture, as well as with the social backgrounds and cultural stakes activated in the process. This

⁴⁴⁴ “(...) compreensão e amor (...) serviriam melhor e ganhariam um calor humano mais acessível aos corações da gente portuguesa.” in Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

⁴⁴⁶ Pereira, “A Arquitectura Cristã Contemporânea.”

⁴⁴⁷ “(...) um grande e belo livro, repleto de ensinamentos.” in Amaral, “Uma Iniciativa Necessária:” 13.

allows us to appreciate the three texts as distinct, yet collective in their effort to bridge the “great modern lessons” to *portuguese truth*. They effectively mapped the subject, methods and aims for their professional claims in post-war Portugal.

On the other hand, this also opened a way to the not often travelled path of the means informing these statements of professional renovation and wide cultural change. These personal and collective projects departed and were animated by a peculiar tension between modernization and tradition, as well as by similar notions of vernacular objects, regionalism and hinterland landscapes. This emerged from very specific coordinates within the Portuguese socio-ecology. Namely from well-placed families, their estates and distanced experience of the Portuguese hinterland; their visions of a national culture as organic and united, possessing a spirit of the land that could be accessed in-rough through an essential hinterland. Elements that, transmitting a clear class position and relation to the nation, were transformed by artistic sons finding their way in the profession, the job market and the cultural field. In this sense, that Távora, Keil do Amaral and Teotónio Pereira shared very specific relationships with the hinterland, through the livelihoods led in their rural estates and summerhouses, is not a secondary aspect. Their families reliance on established distributions of the landscape - in Távora’s and Teotónio Pereira’s case from *integralista* and monarchical positios, in Keil do Amaral’s from a republican gentry position - enabled an enduring way of seeing the simple and honest “Man and Land” ecology of the hinterland.

I am not, however, assuming predetermined meanings to their claims on architectural renovation based on their social standing. Instead, reading these three texts as different voices intersecting common problems and possibilities, allows us to understand the collective construction of a common professional-cultural project. In this sense, Távora’s manifesto was both the original moment in a long process of architectural debate, as well as one voice among many wielding a diffuse intuition: that a cohesive national modern architecture would have to recreate anew a common understanding of the *Portuguese house*, enveloping, once again, the Portuguese collective in well defined forms. To ground an architectural renovation on the lessons of the “modern masters,” Portuguese architects would have to enact a certain re-foundation of the country, a reinvention of tradition. *Portuguese truth* had to become logical, functional, frugal, efficient, modern. Only then would a new architectural expression, claiming to arise from the needs of all portuguese could be said to have “naturally” emerged. Thus, Távora’s, Teotónio Pereira’s and Keil do Amaral’s agency in the advancement of a global architecture strategy was relative to the fact that it stood for a small yet vigorous project, in which modernist architecture was being articulated with the question: what forms best express and reify Portugal as a structuring idea. The three opened doors and windows to the agency of architecture in prefiguring the nation and its people. In the process, they re-opened long forgotten dirt trails into the miserable Portuguese hinterland, where they would find the truths and materials for their architecture revolution.⁴⁴⁸ We will next move through these trails and try to assemble how the vernacular house and landscape performed the search for a true architecture.

⁴⁴⁸ The word revolution was not used by these architects, instead renovation, renaissance, renewal, among others, were used in their manifestos. However, I argue these various meanings amount to one and the same, which is that of the revolution or the radical cut with a past in order to perform a supposedly better future. This follows with the notion of modern revolution more common in the wake of modernism, and as discussed by Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*.

3 Producing *portuguese truth*: an *architechnology* of culture, 1955-62.

In the last chapter I tried to show how a group of young architects befriended a common strategy for producing original modern Portuguese architecture in the 1940s. Despite the influence of Le Corbusier and other modern masters in the way they saw their profession and its art, but also because of it, the three letter friends made their way back to a national calling. They acknowledged a desire to make modern architecture reflect a *portuguese truth*. As such, they made their way back to the main object of concern of the *Portuguese house*: premodern vernacular forms and landscapes as the necessary objects for a new national ontology of form, space and culture.

In this chapter I will attempt to identify what this return to the vernacular implied, some of the key means mobilized for its re-appropriation and the operations these enacted. To accomplish this I will account for the different agents involved in surveying and producing a vernacular Portugal in the 1950s. This chapter is centered on the specific practice and product of the *Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional em Portugal* accomplished through field surveys in 1955/56 and in a two-volume book of 1961 entitled *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*.⁴⁴⁹ Its choice among other possible practices drawing the vernacular object of concern close, derives from four elements: (1) its concentration of national and international efforts to seize the vernacular, especially in the body of the rural dwelling, as modern ethical source; (2) the long time and spatial extension of its process, involving the whole country, month-long field surveys and an editing period lasting approximately five years; (3) the role it played and came to play in recreating the meanings of modern Portuguese architecture, namely its disciplinary commitment to the “real” country; and lastly (4) the production of the country itself it articulated, activating a powerfully emblematic and essential country to which Portuguese once belonged.

Probably nobody stated more clearly this gathering knot of technical-professional aspirations, cultural resolution and a prefiguring of the Portuguese body politic, than Teotónio Pereira. Having participated in its production, not only as a surveying team leader, but also was one of the enterprise’s main advocates, he wrote in the preface to the *inquiry*’s third edition, published in 1988:

This was one of those historical opportunities only a pioneering spirit can exploit: the Inquiry into Regional Architecture was made at the last possible moment to fully record a world about to disappear. It was not that the organizers of the work knew before hand what was going to happen and therefore wanted to capture images that would no longer exist years later. What happened was that in their duty to their work, confronted, on the one hand, by stifling censorship of the Portuguese State and, on the other, by a radical, boundary-free, international style, they felt the need to look for roots in more local architecture. (...) It was the awareness of a professional class emerging, by assuming their civic and cultural responsibilities. This is were the initiative’s pioneering spirit lies.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁹ Translatable, respectively, as *Survey of Vernacular Architecture in Portugal* and *Vernacular Architecture in Portugal*. This survey and book will be referred here simply as the *inquiry*, which is how it has become known and is most commonly referred today in current Portuguese architecture circles, ambiguously standing for both the process and the actual material production of its result: the two volume book of 1961.

⁴⁵⁰ Alfredo da Mata Antunes et al., *Arquitectura Popular Em Portugal*, trans. Maryse Bernardino and Cheilah Cardno, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Lisbon: Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses, 1988): 3rd volume, 267.

He was specially referring to the work's organizers, yet discounting himself from that role. If this was so, I argue it was not because he wanted to separate himself from the process in order to better judge it. But instead and perhaps, because that Teotónio Pereira from the *inquiry* no longer existed, as well as the country-world it helped bring about through a systematic study of Portuguese vernacular architecture. Stated simply, in what follows I intend to understand how this world was produced, assembled and made alive for the “civic and cultural responsibilities” of a professional class concerned with a true organization of national space. And, perhaps, answer why in 1988 it was already too far away.

The *inquiry* process and product have been and continue to be the focus of various works into Portuguese architecture of the 1950s and 1960s. As I will show shortly after, these works vary greatly in detail, disciplinary focus and objectives. Yet most are tied to reproducing the argument, first elaborated in the 1970s, that the *inquiry* was a politically emancipating practice, an act of dissent and defiance against the dictatorship. That the architects imagining and practising the *inquiry* were set on making a stand against the dictatorship through a professional reviewing, as reiterated by Teotónio Pereira in the above quotation. I aim to re-assemble this argument by telling the story of the *inquiry* with the modes of knowledge it deployed, the political-economy of its objects of concern, and the professional projections it brought about. This chapter, thus, aims to contribute to research already developed on the subject with a description that tries to take into account the dialogues between professional agendas, cultural re-creation and proposals of political normativity activated with the *inquiry*. In this sense, it will specially try to create a dialogue with more recent and problematical accounts of the *inquiry*.⁴⁵¹

The pertinence of revisiting the *inquiry* concerns two aspects. First (1), the central role carved for it in architecture culture in democratic Portugal, making it hold influential lessons of an architecture doctrine “compromised” with identity and context. But also holding a powerful image of the country, as well as a specially prolific vision of the technical efficiency of vernacular architecture.⁴⁵² Secondly (2), its way of seeing the vernacular, especially what goes for popular, spontaneous, without-architect architecture, continues to hold considerable sway. Informing views that inconsequentially perpetuate the division between vernacular and non-vernacular, without taking into account the operations of distinction and political assembling it deploys.

If the first reason speaks to problems regarding architecture practices that claim to derive their *raison d'être* from contextual respect, which is sometimes confused with more “humane” or “humanizing” architecture practices.⁴⁵³ The second reason speaks to how some current spatial practices translate contextual respect and social commitment as a formal re-elaboration of localized vernacular motives.⁴⁵⁴ A translation based on reading tradition, custom and function within a specific distribution of

⁴⁵¹ Some of the most pertinent being Maria Helena Maia and Alexandra Cardoso, “O Inquérito À Arquitectura Regional: Contributo Para Uma Historiografia Crítica Do Movimento Moderno Em Portugal” (IV Congresso de História da Arte Portuguesa - APHA, Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2012), 379–87; Ricardo Agarez, “Regionalism, Modernism and Vernacular Tradition in the Architecture of the Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965” (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, 2013); Nelson Mota, *An Archaeology of the Ordinary: Rethinking the Architecture of Dwelling from CIAM to Siza* (Delf: Delft University of Technology, 2014); and João Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional* (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2000).

⁴⁵² It is interesting to observe how the *inquiry* also plays a role in recent concerns for sustainability, even in highly technical circles see, for instance, Jorge Fernandes, Ricardo Mateus, and Luís Bragança, “Princípios de Sustentabilidade Na Arquitectura Vernacular Em Portugal” (4º Congresso Construção, Coimbra, 2012).

⁴⁵³ See Rodrigo Reis Ollero das Neves, “Cultural Identity in Portuguese Architecture: The ‘Inquérito’ and the Architecture of Its Protagonists in the 1960’s” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Salford University, 2001).

⁴⁵⁴ More globally, the clearest expressions of this sort of operation can be found in NGO design projects in “exotic-primitive” settings, where an NGO’s social calling is sometimes rendered in traditional-proxy buildings.

judgement over the built landscape. Politically distinguishing, for instance, between worthy and unworthy expressions of culture, citizenship and heritage. The detailed account of the *inquiry* that follows hopes to question, if only superficially, the articulation these practices.

To construct a contact with the process and product of the *inquiry*, however, we must first address its theoretical deployment in the various accounts produced for, from and around it. This take us to a vast literary body that has drawn out many implications and meanings. This body of friendship letters acts as many frames guiding the architectural, political and sociological activation of the *inquiry*. They constitute capsules of meaning, from whose inside we look through the manufactured stained glass. To see them as such we must dispell the movement on which most rely for their meaning: from conservative, pastoral, productions of national culture to an emancipated, politicized and functionalist production of an essential culture. Or, in more prosaic terms, from the pre-modernist to the revolutionary modernist culture of space. I do not intend to submit these capsules to recycling, simply to understand them in their claims for meaning.

The first part of this chapter, hence, will consist in acknowledging the constitution of these theoretical frames by going through theses on the *inquiry* and its production of an emancipated vernacular Portuguese architecture. Within this first part, we will move through many of the accounts constructed of and around the *inquiry*. These consist in articles, scientific papers, history and architecture theory books and conference contributions by Portuguese architects, historians and one and the other anthropologist. From this I hope to clarify how the *inquiry* has been historically framed by colleagues and readers of recent Portuguese architecture culture.⁴⁵⁵ I will not focus on vast international connections between the *inquiry* and, for instance, the evolution of CIAM, the appearance of Team X, the emergence of the postcolonial habitat problem, or anyother element usually made to stand for the international architecture context in the 1950s and 1960s. As these connections have already been the target of thorough re-enactments, I will only in passing name some of these *international* agents, and only those that hold a direct connection to the agents with which I am directly concerned.⁴⁵⁶

A second part will follow where I will gather stakes activating the *inquiry* and enabling the conditions for its realization. This will rely on the written accounts of the architects that promoted and produced it, on legal decrees and oficial reports, and on an article by Távora that advanced the notion of modernity and modern mobilized. To which will follow a third part dealing with the textual production of the *inquiry* itself in its 1961 book form. In this part, the various actors and modes of knowing will be put together in a detailed reading of the different texts, drawings and images resulting from the survey. These will inform the frames guiding the geographical, anthropological and morphological understandings the surveying architects deployed in their production of Portuguese

⁴⁵⁵ The most comprehensive studies so far, into the historiography of the *inquiry* have been developed by a research group composed by various architects and historians in Porto's CEAA, whose research project is titled "Popular Architecture in Portugal: A critical reading," see: Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia, and Alexandra Cardoso, eds., *To and Fro: Modernism and Vernacular Architecture* (Porto: CEAA - Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo, 2013); Cardoso and Maia, "Tradition and Modernity. The Historiography of the Survey to the Popular Architecture in Portugal"; Alexandra Cardoso, Joana Cunha Leal, and Maria Helena Maia, eds., *Surveys on Vernacular Architecture: Their Significance in 20th Century Architectural Culture. Conference Book of Abstracts* (Porto: CEAA, 2012).

⁴⁵⁶ For two recent detailed accounts of these international connections see Mota, *An Archaeology of the Ordinary: Rethinking the Architecture of Dwelling from CIAM to Siza*, namely regarding a critical view on the importance of the vernacular to modern architecture; and Pedro Baía, "Da Recepção à Transmissão: Reflexos Do Team 10 Na Cultura Arquitectónica Portuguesa 1951-1981" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2014), for a detailed description of meeting points between Portuguese architects and Team X architects.

landscapes. This part aims to illuminate the boundaries and units of meaning that deployed a new map Portugal, this time the “real” and not the “fake” country, and their specific distribution of moral and political values.

A fourth part will involve bringing-forth a political economic sketch of the survey’s objects of concern. This will be accomplished by closely following a suggestive reading developed by one group, among the surveying groups, of the productive and reproductive configurations active at the time in the hinterland. This reading will be invested with historical accounts of the dictatorship’s political economic strategies, its governing structures of reproduction and the social-material limits these imposed. With this I hope to clarify the concrete strategies of production and reproduction that went into the re-discovered authentic Portuguese life.

Lastly, it will follow a description of the concrete movement of bodies making the surveyed landscapes, during and immediately after the survey. As this involves tracking flows of bodies this part will heavily rely on a population census of 1964 that will help map movement. But also on texts from people commenting on the situation, namely from one of the architects involved in the *inquiry* and from an early politically-invested observer of the situation. The objective here is to paint, literally add the shapes and colors designed by these movements, to a fast and vast transforming landscape, to which the *inquiry* came to be a polaroid picture of its immediately lost stillness.

This chapter will finish with some specific and general considerations on the *inquiry*’s operations, some of its mediations and activations, as well as some of its early critiques. In this final part, I will try (1) to highlight what distinguishes this *inquiry* from others contemporary to it; (2) to clarify what political and professional meanings may be said to have been directly enabled by its experience and process; and (3) how these elements reconfigure the historical cast sculpted for it. This hopes to elucidate how the *inquiry* became not only a comprehensive study of Portuguese hinterland material cultures and a rich compendium of functional shapes, but also an *architechnology* intended for Portuguese culture itself.⁴⁵⁷ *Architechnology* means here the possibility of translating the cultural bounds and political projections found in a vernacular world, into a professional language of productivity and efficiency. Through this cohesive and stable socio-material world, filled with truthful relations between humans, materials and nature, was articulated a professional project for a truly efficient and truly engaged architecture agency. This chapter is an analysis of this articulation.

Functionally Portuguese

When modernism practising architects picked up the discussion of the house and the formation of new moral landscapes, national cultures and their imagined vernacular roots weren’t laid aside as inefficient parts. Instead, these were re-performed for a new strategy, no more exclusively concerned with delimiting the nation and national belonging, but instead with the most productive allocation of

⁴⁵⁷ *Architechnology* is a compound word translated from the Portuguese *arquitectologia* and used by a few Portuguese architects, regarding the architectural values found in the hinterland, as we will see further on. It was also a word used in pedagogical debates in architecture schools, in the 1950s and 1960s, and concerning the technical attributes then required of architects for a technologically developing construction market. In those decades, its most immediate meaning was associated with the architect-technician and construction technology. Yet, the word is here used with a double meaning: the architect-technician and also the technology that is *arqui*, that is, that governs.

scarce means and the deployment of economic and efficient technologies.⁴⁵⁸ An ethic of dwelling built on a politics of sovereignty, of formally circumscribing the *Leviathan's* body politic,⁴⁵⁹ was substituted for one built on Keynesian and Rathenau's political-economy.⁴⁶⁰ Re-moralizing not only the house - as the stronghold of morally edifying existence for white, bourgeois, middle-class, farmer, European, family, depending on what one picks to fill this house - but built form itself or what was meant by the then recent master signifier: space.⁴⁶¹ All space, each and every part, ideally reported back to an ethical efficiency, and not just the islands of domesticity in a sea of coal, sin and social forces.

We need not, however, take this blunt-edged historical argument to the letter to understand that the vernacular was continuously re-invented and re-signified all along the 20th century. Early on in the century, for instance, it was key to the epistemological consolidation of architectural functionalism. As we may see in the considered "manifesto of Swedish functionalism," *Acceptera*, published in 1931 and following the Stockholm Exhibition of 1930. Written by Uno Åhrén, Gunnar Asplund, Wolter Gahn, Sven Markelius, Gregor Paulsson and Eskil Sundahl, identifying a certain number of past habits, vernacular objects and livelihoods, as sound for modern times. These architects picked up some of the points made, for instance, by the feminist Ellen Key thirty years before.⁴⁶² We can find another emblematic case in the book *Brazil Builds*, resulting from an exhibition of modern Brazilian architecture occurring in the Museum of Modern Art in New York, in the early 1940s, and subtitled "Architecture Old and New," specially influent to Portuguese modern architects.⁴⁶³ The book produced,

⁴⁵⁸ This and the immediately following argument is indebted to Michel Foucault's mapping of changes in government discourses in early 20th century Europe, in *The Birth of Biopolitics - Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*, trans. Graham Burchell, Michel Senellart (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), originally published in French in 2004, by Éditions du Seuil/Gallimard; but also to Manfredo Tafuri's diagnosis of the ideological transformations of modernist architecture through the same period, in *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1976), originally published in Italian in 1973 by Editori Laterza.

⁴⁵⁹ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); for a recent re-construction of Hobbes' notion of the body politic see Joshua Barkan, *Corporate Sovereignty - Law and Government under Capitalism* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013): 19-40.

⁴⁶⁰ I am here using John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) and Walter Rathenau (1867-1922) to stand for two, respectfully, influential English and German claims for the becoming of a political economically planned society in the post-WWI. See John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of Peace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1920); Walter Rathenau, *The New Society (Die Neue Gesellschaft)*, trans. Arthur Windham (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921); the argument can be traced using Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics - Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*. On the other hand, it is my belief that the intimate relationships between the economical strategies and fiscal policies active in-between the wars and the production of architectural modernism has yet to fully laid-out. It is obviously acknowledged that much of German modernism, for instance, arose from the immediate needs of housing Germany's many homeless and poor workers after the WWI. For a frame on the difference between a spatial ethics built on politics and one on economics see the introduction by Pier Vittorio Aureli, in *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 2011).

⁴⁶¹ For a detailed interpretation of modernist architect's uses of language see Adrien Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), which should be read together with Haraway's notion that "Language is not innocent in our primate order. Indeed, it is said that language is the tool of human self-construction (...). Even those who dismiss such radical talk must acknowledge that major reforms of public life and public knowledge are coupled with projects for the purification of language." in Donna J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (London: Free Association Books, 1991): 81.

⁴⁶² Lucy Creagh, Helena Käberg, and Barbara Miller Lane, eds., *Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008): 127-347.

⁴⁶³ Teotónio Pereira would say: "The book "Brazil Builds"(...) was received with true euphoria, for it informed us of the amazing outbreak of modern architecture emerging in that country during the second world war", in Pereira, *Escritos: 1947-1996*: 154. For studies of the influence of this book in the Inquiry read: Ana Vaz Milheiro, "O Brasil Moderno E a Sua Influência Na Arquitectura Portuguesa: A Tradição Em Brazil Builds (1943) E O Seu Reflexo No Inquérito À Arquitectura Popular Em Portugal (1955-1961)," in *Arquitectura Moderna No Norte E Nordeste Do Brasil: Universalidade E Diversidade*, Fernando Diniz Moreira (Recife: CECI/UNICAP, 2007).

in a first section, surveys with pictures, drawings and texts of old buildings ranging from the 17th century onwards that were combined with recent, modernism practising, buildings presented in a second section. Resulting the suggestion to interpret recent architecture as not only the realization of historical spatial rules and principles, but also as its best possible historical resolution.

Perhaps equally influential for Portuguese architects, were the vernacular appropriations presented in the Milan *triennale* of 1936, titled *Mostra dell'architettura rurale nel bacino del Mediterraneo*⁴⁶⁴ and coordinated by the architects Giuseppe Pagano and Guarnerio Daniel. In this exhibition a number of vernacular houses and landscapes, mainly from the south of Italy, were presented as already having been modern: accomplished with geometric straight lines, simple and sober volumes, following functionalist compositional rules and the truthful use of materials.⁴⁶⁵ Stated differently, the vernacular of a traditional rural world networked efforts at spatial modernization, while a couple of years earlier it projected a *heimat*, *English* and *Portuguese houses*. No longer enchanted group of forms, spaces and landscapes for picturing and delimiting a homeland, the vernacular remained effective, this time around as functional environmental bio-social machines.

In the early 1950s, this operation was revisited by a new generation of Italian architects. Maintaining the core of Pagano's and Daniel's modern appropriation of the vernacular, yet re-directing it towards the urban qualities of the vernacular. Franco Albini, Enzo Cerutti, Giancarlo De Carlo and Giuseppe Samonà and their *Mostra dell'architettura spontanea* for the Milan *triennale* of 1951, were its key agents. No longer with vernacular, but with "spontaneous" architecture, the movement from primitive realities to modern rationality was once again operated.⁴⁶⁶ These cases of modernist appropriation of the vernacular had an influential role in Portuguese architecture culture. Specially the work developed by the Brazilian and Italian modernists, of which there is proof of direct connection: in the case of the Italians, mainly through the architecture magazine *Casabella*, which was directed by Pagano from 1933, until his imprisonment in 1943; in the case of the Brazilian, through such books as *Brazil Builds*, but also through the continuous migratory contact between Brazil and Portugal. Yet, mostly with paper once more, friends were made.

On the other hand, during the 1940s and 1950s, studies into primitive societies and their functional environmental expressions, were becoming more widespread. The 1950s was when Claude Lévi-Strauss' studies became influential.⁴⁶⁷ When exhibitions on primitive and folk art filled famous art galleries and museums in Paris, London, New York. It was when primitivism, or the analysis and interpretation of considered primitive, elemental, pre-modern, communities became a prevalent intellectual and cultural trend, as if these held a diagrammatic essential matrix of human co-existence.⁴⁶⁸ Within this broader

⁴⁶⁴ Translatable as *Exhibition of rural architecture of the Mediterranean basin*.

⁴⁶⁵ From the exhibition resulted the book Giuseppe Pagano and Guarnerio Daniel, *Architettura Rurale Italiana*, Quaderni Della Triennale (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1936). For a comprehensive account of Italian modernists' enactment of the vernacular see Michelangelo Sabatino, *Pride in Modesty: Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Michelangelo Sabatino, "Exhibitions as Surveys: Italian Modernism and Vernacular Architecture," in *To and Fro: Modernism and Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia, and Alexandra Cardoso, Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia and Alexandra Cardoso (Porto: CEEA - Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo, 2013), 153–69; but also Mia Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁴⁶⁶ See Sabatino, "Exhibitions as Surveys: Italian Modernism and Vernacular Architecture."

⁴⁶⁷ For instance, Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Race et Histoire* (UNESCO, 1952); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* (Paris: Plon, 1955).

⁴⁶⁸ About this cultural trend in Europe and its political implications, namely in France, see Daniel J. Sherman, *French Primitivism and the Ends of Empire: 1945-1975* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

trend a group of French architecture students, from the *École Nationale Supérieure de Beaux-arts* of Paris,⁴⁶⁹ surveyed vernacular architecture in Cameroun between 1949 and 1950. While French colonialism was unraveling, they portrayed *dogon* architecture, objects and ritual expressions with great detail through pictures, drawings, and written accounts.⁴⁷⁰ And their findings were internationally shared, namely in Lisbon through a conference held in 1952 in the architects' union.

Another prominent agent producing this trend was the architect Aldo van Eyck, who brought the discussion on primitive spatial habits and expressions into the CIAM. These were by him invited for the reworking of modernist doctrine, as crystalized in the *athens charter*. In his famous *Otterloo circles*, lessons of the primitive vernacular were redeployed as an abstract re-structuring of the priorities and ethics of modernist architecture.⁴⁷¹ It so happened that van Eyck was a personal friend to Távora, who participated in the CIAM meetings of 1953 in Aix-en-Provence, 1956 in Drubovnik, and Otterloo in 1959.⁴⁷² There existed an intimacy, nurtured also by direct relation and common causes, between these various and adjoining re-inventions of the vernacular, and the object of concern the three letter friends designed as the center of their desired architectural renovation. The latter fit within a broader European process of rethinking modernism with, yet beyond, CIAM frames, namely by invoking the pre-modern to the fore. Each pre-modern universe, however, was called upon to solve the agendas of their conjurers. What pre-modern and agendas moved the Portuguese conjurers?

Portuguese architects appropriated and redeployed their country-itself. Contrary to most uses of the vernacular from their modernist counterparts, they sought to define a commons, a bare Portuguese life, instead of seeking an exceptional connection to modern times. Part of Portugal was taken as primitive, elemental, essential, and identified, processed and projected as a bare architectural language. This mobilized a specific anthropological and geographical knowledge to cast primitive Portugal, practices of knowing that also effected an ethical enveloping of Portuguese landscape. In the process helping to form a style of architectural practice and knowledge that was desired true to "Man and Land." The then young yet already influential architecture critic Nuno Portas (1934), helps us identify some key features of this transformation of the country-itself:

The integration in a pre-existent environment, natural or historic, no longer appears as a whim, critically felt in the group of solicitations of a given reality (...) Technological liberation, integration in the pre-existent natural and human reality in transformation, adherence to the social and personal movements less easily objectifiable, here is what seems to me to be able to constitute a common platform (...) a new stage of cultural and social rooting.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁹ Translatable as National Superior School of Fine-Arts.

⁴⁷⁰ Jean-Pierre Beguin et al., *L'Habitat Au Cameroun* (Paris: L'Office de la Recherche Scientifique Outre-Mer, 1952).

⁴⁷¹ See Aldo van Eyck, "Dogen," *Forum*, 1949. About the use of primitive and vernacular examples as key subjects for the critique of modernism see Tom Avermaete, "CIAM, TEAM X, and the Rediscovery of African Settlements: Between Dogon and Bidonville," in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*, Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino (New York: Routledge, 2010), 251–64; see also Karin Jaschke, "City Is House and House Is City: Aldo van Eyck, Piet Blom and the Architecture of Homecoming," in *Intimate Metropolis: Urban Subjects in the Modern City*, Vittoria Di Palma, Diana Periton and Marina Lathouri (New York: Routledge, 2009), 175–94.

⁴⁷² Siza describes Távora and van Eyck's relationship as a strong friendship built on common causes and interests, and sparked in CIAM meetings, further adding that van Eyck had the greatest respect for Távora, interview 2015. For information about Távora's participation in CIAM see Bandeirinha, *Fernando Távora: Modernidade Permanente*.

⁴⁷³ "A integração num meio ambiente preexistente, natural ou histórico, deixa de aparecer como um capricho, sentida criticamente no conjunto das solicitações de uma dada realidade. (...) Libertação tecnológica, integração na realidade natural e humana preexistente e em transformação,

Their defense of a serious study of Portuguese architecture, of a full, as in truthful, understanding of the “pre-existent natural and human reality” came together in a national-ranging inquiry of vernacular architecture. Emerging in the follow-up to Keil do Amaral’s article of 1947, concretely proposing the surveying and books collecting a true Portuguese architecture. A decade after Távora’s article, with the support of the regime, the architects’ union managed to set in motion the first two steps he argued in 1945. In 1955, the *Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional em Portugal* published in 1961 as a compilation of field-survey reports was underway. More influential and widely read than the articles written by Távora, Teotónio Pereira or Keil do Amaral, this *inquiry* had a direct and lasting influence on professional practices, architectural pedagogy and knowledge, departing from a bond with culture and “human reality.” By informing a national culture through the vernacular and, simultaneously, the meanings of Portuguese modern architecture,⁴⁷⁴ as Portas said, “(...) a new stage of cultural and social rooting” was deployed with the profession of architecture and its *projecto* capabilities. This produced a field of produced professional identities, as well as ethical provisions feeding architectural knowledge and practice. Yet, to better grasp these operations, we must follow by tracking the relation of this initiative with its supposed enemy: the *Portuguese house*.



20 Picture of row houses in Fuseteta, *algarve*, from Artur Pires’ team in *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* vol. 2, 1961, p.324.

adesão aos movimentos sociais e pessoais mais difícil- mente objectiváveis, eis o que me parece poder constituir uma plataforma comum que (...) uma nova etapa de enraizamento cultural e social.” in Nuno Portas, “A Responsabilidade de Uma Novíssima Geração No Movimento Moderno Em Portugal,” *Arquitectura*, 1959: 14. The word “rooting” is replacing the Portuguese word “enraizamento” that is better conveyed by the French term *enracinement*, and the Italian *radicamento*, both alluding to the making of roots, the action of grounding something in an essential, radical, beginning.

⁴⁷⁴ As accounted by two of its authors, see Frechilla, “Fernando Távora, Conversaciones En Oporto”; Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “O Portugal Desaparecido,” in *Escritos: 1947-1996*, Manuel Mendes, 2 - Argumentos 7 (Porto: FAUP, 1996), 212–15.

The first interpreters of history to put forward the *inquiry's* connection with the *Portuguese house* were the art historian José Augusto-França (1922), followed by the architect Nuno Portas.⁴⁷⁵ Between the two, as recently accounted by the historian Maria Helena Maia and the architect Alexandra Cardoso,⁴⁷⁶ the connection between both processes was stabilized as a modern history of confrontation: the *inquiry* disproving and replacing the knowledge, experiments and ideology of the *Portuguese house*. In these early accounts, the *inquiry* was interpreted as a modern object, placed within the generic becoming of modernism in its mid-century ranging life span, and very much understood as the Portuguese contribution to its European dimensions, namely read in Pagano's, Daniel's and Albini's, De Carlo's exhibitions, and van Eyck's essays. In this sense, it was made to act as a revolutionary process that, like any canonic modern process, only exists as such by displacing the pre-modern object that was taking its place in history. From here was assembled the idea that the *inquiry* was part of an oppositional attitude, held by its architect-authors against the dictatorship, namely by destroying the policy of taste supposedly emanating from the *Portuguese house*. From this assembling, the *inquiry* was read as political in itself, argued by Portas as having been allowed because of a misunderstanding with its government sponsors.⁴⁷⁷ An idea that ever since became the common steering for the problematization of the *inquiry* and its signifying frame of modern Portuguese architecture culture.⁴⁷⁸

Within this revolutionary dynamic of a modern object destroying a pre-modern one, the *inquiry* was mostly retold by comparison with its modern comrades, namely the Italian neo-realists and Team X's supposedly bottom-up revisions of modernism. Hence constituting another cog in the great European movement of making modernism meet tradition and "real" life in the postwar.⁴⁷⁹ Within this retelling of events, the *inquiry* appears as doubly political. On the one hand, by producing a "spirit of the times"

⁴⁷⁵ See Pedro Vieira de Almeida, Manuel Rio de Carvalho, and José Augusto França, *Raul Lino: Exposição Retrospectiva Da Sua Obra*, Pedro Vieira de Almeida (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1970); José-Augusto França, *A Arte Em Portugal No Século XX, 1911-1961* (Venda Nova: Bertrand, 1991), originally published in 1974; Portas, "A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação."

⁴⁷⁶ See Cardoso and Maia, "Tradition and Modernity. The Historiography of the Survey to the Popular Architecture in Portugal."

⁴⁷⁷ Portas, "A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação." Cardoso and Maia produce the pertinent argument that "(...) according to Nuno Portas (1978), "a curious coincidence of misunderstandings or false pretences" have contributed decisively to the achievement of the survey. While the government believed this action would reinforce the aspects of *Portugueseness* in national architecture, the architects intended instead to "trap an explosive documentary" which would demonstrate the existence of as many 'traditions' as there were regions," that should not be disconnected from the fact that: following the fall of the political regime in 1974, there is a marked increase in the interpretations of the survey as an act of resistance against the architectural impositions of the regime." in Cardoso and Maia, "Tradition and Modernity. The Historiography of the Survey to the Popular Architecture in Portugal": 111-12.

⁴⁷⁸ The main reproducers of this reading: Ana Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50* (Porto: Faculty of Architecture of the Univeristy of Porto, 1997); Ana Tostões, "Modernização E Regionalismo 1948-1961," in *Arquitectura Do Século XX. Portugal*, ed. Annette Becker, Ana Tostões, and Wilfried Wang (Portugal-Frankfurt: Prestel, 1997), 41-53; Alexandre Alves Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa* (Porto: Faculty of Architecture of the Univeristy of Porto, 1995); Sérgio Fernandez, *Percurso, Arquitectura Portuguesa 1930/1974* (Porto: FAUP, 1988); being Nuno Portas the one who set the main terms in "A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação," in *História Da Arquitectura Moderna*, Bruno Zevi (Lisbon: Arcádia, 1973), 687-744.

⁴⁷⁹ See Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*. Repercussion of this reading of events might be seen in Carlos Machado, *Anonimato E Banalidade: Arquitectura Popular E Arquitectura Erudita Na Segunda Metade Do Século XX Em Portugal* (Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 2006); José Miguel Rodrigues, *O Mundo Ordenado E Acessível Das Formas Da Arquitectura - Tradição Clássica E Movimento Moderno Na Arquitectura Portuguesa: Dois Exemplos* (Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 2006); Jorge Figueira, *Escola Do Porto: Um Mapa Crítico* (Coimbra: e|d|arq, 2002); Jorge Figueira, "A Periferia Perfeita: Pós-Modernidade Na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2009); and José António Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*. (Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 1996).

in a country supposedly adverse to that spirit because of the all-encompassing pastoral graps of its totalitarian regime. On the other, by freeing the idea, knowledge and forms of the Portuguese countryside from the dictatorship's ideological production, which was identified by architects, namely Távora and Keil do Amaral, as being condensed in the forms and norms of the *Portuguese house*.

There are accounts that retell the *inquiry* in another light, either disagreeing or wholesomely reviewing the framework produced, for instance, by Portas. The first dissenting accounts to stand out are mainly two. To the best of my knowledge the first was articulated by the architect Pedro Vieira de Almeida (1933-2011) that,⁴⁸⁰ together with a polemical re-reading of Raul Lino as a modern architect, questioned the political militancy of the *inquiry*. Specially by questioning the tutelary role given to Keil do Amaral and to his political commitments in the overall spirit of the inquiry.⁴⁸¹ The other was produced by the historian Paulo Varela Gomes that narrated the *inquiry* as one amongst four nostalgic battles for the becoming of a Portuguese architecture. Within an overall appreciation of what were, have been and are the possible principles or constants identified with Portuguese architecture throughout history, Gomes connected these battles with revolutionary periods: the late 18th century, the late 19th century, the 1950s and the 1970s. Here, the *inquiry* appears as one among other reemergences of nostalgia, in the face of questioned sovereignty and the disintegration of a "national world."⁴⁸² These two accounts, however, have remained peripheral to the study of what from the 1990s onwards became a major topic of research in Portuguese architecture history and theory: the construction of a "politically compromised" architectural culture that traces back to the post-war and whose fundamentals reside in the articulation of professional practice with a new intimate relation with social-material reality. As Portas wrote in 1959, "(...) a new stage of cultural and social rooting."

Independently of the relative weights of these differing accounts, the fact remains that all were mainly achieved by brief references and studies into its process and results, even more so to its reproaches. As recognized by the architect José Miguel Rodrigues, by 2006 the *inquiry* was still to be tackled with its own research, a situation that since then has been at least partially resolved.⁴⁸³ This implies that the *inquiry* is mainly retold as a case-in-point for some other end, namely: the reinforcing of a specific culture of architecture, invested in formulations of architecture's disciplinary social engagement, because its disciplinarity was brought about by a concern with "real" life. This became an active and continuously reconstructed identity for a generation of architects that assumed a central position in the production of architectural knowledge in Portugal.⁴⁸⁴

There haven't been many instances devoted to other enactments of the *inquiry*, being the work of anthropologist João Leal one early and pertinent exception, despite not having focused exclusively on

⁴⁸⁰ See Pedro Vieira de Almeida and Maria Helena Maia, "As Décadas Pós-Congresso. Os Anos 50," in *História Da Arte Em Portugal 14: Arquitectura Moderna*, ed. Pedro Vieira de Almeida and José Manuel Fernandes (Lisbon: Alfa, 1986); Almeida, *Apontamentos Para Uma Teoria Da Arquitectura*.

⁴⁸¹ Keil do Amaral was portrayed as having a heavy role in defining the *inquiry*'s stakes and conditions that, together with its liberal inclinations, served to argue the case for the politically its confrontational attitude. See, for example, Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50*.

⁴⁸² See Gomes, "Quatre Batailles En Faveur D'une Architecture Portugaise."

⁴⁸³ See Rodrigues, *O Mundo Ordenado E Acessível Das Formas Da Arquitectura - Tradição Clássica E Movimento Moderno Na Arquitectura Portuguesa: Dois Exemplos*. Namely by the studies of Cardoso and Maia, "Tradition and Modernity. The Historiography of the Survey to the Popular Architecture in Portugal"; and Agarez, "Regionalism, Modernism and Vernacular Tradition in the Architecture of the Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965," 2013.

⁴⁸⁴ Besides Portas' retelling of events, the other two most instrumental retellings in this sense are Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50*; and Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*.

it.⁴⁸⁵ Comparing various surveys of vernacular landscapes in Portugal, from the *Portuguese house* onwards, using several first-person accounts, namely interviews with some of the *inquiry* architects, which will be helpful here, Leal developed one of the most comprehensive accounts of the *inquiry*. At the same time, he inscribed it in a larger historical process of search for the objects, discourses and meanings of nationality. However, specially regarding the *inquiry*, his conclusions didn't stray from the path set by Portas, Alves Costa and Tostões.⁴⁸⁶ Another pertinent case is the work developed by architect Inês Oliveira that, by reading the *inquiry* through its practices of photography, accomplished a suggestive account of its modes of looking.⁴⁸⁷ Yet, she overemphasizes the importance of the international neo-realist artistic movement, although with rich connections, and in the process ends up portraying the photographic practices of the *inquiry* in an undying heroic light.⁴⁸⁸

More recently, the problematization of the *inquiry* has become the target of more comprehensive studies. As probably that involving the largest number of elements and strategies, there is the research project *Popular Architecture in Portugal: a critical look* centered in the CEEA.⁴⁸⁹ This project involves various studies that mainly depart from the reading of the *inquiry* and the 1950s produced by Pedro Vieira de Almeida and the historian Maria Helena Maia, coordinators of the research project.⁴⁹⁰ Involving a varied team of researchers, mainly architects and historians, they are responsible for rich accounts of the *inquiry*, comprising rich interpretations of its international, cultural and professional connections.⁴⁹¹ As such, the various results from this research project have opened possible meanings and lessons to be found in the *inquiry*. Some of their work is published in english and as already been cited.

Then, there is the doctoral dissertation by architect Ricardo Agarez that, ranging from 1925 to 1965, develops a detailed field-work and archival research, with the objective of questioning the concatenation of modernity with regionalism with which Portuguese “critical regionalist” architects have become associated.⁴⁹² Specially focused in the architectural production of Algarve, he produces a nuanced account of the *inquiry*, in which one of its groups of architects is shown to have articulated more complex relations to modernism, the vernacular and regionalism than is granted by its more common reading, in a nutshell: that the *inquiry* was oppositional to the regime because it was a truly

⁴⁸⁵ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

⁴⁸⁶ Portas, “A Responsabilidade de Uma Novíssima Geração No Movimento Moderno Em Portugal”; Portas, “A Evolução Da Architectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação”; Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Architectura Portuguesa*; Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Architectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50*.

⁴⁸⁷ Inês Filipe dos Santos Oliveira, “A Fotografia No Inquérito Da Architectura Popular Em Portugal” (Master’s Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2011).

⁴⁸⁸ Both Leal’s and Oliveira’s work are relevant for my account of the *inquiry*, specially for their collected interviews of architects directly involved in the process and also for the information allowed by the connections they draw.

⁴⁸⁹ Located in the *Escola Superior Artística do Porto*, translatable as Porto’s Superior Artistic School, a cooperative private institution co-funded by the architect Arnaldo Araújo, himself a participant in the *inquiry*.

⁴⁹⁰ The two texts setting some of the main questions structuring the study are Almeida and Maia, “As Décadas Pós-Congresso. Os Anos 50” and Almeida, *Apontamentos Para Uma Teoria Da Architectura*.

⁴⁹¹ For an overview I suggest reading the article by Alexandra Cardoso and Maria Helena Maia, “Tradition and Modernity. The Historiography of the Survey to the Popular Architecture in Portugal” (Approaches to Modernity, Budapest: BUTE, 2010), which supplies a concise reading of the various perspectives and literature on the subject. But also the compilation Alexandra Cardoso, Joana Cunha Leal, and Maria Helena Maia, eds., *Surveys on Vernacular Architecture: Their Significance in 20th Century Architectural Culture. Conference Book of Abstracts* (Porto: CEEA, 2012).

⁴⁹² His doctoral thesis, “Regionalism, Modernism and Vernacular Tradition in the Architecture of the Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965,” 2013, is awaiting publication.

modernist exercise, and modernism was against the regime. Furthermore, Agarez's work was motivated, as this one, by the aim to reconsider what he calls the "country's contemporary architectural calling cards," where we should imagine a face of Távora and Siza on the front and an inscription on the back saying: "deeply rooted in local contexts."⁴⁹³

Lastly, but not the least, as the works mentioned are but a selection from many others mainly written in Portuguese,⁴⁹⁴ there is the doctoral dissertation by architect Nelson Mota.⁴⁹⁵ Ranging a broad period, most of the 20th century, and using careful archival research and field work, he accounts for a chaining of Portuguese architectural practices that produced a specific culture of thinking dwelling with innovative, in his view, social-political terms. By treating in detail certain experimental moments, such as the *inquiry*, he shows how these practices came full circle on Siza's design for the Malagueira neighborhood in Évora. Work which problematizes and manifests, according to Mota, a productive "thirdness" regarding the dichotomy between political agonism and consensus, which he associates with a bundle of dichotomies proper to Modernity: local/global, compromised/alienated, etc... He then reinscribes political potential within disciplinary norms and forms through this "thirdness," which also partly arose from the experience of the *inquiry*. The latter, however, is described after a dismantling of the concept of vernacular, thus exposing its specific enactment of vernacular meanings and objects.

Somewhat parallel, yet mostly harnessed for a long time under what we could call the canonical reading of events established by França, Portas and others, there are the texts written by some of the architects directly participating in the *inquiry*. For instance by Teotónio Pereira, Octávio Lixa Filgueiras and António Méneres, among others that brought some new breath into the understanding of the 1950s and the role of the *inquiry*.⁴⁹⁶ These texts are here useful primary sources. It is my belief that their mediation of the *inquiry* still possesses more to be fully distilled and integrated. For instance: Teotónio Pereira's reading of events questions the idea that the *inquiry* was political by itself because of its modernist solidarities.⁴⁹⁷ This reading, while included in some historical accounts of the *inquiry*, has mainly been given a passive role regarding what we could call the building-up of a cultural portfolio for Portuguese architects. One in which some modern Portuguese architects are credited with having invented a form of architecture that is highly sensitive to context, the local, the participating client, while still modernist.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹³ In Agarez, "Regionalism, Modernism and Vernacular Tradition in the Architecture of the Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965," 2014. The picturing of a literal calling card with Távora's and Siza's face, as well as its inscription, is my elaboration, not Agarez's.

⁴⁹⁴ There are a number of works that develop particular and interesting readings of the *inquiry*, yet without displacing the theoretical frames in which it has been historically constituted as a political object. See, for instance: Rodrigues, *O Mundo Ordenado E Acessível Das Formas Da Arquitectura - Tradição Clássica E Movimento Moderno Na Arquitectura Portuguesa: Dois Exemplos*; Machado, *Anonimato E Banalidade: Arquitectura Popular E Arquitectura Erudita Na Segunda Metade Do Século XX Em Portugal*.

⁴⁹⁵ Mota, *An Archaeology of the Ordinary: Rethinking the Architecture of Dwelling from CIAM to Siza*.

⁴⁹⁶ Nuno Teotónio Pereira, "Architettura Popolare, Dall'inchiesta Al Progetto," *Domus*, n.d.; Pereira, "O Portugal Desaparecido"; Nuno Teotónio Pereira, "Reflexos Culturais Do Inquérito À Arquitectura Regional," *Jornal Dos Arquitectos*, April 2000; Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, "A Escola Do Porto (1940-69)," in *Carlos Ramos, Exposição Retrospectiva Da Sua Obra* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1986); António Menéres in Tostões et al., *Keil Do Amaral: O Arquitecto E O Humanista*.

⁴⁹⁷ See Pereira, "Architettura Popolare, Dall'inchiesta Al Progetto"; and Pereira, "O Portugal Desaparecido."

⁴⁹⁸ This portfolio building is directly connected with *The Porto School* and its masters, namely Távora, Alexandre Alves Costa, Álvaro Siza Vieira, among others, contributing to its reputation and its identity as a school and architectural milieu brought about by politically motivated producers. For theoretical elaborations of this portfolio see Manuel Mendes, "Porto, the School and Its Projects 1940-1986," in *Architecture À Porto* (Brussels: Pierre Mardaga, 1990), 42-84; and Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*.

Along what will follow I will combine primary sources with many of the works mentioned above. Most of these are here used specifically in what concerns the presentation and reflection on primary sources, including written documents, interviews, drawings and photographs. Regarding international connections constructed with the *inquiry*, this body of literature is equally helpful, yet limited. Foremost because international connections are mainly driven into Team X and the environment surrounding the questioning of CIAM in the 1960s. I am more interested in building bridges to other times and places. What this chapter will borrow from the more comprehensive and recent works on the *inquiry* is the need to read it with its architectural discourse, professional agendas and active governing efforts. To which elements I aim to add the connections activated for the construction of an authentic country, allowing a true architecture practice and knowledge, in mid-20th century Portugal.

I aim to displace the irreproachability of cast historical images by coming back to the ideas, methods, categories and strategies used by the architectural surveyors to collect the “character of our people” and project a specific country. In this sense, this chapter hopes to contribute to the already comprehensive study of this edifying phase of Portuguese modern architecture, by accounting for how a number of acting social-material boundaries were articulated in a broad survey of the country. This, in turn, will allow for another picture of the disciplinary experience of the *inquiry*. The questions at work here, thus, enact two dialogues. (1) How was the confluence of modernism with tradition assembled,⁴⁹⁹ with how was the country collected, that is, how were bodies, materials and morals assembled. (2) How did Portuguese reality become a methodological source and not a fixed national imagery,⁵⁰⁰ with what professional technologies, experiences and aims deployed an authentic country-itself.

From the beginning

In 1955 a small groups of architects, departing from Porto and Lisbon, travelled the rural hinterland, north to south, searching a sense for national architectural expression by surveying places that “still had roots.”⁵⁰¹ Places understood as connected to an essential identity: the material proof of a “genesis.” During several months, they found in the various landscapes and in its architectures: “examples of praiseworthy plastic value;”⁵⁰² “houses, shacks, wells, windmills or fountains so right and beautiful;”⁵⁰³ “great lessons of sincerity and aesthetical elevation (...),” simple structures that emanated “their whole being (...), fluorescing their personality,” with a profound “sense of rootedness,” and

⁴⁹⁹ See Jorge Figueira, *Escola Do Porto: Um Mapa Crítico* (Coimbra: e|d|arq, 2002): 33.

⁵⁰⁰ See Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*: 113.

⁵⁰¹ More specifically “interland” was the term used in the book published in 1961. Hinterland is a word of German origin from the 19th century and emerging specifically as a term of commercial geography, that designates the “land behind,” usually regions inland of rivers and ports, and in direct dependency of an urban center. Throughout the late 19th and early 20th century the word was also used in colonial politics for instance originating the *hinterland doctrine*, which stated that the control of ports and rivers ensured the control of their various hinterlands. This was specifically relevant and applied in European colonies in Africa. See <https://www.britannica.com/topic/hinterland>, accessed October 4 2016.

⁵⁰² V. A., *Arquitectura Popular Em Portugal*, Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Gráfica São Gonçalo, 1961): 349.

⁵⁰³ Ibid: 55, 79.

manifesting the “feeling of a people”; ways of organizing the landscape that produced “environmental unity,” with forms of “efficient modes.”⁵⁰⁴

The Portuguese hinterland they found, spoke as deep and strong lessons of functionalism and ethical wholeness, as the modernism propagated through international magazines. Like Pagano and Daniel twenty years before,⁵⁰⁵ they found vernacular architecture to be as modern as modern architecture, adding to many other modernist appropriations of the primitive and vernacular other. With this process of appropriation, careers, disciplinary problems, creative possibilities were opened up. As Távora later claimed: “I verified in fact, through what I saw, that my program of modern architecture was compatible – fusible – with that world.”⁵⁰⁶

The *inquiry* became not only a systematic study of vernacular Portuguese architecture and possible material for a reviewing or correction of what the *Portuguese house* had imbued as national style and the dictatorship had made into a mythical projection of homeland. It was also, as Teotónio Pereira later argued, an essential field for a professional class project set on rethinking its professional stakes, hoping to answer what meant to do modern architecture in Portugal, by starting from its socio-cultural texture. Proceeding to question the national landscape, the surveying architects also aimed to review the discipline’s social commitments and, as such, promote a re-foundation of Portuguese architecture as socially invested.⁵⁰⁷

Keil do Amaral assumed a key role in the *inquiry*’s fulfillment, not solely because of his 1947 article, but also due to his influential position within the class union and the younger generation of architects. Even though many others shared the initiative with him, especially as he was removed from the union leadership in 1949 and arrested through 1953-54. Various union presidencies continuously sought state support for the initiative along the years following the 1948 architects congress, usually with little avail.⁵⁰⁸ After some years in the making, a union leadership composed by the architects Peres Fernandes, Mendes Tainha, Rui Mendes de Paula e José Rafael Botelho,⁵⁰⁹ managed to secure government sponsorship, namely in the form of a considerable purse delivered through a decree-law especially drawn for the initiative.⁵¹⁰

The decree was authored by the ministry of public works, at the time presided by the engineer Eduardo Arantes e Oliveira. The latter was involved in Alvalade’s planning and construction in the 1940s. He also coordinated Lisbon’s urbanization office until 1947, during which period Keil do Amaral also worked there and after which the latter left and opened his office in *arco do cego* Street. After 1947, Arantes e Oliveira went on to direct the *Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil* – LNEC⁵¹¹ and in 1954 Salazar made him minister of public works.⁵¹² So we could say he was familiar and

⁵⁰⁴ A., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, 1961: 54.

⁵⁰⁵ Pagano and Daniel, *Architettura Rurale Italiana*.

⁵⁰⁶ “Eu verifiquei realmente, ao longo daquilo que vi, que o meu programa de arquitetura moderna era compatível – fusível – com esse mundo.” Interview with Távora in 1996, in Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970)*. *Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*: 190.

⁵⁰⁷ See Pereira, “O Portugal Desaparecido.”

⁵⁰⁸ There is a known formal appeal by the Union in 1949 to the *Instituto de Alta Cultura* (Institute of High Culture), which was rejected, see Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970)*. *Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*: 169.

⁵⁰⁹ The architects Dário Vieira, João Simões, Alberto José Pessoa, Francisco da Conceição Silva and Sebastião Formozinho Sanchez are named as important advocates of the initiative before 1955, see *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, 1961. To which such be added the architect José Huertas Lobo, who had been conducting his own personal surveys of the hinterland before the *inquiry* showed up.

⁵¹⁰ Decree-law nº 40.349 of October 19 of 1955.

⁵¹¹ Translatable as National Civil Engineering Laboratory.

⁵¹² It is important to remember that Salazar held for the right to nominate ministers of his preference.

probably sharing some intimacy with the architects calling for modernism and, simultaneously, its cultural revision, having worked with many of them in Alvalade and for many years directly with Keil do Amaral. An intimacy acknowledged in the *inquiry's* report:

(...) the Union addressed the Minister of Public Works, engineer Eduardo de Arantes e Oliveira, who from the start understood the depth of the initiative and full heartedly endorsed it, the Government publishing the Decree, (...) thanks to which the SNA (National Architects Union) obtained the indispensable subsidy for the realization of the Inquiry (...)⁵¹³

Or in the wording of the decree-law itself:

In the face of the evolution of the factors that originated them, some of those constructive traditions no longer integrally maintain their value, constituting already mere historical documents of our architecture, many, however, continue to be perfectly adjusted to the national environment and contain in themselves a living lesson evidencing the practical value for the desired *aportuguesamento* of modern architecture in our country.⁵¹⁴

Certainly Távora, in his 22 years of age, could not have imagined that his words would form the ideological basis and discursive terms for such a governmental enterprise. The will to be modern of the younger generation thus found its way within statehood:

Article 1: The Ministry of Public works is here by authorized to concede, by the unemployment fund, to the Architects National Union a subsidy reaching the amount of 500.000\$00, destined to cover the charges pertaining to the systematic investigation of the traditional architectonic elements in the diverse regions of the country.⁵¹⁵

It is important to notice that the financial support derives from welfare funds and not directly from the cabinet's purse, in a similar situation to Ramalde its budget derived from the INTP. Here, once again, Portuguese modern architecture and its possible fields of re-creation were structurally tied to the dictatorship's production of welfare: in the post-war modern Portuguese architecture emerged as social supplement. This supplement, however, aimed to rewrite the way national architecture itself was understood, evaluated and produced. In the introduction to the *inquiry's* books, the union leadership claimed:

⁵¹³ "(...) dirigiu-se o Sindicato ao Ministro de Obras Públicas, engenheiro Eduardo de Arantes e Oliveira, que desde logo compreendeu o alcance da iniciativa e a acolheu com todo o entusiasmo, publicando o Governo o Decreto que adiante se transcreve, graças ao qual o SNA obteve o subsídio indispensável para levar a termo o Inquérito (...)” in *Arquitectura Popular Em Portugal*, 1961.

⁵¹⁴ “Perante a evolução dos factores que lhes deram origem, algumas dessas tradições construtivas não manterão já integralmente o seu valor, podendo mesmo constituir meros documentos da história da nossa arquitecatura, muitas, porém, continuam perfeitamente ajustadas ao ambiente nacional e contêm em si uma lição viva de evidenciar valor prático para o desejado aportuguesamento da arquitectura moderna do nosso país.” Decree-law nº 40.349 in *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁵ “Artigo 1º: Fica o Ministério das Obras Públicas autorizado a conceder, pelo Fundo de Desemprego, ao Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos um subsídio, até ao montante de 500.000\$00, destinado a cobrir os encargos com a investigação sistemática dos elementos arquitectónicos tradicionais nas diversas regiões do país, a realizar por aquele sindicato nas condições fixadas no presente diploma.” in *Ibid.*

There doesn't exist, at all, a "portuguese Architecture" or a "portuguese house." Between a *minhota*⁵¹⁶ village and a "*monte*" *alentejano*⁵¹⁷ there are differences much deeper than those between certain portuguese and greek constructions.⁵¹⁸

As a wide ranging cultural project, the *inquiry* aimed to leave behind the ethnographical generalizations and picturesque aesthetics of the *Portuguese house*, to perform the patricidal act on those forefathers to a national style. Yet, they asked: "Is there not, however, in that diversity of features, something common, specifically portuguese?" To which they answered with the following yes: there are "certain constants, (...) subtil (...) but real" that, however, are not related with "(...) a unity of types, features or architectural elements, but to something regarding the character of our people, revealed in the buildings it constructs."⁵¹⁹ An article by Távora published in 1952, supplies a relevant perspective on the concatenation of this notion of collective expression with that of modernity's character.⁵²⁰

Departing from the premise that architecture and urbanism - that should be read in this context as city building - are "universal" and "necessary phenomena," Távora similarly asked: "(...) is there something common in the evolution of the phenomena of Architecture and Urbanism?"⁵²¹ The reply: "without a doubt," and he moved to identify three aspects through which this commonness emerged. (1) "Permanent modernity," (2) the collaboration of all and (3) spatial organization as life-conditioning.⁵²² Starting with the latter, he argued that the built environment produces a mode of human life that can be analyzed as positive or negative, since space recreates life, and life space - "the disharmony of spatial organization creates human unhappiness."⁵²³ An idea that follows closely with his argument that every work of architecture and urbanism is the result of the collaboration of many and not only of a group of authors - the "whole" life that conditions space. Architecture and urbanism, he argued, are "(...) synthesis, plastic translations in organized space of those by whom and for whom they are realized."⁵²⁴ The ethics of architecture was articulated in a material ontology relating life and form.⁵²⁵ And transformed in a common facilitator for picturing the validity of some forms over others, but also of some lives over others. Beauty was the preposition of an ethically good life and not something on top of it.

⁵¹⁶ Referring to something that belongs to Minho, the furthest northwest region in Portugal.

⁵¹⁷ Referring to a common typology in the inland Southern region of Portugal, Alentejo, that can be characterized as a large agrarian production estate.

⁵¹⁸ "Não existem, de todo, uma "Arquitetura portuguesa" ou uma "casa portuguesa". Entre uma aldeia minhota e um "monte" alentejano, há diferenças muito mais profundas do que entre certas construções portuguesas e gregas." in A., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, 1961: xx.

⁵¹⁹ "Não existirá, contudo, nessa diversidade de feições, qualquer coisa comum, especificamente portuguesa? (...) há certas constantes, de subtil distinção (...) mas reais. (...) a uma unidade de tipos, de feitos ou de elementos arquitectónicos, mas a qualquer coisa do carácter da nossa gente, revelada nos edificios que constrói (...)" in *Ibid*.

⁵²⁰ Fernando Távora, "Arquitetura E Urbanismo," *Lusitana - Revista Ilustrada de Cultura, Arte, Literatura, História, Crítica*, November 1952: 151-155.

⁵²¹ "(...) universal (...) Fenómeno necessário (...) existe qualquer coisa de comum (...) na evolução do fenómeno da Arquitectura e do Urbanismo?" in *Ibid*: 151, 153.

⁵²² "(...) a sua modernidade permanente, o esforço de colaboração que ele sempre traduziu, a sua importância como elemento condicionante da vida do homem." in *Ibid*: 153.

⁵²³ "a desarmonia da organização do espaço gera a infelicidade humana." in *Ibid*: 155.

⁵²⁴ "(...) sínteses, traduções plásticas no espaço organizado daqueles por quem e para quem se realizam;" in *Ibid*.

⁵²⁵ As elaborated, for example, by Le Corbusier when he writes, "when the cathedrals were white, participation was unanimous, in everything," in *When the Cathedrals Were White*, trans. Francis E. Hyslop Jr. (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill, 1964): 5; originally published in 1947.

Both notions put forward by Távora – space as shaping life and life as shaping space by being the translation of the collaboration of all – were grounded in the idea that modernity is something beyond épouques and fashions. Instead, as argued by him, it was something closer to a collective state of mind that managed to be “naturally” translated into a work – “modernity means perfect integration of all the elements that may be carried in the realization of any work.”⁵²⁶ The main point being that in all great works, which for Távora ranged from the primitive hut to the Pártenon, there is a common truth: a unitary modern spirit through which these emerged as the perfect integration of the wide collaboration of the many, materials, space and history and towards a dreamed cohesive future life.⁵²⁷ This broad and global notion of modernity and being modern plays a key role in the *inquiry*’s conceptual scaffolding.



21 Picture of an old man in Aldeia Viçosa, Guarda, from Keil do Amaral’s team in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* vol. 1, 1961, p.331.

⁵²⁶ “(...) significa integração perfeita de todos os elementos que podem influir na realização de qualquer obra,” in Távora, “Arquitetura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes:” 153.

⁵²⁷ The cultural geographer Henry Glassie supplies us with a relevant critical summary of this account of architecture: “As projected by traditional humanism, by the modern architect and psychologist, the ideal is for architectural form to be the material rendering of human need. Under the spell of Edward T. Hall’s arguments, the fieldworker comes to the house expecting it to be the end product of centuries of subtle metamorphoses which have molded it into a proxemics shell – a perfect projection of the volumetric needs of the building’s human content,” in Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1975): 117.

Firstly, this relation to history, namely with a long historical frame stretching beyond modern time into “primitive” foundations, was the common measure of rootedness, as exposed in the *inquiry*’s introduction and frequently used in the various surveying teams’ texts. The observable formal continuities with historical modes of dwelling played a crucial role in the establishing of both social and architectural authenticity. As written in the *inquiry*’s preface: “(...) if the roots that strongly tie it to the land and its problem are severed, it loses strength and authenticity.”⁵²⁸ This enacted a specific pre-modern origin point, measured in relation to urbanization: “Regional vernacular Architecture is not urban in origin nor tendency. It may “urbanize,” improve its constructive care and formal dressing (...).”⁵²⁹

Secondly, the rural hinterland was portrayed as possessing an inherent harmony of ways, despite the “negative” influence of various modern phenomena and objects. Between its produced environment and the people that dwell in it a symbiosis was identified, these two agents made into two distinct yet undissociated entities to start with: nature and culture. Faced with modern urbanization, the authentic peasant was that aiming to “(...) reestablish the balance between living conditions and the buildings that make it possible,” architecture played here the role of producing said balance.⁵³⁰ This notion of the socio-ecological role of architecture grounded various considerations in the *inquiry*. Most importantly, it was presented from the start as a guiding principle, as what differentiated between what was worth keeping and what was not:

We believe that the equilibrium will one day be redone, with the proper basis of a new historical period. But, meanwhile, it is necessary to caution an heritage that still holds precious lessons: parsimonious villages and buildings, coherent and harmonious, that, in most cases, are being remodeled for worst, without measure nor advantage.⁵³¹

What was described as deserving care was the rational and modest peasant house and village, the ordered vernacular universe of dwelling against the erudite, theoretical, bureaucratic, economically driven city form, which bore the signs of contaminated life.

Thirdly, another grounding premise was built around the idea of architecture being made by an anonymous collective, represented in words such as “the people,” the “spirit,” “character,” “feeling” and “unity” of a place or a region - Le Corbusier’s “unanimous participation,” when cathedrals were white. The notion of an abstract “folk architect” or as written in the *inquiry*, the “rural builder,”⁵³² played a meaningful and structuring role throughout the later.⁵³³ Architecture was understood as two opposite realities at once. On the one hand, the concrete effort of a man or woman, or more usually their grouping in the “family” and “community,” to build a roof in a certain way so as to stop rain from

⁵²⁸ “(...) se lhe cortam as raízes que a prendem fortemente à terra e aos seus problemas, desvirtua-se, perde a força e a autenticidade.” in A., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, 1961: xix.

⁵²⁹ “A Arquitetura popular regional não é urbana de origens nem de tendências. Pode “urbanizar-se,” melhorar de cuidados construtivos e apuros formais (...). Ibid.

⁵³⁰ “(...) procura restabelecer o equilíbrio entre as condições de vida e os edifícios que as facilitam.” in Ibid: XXI.

⁵³¹ “Cremos que o equilíbrio há de refazer-se um dia, em bases próprias dum novo período histórico. Mas, entretanto, é preciso acautelar um património que encerra ainda preciosas lições: povoados e edifícios singelos, coerentes e harmoniosos, que, na maior parte dos casos, estão sendo remodelados para pior, sem critério nem vantagem.” in Ibid: XXII.

⁵³² *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, vol. 2: 95.

⁵³³ The term “folk architect” comes from Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*.

entering or doing a window with a certain material and shape so as to insulate more than illuminate the house. In other words, the very concrete bodily work and considerations that literally produced form in an imagined primitive setting. Here, morphology and biology assumed front row. On the other hand, a sort of mysteriously animated life that, like the concrete hand of the carpenter, also formed the house, yet acted indirectly or it only acted through the hand of the carpenter. It did not build the house but the house was built with it. In the *inquiry* this power beyond emerged as regional “cultures,” “regional nature,” a “feeling” of the land, a “civilizational matrix,” or a “spirit.” It was usually used in abstract, pertaining to an essential origin, ungraspable yet made to act in the buildings produced by the surveying architects. These were the invisible forces making those “certain constants” that defined the “character of our people,” as written in the books’ introduction.

These three elements coalesce in three structuring ideas for the *inquiry* and its surveying: (1) the idea that the local is self-placed in a contained and well-delimited morphology; (2) that there is a “spirit,” an essence, a “faith” and feeling to this placeness and its specific bounded mode-of-life; and (3) that there is an organic, naturally given, relationship between people, place and form that can be read by rationally observing the latter. The articulation of these three enacted the perfect integration that Távora argued as modern.⁵³⁴ Discussed throughout 1955, these bearings circulated as informal guidelines for the fieldwork to come, driving an idea of modernity to be perceived in premodern grounds. This emerged through various voices throughout the different survey reports, as will become sharper as we go into the different texts.

Dividing fields and cities

First and foremost, the whole country needed to be divided among the different surveying teams. Under the coordination of Keil do Amaral, the country was divided in six zones, following a regional division espoused by the influential Portuguese geographer Orlando Ribeiro (1911-97). To each corresponded a team of three architects: one older, coordinating, architect and two younger ones in their internship, hired from the schools of Porto and Lisbon. The zones and their surveying teams were the following: zone 1 – ranging *minho*, *douro litoral* and *beira litoral norte* (north-west) was attributed to Távora as coordinating architect and Rui Pimentel and António Méneres as interns; zone 2 – *trás-os-montes* and *alto douro* (north-east), Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, Arnaldo Araújo and Carvalho Dias; zone 3 – *beiras* (north-central), Keil do Amaral, Huertas Lobo and João Malato; zone 4 – *estremadura*, *ribatejo* and *beira litoral* (central), Teotónio Pereira, Pinto de Freitas e Francisco Silva Dias; zone 5 – *alentejo* (central-south), Frederico George, Azevedo Gomes e António da Mata Antunes; zone 6 – *algarve* and *alentejo litoral* (south and south-west), Artur Pires Martins, Celestino de Castro e Fernando Torres.

According to Teotónio Pereira, the idea behind the selection of team captains and the distribution of zones followed the personal connections of each with the respective zone. Hence the northern team captains, Távora and Lixa Filgueiras, covered the furthest northern regions, while Lisbon irradiated to

⁵³⁴ These connections to Távora’s reflection on modernity and being modern are tied by a mutual reference, Spengler’s *The Decline of the West*, used directly and indirectly throughout the various reports. For instance, regarding blood, place and environmental determinism see A., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, 1961: 2.

all other regions.⁵³⁵ Most surveying, however, fell on the interns, who were given means of transport, such as scooters, to be able to move around freely. The coordinators supervised the process from their offices in Lisbon and Porto, and occasionally joined the interns on the field. This seems to be what, at least Távora and Teotónio Pereira portrayed as their experience of the process: in the weekends joining their interns on the field.⁵³⁶



22 Salazar examining the first editing of *inquiry* materials, with Arantes e Oliveira (left) and Távora (right) by his side, 1958, FIMS (FIMS-FT-Foto4036F).

The intensive period of surveying lasted between four to five months, period after which each team was responsible for selecting and editing the materials in the body of a report to publish, after governmental sanction. The period of selection and editing was diffusely extended throughout the late 1950s, coming together in an official presentation in April of 1958 to Salazar and Arantes e Oliveira, among other relevant state figures, occurring at the SNBA, where the architects union was housed. This presentation of the newfound country did not any grievance worth registering. Apparently Salazar's vernacular puritanism was not set off. On the other hand, it was a troubling year for the regime, as it faced massive popular opposition during 1957/1958, mobilized by general Humberto Delgado's (1906-

⁵³⁵ From interview, 1996, cited in Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970)*. *Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*: 170.

⁵³⁶ From interviews, 1996, cited in *Ibid*.

65) run for president, who openly criticized Salazar and argued for a drastic change in regime.⁵³⁷ Still, the presentation was a success and three years later the regime sponsored the integral publication of the *inquiry*.

The framework and methodologies for the surveying were flexibly defined in various meetings throughout 1955 and under the coordination of Keil do Amaral.⁵³⁸ However, according to Teotónio Pereira and Távora, Keil do Amaral did not exercise much control either over the conceptual basis or the methodological guidelines, allowing each team to define “their own interests.”⁵³⁹ Despite this, a general selection of surveying elements was established with the consultation of Orlando Ribeiro.

The latter was a key agent to the *inquiry* and the development of a modern geography in Portugal, appropriated by architects during the 1940s and 1950s. This happened mainly from the publishing of his influential book *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico* in 1945 and where he developed an in-depth geographical interpretation of the whole country, dividing it in six main regions. These divisions were then taken up for the *inquiry*. He also had direct presence in Porto’s school where, by invitation of Ramos, he taught a course on human geography in 1953 and supported the realization of an *Inquérito às expressões e técnicas tradicionais portuguesas*, developed later that year by architecture students under the guidance of Távora, working as teaching assistant at the time.⁵⁴⁰ Ribeiro was greatly influenced by the human geography of Albert Demangeon (1872-1940) and Jean Gottman (1915-94), under whom studied in Paris.⁵⁴¹

Demangeon and Gottman, although relatively unknown outside their disciplinary field, had an important role in the development of human geography throughout several places in Europe and North America. Their form of human geography was developed in France, namely through their teaching positions at the Sorbonne in Paris, the first as Professor, the second as assistant to the latter. Gottman, due to his Jewish upbringing, immigrated to North America in the early 1940s, where he assumed key positions in geography departments, passing down the human geography consolidated at the Sorbonne. Demangeon studied under the geographer Paul Vidal de La Blanche (1845-1918), credited as one of the creators of modern geography, namely in its human and cultural branches.⁵⁴²

La Blanche was one of the first geographers to re-frame geography’s stakes around the question of the human production of the landscape, highlighting the latter’s organization in terms of regions, sub-

⁵³⁷ This is considered by some historians as the dictatorship’s second crisis, being the first the immediate post-second world war, see Fernando Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2012); Humberto Delgado became widely famous for publicly claiming that if elected he would dismiss Salazar. After losing the presidential elections of 1958, by many interpreted as rigged, he became an exile and was soon after assassinated, see Fernando Rosas, ed., *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*, vol. 7 (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1993).

⁵³⁸ See Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50*; and Neves, “Cultural Identity in Portuguese Architecture: The ‘Inquérito’ and the Architecture of Its Protagonists in the 1960’s.”

⁵³⁹ Nuno teotónio, interview, 1996, cited in Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

⁵⁴⁰ Translatable as *Inquiry to traditional Portuguese expressions and techniques*. See Gonçalo Canto Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)” (PhD Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2011): 142; and Eduardo Fernandes, “Signs of the ‘Survey’ Influence in the CODA Projects Presented in EBAP.” (Surveys on Vernacular Architecture. Their Significance in the 20th Century Architectural Culture, Porto: CEAA - Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo, 2012).

⁵⁴¹ Orlando studied in Paris under Demangeon during 1937-40.

⁵⁴² For a North American take see Timothy S. Oakes and Patricia L. Price, eds., *The Cultural Geography Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); for a French one see Jean-Paul Bord et al., *Élisée Reclus, Paul Vidal De La Blanche: Le Géographe, La Cité Et Le Monde, Hier Et Aujourd’Hui* (Paris: Hartmann, 2009).

regions and localized environmental units. In 1910 he wrote the article “Les Régions Françaises,” serving a French government request to allow the possible organization of regional electoral and administrative units. This was invested in a larger process of political economic national reorganization in the face of an “escalating global economy.”⁵⁴³ La Blanche was an early enabler and advocate of what the poet Jean-Desthieux (1895-1944), a writer close to the regionalist movement in France, described as the stepping-stone for the evolution of political regionalism:

There is something more pressing, for sure, than searching for a substitute to the ancient jacobin formula of the one and indivisible Republic and, before reflecting on the recasting of our institutions, one should start by ensuring the existence of the country itself.⁵⁴⁴

By elevating the region as a valid and politically emancipating unit of analysis, with its sub-regions, environmental peculiarities, and specific economical-cultural formations, La Blanche was promoting the forms of knowledge and tools for acknowledging the country-itself for a renewed Republic: the “real” country and not the artificial body politic projected from Paris. This reformulation of national landscapes, of their political, cultural, environmental units within the nation, operated an inflection of geography into a more nuanced knowledge of cultural and environmental specificity. This became influential, for instance, in the discussions of regional and urban planning developed by Patrick Geddes (1854-1932). The latter promoted, then, organizational problems, ideas and stakes that flowed into the body of the garden-city and its political geography.⁵⁴⁵

Much before the state entrusted formulation of “Les Régions Françaises,” La Blanche had already experimented with the adaptation of geographical knowledge to more detailed environmental accounts in, for instance, a geography class at the Sorbonne in 1873 titled in a specially relevant manner for us, *La Péninsule Européenne, L’Océan et la Méditerranée: Leçons d’ouverture du cours d’histoire et géographie*.⁵⁴⁶ Orlando Ribeiro probably derived the title of his influential work *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico*, from this lesson from La Blanche, in which also the Ocean and the Mediterranean were constituted as the main agents of broad European environmental realities.

Demangeon departed from La Blanche’s regionalist sensibility and from his tools to discover environmental particularities. Within La Blanche’s regionalist line, Demangeon focused specifically on the formation and interpretation of peasant landscapes, namely from the 1920s onwards, after writing the essay *Le Déclin de l’Europe*, following Spengler’s *Decline of the West* 1918 edition.⁵⁴⁷ His geography came closer to a form of socio-morphological knowledge formulated around the production of the

⁵⁴³ Bord et al., *Élisée Reclus, Paul Vidal De La Blanche: Le Géographe, La Cité Et Le Monde, Hier Et Aujourd’Hui*; La Blanche was influenced by Frédéric Le Play’s (1806-82) social theory of autonomous communitarian socio-political units, clearly delimited in spatial and social distribution to a specific regional landscape, and much informed by reactionary christian politics of mid-19th century. For more on Le Play see Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

⁵⁴⁴ “Il y a quelque chose de plus pressé sans doute que de chercher un substitute à l’ancienne formule jacobine de la République une et indivisible et, avant de songer à la refonte de nos institutions, il faut commencer par assurer l’existence même du pays.” in F. Jean-Desthieux, *L’Évolution Régionaliste: Du Félibrige Au Fédéralisme* (Paris: Éditions Bossard, Paris): VI.

⁵⁴⁵ For a drawing of these connections see Peter Hall, “Geography and Planning: A New Version of an Old Story?,” in *New Geographies: After Zero*, Neyran Turan and Stephen Ramos (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 146–55.

⁵⁴⁶ Translatable as *The European Peninsula, The Ocean and the Mediterranean: history and geography courses opening lessons*. Paul Vidal La Blanche, *La Péninsule Européenne, L’Océan et La Méditerranée: Leçons D’ouverture Du Cours D’histoire et Géographie* (Paris, Nancy: Berger-Levrault et Co., 1873).

⁵⁴⁷ Albert Demangeon, *Le Déclin de L’Europe* (Paris: Payot, 1920).

environments of rurality. Much of his work concentrated in formulations of the “rural habitat,” which became for Demangeon a pressing object of concern.⁵⁴⁸ Together with Gottman, they produced various and rich accounts of countryside towns, their constituents and environments, contributing to a complex reading of regionalism within the evolving dialogue of French political regionalism and the geography course at the Sorbonne.

Demangeon in particular developed forms of human geography based on understanding regional and placed landscape production that resonated with many others concerned with more nuanced renderings of the built environment in an epoch of intense mechanization and existential distraught. His informed concern for the rural dwelling was not something peculiar within an image of the nation, but essentially articulated the later as one of its main socio-material agents, in his words:

In the image one makes of a country anciently cultivated and occupied as France, there enter many impressions that do not come from nature; human works there have a large place. (...) Of all the elements that compose this artificial landscape, there is not a livelier one than the peasant's dwelling, the house of the fields; she represents what is permanent and personal in the establishment of man; he there houses his possessions, his harvests, his utensils, his beasts, his hearth, his family; having conceived it for daily use, he forms it according to his tastes and needs; it is a work emerging from his hands, adapted to his whole existence, almost rendered alive because of its familiarity, a sort of creature. She is the expression, modelled by centuries, of rural life.⁵⁴⁹

For the bringing-forth of the rural dwelling as such primordial unit of construction of the national landscape, that is, as a complex bundle of productive strategies, economical usages, social structures, personal desires and possessions in history and space, its research involved implied a rich mixing of disciplines. According to Demangeon: “She appeals to a whole variety of studies: natural conditions, social conditions, demographic conditions, agricultural conditions.” Furthermore, this research was about “(...) the understanding of human establishments through history,” constituting one of the “(...) more original aspects of the science of modes of life.” And still, articulated in a more openly political sense: “She (research) is not confined to the reconstitution of an abolished past; she dives directly in the living embattlements of today's societies; certain originalities of dwelling reveal to us the originalities of certain social characters and of certain material civilizations.”⁵⁵⁰ The rural dwelling was enacted as a

⁵⁴⁸ See Denis Wolff, “Albert Demangeon (1872-1940). De L'école Communale À La Chaire En Sorbonne, L'itinéraire D'un Géographe Moderne” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Université Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2005); for an overview of Demangeon's focus on rurality and the rural habitat see also Denis Wolff, “Albert Demangeon : Un Géographe Face Au Monde Rural (jusqu'en 1914),” *Ruralia: Revue de L'Association Des Ruralistes Français (online)*, no. 18–19 (2006).

⁵⁴⁹ “Dans l'image qu'on se fait d'un pays anciennement cultivé et peuplé comme la France, il entre beaucoup d'impression qui ne viennent pas de la nature; les oeuvres humaines y tiennent une large place. (...) De tous les élément qui composent ce paysage artificiel, il n'en est pas de plus vivant que l'habitation du paysan, la maison des champs: elle représente ce qu'il y a de permanent et de personnel dans l'établissement de l'homme; il y abrite ses biens, ses récoltes, ses outils, ses bêtes, son foyer, sa famille; l'ayant conçue pour son usage quotidien, il l'a façonnée selon ses goûts et ses besoins; c'est un ouvrage sorti de ses mains, adapté à toute son existence, presque doué de vie à cause de cette familiarité, une sorte de créature. Elle est l'expression, modelée par les siècles, de la vie rurale.” in Albert Demangeon, “L'Habitation Rurale En France, Essai de Classification Des Principaux Types (article Presented in Annales de Géographie, n°161, 1920),” in *Problèmes de Géographie Humaine* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1947), 261–87: 261.

⁵⁵⁰ “Elle fait appel à toute une variété d'études: conditions naturelles, conditions sociales, conditions démographiques, conditions agricoles. (...) la connaissance des établissements humains à travers l'histoire, (...) aspects plus originaux de la science des modes de vie. (...) Elle ne se confine pas dans la reconstitution d'un passé aboli; elle plonge directement dans les assises vivantes des sociétés actuelles; certaines originalités

present and active civilizational matrix, illuminating the *associations*⁵⁵¹ of modern governmental problems.

Through these routes to rural France, we find Ribeiro's mediation of regionalist geography and a similar concern for the "rural habitat" consolidated in a number of important works, such as: the "I/Habitat Rural au Portugal," presented in 1938 at the International Congress of Geography in Amsterdam; or the *Inquérito de Geografia Regional* and *Inquérito do Habitat Rural*,⁵⁵² both published in 1938 through the *Instituto de Alta Cultura* – IAC.⁵⁵³ Thus was also produced La Blanche's and Demangeon's concern for a political reorganization based on the regional country-itself, in the face of a global economy, a failing imperial colonialism, and the need to account for autonomy within national government.

While these connections to France may appear secondary, they are easily made to occupy the forefront in the development of a Portuguese geographical knowledge when we acknowledge Ribeiro's vital role in it. He was essential in the creation of the *Centro de Estudo Etnográficos* in Coimbra, inaugurated in 1942.⁵⁵⁴ Moving to the university of Lisbon in 1943, he opened the *Centro de Estudos Geográficos* in tandem with the IAC.⁵⁵⁵ Stated differently, through the formation of key institutions for the production of both ethnographical and geographical knowledge, and through his influential rewriting of Portugal as six environmentally distinct regions in *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico*, he was a seminal figure. And not only regarding the development of modern geography in Portugal, but also its ethnographical overtones grounded on the study of rural, regional, vernacular objects of concern. His presence is widely felt throughout the *inquiry*, being referenced and cited, for instance, in Artur Pires Martins' zone 6 several times.⁵⁵⁶

Despite this or that direct citation from Orlando's *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico*, his, La Blanche's and Demangeon's voices are strongly felt in the organization of information and surveying methods. But also equally strong in the idea, worked by Demangeon, that the rural dwelling historically produced the national landscape in such a way as to become one of its most important civilizational matrixes: a thoroughly actual agent of the nation. All zone sections started with a geographical analysis describing, foremost, the morphology of the region, then climate, material distribution - emphasizing available materials for construction - and combined with demographic and economic data. At the beginning of each section, we find a group of maps identifying morphology, rock formation and forests, types of uses and demographic concentrations. This informational infrastructure then gave way to the surveying accomplished by the interns, reported through photographs, drawings of plans, elevations,

d'habitat nous révèlent les originalités de certains tempéraments sociaux et de certaines civilisations matérielles." in Albert Demangeon, "La Géographie de l'Habitat Rural (Two Articles in Annales de Géographie, n°199 and n°200, 1927)," in *Problèmes de Géographie Humaine* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1947), 159–205.

⁵⁵¹ The word used by Demangeon in the latter citation and translated as embattlements was *assises*, which has a composed meaning standing for both an action and an object, namely present in the word association or reunion, meaning both the association of opinions and things, as well as association as institution.

⁵⁵² These last two titles can be translated, respectively, as "Regional Geography Inquiry" and "Rural Habitat Inquiry."

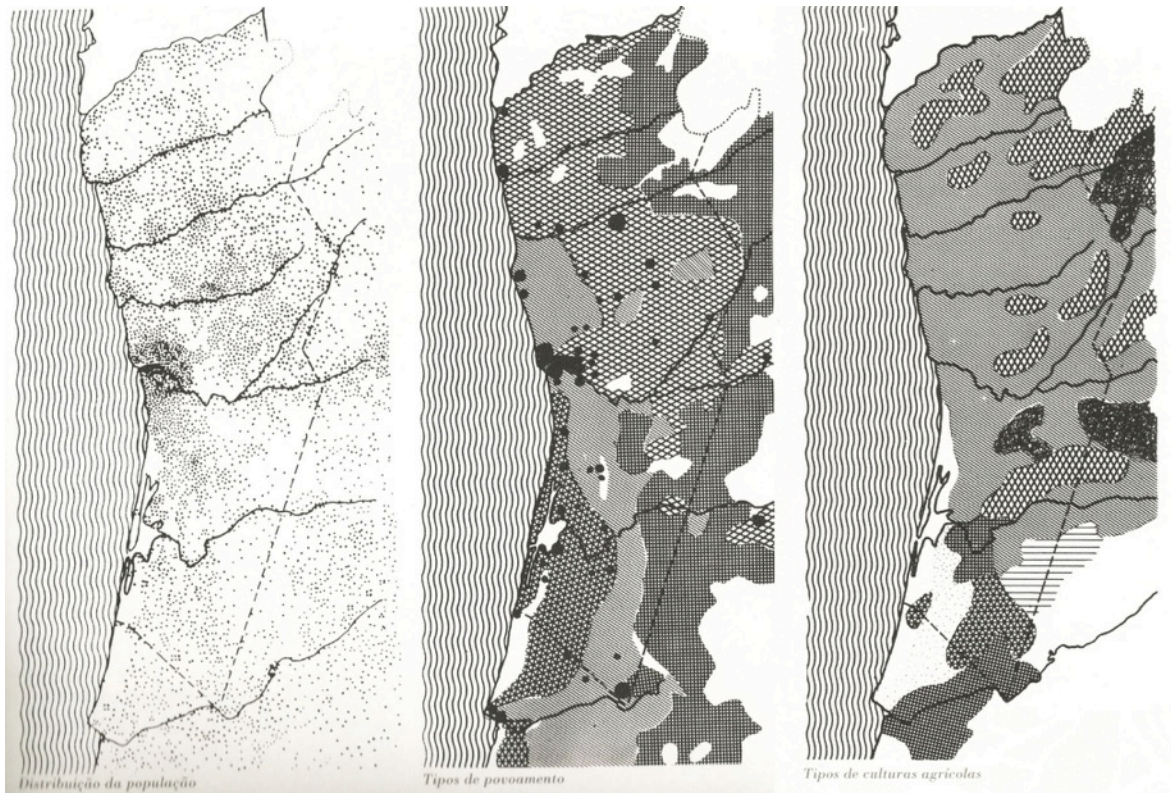
⁵⁵³ Translatable as High Culture Institute.

⁵⁵⁴ Translatable as Center for Ethnographical Studies.

⁵⁵⁵ Translatable as Centre of Geographical Studies. For an account of Orlando's career and influence see João Carlos Garcia, "Orlando Ribeiro (1911-1997): O Mundo À Sua Procura," *Revista Da Faculdade de Letras - Geografia*, I, XIV (1998): 107–16.

⁵⁵⁶ *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, vol. 2: 244, 246, 253, 265.

sections and detailed texts. Demangeon’s variety of studies, spoken and transformed through Ribeiro, was here fully assembled and re-created.⁵⁵⁷



23 From left to right, map of population distribution, kind of settlement and agrarian culture, from Távora’s team in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* vol. 1, 1961, pp.22-3.

Another important agent of interdisciplinarity activated in the *inquiry* came with personal and intellectual ties to anthropology. Keil do Amaral’s team referenced the work of ethnologist João Leite Vasconcelos (1858-1941) in zone 3’s text, to justify the predilection for and the importance of the “rural habitat” as holding essential truths regarding the country.⁵⁵⁸ Vasconcelos shared with the ethnographical geography of Ribeiro the central emphasis on the “rural habitat” and the vernacular, peasant, dwelling as key to the interpretation of environmental historical truths. Vasconcelos’ work was early on embroiled in nationalist causes, namely in his support to the *Portuguese house*. But also in his stewardship of the national library in Lisbon and intimacy with the archeological circles supporting the formation of the *Museu Nacional de Arqueologia* in 1893, directed by Vasconcelos.⁵⁵⁹ He also learned his technologies of knowledge in Parisian institutions, publishing a doctoral thesis in Paris, 1901, inquiring

⁵⁵⁷ Although mainly devoted to studying the deployment of typo-morphological tools, for a detailed acknowledging of this chaining of ideas and causes between Demangeon, Ribeiro and some of the *inquiry*’s architects see Teresa Marat-Mendes and Maria Amélia Cabrita, “Morfologia Urbana E Arquitetura Em Portugal - Notas Sobre Um Abordagem Tipo-Morfológica,” in *O Estudo Da Forma Urbana Em Portugal*, Vitor Oliveira, Teresa Marat-Mendes and Paulo Pinho (Porto: U.P. editions, 2015), 65–94.

⁵⁵⁸ *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, vol. 1: 222.

⁵⁵⁹ Translatable as National Museum of Archeology. For Vasconcelos’ relationship with the *Portuguese house* see Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*; for his career in general and role regarding the development of nationalist studies and Portuguese ethnography see also João Leal, *Antropologia Em Portugal: Mestres, Percursos, Tradições* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2006).

into the linguistic personality of Portugal, titled “Esquisse d’une Dialectologie Portugaise.”⁵⁶⁰ Vasconcelos’ participation in the *inquiry*, only openly cited in Keil’s team, came with the possibility of an archeology of Portugueseness, that is, of finding in vernacular dwelling a similar logic to that identified as Portuguese by Vasconcelos in language: an *ethos* of nationality.

The most present anthropological connection in the *inquiry*, however, came via the work of António Jorge dias (1907-73), an eminent agent in the development of modern Portuguese anthropology. He gathered around him influential intellectuals and ethnographers such as his wife Margot Dias (1908-2003), Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira (1910-90), who developed various works regarding Portuguese vernacular architecture during the late 1940s and 1950s. But also Fernando Galhano (1904-95) and Benjamim Enes Pereira (1928), all of which close friends and friends of ethnography, sharing a common interest in Portuguese character, its ethno-genesis and its living abode.⁵⁶¹ Most from this varied group of ethnographers lived and worked in Porto. Such as Veiga de Oliveira, who was also a personal acquaintance of the architect Alexandre Alves Costa (1939), belonging to the intern generation and soon becoming a close friend to Távora, Lixa Filgueiras, among many others.⁵⁶² From the start, this group of ethnographers intersected with that of modern architects invested in apprehending the primitive modern country. It is important to mention some exploits from the former, namely through Dias’ career, as these framed key productions in the *inquiry*.

Dias was instrumental for the development of the *Centro de Estudos de Etnologia Peninsular*, founded in Porto than moved to Lisbon in 1947, also with the tutelage of the IAC, and the national archeology museum.⁵⁶³ Greatly influenced by Orlando Ribeiro, Dias and Fernando Galhano published an ethnographical atlas of Portugal, mainland.⁵⁶⁴ Some scholars distinguished various phases and priorities in Dias career,⁵⁶⁵ the one that most concerns my account of the *inquiry* is that which falls under the broad category of anthropology for nation-building.⁵⁶⁶ In a nutshell, this involved ethnographical efforts to seize a Portuguese ethos, a natural character that could be observed and possibly projected to present subjectivities and, of course, unique to the country’s many regions and sub-regions. These efforts at seizing a unique country through text, picture and drawing were emerging at the same time as Távora’s, Teotónio Pereira’s and Keil’s written proposals for a true modern Portuguese architecture. For instance: in 1950 Dias presented a communication at the International Colloquium of Luso-Brazilian Studies entitled “The Fundamental Elements of the Portuguese Culture” that would later be published in 1955 in Coimbra. Before, in 1948, he published the nationally influential *Os arados Portugueses e as suas*

⁵⁶⁰ Translatable as “Sketch of a Portuguese Dialect-logic.” João Leite de Vasconcelos, “Esquisse D’une Dialectologie Portugaise” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculté des Lettres de L’Université de Paris, 1901).

⁵⁶¹ See João Eduardo Lupi, *A Conceção de Etnologia Em António Jorge Dias* (Braga: Philosophy Faculty, 1984); Clara Saraiva, “António Jorge Dias (1907-1973): Recordação de Um Mestre Da Antropologia Portuguesa,” *E-Boletim Da Associação Portuguesa de Antropologia*, no. 4 (January 2008); and Ana Cristina Martins, “António Jorge Dias (1907-1973) E a Arqueologia Em Portugal,” *O Arqueólogo Português*, V, no. 1 (2011): 329–57.

⁵⁶² See Alexandre Alves Costa, Interview, 1996, cited in Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*: 193.

⁵⁶³ Translatable as Centre of Peninsular Ethnological Studies.

⁵⁶⁴ Jorge Dias and Fernando Galhano, *Atlas Etmológico de Portugal Continental* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de Etnologia Peninsular - Instituto de Alta Cultura, 19--).

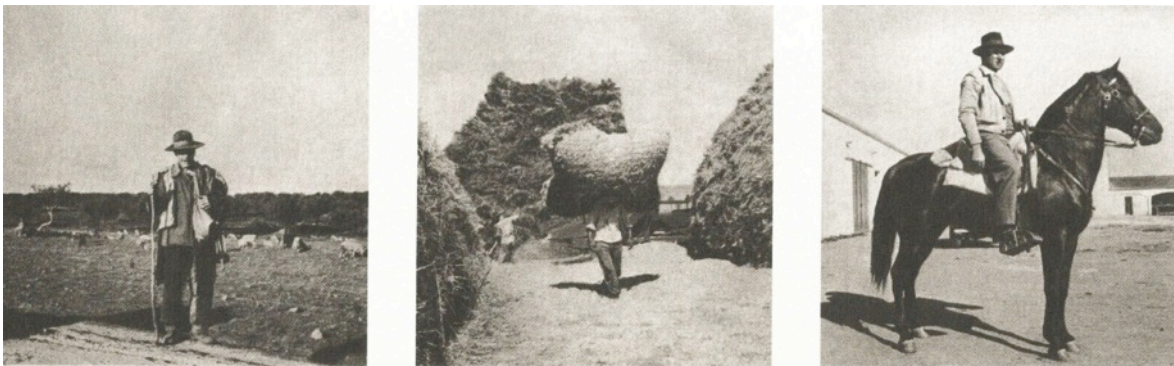
⁵⁶⁵ See, for example, Saraiva, “António Jorge Dias (1907-1973): Recordação de Um Mestre Da Antropologia Portuguesa.”

⁵⁶⁶ Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*; for a succinct overview of the historical development of portuguese anthropology in relation with international developments and national priorities see Ricardo Seica Salgado, “O INACABADO CAMINHO ATÉ A ANTROPOLOGIA DA PERFORMANCE EM PORTUGAL,” *Baldio*, n.d., <https://baldiohabitado.wordpress.com/antropologia-anthropology/>.

prováveis origens and *Vilarinho da Furna, Uma Aldeia comunitária*,⁵⁶⁷ both directly influencing the *inquiry*: the latter cited in Frederico George's zone 5, the former in Lixa Filgueiras' zone 2.⁵⁶⁸

During the same period, ranging from the late 1940s to the 1960s, geographers, anthropologists and architects were building new *portuguese truths* as both a patriotic and modern effort for producing the country-itself and, thus, a truthful image of the nation. Any of these professionals strove to define the country's specificity, through varying manners, in the face of an "unchained" global world.⁵⁶⁹ The intimacy between the architects' and the anthropologists' ways of seeing the Portuguese landscape can be traced quite easily in the *inquiry*, namely in how anonymity mediated the constitution of the vernacular object and community.

Dias argued anonymity was often erroneously derived from an idea of abstract collectivism or collective spirit, not accounting for particular agents.⁵⁷⁰ In 1961, the *inquiry* architects claimed there was no such thing as the "unchangeable rural Man." There was only the idea of the unchanging typical Portuguese, which they recognized as an ideological construction unable to gap the distance between its abstraction and the various social realities of the Portuguese landscape. The appreciated folk architect was studied along Dias' reformulation of peasant anonymity, that is, as deriving not from an unnamed collective, but instead from particular concrete agents that often did not imprint a "signature" in their works, thus making these indistinguishable within the collective. The architect surveyors tried to grasp regional ways of dwelling in specific and peculiar modes-of-life. However, the various teams approached the subject in different manners, either moving closer to a geographical reading, or to an anthropological one. Stated differently, either trying to follow a community's "spirit" or trying to tract some spatially delimited peculiarities



24 Pictures, respectively, of a shepherd, a hired hand and a foreman, as alentejo's social types, from George's team in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* vol. 2, 1961, p.138.

Frederico George's team was that which referenced Dias' discussion of peasant anonymity directly, acknowledging that architectural facts springing from an imagined as-one collective could not hold.⁵⁷¹ His team surveyed the "plasticity" of alentejo's built landscape, greatly supported in a systematic

⁵⁶⁷ Respectably translatable as: "The Portuguese ploughs and their probable origins" and "*Vilarinho da Furna*, a communitarian viillage."

⁵⁶⁸ Respectively, A., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, 1961: 179; A., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, 1961: 118.

⁵⁶⁹ In its preface of 1936 Le Corbusier starts by stating "This book also will be full of tumult because the world today is full of tumult, because everything is unchained." in *When the Cathedrals Were White*: XXI.

⁵⁷⁰ See Lupi, *A Conceção de Etnologia Em António Jorge Dias*.

⁵⁷¹ A., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, 1961: 179.

inventory of the construction techniques applied in the region and according to specific class, semi-professional and professional agents. Like other teams, it started by identifying the general morphological, demographic and economical character of the region. They found three predominant types of social agents: the foreman, the day laborer and the small farmer, and a fourth, invisible one, who indirectly governed the landscape - the big landowner from Lisbon, Évora and Beja. Most of the collected material, however, mainly emphasized the construction methods and aesthetical solutions in themselves, with little proximity to the above identified regional social types and possible correlations between their living conditions and the physical molding of these. Climate, morphology and the historical panorama of certain building techniques occupied the forefront of the meanings of this region's shapes. The aim was thus to capture the region's "common" architectural elements.

Artur Pires' team balanced detailed historical accounts of certain villages and agglomerates of houses, with a bio-morphological analysis expressed, for instance, in the following statement:

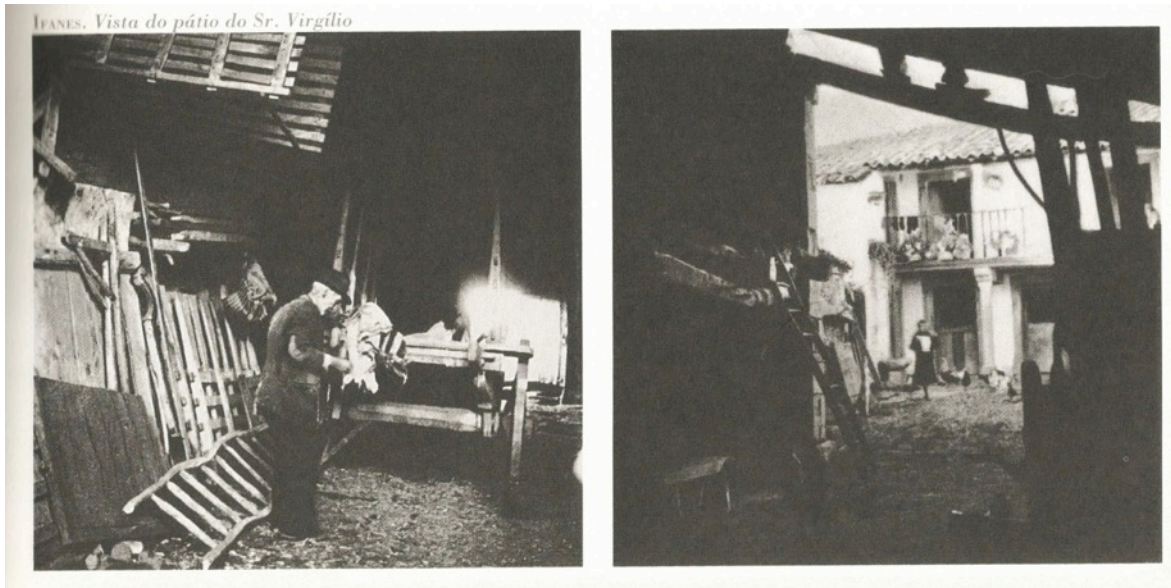
The climate, characterizing the environment, inexorably defines all human activity – work, nourishment, psychology, the family, the house.⁵⁷²

The initial characterization of the region's morphology and climate assumed a structural role in the apprehension of regional architecture patterns. On the other hand, however, certain cases provoked a curiosity close to ethnographic curiosity, leading them into various daily details of the living habits of certain groups of people and their emotional connections to specific shapes, colors, practices of private and public. Nevertheless, the possible unresolved tension between bio-morphological determinism, typological systematization and close attention to situated practices was supplanted by the conducting and pacifying image of a "natural" man, "cohesively identifying himself with Nature."⁵⁷³ Community was driven back to nature, dispelling the possible artificial-natural tensions between climate, form and spatial habits.⁵⁷⁴ On the other hand, and competing with this broader framing, they gave much attention to the hybrid spatial and expressive models they observed to be active in Algarve's architectures. Animated by their ethnographic curiosity, this made them acknowledge a multitude of sources and senses to the region's almost functionalist beauty.

⁵⁷² "O clima, caracterizando o meio, define inexoravelmente toda a atividade humana – o trabalho, a alimentação, a psicologia, a família, a casa." in *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, vol.2: 279.

⁵⁷³ The full sentence in which this first appeared was the following: "The unclemency or amenity of the Sun, the absence or abundance of rains, the frequency of wind storms or the candure of breezes, in paralel with the richness or poverty of the ground and its topography, the mountain, the plain, the river and the presence of the sea forward man to its destiny. He observes and studies all the phenomena that surround him, stimulating his imagination. Works and builds in accordance to all of them, cohesively identifying himself with Nature." ("A inclemência ou a amenidade do Sol, a ausência ou a abundância de chuvas, a frequência de vendavais ou a brandura das brisas, paralelamente com a riqueza ou pobreza do solo e seu relevo, a montanha, a planície, o rio e a presença do mar encaminham o homem para o seu destino. Ele observa e estuda todos os fenómenos que o rodeiam, estimulando a sua imaginação. Trabalha e constrói em acordo com todos eles, identificando-se coerentemente com a Natureza.") in *Ibid*.

⁵⁷⁴ This is a crude simplification, yet directed to point of contact between an architectural concern and a concern to understand a country-itself. For a comprehensive account of this team's work see Agarez, "Regionalism, Modernism and Vernacular Tradition in the Architecture of the Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965," 2013; Agarez, "Vernacular, Conservative, Modernist: The Uncomfortable 'Zone 6' (Algarve) of the Portuguese Folk Architecture Survey (1955-1961)."



25 Picture of Mr. Virgílio and his courtyard, from Lixa Filgueiras' team in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* vol. 1, 1961, p.151.

Lixa Filgueiras' team, on the other hand, followed more openly an ethnographic method and representation. In the introduction to their section we can read:

(...), for each case, let us aim to recognize its natural environment, know about its people, how they live and of what, enter their houses and discover the order they have given them, understand the dominant materials in the shapes they have been hewed.

And further down:

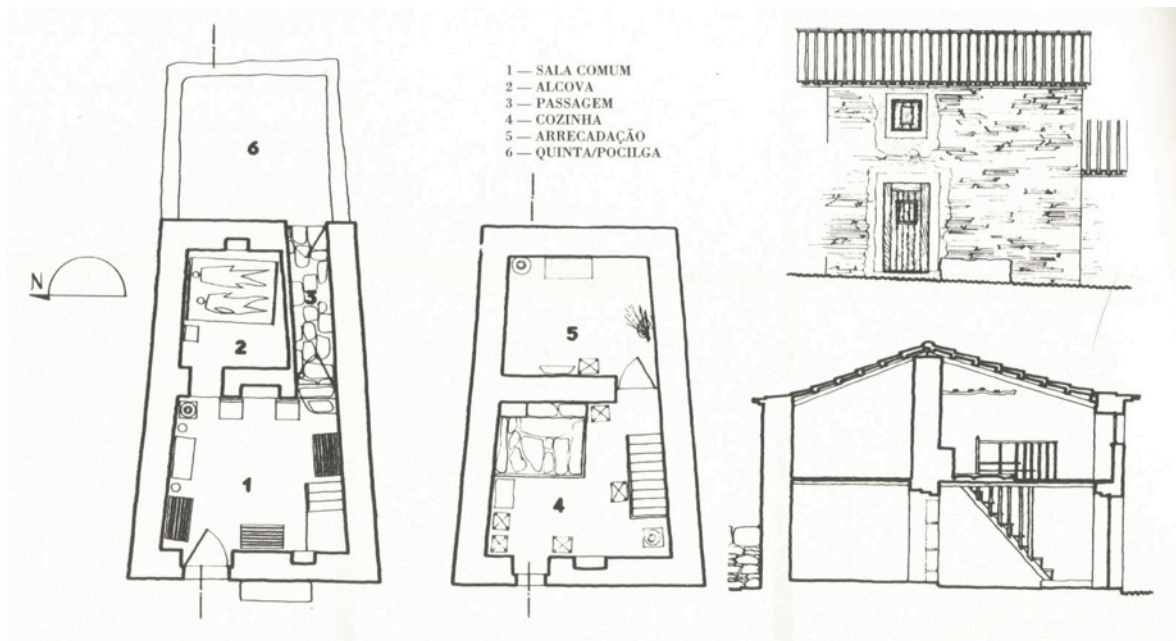
In the absolute impossibility of publishing all the available documentations (...), the examples that seemed more in accord with the chosen method rise above the incidental, the picturesque always so easy to deal, that is, of all that could give wrong impressions of a social life that, far from being stagnant, is the continuous fermenting of the banal day-to-day, a heroic struggle for one's own survival, even if amidst almost ruins.⁵⁷⁵

Theirs is the only collection of materials that included re-elaborated first person accounts of the lived habits of that "heroic struggle."⁵⁷⁶ Following the initial schematic portrayal of regional morphology, geology and economy, common to all *inquiry* texts, this one radically changed into in-depth interpretations of customs, forms of agricultural productivity, family organization and communitarian association. But also of objects, forms and spaces shaped by these dialogues: not only

⁵⁷⁵ "(...), para cada caso, procuraremos reconhecer o seu ambiente natural, saber da sua gente, como vive e de quê, entrar no espaço das suas casas e descobrir a ordem que lhes puseram, compreender os materiais dominantes sob as formas em que os talharam. (...) Na impossibilidade absoluta de publicar toda a documentação disponível (...), os exemplos que nos pareceram mais em concordância com o método escolhido sobrelevaram-se ao episódico, ao pitoresco sempre tão fácil de tratar, enfim a tudo o que poderia dar imagens erradas de uma vida social que, muito longe de ser uma estagnação, é um fermentar contínuo no dia a dia vulgar, uma luta heróica pela própria sobrevivência, mesmo se entre quase ruínas." in *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, vol.1: 118.

⁵⁷⁶ M. José Tamanqueiro in page 127 and M. Virgílio in 151, *Ibid*, vol. 1.

architecture, but also working utensils and other everyday things. Their section presented more pictures of people in their daily tasks, of their animals and utensils. But it was also the survey report less systematic and all-encompassing, instead narrated from case to case. Considerable parts were dedicated to describing in detail the daily routines of certain individuals. There is, however, a great consistency in the presentation of this case by case narrative: each begun with a general morphological and geographical placing, then moved into a scaled down view of the agglomerate or village and, finally, to the house, filling the in-betweens with descriptions of daily life, economical factors, historical information of various kinds. On the other hand, this lens, also allowed room for clear references to the overwhelming misery observed in the Portuguese hinterland. Even so, their focus and grasp was concentrated on what they represented as well-delimited autonomous peasant communities, with their own natural-historically acquired bound habits and, thus, cohesive spatial organization and expressions, more often than not pitted by the surveying architects against modern flows and city life.



26 Drawings of a farmer's house in Malpica do Tejo, Castelo Branco, from Keil do Amaral's team in *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* vol. 1, 1961, p.254.

Keil do Amaral's team also attempted deconstructions of anonymity in Dias' sense, yet, ended up with definitive portrayals of certain shapes and built environments regarding well-defined regional and sub-regional units, geometrically bound communities with "character." However, they started by stating that, although regional units of analysis were relevant, these clouded the variety of habits and ways of forming the landscape that occurred within all sorts of sub-regions. This idea was emphasized, one way or the other, by many other teams, namely Távora's, Lixa Filgueiras' and Frederico George's. The region was largely understood as more damaging than enlightening regarding the architecture of the country-itself. Despite this, Keil do Amaral's team survey allowed mainly the identification of a set of identity fundamentals, mainly for the sake of typological systematization:

In this region of the country proliferates tough and fighting people, whose epopee as been the millenary struggle to force from the unhandsome ground a scarce sustenance. (...) such struggle generated work habits without truce nor languidness, of sobriety, of economy and an estranged love towards the land that resists them, but that feeds them and reveals to them the measure of their creative forces. On the other hand, it keeps them in a primitivism of life, of interests and aspirations that impress and, frequently, anguish.⁵⁷⁷

Teotónio Pereira's team gave yet another reading of landscape production and its agents. Their focus was not as ethnographically accomplished as that of Lixa Filgueiras' team, nor as systematic as Keil do Amaral's and Frederico George's. Yet, it supplied richly articulated descriptions of spatial practices, instead of forms and their determinants, coming closer to Artur Pires' team in terms of ethnographic curiosity. Yet, they didn't relate social habits exclusively to climate and regional morphology, nor to communitarian natural self-definition or historically inherited essential social customs. They translated these to a political economic language of the landscape and, at the same time, supplied it with detailed descriptions of everyday gestures, movements and bodies. Thus, right from the start, they claimed: "The landscape is living scenery of a continuous struggle without showy heroes." Adding: "Centuries of life shaped by the many adversities and the few favors that nature places at their disposal, are the substrate of the features of the Portuguese people habitat."⁵⁷⁸ Their focus seemed imbued with a commitment to understand the socio-economic conditions contained in the imagined pure lessons of vernacular architecture. They portrayed "bent bodies" of day laborers, small peasants and artisans. Of how they, out of necessity, shaped their scarcity with utility and sincerity. Yet, not without an emotional connection with this utility and an imaginative aesthetic representation springing from it. This opened a reading of the vernacular that was mostly absent: the emotional, daily, production of space, full of a variety of formal details. Just as a case in point it is worth mentioning their reading of the use of lime-powder as an object of "caring" and "loving." For people that spend most of the day labouring outdoors, for somebody else, this material was incorporated in daily routines of repainting parts of their home, so as to feel "clean" and their home and their life "cared-for."⁵⁷⁹ This team focused less on long historical accounts of the landscape and its several acquired morphologic, cultural and social limits, and more on present constitutions of space, from the point of view of their social productivity. Their attention laid in capturing the active, present, sense of particular socio-spatial associations.

⁵⁷⁷ "Prolifera nesta região do País uma gente rija e aguerrida, cuja epopeia tem sido a luta milenária para arrancar ao solo pouco generoso um sestento escasso. (...) tal luta gerou hábitos de trabalho sem tréguas sem desfalecimento, de sobriedade, de economia e um entranhado amor ao terrunho que lhes resiste, mas que os alimenta e lhes revela a medida das suas forças criadoras. Em contrapartida, mantém-nos num primitivismo de vida, de interesses e de aspirações que impressiona e, frequentemente, confrange." in *Ibid*, vol. 1: 224.

⁵⁷⁸ "A paisagem é cenário vivo duma luta continuada e sem heróis vistosos. (...) Séculos de vida moldada pelas muitas adversidades e pelos poucos favores que a natureza coloca ao seu dispor, são o substracto da feição do habitat do povo português." in *Ibid*, vol. 2: 15.

⁵⁷⁹ This was introduced in the following manner: "Limestone powder's role is more vast than a simple protection to materials or the house against the climate. Beyond that, it works as a measure of the degree of populations' knowing to dwell (read this as art of dwelling). Painting with limestone powder is the embodiment of the love for the house and it is clear in the nurturing finish that the smoke cannot blacken or in the smooth surfaces that cover the steps by the entrance door." ("O papel da cal é mais vasto do que uma simples protecção dos materiais ou da casa contra o clima. Funciona, para além disso, como medida do grau do saber habitar as populações. A caição é a materialização do amor pela casa e evidencia-se no carinhoso remate que o fumo não consegue enegrecer ou nas superfícies suaves que cobrem os degraus à porta de entrada."), my note regarding "knowing to dwell," in *Ibid*, vol. 2: 76.



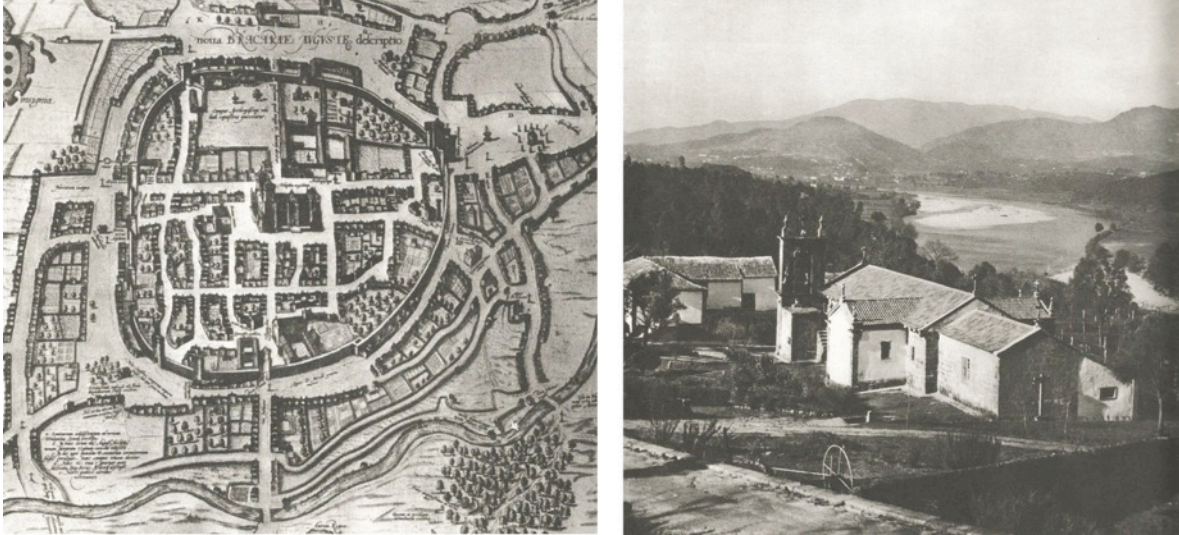
27 Women washing clothes in Ericeira, Mafra, and fishing stands in Praia de Vieira, Marinha Grande, from Teotónio Pereira's team in *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* vol. 2, 1961, pp.32, 34.

Lastly, Távora's team set the problem of collective identity by naming a set of what we might call historical civilizational determinants or historical entities through which the present state-of-affairs of a built landscape should be read in relation to its linear and constant evolution through time. This way he went around Dias' question of anonymity, by transporting it to simultaneously concrete and abstract elements. The determinants were typologically identified as: military, religious and civil, each shaping a specific historic "spirit" in the built environment.⁵⁸⁰ All of which were looked as long historical realizations. Hence, this team neither focused on the self-contained anthropological community or culture, nor on personalized accounts. Instead, it represented regional "constants" through long established ways of molding the landscape, and constructed by specific societal forces and institutions: the church, noblemen, entrepreneurial farmers and poorer farming communities, etc. Thus, some individual agents were named to illustrate said historical tendencies. Usually these consist of those connected with deemed more permanent structures of agency, such as certain wealthy farmers, one or another cohesive and isolated "anonymous" community, in the form of a long established collection of social habits. But many noblemen, bishops, monks and other notables from history.

We can see how Dias' question of anonymity circulated within the *inquiry*, together with the emphasis on the rural dwelling as civilizational matrix, as well as on regions and sub-regions as strong active structures in the becoming of Portuguese. These various discussions were met with a variety in surveying methodologies and analytical categories. In a flexible manner each team defined its own terms

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid, vol.1: 3-11.

of proximity with local identities and their relationship with built landscape. Nevertheless, there is a general attempt to solve the issue with some expediency and regarding the object of concern: vernacular architecture, that is, the bringing-forth of the patterns and examples for a true architecture.



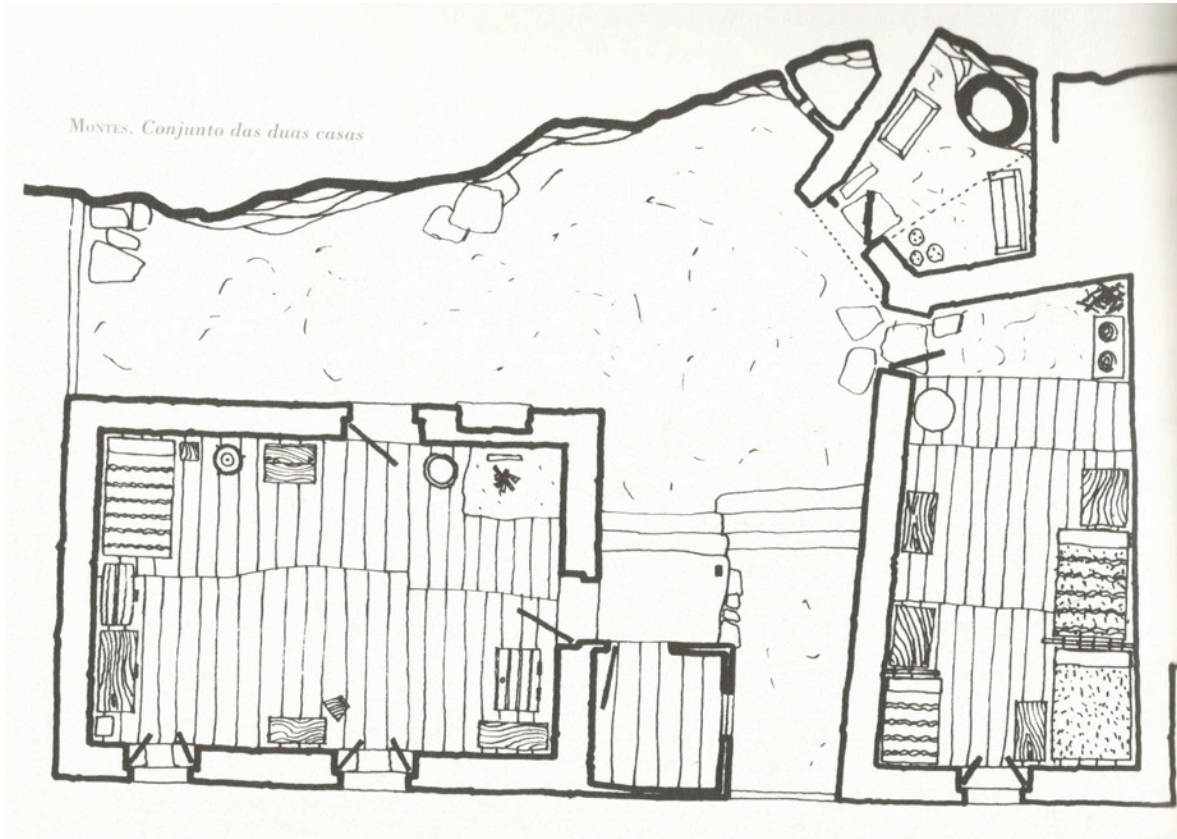
28 Engraving of 16th century Braga and picture of São João da Ribeira, Ponte de Lima, from Távora's team in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* vol. 1, 1961, pp.15, 36.

Lixa Filgueiras' team was probably that which came closer to a more ethnographically nuanced view of the subjects of architecture, as also Teotónio Pereira's team, yet with a different aim. However, either being an isolated and "primitive" community, M. Virgílio, a regional "dominant," a bio-morphological force of nature, a civilizational conductor or a combination of these, what emerged at the end of any of the six reports was the idea of an essential umbilical relationship between a variety of Portuguese and built shape. What emerged was how both shaped each other through a dialogue of biosocial engineering: sharing a clause of mutual imprisonment and aspiration. Yet, this dialogue was brought forth by the architects not as something developed between the people and objects they surveyed. But instead, as something they read into that reality. It was the dialogue forming the beauty, functionality and unity projected into rural Portugal as an "object-in-exhibition," an other made to be filled with the agency of a cultural ethos.⁵⁸¹

After all, the purpose was also to systematize regional architecture in a number of beautiful objects that could be exhibited to government officials, in the architects union, to peers and colleagues, to future clients. So the examples of functionalist beauty were overwhelming arranged in tables of plans, elevations and sections, and according to function and type of usage. In this arrangement, the work developed by Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, together with Fernando Galhano, through the Center of Ethnological Studies, had a key role. Namely in the theses and ideas regarding rural habitats exposed in a variety of articles throughout the late 1940s and 1950s, only much later partially compiled in one

⁵⁸¹ A term derived from Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1989): 217–36. It means the process by which a living, dynamic and vast socio-material reality is translated into a number of enigmatic objects for the purpose of re-representing these as manageable subjects.

work.⁵⁸² Throughout these various ethnographical pieces, especially focused on space and construction materials, more specifically pertaining to northern Portugal where Oliveira and Galhano situated their practice, there was the continuous effort of systematizing typologies. Hence, by the late 1950s, the two ethnographers had produced the three most common living typologies of the northern region in detailed drawings and personalized accounts of buildings supplying the type.⁵⁸³ It is important to note Orlando Ribeiro's geographical works, Demangeon's human geography and Dias' anthropologic studies formed a considerable part of the framework of these spatial ethnographies, all of them cited in the compilation *Arquitetura Tradicional Portuguesa*.⁵⁸⁴



29 Drawing of two houses in Montes, Vila Real, from Lixa Filgueiras' team in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* vol. 1, 1961, pp.126.

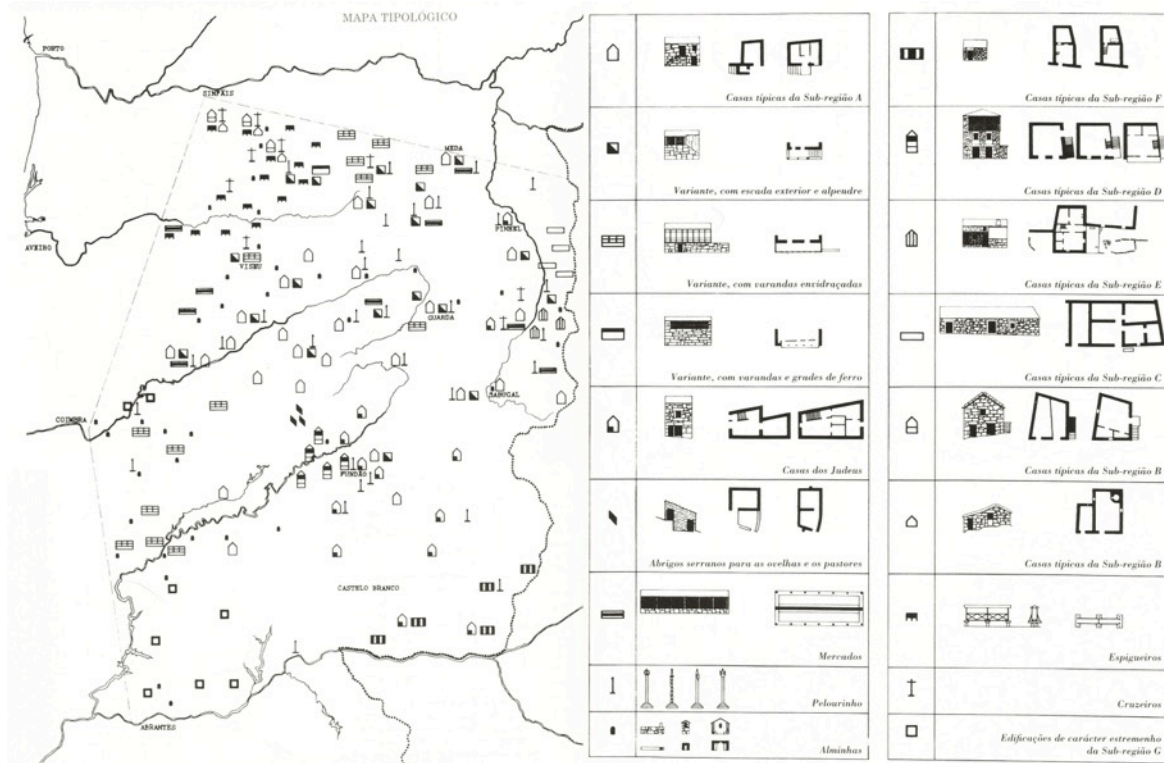
Through Oliveira's and Galhano's work came another grounding guideline to the *inquiry*, reproduced by all teams: the typological systematization of the region. Despite the variety of each team's lens into the regional social units, material dominants and social practices, all identified a limited number of typological solutions to a region and its sub-regions, mostly concerning what they judged as the most common spatial solutions, given the climate, morphology, demography and economic organization of life. In this aspect they followed more rigidly a Demangeon-inspired form of cataloguing the rural dwelling. Most produced this inventory in a typological table and map, in the end

⁵⁸² Fernando Pires de Lima, *A Arte Popular Em Portugal*, Fernando Pires de Lima, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Verbo, 1959).

⁵⁸³ See Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, *Arquitetura Tradicional Portuguesa*, Joaquim Pais de Brito and Benjamin Pereira (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1992).

⁵⁸⁴ Translatable as *Traditional Portuguese Architecture*. Ibid: 13-22.

of each section. Such is the case of Távora's, Lixa Filgueiras', Keil do Amaral's and Teotónio Pereira's teams, all producing said table and map as a concluding element. Frederico George's and Artur Pires' teams focused greatly on typological systematization, but throughout the text and not as an isolated informational element, a conclusion as it were.



30 Typological map and charter from Keil do Amaral's team in in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* vol. 1, 1961, pp.258-9.

The typological inventories also vary greatly between each team, which results from the different understandings of landscape deployed. Thus, Távora's table identified more elaborate architectures: the typologies of wealthy farmers, the estates of local noblemen and medieval agglomerates. Keil do Amaral's team was the one presenting the most encompassing table, moving from the most minimal dwelling unit to the most sophisticated. Teotónio Pereira's team identified, in equal measure, minimal dwelling units and its basic units of industry, such as graneries, barns, etc...; here, labor and living were assembled as spatially articulated organizations of the landscape with its specific relations to a material culture. George's team identified all the minimal dwelling solutions they could observe, producing a more nuance typological map of the minimal conditions for living in that region.

In other words, the typological systematization of each team varied according to the perceptions regarding social morphology and its relation to spatial organization for each surveyed region. However, it is crucial to mention that all teams shared the common feature of identifying the minimal unit of dwelling, enacting the functionalist epistemology of the *existenzminimum*. Activating its notions of bare and functional forms of life, using it as a grounding principle for the articulation of body and its productive relationship with the beautiful and sober built landscape.

There is another feature or way of seeing common to all teams, to the best of my knowledge, only informally arrived at. It concerns the similar choices of objects and the broader relation these enact with

urbanity, modern economy and an idea of cosmopolitan life. As probably became clear by now, all teams surveyed mostly villages, small agglomerates and towns, lived and organized by what were taken mostly as isolated communities of peasants, agricultural laborers or other precarious professions connected with the land. Isolated had the sense of having few or weak connections, routes, to urbanity. Stated differently, the places studied were enacted preferentially as self-contained, bounded in an imagined historical isolation: many of the communities studied seemed, in fact, still “primitively” apart from the rest of the moving world.

While the surveyed were mostly represented as pure communities, bounded and self-deriving from nature and custom, in reality, even the most remote poor farming village possessed connecting avenues, of various sorts, to the rest of the world, namely beyond dictatorial Portugal. As, for example, was the case of the farming villages of Pitões das Júnias, Caçarelhos or Duas Igrejas. All in *minho* and portrayed by Filgueiras’ team as persevering in their communitarian forms of organization, despite strong connections to foreign processes, namely emigration to Brazil.⁵⁸⁵ Tellingly, for most of the surveying architects, what created the collapse of their complex ordering of space was the influence of other villages and towns, that is, their connections to national lives less bound and “primitive.”

This illustrates a normative positioning that seems common to all teams: an ethical rejection of modernity as modern cityness, cosmopolitanism, trade and flow of identities. This assumes an ironical twist given a considerable portion of their effort was bent on finding the underlying logics of modernism translated into many frugal and historically essential national shapes. They ended up animating these logics in peasant communities more often than not projected as bounded and unitary, static and isolated social units, pitted against the formless, devoid of identity and a-moral experiences of unchained urbanity. We can observe the deploying of this normativity in the introduction to the report of 1961, where the more well-off inhabitants of an unnamed town are described in the following manner:

Riddled by cosmopolitan influences, seduced by the blaze of the great centers and the apparatuses of their accomplishments, they despise the lessons of sobriety, of function and coherence that they could garner “in loco,” imposing in their towns what they consider a progressive facet (...) inadequate features, with excessive frequency, that feed crass vanities but that do not benefit nor embellish said towns.⁵⁸⁶

These agents symbolized negative forces that fragmented and disturbed the self-contained harmonies of the province. Along the various reports we find judgments reinforcing this idea, criticizing the various injurious influences of modern urbanity and modernity at large. Regarding ignorance of modernity or what most surveying architects termed “badly understood progress,” for instance:

⁵⁸⁵ *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, vol.1: 138-143 regarding Rio de Onor; 169 regarding Pitões das Júnias .

⁵⁸⁶ “Eivados de influências citadinas, seduzidos pelo fulgor dos grandes centros e o aparato das suas realizações, desprezam as lições de sobriedade, de funcionamento e de coerência que poderiam colher “in loco,” para imporem aos burgos aquilo que consideram uma feição progressiva (...) inadequada, com excessiva frequência, que alimenta vaidades pacíovias mas não beneficia nem embeleza esses mesmos burgos.” The “they” about whom they are talking were the following: “the wealthy rural landowner, the Mayor, the teacher, the friar, the lender and other preponderant elements of small provincial environments” (“o proprietário rural abastado, o presidente da Câmara ou da Junta de Freguesia, o professor, o abade, o agiota e outros elementos preponderantes dos pequenos meios provincianos (...).” in *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, vol. 1: XII.

Inversely, when there does not exist a perfect knowledge of materials and their techniques, when by outside influences non-rooted aesthetical concerns emerge, intervening in the resolution of problems, we witness the arising of the most unfortunate and negative examples.⁵⁸⁷

Or still:

The habit of copying that keeps being in trend in the more developed populational centers (...) has provoked the disappearance of elements of high sake or its degeneration, making other without quality and purpose emerge, deriding our traditional patrimony. The more evolved centers can without a doubt bring a useful evolutionary contribution, when its influences are manifested by way of valid examples.⁵⁸⁸

These are but two of the clearest statements regarding this tense relation between modernity and tradition, while seeking modernity in tradition. It illustrates a collection of ideas and active judgments on the unbalance between forms and society they wittingly set out to mitigate with the help of the Portuguese hinterland. And this construction was repeated over and over again throughout the *inquiry*, mostly not being clarified, however, its selection of the “valid example,” but only hinted at by, namely: the vernacular architectures selected; the emphasis on simplicity, frugality and material verity; the delimiting of the urban value of an agglomerate or village to its formal boundness and clear limits; the naturally constituted and harmonious peasant community. There was no team that did not practice this ethical elaboration from the rural dwelling, even though it was reproduced regarding different agents of “collapse” and “degeneration.”

Lixa Filgueiras’ team emphasizes pressures on a community by the more immediate outside influences, such as commercial pressures from a nearby town or village. George’s, Pires’, Keil do Amaral’s and Távora’s teams all emphasize an abstract influence of modernity that comes in the form of wealthy classes that do not apply the “valid examples,” that is, that are ignorant of progress and what its morally correct application. More specifically this was embodied by them in the emigrant’s house, namely from those coming from South America – Brazil and Venezuela, as two highly travelled destinations. The emigrant house was made to symbolize in a specifically dramatic register the degeneration of local harmony by copying outside examples and by signalling “simpleton greed” that builds by destroying what had an timeless worth. Teotónio Pereira’s team, on the other hand, diverged from these accounts while simultaneously coalescing at various points with them, by emphasizing the role of urban policy in the erosion of heritage. They pointed to official policies of preservation and urban regulations as culprits of the slow collapse of the forms, typologies and ways of building closer to the lives of the people they have observed.

⁵⁸⁷ “Inversamente, quando não existe um perfeito conhecimento de elementos comuns às construções, quando por influências exteriores surgem preocupações estéticas não enraizadas, a intervirm na resolução dos problemas, assistimos ao aparecimento dos mais infelizes e negativos exemplos.” in *Ibid*, vol. 2: 349.

⁵⁸⁸ “O hábitos de copiar, que vai estando em voga nos centros populacionais mais desenvolvidos, (...) tem provocado o desaparecimento de elementos de grande interesse ou a sua degeneração, fazendo surgir outros sem qualidade, e a despropósito, empobrecendo o nosso património tradicional. Os centros mais evoluídos podem sem dúvida trazer uma útil contribuição evolutiva, quando as suas influências se manifestarem por meio de exemplos válidos.” in *Ibid*, vol. 2: 358.

Independent of the number and variety of corrupting objects and processes, a dynamic is formed between an interior, spatially, biologically and socially represented as cohesive, and an exterior formed by commercial pressures, abstract greed, South American emigration, international magazines, consumerism, petty tastes and exogenous urban policies created by technicians in Lisbon. Modernity in its immoral and destructive facet. A dynamic relation of interiority and exteriority that also animates a relation between country and the world, the village and the city, the native and the foreign, bound and unbound movements, roots and alienation. And this dynamic was performed in such a way that one is convinced, when browsing through the *inquiry*, that those bounded lives and forms are more, that they reinfuse a sense of being and place by being spiritually, socially, spatially richer. Yet, the frame deployed to identify the limit between this interior and this exterior was the projection of beautiful vernacular objects, functionalist and deriving, often “naturally” from solid communities.

Thus, while browsing through the *inquiry* books we can observe the chronic lack of “ugly” examples: unfinished emigrant houses, houses done with both old and modern materials, as well as pictures of cars and other modern industrial products, or even people dressed in a fashion somehow unfitting with the imagery of a rural beauty.⁵⁸⁹ The few towns represented were portrayed as cohesive historic agglomerates, described as organically emerging from a unanimous communitarian spirit developing through history, mostly undeterred. The result of this selection of examples, graphic material and descriptions produces the impression of an organic, almost tribal, and quite enchanting Portuguese hinterland, as if it were not for the occasional references to the misery of the beautifully framed people in some of the pictures.

This ethical articulation of urbanity and modern city-life as negative to this enchanted world, to the best of my knowledge, was not preemptively agreed. It did not form a structuring guideline emerging from the meetings of 1955. Perhaps it should be connected, thus, to a broad collection of intuitions and ethical ideas about progress, the power of modernity and its meaning for a desired revised architectural design, more in touch with concrete needs and identities. In this sense, the isolated poor peasant community emerged as a moral trench from which a critique to, on the one hand, the unethical forces of urbanity and, on the other, the misconstructions of architectural design could be articulated. Here, *portuguese truth* was appropriated as ethical calling and its concrete examples – the simple, coherent and harmonious buildings and villages – as the elements on which to ground an ethical rendition of modernity through architectural form.

For this, it largely contributed that the people surveyed together with their living spaces did not speak through the *inquiry*. Even though, while in the field, the architects, namely the interns, may have spoken a great deal, the ideas, opinions and desires shared did not emerge in the books of 1961. The social subjects that do speak through the examples collected are mostly abstractions, such as “the people,” “the peasant,” “the poor,” “the rural Man” and situated abstractions such as “the people from this land” or “this community’s spirit.” Indeed, the subjects are mostly a collection of ideal molds, many brushes to a common “character of our people.” Yet, some of the brushes also exposed the background in which the painting occurred and in the same stroke.

⁵⁸⁹ This point was mostly missed by Oliveira, “A Fotografia No Inquérito Da Arquitectura Popular Em Portugal.”

*Precarious truth*⁵⁹⁰

As should be clear from the previous section, all teams made reference to the poor living conditions in the Portuguese hinterland. Even if mostly not detailing these conditions, they used words such as “misery,” “a life of hardship,” landscapes of “bent bodies.” The lives of the folk architect were “precarious in the inglorious and contingent battlefronts of production,”⁵⁹¹ living an “agricultural fatality” that maintained a “primitivism of life, of interests and aspirations that impresses and, frequently, anguishes.”⁵⁹² What provoked such expressions? What was mediated in their vague yet violent wording?



31 Women gathering rice in Tentúgal, Montermor-o-velho, women working the field in Outeiro de Alfazema, Azambuja, and women painting a house in Benfca, Almeirim, from Teotónio Pereira's tema in in *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* vol. 2, 1961, pp.12, 14, 21.

Teotónio Pereira's team report is that which better help us enlighten these questions, as it empowers a portrait of production and reproduction, mostly absent from the *inquiry*. It is crucial to have in mind that their team surveyed the region of *estremadura*, interior and coastal central Portugal, at the time understood as the less interesting area for the study of vernacular architecture, because of its degree of urbanization. This area was constituted by various important industrial nodes namely around the Lisbon metropolitan area and important regional cities such as Santarém, Setúbal and Leiria. After the common introduction with the help of maps of geology, demography and economy, they wrote the following:

In the fields, in waterfront or interior towns, everybody works, from toddlers to seniors and to women, as much as the men. The hunched bodies show us this, feet and hands that disappear in the

⁵⁹⁰ Expression used by Filgueiras' team, in *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, vol. 1: 118.

⁵⁹¹ “(...) ganhar a sua vidinha duma forma menos precária que nas inglórias e contingentes frentes de batalha da produção.” in *Ibid*, vol. 1: 212.

⁵⁹² Keil do Amaral's team in *Ibid*, vol. 1: 224.

still water of rice fields, or the strung figures by the salt ponds, in the beaches or in cod drying compounds.⁵⁹³

The folk architect was unambiguously a worker, as well as the whole family, specially women:

About a third of those who work in agriculture are women. They receive less than the men for the same tasks and others that only they know how to do (...). After the whole day in the field, there is still the tending of the home, the flock, the children. Offspring and work soon steal their youth away.⁵⁹⁴

But also the youngest, namely toddlers, were labor:

(...) they take food to those who work far and carry stones and dirt for the building of houses.⁵⁹⁵

To this they added the following analysis of the region's labor specificities:

Even though the area covers counties of great movement and industrial development, within the Country's panorama (...), much more than half the active population works in agriculture – some in what is theirs, but the majority in what is of others. The proportion between “isolados”⁵⁹⁶ and bosses, those that alone or with the help of others directly acquire their sustenance from the land, and the employees and wage-laborers that sell their work, goes from 1 to 1,4 in the district of Coimbra, reaching 1 to 6,3 in Setúbal. The inequality of these values, from a district coming from Beira (Coimbra) to another that extends into Alentejo (Setúbal), reinforces the group of aspects that make North and South differ, and gives us an indication of the populational mass that lives of day labor.⁵⁹⁷

Their region of survey enabled them to diagnose two hegemonic modes of production, reproduction and land use, active in Portugal in the late 1950s: the north and coast with a majority of small landowners and medium-scaled units of production, feeding into several centralized industrial nodes; the south with a majority of large landowners and large-scale production units, supplied by vast

⁵⁹³ “No campo, nos povoados ribeirinhos ou nos do interior, todos trabalham, desde os catríos aos velhos e às mulheres, tanto como os homens. Mostam-nos isso os corpos curvados, os pés e as mãos que desaparecem na água parada dos arrozais, ou as figuras ajoujadas pelos carregos nas salinas, nas praias ou nas secas do bacalhau.” in *Ibid*, vol. 2:20.

⁵⁹⁴ “Cerca de um terço dos que trabalham na agricultura são mulheres. Recebem menos que os homens pelas mesmas tarefas ou por outras que só elas sabem fazer (...). Depois de todo o dia no campo, há ainda que cuidar da casa, do rebanho, dos filhos. As crias e os trabalhos roubam-lhes rapidamente o viço de moçoilas.” in *Ibid*.

⁵⁹⁵ “(...) levam o comer aos que trabalham longe e acartam as pedras e o adobo para construir as casas.” in *Ibid*.

⁵⁹⁶ “Isolados” is a statistical term used in official census to designate those are self-providing, for a more detailed description see Rosas, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*: 48.

⁵⁹⁷ “Embora a zona abranja concelhos de grande movimento e desenvolvimento industrial, dentro do panorama do País, (...) muito mais de metade da população activa trabalha na agricultura – alguns no que é seu, mas a maior parte no que é dos outros. A proporção entre isolados e patrões, aqueles que sós ou com ajuda de outros tiram directamente da terra o seu sustento, e os empregados e assalariados, que vendem o seu trabalho, vai desde 1 para 1,4 no distrito de Coimbra, até 1 para 6,3 em Setúbal. A desigualdade destes valores, desde um distrito que vem da Beira a outra que se prolonga para o Alentejo, vem reforçar o conjunto de aspectos que fazem diferir o Norte do Sul e dá-nos uma grandeza da massa da população que vive do trabalho diário.” my parenthesis, in *Arquitectura Popular Em Portugal*, vol. 2: 20.

numbers of precarious labor. *Estremadura* was a region of passage between these two modes of economical molding of the landscape, both the result of a long historical process and produced by the dictatorship's political economy. While their panorama of precarity envisioned general economic distributions especially related to rural landscapes, they also commented on industrial settings:

In Industry, of every 10 about 1,2 work as "isolados." This relation gives an idea of the still artisanal feature of the region's industrial activity. In small and precarious workshops -potters, farriers or carpenters - work days on end. To these we could add the small employer, leading two or three wage laborers, partners of the same penury. They are, when all is said and done, almost all poor of everything and only rich of work and children.⁵⁹⁸

In a census targeting the 1950s, published by the *Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas*⁵⁹⁹ in 1964, of 3.315.639 active residents, 2.482.233 were active in "rural areas," 1.332.263 worked directly in agriculture, fishing, animal farming and similar activities. Of these, 917.098 were identified as "agricultural workers," standing for various types of paid farm hands, while 730.461 were more identified as *assalariados* or wage-laborers.⁶⁰⁰ Even though this census was only accounting residents, the percentage of those in uncertain working conditions, temporary and seasonal jobs, or in some form of precarity, amounted to approximately 68% of the labor force. Beyond the north/south economical landscape divide, the populational mass indicated by Teotónio Pereira's team formed the majority of Portuguese rural population. Yet, as his team also suggested, this qualifying of "rural" was somewhat questionable for, in areas of "great movement and industrial development," a majority of people worked directly on agriculture, either supplying meager industrial wages with self-grown produce or working for others. Industry itself and its "great development" relied greatly on family-sized artisanal workshops, themselves in close connection to agricultural subsistence. In this political economic scenery there was no immediate and clear delimitation between what belonged to a rural and to an industrial world, and Teotónio Pereira's team represented this while trying to seize the limits.

The Portuguese industrial fabric was the result of slow gestations generated by a mixture of austerity and its associated badly nurtured workforces, clientelist lobbying, market protectionism and industrial conditioning. As expressed in the numbers above, agricultural and extraction industries held the largest role in internal production. In the mid-1950s this economical landscape started to slowly change in favor of industrial development, namely of transformative industries. According to the 1964 census, the number of industrial workers, both specialized and non-specialized, reached 748.131, not accounting for miners and other extractive industries, neither for transportation and service sector workers.⁶⁰¹ By

⁵⁹⁸ "Na indústria, de cada 10, cerca de 1,2 trabalham como isolados. Esta relação dá ideia do carácter ainda artesanal da actividade industrial da região. Em pequenas e precárias oficinas – oleiros, ferradores ou carpinteiros – labutam dias a dia. A estes podem juntar-se os pequenos patrões, dirigentes de dois ou três assalariados, parceiros na mesma penúria. São ao fim e ao cabo quase todos pobres de tudo e só ricos de trabalho e filhos." in *Ibid.*: 23.

⁵⁹⁹ Translatable as *Statistics Portugal*, according to the public institute's webpage https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpgid=ine_main&xpid=INE, accessed October 1 2016.

⁶⁰⁰ Instituto Nacional de Estatística, *X Recenseamento Geral Da População, No Continente E Ilhas Adjacentes - Tomo V: Condições Perante O Trabalho E Meio de Vida*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Publicações do Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1964); it is important to notice that, although this census accounted women, it did so poorly, for example: only 81.979 female "agricultural workers" were accounted against the 917.098 male ones.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*

the mid-1950s, however, a large portion of industrial activity, somewhere between 40% and 50%, was conducted by small family workshops or what was called “indústria caseira.”⁶⁰² Industrial production relied heavily on a dispersed network of mostly self-trained, self-employed, “artisanal,” workers often located in areas where agricultural uses were not far from sight.⁶⁰³

Of the 748.131 registered industrial workers, 41.131 were identified as *isolados*, that is, as owning or renting their own workshops, 151.100 were identified as employed and 510.894 as wage-laborers.⁶⁰⁴ Teotónio Pereira’s team evaluation of 1,2 *isolados* for each 10 industrial workers was, thus, approximately accurate regarding the domestic, artisanal and precarious scale of industries. With the exception of the specialized workforces of large and cartelized industries, such as cement, chemical, beer and tobacco, mostly concentrated in an industrial belt around Lisbon and Setúbal, the majority of the industrial workforce in Portugal did not differ much in nature and size from the family-scaled farm.

What tied together this socio-economic landscape of “poor of everything and only rich of work and children,” was foremost the corporatist government of national production, which perpetuated forms of overexploitation in place before the dictatorship.⁶⁰⁵ This was reproduced, on the one hand, by the regulation of working relations and professional statutes with the implementation in 1933 of the dictatorship’s constitution. Supposedly affording workers more rights, such as the eight hour workday and the partial banning of women and child labor – establishing the minimum working age of 12 - in fact, it perpetuated and even allowed different forms of overexploitation through a series of legal dispositions and exceptions that fell under the dictatorship’s prerogative of national unity and solidarity for stability.⁶⁰⁶ One of these exceptions was the possibility of collective hiring: when in dire situations, however these could be determined, employers could hire, through government mediation, workers in massive batches to supplement productive cycles. These workers were usually hired in a temporary capacity from large unemployment pools, often also largely composed of women and children.⁶⁰⁷

On the other hand, with the constitution of 1933 and the corporatist policing of solidarity between employers and employees, unions were demobilized as agents of workers’ claims and reorganized as apparatuses for suppressing and keeping labor in check. For instance: the 39th article of the Constitution successfully elevated as constitutional right the political rejection of the right to strike.⁶⁰⁸ In other words,

⁶⁰² See Rosas, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*: 77, 431-472; literally translating as “homecraft” or “domestic industry,” usually employing not more than 10 people, usually the whole family aggregate.

⁶⁰³ Many industrial workers relied in their own farming or that of family members and friends to supplement their earnings; this resulted from low wages, the country’s industrial dispersal and lack of oversight and indifference to the social conditions of productivity, but also as a survival tactic, socially inherited from the rural provenience of a majority of these workers. For a comprehensive account of Portuguese rurality in mid-century transformation see Dulce Freire and et al, *Mundo Rural: Transformação E Resistência Na Península Ibérica (Século XX)*, Dulce Freire, Inês Fonseca e Paula Godinho (Lisbon: Colibri, 2004).

⁶⁰⁴ *X Recenseamento Geral Da População, No Continente E Ilhas Adjacentes - Tomo V: Condições Perante O Trabalho E Meio de Vida*.

⁶⁰⁵ See chapter 1, “A dictatorship.”

⁶⁰⁶ The document in question is the *Estatuto do Trabalho Nacional* (Statute of National Work), decree-law nº 23.048 of September 23 of 1933, emerging as part of the constitution of 1933. For critical insights see José João Abrantes, “O Direito Do Trabalho do ‘Estado Novo,’” *Cultura* 23 (2006): 331–39; and Dulce Freire, Nuno Estevão Ferreira, and Ana Margarida Rodrigues, *Corporativismo E Estado Novo: Contributo Para Um Roteiro de Arquivos Das Instituições Corporativas (1933-1974)*, Estudos E Relatórios 1 (Lisbon: ICS-UL, 2014).

⁶⁰⁷ This hiring pattern was common practice namely in the large industries around Lisbon, such as the industrial chemical plants of *Companhia União Fabril* (Industrial Unity Company) that, after short cycles of production of two to three months, fired the majority of the workforce, seasonal and migrant workers, men, women and children mostly coming from the rural hinterland, see Rosas, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*: 97.

⁶⁰⁸ For a discussion of the effects of this article see Abrantes, “O Direito Do Trabalho do ‘Estado Novo.’”: 333.

within Salazar's political economic strategy, unions operated as legal and police devices for maintaining overexploitation, effectively promoting employers' stakes.

Adding to the misery of workers was the very limited scope of welfare measures and social protection policies. As an embryonic social care apparatus developed under a liberal regime, the INTP's social field, for instance, was devoted to an upper and middle class minority. Ramalde's quarter shows us this minority consisted in well-off, white, middle-class couples working either as technical staff in industry, in the commercial sector or in state institutions. A welfare target that, according to the census of 1964, only accounted for about 10% of more than three million active residents.⁶⁰⁹

Justifying the precarity and lack of rights of the great majority was Salazar's crisis-buster solution, first presented in 1928, of stabilizing prices at low values and for designed long periods of time, ensuring market returns and fiscal stability. This involved state protection and oversight of market positions, namely of those not belonging to the "captains" of industry and agriculture closer to Salazar's political "Olympus," that is, to the strongest lobbying powers. By protecting the internal and overseas colonial markets and minimizing supply and labor costs, the dictatorship assured established rents and the market position of those empowered to collect them, namely a select number of high-class families, already socio-economically established during the first republic. On the other hand, it also allowed the slow development of a landowning middle-class that, departing from agricultural productive stability, insuring livings rents, pursued extra income opportunities in connection to close-by industrial developments and urban markets. From these farming families with access to more land, better markets, subsidies for the buying of machinery,⁶¹⁰ and superior education, came builders, grocers, seafarers, military officers, industrial foremen, engineers, architects, teachers.⁶¹¹ These were also the *isolados*, both owning land and owning or renting small workshops supplying larger industrial units. Development, landowning, self-sustenance through connection to agricultural production, and a few subsidies, were chained in a state-protected liberal landscape of economical growth.

In a county such as that of Aveiro, to give one example of this concatenation of land, agriculture, labor and development, most industrial units had their headquarters within the city of Aveiro, closer to its banking and state institutions. On the other hand, its workforce was mostly scattered through workshops in old parts of town and stretching into the vast agricultural fields surrounding the city. The ceramic industry was one particular exception, so produced especially since the early 20th century and possessing large factories within the city and in its immediate periphery. This industry not only developed a disciplined workforce, but also workers associations and basic private welfare programs. Yet, most other industries in the county relied in scattered self-maintained workshops, mostly established within farms or in the fishermen neighborhoods of old Aveiro.

⁶⁰⁹ This percentage includes: "People in a liberal profession, technicians and equivalents," "Directors and people from superior administration staffs," and "Traders and sellers," which include everything from vendors to top-ranking traders. Also, this percentage does not differentiate between age and sex, including every registered active profession and activity performed by 10 to "65 or more" years of age, which means that 10% is in fact an exaggerated number, see *X Recenseamento Geral Da População, No Continente E Ilhas Adjacentes - Tomo V: Condições Perante O Trabalho E Meio de Vida*.

⁶¹⁰ Mostly put in place in the post-war and part of timid agricultural modernizing packages. The machinery travelling to Portugal with these subsidies was mainly North American and, shortly after, German, integrating an exchange building upon the new North Atlantic alliance and its political priorities, see Rosas and et al, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*.

⁶¹¹ For a detailed genealogy of Portuguese twenty-century economical elites see Jorge Costa et al., *Os Donos de Portugal. Cem Anos de Poder Económico (1910-2010)* (Porto: Afrontamento, 2010).

The metalurgic industry made a case in point regarding this spatial organization of production. By 1960, car parts were produced in kitchens and backyards in fishermen houses in old Aveiro, and in shacks and annexes built next to old farm houses in surrounding villages and outskirts urban expansions. The profitable productivity of said industrial units inclusively fed local state aspirations of installing a large French automobile company in the city, which had shown interest in the city's business welcoming environment.⁶¹² The attraction resided greatly in the affordability of labor, achieved through the combination of self-provision and lack of social burdens for employers and state, greatly connected to self-provisioning. When in 1962, the French architect-planner Robert Auzelle was hired to develop the county's urban plan, this spatial distribution of urban-industrial development was clearly represented in charts and maps. For instance, in daily and weekly movement maps, measuring volume, type of transport and time, it came out that bicycle traffic from and to surrounding villages and farmlands was overwhelmingly the largest portion of machine-helped movement in the county. In these villages and farmlands lived the majority of the city's industrial and artisan workforce, stretching along dusty roads into the agricultural plains, where rents were cheaper and where some sustenance could be self-achieved. The French car manufacturer would delay its installation into much later, but this productive landscape continued feeding growth. Inclusively it made Aveiro a desirable destination for poor Portuguese from either austere agricultural hinterlands or decaying industrial belts such as, respectfully, from southern *trás-os-montes* and inland *Minho*, namely the industrial area around Fafe.

As Teotónio Pereira's team made clear, this arrangement of economic productivity also implied a specifically productive and unequal assignment of gender. State legalized collective hiring integrated vast numbers of unskilled, child and women labor, which much contributed to keeping wages low. Women and children were in demand and understood as both accessible cheap labor, constituted by the necessities of misery, and as the private workforce of the family father. Specially women were assigned as supplementary labor by default: when production deadlines were too demanding to one man, the employer could be assured that he would mobilize his wife and probably the older sons to help him meet them. On top of that, women were also assigned the role of household keepers, being responsible for habitat and sustenance management. As Teotónio Pereira's team clarified: after the long work day, they would still work the field, tend to the children and prepare the household for another workday. Women greatly insured and enacted the productive and reproductive cycle of a self-providing workforce, becoming its silent and unacknowledged infrastructure. Albeit a silenced workforce, it nevertheless demarcated the observed landscape. For what other reason would have Teotónio Pereira's team started a text with the following:

The landscape is living scenery of a continuous struggle without showy heroes. Between the olive trees of skewed barks and the stems of corn, the old woman and the girl that remove the rocky ground present themselves as symbol. The hills are alike as far as the eye can see. Their gesture repeats itself for a many of lives.⁶¹³

⁶¹² According to municipal records from January 1962 to May 1964. The car company eventually settled in the city.

⁶¹³ "A paisagem é cenário vivo duma luta continuada e sem heróis vistosos. Entre as oliveiras de troncos torcidos e ralos de pés de milho, a velha e a moça que removem o chão pedregoso apresentam-se como um símbolo. Os montes são iguais até ao perder de vista. O gesto delas repete-se desde há muitas vidas." in *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, vol. 2: 15.

The patriarchal family, the farm, the agricultural plot, the homemade workshop, rented or owned: the dictatorship's great productive agents, reproduced by a thorough management of dispossession. It enabled the relationship between low and stable prices, dispossessed labor, lack of welfare and social securities. Rurality and the farming household were both its concrete support system and its image of social stability. However, it was neither harmonious nor ideal, but maybe functional, for it constituted the necessary and historically inherited survival of most. But it was also the place of industrial development and enterprise beyond more noticeable areas of state attention. This habitat formed a considerable part of the default system allowing Portuguese exports to have competitive prices and the nation to be proud of its fiscal integrity.

The people and objects constituting these rural-industrial landscapes were those portrayed above by Teotónio Pereira's team, knee-deep in water, bent bodies, rich of kids and work. And what most provokingly they suggested, with their description, was that in these broad economical landscapes of misery and development, there was no specific place that could be said to be just rural, pure, clean, our grandparent's time immortal. A number of interdependencies and dispossessions between resilient structures, dispossession and economic development insured the vernacular dwelling as the vehicle of undistributive modernization. The beauty of the vernacular dwelling could and was found, yet within its grazed fields and beautiful white-plastered walls there was, most probably, a small industrial community, fitting shoes for the growing German market.⁶¹⁴

Stated differently, Teotónio Pereira's team attention to economic distribution and working relations, within the family and the ideally premodern rural landscapes they were capturing, enables us to understand that these ideal landscapes were everything but an harmonious, spatially bound, premodern rural-vernacular world. It must be taken into account, nevertheless, that this suggestive reading of the lack of limits between rural and urban-industrial settings, was specially tied to their area of survey, an area with many counties of "great development." Tellingly, Távora's team report captured both the probable specificity of this area and the *inquiry's* underlying desire to capture an ideal and harmonious premodern Portugal. When reaching the fields north of Aveiro, they registered the following:

Now it is no longer about, for a vast region that covers the lands of Aveiro, Águeda and Albergaria-a-Velha, economic poverty, but the result of complex reasons to which are not strange congenital indifference, the cultural desolation where a valid construction tradition does not exist; and, mostly, the destructive effects of a progress that hasn't yet found the full norms for its correct expression. This aside, everything is copied, especially houses in *Minho* fashion.⁶¹⁵

The rural-industrial hybridity was disturbing, as it mixed the primordial "civilizational matrix," projected into the rural dwelling, with "fake" and "badly understood" modern progress. Other surveyed

⁶¹⁴ For an interesting take on the affinities between agricultural sustainance, lack of welfare costs and industrial development, based on South African and Asian cases, as well as a helpful critical articulation of labor production and reproduction see Gillian Hart, *Disabling Globalization: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

⁶¹⁵ "Agora já não se trata para uma região vasta, que engloba as terras de Aveiro, Águeda e Albergaria-a-Velha, de pobreza económica, mas do resultado de razões complexas a que não são estranhas a indiferença congénita, a desolação cultural onde não existe uma tradição construtiva válida; e sobretudo os efeitos destruidores dum progresso, que ainda não encontrou normas plenas para se expressar correctamente. For a isto, copia-se tudo, mormente as casa à moda do Minho." in *Arquitectura Popular Em Portugal*, vol 1: 78-79.

areas constituted better images of an ideal pre-modern world and, as such, constituted different productive and reproductive landscapes. Such as, for instance, Filgueira's team *trás-os-montes*, in which not one situation of hybridity and lack of limits was represented, despite the attemptive ethnographical work.⁶¹⁶ In fact, through official census and knowledge of migrating patterns, this northern interior area seemed to have fallen behind, mostly depended on self-sustaining agricultural production. There, in Filgueiras' *trás-os-montes*, we could assume to exist an even poorer form of economical distribution designing the landscape's beauty and cohesion. It so happened that sometime before and right after the last field notes were taken in 1956, this landscape and similar ones further inland and south were losing their unity and clear limits, convulsing on the weight of misery.

Smoke and ashes

Since the beginning of the 1950s, but more felt from 1956-1957 onwards, the number of Portuguese emigrants was increasing and with it many of the villages and places admired in the *inquiry* were deserted. What from 1962 onwards was recognized, inclusively by the dictatorship, as a massive population exodus reaching by then more than 10% of the country's total population, first showed its wounds, to urban intellectuals from Porto and Lisbon, around the time of the *inquiry's* fieldwork.⁶¹⁷ Mr. Virgílio, who Arnaldo Araújo and Carvalho Dias met on their trips in *trás-os-montes*, probably had more stories to tell than why his house was arranged the way it was. Probably not himself but his sons and daughters had or were moving out, migrating to better limits. Together with many of their countrymen and women, they were moving to places like Aveiro that afforded both cheap and easy to work land, as well as access to industrial jobs. But also to Paris or Frankfurt, through long and bare routes into European reconstruction. Places like the small village of Mr. Virgílio, surviving throughout the ages by animal and land shepherding, according to the surveying architects, was burning in a slow fire of scarcity and deprivation. Of course, places like these had wonderfully quaint customs, objects, relationships with natural elements, some still do, mainly in the form of misunderstood ghosts, often commercialized for an internal tourist industry. But they also had many other things, namely people desiring a way out of these, a way out of "agrarian fatality."

⁶¹⁶ They confined critiques to hybridity and urban contamination of rural values to the rich households and estates in the upper *douro* valley, namely to its wine estates. Here, their critique mixed with a critique of bourgeois taste, high-class decadence and ignorance of local values, as well as with a critique of foreignness. This critique contrasts with Távora's team take on noble and rich estates, who made an effort in the way of showing how rural values were, nevertheless, present in high-born architecture. See *Ibid*.

⁶¹⁷ For a history of Portuguese emigration see Jorge Carvalho Arroeteia, *A Emigração Portuguesa, Suas Origens E Distribuição* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa - Ministério da Educação, 1983). The most sought emigrant destinations during the 1950s were Brazil, Canada and North America, the number of emigrants to Europe increased dramatically by the mid-1950s, namely to France and Germany. See also Maria Ioannis B. Baganha, "Portuguese Emigration After World War II," in *Contemporary Portugal, Politics, Society and Culture*, António Costa Pinto (New York: Boulder, 2003), 139–58; and Joaquim Costa Leite, "Mitos E Realidades Da Emigração Portuguesa, 1851-1973" (V Jornadas de História Local, Fafe: Câmara Municipal de Fafe, 2003), 27–48.

At the time the signs of these other desires that did not fit into the *inquiry*, were already strongly felt by some, as was the case with the lawyer and democratic politician José Alberto Rodrigues,⁶¹⁸ who in 1957 wrote in the local district newspaper of Chaves, a regional urban center in Filgueiras' region:

The field man is always the same. Even though the oldest increment the youngest to continue, these look at the smoke and ashes of the home and are enraptured to other destinations.

It is actually noticeable a diminishing of energies, of belief and hope. The oldest still think in leaving their bones in the land where they were born because they prefer death to departure. Their sons, though, search over natural impulses other currents and do everything to follow them. Skepticism and grief have seized the countryside.⁶¹⁹

Between 1950 and 1960, 342.928 people were identified as emigrants, of these 159.657 left between 1955-59. These numbers might not seem very relevant in an accounted population of 8.889.392 in 1960. Yet, these numbers came from a state produced census not accounting for all those that did not even think of registering as emigrants.⁶²⁰ On the other hand, for the network of villages and small towns forming the portuguese hinterland, most below 2000 inhabitants, 35.000 people in average leaving per year meant the creation of vast pockets of uncared fields and derelict, semi-abandoned, villages and towns. Ruins were being produced. These deserted pockets can be compared to populational wastelands as emigration concerned mostly the young and able: of the 159.657 emigrating between 1955-60, 120.104 were aged between 15 and 64, while 37.376 were under 15 years old, and 2.177 above 65.⁶²¹ Approximately 23% of those leaving were kids and teenagers enraptured to escape the smoke and ashes of the rural dwelling.

These young and able, as all the others that left to search for better modes-of-life were escaping the bounded misery of agriculture and its adjacent activities. But more specifically its habitat and their experience of the *Portuguese house* that, according to an inquiry of rural dwelling, published in 1942, had not changed much since "primitive times." This being an essential part of its allure for true modern architects. The authors of the 1942 inquiry into the hinterland, agronomic engineers from the IST in Lisbon, desiring to understand the faults of agricultural productivity and, in the process, the

⁶¹⁸ He joined MUD, the opposition Movement of Democratic Unity sparked in the postwar, and was politically active against the dictatorship throughout his life, in 1969 participating in the second republican congress in Aveiro and supporting the student uprisings in Coimbra. For a succinct bio see Mário Matos e Lemos, *Candidatos Da Oposição À Assembleia Nacional Do Estado Novo (1945-1973) - Um Dicionário*, Luís Reis Torgal (Lisbon: Texto, 2009): 245.

⁶¹⁹ in José Alberto Rodrigues, "A Terra E O Seu Emigrante," *Diário de Chaves*, 379, in *II Congresso Republicano de Aveiro - Teses E Documentos*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1969), 101-11: 104-5.

⁶²⁰ For a Portuguese to emigrate during the dictatorship she or he had to make a legal request, involving registering with an emigration department and awaiting a formal reply on the request, which usually lasted several months of bureaucracy. For this reason, it is deduced that most actual emigrants were not accounted. Further down I will go in more detail into the specific laws and apparatus regulating emigration.

⁶²¹ These numbers are extracted and deduced from Instituto Nacional de Estatística, *X Recenseamento Geral Da População, No Continente E Ilhas Adjacentes - Tomo II: Famílias, Convivências E População Residente E Presente, Por Freguesias, Concelhos, Distritos E Centros Urbanos*, vol. 2, 8 vols. (Lisbon: Publicações do Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1964); Maria Ioannis B. Baganha, "From Closed to Open Doors: Portuguese Emigration under the Corporatist Regime," *E-Journal of Portuguese History* 1, no. 1 (2003), https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue1/html/baganha_main.html; Baganha, "Portuguese Emigration After World War II."

reproductive role of the rural dwelling,⁶²² produced descriptions such as this regarding villages in northern *minho*:

The villages, authentic societies, enjoying in common certain goods, self providing, the families conserving the patriarchal form where the authority of the chiefs is recognized and accepted, are authentic economic and social units, almost small countries, zealous of its goods, its rights, its traditions, for which its sons are capable of giving blood and life.⁶²³

By the 1950s and 1960s, these sons were not so available to shed blood and life for the continuation of these small countries. Regarding the material environment of these small patriarchal societies, the engineers detailed:

These groupings of dwellings almost always have the deeply typical character that a landscape, rich in shades of green and the freshness of water, provides them, marking their distinctive place in the scale, so varied, of the landscapes in which Portugal is possible to contemplate. Ensembles of poor demeanor, if not miserable, easily confused with the grey stains of granite ridges and only one and another house, chapel or church, that exhibit the luxury of a lime-powder paint job makes them stand to note in the distance.⁶²⁴

And the description continued with great detail on the specific twists, materials and combinations of built rural misery. Some rural houses were portrayed as “holes in the ground” and stone “shacks,” with their interiors permanently blackened due to open fireplaces, without windows in most cases. Or with simple and few openings covered in wooden panels in others, to which amounted incomplete and broken roofing that allowed rainwater to fall through. Homes of small and few compartments, where families of more than seven would be cramped in “insidious” conditions, some of them so poor that they had to take turns for dinner, given the insufficient number of pots and cutlery.⁶²⁵ Accomplishing

⁶²² Departing from Lisbon to the countryside in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the engineer’s mission was to understand in which way the actual conditions of rural dwelling facilitated or not a possible agrarian reform. In 1942, the first of three reports was published. Unintentionally, or perhaps not, the report highlighted in such detail the dire misery of many rural situations that the other two reports were banned and the first report was eventually appropriated by the Portuguese Communist Party to prove the monstrous effects of Salazar’s dictatorship. For a detailed account of this inquiry see Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*. For a critical interpretation of the material realities of rural Portugal brought about by this inquiry see Carolina Leite, “A Linguagem Dos Objectos E a Criação de Significado No Espaço Doméstico: Um Repertório de Afectos,” *Comunicação E Sociedade* 2 14, no. 1–2 (2000): 205–16.

⁶²³ “As aldeias, verdadeiras sociedades, usufruindo em comum certos capitais, bastando-se a si próprias, conservando as famílias a forma patriarcal onde a autoridade dos chefes é reconhecida e acatada, são autênticas unidade económicas e sociais, quasi pequenos países, zelosos dos seus bens, dos seus direitos, das suas tradições, pelos quais os seus filhos são capazes de dar o sangue e a vida.” in Eduardo A. Lima Basto, António de Faria e Silva, and Carlos Silva, *Inquérito À Habitação Rural: A Habitação Rural Nas Provincias Do Norte de Portugal*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 1943).

⁶²⁴ “Estes agrupamentos de habitações, teem quasi sempre o caracter profundamento típico que a paisagem, rica de tons verdes e frescura de águas, lhes confere, marcando-lhes lugar de destaque na escala, tão variada, das paisagens que em Portugal é possível contemplar. Conjuntos de aspecto pobre, senão miserável, confundem-se com as manchas cinzentas das penedias de granito e somente uma ou outra casa, capela ou igreja, que ostentem o luxo de uma de-mão de cal, os fazem nota a distância.” in *Ibid.*

⁶²⁵ See *Ibid.*: 405–411; in many respects, these engineers from Lisbon’s technical university accomplished with an immense detail and ethnographic attention what architects ten years later left unsaid in between considerations of architectural valor. Namely, the engineers developed in-depth descriptions of a number of key household examples per rural area, in which they described: (1) the house, its materials and functioning in detail, with measures, costs and state of construction; (2) the livelihood of the various members of the family, its rents and

these realities through interviews, drawings and measurements, the engineers added a multiple number of elements to the rural household's poor living and working conditions. They concluded a possible agrarian reform would not only face great difficulties in requalifying the productive unit of the rural dwelling, but also its living bodies, that of the farmer and its family, which presented themselves to the engineer-surveyors in a despairing disarray. As we can read, for instance, from this description of a "typical" family from Carvalhais, a village close to São Pedro do Sul in central inland Portugal:

This worker's family is constituted by the chief A.M. of 37 years, his wife, of 33 years, and five sons: two girls of 16 years and two months and three boys of 14 years, 10 years and 20 months respectively.

Except for the two oldest sons, every member of this family bears the trait of agonizing misery. The head of the family, with an age that, in normal cases, would allow for all of his physical attributes is so aged that nobody will give him less than 50 years.

His wife, ill for a long time, seems to be at least 45 years old. Doesn't have the health to the work the field and, even if she did, she could not do it because caring for the children takes almost all of her time.⁶²⁶

While a national agrarian reform was recognized as needed, for the surveying engineers faced with this obvious misery of the countryside it seemed almost unfeasible. Yet, if this inquiry's objective was "(...) not simply to show the worker's house but yes the family home (...) to better appreciate the level of life of the families that inhabit such homes," as Eduardo Lima Basto, its main promoter and author, wrote.⁶²⁷ Then, the inquiry was entirely successful, so much so, producing such sharp definitions, such vivid illustrations of Portuguese-ness, that its last volume only saw the light of day in 2012.⁶²⁸ They identified, perhaps unwillingly, that between the country lived in cities, university offices, state administration meeting rooms, Salazar's secluded and deciding office, and the country lived everywhere else, existed a gap that was at least as large as that between two countries in two different centuries.

We can chain some of these differences, in overview, through the 1964 census. For an accounted total of 2.111.244 "single-family domestic aggregates" or households, 65.778 live in buildings without

activities, confronted with living costs, many times highlighting the overevaluation of rents regarding the family's capital availability; (3) hygienic uses and conditions, in parallel with the household's productive activities; (4) the family's possessions, relations and complaints by conducting interviews with its various members, guided by a detailed questionnaire. These elements were embodied in detailed textual descriptions, drawings of plans and photographs. Thanks to these descriptions, which still today seem unrivalled in their detail and enactment of a distant reality, this inquiry might be said to have been much more successful in portraying the country itself than the one developed by architects. An element which is not detached from the fame acquired by the latter, and the obscurity forced on the former.

⁶²⁶ "A família deste trabalhador é constituída pelo chefe A.M. de 37 anos, sua mulher, de 33 anos, e cinco filhos: duas raparigas de 16 anos e 2 meses e três rapazes de 14 anos, 10 anos e 20 meses respectivamente. Exceptuados os dois filhos mais velhos, todos os membros desta família tem um aspecto de miséria confrangedora. O chefe de família, em idade que lhe permitiria em casos normais dispor de todos os seus recursos físicos, está tão envelhecido que ninguém lhe dará menos de 50 anos. Sua mulher, há muitos anos doente, parece ter pelo menos 45 anos. Não tem saúde para trabalhar no campo e, mesmo que a tivesse, possivelmente não o poderia fazer porque os cuidados com os filhos lhe tomam quasi todo o tempo." in *Ibid*: 303.

⁶²⁷ "(...) mostrar não simplesmente a casa do trabalhador mas sim o lar da família. (...) para melhor ser apreciado o nível de vida das famílias que em tais casas habitam." in *Ibid*: XI.

⁶²⁸ Eduardo A. Lima Basto, António de Faria e Silva, and Carlos Silva, *Inquérito à Habitação Rural: A Habitação Rural Nas Províncias Da Estremadura, Ribatejo, Alto Alentejo E Baixo Alentejo*, vol. 3, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2012); see Leal's comprehensive account of this inquiry in *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

kitchen, toilet or any other amenity, basically living with a roof over their heads; 1.192.163 in buildings only with a kitchen, shared with other households; 577.917 had access to the water network, while 771.686 had access to the sewage system and 824.747 to the electricity network. Breaking down these numbers: this meant that 3% of the total population of mainland Portugal lived without kitchen, toilet or anything else besides a roof, 53% only with a kitchen, 26% with access to company water, 35% to sewage and 37% to electricity. More than half of the country's population lived without water, sewage system and most utilities that formed the basis of modern domestic comfort.

These numbers apply to all mainland Portuguese agglomerates, yet the situation was starker in the hinterland. Of the total 2.111.244 single-family households identified, 420.022 are accounted to "urban centers" and 1.691.222 to rural zones. Of these, 1.135.468 households only had a kitchen, which means 67% of rural households or 4.520.574 people could cook in their homes, but everything else had to be done elsewhere and otherwise. Only 27% of rural households had access to electricity, 24% to sewage and 14% to treated water. In other words, more than 70% of rural households were outside basic infrastructure, much more than half the country's population washed themselves in wells, fountains and streams, drank from those waters, used "natural" toilets and saw the night in the light of candles, the fireplace and oil lamps.

All the while, during the 1950s, new dams and power-grids were being built, lobbied and enabled by calls for modernization from the engineering classes closer to the dictatorship.⁶²⁹ The infrastructure for the country's second industrialization was under way. Yet, the vast inland, supposedly soon to be electrified, remained mostly dark until the breaking apart of the dictatorship in 1974, and even later in many places. In cities the situation was better however. Of the total number of households accounted to "urban centers," only 14% had access to a kitchen, while 19% had no access to the water network and 12% no access to electricity. Between 200.665 and 334.412 people living in cities had no access to either electricity or/and water, which, in a total urban population of around two million, represented a considerable number of people.⁶³⁰

Part of these people were sons and daughters of Mr. Virgílio that moving into city counties and urban areas, often housed themselves in deemed clandestine dwellings, built with what could be found affordable. Sons and daughters from Filgueiras' *trás-os-montes* and likewise more isolated inland areas closer to the Spanish border, emigrated mostly to France, for instance creating a great portion of what became known as the Paris' *bidonvilles*. These mostly young and able were supplying growing north European markets labor demands, which by then could no longer be served by internal pools of low-cost labor.⁶³¹ This new European workforce, joining with Spanish, Greek and Italian sons and daughters, was also deemed ilegal. The dictatorship, as of 1947 reserved the power and right to

⁶²⁹ In the post-war various engineers, but also their class union, lobbied for territorial modernization and grand public works. To read their efforts together with those of architects in the immediate post-war see Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*.

⁶³⁰ These numbers do not account for multi-family households that constitute 4% of total households, and homeless, which represent 0,03% of total households or 2460 people, see Instituto Nacional de Estatística, *X Recenseamento Geral Da População, No Continente E Ilhas Adjacentes - Tomo VI: Condições de Habitação Dos Agregados Domésticos*, vol. 8, 8 vols. (Lisbon: Publicações do Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1964).

⁶³¹ For an overview of migration patterns in Europe viewed in relation to a history of labor markets, see the dated yet informative work by Paul White, *The West European City: A Social Geography* (New York, London: Longmans & Co., 1984).

nominate who was allowed to emigrate, based on a highly bureaucratized and costly process.⁶³² Although the state's regulation of emigration was pitched as necessary to protect Portuguese citizens in their working travels abroad, claiming emigration to be free, the dictatorship held the right to suspend emigration altogether whenever it endangered national cohesion. Three situations were noted in law as provoking said measure: (1) the defense of the country's national economic interests, namely in what concerned internal colonization and public works continuation; (2) the increase of white population in the overseas colonies; (3) the due protection of the emigrant.⁶³³ If the first and second elements clearly inscribed the body of the emigrant within the regime's political economic strategy of dispossession, the third operated a similar operation under the guise of citizenship protection.



32 Portuguese exiting the country through the pyrenees, Gerald Bloncourt, 1965.

By 1954, an amendment to the emigration law included changes in the process of application and election of possible emigrants, making it more costly to apply for work abroad.⁶³⁴ According to the law's amendments, at stake was the ensurance of the conditions and rights of emigrants. The argument went that until the right conditions of labor migration between states was achieved, emigrants needed to be held back. In reality, only in the early 1960s did the dictatorship actually produce concrete legal measures to protect Portuguese emigrants' rights.⁶³⁵ Until then its main concern was to negotiate a

⁶³² The decree-law 36 558 of October of 1947 created the *Junta da Emigração* (Emigration Secretariat) devised to supervise Portuguese emigration specifically in the face of north European demands for cheap labor. Regional and local state authorities were inpowered in the evaluation of applications, holding a central role in the legality and illegality of moving bodies.

⁶³³ According to the decree-law 36 199 of 1947.

⁶³⁴ Decree-law nº 39 794 of August of 1954.

⁶³⁵ For a detailed account of state welfare developments connected with growing concerns for dealing with Portuguese emigration see Victor Pereira, "Emigração E Desenvolvimento Da Previdência Social Em Portugal," *Análise Social* XLIV, no. 192 (2009): 471–510.

profitable relation in its labor export, namely by insuring that emigrant savings would be funneled back to Portugal, constituting since then one of the country's main money flows.⁶³⁶ Either for the crafting of its internal market, specially regarding the need to govern overseas colonies, or the drawing of a favourable position within European post-war economies, the dictatorship conducted its legal and disciplining power to hold the bodies of labor, emerging from the smoke and ashes of Mr. Virgílio's abode. Within such frame, these bodies emerged as illegal, as "jumping the fence" to Spain, an undisciplined pool of accessible labor fleeing its political economic governance, whose savings were, however, most welcome.



33 *Bidonville* in Paris, Gerald Bloncourt, 1967.

When not choosing France, Germany or Brazil as a destination of possibilities, the young and able, as well as the ambitious and the desperate, chose national cities that held promises of stable work and

⁶³⁶ See decree-law nº 44 427 of June of 1962. On Portuguese emigration and its crafting as a legal and political-economic body to govern see Vanda Santos, *O Discurso Oficial Do Estado Sobre a Emigração Dos Anos 60 a 80 E Imigração Dos Anos 90 À Actualidade* (Lisbon: Observatório da Imigração, 2004); Victor Pereira, *A Ditadura de Salazar E a Emigração: O Estado Português E Os Seus Emigrantes Em França (1957-1974)* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2014).

better pay. This was the case of Porto and Lisbon, as well as some middle-sized cities, such as Braga, Famalicão, Aveiro, Leiria, Santarém. Between 1950-60, inland cities, some of them large regional centers, such as Coimbra, Viseu, Guarda, Castelo Branco, Portalegre and Évora, showed significant decrease in population, while Braga, Porto and Aveiro, coastal northern regional centers, and Leiria, Lisbon and Setúbal, coastal center and south regional centers, showed population increases in the order of several thousand, some reaching several hundred thousand residents during this period, such as Setúbal.⁶³⁷

During the 1950s and throughout the 1960s, the biggest and more industrially promising coastal cities grew steadily. Most migrants settled in peripheral areas, such as Oeiras, Amadora, Odivelas and Olivais in Lisbon, and Ramalde, Paranhos and Campanhã in Porto, for instance. According to the census of 1964, these peripheral areas, during the period of 1950-60, grew in larger proportion to the overhaul growth of these cities.⁶³⁸ In them, illegal buildings, shack neighborhoods and other forms of self-provisioning and accommodation created new urban situations, disapproved and condemned by municipal authorities, state technicians, planners and architects.⁶³⁹ The folk architect was in fact creating another vernacular architecture, another form of dwelling transforming both rurality and cityness. Just as in Paris with its *bidonvilles*, the shantytown and shack neighborhood was becoming a common feature of the Portuguese city.

These other forms of the vernacular, however, were taken by architects as unfortunate situations resulting from “badly assimilated progress,” signaling failures of planning, of socio-economic organization, of taste, of government, of culture, instead of the finely adapted expression of the folk architect in its bounded rural dwelling. Within the becoming of an industrial and urbanized Portugal, centered in large coastal cities, the idea of an indivisible Portuguese landscape was being bodily unchained. Much vernacular dissolved into empty buildings and abandoned fields in the hinterland and into lively auto-construction neighborhoods in the periphery of cities. The hinterland, its harmonies of society and shape, were losing their animating bodies, as sons and daughters preferred the unsafe and unstable accommodation in cities to the always active roots of misery of their homeland. As Teotónio Pereira later claimed, inclusively as one of its greatest values: “the Inquiry of Regional Architecture was accomplished in the last possible moment to register in all its plenitude a world about to disappear.”⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁷ *X Recenseamento Geral Da População, No Continente E Ilhas Adjacentes - Tomo VI: Condições de Habitação Dos Agregados Domésticos.*

⁶³⁸ *X Recenseamento Geral Da População, No Continente E Ilhas Adjacentes - Tomo II: Famílias, Convivências E População Residente E Presente, Por Freguesias, Concelhos, Distritos E Centros Urbanos.*

⁶³⁹ For a detailed account of how the illegal, clandestine, “informal” quarter was treated by municipal and planning authorities, architects, urban planners and social writers, specifically grounded in case-studies in Lisbon, see Castela, “A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalized Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon.”

⁶⁴⁰ Teotónio Pereira, “Preface,” in Antunes et al., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*: 267.

Producing an *architecthology*

In the *inquiry*'s book introduction of 1961 we can read the following motivation:

They are not many, the scholars that have occupied themselves with the Architecture of our country. (...) in what concerns vernacular Architecture, non erudite, its fundamentals, relations and particularities, very little has been observed or written. (...) the objective and systematic study of portuguese popular Architecture was effectively to make. (...) Popular Architecture provides precious sources for the study of the architectonic genesis.⁶⁴¹

The words “precious sources” and “genesis,” among others, not only bring back Távora’s 1945 project, but also its guiding intuition: a re-foundation of modern Portuguese architecture guided by fundamental *portuguese truth* was required for a true modern style. The articulated symbiosis between place, shape and culture achieved did not aim to render clear the actual living conditions of most in rural areas. It served to mingle a functionalist with a culturally nuanced understanding of the landscape, as much concerned with true knowledge of the country, in La Blanche’s sense of searching the country-itself, as with the reification of an autonomous position within architecture modernism. Demangeon’s notion of the rural dwelling as primordial agent of civilization, carrying the fundamentals of land, function and personality that formed national character, mediated the functionalist notion of architectural form, as the essentialist expression of human need, desire and culture. The hinterland was being cast through modernism, and modernism through the many shapes and ways of the hinterland. This was, as Teotónio later evaluated, a “partial” and “partialist” exercise over the landscape.⁶⁴²

Like the Swedish modernists of 1930, Pagano and Daniel, and the Brazilian modernists, among many others, the *inquiry* cast the primitive foundation for a new true architecture, projected by an architectural minority. It was, first of all, a collective class effort to uphold a young and small group of architects, finding their position within national production.⁶⁴³ In the recasting of the premodern primitive other, mostly miserable countrymen and women in this case, the country-itself was presented as the formal and moral fountain for a possible modern architecture. In the primitive simplicity and universality of the hinterland it found its value and depth. This depth was made the more powerful for a new possible architectural norm, the more it projected the vernacular example further in history, in psychological and environmental simplicity, and the less its actual lives spoke.

⁶⁴¹ Adding in-between: “One or another ethnographer dedicated to it partial attention; one or another regionalist writer extolled its simple virtues and rude charms; one or another geographer took further and deeper the study of its relations with the environment and sketched right and intelligent classifications; one or another architect infatuated by the problem and sensing the inspirational richness of that unpretentious architecture, registered some typical aspects, certain aesthetical expressions and peculiar details, which then he tried to place in vogue. However, (...)” (“Não são muitos os estudiosos que se têm ocupado da Arquitectura no nosso país. (...) no que se refere à Arquitectura popular, não erudita, aos seus fundamentos, relações e particularidades, muito pouco se observou ou escreveu. (...) Um e outro etnógrafo dedicou-lhe atenção parcial; um e outro escritor regionalista exaltou-lhe as virtudes simples e os rudes encantos; um e outro geógrafo levou mais longe e mais fundo o estudo das suas relações com o meio e esboçou classificações acertadas e inteligentes; e um e outro arquitecto, apaixonado pelo problema e pressentindo a riqueza de inspiração dessa arquitectura sem pretensões, registou uns quantos aspectos típicos, certas expressões plásticas e pormenores característicos, a que em seguida tentou dar voga. No entanto, o estudo objectivo e sistemático da Arquitectura popular portuguesa estava efectivamente por fazer. (...) A Arquitectura popular proporciona fontes preciosas para o estudo da génese arquitectónica.”) in *Arquitectura Popular Em Portugal*, vol. 1: XIII.

⁶⁴² Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “Architettura Popolare, Dall’inchiesta Al Progetto,” *Domus*, n.d: 29.

⁶⁴³ Closer to events, see António Freitas, “Tradicionalismo E Evolução,” *Arquitectura*, December 1959.

If, in this respect, the *inquiry* activated similar causes and methods to many other modern appropriations of the premodern vernacular, on the other hand, it distinguished itself because of its emphasis on situated modes-of-life. Stated differently, it richly narrated social-material experiences that were mostly invisible in the urban reproduction of the dictatorship's governing idea of "habitual living." The architects involved got to know a country that was mostly only cared for by a relatively small yet influential number of ethnographers and geographers. To this contributed the variety of disciplinary readings enabled, allowing for varied ethnographic and geographic attitudes to mix with the advancement of a primitive foundation for a possible Portuguese architectural modernism in the post-war.

While the contribution of other disciplines was underplayed in the *inquiry's* reports, for instance, in the introduction above cited, it was exactly this connection with other disciplines concerned with finding a Portuguese *ethos* that much enriched and extended its accounts. It also differentiated this surveying from other modern appropriations of the vernacular such as, more closely, that of Pagano and Daniel. It was exactly because Jorge Dias' ethnographic stakes were able to dialogue directly and indirectly with the seized objects, that vernacular buildings were sometimes understood as much more than beautiful rationalist examples. So it was with the human geography of La Blanche and Demangeon that, speaking through Orlando Ribeiro, made the rural hinterland stand as a rich variety of regions and sub-regions, with very specific environmental habits and aesthetic landscapes. Because of this, the hinterland also acted on these architects, not for all and not in the same way, as a cause for regionalism and the rejection of a indivisible nation. Stated differently, because these various attitudes of seizing the country and Portuguese life itself circulated through the different letter friendships active in the *inquiry*, it simultaneously achieved much more than the straightforward justification of architectural modernism. Albeit for the purposes of defending disciplinary autonomy and professional advancement, this was not much outspoken during its time. Only much later, in democratic Portugal, did it become a key re-reading of the *inquiry*.⁶⁴⁴

The contribution of the inquiry to an idea of Portugal, the country-itself, its habits, forms and landscapes, derived greatly from these connections with an ethnographic way of seizing the landscape. For this reason, between two apparently opposite agendas, that of arguing the case of functionalist doctrine and that of being able to account for the actual country, it is difficult to decide which one was more accomplished. More recently, Teotónio Pereira highlighted:

(...) it can be affirmed that the first consequence of the Inquiry in the cultural field had perhaps been the possibility of registering (...) irreconstitutable aspects of that world about to disappear. Record that, as referred, exceeds the field of edifications (...) and that covering in a systematical manner the whole continental territory, can be considered as the most complete and wide ranging ever realized about our rural world. (...) And it is extremely enticing to compare it, for example,

⁶⁴⁴ As some of the most complete enactments of this reading see, for instance, Teotónio Pereira's preface in Antunes et al., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*; and Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

with the photographic archive of Orlando Ribeiro or the exhibit *O Voo do Arado*⁶⁴⁵ organized by the National Ethnographic Museum, and verify how they complete and interweave each other.⁶⁴⁶

The *inquiry* also distinguished itself from other modern appropriations of the vernacular in the way it connected both: modernism and the production of Portuguese culture. While striving to show that functionalism had an essentialist premodern birth, it also acted Portuguese culture with specific formal and spatial truths, such as: regionalism and sub-regionalism, sobriety and frugality, environmental cohesion and boundness. As well as in global social dispositions: the adaptation of ends to means, rootedness through the perseverance of customs - each village a small nation - the central role of the community in the organization of landscape, and the “poor but honorable” quality, also imputed to the Portuguese character by the dictatorship’s ideologues. A possible Portuguese architecture functionalism came with a specific enactment of national character that could be apprehended and reproduced. Here, the “object-in-exhibition” constituted a ripe field of connections between ideas regarding the Portuguese collective, the making of places and specific architectural expressions and ethics.

To make modernism “modern,” in Távora’s sense,⁶⁴⁷ they made rural communities modern, that is, active and actual for reconstituting the Portuguese collective. If this generation of architects fulfilled a political gesture imbedded in this surveying, they did so by reinvigorating regionalist anthropologies and including in the definition of national culture many more actors, shapes and lives. This becomes especially relevant as we realize that their defense of modernism was indissociable from a production of the country-itself, namely as a set of active ideas about the limits of the “Man and Land.” Contrary to the common account that their defense of functionalism constituted a form of resistance to Salazar’s dictatorship, overthrowing *reaportuguesamento* as an active ideological construction.⁶⁴⁸ I argue their process did not emancipate the profession from the myth of a national style, neither of its umbilical relation to social engineering and change. Also for these architects a Portuguese *ethos*, renewed, empowered, was possible to produce through the correct *projecto* of architecture: a true modern architecture. Instead, these architects reinvented *reaportuguesamento* as modern, functional, as they constituted modernist space as Portuguese, them rendered in richly detailed regional varieties. The bound forms, placed communities, uncontaminated unity and sobriety from which this emerged was rewritten as a “true” country. Tellingly, Alexandre Alves Costa, one of the architects more invested in upholding the radical political connotations of the *inquiry*, later labeled the process as the becoming of a “Portuguese architecture.”⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁵ Ethnographical exhibition of rural Portugal, coordinated by Joaquim Pais de Brito, Fernando Oliveira Baptista and Benjamin Pereira, organized in 1996 with the support of the Ministry of Culture.

⁶⁴⁶ “(...) se possa afirmar que a primeira consequência do Inquérito no plano cultural talvez tenha sido a possibilidade de registar (...) aspectos irreconstituíveis desse mundo que ia desaparecer. Registo que, como se referiu, excede o campo do edificado, (...) e que cobrindo de forma sistemática todo o território continental, pode ser considerado como o mais complete e abrangente alguma vez realizado sobre o nosso mundo rural. (...) E é extremamente aliciante compará-lo por exemplo, com o espólio fotográfico de Orlando Ribeiro ou com a exposição *O Voo do Arado* organizada pelo Museu Nacional de Etnologia e verificar como se completam e entrelaçam” in Pereira, “Reflexos Culturais Do Inquérito À Arquitectura Regional”: 69.

⁶⁴⁷ Távora, “Arquitectura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes.”

⁶⁴⁸ Portas, “A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação”; Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50*. Following Almeida’s reading that this idea was artificially enhanced by distinct personal motivations, namely by Portas, but also others close to the *inquiry* architects, in *Apontamentos Para Uma Teoria Da Arquitectura*, Cardoso and Maia also argue the idea of resistance needs to be reassessed, in “Tradition and Modernity. The Historiography of the Survey to the Popular Architecture in Portugal”: 112.

⁶⁴⁹ See Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*: 55-72.

This process carried dangers, as was pointed by colleague architects awaiting the publication of the surveys. For instance, António Freitas spoke of the *inquiry* as a valuable process of “practical application of a concept of tradition.” It confronted, according to him, the supposed passive productions of tradition enacted by the *romantics* of the *Portuguese house* and the petit-bourgeois coming from “Africa and Brazil” that sponsored their national houses. Yet, the practical application of tradition could also bring about: “The danger we incur is to see ourselves embroiled in an era that could be defined by a neo-provincial architecture, conservative and sickly (...).” The *inquiry*’s specific enactment of identity empowered a “geographical, ethnical and social structuration,” that could also provoke that by “(...) freeing ourselves from one formalism, we may inadvertently fall in another formalism.” Yet, he finished with the positive note that the *inquiry*’s “merit and fecundity” laid in showing the economic and cultural backwardness of the “overwhelming rural mass,” to which the “problems of architecture” should be connected.⁶⁵⁰

It is, however, a mistake to understand this “practical application of tradition” in its intimacy with the *Portuguese house*, as a nostalgic dialectic with modernity.⁶⁵¹ Mainly because this implies two faulty arguments: that modern architecture, retold since the 18th century onwards, can be surmised as a succession of modern breaks and revolutions between fragmented, amoral and devastating times, and morality-searching, *ethos* building, cohesive times that end up, nevertheless, being reactionary. Secondly, that the actual production of the *inquiry* and the motivations of its more immediate agents was essentially reactionary. While we may identify some active conservative elements, for instance, in Távora’s *integralista* articulations or Teotónio Pereira’s catholic affiliations, which may have greatly inspired the idea of harmony, symbiosis and a Portuguese character.⁶⁵² These do not account for the creativity of the surveying, as well as for: the diversity of discussions between the various teams, the appearance of *precarious truths*, many exceptions to the rule, the relative importance of modernist norms, the reviewing of regionalist stereotypes, the different relations and enticements between the coordinating architects, the interns and the observed bodies. Lastly, neither does it account for how the equally conservative task of reifying modernist norms and forms was surpassed in various instances by the reality afforded in the ethnographic attitude.⁶⁵³ Furthermore, many of the architects directly and indirectly involved were actively raising the polemic of a possible hidden nostalgia themselves, confronting the *inquiry* and its possible applications with that shadow from history, as in Freitas’ neo-provincialism. Besides, reading the *inquiry*’s nature and effects as modern nostalgia implies we should only understand its possible value and activations as either innovating history or recomposing a past. Not only does this rely too much in the idea of modern revolution, it clouds the various projects enabled by the *inquiry*’s activation of a Portuguese socio-materiality.

⁶⁵⁰ “(...) aplicação prática dum conceito de tradição, (...). O perigo que corremos é o de nos vermos embrenhados numa era que poderá definir-se por um neoprovincianismo da arquitectura, retrógado e doentio, (...) uma estruturação geográfica, étnica e social. (...) querendo libertar-nos dum formalismo, podemos cair, inadvertidamente, noutra formalismo (...) esmagadora massa rural (...).” in Freitas, “Tradicionalismo E Evolução”: 37.

⁶⁵¹ Such as argued by Gomes, “Quatre Batailles En Faveur D’une Architecture Portugaise.”

⁶⁵² See chapter 2, “letters and friends.”

⁶⁵³ See Ricardo Agarez, “Vernacular, Conservative, Modernist: The Uncomfortable ‘Zone 6’ (Algarve) of the Portuguese Folk Architecture Survey (1955-1961),” in *To and Fro: Modernism and Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Joana Cunha Leal, Maria Helena Maia, and Alexandra Cardoso (Porto: CEAA - Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo, 2013), 31–50; see also Ricardo Agarez, “Regionalism, Modernism and Vernacular Tradition in the Architecture of the Algarve, Portugal, 1925-1965” (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, 2013).

Effectively, these architects were investing the poor, “miserable,” “primitive” and backward hinterland with an entrepreneurial impetus, as if it could mobilize the solutions for the economically burdensome and politically complex operations of building modern urbanity. Thus we may find, along the 1950s and 1960s, a large and varied number of plans, buildings, structures, written planning propositions and architectural theses, activating the *inquiry*, its concerns and imagination of Portugal. These were architectures that combined different strategies and aims built around regionalism, rendering identity ethically objectifiable. This can be felt in, for instance: the FCP welfare neighborhoods by João Braula Reis, Bartolomeu Costa Cabral and Vasco Croft in Chamusca, *alentejo*, and that by Teotónio Pereira and Nuno Portas in Barcelos, *minho*, both from the late 1950s.⁶⁵⁴ But also in the emerging tourist industry of the late 1950s, as in the Garbe Hotel in Armação de Pêra, *algarve*, by Jorge Chaves and Frederico Sant’Ana.⁶⁵⁵ Or still, and regarding new private houses, there was a vast number of summerhouses, chalets, single-family dwellings producing a new cultural good taste, to which we will move in the next chapter.

These are but a few productions of space that activated the network of professional, ethical and cultural priorities regarding the re-building of a Portuguese landscape worked through the *inquiry*. But we can also find an extension of these into government discourses and apparatuses, namely concerning the importance of preserving certain landscapes as morally and politically charged “object-in-exhibition,” but also as cultural-economic resources. The FCP, by the able hands and texts of Teotónio Pereira among others, activated vernacular architectural expressions, dispositions and typologies in places such as Barcelos and Chamusca, inland. While in coastal cities such as Porto and Lisbon it applied expressions, dispositions and typologies dialoguing more intensely with international tendencies, modernist norms and forms, such as in Ramalde in Porto, or in the *olivais-norte* neighborhood by Teotónio Pereira, in Lisbon.

In other state departments we can also find the *inquiry*’s usefulness in normalizing the country and its landscapes. As, for instance, in the *Junta de Colonização Interna*,⁶⁵⁶ within the ministry of public works. In an internal report from 1960, accomplished by the architects Vasco Lobo and Alfredo da Mata Nunes, who had been an intern on Frederico George’s team, on the current problems of the rural dwelling we find the following opening words:

It is to be done the history of the Portuguese small rural dwelling. Unknown by erudite technique, its forms are now beginning to be observed with interest; verifying with surprise that in them are found many of the exhaustively searched premises in imported models and indispensable for the embodiment of a whole contemporary direction in terms of *habitat*.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁴ For the first, see the first-person account by João Braula Reis, Bartolomeu Costa Cabral, and Vasco Croft de Moura, “Bairro Económico Na Chamusca,” *Arquitectura*, March 1962; for the second, see Maria Tavares, “Leituras de Um Percurso Na Habitação Em Portugal. As Habitações Económicas - Federação de Caixas de Previdência,” in *Habitação Para O Maior Número. Portugal, Os Anos de 1950-1980*, Nuno Portas (Lisbon: IRHU - Lisbon Municipality, 2013).

⁶⁵⁵ See the interesting article by Ricardo Agarez, “Regional Identity for the Leisure of Travellers: Early Tourism Infrastructure in the Algarve (Portugal), 1940–1965,” *The Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 5 (2013): 721–43.

⁶⁵⁶ Translatable as Internal Colonization Board.

⁶⁵⁷ “Está por fazer a história da pequena habitação rural portuguesa. Desconhecida da técnica erudita, começa agora a olhar-se com interesse para as suas formas; verifica-se com surpresa que nelas se encontram muitas das permissas exaustivamente procuradas em modelos importados e indispensáveis à corporização de toda uma orientação contemporânea em matéria de *habitat*.” (author’s italics), in Vasco Lobo and Alfredo da Mata Antunes, *Problemas Actuais Da Pequena Habitação Rural* (Coimbra: Imprensa Nacional, 1960): 12.

They further added that our regional architecture possessed “precious solutions,”⁶⁵⁸ representing an “imense *achitechnological* museum,” so long hidden from view and now: “(...) in full disaggregation and threatening to disappear without leaving traces, it brings forth the opportunity of its lesson and the need to harvest it without delay.”⁶⁵⁹ To which lines followed a detailed field report on several rural dwellings, their typologies, technological, ecological and social functionalism, as well as their design of a rural agglomerates and villages. In the process of identifying the derision of these forms of dwelling, mainly identified in the general tendency of producing urban comforts in rural environments, they proposed a set of norms. These ranged programatical, formal articulations and construction methods. They should be followed to minimize the negative effects of urban things and preserve, while upgrading, the *architechnological* museum. In effect, they proposed a detailed building normalization and urban regulation for rural areas with the ambition of becoming or, at least, influencing a set of legal dispositions on countryside territorial management. For a better and more efficient government of the land, projected in the following manner:

The importance of the values at stake, making responsible all and any person that interferes in rural environments, will force a moral attitude that surpasses the simple technical-aesthetical resolution of the problem.⁶⁶⁰

This moralizing of a clear division between urban and rural contexts was enabled as a governing proposition, as a possible edifying political program that could and should happen. The *inquiry* and the country it produced also allowed the projection of this “moral attitude” as a larger political claim to modernization and the role of architects in accomplishing a correct form of progress. The architect Carlos Duarte, writing in the same issue of *Arquitectura* as Freitas, spelled this articulation in no ambiguous terms. His piece used texts and photographs from Arnaldo Araújo, Filgueiras’s team, so, in part, this claim came directly from the villages of *trás-os-montes*. He portrayed three building attitudes: (1) one markedly of “urban spirit,” read in beach resorts and their summerhouses; (2) another portrayed as “academic” monumental rusticism, read in certain public buildings; (3) and yet another, affiliated with the latter, of a “regionalist” affection in search of a “local character” and repeated throughout the country in various people’s homes, workers’ dwellings and similar state programs. Against these, he pitched another arising from the *inquiry*:

To these three attitudes another however is joined, more enlightened, whose fruits only with time we may truly evaluate: that which searches in the intimacy of a dialogue with life habits, local ecology and architecture, the just measure of a modern language that may constitute a proposal of progress (from inside) and not a cosmopolitan intrusion (from outside) as occurs in the first case.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁸ “(...) soluções preciosas,” to which they add in parentheses “(that are so many other suggestions in terms of organization and adaptation to concrete conditions)” (“que são outras tantas sugestões em matéria de organização e adaptação a condições concretas”) in Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ “(...) ímense museu *arquitectonológico* (...) em plena desagregação e ameaçando desaparecer sem deixar vestígios, põe-nos a oportunidade da sua lição e a necessidade de a colhermos sem demora.” in Ibid: 12-13.

⁶⁶⁰ “A importância dos valores em jogo, responsabilizando toda e qualquer pessoa que interfira em ambientes rurais, obrigará a uma atitude moral que supera a simples resolução técnico-estética do problema.” in Ibid: 56.

⁶⁶¹ “A estas três atitudes junta-se porém uma outra, mais esclarecida, cujos frutos só com o tempo poderemos verdadeiramente avaliar: a que procura na intimidade de um diálogo com os hábitos de vida, a ecologia e a arquitectura locais, a justa medida de uma linguagem moderna,

Apparently, Duarte did not realize at the time that many of the workers' dwellings of regionalist affection, as well as the summerhouses of urban spirit, were being produced also by colleagues that had accomplished the *inquiry*. Nevertheless, in the latter lay was identified a potential for rooted and socially responsible change. Even though the *inquiry* activated and extended claims formulated against "intrusion," "imposition," mostly traced back to the city, the urban and the cosmopolitan, but that can also be read as critiques of Lisbon's intrusion – central government - in the rest of the country. Its production of the rural, the vernacular and fundamentally local Portuguese culture did not necessarily shock the dictatorship and its government anthropology. It did not seem to personally shock Salazar or Eduardo Arantes e Oliveira, who directly approved its results, in fact sponsoring it all the way. Something which did not happen with the earlier engineers' survey of the 1940s.

While it can be argued that this bringing about of the vernacular as a useful-for-the-country functionalism – a proposal of progress - created particular embattlements and political claims that aimed to be confrontational. It is doubtful these amounted to the political opposition or "resistance" to which the *inquiry* and its architects have been associated. It seems to me that, if anything, the *inquiry* architects and others indirectly involved were foremost reminding agents of government that the dictatorship's early and original impetus of housing every Portuguese in a Portuguese house, which had remained a disposition only in full fruition as propaganda, should and could be produced with economy, simplicity, sobriety and, of course, order. And that the ideal agents for this territorial progress were they, the architects that through the *inquiry* were much better informed of the nation's geography, morphology and cultures than state bureaucrats from Lisbon or the common rich builder returning from Brasil.

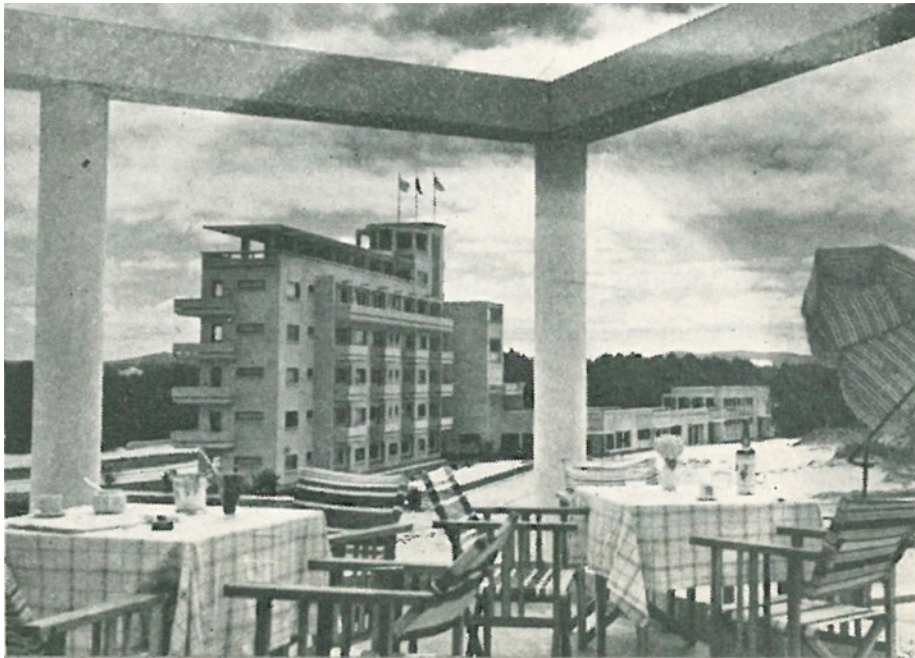
The experience of professional reinvention promoted with and around the *inquiry*, however, should also be understood as indirectly defiant as it was mixed with reformulations of the profession. In a time when, for city dwellers closer to the entrepreneurial and modernizing calls, the countryside, the vernacular dwelling and the hinterland peasant, were upheld as symbols of the country's underdevelopment. When the dictatorship was also sobering its ideological production of rural Portugal to the current arrangement of modernizing forces around city and industrial development, and forgetting agricultural reform once again. When those living in rural areas were, themselves, rejecting their places, its misery and rootedness, for better living possibilities. In this moving deconstruction of the countryside and its worlds of order and value, some architects took to the fields, their poor villages and towns, and came out with an eulogy to the cultural variety, richness of ways, and liveliness of what, by then, had become so many symbols of Portugal's disenfranchisement with the rest of the white world. To use this object of negative affections as the "genesis" of a professional and architectural renovation, furthermore articulating this disciplinary genesis as a national proposal of socio-spatial progress, was something to be reckoned. Not because of its supposed constitution of a direct opposition to the regime, neither in its infusion of functionalism with local ecologies and premodern architecture, although these were clearly important readings for the architects involved. But, instead, because of the moments of unexpected contact it provided.

que constitua uma proposta de progresso (de dentro) e não de cosmopolita intrusão (de fora) como no primeiro caso acontece." in Carlos Duarte, "Breves Notas Sobre a Arquitectura Espontânea," *Arquitectura*, December 1959.: 40.

The contact of some of the *inquiry's* architects with this negative space allowed, as it had a decade before with the agronomic engineers, for an intense experience of the country's inequalities and misery, motivating various kinds of taking of sides. Through the *inquiry* part of a younger generation of architects acknowledged and felt the disparities and dispossessions. In this sense, it was transforming the profession in a *trial by fire* of the misery maintained by the regime, even though this misery had to be understood in the gaps of a professional functionalist language and culture of architecture in the making. As we will see further ahead, these gaps allowed for productive disciplinary experiences that along the 1960s penetrated the profession's post-war reorganization. These penetrations were eventually dispelled and unmoored from the structures consolidating the ethical-technical meanings of the profession and its pedagogical disciplining in the late 1960s. Practice and myth were somewhat unbalanced in favor of the latter.

II.

Ofir



4 Re-making the whole: a summerhouse and re-centering Portugal, 1957-60s.

A renewed modern national style, first articulated as a calling for disciplinary renovation and by Távora's 1945 article, was practiced in various concrete experiences. One of the most grounding being the *inquiry* and its long process of discussion, surveying and editing of hinterland built landscape. Yet, before, in the meantime and after, the architects directly involved, among others, were experimenting in their practices with the set of conceptual and formal problems the *inquiry* voiced. I will now turn to one of these practices guided by the questions: how was it that a national architectural renovation was being produced as social-material experience? By whom and for whom, enacting which identities? Producing what urban landscapes?

From the start, it is difficult to circumscribe answers to these questions. If these involve identifying those design practices and concrete material livelihoods in which the bundle of problems brought forth with the desire for a true modern architecture might be said to circulate, then it is contentions to make a selection. As briefly exposed in the last chapter, during the 1950s many and diverse design experiences were working through a set of problems we could track to the problem of reinventing a modern way of dwelling nationally. From seaside hotels, to workers' housing, from summerhouses to new catholic churches, from revised professional claims to building regulations for internal colonization. Each one of these programs and their specific conditions of production would enable pertinent discussions of re-cast Portuguese livelihoods. I am not interested, however, in trying to absorb the whole decade and its design production in a single sweep. Instead and against better judgement, I selected one specific program through to discuss the questions above.

In this chapter I will assemble the agents at work in a very specific building and place making operation: a summerhouse designed by Távora in the 1950s in Ofir. This choice is related to the fact that very early on, namely right after its completion, this house was presented as one of the most iconic designs of a national architectural renovation. The architect Nuno Portas first made the connection between the summerhouse's design and the consolidation of an original modern practice.⁶⁶² It also helped that the house was early on validated by Team X members, when Távora brought it to a CIAM meeting. Later on, this house was rewritten together with the *inquiry* and its supposed reviewing of the *Portuguese house*, as a manifesto-design that consolidated a new modern phase in Portuguese architecture, constituting one of its original landmarks.⁶⁶³

Yet, the selection of this house also regards the fact that it constituted a designed landscape that, from the 1950s onwards, recentered a modern way of dwelling, and thus the country, by the coast. This house by Távora was part of an urban process redesigning leisure and welfare that had a large impact on the country's urban development and positioning of eventful places. An impact larger in scale and reverberation than this or that finely designed new catholic church, the few workers' housing projects or the well-intentioned suggestions of rural and urban regulation, springing from the re-discovery of vernacular Portugal and its needs.

⁶⁶² Portas, "Arquitecto Fernando Távora, 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional, Um Estudo Crítico."

⁶⁶³ This re-presenting occurred namely in the late 1970s throughout the 1990s. See, for instance, Portas, "A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação"; Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*; Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional*.

Firstly, however, we must deal with the accounts of its manifesto quality. These have proliferated mostly without questioning its status as manifesto-symbol and flagship object for the modern architecture culture animated by Távora's 1945 proposal. Mostly neglecting, for instance, to what other objects and processes this manifesto-object was more immediately connected. This is the case of architect Eduardo Fernandes' dissertation on the importance of Távora for the existence of *The Porto School*.⁶⁶⁴ Developing a detailed biography of Távora's ideas and works throughout his career as architect and teacher, Fernandes argues the Ofir summerhouse as one of various paradigm-making moments in the latter's formation of "an idea of school," school standing here for a cohesive architecture practice, pedagogy and philosophy. In this structuring role, the summerhouse is represented as manifesto of its own way of architecture, against the dictatorship's "fake" national style and modernism's forced rationalism. Fernandes neglects this design's enactment of a script intimate with the regime's discourse and idea of Portuguese-ness, as well as its actual design and construction process, the modes-of-life it promoted, its place-making and the urban structuring it passed through. I aim to review the re-presentations of this enigmatic object, namely by contributing to the interpretation of two issues: (1) the construction of its manifesto quality; and (2) the agents that produced the house itself, including the people, materials, livelihood projections and urban strategies directly involved in its production. In what follows I will question the manifesto status of this project by re-submitting it to its various effects, disciplinary embattlements and connections, and to the national modes-of-life articulated through it.

More central to what will follow is how this house was produced together with the personal aspirations and habits of a northern family, the consolidation of a postwar design practice, the creation of an architectural good taste, the production of a "natural" leisure suburb, the distribution of pleasure and enterprise in mainland Portugal in the 1950s and 1960s. My main concern consists in drawing the connections between these disparate, in scale and nature, objects and processes active in Távora's Ofir summerhouse. With this in view this chapter aims to produce a more comprehensive account of how the idea of a national renovation of architecture, along modernist lines and projected as environmentally committed, was concretely practiced, lived and distributed throughout the country. The Ofir summerhouse is here the entry point into some of the results and subjects created from the chaining of a nationalist concern for autonomy, the *Portuguese house* strategy, the letter friendship of Távora, Teotónio and Keil do Amaral, the production of the country-itself, Portuguese entrepreneurship and urban development. What effects can be attributed to the *architectonology* arising from the *inquiry*? This chapter proposes a partial answer to this question.

To this end, I relied in three first-person accounts of Ofir and Távora's house: my own as a tourist, of several members of the family inhabiting the house and of some of Távora's collaborators. I met with Fernando Ribeiro Silva, son of the house's patron and first dweller, his wife, daughter of architect José Júlio Oliveira who also became greatly involved with building Ofir in the 1950s, and daughter. Regarding Távora's collaborators, Fernando Barroso and Carlos Martins were precious and always present, introducing me to much more than this summerhouse and Távora's office work. I conducted several conversations with them over a long period of time. Also Álvaro Siza Vieira was interviewed, since Siza was the only of the three to work with Távora at the time, for this reason his interview is given greater emphasis here. When going there for the first time, my knowledge of Ofir could be

⁶⁶⁴ Eduardo Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Atualização de Uma Ideia de Escola* (Guimarães: Escola de Arquitectura da Universidade do Minho, 2010); among many others as, for instance, Paulo Tormenta Pinto, "Fernando Távora - Do Problema Da Casa Portuguesa À Casa de Férias de Ofir," *DC Papers*, 2003.

summed up in a few readings of Távora's house design,⁶⁶⁵ thus I was both unaware of its role in the becoming of a mid-20th century coast suburb, as well as of its broader connections to urbanization, enterprise and the design of high and middle class pleasure. Most readings of the summerhouse focus almost exclusively on its design result, from the point of view of "the author," leaving all these and many other issues aside. In short, I actually went to Ofir as a late summer tourist, renting a room at the local hotel, trying out the beaches, eating the grilled sardine, walking the pine tree reserve. This comes in the way of informing that the first-person description that follows is not simulated as that of a tourist, but actually is of a tourist, namely an architecture tourist.

This account is assembled with primary sources and second-person accounts regarding the Ofir enterprise of the 1940s and 1950s, namely from the architecture magazine *Arquitectura* and official records from Esposende municipality, to which Ofir is administratively tied. This chapter will also draw heavily on recent research on Portuguese seaside urbanism both for detailed planning information and broader frames of the growing importance of coastal urban modernization in the 1950s and 1960s.⁶⁶⁶ By far the most complete work on sea-side leisure spaces and plans in Portugal, throughout the 20th century, is architect Susana Lobo's dissertation on the spatial scenographies of leisure in coastal Portugal. Without her comprehensive work a considerable part of this chapter would not have been possible, namely the articulation of this summerhouse with the vast urban planning campaigns of the coast and the design of, mostly internal, tourism in the 1950s. Yet, her account overemphasises the power of architects', engineers' and planners' designs for the coast, suggesting these had a structuring and determinant effect on the urban evolution of the Portuguese coast. Contrary to this portrait of design agency, most coastal suburbs and cities were built from the start despite plans and designs, and fuelled by a thriving real-estate market. Following from this, her take on Távora's summerhouse follows the canonical readings established by Nuno Portas, Alexandre Alves Costa and others, of a synthesis between modernity and tradition, proposing a rooted way to modernize the coast with measure and sense.⁶⁶⁷

This account leaves untouched many personal histories and the living expectations built with these sunny enterprises, as well as the cultural and disciplinary strategies deployed not by the state, but by the various private agents involved. By overtly focusing on the case of a house, its design, its family, its urban vision and plan, and its private agents, I aim to understand how architects used this program not only for advancing a new style, but also a manner-of-life and specific distribution of modern livelihoods. Thus, this chapter also aims to understand how Portuguese entrepreneurs also built this spatial experience, namely as a testing ground for later urban developments and economic opportunities. This moves in the way of showing how a specific ideal of functionalism was put forward with, and not

⁶⁶⁵ Namely by Fernando Távora himself in "Casa Em Ofir," *Arquitectura*, July 1957; but also Michel Toussaint, "Casa Entre Pinheiros," in *Casa de Férias Em Ofir. Fernando Távora 1957-1958* (Lisbon: Blau, 1992); Antonio Esposito and Giovanni Leoni, eds., *Fernando Távora: Opera Completa* (Milan: Mondadori Electa spa, 2005); José António Bandeirinha, ed., *Fernando Távora: Modernidade Permanente* (Porto: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012).

⁶⁶⁶ Namely from Lôbo, "Planos de Urbanização: A Época de Duarte Pacheco"; Briz, "A Vilegiatura Balnear Marítima Em Portugal. Sociedade, Urbanismo E Arquitectura (1870-1970)"; Briz, "Vilegiatura Balnear - Imagem Ideal/Imagem Real."

⁶⁶⁷ Susana Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2012): 791-2. Regarding the canonical readings: Portas, "A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação"; Costa, *Introdução Ao Estudo Da História Da Arquitectura Portuguesa*; Ana Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 50* (Porto: Faculty of Architecture of the Univeristy of Porto, 1997).

against, the social distribution and select modes-of-life envisioned in Portuguese coastal urbanization in the 1950s and 1960s. This hopes to contribute to the already vast literature on seaside urbanism in Portugal with a more dynamic drawing of the landscape and agents through which the Portuguese coast re-centered the country's modern and comfortable livelihoods. In the process, it aims to show how the iconic summerhouse by Távora performed much more than a style of architecture harmonizing tradition and modernism. How, through the thickness and texture of its walls, many more lives, expectations, opportunities and distributions of the country passed, than those made available by architectural historiography.⁶⁶⁸

The chapter is divided in five parts. We will first (1) move descriptively into the landscape of Ofir, introducing its environments and initial desires as we find the summerhouse designed by Távora. Secondly (2), I will describe and interpret the design process with some of the narratives and agents it enacted. Then (3), we will go into a description of the community desired in the concrete dispositions and texture of the designed summerhouse, as I will try to apprehend a process of place making. This will be followed (4) by a description of the urban stakes and entrepreneurial energies assembled in modern places such as Ofir. Lastly (5), the chapter will end with some appreciations of the effects and operations animated by the summerhouse in Ofir, and put together with a description of the evolving discussions on Portuguese urban problems by architects in the late 1950s and 1960s. As the summerhouse will become much more than a private abode, but also a small society, a collective desire, an urban vision, a strong position within the modernization of the territory, by the chapter's end it will also become a *projecto* for the Portuguese city.

Northern summertime

The weather forecast prophesized clear and sunny skies for today but the grey clouds on the horizon and the cold south-bound wind makes it hard to appreciate the sunny quality of this seaside landscape. The coast of northern Portugal has this enduring quality, as if winter is always on the lookout for its chance.

Past the old steel bridge on the river *cávado* coming from the town of Esposende we reach an intersection, to the south is the center of Fão and, further down, Apúlia, with its appreciated fish restaurants and old beach windmills. They are old fishing towns, erected in the sandy land between the fish-rich waters of the atlantic and the wetlands of *cávado*'s estuary. To the north is Ofir, which is little more than a beach, a hotel, a couple of buildings, sand dunes and a pine tree reserve. We could hardly call it a town or village. It is a summer reserve, a suburb of sorts, with its hotel and summerhouses, hidden away by tall pines. It is a place demarcated in a long peninsula of sandy dunes and trees, serving as seawall to Esposende's waterfront and actually called "Place of Ofir" in the 1950s.⁶⁶⁹ Nowadays just

⁶⁶⁸ For instance, Lobo highlights the summerhouse design's crossing of Bruno Zevi's early books, Frank Lloyd Wright and the *Case Study Houses*, sponsored by *Arts in Architecture* in North America in the post-war, see "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia:" 795.

⁶⁶⁹ "Lugar de Ofir," thus named in official records in Esposende municipality.

named “Beach of Ofir”⁶⁷⁰ in road signs, a more functional title. Cutting north on the intersection to this place I now move.

This is the only street where you can drive a car into Ofir. It is a one-way street, really just wide enough for lonely vehicles, with parallel parking places to its sides. Firstly, it goes through some modern-looking housing blocks, probably built in the 1990s and early 2000s. This to the south, to the north there is a rundown tourist center and bar, and the open view of the estuary, with Esposende afar. Tall pine trees start encircling the road, covering the view.

A derelict hotel is the first noticeable building appearing amidst the trees to the north. Soon after, we start to glimpse the rooftops and some parts of large, one-story, summerhouses, hidden behind the trees, ground bushes and richly modeled landscaping works. The road offers this scenery most of its way, with one and another winding one-way street occasionally appearing to the north. Like the only access road into Ofir, these streets are made of cobblestone, with a lane for pedestrians demarcated by knee-high tree trunks, regularly spaced in-between. The main road has, beyond parallel parking places, a comfortable sidewalk also in cobblestone and demarcated by a straight-cut, a dozen or so centimeters high, rectangular cobble piece. The side roads, leading into the pine tree reserve, do not start at the level of the main road but at that of the sidewalk, resembling wider sidewalks that disappear into the landscaping, than actual roads. They are not inviting. Privacy and secrecy, that cobblestone seems to transpire.

After a considerable amount of pine trees and hidden summer houses, to the south appears a four-story housing block, with cafes and shops in the ground floor. Then, the sidewalk widens and an intersection, leading to Apúlia, makes room for Ofir’s hotel. It was conceived and built in the 1940s by the architect Alfredo Ângelo Magalhães (1919-),⁶⁷¹ an ODAM member that, like Arménio Losa and at some point Távora, produced active calls for the realization of modernism in Portugal. The hotel and its restaurant was the demarcating symbol for a new phase in the life of the wild dune and pine tree peninsula.

In 1945, while working with the engineer Raul de Sousa Martins in the private society *Sociedade Engenheiros Reunidos*, in Porto, of which Martins was the main partner, he was asked to conceive an urban arrangement to Ofir. Not a plan because the main goals were to erect a tourist center around a restaurant, hotel and sports/leisure facility. But also because the enterprise was essentially private in nature and the society owned most of the dunes, the future plots to modern summerhouses. When brought in to this vision of a “tourist center with exceptional conditions,” as the architecture magazine *Arquitectura* registered at the time, Magalhães was already involved in urbanizing the dunes, having designed a house for the family of the architect José Júlio de Oliveira.⁶⁷² The dune and pine tree peninsula had already begun its modernization for leisure. According to *Arquitectura*, construction had a fast pace. Emerging in April of 1945, before the approval of a partial plan, some of the winding roads leading across the reserve and “that naturally adapt to the terrain,” as well as a few freshly built modern summerhouses, namely designed by Magalhães. This was happening while the electrical network was

⁶⁷⁰ “Praia de Ofir.”

⁶⁷¹ He studied architecture in Porto’s school, graduating in 1944, shortly after becoming the head-architect in the private society *Sociedade Engenheiros Reunidos* (Reunited Engineers Society).

⁶⁷² “um centro de turismo com condições excepcionais,” in “Praia de Ofir,” *Arquitectura*, May 1950: 6.

being set up, all of which within an “orderly” and “enthusiastic” plan, accomplished “with simplicity, escaping the conventional solutions of ruler and set-square of our beaches.”⁶⁷³

In order to attract people, namely investors, into this vision of development, keeping with its fast pace, Sousa Martins asked Magalhães to design a restaurant on the dunes by the sea. In August of 1945 the restaurant opened, attracting a number of visitors to Ofir that justified extension works on the restaurant just a couple of months afterwards. Interest for the development of the future seaside resort intensified.

In 1947 Sousa Martins opened a private society to manage the capital and the real-estate process, called *Fão-Ofir Ltd.* The hotel was rapidly finished, opening in 1948; modern chalets and summerhouses, among which some the size of palaces, started emerging in the midst of the pine reserve and guided by the winding cobblestone roads designed by Magalhães. By 1950, the magazine *Arquitectura* counted 35 summerhouses, all done by “northern architects.”⁶⁷⁴

Even today, when reading these lines, seeing the hotel and walking the winding roads, the excitement built around this enterprise seems palpable, physically not metaphorically. Ofir was being transformed from an “old and despised beach,” mainly used by local fishermen from Apúlia and Esposende, to a striving resort, tapping the aspirations of “people from the north,” and thus, granted the amenities desired by these:

The beach disposes of tennis “courts”, a fishing club, also being possible the practice of other sports, among them the “golf” whose implantation was done by the Architect Mackenzie Ross, of Edinburgh (Scotland), that came twice to Portugal, expressly on invitation by the *Sociedade*.⁶⁷⁵

As the architecture magazine portrayed it, part of the excitement was not only due to the appearance of a new seaside resort for the more well-off northerners, but also to the meaning imbued in its enterprise and symbolically concentrated in the hotel design. It stood for something enlightened, new and refreshing, adding to the freshness of the north atlantic winds.

Starting by its process of conception, which was headed by a northern modern architect, in touch with the most up-to-date international tendencies and the qualities of the modernist-tending architectural culture formed around Porto.⁶⁷⁶ Then, its process of construction was portrayed as a pristine example of professional harmony and technical cooperation:

⁶⁷³ “com simplicidade, fugindo das soluções convencionais de régua e esquadro das nossas praias,” in *Ibid.* “Ruler and set-square solutions” was and still is sometimes used as a Portuguese vernacular expression more used among professional, standing for rigid, unthoughtful, plans and designs, that is, not respecting or not sensible to contextual elements.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁵ “A praia dispõe de “courts” de tennis, de um clube de pesca, sendo possível ainda a prática de outros desportos, entre eles o “golf” cujo plano e implantação do campo foi feito pelo Arquitecto Mackenzie Ross, de Edinburgo (Escócia), que veio duas vezes a Portugal, expressamente, a convite da Sociedade.” in *Ibid.* Instead of northerners, “people from the north” is here used as translation to “gente do Norte” because of the social connotation associated with this term, which works both as class, cultural and regional distinction or, in other words, it has a composed regional meaning.

⁶⁷⁶ See chapter 1, “a modern way according to Távora.”

The work's execution elapsed in the most perfect environment of collaboration between architect and engineer, so certain were they of the limits of the respective fields of action, that sometimes combine, loyally collaborating, studying in common the different problems, (...) ⁶⁷⁷

Contributing to this professional state of grace, erected around the common objectives of the enterprise, was the expertise and comprehension of modern architecture by the civil engineer José Pinto de Sá, who skillfully worked for a “just attitude” that the architecture magazine “most heartily” registered. ⁶⁷⁸

Lastly, the quality of construction and its details, the choice in materials and up-to-date furnishings, such as a Swiss signaling system, the *kirch* metal blinds or the North American bathroom furnishings, determinately contributed to its “marked character, (...) a work truly of our epoch.” ⁶⁷⁹ Adding to it was also Magalhães' interior design, including carpet models and choice in pillows, the finishing touch in an overall of “structural poise and functional design, without false elements or destitute of function,” contributing to the “unity and beauty of the whole, in a welcoming environment and perfectly integrated in the beautiful local landscape that surrounds it.” ⁶⁸⁰

The hotel performed a modern work that both in its newness and in its cohesive and luxurious functionalist. It was one with the epoch, the landscape and the “poise” envisioned. For this reason, the architecture magazine also registered that the building was not without its deterrents, namely the “incomprehension of official organisms.” Still, it heralded that the public opinion proved these wrong, showing it to be a “just” and fitting work, and proving the actuality of modern architecture, even when there does not exist the “necessary culture to appreciate all of its aspects.” ⁶⁸¹ Contributing to the modernness and the quality of the whole enterprise of Ofir were also Magalhães' house designs. In a different manner, these designs contributed to the modernity of eventful Ofir, yet with an added cultural value. Specially read in the chosen materials, described in the following manner by the magazine and regarding one summerhouse in particular:

The construction was done taking advantage of materials from the region, of panes of rustic walls combined with smooth surfaces. The exterior deserved a careful study and application of good quality materials, as well as a care in what respects detailing that indisputably much enrich this dwelling. ⁶⁸²

This excitement, entrepreneurial energy and modern atmosphere is only felt in the archive nowadays, because this symbol of modernness that was the Ofir hotel is all but gone to the unprepared

⁶⁷⁷ “A execução da obra decorreu no mais perfeito ambiente de colaboração entre arquitecto e engenheiro, tão certos estavam dos limites dos respectivos campos de acção, que por vezes se conjugam, colaborando lealmente, estudando em comum os diferentes problemas, (...)” in “Praia de Ofir”: 24.

⁶⁷⁸ “atitude justa que muito gostosamente registamos” in Ibid.

⁶⁷⁹ “acentuado character, (...) uma obra verdadeiramente da nossa época” in Ibid: 26.

⁶⁸⁰ “equilíbrio da estrutura e traçado funcional, sem elementos falsos ou destituídos de função, (...) unidade e beleza do conjunto, num ambiente acolhedor e perfeitamente integrado na bela paisagem local que o cerca.” in Ibid: 26.

⁶⁸¹ “incompreensão de certo organism official, (...) necessária cultura para as apreciar em todos os seus aspectos.” in Ibid.

⁶⁸² “A construção foi feita aproveitando-se materiais da região, tirando-se partido de panos de parede de alvenaria rústica conjugados com superfícies lisas. O arranjo exterior mereceu um cuidadoso estudo e a aplicação de materiais de boa qualidade bem como o cuidado havido também no que respeita aos acabamentos valorizam indiscutivelmente esta moradia.” in Ibid: 17.

traveller. The original building from 1947/1948 was rebuilt and customized to the point of making its identification difficult. Recently painted in a *bourdeaux* red, homogenously, that is, with no regard for the different depths and planes played out in the façades; without its famous terrace, now punctuated by air-conditioning boxes; the old and large balconies glassed-in; with a new entrance slab, effacing its original lateral entrance through a two-story grand hall; large chimneys popping from its back; sided by two new blocks, multiplying by many times the hotel's capacity. It has become something completely other from that original modern feel, but still modern.

Its interior remodeling makes an even starker show of radical change. In 1948, the hotel offered 36 rooms, today it offers 191.⁶⁸³ The large halls, placed in front of rooms and with a view to the pine reserve, have given way to more rooms, doubling the capacity in the original building. The new buildings, one to the west, another to the east, attached to the main one by vertical accesses, reproduce this multiplication of rooms by suppressing halls and any sort of open space in-between rooms.

The hotel now largely consists of long, dark and narrow corridors, functionally feeding access to vast bodies of rooms. The detailing of said spaces is also moved by a similar logic of multiplication and accessibility: cheap, wholesale, plastic materials, furnishings and carpets constitute the material experience of the summer vacation in the hotel. What in the 1950s catered to a few an expressively and exuberant modern experience, now does so, in a totally other expression, to the many that annually flock to Ofir.

Probably, the clearest symbol of the way it has changed since its intrepid modern days is the fate of the main entrance hall, with its two-storeys high ceramic painting, noble wood carvings and heavy wood furniture. Now, a ghostly space with few and deranged pieces of furniture, blackened walls and filled with spider webs of considerable scale. A shadow of something that so enthralled the architects writing for *Arquitectura* in 1950 and the many "people from the North" that filled its golf greenery and the terraced salon with its highly attended new-year's parties.

Coming back to the 1950s and the magazine *Arquitectura's* promotional tone, we are faced with a curious aspect. In reality, the fast pace of summerhouse construction, numbered above thirty by the magazine, rapidly slowed down by 1948, forcing the private society of Sousa Martins, indebted because of the hotel, to mortgage most of its plots.⁶⁸⁴ According to records from the *Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização* – DGSU,⁶⁸⁵ in late 1940s and the early 1950s not one house or any other building was erected in Ofir.⁶⁸⁶ This information, however, came at a distance and on the base of official consultations for construction permits and urban conselling, which implies that probably private construction of houses continued throughout without official consultation, as had happened before. To this was added that the DGSU in 1945 impelled the municipality to move forward with a partial urban plan, part of a possible future *Plano Geral de Urbanização* - PGU.⁶⁸⁷ In 1946 the engineer José Inácio de Saldanha da Gama Miranda e Vasconcelos (data), coming from Porto, was hired by Esposende

⁶⁸³ The Hotel was bought by a private society named Axis Hotels in 1997.

⁶⁸⁴ Briz, "A Vilegiatura Balnear Marítima Em Portugal. Sociedade, Urbanismo E Arquitectura (1870-1970)": 347-8.

⁶⁸⁵ Translatable as Urbanization Services General Secretariat, a central state apparatus responsible for appreciation, approval and application of urban works, created in the immediate post-war. In the next chapter we will go into its constitution with more detail.

⁶⁸⁶ Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia.": 766; Lobo highlights this information was connected with a sort of complaint by DGSU that their assigned urban planner to Ofir had not been contacted since 1948.

⁶⁸⁷ Translatable as General Urbanization Plan, more accurately it worked as a state enforced and regulated master plan. Like DGSU, it was created close to the end of WWII and still as part of minister Duarte Pacheco's great urban works.

municipality to accomplish its urban. He developed it with the objectives of respecting Ofir's natural setting, highlighting the importance of maintaining its *natural* outlook, namely by suggesting houses be only one-story, spread apart, forming large plots, with few vertical elements of delimitations, and also by suggesting the preservation of most trees. Yet, the plan was only approved in 1949, and even so the DGSU had several amendments to make.⁶⁸⁸ Nevertheless, his plan and later amendments legalized an even advanced Sousa Martins' vision of a prime, high-standard and secluded holiday suburb.

Despite this involvement of the local and central state, and even if some construction happened through unofficial channels, the enterprise seemed to be slowing down. As if the bundle of regulating prerogatives had scared away a large part of the possible investments. Sousa Martins' society, apparently deterred by debt, was substituted in 1960 by a new private society named *Sofir - sociedade de turismo de ofir* that proceeded to restart Ofir's urban development. In the face of this, the 1950's article by *Arquitectura* produced a complex and interconnected group of priorities, ranging private interests, political economy and professional realization. For one, its praise of the quality of the architecture produced by "architects from the North" in Ofir was connected with reifying those specific professionals, working as a promotional argument of their competencies, and directed also at future patrons. On its terms, this quality and competence was connected with the specific idea of a modern, "in tune with the times," design and construction. It was around modern functionalism that the validity of northern architects emerged with Ofir, as well as the "healthy" cooperation between engineers and architects: united by functionalism. This was also the element around which the praise for Ofir's bright future as a summer suburb was built, its attraction being especially tied to its modernness.

Coupled with these arguments, the magazine's appreciation of the state's short-sighted view of the enterprise was both connected with the defense of this functionalism and its architectural qualities, as it was with a critique of its intervention in the development of the enterprise. The state's intervention deterred the liberal spirit that originally moved it and gave such relevant work to northern architects. In short, the piece by *Arquitectura* on Ofir was simultaneously advertizing for architects, defending functionalism, rallying possible investors and a criticizing state intervention.⁶⁸⁹ While at the time it might not have produced the desired affect, Ofir eventually became, especially through the entrepreneurialism of *Sofir*, not a "tourist center with exceptional conditions," but a much appreciated suburb by the coast.⁶⁹⁰

Facing the hotel to the North are the infamous "Towers of Ofir," three apartment blocks, fourteen-stories high, built in the 1970s and clearly demarcated far and wide, as the only towers in a large radius. They sit directly on the beach sand, so much so that for over a decade the buildings have been under different degrees of danger from sea bashing and coastal erosion. A situation recently rising to local and national calamity, when the sea swept away its adjoining road and sidewalk.⁶⁹¹ They were accomplished in a time when natural reserves and protection areas were still somehow beyond yet within the rule of law. These apartment towers are mainly vacant most of the year, according to a recent newspaper article

⁶⁸⁸ Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia."

⁶⁸⁹ As we will see in following chapters, the critique to state intervention by architects was especially connected with a number of issues around the production of urban expertise, plans and regulations in Portugal, in which architects had little say.

⁶⁹⁰ "Praia de Ofir."

⁶⁹¹ Abel Coentrão, "O Mar Já Lambe as Torres de Ofir, Mas Não Há Risco Iminente Para Quem Aqui Vive," *Público*, June 2, 2014, <http://www.publico.pt/local/noticia/o-mar-ja-lambe-as-torres-de-ofir-mas-nao-ha-risco-eminente-para-quem-aqui-vive-1622710>.

only housing twelve permanent families. The rest of the more than two hundred flats are reserved for the summertime.

Besides the four-stories housing block at the intersection to Apúlia, the old/new hotel and the three towers, there is little more about the *place of Ofir* or what could be taken as its center. There are parking lots, enough to fill any remaining space in-between sidewalks. There is an old gas station, a couple of cafes by the beach in the first tower's ground floor, and some recent shacks accommodating surf schools, plus a curious beach items store produced in a white shack named *white-house*. The real attraction to this place, so claims the tourist pamphlet, is the open coast, long and white sandy beaches stretching for more than a mile or so. The other great point of attraction and official beauty is the pine reserve and its secluded modern summerhouses that, walking through the winding cobblestone roads make themselves seen, sometimes opulently, others faintly, to the future summerhouse-aspiring pedestrian.

Through these routes in elegantly designed reserve roads, we can find a summerhouse that is remembered as a crucial moment of “synthesis” in the debate between tradition and modernity, occupying Portuguese modern architects in the 1940s and 1950s.⁶⁹² A house that in the 1950s became part of what to see in a northern tour of architecture, as architects from Porto and Lisbon travelled to Ofir to admire its lines, aspirations and solutions.⁶⁹³ A house that since then became indispensable in Portuguese architects' travel list, infinitely harassing the family that aspired for the good living by the hands of a modern northern architect. This summerhouse by Távora, signaled for some like a “flag,” a mature revision of modernism and a resolution to the problem of a modern Portuguese architecture.⁶⁹⁴ Here is one of the most eloquent symbols and objects of concern of the so-called “third-way” in Portuguese modern architecture.⁶⁹⁵ An idea becoming widespread later on, namely more so after Távora's passing in 2005. A large circulation newspaper at the time, described the summerhouse as the masterwork where “the most modern of languages are made ally to the most vernacular national identity.”⁶⁹⁶ Furthermore, soon after its completion it also became close to the young and “rebellious” Team X, its design presented by Távora in the Otterloo CIAM (1959) and much appreciated by the “tough” architectural critic that was Alison Smithson.⁶⁹⁷ In Portugal, the house had an almost immediate public representation, published in 1957, right after its completion, in *Arquitectura* in an

⁶⁹² Lobo, “Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia”; Bandeirinha, *Fernando Távora: Modernidade Permanente*; Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Atualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*; Figueira, “A Periferia Perfeita: Pós-Modernidade Na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80.”

⁶⁹³ Álvaro Siza Vieira, interview 2015; Siza also said this in another medium “I remember visiting works with the architect Távora, works that at the time had a great importance like, for example, the Ofir House.” (“Lembro-me de visitar obras com o arquitecto Távora, obras que na altura tiveram grande importância, como por exemplo a Casa de Ofir,”) in “Crónica: Siza Vieira,” *Público*, April 9, 2013, sec. Cultura.

⁶⁹⁴ Portas, “Arquitecto Fernando Távora, 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional, Um Estudo Crítico”; Portas, “A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação”; Toussaint, “Casa Entre Pinheiros”; Helena Sofia Ribeiro, “Outras Casas Portuguesas: Uma Reflexão Sobre O Momento de Revisão Crítica Da Arquitectura Moderna Dos Anos 50 E O Seu Contributo Na Arquitectura Contemporânea” (Master's Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2010).

⁶⁹⁵ Becker, Tostões, and Wang, *Arquitectura Do Século XX: Portugal*; Figueira, “A Periferia Perfeita: Pós-Modernidade Na Arquitectura Portuguesa, Anos 60-Anos 80.”

⁶⁹⁶ “(...)onde se aliavam a mais moderna das linguagens com a mais vernácula identidade nacional.” in Fernando Madail, Maria João Pinto, and Ricardo Fonseca, “O Mestre Da Nossa Arquitectura,” *Diário de Notícias*, September 4, 2005, sec. Arts, http://www.dn.pt/inicio/interior.aspx?content_id=621274.

⁶⁹⁷ Álvaro Siza, interview 2015.

article authored by Távora himself.⁶⁹⁸ To reach this object of modernity, in keeping with the feel of the energetic enterprise brought-forth by Raul de Sousa Martins and Alfredo Magalhães, we need to venture into the reserve through the winding cobblestones. Finding the house, however, can become quite difficult, given that there are no street names in this suburb. The easiest way to reach it is to follow the cobblestone road closest to the gas station. Right away it starts to curve as it goes down.

A one-story summerhouse, hidden behind bushes and trees appears on the right. Besides the sloped roof, its domesticity and nostalgic ideal is strongly felt on the faint-looking, small, wooden gate, covered by an arched bush, giving the impression of a magical causeway to a British countryside neverland.

The magic is dispelled on turning to the left, as the tectonic apparatus of an unfinished contemporary summerhouse shows its straight concrete lines and rigid frames. It is a suspended white box, the ground floor concrete structure showing, while the upper floor's is filled and painted white, hovering empty over a spontaneous and probably unforeseen free-plan. The road curves to the right, more hedges and bushes, probably one and another summerhouse hidden behind. An intersection is reached, to the east we move closer to the estuary, to the north to the "third-way" summerhouse.

An old summerhouse, probably from the 1950s or 1960s becomes perceptible as the north-bound road curves right. The house looks abandoned and badly cared for, despite the apparent solidity of its ground white walls, concrete sloped roof and wood blinds. The vegetation has grown wild, engulfing the clear disposition of the plan in a difficult to extricate continuity.

As we come closer to the curve, a big, three-stories, house becomes visible from afar. It stands out from the partially hidden one-story summerhouses for its height and the pale green in which it has been painted. Most houses in Ofir are one-story high, as recommended by Miranda e Vasconcelos' urban plan. Furthermore, its straight and slick shapes, complemented with sober nautical motives, as some of the early works by Le Corbusier, give it a distinct feel from most of the sloped-roofed, vernacular-looking, summerhouses seen so far. This summerhouse was designed by Magalhães with "room and within the principles of modern architecture."⁶⁹⁹ It was built on a high-point, trying to grasp the views of both the beach and *cávado's* estuary, thus dominating the terrain and seen from a long distance in-between the pine trees.

When this house appears in the horizon, Távora's is not far, and so it is that a few steps further, when the road starts curving left to the north again, the summerhouse appears behind a head-height hedge. Luckily, the bushes are not too dense, splattering the metal grid on top of a low cement fence, painted white, with shades of green here and there. This allows for a good view of house.

The first thing to be seen is the bedroom body. Its walls are made of granite block, covered in plaster and painted white, the kind of white you get from limestone powder. The body is perpendicular to the hedge, so the façade closest to this limit of the property is blind. The five bedrooms, one suite and four double-rooms, and the two bathrooms, are ventilated and lighted by windows opened on the west and east façades of the body. Those to the east are bigger than those to the west. These lead to a shorter tract of land, functionally serving a backstage area, where the maid room⁷⁰⁰ and garage are, while the first lead to a big open greenery, with a round cement fountain at its center, nowadays just a sculpture. This open ground can be compared to the house's square or that place where the playing, resting and

⁶⁹⁸ Távora, "Casa Em Ofir."

⁶⁹⁹ "com largueza e dentro dos princípios da arquitetura moderna, (...)" in "Praia de Ofir": 19.

⁷⁰⁰ I write maid's room yet it was almost a section of the house on its own, with bedroom, toilet and service corridor, giving access to kitchen and laundry. The maid was part and parcel of the house's technical-dirty section.

soothing of the beach takes place outdoor. A noble space suggestively enclosed by a designed curved green slope that, together with the L-shape plan assembled by the bedroom and living-room bodies, forms an invisible square. Today it is filled with children's toys, balls, little colored loaders and dozers, a tiny cookie house. Next to these, watching them, rest the adults' armchairs, occupied by freshly dried towels.

The bedroom body has a sloped roof with two planes, closing to the fountain and protruding enough, together with the blind wall to the south, as to create an area of shade in front of the bedrooms facing east. The blind wall extends further than the roof and in a straight line, aligned with the roof's lower limit, thus making itself autonomous from it, simultaneously emphasizing the roof, its structure and tiling. The roof structure is made of pinewood, with a simple and traditional framing, covered in clay tiles of the type called *lusa*.⁷⁰¹ The window framing and blinds are also in pinewood, left unspoiled and, thus, composing together with the whiteness of the walls, the ochre of the tiles, and the pine of the structure, a vernacular-tending palette of colors and textures. The first impression of the summerhouse is that of some generic form of vernacular architecture, as if transpiring the experience of a simple farming dwelling from somewhere in the Portuguese hinterland. Cozy and apparently humble.

Walking slowly, finding openings in the hedge, the living-room body is now clearer. Together with the bedroom body they make a larger than 90° degree angle over the grass square, although with the naked eye it looks mainly perpendicular to the second. Like the bedroom body, its walls are painted white over granite blocks. This body only has a single-plane slope roof that descends towards the square. The roof and delimiting wall, to the east, also protrude within the same motive as the protrusion in the bedroom body, creating a small covered outside area; this is where the larger toys and the summer armchairs are housed from the morning moist, proper to a seaside pine forest.

This body's south façade, that towards the green square, is divided in two, one part totally open with large window panes, and another, more secluded, with a window the size of a regular door, accompanied by a small square window to the right. Each situation pertains to a different living-room: the first, fully glassed one, is the larger living-room, with dining area and the family couch and television viewing area; the second resembles a small reading room or tea room, opened towards the other, but made more intimate by the smaller openings and white wall that interrupts the inner continuity between both spaces.

The two bodies, the bedroom and living-rooms areas, are united by a small glassed corridor, covered by a concrete slab. As if it were a wrist, it extends the entrance area, spaced in-between the living-rooms and the maid's room. Yet, only as you make the full turn around the front hedge of the property, reaching its entrance gate, is the entrance and maid's room perceptible. Firstly, however, what stands out is the chimney protruding from the almost blind, back wall of the living-rooms, and serving the fireplace in the more intimate living-room. The chimney is a broad rectangular box, starting at waist height and reaching almost a meter or so above the roof. It is painted yellow, which makes it stand out from the general white, concrete-grey, wood-brown and ochre pallet of the summerhouse. The kitchen chimney, however, is practically invisible from the road, as so is the maid's room, undistinguishable from the white, sloped, body of the living-rooms.

⁷⁰¹ It consists in a single brim tile of cooked clay, sturdy and cheap, of very common use in Portugal, at least since the twenty-century and remembered as a Lusitanian invention, hence the name.

A smaller and shorter white wall parallel to the back wall of the living rooms and maid's quarters receives a lower one-plane sloped roof, making room beneath for a protected entrance, leading into a small hall that distributes to the main living-room, the small arm to the bedrooms and, on the right, to a small door leading to the maid's quarters. This autonomous smaller white wall extends into the back of the property, housing further back a one-car garage. The maid's quarters is the functional, mechanic, section of the summerhouse as it concentrates kitchen, laundry, closets and drying area, all articulated through a wide ceramic corridor. The maid's room is Le Corbusian sized, that is, minimal with a window to the back of the property, and accompanied by an equally minimal bathroom.

While the whole house, as seen from the road, resembles a L-shaped plan, it is in reality organized in a T-shaped plan, with the maid's quarters as the shorter arm, and the two longer ones embracing the green piazza with its concrete fountain and pine trees. It is glistening fresh colors, its walls shining white, its woodwork cared for, and its yellow chimney brightly rising above as a most prevalent sign. In fact the house was just freshly painted, more accurately in mid-2015, as it received restoration works until July of said year.⁷⁰² Following the winter storms of 2011 and 2012, it was in a bad shape: part of the roof collapsed under the weight of falling pine trees, its walls were filled with moist stains and moss, its woods beaten into greyish hues and the vegetation around it slightly out of control. The storm that had swept the street and sidewalk of the Ofir towers had also caused mayhem among other modern valuables.

The summerhouse's fallen state of grace provoked wide and far reactions, especially from architects. Siza commented in 2013: "(...)the Ofir House, today unfortunately semi-destroyed, it is unbelievable."⁷⁰³ Its condition was publicized internationally, for instance, through the network of *Docomomo*.⁷⁰⁴ Yet, the most vociferous and robust reaction came from the architects' union, namely its northern section, which persistently pressed for a change in situation and for the restoration, by any means possible, of this icon of Portuguese modern architecture and its "third-way." The union's pressure was sufficiently robust or wide to inspire the culture ministry to classify it as a "monument of public interest" later in 2012, placing it within the protective laws of international and national heritage. According to the cabinet's official wording: "Its interpretation of modernist values and expressions grants it an inexorable importance in XX century Portuguese architecture history."⁷⁰⁵

As a result, the restoration works initiated in mid-2014 by Fernando Ribeiro da Silva, the son of Távora's patron and the summerhouse's original dweller in the 1950s, went through standstills by legal dispatch, as any work on the house had to be approved by both local and central authorities, given its national monument status. Thus, the descriptive text submitted in November of 2014 by the architect Ana Ribeiro da Silva, grandchild of the house's original dweller and patron, obligatory for the approval and continuation of restoration works, clearly phrased its new condition:

⁷⁰² According to the official dispatch from the town-hall of Esposende, for the process-case nº134/56, dated 10 of July of 2015, approved by DGU – *Direcção Geral de Urbanização* (Urbanization General Direction), process reference: DGU/23281/2015.

⁷⁰³ "(...)a Casa de Ofir, hoje infelizmente semi-destruída, é inacreditável." in Vieira, "Crónica: Siza Vieira."

⁷⁰⁴ See Ivan Blasi, "Heritage in Danger: The Ofir House - Casa Dr. Fernando Ribeiro Da Silva, Ofir, Esposende 1956-1958," *Docomomo Journal*, 2012. Docomomo, according to their website, is a "(...) non-profit organization devoted to the documentation and conservation of buildings, sites and neighborhoods of the modern movement."

⁷⁰⁵ "A sua interpretação dos valores e expressões modernistas confere-lhe uma importância incontornável na história da arquitectura portuguesa do século XX." in Legal-decree nº740-EZ/2012.

Given its condition as a classified work the present description serves to inform and describe the restoration works that will be executed. (...)

Respecting, scrupulously, in the whole intervention the type, nature and color of all preexisting materials.⁷⁰⁶

And so it went that, starting in December of 2014, the house slowly regained its former appearance. This is why, as one moves its head about the hedge, looking for loopholes in the greenery, the summerhouse appears as if it was 1957, in its retold “impressive” debut.⁷⁰⁷

The architect’s lab

One day in 1956 Távora arrived in his office, thrilled and with a house design under his arm, captured in pencil on a small role of tracing paper. Thus retells Álvaro Siza, who was working in the office at the time,⁷⁰⁸ inebriating the event in the following description:

I remember he appearing with a little role of tracing paper, that was the Ofir House...which he did entirely at home, everything was already there, plans, elevations and sections. And that was right away a jolt when we saw it, we immediately understood its meaning, of that project...it was something new.⁷⁰⁹

At the time, Carlos Alberto Neves, Fernando Lanhas and Álvaro Siza worked with Távora. Siza didn’t actually work on this project; it fell to his colleagues to accomplish the detailing of the future summerhouse with Távora’s supervision. And detailing or accomplishing the design fully set out solely by Távora, namely by free-hand drawings, was what they mostly did. According to accounts from other Fernando Barroso and Carlos Martins the performance of arriving in a given day to the office with an almost fully determined design, elaborated in free hand drawings was something of a habit with Távora. Carlos Martins, collaborating with Távora from the late 1980s into the early 2000s, with some gaps in-between, inclusively added that it seemed Távora came up with design ideas and solutions to specific commissions during trips, that is, in a leisure setting. Thus sometimes arriving in the office with various sketches in napkins, pamphlets and other forms of provisional supports. This notion of Távora’s design process is, however, firstly captured by archival observation, namely of free-hand sketches. The design sketches for the *cedro* primary school (1957-58), for instance, prove this. According to the dates on the tracing paper, Távora designed its layout, elevations and sections throughout three days in the christmas holidays of 1957, the resulting final design and building being fully captured in one of his later sketches

⁷⁰⁶ “Visto tratar-se de uma obra que está classificada segue a presente memória para dar a conhecer e descrever os trabalhos de restauro que vão ser executados. (...) Repetindo-se, escrupulosamente, em toda a intervenção o tipo, natureza e cor de todos os materiais pré-existentes.” in official document submitted to Esposende’s town-hall in 12 of November of 2014, regarding the restorations works of process-case nº134/56.

⁷⁰⁷ Thus qualified by Siza, interview 2015.

⁷⁰⁸ Having worked directly under Távora from 1955 to 1958.

⁷⁰⁹ “Lembro-me de ele aparecer com o rolinho de vegetal e tal, que era a casa de Ofir...que ele fez inteiramente em casa...vinha tudo, plantas, alçados e cortes. E aquilo foi logo um sobressalto quando a gente viu, percebeu logo qual era o significado daquilo, daquele projecto...era qualquer coisa de novo.” Interview 2015.

from those three days. So was also the case with the much later law faculty auditorium in Coimbra (1993-2002), totally laid-out in free-hand drawing solely by Távora over a couple of days.⁷¹⁰

According to these collaborators, it followed that the synthesis of any given commission emerged already processed and established, as the program, form, urban articulations, structure and some architectural expression were already formulated through sketches. It remained to his collaborators to translate the design into various rigorous scales and detailing.⁷¹¹ In such a manner was how Ofir's summerhouse is commonly remembered by colleague architects. Together with this retelling of the performance of a small role of tracing paper containing the whole event and experience of the future house, its distillation in architectural form, it came a sense of modern novelty, as Álvaro Siza retells it:

It was an absolute novelty, that expression so tied with the architecture of that area, that chimney appeared a lot in that area of Esposende but not only... You'd look (at the house's sketches) and feel that it was in Esposende.⁷¹²

"Another bright *minhota* chimney" as he wrote sometime ago, placing this house within the stakes of making modernism more modest, more regional, cultural and reflective of a native spirit.⁷¹³ This impression of novelty is identified by architects in how the house combines vernacular expression with a modernist, that is, functionalist layout.⁷¹⁴ As argued by some, deploying modernist experimentation with vernacular materiality to achieve an expression of a local culture and good taste, associated with an established, northern, high middle-class.⁷¹⁵ In this register, the house is retold as another modernist socio-material statement in the vanguard of domestic reformulations, namely directly related to Marcel Breuer's Geller house in Long Island (1944-1947) with its bi-nuclear plan.⁷¹⁶

Távora's summerhouse also integrated a national re-presentation of the modernist house and its vocation in the post-war. Throughout 1948-49 and the 1950s the magazine *Arquitectura* divulged several modern Portuguese houses, hotels and other leisure programs, alongside foreign examples, mainly North American houses.⁷¹⁷ Together with these, it published articles from influential international architects, helping set the stakes for the present architectural moment. Worthy of notice was Marcel Breuer's 1948 article on new construction materials, in which he argued that the "(...) basis of modern

⁷¹⁰ Carlos Martins corroborates the first case and Fernando Barroso corroborates the second.

⁷¹¹ Carlos Martins, interview 2015.

⁷¹² "Era uma novidade absoluta, aquela expressão tão ligada à arquitetura daquela zona, a chaminé que aparecia muito naquela zona de Esposende e não só... Olhava-se e sentia-se que era em Esposende." Interview 2015.

⁷¹³ The full sentence is: "it is nothing else than another chimney amidst the luminous, essential constructions of the *minhoto* littoral" ("não é mais do que outra chaminé entre as luminosas, essenciais construções do litoral minhoto") in Álvaro Siza, "Fernando Távora, 1923," in *Desenho de Arquitectura. Património Da Escola Superior de Belas Artes Do Porto E Da Faculdade de Arquitectura Da Universidade Do Porto* (Porto: University of Porto, 1987), 104-7: 106.

⁷¹⁴ "in a bauhausian scheme" Siza would say, in Vieira, "Crónica: Siza Vieira."

⁷¹⁵ Maria Manuel Oliveira, "Linha de Sombra," in *Só Nós E Santa Tecla: A Casa de Caminha de Sérgio Fernandez*, André Tavares e Pedro Bandeira (Porto: Dafne, 2008); and, in a less direct manner, Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia."

⁷¹⁶ Álvaro Siza, *Imaginar a Evidência* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2000): 34; this comparison is further developed in Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Atualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*: 401-403.

⁷¹⁷ "Moradia No Estoril," *Arquitectura*, September 1949; "Hotel No Vale Do Vouga," *Arquitectura*, September 1949; "Moradia No Algarve," *Arquitectura*, August 1950; "Moradia Na Foz Do Douro," *Arquitectura*, November 1950. Bastos and Silva were born in the 1920s and studied in the Lisbon's architecture school, Laginha was born in 1919, studied in Lisbon and graduated from Porto's architecture school in the mid-1940s.

architecture, however, is not new materials, nor even new forms, but a new mentality; that is to say, the view we take and the manner in which we judge our needs.” Modernity could have existed in stone, wood and brick, he argued.⁷¹⁸ Working towards a “(...) greater degree of clarity, a greater ease, and a truer exposition of living as a whole,”⁷¹⁹ was the flag carried through to Alvar Aalto’s 1950 article “A Humanização da Arquitectura” (The Humanization of Architecture).⁷²⁰ In it the magazine presented for Portuguese architects that:

(...) the true functional architecture must be functional, mainly, from a human point of view. (...) Its objective is still that of harmonizing the material world with life. Doing a more humane architecture, that is, doing a better architecture implies a broader notion of functionalism than the mere technical functionalism.⁷²¹

A more harmonious life, achieved through a more humane aesthetic borrowed fittingly to the stakes worked by Távora in Ofir, as most probably he was acquainted with these lines and their functionalist stakes. The good life, the luxury of a summerhouse as an expression of good taste contained its functional statement. The separation of leisure, sleeping and working, that is, the living-rooms, from bedrooms, from maid’s quarters, a rationalist skeleton rendered in textured and textual materiality, with apparent granite walls painted white, from which concrete alcoves welcomed the telluric clay jar, flower vase, traditional apron. Also a blunt carved fireplace emerged, as if done by an anonymous folk architect in large granite blocks and sharing its expression with a thousand others in the region. Together with the clay and stone flooring and the pinewood roof structure, the functionalism of the plan and its living operations give way to the impressive quality remembered by Álvaro Siza, that is, its belonging to a regional and vernacular materiality, while simultaneously pertaining to something entirely “progressive” as Breuer’s house typologies and Aalto’s notion of functionalism.⁷²²

Távora cleverly seized the opportunity to establish this notion of a new and cohesive language in an article published in the magazine *Arquitectura*. Presented as an imaginary descriptive memory of the house’s design, in the aftermath of its conclusion, he laid out what since then became a recurrent narrative for framing both Távora’s career and the post-war architectural culture concerned with a national architectural renovation. In his words, Ofir’s summerhouse was his “small” contribution to the problem of modern architecture in the aftermath of CIAM’s post-war unraveling and, most importantly, to the fate of Portuguese modern architecture. According to him:

⁷¹⁸ Marcel Breuer, “Arquitectura E Material,” *Arquitectura*, July 1948: 10; the article was the translation of part of Breuer’s text “Architecture and Material,” in Leslie Martin, Ben Nicholson, and Naum Gabo, eds., *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* (London: Faber & Faber, 1937): 193-202; citation is according to original, p. 194.

⁷¹⁹ Martin, Nicholson, and Gabo, *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art*: 194; Breuer, “Arquitectura E Material”: 10.

⁷²⁰ Alvar Aalto, “A Humanização Da Arquitectura,” *Arquitectura*, 1950; partial translation of Aalto’s “The Humanizing of Architecture,” *The Technology Review*, November 1940.

⁷²¹ “(...) a verdadeira arquitectura funcional, deve ser funcional, principalmente, ao ponto de vista humano. (...) O seu objective é ainda, colocar o mundo material em harmonia com a vida. Fazer arquitectura mais humana, quer dizer, fazer melhor arquitectura e significa um funcionalismo mais lato, que o mero funcionalismo técnico.” Aalto, “A Humanização Da Arquitectura”: 7-8.

⁷²² Some have also seen the later Le Corbusier, the rough, more expressive in concrete Corbusier, influence in the summerhouse, see Sérgio Fernandez, *Percurso, Arquitectura Portuguesa 1930/1974* (Porto: FAUP, 1988): 127,128.

One of the most elementary Chemistry notions teaches us what is the difference between a *composite* and a *mixture*, and said notion seems to us perfectly applicable, in its essence, to the particular case of a building. In truth, there are buildings that are *composites* and buildings that are *mixtures* (not to speak of those buildings which are mishmashes...) and in the present case of this dwelling built in the pinewood of Ofir, we searched, precisely, that it resulted as a true *composite* (...).⁷²³

He then described the multitude of factors furnishing this composite: from the good taste of the family that dwelled the house, to the use of granite and schist from the area, to the strong traditional character of its villages and towns, the artistic aspirations of the designer, among a few other ingredients of contingency. The goal in making a varied and vast number of elements exude from this one summerhouse was a compromise with the following:

It was by letting everything and everybody speak, in a magnificent and unforgettable dialogue, trying a true *composite*, that we arrived at this achievement. About its intrinsic value, the future, the great judge, will say something; about the adopted principle, there is not the least doubt that it is the only suitable to follow so that our works accomplish, by their individuality, universal value.⁷²⁴

Through the wide-read, by architects, magazine *Arquitectura*, Távora created a conceptual and symbolic call for his generation, namely for those more in touch with the professional project of a true modern Portuguese architecture. A signaling of the importance of representing the particularities of each work, being these local technical constraints, economical means, regional tastes, idiosyncratic personal compromises, in a cohesive form of “universal value.” As the reading of Bruno Zevi, Alvar Aalto’s and Frank Lloyd Wright’s works made their way into the architectural debates in Portugal, Távora replied with a “principle” of practice that much resonated with theirs in the becoming of a critique of modernism. Much later in democratic Portugal, Távora re-presented this practice “principle” as a “third-way” confronting, on the one hand, international modernism and national *portuguesismo* in architecture, on the other.⁷²⁵ This “third-way” was articulated by him as a cultural, professional and ethical proposition surpassing the limitations of both styles, aiming to surpass the idea of style itself. And, thus, produce forms of space and a form of understanding Portuguese space with “universal value.” At the forefront of this strategy was the critique of a set of elements deemed negative for architectural production and read as common to both styles, namely: the overreliance on preconceived forms and formal combinations; the exaggerated focus on the architect’s authorship in the production of space; and the disconnect between shape, typology and organization propositions from localized realities.

Letting “everything and everybody speak,” making a composite, was the overriding of the inherent universal values attributed to either modernist language or the traditionalist one, in favour of a new

⁷²³ “Uma das mais elementares noções de Química ensina-nos qual a diferença entre um *composto* e uma *mistura* e tal noção parece-nos perfeitamente aplicável, na sua essência, ao caso particular de um edifício. Em verdade, há edifícios que são compostos e edifícios que são misturas (para não falar já nos edifícios que são mixórdias...) e no caso presente desta habitação construída no pinhal de Ofir, procurámos, exactamente, que ela resultasse um verdadeiro *compost* (...),” my italics, in Távora, “Casa Em Ofir”: 11.

⁷²⁴ “Foi deixando falar tudo e todos, num magnífico e inesquecível diálogo, tentando um verdadeiro *composto*, que chegámos a esta realização. Quanto ao seu valor intrínseco, o future, o grande juiz, dirá alguma coisa; quanto ao princípio adoptado, não se nos oferece a menor dúvida de que ele é o único a seguir para que as nossas obras atinjam, pela sua individualidade, valor universal,” my italics, in Ibid.

⁷²⁵ Fernando, “As Raízes E Os Frutos.”

universal value emerging through dialogue with the situation; “circumstance” would be the word emphatically used by Távora. Modernism and tradition were not self-contradictory if they emerged through such a situated universal. On a closer look into the production of this dialogue in Ofir, however, we can observe that not everything nor everybody was involved in the production of a new “universal value.” Firstly, the design process in its conception phase was highly limited to the contribution of a single author, Távora himself and his little role of tracing paper. Surely, much discussion with collaborators flowed as to the specific dimensions, structures, textures, functions, but according to Álvaro Siza’s account, among others, the layout and spatial composition was largely pre-established by Távora, as happened with so many other designs.

Secondly, Távora’s main collaborator in the project was his brother, the engineer Bernardo Ferrão (1913-1982), who had partnered with Ribeiro da Silva in the creation of a private one-time society to construct the house. Contributing to the constrained discussion of the design was the important fact that Ribeiro da Silva wished the house to be finished by the summer of 1956, implying the conception, detailing and construction had to move fast. And it did. While these design phases took up approximately four to five months, by April of 1956 Ferrão was submitting in Esposende municipality a term of responsibility for the house’s execution. By mid-july the house was finished, accomplished in a record time of around three months. Supervised by Ribeiro da Silva and Ferrão, construction workers were made to work around the clock, housed close-by in a warehouse next to the Fão bridge.

Thirdly, following the account of Ribeiro da Silva’s son, current dweller of the house, the conception process was not accompanied by much discussion and confrontation between future owners and architect. Regarding participation on the design discussion by the house’s dwellers, he mainly highlighted the role of his mother in demanding that the rooms accommodate extra beds and choice of furnishing and décor. As an indirect account of the process, this description has its limitations, however, given the haste with which Ribeiro da Silva wished the house to appear, it is probable that discussions and ambiguities were limited in scope and time. This does not imply, nevertheless, that intense relations were not formed, which is suggested by Ribeiro da Silva, son, when he acknowledges that after construction Távora visited the house several times, involving himself in later décor choices, namely curtain picking and maintenance issues.

Fourthly and lastly, according to municipal records in Esposende the house design did not suffer any amendments, legal problems or standstills, giving the idea that as soon as it was presented to the competent regulating authorities, it was approved without any restraint. In other words, the house seems to have flowed from the tracing paper, into construction detailing with Bernardo Ferrão, into the construction site itself, without delays. This might be proven less clear by other sources, yet, that a process of conception and construction lasting a mere six to seven months was and is rare highlights the uncommon agility of a process that is usually delayed by multiple amounts of deterrents, reviews, legal impediments, construction delays, an urban plan’s regulations, etc...

If this aspect speaks to the nature of the enterprise of colonizing Ofir, it equally speaks of an efficient professional dialogue that was performatively represented as including everything and everybody. As detailed above, Távora’s design integrated in a modern functional layout, a local-looking chimney, granite walls, schist flooring, wooden beams, ceramic tiling, “typical” Portuguese roof tiling, the enactment of a *minhota* farm now summerhouse. The transformation of a modern leisure program in such a material anthropology and language is by itself hybrid and formally inclusive, yet not entirely new. In fact, Magalhães first design for a hotel in Ofir, in 1945, took up a similar combination of

modern plan and vernacular expression, such as, for instance, João Andresen's design of a summer chalet in Ofir in the same period. In other words, a decade before Távora's summerhouse, vernacular modern spaces were already producing Ofir as a summer suburb, enacting a wider national professional concern for the use of local materials and figurations. Something that was as much part of an ideology of domesticity produced by the dictatorship's communication apparatuses as part of a professional architecture culture dealing with the problem dwelling nationally.⁷²⁶

What then, we might ask, made Távora's summerhouse stand out? Besides the fact that it was published in *Arquitectura*, argued by its author as the example of a valuable practice "principle," capable of producing "universal value" and thus able of redeeming the supposed opposites in which Portuguese architecture was caught, by creating a "third-way." Távora's eminent persona in Portuguese architecture culture can be partly made to account for this, especially when the most famous Portuguese architect today, Álvaro Siza, looks back at this and other works from Távora as seminal objects and lessons. Yet, closer to the period at hand, what seems to have most aroused architectural attention in Távora's summerhouse was the meaning of its acting of a universal value, based on the idea of a locally dialogued composite. At this point it is relevant to come back to another defender of composites. Ramalho Ortigão, whom we already got to know,⁷²⁷ speaking of the power of art wrote the following:

What constitutes the originality of the architecture of any people is, like in Portugal in the manuelino epoch, the subordination of any one system of architectural geometry to the climatic and landscape conditions, to the nature of the employed materials, to the flora, to the fauna, to the religious conception, to the history, to the poetry, to the temperament and psychology of the artists, in each region. The more intense is the intervention of these factors the more original is the work.⁷²⁸

While Távora read Ortigão, to the best of my knowledge it is not possible to know whether his ideas or even this citation in particular, was with Távora at the time of the summerhouse's conception or later, at its publishing. Yet, this citation holds the essential of Távora's "universal value" and principle of dialogue. Firstly, its moving stake is the originality of architecture, the cause moving the debates and practices of a renewed national modern architecture, as set by Távora, Teotónio Pereira and Keil do Amaral. Secondly, its dialectic is between a system of geometry and local elements, that is, between the acquired technical tools of the profession and the adaptation of its functioning to the demands of a localized situation. Thirdly, besides the reference to natural life, on top of which comes religion and history, emerges the "temperament and psychology" of the artist or that who is creating the originality in the combination of the former elements. Lastly, Ortigão's idea that the more intensely these elements combine, the more original the work will be, seems directly translated by Távora's notion that the more everything and everyone speaks the more accomplished the work will be, as will its "universal value." In the intensity resides the value.

⁷²⁶ See Tiago Castela, "A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalized Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 2011), namely the chapter "Representing Rural Housing and the Aestheticization of Politics:" 75-81.

⁷²⁷ See chapter 2, "A house where all Portugal fits."

⁷²⁸ "O que constitue a originalidade na architectura de qualquer povo é, como em Portugal, na época manuelina, a subordinação de um systema qualquer de geometria architectural ás condições do clima e da paisagem, á natureza dos materiais empregados, á flora, á fauna, á concepção religiosa, á história, á poesia, ao temperamento e á psychologia dos artistas, em cada região. Quanto mais intense for a intervenção d'esses factores mais original será a obra." Ramalho Ortigão, *O Culto Da Arte Em Portugal* (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1896): 147.

As we saw, Távora's design process for the Ofir summerhouse did not produce a particularly ample space of dialogue, everything and everybody did not speak in its design. Quite the contrary, the design process seems to have come close to a canonical willing patron-architect situation, where the patron, in this case, was not primarily concerned with discussing its future summerhouse in detail but in seeing it through, and thus the architect was afforded conceptual leeway. The novelty of this summerhouse, as said before, was articulated in the ease with which it made a vernacular material anthropology combine with an up-to-date "geometric system." What becomes and was represented as universal value operates here in various senses, however, all related back to disciplinary priorities and boundaries: firstly (1), the geometric system of modernism, meaning functionalism, can operate through traditional materials, notion to which the *inquiry*, conducted the year before, greatly contributed; secondly (2), without putting in question the geometric system, originality could be contextual; thirdly (3), what produces this originality was the attitude of the "artist" in apprehending the context - it is important to notice how context was mainly portrayed in passive terms; lastly (4), originality should be accomplished as a true composite and not as mixture or mishmash, that is, it should constitute a whole, a self-contained, self-referenced and uniting thing.

In short, through the Ofir summerhouse the architect, armed with its geometric system, does not have its autorship as single creating artist reframed for an everything and everybody, despite Távora's emphasis on dialogue. This dialogue worked in the way of extending the repertoire of formal and constructive solutions used by the professional, feeding the creation of a localized spatial language that, however, departs almost entirely from the "temperament and psychology" of the artist. And for the effort to be accomplished as original all its elements, structural, functional, symbolical, etc..., should form a cohesively ordered whole. It is from this later move that a stylistic universal value was distilled from combining the supposed opposites of modernist shape and traditionalist expression. Their confrontational positions dispelled and rearranged around the sole and uniting entity of a true composite, whose "magnificent and unforgettable dialogue" is performatevely represented as one voice, that of the work of art, the "achievement," instead of the multiple voices one would expect a dialogue with everything and everybody to have.

To better clarify this disciplinary operation, activated in the summerhouse and in its presentation as a composite in *Arquitectura*, it is helpful to read it together with the definition of functionalism deployed by Donna Haraway, in the context of science and technology studies. Connecting scientific explanations of the body with that of the body politic, she argues:

The most important (explanation) is the functionalist requirement of an ultimate explanation in terms of equilibrium, stability, balance. Functionalism has been developed on a foundation of organismic metaphors, in which diverse physiological parts or subsystems are co-ordinated into a harmonious, hierarchical whole. Conflicts subordinated to a teleology of common interests.⁷²⁹

Távora's summerhouse universal value should be seen as validation of this political power of functionalism, fitting all the part in an ordered, harmonized, whole, composed exactly by one of its parts: technical efficiency. This deeply resonated and resonates with a modernist architecture *ethos* and

⁷²⁹ Donna J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (London: Free Association Bookks, 1991): 24; she specifically mentions Robert M. Young's critical history of functionalism, in *Darwin's Metaphor: Nature's Place in Victorian Culture*, 1985th ed. (London: Cambridge University Press, n.d.).

telos, a moral ordering and guiding idea of its disciplinary-social mission as that of creating socio-spatial unity and cohesion. To this also contributed the surveying of vernacular shapes in Portuguese hinterland as also being functionalist in themselves, from which we cannot dissociate the surveying architects' emphasis on bounded, formally harmonious and unitary rural communities. The surveying process, as described in the last chapter, was criteriously conducted to exclude shapes, modes-of-life, spatial arrangements "interfering" with this social-material unity. For functionalism to be activated in an original way, it seems society at large needed to be likewise activated as many well-delimited parts in an harmonious whole. In this sense, if Távora's design in Ofir enacted a functionalist ideology, it also supplied the future coast suburb with an original organic metaphor and example.

Contrary to Le Corbusier's visions of a cohesive and total society organized around efficient and morally edifying productivity, Távora's deployment of functionalism seemed neither tied to an obvious political-economy, nor to a totalizing, as in authoritarian, view of the becoming of a society.⁷³⁰ This is also where Ortigão's argument of the power of art becomes pressing, for the functionalist restoration Távora enacted was not regarding productive society, but the realization of culture itself as an original product. Stated differently, by assembling all the elements that by their individuality composed a single and particular situation, the appearance of a universal value appeared in the cohesive form of an objectified culture: the "only suitable way" to be modern or original in a space where history had already drawn its stable structures of temperament.⁷³¹ Conversing with these structures, Ofir's summerhouse was also an exercise in creative nationality, as if constituted as an answer to Ortigão's call to national originality. Távora's adopted "principle" in Ofir articulated that both international and national, up-to-date and historically acquired, typologies, forms and spatial/material combinations could be deployed for something larger: an original Portuguese culture.

Távora's claims to functionalism in Ofir were intricately connected and extending a regionalist performance of self. He was not an outsider to a well-delimited, localized culture, but one of its direct and compromised producers. The dialogue enacted in the design was as much with his own family, namely his engineer brother, with a tight network of friends and acquaintances, as with its own self-definition as the producer of a spatial culture he had just spent months surveying with the help of two interns, and to which he partly belonged. Flowing from the *inquiry's* reflections and representations of a *minhota* spatial culture, Távora's Ofir functionalism was also the transformation of this found culture into an active, future-building order. Thus, another "bright minhota chimney" arose, not a national one, neither a modernist one, nor a traditionalist one, but something else around which regional pride, entrepreneurial energy and professional resolution could be gathered and, with it, innebriating collaborators, friends and dwellers.

⁷³⁰ Taken here as one of the most influential actors of a canonical modernist doctrine, namely in 1950s Portugal and for Távora. On Le Corbusier's influence to Távora see Bandeirinha, *Fernando Távora: Modernidade Permanente*.

⁷³¹ Távora, "Casa Em Ofir."

The original beach

As far as this regionalist becoming was both connected with the professional development of architecture in Porto's offices and school, and to its opportunities of practice in places such as Ofir, the functionalist operation was not solely limited to its design problems, but equally to the creation of new places and professional-economic relationships. As functionalism was made to signify the production of an harmonious whole, the ordering of so many parts in a cohesive designed landscape, so too did it permeate the meanings of place-creation, of desired livelihoods and projected investments in the enterprise of colonizing the coast. Functional harmony, natural-cultural wholeness, ordering of common interests and originality played key roles in what would become one of the country's central stages of economic development, welfare and modernity: the beach.

In professional discourse, functionalism was not only a cause to herald modern things against supposed backward elements, but also around which professional solidarity was projected. As we saw in *Arquitectura's* representation of Magalhães and Sá e Melo collaboration in the conception of Ofir's hotel, functionalism served to bind them and their possible professional confrontations in the common cause to produce a modern, of "its time," program and space. So too, yet in a different manner, emerged Távora's collaboration with its brother, Bernardo Ferrão. Apparently, for the modernization of Ofir a durable and meaningful solidarity between those who design and those who construct space was performed in these terms.

The reception and interpretation of modernist logics into Portuguese architecture culture had a direct connection with class and professional problems. In the late 1940s, but especially throughout the 1950s, the number of active professional architects increased considerably,⁷³² many formed with Carlos Ramos Gropian-inspired reform of Porto's architecture school and the national propagation of modernist narratives, namely through *Arquitectura*. Public exhibitions and debates of a new architectural expression and practice also laid claim to a re-distribution of building and planning commissions. In this sense, pieces on the new, and argued as needed, aesthetics and methods were presented with broad moral and social critiques of Portuguese culture and society. This was the case of Keil do Amaral's article on the ailments of national architecture, emphasizing how the malaise of Portuguese urban space much derived from not hiring properly formed architects.⁷³³ This was also the case of a letter signed by dozens of architects active in Porto against the creation of a municipal *portuense* aesthetic commission.⁷³⁴ Addressed to the mayor, this group of architects mingled a critique of architectural *portuguesismo* with a defense of their practice, because "It becomes essential, therefore, to correct the concepts of tradition and regionalism, fomenting the application of new techniques and cherishing new aesthetic ideals (...)." ⁷³⁵ Embracing the new forms and logics of international

⁷³² What Florent Champy among others, describes as the building boom after 1940s and the accompanying proliferation of architects also applied to Portugal, although on a smaller scale, see Florent Champy et al., "Architecture - L'architecte," *Encyclopaedia Universalis (online)*, accessed January 19, 2016, <http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/architecture-themes-generaux-l-architecte/>; exclusively on Portuguese architects and twenty-century professional, educational and market changes see Vera Borges, *Relatório Profissão: Arquitecto/a* (Lisboa: ICS, 2006).

⁷³³ Francisco Keil do Amaral, "Maleitas Da Arquitectura Nacional," *Arquitectura*, August 1947.

⁷³⁴ Unknown, "Exposição Dos Arquitectos Do Porto Ao Presidente Da C.M.P.," *Arquitectura*, September 1949. *Portuense* means "from Porto."

⁷³⁵ "Torna-se, pois, necessário corrigir os conceitos de tradição e regionalismo, fomentando a aplicação de novas técnicas e acarinhando novos ideais estéticos (...)" in *Ibid*: 2.

architecture, was also and more immediately the issue of carving the spaces for its practice. The magazine *Arquitectura* added foreign arguments to this cause, such as an article by architect Lúcio Costa (1902-98) on the architect's role in modern society,⁷³⁶ one on the social "position" of the architect by the Mexican architect Carlos Lazo (1914-55),⁷³⁷ and another on the professional relations of architects and engineers by the German architect Hans Schozsberger (1907-97).⁷³⁸

In the enigmatic case of the letter addressed to Porto's mayor, however, the central problem facing the profession, specially in the wake of the 1948 architects' congress, was already clearly laid out. At stake was the possible reduction of the already few commissions, given that, according to architects authoring the letter, the municipality wished to pre-select architects by their competence as "Portuguese designers."⁷³⁹ Yet, the municipality was following through on one of the urban guidelines designed by Italian architect-planner Giovanni Muzio (1893-1982), who in the early 1940s developed the principles and guiding structures for the city's master plan: that of guaranteeing a historical-cultural continuity in new constructions, specifically in old city parts.⁷⁴⁰ This regulating principle was kept along the 1940s and 1950s by the *portuense* engineer Antão Almeida Garrett (1896-1961), who substituted Muzio as coordinator of the master plan in 1943.⁷⁴¹ As Garrett also became head of municipal planning in Porto, this particular conflict over the architectural expression of the city fell within the shadows of city-hall. Yet, notice how the city's urban government and projection was mostly assigned either to foreign agents or to professions excluding architects. In the wake of the class solidarity animated in the 1948 architects' congress, doing modern was also about fighting for a place in the urban process.

Throughout the 1950s, however, the magazine *Arquitectura* also gave notice of some of the wins in this battling for professional position. For instance in 1952, when it reproduced a proposal presented to municipal councilmen, by the councilman and director of the art and archeology commission in Porto, Manuel Figueiredo. The latter argued for the approval of regulations that defend the authorship of architects in any building work evaluated by the municipality.⁷⁴² Or in 1953, when publishing the declarations of Lisbon councilman Oliveira Ramos, who argued that the building activity concerns "(...) the architect, the engineer and the builder. In first place and above all else the architect, seeing as an urban building is fundamentally a work of architecture (...)." ⁷⁴³ Despite some attempts within governing apparatus, Portuguese architects won few battles for market and government positions during

⁷³⁶ Lúcio Costa, "O Arquitecto E a Sociedade Contemporânea," *Arquitectura*, June 1953.

⁷³⁷ Carlos Lazo, "A Posição Social Do Arquitecto," *Arquitectura*, December 1953.

⁷³⁸ Hans Schozsberger, "O Arquitecto E O Engenheiro," *Arquitectura*, March 1954; this article was the reproduction of this architect's report at the International Union of Architects Congress in 1953, in Lisbon.

⁷³⁹ The letter mentioned only 15% to 20% of all municipally approved designs were from professional architects, see "Exposição Dos Arquitectos Do Porto Ao Presidente Da C.M.P."

⁷⁴⁰ On Muzio's career see Fulvio Irace, *Giovanni Muzio 1893-1982: Opere* (Milan: Electa, 1994); on his activity in Porto see Maria Teresa Maia Hilário, "Giovanni Muzio E Fernando Távora: Projectos Para a Avenida Da Ponte E Para O Campo Alegre" (Master's Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2014).

⁷⁴¹ Garrett authored and published Porto's master plan in 1952, see Antão de Almeida Garrett, *Plano Regulador Da Cidade Do Porto* (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1952); on Garrett's planning in Porto in an overview of planning history in Portugal see Teresa Marat-Mendes and Victor Oliveira, "Urban Planners in Portugal in the Middle of the Twentieth Century: Étienne de Groër and Antão Almeida Garrett," *Planning Perspectives* 28, no. 1 (2013): 91-111.

⁷⁴² Manuel Figueiredo, "Proposta Do Ex.mo Sr. Dr. Manuel Figueiredo, Vereador Da C.M. Do Porto," *Arquitectura*, November 1952.

⁷⁴³ "(...) o arquitecto, o engenheiro e o constructor. Em primeiro lugar e acima de tudo o arquitecto, visto que uma edificação urbana é fundamentalmente uma obra de arquitectura (...)." in Unknown, "Declarações Do Vereador Dr. Oliveira Ramos," *Arquitectura*, June 1953.

this period.⁷⁴⁴ An editorial from 1959, when professional unfavor was at one of its peaks due to persistent neglect of professional architects' service in a fast growing building economy, captured well how and against what the magazine pitched the fight:

The building industry, stimulated by real-estate possibilities and the pressing lack of dwellings, lost any social and human objective, and lives overcome with the eagerness of individual and short term profit: making dwellings, and only afterwards adapting them to the life conditions of its inhabitants, and lastly, if as much is reached, aesthetically acceptable.⁷⁴⁵

The projection of functionalist solidarity emerged from a situation of unequal access and recognition, and as functionalism was put forward as a wide professional rallying cry. Architects not only had a fragile position in the liberal building market, but also their position and presence in government was fragilized. In the dictatorship's post-war reorganization, namely in the transformation of Marshall Plan funds into national development plans, engineers emerged as key professional agents in the re-building of the nation. Some of the strategic measures of development plans were driven by ideas from leading engineers on industrial and infrastructural modernization.⁷⁴⁶ Also, key cabinet positions in central government, such as in the ministry of public works for instance, were held by engineers; as well as in local government, where engineers' headed urbanization offices, coordinated urban master plans, surveyed and approved construction works.

By the 1950s, despite their growing numbers, Portuguese architects were not only few, but also positioned as a minority group within urban developments and government. Thus, from the architects' point of view the relationship between architecture and engineering needed to be revised and re-positioned in terms of a professional solidarity driven by the need to accomplish a larger "work."⁷⁴⁷ Notice that Magalhães came to be involved in Ofir's colonization through the company *Sociedade dos Engenheiros Reunidos*, whose leading partner was the civil engineer Raul Sousa Martins. Equally notice that the planner called on to develop Ofir's partial urban plan was the engineer José Miranda. Specially from the point of view of architects, functionalism, that architecture style closer to an engineering view of space, symbolically mitigated these differences in professional, political and economical significant roles. While, at the same time, it made them the conductors of an harmony of technical expertise

⁷⁴⁴ In fact, architects had to wait fifty years for a legal reformulation of urban and building law in their professional favor, and a brief one at that. In 2009, architects through their professional association and its political representation, managed to revoke the decree-law 73/73 of 28 of February of 1973, which allowed architects, engineers and builders alike to develop and survey building works, only to be itself revoked a couple of years afterwards by the liberal fundamentalist former government of PSD-CDS, headed by Pedro Passos Coelho.

⁷⁴⁵ "A indústria da construção, estimulada pelas possibilidades de especulação e pela premente falta de habitações, perdeu qualquer objective social e humano, e vive dominada pela ânsia do lucro individual e a curto prazo: fazer habitações, só depois fazê-las adaptadas às condições de vida dos habitantes, e por último, se se chegar a tanto, esteticamente aceitáveis." in Rui Mendes Paula, "Editorial - Um Problema a Resolver," *Arquitectura*, February 1959.

⁷⁴⁶ See José António Bandeirinha on the 1948 engineers' congress setting the problems for the country's modernization backed by Marshall Plan funds, in *Quinas Vivas: Memória Descritiva de Alguns Episódios Significativos Do Conflito Entre Fazer Moderno E Fazer Nacional Na Arquitectura Portuguesa Dos Anos 40*. (Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 1996).

⁷⁴⁷ See Ibid; the architects' congress of the same year, in which one of the main problems was exactly the professional relationship and boundaries between the architect and the engineer. Furthermore, Bandeirinha produces a comprehensive account of what was implied in this larger "work" for architects.

towards the “original work.” In Ofir, the collaborative functionalism between architects and engineers moved with this specific embattlement for authorship in Portuguese urbanization.

In part, this is why we find the words “marked character, (...) a work truly of our epoch”⁷⁴⁸ in the magazine *Arquitectura* capturing the whole endeavour of Ofir, absorbing the conflict in a professional harmony. This is partly also why “of its time,” functional, unitary, socially homely and nature integrating, were the key tenets translated by the engineer José Miranda into an urban plan for Ofir, as it formulated an architectural desire. The plan structured Ofir in mainly two zones: a touristic center, composed by the hotel, the restaurant and a future casino; and a housing area, secluded amidst the dunes and pine-trees. These areas were programmed to receive various leisure facilities, such as a golf course, tennis courts, shooting range, etc... Integrating the urban works already started by Sousa Martins and Magalhães, the plan’s principles were, however, made to coalesce around the creation of the future resort’s dwelling environment: dunes and pine-trees should be kept, any cutting of trees should be avoided, the single-family houses should be spread apart to insure their seclusion, in overall the natural landscape and its living portrait should be maintained at all cost.⁷⁴⁹

As said before, the plan would only be officially approved in the late 1940s, and with several amendments from the DGSU. These mainly criticized the possible negative effects of intense traffic provoked by Miranda e Vasconcelos proposals for wider streets and a river-side avenue, as well as the emphasizing of the tourist center’s urban character. Yet, as with the original plan, agreement coalesced on the natural and secluded character of the suburbs’s dwelling experience, taking full advantage of the dune and pine-tree landscape. Making the low-density single-family house vision correspond to a series of regulatory measures for maximum plot area, density, height of separating walls, number of floors, the avoidance of tree cutting.

As the number of tourists dwindled along the 1950s, the hotel seeing its capacity and investment undermined, the casino never being built, the urban production of Ofir came to happen almost exclusively around its vision of a secluded, nature alluring, summer dwelling. This inclusively became part of its “newness.” Contrary to the high density and urban connectivity of the summer suburb of Foz in Porto or of Agache’s *costa do sol* in Lisbon, this leisure enterprise’s novelty rested on its relationship with a pure nature, that is, a natural landscape represented as untouched and authentic. The attraction of possessing a summerhouse in Ofir was connected in part to its enactment of an harmony between built form and nature, by architects and engineers. Between dune, pine-tree, minimal infra-structure, small secluded roads and sophisticated architectural objects, leisure could be identified with a feeling of natural-cultural belonging.

Of course, this projection of a natural retreat was not new in itself, in fact, the urban-architectural program of the retreat is commonly retold from the bourgeois romantic appropriation of the aristocratic rural estate and search for contact with a “savage” nature.⁷⁵⁰ If we take this to be true, then Ofir’s novelty resided not so much in its proposal for architectural embeddedness in nature, but in the way it proceeded to actualize it through the deployment of an urban plan that protected trees above all, and architectural experiments that redeployed luxury and leisure in a vernacular functionalism. Távora’s

⁷⁴⁸ “acentuado character, (...) uma obra verdadeiramente da nossa época” in Ibid: 26.

⁷⁴⁹ See Lobo, “Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia.”: 755-58.

⁷⁵⁰ Briz, “A Vilegiatura Balnear Marítima Em Portugal. Sociedade, Urbanismo E Arquitectura (1870-1970)” ; Briz, “Vilegiatura Balnear - Imagem Ideal/Imagem Real.”

summerhouse articulated this in detail, not only by what was above described as his rendering of this material anthropology, but also in the way the house was designed to go around existing pine-trees, to take advantage of terrain shifts, wind and solar orientations, reducing to the outmost the degree of intervention in nature. Coincidentally, those pine-trees preserved by the house's design were the same ones that became responsible for its temporary demise, when arking dozens of meters high, pushed by the wind, they fell on the house.

To this idea of wholesomeness between urban form, architecture and nature as the way towards an ideal leisure experience, another practice of unity and harmony also contributed to Ofir's particular produced environment. According to Fernando Ribeiro da Silva son, the contact of his family with Ofir first happened in the early 1950s. His father, physician by education early on dedicated himself to the construction business, inheriting it from his father, Bernardino da Silva, that passed away in 1948. Being in the construction business he probably heard of the commotion around Ofir's urban development, involving "architects from the North."⁷⁵¹ At some point in 1954 his wife and him decided to take the family on a summer holiday there, renting a house owned by the shipbuilder Alberto Pereira, then returning the following summer. Ofir was growing on them, and the following year Ribeiro da Silva father, partnered with Bernardo Ferrão to build his family's summerhouse in the dunes and pine trees. Partnership from which resulted the hiring of Távora to conceive the house.⁷⁵²

As retold by Ribeiro da Silva son, born in 1952, barely five years old when the summerhouse was finished, from 1956 onwards the Ribeiro da Silva family every year would transfer their lives from Porto to Ofir, for periods of three months in the summer. According to him it was a mass family movement, involving father, mother, brothers, but also oncles and aunts, cousins, grandparents and other relatives. For this reason, Maria Idalina, Ribeiro da Silva's mother, had insisted that the house accommodate more beds. In the retold memories of Ribeiro da Silva, very young during the summerhouse's first years, these mass family transfers to Ofir seemed comparable to an annual party, a period in which everything was suspended for the happy leisure times of a whole season by the beach, the pines, the dunes, and contact with most of the family. But also with many kids from around as, apparently, the other summer residents of Ofir shared similar bodily movements and priorities.

By the summer the pine tree reserve was full of people from Porto and surrounding areas, engineers, doctors, entrepreneurs sharing the same promise of nature filled holidays, barbecues, dinners and walks in what would become a tight community of summer dwellers. Fernando Ribeiro da Silva son came to wed the daughter of José Júlio de Oliveira, partner to Alfredo Magalhães, summer resident at Ofir and one of the suburbs most involved architects. Its residents progressively practiced Ofir as a community, sharing the summer holidays and its many social events, sharing its well-being and the accomplishment of its urban vision, even if this was mostly unrealized, as well as its architectural good taste. But people also shared business and professional connections to Porto, to the construction market, to architects and engineers, to industrialists and wholesale retailers, to various strategies and priorities in the political economic becoming of the region.

⁷⁵¹ "Praia de Ofir."

⁷⁵² It should be noted that by the mid-1950s Távora had aquired some professional fame in Porto, having worked for several years in the municipality's urbanization office, being an unpaid teacher in the city's architecture school, and having some noticeable private commissioned works, such as a housing block in Foz, designed in 1952, for Eugénio Machado Pereira Pinto Leite, one of the directors of the bank *Ferreira Alves e Pinto Leite*.

Walking around the pine-tree reserve one is surprised by the amount of houses sharing a vernacular affectation and the degree to which an original spatial vision seems unspoiled. According to Ribeiro da Silva, son, his father and mother delighted with their time in Ofir also because of the friends they had there. It was not just an anonymous resort, but it had become a place, a rich and warm reference in the cycle of the year. Furthermore, this place was imagined and lived without boundaries within. According to Ribeiro da Silva, his wife and daughter, until very late there were no fences or walls. Occasionally cows roamed the private gardens. "Everything was open," he retells, only grass, bushes, pine-trees, sand and a number of scattered modern houses, generous with their space, sitting amidst the continuous natural support. Everything "tidy," in both senses of the word: tied together and clean. In these favourable conditions, a community was practiced and bound with summer intimacies. Yet it was also frail, as it was connected with the movement of leisure and investment opportunities.

Its uncrumbling started in the late 1960s, when investment into summer cities partly transferred from the atlantic to the mediterranean coast of Portugal. As money, state authority, roads and architects were laying the opportunities to create in *algarve* the summer holidays dreamt in windy summers in the atlantic. People started moving from Ofir to *algarve*, investing in its recently build resorts and selling or renting their old ones in the north. Many of Ribeiro da Silva's and Maria Idalina's Ofir friends started moving out. The harsher blow to Ofir's community, however, came with the carnation revolution of 1974 and its ensuing democratic *party*. According to Ribeiro da Silva things degenerated quite fast. First, all sorts of people showed up in Ofir, claiming the dissolution of private property, settling here and there, enjoying the dunes and pine trees as never before. Then, after the more turbulent years of 1974-76 came the trash in the few streets, the dunes and the pine reserve. A general unruliness is described to have taken place. Public incompetence or lack of garbage removal and other infra-structural services, as well as a general insecurity regarding limits and boundaries, progressively produced the state of disgrace its initial dwellers portray. For the Ribeiro da Silva family, this was experienced clearly with one specific event, the stelling of their kid's playhouse in the 1980s, afterwhich they erected the walls and fence around the house's perimeter, through which I had to wave quite energetically to catch the cautious attention of their dwellers.

According to Ribeiro da Silva, his father and mother never returned to Ofir, at least for considerable stays, after the 1974 revolution. Their friends, that had started moving out in the late 1960s, by then had practically gone. Coupled with the boundary destructive environment of 1974, little seemed to be left for them and the community they talked, dined, walked and bathe together. Ribeiro da Silva, however, continued the tradition of every year moving for a relatively long period to Ofir with family and some friends. His daughter, Ana Maria, growing with the house along the 1980s and 1990s, speaks of how it joined a lot of people in her youth, always full of kids and family friends from around. According to her, architect by education and practice, it is as if it "attracted" people, the house that is, as if it possessed a "spirit" or an aura about it that made it inviting. Thus, also her, yet in a time of more ambiguous boundaries, grew in the dreams of Ofir's wholeness and leisure. Her mother and father eventually moved into the summerhouse, making it their permanent home, some of the reasons being its needed tending and their attachment to it. The house came to permanently place the family in the beach and pine trees. Describing how they sectioned parts of the house in order to live there, because from 2012 onwards the living-rooms had no roof, they tell of their efforts in rebuilding it; of how it was a central place for the family; where their daughter smiles at the thought of her youthful summer holidays, her kids playhouse now housed under the traditional looking roof; where Ribeiro da Silva,

himself an engineer, goes into the most minute detail accomplished in the house, of how its design and solidity definitely stood the test of time. They involve me in a mixture of good memories, family history, pride, of centering movements, the envisioning of the continuous fruition of acquired good times, mixed together in a refurbished and permanent house.

The community originally practiced by Ribeiro da Silva's parents, José Júlio de Oliveira, Alfredo Magalhães and many others might have desintegrated, yet it is somehow still practiced. As the memories of good times are reinvested in the summerhouse, so too, besides the small walls and fences, the resort's spaces changed little, keeping with its secluded architecture-nature functionalism, isolated houses of exquisite leisure, the boundness of a particularly strong self-defined place. Its wholeness still felt in the hierarchy and limits of its spatial practice. While walking around the fence of Távora's design, signalling the family inside, waving hands are met with defensiveness, with stares that say "who are you and what are you doing here?" Suggestions that are sometimes verbalized when, by chance, one happens to get lost in the suburbs winding roads and comes face a dead end where a tennis court meets a modern vernacular summerhouse. In these productions of space, one feels the presence of this place's social functionality, the parts and practices that made it a whole. In fact a whole in many respects not unlike the portrayal of the rural villages studied by architects with the *inquiry*: an architectural, natural, social unity, encircling rites, space, territory, each part indissociable from a continuously worked projection of tidyness. A place where otherness, strangeness and ambiguity are clearly made to feel beyond its organized parts, as if a village with a long and spatially bound collective history had always existed here. This was designed, desired, invested, lived, desintegrated and reconstituted as particular architecture in place.

The good vernacular life

Távora's design for Ribeiro da Silva's family summerhouse is an ideal metaphor for this mutual constitution and interpenetration of elements forming the place of Ofir's exclusiveness; I don't mean this word in the particular sense of its practiced social selection but in the sense of the opportunity of beauty, wholeness and modernity described by the magazine *Arquitectura* in 1950. Yet, one is not without the other. According to Ribeiro da Silva, who inherited from his father the stories of the summerhouse's construction process, Távora and Ferrão designed its execution in an unconventional way due to the pressing for time. Elements that are normally assembled in different stages of construction, as structure and fillings, were assembled simultaneously, such as window panes and frames, which were placed and fixed together with the construction of the supporting granite walls. The concrete beam that tops the living-room granite walls, supporting the wood structure for its roof, was delicately cast on top of the glass and wood frames. In other words, because Maria Idalina and Ribeiro da Silva father wanted the house finished for the summer 1956, and probably because it was a challenging exercise for Ferrão and Távora, the various parts for its execution were made radically interdependent. Beams, supporting walls, flooring, paint, windows and doors were weaved together by the around-the-clock workforce, as if it were a complex puzzle of essential and mutually activating parts.

This process of construction was exactly, according to Ribeiro da Silva son and his daughter Ana Maria, what made the house's renewal so complicated and expensive: window-panes could not just be removed from their place, the roof's wood structure needed to be re-assembled in a very specific order, etc... On the other hand, this construction process was also that of the colonization of Ofir and the making of a new community by the beach. Economic investment was assembled together and at the same time as the design and construction of emblematic "works," such as the hotel and a couple of houses, as urban priorities and a possible plan were being drawn, as the first dwellers attracted more, as its possibilities for an exquisite leisure were being mapped. Investors, politicians, planners, architects, engineers, dwellers, construction workers, cement, glass, paint, wood, sand, pine-trees, a fresh summer and a beautiful coastline, all coming together in the projection and practice of an architecture-nature environment as a modern, functional, whole. And equally wholesome for business, architects and some "people from the north." In a similar fashion to that of Ribeiro da Silva's summerhouse, if any one element dwindled so too would the whole.

As we saw before there were at least two major agents that made Ofir dwindle in its development: the lack of tourists and the investment limitations of the *Sociedade de Engenheiros Reunidos*. Yet, neither of these deterred the resort from accomplishing the successful practices of community and space described above. Instead, it was one of the resort's original dwellers and instigators that most effectively precipitated its desintegration. While this may seem a detour in the argument so far elaborated, as we will see, this agent of Ofir's desintegration will allow us to understand how such an effort as that put together in Ofir, informed and activated a national suburban pattern. The cultural functionalism activated by Távora, enacted in the dunes of Ofir, far from remaining confined in its object, was extended and connected with larger economical oportunities and stagings of seaside modernity. The route to this story is given to us by the eminent banker Artur Cupertino Miranda (1892-1988).

Cupertino Miranda, born in 1892 in Vila Nova de Famalicão, around 30km northeast from Porto, was the youngest of the four sons of the wealthy farmers Francisco Cupertino Miranda and Joaquina Nunes de Oliveira. His early success in several businesses enabled him to form a commercial society with one of his brothers in 1919 named *Cupertino de Miranda & Irmão*, placed in Porto. It later became the *Casa Bancária Cupertino de Miranda & Irmão, Lda.* a banking house registered in 1931. Business prospered steadily, allowing them to survive the 1929 crisis and, in 1942, transform the banking house into the *Banco Português do Atlântico*. This would become one of the largest private Portuguese banks. The choice of name was, as usually names are, both symbolical and activating of concrete strategy. On a report to its shareholders of 1944, the bank's administration, headed by Cupertino Miranda, wrote the following:

Integrated in the Atlantic sense of our Nationality and in the need for a high banking specialization of support to the currents of our Economy throughout all the rim of that Ocean, where so numerous and important nuclei of Portuguese magnifically work, we wanted to adopt a denomination that defined our objective and a structure where all the greatness of the mission we imposed on ourselves could fit.⁷⁵³

⁷⁵³ "Integrados no sentido Atlântico da Nacionalidade e na necessidade de uma alta especialização bancária de apoio às correntes da nossa Economia por toda a orla desse Oceano, onde tão numerosos e importantes núcleos de portugueses labutam magnificamente, quisemos adoptar uma denominação que definisse o nosso objectivo e uma estrutura onde coubesse toda a grandeza da missão que nos impusemos." in

From its beginning, the bank's strategy and main income source derived from international deposits from emigrant Portuguese populations, namely from Brasil, connection with which the bank first emerged. But also with growing ties to the African colonies, based both on emigrant revenues and investments in colonial businesses.⁷⁵⁴ By the war's end in 1945, the bank grew exponentially, expanding its operations, mostly limited to Porto and Famalicão, to many other parts of the country. At the same time it started to invest in government welfare and infrastructure programs, such as national electrification. From then on, considerable parts of the bank's business were permanently and directly involved with the dictatorship's political economic designs, inclusively Cupertino de Miranda came to play several key positions as government consultant, diplomatic agent and sponsor of public works.⁷⁵⁵ At the same time, the bank continued to expand its market share in emigrant revenues, along the 1950s buying several banks based on emigrant incomes, investments and credits, such as *Banco do Faial* in Horta, Açores, and the *Banco Português do Continente e Ilhas* in Porto. By 1951 when the bank inaugurated its new headquarters in central Porto, dramatically named the *Palácio Atlântico* (Atlantic Palace), accomplished in a monumental slab and column building designed by the Porto architecture office ARS.⁷⁵⁶ It was already one of the leading entities in the country's economy. Cupertino only stepped down from the bank's leadership by 1970.

This entrepreneur was one of Ofir's first dwellers in the mid-1940s, his summer dwelling one of Magalhães' first houses in the dunes and pine trees. Together with the shipbuilders, industrialists, engineers, Cupertino Miranda saw the promise held in those dunes and pine trees, and thus became one of the patrons of the modern, functional and whole, designs that architects from Porto were experimenting there. He was founder and part of its practiced community in which, as the architect Júlio Oliveira recently portrayed, "(t)he ladies even insisted on wearing the cocktail dress and men the linen suit."⁷⁵⁷ By the 1960s, however, the banker, either tired of northern winds or animated by the prospect of building something anew, looked to the south, namely *algarve*.

He was maybe animated by the allure of progress he visited in North America in 1957, from which trip he wrote:

(...) in extension to the attraction I felt by there moving long distances in the velvet-like bed of its ample highways, I couldn't resist the desire of offering myself to the needed task of running them

Internal report of 32 of December of 1943, cited in Miguel Figueira de Faria and et al, *Dicionário de História Empresarial Portuguesa, Séculos XIX E XX*, Miguel Figueira de Faria, José Amado Mendes, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2013).

⁷⁵⁴ In 1970 it opened the *Banco Comercial de Angola*, Ibid.

⁷⁵⁵ At the inauguration of the foundation by him founded in Famalicão in 1972, objectified in a late-modernist massive building designed by Porto architect João Castelo Branco, the following dignitaries were present: The President of the Republic Américo Tomaz, the Minister of the Interior António Gonçalves Rapazote, of Corporations and Welfare Baltasar Rebelo de Sousa, the state secretaries of Instruction and Culture, and Health, but also the Cardinal Manuel Cerejeira, close and old friend of Salazar's, as well as a number of local government figures. See V. A., *Tudo Começou No Louro* (Vila Nova de Famalicão: Fundação Cupertino de Miranda, 1973): 29.

⁷⁵⁶ ARS was founded in the early 1930s in Porto by the architects Fortunato Cabral (1903-1978), Morais Soares (1908-1975) and Cunha Leão (1909-1990). For a recent appraisal of their career see João Paulo Fialho Delgado, "Uma Concepção Totalitária: 'Ars Arquitectos,' Cultura, Ideologia E Tecnologia Construtiva Na Década de 1930 Em Portugal" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Architecture and Urbanism of the University Institute of Lisbon, 2015).

⁷⁵⁷ "As senhoras até faziam questão de usar vestido de cocktail e os homens fato de linho." in Unknown, "Ofir. Arquitectura E Natureza Em Harmonia," *Jornal I*, May 21, 2012, <http://www.ionline.pt/472644>.

here too, (...), in the search for the most remunerating traffic economy, without financial sacrifices from the state.⁷⁵⁸

It followed that in 1964 he bought a large estate named *quinta do morgado* near Quarteira in *algarve*. Later in the decade became involved in constructing the first highway headed south and facilitating what became the common massive movement of Portuguese to the south in the summer. According to José Pereira Peixoto, an old collaborator from *Banco Português do Atlântico*, that farming estate was to give way for “a city of 60.000 thousand inhabitants,” dreamt by the banker.⁷⁵⁹ Commonly portrayed as arising from the enlightened vision of this northern entrepreneur, Vilamoura, the largest tourist city of its time in Europe, would thus emerge.

Bankers’ dreams, however, are quite specific. Before buying the estate, Cupertino Miranda assured with state authorities that his investment would be justified in possible future developments. Specially at stake was the legal status, urban regulations and state-backed economic program applying to the area within *algarve’s* regional urban plan and its political economic tourism-oriented directives. A plan to which Keil do Amaral contributed with its key directives in the early 1960s.⁷⁶⁰ It so happened that Quarteira was one of five territorial nuclei deemed to have priority in touristic investments in the southern region. A year after buying the estate, Cupertino Miranda formed a private society of touristic development, named *Lusotur – Sociedade Financeira de Turismo*, in which the main shareholders were his bank and the North American *Great Lakes Carbon Company*, participating in the enterprise through its subsidiary *Great Lakes Properties Inc.* In 1953, the latter had invested heavily on land in the high-end suburb of Palos Verdes, south of Los Angeles, which was projected in 1913 as a similar residential-leisure settlement by the head of the *National City Bank of New York*, Frank Vanderlip (1864-1937), and according to a design by the architects Charles Cheney (1884-1943) and Frederick Law Olmsted Jr (1870-1957).⁷⁶¹ The legal firm hired to develop the master plan for the purchase, *Carver L. Baker & Associates*, came to integrate an urban studies group created by *Lusotur* for the accomplishing of Vilamoura. In it also participated the Portuguese planning office *GEFEL*, of João Caetano, Eduardo Medeiros and António Abrantes and the French firm *SETAP – Société pour l’Étude Technique d’Aménagements Planifiés*.⁷⁶² Later in 1965, specifically in November, this team presented a first urban plan of Vilamoura, which was then approved in a fast couple of months later in March of 1966.

⁷⁵⁸ “(...) no prolongamento do enlevo que senti ao percorrer ali longas distâncias no aveludado leito das suas amplas auto-estradas, não pude resistir ao desejo de me oferecer para uma necessária tarefa de as romper também aqui, (...), na procura da mais remuneradora economia rodoviária, sem sacrifícios financeiros para o Estado.” diary entry cited in Mário da Costa Martins and Joaquim Gomes Lima, *Arthur Cupertino Miranda: Homenagem Nacional* (Vila Nova, 1988): 28.

⁷⁵⁹ “Vilamoura: O Segredo Foi a Alma Do Negócio, Entrevista Com José Peixoto,” *Informoura*, March 2012: 30; Martins and Lima, *Arthur Cupertino Miranda: Homenagem Nacional*; A., *Tudo Começou No Louro*.

⁷⁶⁰ Lobo, “Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia.”: 1333; on Keil do Amaral’s contribution to Algarve’s regional plan and the development of the plan and its premises, see same reference: 1048-92.

⁷⁶¹ See <http://www.maureenmegowan.com/Pages/history-of-rancho-palos-verdes.aspx>, accessed 23 of February, 2016. Cheney was very active in planning, namely in California, defending, for instance, the massive construction of private single-family houses as master structure to an ordered society defined by private property. Accordingly he presented a paper at the National Conference on City Planning titled “Architectural control of private property,” 1927. On Cheney’s role in Californian re-making see Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2008): 187-217.

⁷⁶² For a detailed account of these different agents in the planning and development of Vilamoura see Lobo, “Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia.”: 1333-35

In the construction of these new leisure, investment, urban possibilities, as well as in the construction of the highway that would lead to them, Ribeiro da Silva son identified the core elements precipitating Ofir's "cocktail dress/linen suit" community's slow desintegration. This might have been, but if Ofir was being vacated it was equally moving outside of its bounded place in the dunes and pine trees, and extending its expectations and experiences into new "natural" surroundings, social and business oportunities. Like Ofir's, so too was Vilamoura's enterprise animated by the idea of rooted progress. For Cupertino Miranda this depended, furthermore, on a specific condition:

There is no true progress where is missing the spark of a deep faith, the mystique that accomplishes miracles. Today more than ever, to live together is a superior form of living. Of fully living.⁷⁶³

The future suburban city was planned to accommodate 70.000 people, 18.000 dwellings, rearrange 1.631 acres, room 13.000 cars in a high-profile, richly equiped group of urban nuclei. An enormous enterprise that needed to be phased in time, thoroughly planned and organized, and architecturally programmed in order to produce that miracle accomplishing "mystique." The beach city was not simply envisioned as an abstract agglomeration of zeros in the shareholder's accounts, inconsequential to the activating forms and modes-of-life that would colonize Quarteira. A highly programmed and disciplined infra-structure of dwelling, services and equipments was put forward by *Lusotour's* urban plan. The urban model guiding its premises and strategies was the English *New Town* that likewise often spawned new cities accomodating approximately the same amount of people. More importantly, this model and its forebear, the *garden-city*, articulated a mode of peaceful urban living based on contact with nature, low-density and village-like boundaries, activating the social-spatial unit of the neighborhood as key agent for wholesome modern life.

Of the 1.631 acres aquired by Cupertino and *Lusotour*, a third was reserved for agricultural uses, while the other two-thirds were thought to accomplish the beach city with generous amounts of green space, public parks and other "natural" elements. Accordingly, density should be low, the plan establishing the limit of 100 people per acre, following numbers supplied by *algarve's* regional urban plan. The vast 18.000 dwellings were planned to form seven housing, commerce, public equipment nuclei, each given a name performing a rooted placement: the residential unit closer to the port would be *o Porto* (the port), that closer to a disapeared fig tree orchard would be *o figueiral* (the fig tree orchard), etc... At the same time, each urban unit was thought to be self-providing, supplied with a rich infrastructure of services and equipments and a vast acreage of agricultural land adjoining, that would supply the summer suburb, buffer it from heavy traffic roads, as well as limit its growth.

In *Lusotour's* plan, Vilamoura was thought to become a vast leisure urban center of "great" and "international quality," that preserved "(...) in its organization and architecture a certain traditional character."⁷⁶⁴ According to their planners: "In a general manner, the resort should not constitute an element strange to the surrounding regional environment, but on the contrary, it must be as much as

⁷⁶³ "Não há verdadeiro progresso onde falta a centelha de uma fé profunda, a mística que realiza milagres. Hoje mais do que nunca, conviver é uma forma superior de viver. De viver plenamente." Diary entry in Martins and Lima, *Arthur Cupertino Miranda: Homenagem Nacional*: 30.

⁷⁶⁴ "(...) na sua organização e na sua arquitectura, um certo carácter tradicional." Vilamoura urban plan's report, cited in Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia.": 1336.

possible an element of economical development and evolution of that regional environment.”⁷⁶⁵ Thus, the design of roads, the scale of buildings, the laying of a complex infrastructure were thought as delicate structures, capturing a regional character and recreating a traditional environment. The new city was not only supposed to enact a regionalism in its spatial organization, but also to economically produce it, as its full functioning was dependent on a number of local sustaining economies, namely agriculture and service-providers for this booming urban leisure industry.

This strategy was articulated by *Lusotour* planners in a specific social-material architectural expression that, correspondingly, searched to construct an ethic of regional respect, rootedness and harmony. As the problem with building such a massive enterprise was also that of minimizing the losses and damages to the “natural landscape,” its architecture should respond with a “sociological, economical and ecological” attitude:

In short, if it is not possible nor desirable to want to reproduce the existing villages in a given number of exemplars, it should, however, be possible to keep the spirit and scale of those villages especially regarding: the intentionally limited heights of its dwellings, the grouping of those dwellings, the design of streets, squares and gardens, and the sobriety of materials and the harmony of colors. Which implies therefore: avoiding all uncharacteristic or banally cosmopolitan architecture and avoiding tall and very long buildings, susceptible of constituting a barrier that intercepts the views.⁷⁶⁶

Natural landscape does not mean here just trees, dirt, rocks, sea and one or another bird, sheep or dog, in their preformed harmonious beauty as “nature.” It includes the projection of a cultural landscape, deployed as discrete, sober, village objects enacting a socio-ecological unity, a wholeness that should not be fractured, not unlike that of those imagined rural landscapes and villages surveyed by architects in 1955. Their functionalist reading of hinterland forms and spaces also activating a critique of “banally cosmopolitan” architecture, was now enacted to accomplish a harmonious new booming leisure city. It found part of its organized body in Ebenezer Howard’s garden-city, minus the socialist redistribution. Within a regional plan informed by one of the *inquiry*’s authors. In highly sophisticated legal and administrative operations. In risky banking investments.⁷⁶⁷ But also by Cupertino Miranda’s notion of true progress as animating a “spark of deep faith.” Which makes one wonder how much of this spark was animated by Ofir’s “cocktail dress/linen suit” practices; their connection to modern, functional, buildings cast in rooted and wholesome, vernacular, materials. Stated differently, one wonders how much of this vast project passed through Ribeiro da Silva’s family “brigh *minhota*

⁷⁶⁵ “De uma maneira geral, a estância não deverá constituir um elemento estranho ao meio regional circundante, mas pelo contrário, ser quanto possível um elemento de desenvolvimento económico e de evolução desse meio regional.” in “Vilamoura,” *Arquitectura*, April 1967: 56.

⁷⁶⁶ “Em resumo, se não é possível nem desejável querer reproduzir exactamente as aldeias existentes num número dado de exemplares poderá contudo, ser possível guardar o espírito e a escala dessas aldeias principalmente no que diz respeito: às alturas, intencionalmente limitadas, dos seus alojamentos, ao agrupamento desses alojamentos, ao desenho das ruas, praças e jardins, e na sobriedade dos materiais e harmonia das cores. O que implica por consequência: evitar toda a arquitectura incaracterística ou banalmente cosmopolita e evitar os edifícios altos e muito compridos, susceptíveis de constituir uma barreira que intercepte as vistas.” in Vilamoura urbanization plan’s report, cited in Lobo, “Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia.”: 1342.

⁷⁶⁷ Cupertino Miranda’s collaborator, João Peixoto, suggests the business was at the time viewed with some scepticism as a risky investment, in “Vilamoura: O Segredo Foi a Alma Do Negócio, Entrevista Com José Peixoto.”

chimney” and its experiment in architecture-nature-culture wholeness performed by “people from the north,” their engineers and architects.

Transforming the rural dwelling into a city

It is worth noting that the excitement with which the magazine *Arquitectura* greeted Ofir’s urban development in 1950 was not an isolated instance, nor referring to an exceptional event, although written through a language of distinction and exceptionality. The excitement with the modern power of transforming “old and despised” beaches in “tourist center with exceptional conditions,”⁷⁶⁸ pertained to an important production of the national landscape and the making of its centers and peripheries. The process of transforming, by the powers of modern planning, architecture and business neglectful and impoverished seaside places, sustained by a string of precarious activities related with the sea and the land, into attractive and progressive places was a vast activity during the 1950s and early 1960s. By the mid-1960s, however, these urban visions were progressively transformed into many cities other than the wholeness, functionalism and tidyness projected in Ofir. As a liberal real-estate market grew steadily with post-war economical growth, and as urban plans lost their regulating promise, either delayed or not enforced, the coast became the site for all sorts of urban developments, many devoid of a “faith.”

In 1961, in a Lisbon newspaper series titled “Não deixemos estragar a nossa terra” (Let us not ruin our land), several architects, many directly involved in producing the *inquiry*, laid bare their concerns for a vanishing “natural” landscape, destroyed by promises of easy money, lack of planning and search for living comforts. Among these, Keil do Amaral in a piece darkly titled “Black Clouds over the future of Algarve,”⁷⁶⁹ presented a concise description of the agents of destruction in question. Citing a business advertizing for a partner in a possible real-estate society published in the same newspaper, he wrote:

Hundreds of other industrialists of civil construction or of small and big speculators dedicate themselves to the same activities with the common objective of gaining “large and fast profits.” And almost all of them, with true fear of God and the appreciation of society, have been accumulating fortunes and problems: fortunes for themselves and problems for the Country.⁷⁷⁰

Algarve, as it became highly accessible through Cupertino Miranda’s velvet highways, was slowly transforming into one of the most emblematic cases of the forces driving urban growth in Portugal. Throughout the 1960s, it appeared prominently in bankers’ and especulators’ dreams, as well as in those of the slowly growing middle class nurtured by the state. Thus, its regionalized vernacular beauty and order became endangered by new leisure suburbs and cities, moved by promise of easy profits.

⁷⁶⁸ “Praia de Ofir”: 6.

⁷⁶⁹ Francisco Keil do Amaral, “Não Deixemos Estragar a Nossa Terra: Nuvens Negras Sobre O Futuro Do Algarve,” *Diário de Lisboa*, February 23, 1961.

⁷⁷⁰ “Centenas de outros industriais da construção civil ou de pequenos e grandes especuladores se dedicam às mesmas actividades com o objectivo comum de auferirem “grandes lucros e rápidos.” E quase todos eles, com verdadeiro temor de Deus e o apreço da sociedade, têm acumulado fortunas e problemas: fortunas para si próprios e problemas para o País.” The reference to the fear of God was sarcastically used by Ibid.

As I started by saying, urban and community enterprises such as Ofir, were from the start moved by the dynamism of private agents, and not so much by state initiative. The practice frame for the proliferation of all sorts of urban profiteering in the coast as there from the beginning. However, Ofir was an activity made vast not solely by private entrepreneurs, but also by the connection of their strategies with those of central and local government. It is not a coincidence that the first centrally enforced urban master plans, the first PGUs, involved four beach suburbs: Praia da Rocha, Praia de Mira, Praia de Monte Gordo and Praia de Moledo.⁷⁷¹ The seaside town's *ex novo* facet, acting within the idea that a perfectly contrived living situation might be achieved from scratch, without hindrances, was pictured as great opportunity for both modern architecture, business and higher living standards. Apparently fishermen and other "vernaculares" counted as nature to be transformed. If there ever was modernism in Portugal it was most surely on the beach and banking headquarters.

Throughout the 1950s and more so in the 1960s, the flux of modern architecture and business into beach towns progressively increased, usually following a territorial pattern that had been made institutional with the PGUs of the 1940s. What Rocha, Mira, Monte Gordo and Moledo all shared was a strong connection with a distributing urban center: in the case of Rocha and Monte Gordo with Lisbon, in Mira with Coimbra, in Moledo with Viana do Castelo, Braga and Guimarães or the northern industrial belt. Cupertino Miranda's Vilamoura inaugurated a new territorial pattern, more distant from urban centers and enabled by his American concrete dream of laying "velvet-like" highways also in Portugal. Nevertheless, the movement was from the city, in this case Porto and its profits, to a "nature" available for urban colonization and recreation, open to transformation and enabling modern leisure, because like the vernacular voices in the *inquiry*, this nature did not speak.

This was the case of Ofir's movement of people, money and modern objects, from Porto and its urban nodes to a new modern "natural" setting. But we can observe this sort of landscape building enterprise sprouting all over the coast: near Aveiro, in the beaches of Costa Nova and Barra; near Coimbra, in Tocha, Quiaios and in the urban growth of Figueira da Foz; near Leiria, in Pedrogão and São Pedro de Moel. Portuguese urban life was being re-centered in the coast, producing a distribution of the landscape and its different possibilities, still active nowadays, namely in the coast/inland divide of development and modern opportunities, which recurrently returns as a territorial, organizational and political controversy.⁷⁷²

There was a particular combination of movements between poor Portuguese leaving their inland, functional and harmonious, vernacular dwellings for France, North America and bigger cities closer to the coast; and better well-of, city-dwelling Portuguese moving to the beach, creating their room, leisure and business opportunities in the form of regionalized, ecological, cultural architecturally designed wholes. This was a process of landscape production vast and continuous enough to have started an almost uninterrupted urban continuity along the northern and center coast, from Moledo, to Lisbon then arriving to *algarve*, made so also by Cupertino Miranda's dream of Vilamoura.

⁷⁷¹ As suggested by the analysis of their character of exceptionality, accomplished by Castela, "A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalised Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon:" 86-89; and as noted by Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia:" 480.

⁷⁷² Polemically brandished by politicians and opinion makers, such as the recent case of prime-minister runner, for the socialist party, António Costa that articulated the idea that Syrian refugees might actually help clean Portuguese forests and repopulate the interior, see Miguel Santos, "Refugiados a Limpar Florestas? Costa Acredita Que Seria Uma 'grande Oportunidade,'" *Observador*, Set 2015, sec. Política.

For the possibility of this dream, urban master plans were activated, modern architects mobilized, risky investments made, cars and beach balls bought, as it was being concretely made to act through neatly arranged plans and designs, such as that by Magalhães and Sousa Martins, and impressive composites such as Távora's. In the midst of this process of re-centering urban and modern Portugal by the beach, Távora's true composite performed an example of architectural style and quality: the combination of a modern typology with a reinvention of vernacular expression, freely combined, melted together in a simple, yet crafty, comfortable summerhouse. Arousing the recognition of peers for its dialogue with culture, locality, nationality and, at the same time, modernization and functionalism.

On the other hand, it also enabled something equally important and more globally reaffirming: to re-enact Portuguese culture itself in a new and modern setting, with all the comforts of suburban life. By showing how, in itself, poor granite houses, small and bounded villages, were already modern, the routes to "our" roots were made available. However, they were not necessarily cast as celebrations of the nation-state, but instead as celebrations of a national and regional liberal spark, a faith, an uniting principle. Now deployed as objects of an environmental functionalism intent on not fracturing the "natural" landscape and accommodating a more comfortable life for the better well off. As Nezar Alsayyad discussed regarding the use of object memory, with Ofir a "manufacturing of heritage" was enabled, where the re-performing of this or that vernacular-regional shape, material and color, was made to stand for Portuguese culture itself, for its notion of rootedness and timeless aura.⁷⁷³ But also for the idea of a rooted progress, liberal in strategy and intention, selective and exclusive, yet animated with a sense of belonging through quaint regional bodies and practices. Chaining this process, Távora's practiced cultural functionalism activated the possibility of redeeming the unequal distribution of modern urban life, with the hierarchies and harmony of a fabricated cultural whole.

The place by the coast, the summerhouse, the beach suburb, the string of leisure cities by it formed, accommodating opportunity, enjoyment, playfulness, activated specifically Portuguese cultural "scenographies of leisure," both in their enactment of a highly rooted and unequal culture.⁷⁷⁴ Then in more modern attires, functions and distributions, and no longer in the eclectic and complex stylings of 19th and early 20th century chalets, this landscape was manufactured as a progress infused with a "deep faith" in Portuguese culture. Thus, the Portuguese hinterland "brightly" re-appeared through clay roofs, granite, wood beams, schist, limestone, ceramic tiling, and suggestive chimneys, together with concrete slabs, flat roofs, steel structures, Swiss window frames, Corbusier-inspired plays of color, shape and detail, as well as with efficient infrastructures, zoning distributions and functional programming. All freely and creatively combined with many other elements as a new language for dwelling modernly, cleaned of the unwanted human debris that by then was emigrating in mass to France, Germany and Luxembourg, Porto's *ilhas* and Lisbon's shack neighborhoods.

The Portuguese modern summertime was first produced as the permanent and cultural dwelling of those families that in the 1950s and 1960s mobilized modern architects, weighted on the approval of urban plans, campaigned for the construction of decent public spaces. Their identities were also, from then on, that practiced and objectified culture by the beach in the summer, its scale, its nicely designed modern houses, hotels, cafes, quaint streets, generous "green" areas and "natural" views. Maybe for this reason, all of this landscape and harnessing of identity and modernity gasped with shock at a second

⁷⁷³ See Nezar Alsayyad, "Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism: Manufacturing Heritage, Consuming Tradition," in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1–33: 9.

⁷⁷⁴ As Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia."

wave of coastal urbanization animated by the massification of internal tourism in the 1980s.⁷⁷⁵ When “tall and long buildings” obstructing views, bustling streets, popular shops selling cheap goods and many houses that were taken by many, namely modern architects, as mixtures, mishmashes and false composites, also came to colonize the country’s center.⁷⁷⁶

If by connecting the summerhouse in Ofir to this recentering of the country we can grasp how it enacted an urban and social restructuring of eventful modern landscapes in the 1950s, we can also venture that its vernacular functionalism prefigured an idea of Portuguese city, a *projecto* for the city. It not only brought-forth architects’ embattlements for a driving position in the country’s urban development, but also a change in discourse and projections. Stated differently, by assembling the summerhouse to the various people, materials, livelihoods, urban problems and business opportunities passing through it, we can also grasp how a true national architecture was also desired as a knowledge over the Portuguese city. This is specially clear in the magazine *Arquitectura* change in priorities and discussions during the late 1950s, and the Ofir summerhouse also marks this change.

The publishing of Távora’s imaginary descriptive report of the summerhouse design in 1957, precedes a profound change in the magazine’s editorial direction. As younger architects, such as Carlos Duarte, Nuno Portas and Arnaldo Araújo, took over the magazine, it underwent considerable editorial reformulation.⁷⁷⁷ In a sense, Távora’s Ofir article marked this change in discourse and professional priorities. Its publishing mission was re-grouped around concerns for a better understanding of “Portuguese reality and within the effort of (...) connecting artistic creation to the authentic life of our people and our age.”⁷⁷⁸ Távora’s, Teotónio Pereira’s and Keil do Armamar’s attitude towards the need to study the true architecture of “our time,” without fear of losing character, was thoroughly incorporated, at least indirectly. More importantly, however, the editors were then mainly concerned to understand and study architecture in its *milieu*, namely in the constitution of modern urban Portugal. Probably no other than Nuno Portas better captured the twin putting forward of the project for a true national modern architecture and a new concern to seize the Portuguese modern city.

In 1959 Portas published an article on the stakes and challenges put forward by the young generation of architects, of which also he was a spokesperson.⁷⁷⁹ In it he delineated the ethical, social and professional importance of the new generation, whose standard bearers were Távora, Lixa Filgueiras, among the many others involved with the *inquiry* and the promotion of modernist logics. He narrated the importance of the new generation through Patrick Abercrombie’s (1879-1957) notion that

⁷⁷⁵ The first being that accomplished by those I have been talking about in the late 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, having deployed the vernacular-inspired modern architects. These were the agents of the massification of an urban habit that until their time was for the almost exclusive enjoyment of the very high class. For an overview of this first massification see João Cardim, “Entre O Popular E O Erudito. Casas de Férias Em Colares (Sintra- Portugal) 1940-1974: Apropriação Moderna de Uma Ideologia Secular,” *AUS*, no. 17 (first semester of 2015): 42–48.

⁷⁷⁶ Regarding situations like those of the three Ofir towers, Nuno Portas in the 1990s, became an erudite spokesperson for this shock, calling these: “(...) in a general sense, the processes and recipes of metropolitan urbanization (or suburbanization) that characterize bad growth and urban renewal,” in “Crítica Do Urbanismo: O Desenho Urbano Em Situações de Costa,” *Sociedade E Território: Revista de Estudos Urbanos E Regionais*, no. 13 (June 1991): 91; in a more personal register, it is worth reading Júlio de Oliveira’s comment on Ofir’s urban degradation in “Ofir. Arquitectura E Natureza Em Harmonia.”

⁷⁷⁷ Carlos Duarte, Frederico Sant’Ana, José Santa Rita and Nikias Skapinakis were its permanent editorial and coordinating body, together with a new northern section composed by Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, Arnaldo Araújo, Manuel Aguiar and José Forjaz.

⁷⁷⁸ Carlos Duarte et al., “Editorial,” *Arquitectura*, October 1957.

⁷⁷⁹ Portas, “A Responsabilidade de Uma Novíssima Geração No Movimento Moderno Em Portugal.”

architecture in the post-war was in a “cross-roads.”⁷⁸⁰ The promoters of modernism in the forms of authentic Portuguese life were path-breakers.⁷⁸¹ The next year, 1960, together with the architect Bartolomeu Costa Cabral, Portas published a long double piece evaluating a modern public housing in Porto and its urban policy and effects.⁷⁸² This piece was so far, in the pages of *Arquitectura*, the most comprehensive analysis of urban practices, centered on Portuguese public housing. It also brought together the new editorial priorities of conducting comparative analysis,⁷⁸³ but also summoning distinct disciplines for architecture and urban critique. In this case, much was derived from the French sociologist Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe’s (1913-98) urban studies of *Grand Ensembles*.⁷⁸⁴ This can be read, for instance, in their study of “pre-architectural conditions of habitability” and in their piece’s structuring question: “Which concrete measures may (...) form a dynamic urban working hypothesis and capable of answering essential freedoms?”⁷⁸⁵

These two pieces are but one instance through which the magazine *Arquitectura* linked, from 1957 onwards, the problems at the heart of the search for a true modern architecture, and its masters, to the search for the terms to seize the Portuguese city and its changes. By 1960, as if balancing the mutual stakes of both projects, the magazine reinforced the progressive critique of modernist forms and norms. Its failures, namely with the *Grand Ensembles* and the increasing popularity of the idea of a more humane architecture, were inscribed in new sociological and planning concerns when talking of architecture, and in new architecture objects that, in old programs, re-invented a language of commitment to *millieu* – “Man and Land.”⁷⁸⁶ It is in this sense that Álvaro Siza’s early works were first

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid.; Patrick Abercrombie, “Discours de Sir Patrick Abercrombie,” in *Rapport Final - Troisième Congrès de L’Union Internationale Des Architectes* (Lisbon: Librairie Portugal, 1953), 23–34.

⁷⁸¹ In the same magazine issue, were published Freitas’ and Duarte’s appraisals of the *inquiry*, see António Freitas, “Tradicionalismo E Evolução,” *Arquitectura*, December 1959; Carlos Duarte, “Breves Notas Sobre a Arquitectura Espontânea,” *Arquitectura*, December 1959, see chapter 3.

⁷⁸² Bartolomeu Costa Cabral and Nuno Portas, “Uma Realização Da Câmara Municipal Do Porto: O Conjunto Habitacional Da Pasteleira,” *Arquitectura*, December 1960; Bartolomeu Costa Cabral and Nuno Portas, “A Política Habitacional Da Câmara Municipal Do Porto E O Problema Das ‘ilhas,’” *Arquitectura*, December 1960.

⁷⁸³ They compared the neighborhood in Porto with housing schemes developed by the London County Council and the INA-CASA program in Italy, in Cabral and Portas, “Uma Realização Da Câmara Municipal Do Porto: O Conjunto Habitacional Da Pasteleira”: 33-34.

⁷⁸⁴ Dedicating himself to urban sociology, Chombart de Lauwe became widely influential for his early analysis of the social effects of modernist-influenced public housing and planning in France, namely Paris, providing various critical stances on its social and public effects. He was influential in his defense of participatory practices and the need to have more comprehensive surveys of the actual needs of dwellers. He specifically advocated a critical view on the architectural idea of the minimal dwelling and its *existenzminimum* ideal, and for the design of small public spaces extending the private domain of the home. An idea analogous to Le Corbusier’s *habitation prolongé*. His sociology was also greatly influential in the identification and defense of the neighborhood as a fundamental social unit for the urban community, following in the footsteps of Le Playist catholic and reformist ideas of community, extended through the *Musée Social* and architect-planners such as Henri Prost, Etienne de Groer and Robert Auzelle. For comprehensive interpretations of Chombart de Lauwe in the context of French post-war reconstruction see W. Brian Newsome, *French Urban Planning 1940-1968: The Construction and Deconstruction of an Authoritarian System* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2009); and Kenny Cupers, *The Social Project: Housing Postwar France* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); for an overview of its influence in Portuguese urban debates, see José António Bandeirinha, *O Processo Saal E a Arquitectura No 25 de Abril de 1974* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2011).

⁷⁸⁵ “Que medidas concretas poderão (...) formar uma hipótese de trabalho urbanístico dinâmico e capaz de entender as liberdades essenciais?” in Ibid: 35.

⁷⁸⁶ Early that year, the architects’ union organized a congress on public housing and its social and economic aspects. The event was coordinated by Nuno Portas, Raúl Ramalho, Costa Cabral, Lixa Filgueiras, Coutinho Raposo, Rui Mendes Paula, at the time director of *Arquitectura*, and Peres Fernandes, union president. It had two international participations, both from France: Robert Auzelle (1913-83) that spoke about his planning experience in Porto and Paul-Henry Chombart Lauwe that spoke of modern dwelling’s sociological dimensions, specifically grounded on his sociological studies of French *Grand Ensembles*. The event promoted an evaluation of results and possible routes, concerning

published together with an article by Chombart de Lauwe on the urban habitat, in a same 1960 issue. The magazine presented three different houses from Álvaro Siza, three experiments on the modern vernacular worked by Távora in Ofir. Yet, already escaping functionalist rules of composition and form, and embracing more complex articulations between construction elements, programs and shapes, building and street. In a different but adjoining register, Chombart de Lauwe's piece was the integral translation of a presentation by him at the 1959 *Conseil International du Bâtiment*, occurring in Rotterdam. Presenting a synthesis of almost ten years of urban sociology practice developed in his *groupe d'ethnologie sociale*, formed in 1950 in Paris, he put forward the challenge for architects and urban planners:

We spoke somewhere of liberation more than freedom. In effect, the definition of freedom itself could bring about long discussions and create, sometimes, more incomprehension than possibilities of contact. Instead, the idea of a progressive liberation of men from the pressures that over them weight within social life, may be a very safe guide to urban planners that want to participate in the construction of a happier Humanity. It involves, thus, liberating men of what constrains them, more than imposing on them an idea of liberty, which may be specific to one or another civilization, to one or another religion, to one or another ideology.⁷⁸⁷

In fact, from the inception in Távora's article of 1945, the problem of a Portuguese modern architecture was articulated with that of giving a Portuguese house to all Portuguese, but also with a claim to liberate Portuguese from a "false" architecture. It followed: a "false" national architecture kept Portuguese imprisoned in an illusory relationship with their land and space. The project for a true Portuguese modern architecture also articulated the search for a true relationship with the built land. By the late 1950s, with the editing of *inquiry* material under way, the construction of several modernist inspired housing blocks, namely in Porto, and the urbanization of the coast, the study of "Man and Land" was translated into a specific urban problem. Teotónio Pereira in a congress on the modern urban habitat in Lisbon, in 1960, namely addressing Chombart de Lauwe, gives us a clear measure of it:

Chombart de Lauwe didn't come to give us recipes to apply in our projects; didn't come, thus, to make our job easier. On the contrary, he came to raise problems, signal difficulties that maybe we didn't acknowledge in all their importance. He mainly came to clarify our responsibilities, of which we haven't been sufficiently conscious about.
(...)

housing, urban planning and a more qualified city. From it emerged highlighted the importance of promoting a national housing policy and the creation of an institute devoted to the study of its models, experiences and results.

⁷⁸⁷ "Falámos algures de libertação mais que de liberdade. Com efeito a própria definição de liberdade poderia trazer longas discussões e criar por vezes mais incompreensão que possibilidades de aproximação. Ao contrário, a ideia duma libertação progressiva dos homens, das pressões que sobre eles pesam a dentro da vida social, pode ser um guia muito seguro para os urbanistas que querem participar na construção duma Humanidade mais feliz. Trata-se pois de libertar os homens do que os constringe, mais do que lhes impor uma ideia de liberdade, que pode ser própria de uma civilização ou de outra, de uma religião ou de outra, de uma ou de outra ideologia." in Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe, "Sociologia Da Habitação," *Arquitectura*, July 1960: 50.

Certainly it is not in our hands the harmony of families or the happiness of men. But it can be in them, if they are careless, unable or less courageous, great sums, terrifying sums of unhappiness and suffering.⁷⁸⁸

This came in the following of Chombart de Lauwe's critique of modernist architecture, as practiced in the *Grand Ensembles*, namely for producing their own "monster" city.⁷⁸⁹ Távora's, Teotónio Pereira's and Keil do Amaral's project to review modernism with "our grandfather's time," as Raul Lino put it, had a central role in this questioning of the architect's urban responsibility. The magazine *Arquitectura*, as a spokesperson to this project, gave room and voice to the analysis of "badly assimilated progress," as observed by surveying architects in the hinterland. In this sense, the *inquiry* already extended a concern for the house into the agglomerate, village, town, city, that is, into the collective assembling of a urban whole. Thus, in different degrees, varying with each surveying team, the detailed study of rural dwellings was also translated in the detailed study of village and town plans: functional disposition, spatial structure, public space quality and use and, sometimes, detailed accounts of daily urban routines. Stated differently, if the rural dwelling served to review the modernist *existenzminimum* through *portuguese truth*, its collective setting served to review the *athens charter* and its vision for the city with a recognition of Portuguese communitarian forms.⁷⁹⁰ Since 1957, *Arquitectura* enabled more consistently this line of questioning of both *portuguesismo* and modernist logics, in detriment of an authentic Portuguese life, real needs and conditions, and cultural contexts.

Ofir allowed an articulation of the architectural expression performing this true relation with both the times and Portuguese culture. It also enabled functionalism to circulate among various professionals, materials, social expectations and economic opportunities. On the other hand, it advanced a planning desire, a will to seize an urban order by the coast, to the actual processes of colonizing the coast, more often than not driven by profiteering and lack of a "faith." Processes openly criticized by architects rallying under the search for a true modern architecture, such as Keil do Amaral. This true Portuguese modern architecture in the making also tended to a specific *projecto* of Portuguese city, namely fabricated in opposition to "badly assimilated progress." The *inquiry* indirectly and personally advanced some of its working categories through the bound and formally cohesive village. Ofir experimented its configuration in a relation with comfort, modernness, culture and nature, by housing a northern high middle-class in the midst of dunes and a pine forest, with poise. Yet, in the same measure that a true Portuguese modern architecture was a project, and not an actual style ascribed to a cohesive cultural-artistic movement, but more a multiple process of professional collective re-invention, the idea of a Portuguese form of city was more the possibility of agency in the planning of

⁷⁸⁸ "Chombart de Lauwe não veio dar-nos receitas para aplicarmos nos nossos projectos; não veio pois facilitar o nosso trabalho. Pelo contrário, veio levantar-nos problemas, assinalar dificuldades que talvez não conhecêssemos em toda a sua importância. (...) Certamente que não está nas nossas mãos a harmonia das famílias ou a felicidade dos homens. Mas pode estar nelas, se forem descuidadas, inábeis ou menos corajosas, grandes somas, aterradoras somas de infelicidade e sofrimento." in Nuno Teotónio Pereira, "Aspectos Sociais na construção do habitat" in *Escritos: 1947-1996*, Manuel Mendes, 2 - Argumentos 7 (Porto: FAUP, 1996): 36 (originally published in 1960). He went on to say that this responsibility is not only a professional one, and should not be cast as a "mere" class issue, but also a civic and political responsibility towards ensuring equality and life conditions to fellow citizens: the causes of citizenship first, professional ones should follow.

⁷⁸⁹ Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe, "Sociologia Da Habitação: Métodos E Perspectivas de Habitação," *Arquitectura*, July 1960: 41.

⁷⁹⁰ The proposal by Viana de Lima, Fernando Távora, and Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, "Tese Ao X Congresso Do CIAM," *Arquitectura*, February 1959; Mota, "Quando O Mito Da Intocável Virgem Branca Se Desfez: A Arquitectura Vernácula E a Emergência de Um Outro Moderno Em Portugal"; Mota, *An Archaeology of the Ordinary: Rethinking the Architecture of Dwelling from CIAM to Siza*.

the city than an actual plan for the Portuguese city. Stated differently, as a search for objects, experiences and terms, a *projecto* of Portuguese city more immediately passed through the affirmation of young modernist-inspired architects in Portugal's urban development. In what follows I try to understand how this affirmation was constituted, what cities were discovered, and what urban knowledge and tools developed.

5 Governing cities: the making of a peaceful modern habitat, 1895-1950.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Portugal was economically growing and one of its clearest manifestations was the rhythm of construction and the growing expansion of city limits. As shown through the 1964 census, the construction pace, especially for the main cities and coastal districts, meant fast and relatively numerous processes of urbanization, both planned and unplanned. Economical growth and new economical opportunities were mediated through new urban situations. The dictatorship's idea of giving "every Portuguese a Portuguese house" was somehow being privately produced, as the better well-of citizens were stabilizing their investments in the concrete, brick, stone, glass, wood and ceramics of new houses, hotels, apartment buildings, and the promises of return and leisure they held. And as the rural migrants were appropriating a livability in outskirts, old tenements, limit spaces within cities, and the promises of a less miserable life they held.

The dictatorship was partially conducting this growth through development plans called *Planos de Fomento*. Their inception, strategy and instrumentality emerged from the practice of the post-war European Recovery Plans of General Marshall.⁷⁹¹ They resulted from an adaptation of the dictatorship's political economy to the conditions of post-war economical reorganization under North American tutelage.⁷⁹² The first *Plano de Fomento* was approved within the Marshall's Plan timetable, in 1952.⁷⁹³ It was as part of this first plan's acting that Távora's Ramalde was erected, belonging to its strategic, yet mainly secondary, objective of alleviating demographic pressures on cities. This first plan's objectives targeted the development of three sectors: energy production, infrastructure construction and the industrial consolidation of already existing industries, namely oil refining, tobacco, cement and fertilizer production.⁷⁹⁴ A second *Plano de Fomento* extended these strategic lines in 1958. It relied on the same tenets: the consolidation of internal production without having to undertake structural changes to the productive network, meaning mostly industrial and agricultural production.⁷⁹⁵ Both plans and their governing proposals relied on a liberal management of the economy, as both emphasized with different registers however, the role of the private agent in promoting the economical objectives.⁷⁹⁶ The state should mainly guide the technical and financial institutions that enabled the sought growth. To the private sector was attributed the main part to play in the fundamental objectives of: augmenting

⁷⁹¹ For a comprehensive account of this relation see Maria Fernanda Rollo, *Portugal E a Reconstrução Económica Do Pós-Guerra. O Plano Marshall E a Economia Portuguesa Dos Anos 50* (Lisbon: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 2007).

⁷⁹² Maria Fernanda Rollo, "Portugal E O Plano Marshall: História de Uma Adesão a Contragosto (1947-1952)," *Análise Social* XXIX, no. 128 (1994): 841-69; on the post-war North American economic tutelage see the dated yet informative Fred Block, *The Origins of International Economic Disorder* (Berkeley: Berkeley University Press, 1977).

⁷⁹³ Law-decree nº2058 of 29 of December of 1952.

⁷⁹⁴ To these critical areas for growth others were identified, such as agricultural reform, however, the instruments deployed were only partially effected. See Manuela Silva, ed., *O Planeamento Económico Em Portugal: Lições Da Experiência* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1984); and A. V., *Corporativismo, Fascismos, Estado Novo*, Fernando Rosas e Álvaro Garrido (Coimbra: Edições Almedina, S.A., 2012).

⁷⁹⁵ See Rosas and et al, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*; Garrido and et al, *Corporativismo, Fascismos, Estado Novo*; Manuela Silva, "Crescimento Económico E Pobreza Em Portugal (1950-74)," *Análise Social* XVIII, no. 72-73-74 (1982): 1077-86.

⁷⁹⁶ For an analysis of the dictatorship's appropriation of liberal market philosophy and management see Tiago Castela, "A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalised Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 2011): 41-7.

national wealth; improving living standards; diminishing unemployment; and balancing the country's debts.⁷⁹⁷

Within this setting for post-war macro development, what most bothered some Portuguese architects was not the neglect of its plans to redistribute wealth, promote agricultural and industrial modernization, or to renew national institutions. It was its liberalism, its contradictory lack of a strong government hand in a dictatorship, that most bothered the architect aspiring to plan urban Portugal. This was named in a specific failure: the political economic plans did not activate specific urban, architectural, plans. They had no spatial vision. Távora, for instance, shared this view. In 1960, after talking with the deputy director in charge of research and development at the UN's *Centre for Housing, Building and Planning*, Mr. W. Garces, noted the following in his diary:

(...), in South America economic planning is not paralleled with physical, territorial planning, which is also a serious mistake (precisely what happens with us in relation to the Development Plan).

(...) he (Garces) told me that things have evolved a lot and that Planning which up to now had been almost only "design" is becoming something more complex.(...) On the other hand the built projects tend, in general, to be in urban areas, which brings countless problems to those areas and in consequence also to all the rural areas (influx into cities, desertification of the countryside etc.)⁷⁹⁸

In Portuguese cities, this became ever more felt with the growing presence of marginalized neighborhoods, agglomerates of shacks or other unregulated constructions, that appropriated both the limits and innards of cities. Together with the growing number of industries, roads and apartment blocks, this contributed to the idea that also Portugal, whose rural, regionalist, imaginary was highly active came to fit in the following account of modern cityness:

When in our time one speaks of urban landscape and in modern urban agglomerates, the image designed in mind is almost always that of an extended mass of constructions, without any hint of organic distribution, instead seemingly growing irrationally and disorderly like a thick covering of lava that progressively crystalized in enormous blocks, indifferent to valleys, hills, to artistic preciousness or to monuments and values of Nature.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁷ This produced a highly unequal distribution of wealth; remember that by 1970 about 10% of the mainland population emigrated, an emigration process actively conducted by the dictatorship, supporting European reconstruction with cheap labor. On the macro inequalities produced by the political-economic plans of the 1950s and 1960s Américo Ramos dos Santos, "Política Económica E Política de Emprego: O Modelo Dos Anos 50-60," *Análise Social* 15, no. 59 (1979): 611-53; and Silva, "Crescimento Económico E Pobreza Em Portugal (1950-74)."

⁷⁹⁸ Fernando Távora, *Diário de "Bordo"*, trans. Jane Considine and Tiago Esquivel Faria, Rita Marnoto (Porto: Gráfica Maiadouro, S.A., 2012): 98-9.

⁷⁹⁹ "Quando no nosso tempo se fala em paisagem urbana e em modernos aglomerados urbanos, a imagem que no espírito se nos desenha é quase sempre a de uma massa extensa de construções, sem qualquer indício de distribuição orgânica, antes parecendo alastrar desordenada e irracionalmente como espesso lençol de lava que foi cristalizando em enormes blocos, indiferentes a vales e colinas, a preciosidades artísticas ou a monumentos e valores da Natureza." Ilídio Alves de Araújo, *Problemas Da Paisagem Urbana* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de Urbanismo - Ministério das Obras Públicas, DGSU, 1961): 17.

This was how an architect from the center of urban studies of the ministry of public works, initiated an essay on the problems of modern European cities.⁸⁰⁰ This “modern monster” was, however, about to be disciplined:

(...) it may be said that until about mid present century, all the aspects of urban expansion and renewal can be characterized by an almost total indiscipline, to which, with the creation of the Urbanization Services General Direction (DGSU), its term has been attempted, seeing today a serious effort in the sense of imprinting a secure and correct course to the whole task of the inevitable urbanization of the Portuguese landscape,(...) ⁸⁰¹

This picturing of the urban indiscipline of Portuguese government enacted the idea of a “demolishing” and disorganized 19th century used by architects such as Távora, Teotónio Pereira and Keil do Amaral, and perpetuated in various registers throughout the 20th century, by many other architects.⁸⁰² It also enacted an idea of its redemption in the strong agency attributed to the ministry of public works during Duarte Pacheco, that is, the power of a public apparatus dedicated to designing national space.⁸⁰³ The DGSU in fact, only fully institutionalized in the post-war, was an apparatus thought by Pacheco. This informed an architecture script of strong government and design agency against the monster, liberal, without government, modern city. Thus, simultaneous with the institutionalization of the DGSU emerged the possibility of giving architects the knowledge and tools to govern development through design. In the post-war, this chained a sense of agency over Portuguese urban development with a disciplinary renewal that passed through the adaptation of modernist logics to “Man and Land” and a specific form of projecting the city. In this process, Portuguese modern architects re-arranged their urban expertise in a style of apprehending the city.

The following chapter is devoted to understand this style of apprehending the city and the knowledge and professional tools it mobilized for a sought strong spatial government of development. This will be accomplished by studying: (1) how post-war Portuguese architects also became planners; (2) how the Portuguese city, namely Porto in particular, was envisioned and planned throughout the period ranging from 1945 to the 1960s. We will recommence by the first problem: how did Portuguese architects become planners? This will involve studying the institutional crafting of the planning profession in Portugal, its political-technical mission and formative agents. This will take us to the forms of knowledge and tools deployed to create capable technicians for the nation’s urban modernization in the post-war. Stated simply, this chapter concerns how architects were crafted into

⁸⁰⁰ This essay was written as part of a cabinet report of a trip he conducted to the north of Europe in 1960, to attend an international conference on landscape architecture, see the introduction in *Ibid*.

⁸⁰¹ “(...) , pode dizer-se que até cerca dos meados do século actual, todos os aspectos da expansão e renovação urbanas, se caracterizaram por uma indisciplina quase total, a que, com a criação da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Urbanização, se tentou pôr termo, assistindo-se hoje a um esforço sério no sentido de imprimir um rumo seguro e correcto a toda a tarefa da inevitável urbanização da paisagem portuguesa, (...)” *Ibid*: 30.

⁸⁰² As pointed, regarding recent historiographies of the Portuguese city, by Castela, “A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalised Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon:” 68-9.

⁸⁰³ Pacheco’s heroic character within narratives of national development and construction started right after his passing, namely through propaganda by António Ferro’s SPN. Yet, even though this public fabrication was deconstructed by historians and architects throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Pacheco continued to hold a prized reputation for architects in democratic Portugal. See Gonçalo Canto Moniz and Christian von Oppen, “Urbanism under Salazar: Program, Practice, and Reception,” in *Urbanism and Dictatorship: A European Perspective*, Harald Bodenschatz, Piero Sassi, Max Welch Guerra (Berlin and Basel: Baurerlag; Birkhäuser, 2015), 89–101: 97-8.

planners. This chapter accounts for how the solutions to the modern “monster” city were built in government discourses, professional priorities and pedagogy. It will involve understanding how planning expertise was applied in state coordinated planning campaigns and through architecture schools, namely that of Porto. A first part to this chapter consists in understanding the formation of the state apparatus of DGSU, dedicated to studying and applying urban norms and plans. This will specifically involve studying the knowledge and mission selected for it, as well as the type of technician its coordinators crafted for the accomplishing of the country’s territorial modernization. This part will make use of primary sources from DGSU’s official records - bulletins and legal decrees – and rely on research regarding the development of urban planning in Portugal.

Architect Margarida Lôbo’s analysis of the formation of planning instruments in Portuguese government, specially focusing on Pacheco’s role, is a key resource to what follows.⁸⁰⁴ As well as architect Sandra Costa’s more recent analysis of Pacheco’s career.⁸⁰⁵ Both works supply central accounts of the history of Portuguese urban planning, namely of its modern inception with Salazar’s dictatorship. Yet, their biographical focus on Pacheco and the dictatorship’s first decade of public works, until 1943, stop short of understanding urban planning beyond the limits of these agents’, namely of Pacheco. Also, their analysis re-write, although in different registers, the history of early modern planning with monolithic notions of the dictatorship’s power and political imaginary of the *Portuguese house*. They do not account for its multiple and contested construction even within government. While they are successful in showing the ideological, professional and political confrontations within the state, namely by emphasizing the relative autonomy of Pacheco and his ministry of public works, they undervalue the connections of the form of spatial government elaborated by the latter, into democratic Portugal and its urban experts. By focusing on the formation of a government apparatus, instead of a political-technician such as Pacheco, this chapter aims to expand these accounts into a portrait of a mode of understanding the Portuguese city. In this sense, it aims to concoct these histories of the formation of modern planning, with the formation of a specific professional frame of practice and with its problem-categories, discourses, political scripts and landscape fabrications. I aim to suggest that this frame held and still holds considerable sway in architects’ style of apprehending the city.

The comprehensive research by architect Teresa Marat-Mendes, trying to capture a global history of modern Portuguese planning, instead of the partial ones by the latter authors, is key in this respect.⁸⁰⁶ For instance, her listing of the various architects and planners involved in planning Portuguese cities from the late 19th to mid-20th century was essential to identify in this dissertation a network of agents enacting modern planning in Portugal.⁸⁰⁷ Yet, her focus on the study of the evolution of morphology and its scientific tools throughout Portuguese planning, does not allow to understand how these tools scripted particularly powerful views of the city, collective organization, society and the nation. In fact, as made clear by the latter’s listing of active planners in Portugal, most were foreign, namely French, giving reason to argue that throughout its history, modern Portugal’s territorial modernization

⁸⁰⁴ Lôbo, “Planos de Urbanização: A Época de Duarte Pacheco.”

⁸⁰⁵ Costa, “O País a Régua E Esquadro: Urbanismo, Arquitectura E Memória Na Obra Pública de Duarte Pacheco.”

⁸⁰⁶ She and geographer Vítor Oliveira started a recent article with: “The history of planning activity in Portugal throughout the twentieth century remains largely unstudied.” in Marat-Mendes and Oliveira, “Urban Planners in Portugal in the Middle of the Twentieth Century: Étienne de Groër and Antão Almeida Garrett.”

⁸⁰⁷ Namely: Ibid.; Teresa Marat-Mendes and Mafalda G. Sampayo, “Étienne de Groër: The Scales of Urban Intervention in the Lisbon Territory” (1st International Meeting - European Architectural History Network, Guimarães, 2010).

depended on the knowledge, experiences and institutions beyond its nation-state limits. This chapter aims to go beyond the listing of active planners and the description of their tools, by trying to understand the knowledge, experiences and institutions passing through the formation of Portuguese institutions tending to urban planning. This will be accomplished by reading more closely a couple of French institutions and their drawing of a form of urban expertise in early 20th century. These are the *Musée Social*⁸⁰⁸ and the *Institute d'Urbanisme*,⁸⁰⁹ in Paris. Insofar as these institutions and their agents networked a group of structuring concerns and tools that were key for Portuguese urban planning, this chapter hopes to clarify the political and technological scripts crafted for the latter. And, from this, to better understand how Portuguese architects came to create a habit of thinking the city.

This would not be possible without Paul Rabinow's pertinent reading of the creation of modern French subjects, through a Foucaultian analysis of the political, social, economic and architectural-urban discourses of late 19th and early 20th century French experts: colonial governors, sociologists, geographers, politicians, architects and planners.⁸¹⁰ His account of the *Musée Social* and the French planners connected to it, is specially relevant to this chapter. By detailing the latter's development of working urban concepts, models and techniques, with the government proposition inhabiting the *Musée* he clarifies some of the key power discourses and political scripts involved in the formation of European modern planning. Without this it would be much more difficult to grasp the formation of modern Portuguese planning as a proposal of government, namely in its formation by foreign routes. Yet, to understand how discourses, urban tools and political scripts were appropriated by architects' grasp over the city, we need to move beyond the foucaultian analysis of discourse.

After going through the formation of DGSU, the ideas and urban agents of the *Musée Social* and the *Institute d'Urbanisme*, this chapter will return to the archive in order to try to understand the translations occurring between these and the planning of and architectural pedagogy in Porto. Through the study of municipal records on the city's planning activities, as well as the study of student assignments from Porto's school records, throughout the 1940s and 1950s, a later part of this chapter aims to assemble how a city was taught and practiced. This will be accomplished, specifically, by projecting an analysis of some assignments on planning by architecture students, into a description of the planning works taking hold of Porto, during the above mentioned period. This operation for studying the formation of urban planning competences in architects, using the classroom as mediator, is inspired by architect Gonçalo Canto Moniz's research on architectural pedagogy. More specifically, it is inspired by a recent attempt to assemble pedagogy together with a broader history of Portuguese planning in the dictatorship.⁸¹¹ The study of student assignments will focus on the biography of one of its urban planning teachers, David Moreira da Silva (1909-2002), who studying in Paris, translated the movements at the heart of modern Portuguese planning. In this sense, a recent work by historian Maria Pires on his career was essential to frame the role of the teacher.⁸¹² As Porto's school, following with

⁸⁰⁸ Private foundation of public interest founded in 1894 in France, with the objectives of studying modern labor relations and their connections to urban problems. It grew out of an installation by the sociologist Frédéric le Play, a pavilion on social economy, in the 1889 universal exhibition in Paris. It rallied various patrons of industry, police chiefs, politicians from various political corners, and a vast amount of urban experts, from sociologists to architects.

⁸⁰⁹ Was a school of urban studies founded in 1924 from the *École des Hautes Études Urbaines*, and sharing founders with the *Musée Social*, such as eminent urban historian Marcel Poète (1866-1950) and administrator and planner Henri Sellier (1883-1943).

⁸¹⁰ Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*.

⁸¹¹ Moniz and Oppen, "Urbanism under Salazar: Program, Practice, and Reception."

⁸¹² Pires, "O Ateliê de Arquitectura/Urbanismo de David Moreira Da Silva E Maria José Marques Da Silva Martins: Visibilidade E Memória."

Ramos' strategic lines, fed a continuous productive loop between classroom, architecture office and municipal office, this chapter aims to both use and grasp the working of this loop regarding urban planning. Hopefully, in midst of a changing city, caught between classroom, municipal office and demolition site, we may hold a clearer image of how modern Portuguese architects elaborated a style of apprehending the city.

Urban-logy

Urban planning, as an autonomous discipline, and the professional urban planner, had a late start in Portugal. For most of its modern existence as nation-state, the tasks involved in modern urban planning in mainland Portugal and colonies fell mostly on the shoulders of military and civil engineers or on those of foreign engineer and architect-planners.⁸¹³ Even when architects were involved in the design of urban strategies, it was usually an engineer conducting the design of urban layouts, infrastructures, legal dispositions and regulations.⁸¹⁴ When reaching the early 20th century, those professionals with the competences to design urban plans continued to come from engineering courses. So it was in the early days of the dictatorship: to engineers fell the responsibility of thinking, designing and managing city-planning.⁸¹⁵

The careers of Duarte Pacheco and Eduardo Arantes e Oliveira, the two ministers we have been dealing with and who had a major role in the reorganization of the modern Portuguese landscape during the dictatorship, give us a diagram of the institutions and competences more actively deployed in Portuguese urban planning. Duarte Pacheco graduated as an electro-technical engineer from Lisbon's IST in 1923, becoming its director from 1927 until his passing in 1943. Founded from an industrial and commercial institute of technical education, the IST accommodated a civil engineering course after 1911. Yet, this technical school by the 1920s was more immediately supplying industrial expertise, namely in respect to mining, bio-chemical, mechanical and electro-technical expertise.

Arantes e Oliveira graduated as an engineer from the army school of the military college in Lisbon, attending courses on civil engineering in IST in-between. He worked closely with Duarte Pacheco in Lisbon's urbanization services, which he directed (1938-40; 1944-1953). Later he became the director of the LNEC (1947) and then minister of public works (1954-1967). Both engineers, their proficiencies laying elsewhere than in civil engineering, show us to what forms of knowledge and institutions, city planning direction was more connected during the dictatorship's early decades. This presented a problem for the development and designing of more ambitious urban programs, as the forms of knowledge imparted by civil engineering had several limitations. This propelled the formation of more specific urban expertise, namely in architects.

⁸¹³ For a comprehensive list of these see Marat-Mendes and Oliveira, "Urban Planners in Portugal in the Middle of the Twentieth Century: Étienne de Groër and Antão Almeida Garrett."

⁸¹⁴ For a overarching account of urbanism in Portugal see Walter Rossa, *A Urbe E O Traço: Uma Década de Estudos Sobre O Urbanismo Português* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2002); for situated accounts in the 18th and 19th century, see José-Augusto França, *Lisboa Pombalina E O Iluminismo* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1987) and Bernardo José Ferrão, *Projecto E Transformação Urbana Do Porto Na Época Dos Almadas, 1758/1813: Uma Contribuição Para O Estudo Da Cidade Pombalina* (Porto: FAUP, 1989).

⁸¹⁵ Manuel Heitor, ed., *Engenho E Obra: Engenharia Em Portugal No Séc. XX* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 2003).

For this reason, PGUs, the urban master plans proposed by Duarte Pacheco, usually constituted mixed teams of engineers and architects; and because of the amount of PGUs put forward, some of them were even headed by architects as, for example, Távora's urban study for Montemor-o-velho (1951-1962). Yet, even with the inclusion of numerous architects in the urban programs it was clear, namely for Pacheco, the general lack of expertise and practice in city planning shared by Portuguese engineers and architects.⁸¹⁶ Hence, from its inception, the PGU program relied on a number of international collaborations with renowned planners, such as Alfred Donat Agache (1875-1959), Étienne de Gröer (1882-1952), Marcello Piacentini (1881-1960) and Giovanni Muzio (1893-1982), all of which sharing some form of ideological proximity to the dictatorship or, in the least, to its public works minister.⁸¹⁷ These French and Italian planners came to act leading roles in urban plans developed under Pacheco's program, namely planning the country's two major cities: throughout the late 1930s and early 1940s, Agache and de Gröer planned Lisbon; Piacentini and Muzio Porto.⁸¹⁸

Within these international channels, also in the late 1930s returned the first Portuguese architects with degrees in planning from Paris' *Institute d'Urbanisme*. Soon they joined the great public works campaign and its urban program. João Faria da Costa (1906-71), having started his studies in Lisbon's school, graduated from Paris in 1935 with a dissertation consisting in the urban plan for the extension and embellishment of the coastal city of Figueira da Foz, near Coimbra. When returning to Portugal he joined the team working on Lisbon's master plan, by de Gröer, also developing with the latter the master plan for Caparica.⁸¹⁹ The other Portuguese architect returning with an urban planning degree from Paris was David Moreira da Siva, finishing the degree in 1939. When returning he became a prolific planner, designing several urban plans for small and medium towns mainly in the north, many of which by the coast, such as Moledo do Minho, Paredes, Matosinhos and Aveiro. He also worked with de Gröer in Coimbra's master plan, later moving to Angola, to work with de Gröer Luanda's master plan. After which he returned to Portugal and started teaching the first planning course created at Porto's school.⁸²⁰

The international collaborations with renown urban designers, who toured the architecture schools, gave lectures on the good methods of urban design, and supplied the ministry of public works with its matrix-plans, that of Lisbon and Porto, but also that of Luanda, among other imperial destinies, had a

⁸¹⁶ Lôbo, "Planos de Urbanização: A Época de Duarte Pacheco"; Only in 1931 did architecture degrees in Portugal integrate a discipline with urban planning goals, and it was a "concurso," that is, a single design competition of a certain urban arrangement, very much within the dominant beaux-arts approach, see Gonçalo Canto Moniz and Christian von Oppen, "Urbanism under Salazar: Program, Practice, and Reception," in *Urbanism and Dictatorship: A European Perspective*, Harald Bodenschatz, Piero Sassi, Max Welch Guerra (Berlin and Basel: Bauverlag; Birkhäuser, 2015), 89–101: 96.

⁸¹⁷ Lôbo, "Planos de Urbanização: A Época de Duarte Pacheco"; Moniz and Oppen, "Urbanism under Salazar: Program, Practice, and Reception."

⁸¹⁸ More specifically Agache was responsible for *Lisbonne - Urbanisation de la Région Ouest, Remodelation & Aménagement de la Costa do Sol*, designed between 1933 and 1936. De Gröer for Lisbon's master plan and later for Coimbra's and Luanda's. Piacentini was responsible for Porto's master plan in 1939. Muzio was later hired to review and continue his plan, until 1943. For Agache's plan see Susana Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2012); for de Gröer's see Marat-Mendes and Sampayo, "Étienne de Gröer: The Scales of Urban Intervention in the Lisbon Territory"; for Piacentini's and Muzio's see Antão de Almeida Garrett, *História Da Evolução Dos Planos Gerais de Urbanização Da Cidade Do Porto* (Porto: Edições da FEUP, 1974).

⁸¹⁹ See Bruna Cristiana da Silva Marques, "João Guilherme Faria Da Costa: O Caso Único Da Figueira Da Foz" (Master's Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2015).

⁸²⁰ See Pires, "O Ateliê de Arquitectura/Urbanismo de David Moreira Da Silva E Maria José Marques Da Silva Martins: Visibilidade E Memória."

determinant role in the development of modern urban practices in Portugal. As well as the return of the first Portuguese architects specialized in urban planning. This immigration and return provoked the development of planning competences and government, specially by inspiring the ministry of public works to reorganize its urban structures, laws and operations in a single entity. By the early 1940s, the ministry did not favor the dispersal of planning efforts through various different public departments, which involved the PGUs in different and sometimes conflicting processes of evaluation. By late 1944, it solved this problem by absorbing the various state entities involved in evaluating and approving urban plans, under the sole tutelage of the new DGSU.⁸²¹ The urban planning of Portugal got its central headquarters and government apparatus.

With the constitution of this core mechanism for urban planning, the recognition of the chronic lack of expert personnel became an unavoidable problem. Despite the determinant collaboration with French and Italian planners, the few returned Portuguese planners, the fact was that there were not enough designers to conduct the planning operations that, by the late 1940s, amounted to more than seventy official PGU requests.⁸²² The ministry of national education, headed by José Caeiro da Mata (1877-1963) between 1944 and 1947, was made to converge on this national deficit, approving in 1945 a decree-law instituting the teaching of “urbanologia,” or *urbanology*, in architecture degrees.⁸²³ The wording of the decree is specially pertinent, not only as a sign of the ambitions of state enforced urban plans. But also because it laid down a clear portrait of the urban expert desired by government. Let us open a dialogue with this decree. It started by stating:

The remarkable development of urbanism imposed by the tendencies and needs of modern life very naturally provoked the Government’s attention regarding the renewal and expansion of urban nuclei, with the goal of promoting the improvement in their conditions of existence.⁸²⁴

In what consisted this improvement of urban living conditions, how can we characterize it?

The Government’s intent regarding the subject of urbanization is not solely to execute the elaboration of plans guiding urban discipline: together with the practical and utilitarian aspect of the works realized, the quality and the aesthetical, spiritual, value of those works must be considered.⁸²⁵

How were these two areas of competence, the practical and utilitarian, and the aesthetical and spiritual, acted?

(...) at the same time that the various fields of engineering are preparing for the indispensable technical collaboration in the fulfillment of the studies and works corresponding to certain parts of

⁸²¹ Decree-law nº 34:337, December 27 of 1944, approved during the stewardship of Augusto Cancela de Abreu (1895-1965) as minister of public works (1944-47), also a civil engineer graduated from IST in Lisbon.

⁸²² See Lôbo, “Planos de Urbanização: A Época de Duarte Pacheco”: 286-88

⁸²³ Decree-law nº 34:607, May 15 of 1945.

⁸²⁴ “O notável desenvolvimento do urbanismo imposto pelas tendências e necessidades da vida moderna provocou muito naturalmente a atenção do Governo quanto ao arranjo e à expansão dos núcleos urbanos com o fim de promover a melhoria das suas condições de existência.” Ibid: 404.

⁸²⁵ “O intuito do Governo em matéria de urbanização não é apenas o de levar à elaboração de planos orientadores da disciplina urbana: a par do aspecto prático e utilitário das obras que se realizaram, têm de ser considerados a qualidade e o valor estético, espiritual, dessas obras.” Idem.

urbanization, and the environment is being created for the cooperation of the hygienists, the doctors, the sociologists, in the multiple aspects of public administration, it is indispensable that the superior degrees of architecture broaden their study cycle, having in view urbanological problems.⁸²⁶

So there should be a broad collaboration between several technical domains in order to correctly administer the public thing that is the city, and within this broad collaboration architects should be taught the ways of *urbanology*, for that would be their technical contribution to the managing of the public thing. In what consisted *urbanology*?

Especially in the education of architecture it becomes necessary to develop the part referent to urbanology that, (...), serves the purpose of creating dignified and beautiful towns, where life may be comfortable and agreeable to its inhabitants.⁸²⁷

How were architects supposed to become proficient in this art of designing “dignified and beautiful towns,” what insured that they were able to put forward the aesthetical and spiritual values deserved by a dignified town?

The normal and full education of urbanology, encompassing the numerous problems that the development of modern towns raise, should occupy the activity of architecture students for about two years; but for already graduated architects, (...) that already possess a certain degree of practical and theoretical knowledge of urbanology, the fundamental principles of the new discipline may be administered, with good results, in periods of intensive work, (...).

Article 1º: The courses of urbanology and urbanization works projects are hereby created in the Schools of Fine Arts of Lisbon and Porto and are now part of their respective superior degree in architecture, constituting, respectfully, the 15th and 16th courses.⁸²⁸

The ministry of national education, thus understanding the challenges of modern city planning, directly created two new courses in the two existing architecture schools in Portugal. But what specifically, in these courses, enabled architects to answer the challenges of planning?

Art. 2º: In the 15th and 16th courses theoretical and practical teachings will be administered, the first

⁸²⁶ “(...), ao mesmo tempo que os diversos ramos de engenharia se vão preparando para a indispensável colaboração técnica na realização dos estudos e trabalhos correspondentes a certas partes da urbanização e se vai criando o ambiente para a cooperação que hão-de prestar os higienistas, os médicos, os sociólogos, nos múltiplos aspectos da administração pública, é indispensável que os cursos superiores de arquitectura ampliem o ciclo dos seus estudos, tendo em vista os problemas urbanológicos.” Idem.

⁸²⁷ “Sobretudo no ensino da arquitectura torna-se necessário desenvolver a parte referente á urbanologia, que, (...), serve o propósito de criar povoações dignas e belas, onde a vida seja cómoda e agradável para os seus habitantes.” Idem.

⁸²⁸ “O ensino completo e normal de urbanologia, abrangendo os numerosos problemas que o desenvolvimento das povoações modernas suscita, deverá ocupar a atividade dos estudantes de arquitectura durante cerca de dois anos; mas para os architectos já formados, que (...) já possuem um certo grau de conhecimentos práticos e teóricos de urbanologia, os princípios fundamentais da nova disciplina poderão ser ministrados, com bons resultados, em períodos de trabalho intensivo, (...). Artigo 1º: São criadas nas Escolas de Belas Artes de Lisboa e Pôrto e ficam a fazer parte do respectivo curso superior de arquitectura as cadeiras de urbanologia e projectos e obras de urbanização, que constituirão, respectivamente, a 15ª e a 16ª cadeiras.” Ibid: 404-5.

consisting in *lições magistrais*⁸²⁹ and the second in exercises of application and composition executed in the study.

Art. 3º: The program of the 15th course will range the following subjects: history and evolution of urbanism; modern urbanism's basis; urban morphology; organization of cities and analysis of its elements; urban legislation; application studies and *projectos*.

Art. 4º: The program of the 16th course will range the following subjects: analysis of the elements of a *projecto* of renewal and extension; basis for the elaboration of urbanization projects; legislation, regulation and reports connected with *projectos* of urbanization; study of *projectos* of application. (...)

Art. 6º: the performance of student will be ascertained through final exams and emulation competitions.⁸³⁰

Thus the dictatorship created, for the first time in Portugal, a pedagogical package solely devoted to urban studies in architecture schools, and as the art of designing “dignified and beautiful towns.” Its ambition, specially enacted through DGSU, as nerve center for all urban operations, was to accomplish the vast program idealized by Duarte Pacheco in the early 1930s: to create the first national urban master plans, ranging any town above 2000 inhabitants, as well as corresponding urban regulation to conduct growth and manage the aesthetic and spiritual values of the Portuguese city.⁸³¹ Yet, as in the case of PGU elaboration, namely the lack of able experts, so too this educational reform lacked able teachers to accomplish it. For this reason, the decree-law of 1945 tells us:

Regarding the necessary academic staff, it is the Government's obligation to recruit it among Portuguese architects; but, while that staff is preparing for its pedagogical mission, it strikes as convenient to use the collaboration of consecrated foreign teachers that, during the first times, should conduct their teaching having in consideration the degree of aptitude and professional culture of those that will enroll in the courses now created.⁸³²

The dictatorship's collaboration with foreign architect-planners was maximized as possible, as these were also asked to fill the role of the first pedagogues of urban planning in Portugal. Within this program for crafting expertise, the generation of modern architects to which Távora belonged was theoretically and practically initiated in the design of cities. When in 1945 the *urbanology* courses were

⁸²⁹ I have chosen here to keep the original in Portuguese, which can be loosely translated as lessons provided by masters, the “urbanology” course then consisting in masterly theoretical lectures.

⁸³⁰ “Art. 2º: Nas 15ª e 16ª cadeiras ministrar-se-á ensino teórico e prático, consistindo o primeiro em lições magistrais e o segundo em exercícios de aplicação e de composição executados em sala de estudos. Art. 3º: O programa da 15ª cadeira abrangerá as seguintes matérias: história e evolução do urbanismo; bases do urbanismo moderno; morfologia urbana; organização das cidades e análise dos seus elementos; legislação urbanística; estudos e projectos de aplicação. Art. 4º: O programa da 16ª cadeira abrangerá as seguintes matérias: análise dos elementos de um projecto de arranjo e de extensão; bases para a elaboração dos projectos de urbanização; legislação, regulamentação e memórias relacionadas com os projectos de urbanização; estudos e projectos de aplicação. (...) Art. 6º: O aproveitamento dos alunos será averiguados por meio de exames de frequência e de concursos de emulação.” in *Ibid*: 405.

⁸³¹ Specifically instituted with the decree-law nº 24:802, December 21 of 1934.

⁸³² “Quanto ao necessário pessoal docente, é orientação do Governo recrutá-lo de entre os architectos portugueses; mas, enquanto esse pessoal se prepara para a sua missão pedagógica, afigura-se conveniente utilizar a colaboração de consagrados professores estrangeiros, que durante os primeiros tempos deverão fazer o seu ensino tendo em consideração o grau de aptidão e de cultura profissional dos que se matricularem nos cursos agora criados.” in decree-law nº 34:607: 405.

opened, Étienne de Gröer, the Spanish César Cort (1893-1978) and José Fonseca Llamedo, and Faria da Costa were invited to be the new faculty. With the exception of Llamedo, who taught only for one year in Porto, none filled the chair, for a variety of reasons, being the most common lack of time for a full professorship amidst work commissions.⁸³³ The task of teaching *urbanology* was taken-up, in Lisbon, by the architect Paulino Montez, and in Porto by David Moreira da Silva. Yet, through conferences and lectures, knowledge of urban planning followed from the international guidelines brought forth by those more directly involved with the ministry of public works, such as de Gröer. This connection was not solely practiced by this or that lecture, book or model, but also and in a most relevant manner, by the exchange of expertise between the government offices and studios designing the cities of the Portuguese empire. Through this exchange, also government honed its skills at seizing national territory in an ordered and “dignified” modernization.

In the first report produced by DGSU of its activities, of 1946, we can find a cohesive and comprehensive definition of what urban planning was supposed to accomplish and mobilize.⁸³⁴ Urban planning and urban studies were not just relevant areas for government, but essential for what, according to the then minister of public works, engineer Augusto Cancela de Abreu (1895-1965), was an “époque of improvement and expansion.” The scale and complexity of challenges of this *époque* required the formation of an urban governing body, capable of “effectively” and “superiorly” directing the conditions of development: the DGSU. According to the Cancela de Abreu, this was a governing apparatus that “(...) opened new perspectives and real possibilities for the intervention of the State as tutor to the problems connected to urbanism in the whole country.”⁸³⁵ This first report, in reality, advanced much of what it was to be expected not only of the state, but also of urban experts, architects and engineers alike, and of remodelled cities themselves.

The first director of the recently created DGSU, the civil engineer Manuel de Sá e Mello (1892-1975), exposed the competences and tasks held by the new governing body.⁸³⁶ For the “economical resurgence and social transformation and the correction of a certain backwardness, lived in Portugal,” the “greatest relevance” went to planning cities and the countryside.⁸³⁷ Works “indispensable for rationally organizing life in all its aspects, disciplining and coordinating the continuous development of populational nuclei.”⁸³⁸ The main problem facing the “physiognomy” of Portugal was, thus and in his

⁸³³ Both architecture schools, Lisbon and Porto, named Étienne de Gröer for the seat of Professor in the 15th and 16th courses; as well as the Spanish architect-planner César Cort. Neither of which would be available for a full faculty position. Instead, in Porto’s urban courses the Spanish planner José Fonseca Llamedo, personally acquainted with Carlos Ramos, and David Moreira da Silva took charge. In Lisbon, urban studies were headed by the Portuguese architect Paulino Montez, municipal deputy in Lisbon, member of the executive commission of the *costa do sol* urban plan and, in 1949, made director of Lisbon’s school. For a detailed account of the nominations see Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69).”

⁸³⁴ Ministério das Obras Públicas e Comunicações, *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização: 1945-1946*, vol. 1^o (Lisboa: Gráfica Santelmo, 1946).

⁸³⁵ “(...) abriu perspectivas novas e possibilidades reais à intervenção do Estado como orientador dos problemas ligados ao urbanismo em todo o País” see Augusto Cancela de Abreu, “Duas Palavras,” in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, vol. 1^o (Lisboa: Gráfica Santelmo, 1946), 1.

⁸³⁶ Sá e Mello was one of the assistant commissaries in the national exhibition *Exposição do Mundo Português* in 1940, under Pacheco. On the exhibition see chapter 1, “the possibility of a spatial language of strong government.”

⁸³⁷ “(...) ressurgimento económico e transformação social e corrigir certo atraso em que se tem vivido em Portugal” see Manuel de Sá e Mello, “A Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização,” in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, vol. 1^o (Lisboa: Gráfica Santelmo, 1946), 3–7: 3.

⁸³⁸ “(...) indispensáveis para racionalmente organizar a vida em todos os seus aspectos, disciplinando e coordenando o desenvolvimento contínuo dos núcleos populacionais” see Ibid: 3.

opinion, the unruliness of cities, caused by the migratory flows from the poorer countryside and also the lack of supply of adequate housing to the rural hinterland. The DGSU was designed to act on two fronts: (1) the promotion of a rural welfare by better organizing its spaces and supplying better housing, so as to stop the migrating flow to cities; and (2) the hygienization and disciplining of cities, so as to concede them the beauty and health proper to modern development. For this, Sá e Mello argued for the need of a stronger intervention from the state, “as initiated in 1929” he added, year of Salazar’s rise to power.⁸³⁹ Strong yet liberal, the state’s role was projected as an essential tutorship to urban modernization, strong and wide enough to charter the DGSU with total executive power over the territory.

According to Sá e Mello, urban studies should fulfill two specific pragmatic measures and rely on a specific form of knowledge. The two measures were: (1) the modernization of sewage systems, especially in cities, so as to reduce the “influence of determined diseases that contribute so much to the country’s high mortality rate;” and (2) industrial planning, namely the study of industrial placement. These two measures, within the broadest strategy of “rationally organizing life in all its aspects,” should rely on the indispensable “(...) in-depth study of the past, of the organization and evolution of urban agglomerates, of physical and climatic conditions, of their developmental tendencies.”⁸⁴⁰ This connected the works of national physiognomic improvement with social amelioration and economic revitalization. The edge of this government tool was enclosed within the medical allegory of curing sick bodies, namely those of cities and countryside. The use of the medical metaphor to frame the scope and subject of urban intervention was not something new to modern urban government. According to Foucault and others working within his hypothesis, it arose as a productive category from a tradition of governing urban bodies, mainly animated by doctors, policemen and engineers, in which curing, disciplining and building were interchangeable as society’s healing processes.⁸⁴¹

Yet, what Sá e Mello presented was a specific late form of this engineering of the city’s health, namely through better infrastructure, housing and economical planning. According to him, planning’s agency was supposed to depart from the in-depth appropriation of history, morphology, geography and economy, regarding an agglomerate to be dignified and cured. This notion of the urban task was not derived from the limited expertise of Portuguese planners and administrators, for whom either a technical emphasis on infrastructure or one on formal beautification centered the priorities built between the engineering IST and the *beaux-arts* tradition in architecture schools. This much was framed by minister Cancela de Abreu’s opening statements on the mission of urban plans. Sá e Mello’s more detailed explanation of DGSU and the power of planning arrived from other routes. Exposing these, Etienne de Gröer, through his wife Gabrielle de Gröer, presented an introduction to planning in these first pages of DGSU.⁸⁴² Probably inspiring Sá e Mello’s register, the de Gröers started by an

⁸³⁹ Ibid: 5.

⁸⁴⁰ “(...) é indispensável o estudo profundo do passado, da organização e evolução dos aglomerados urbanos, das condições físicas e climáticas, das suas tendências de desenvolvimento” see Ibid: 4.

⁸⁴¹ See Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics - Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*, trans. Graham Burchell, Michel Senellart (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); for a drawing of “diagrams” through which urban power was generically constructed see Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose, “Governing Cities: Notes on the Spatialisation of Virtue,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17 (1999): 737–60; for a take on the gathering of physicians, policemen and engineers around the government of the city, see Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London, New York: Verso, 2003).

⁸⁴² Etienne de Gröer, “Introdução Ao Urbanismo,” in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, vol. 1º (Lisboa: Gráfica Santelmo, 1946), 17–85; Teresa Marat-Mendes and Mafalda G. Sampayo argue this text was a translation from an original in French, without

hygienic, medical, allusion:

Certainly, sanitary installations are a hint of modern progress and constitute part of the urbanization of any place, in the same way a poultice, placed on the chest of a sick person, constitutes part of medicine (...).⁸⁴³

As with the right application of a poultice by a knowledgeable physician, also the activity of organizing cities was not rightly accomplished by just “any urbanist.” With this introduction they aimed to clarify “(...) to whom belongs the mission of creating the future of a country” and which “essential elements compose urbanism.”⁸⁴⁴ This was an old science, they claimed, making it stretch back into Egypt 3.000 BC. This was so because the art of laying cities according to a “pre-established plan” had been going on since then. After moving through a long historical account of this definition of planning, giving special emphasis to 18th century examples, such as Washington, Paris and Lisbon’s plans, they claimed contemporary planning “has a very different orientation.” Contrary to the historical examples they brought forth, their art of creating future comprised the “vaster end of: (...) organizing life in cities, so as to afford its inhabitants the possibility of living hygienically and comfortably.”⁸⁴⁵ The “healthy house,” “pure” air, “perfect” lighting were essential molding materials for this art.

Health, however, as argued by Foucault is built on the naming and subjecting of its opposite.⁸⁴⁶ For the de Gröers the opposite to city health was presented in the 19th century industrial city: the steam engine, the factories, the dense housing blocks, the general absence of sanitary and alleviated conditions thereof created, and the pervading social unrest. Planning was on the good side of history, redeeming that “confused and destructive” 19th century, as Távora wrote the year before and as became common for architects intent on putting order on modern development.⁸⁴⁷ Planning was already imbued with a solution, which was simultaneously from where its disciplinary mission stemmed. For de Gröer, Ebenezer Howard’s garden-city was a great part of the solution and epistemological model for his definition of the art of organizing life in cities.⁸⁴⁸ Putting aside some of Howard’s more socialist ideas,⁸⁴⁹

date but developed around his time developing Lisbon's master plan, see “Étienne de Groër: The Scales of Urban Intervention in the Lisbon Territory” (1st International Meeting - European Architectural History Network, Guimarães, 2010).

⁸⁴³ “Com certeza, as instalações sanitárias são um indício do progresso modern e constituem uma parte da urbanização de um lugar qualquer, do mesmo modo que um sinapismo, pôsto no peito de um doente, constitui uma parte da medicina;” see Gröer, “Introdução Ao Urbanismo”: 18.

⁸⁴⁴ “(...) a quem pertence a missão de criar o futuro de um país, os elementos essenciais que compõem o urbanismo,” see Ibid: 18.

⁸⁴⁵ “O urbanismo contemporâneo tomou uma orientação muito diferente: a criação de conjuntos arquitectónicos constitui sòmente uma pequena parte dêle. O fim das nossas pesquisas é mais vasto: é a organização da vida nas cidades, de maneira a dar aos seus habitans a possibilidade de viverem higiênica e cômodamente.” Ibid: 22-23.

⁸⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perceptions*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Taylor & Francis, 2003) (orig. 1963).

⁸⁴⁷ Távora, “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa,” November 10, 1945.

⁸⁴⁸ As we will see further down, de Gröer appropriated only parts of Howard’s garden-city idea, as also argued by Marat-Mendes and Sampayo, “Étienne de Groër: The Scales of Urban Intervention in the Lisbon Territory.”

⁸⁴⁹ For example: they interpreted as essential to Howard’s garden-city that land be fully acquired by public authorities and leased to dwellers, for speculation based on private property was taken by de Gröer as a root of many urban evils. Futher, its plan, that of a city owned by public authorities, should be designed in advance by an architect-planner, see Gröer, “Introdução Ao Urbanismo”: 24; In reality, Howard's scheme was not thought to depend on public property over private lands, but on the formation of cooperatives of private individuals that would buy or rent the land. Also, the garden-city was not thought by Howard as needing to stem from a fully comprehensive urban plan, designed by an

the key to retain from the garden-city was the development strategy, sanitary and morally edifying morphology, and functional planning. De Gröer subscribed to its projection of an urban life immersed in nature, low density and strong public administration. He added the urban model not only made sense by itself, for an hygienic and comfortable urban life, but more so in a time of war or eminent war. The spreading of population through single-family houses and low-density blocks surrounded by greenery, reduced the possible damage by bombing.⁸⁵⁰ This ideal model was translated into three founding propositions for planning. The garden-city strategy, in its morphological and economical proposition, was declared a first proposition for planning. The second was what Howard “copied from its predecessors,” that is, rational distribution or, as later immortalized in the *athens charter*, functional zoning. The third and last: planning should be the application of all the “technical sciences” involved in city building: sewage, lighting, waste management, etc... Stated differently, a total technical art.⁸⁵¹



34 Portrait of the 19th century, namely England, used by de Gröer in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, 1946.

Having defined the founding propositions of modern planning, de Gröer then argued the epoch presented new demands to planners, namely concerning regional planning. In his opinion, creating the

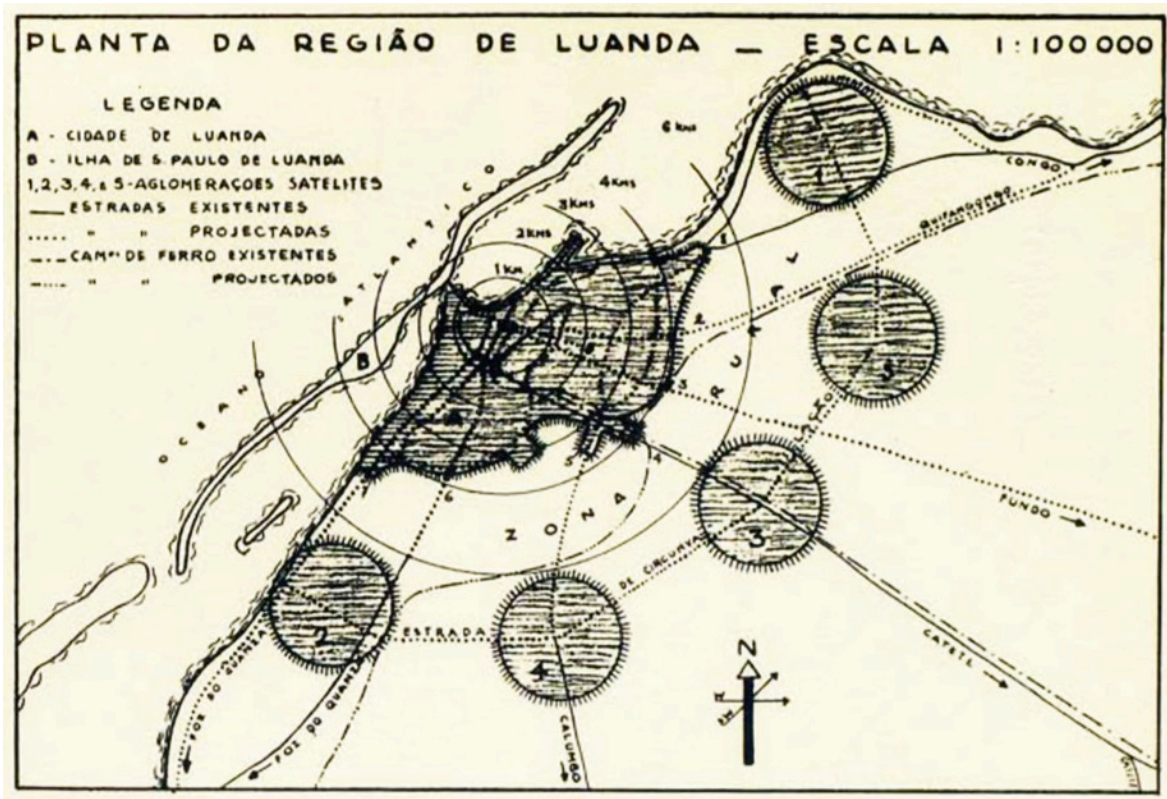
expert, but instead by a sort of crafters' community in the sense of William Morris. For a detailed account of Howard's garden-city see Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 3^o ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

⁸⁵⁰ De Gröer, “Introdução Ao Urbanismo”: 28.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid*: 24-25.

“bizarre expression” of rural urbanism. Enumerating the national and regional plans developed in France, Germany, Norway and, lastly, Portugal, in which he was participating, he acknowledged the tasks presented to planners were vast.⁸⁵² Yet, despite the regional scale of problems:

(...) without exceeding the limits of a single city, we may conceive, for the establishment of the great directives of its urbanization plan, very new principles...or so old that had fell in oblivion.⁸⁵³



35 The planning of Luanda's regional urban area, de Gröer, in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, 1946, p.25.

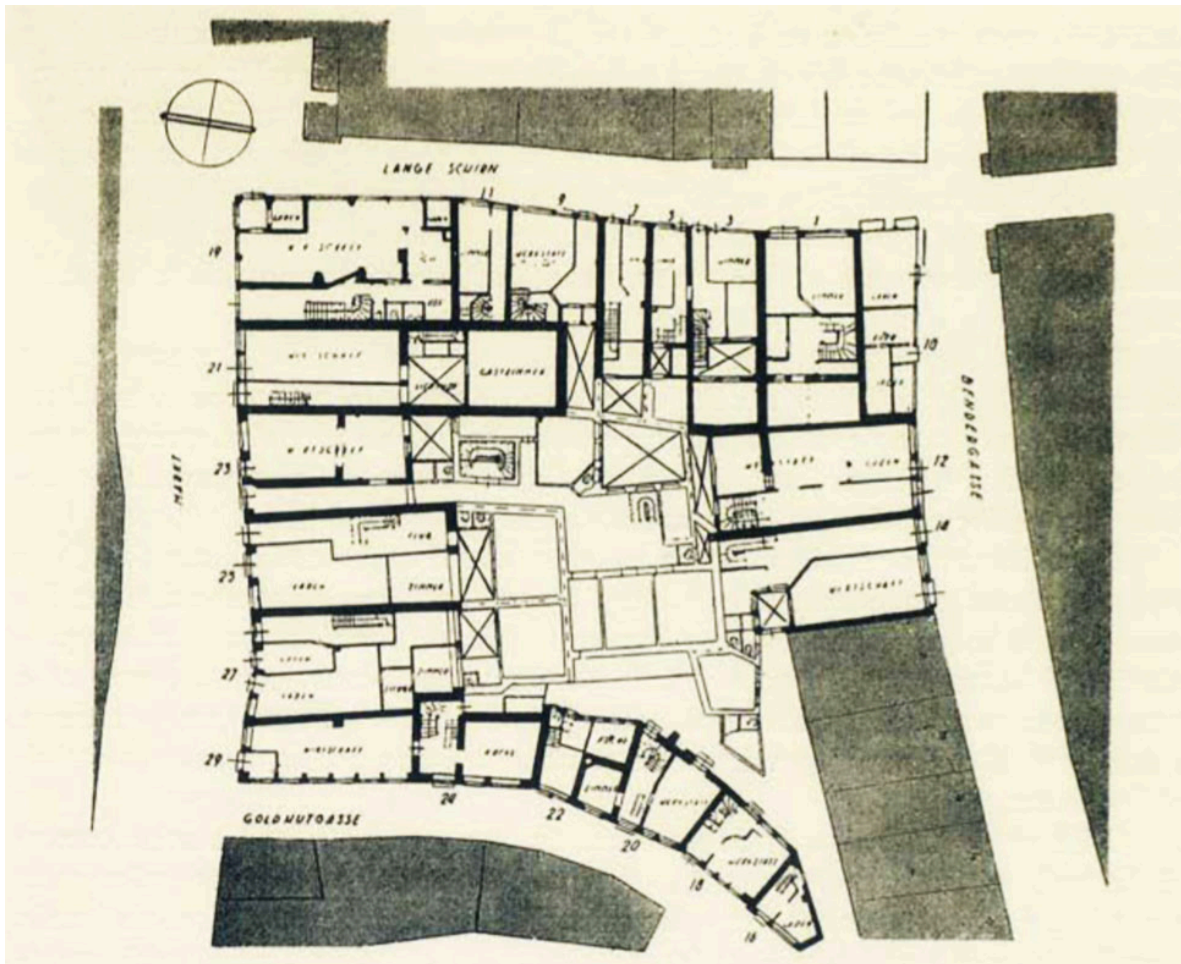
In a central part of town, a peripheral neighborhood, through a partial improvement plan concerning a group of public structures but, more importantly, in the delimiting of the core body of a city, a whole nexus of regional urban principles could be formulated.⁸⁵⁴ By finding and disciplining the heart of an urban organism, order would flow to the rest. He proceeded to establish the directives of this art of disciplining. Economic and populational planning, zoning and infrastructure works figured prominently as the planner's priorities. Given that the problem in Portugal was also the lack of

⁸⁵² Ibid: 27.

⁸⁵³ "(...) sem mesmo ultrapassar os limites de uma única cidade, podemos conceber, para o estabelecimento das grandes directizes do seu plano de urbanização, princípios muito novos... ou de tal modo antigos que tinham caído no esquecimento" see Ibid: 27; the regional understanding of the urban problem is greatly indebted to the human geography of Vidal de La Blanche and the late eighteenth, early nineteenth-century regionalist movement.

⁸⁵⁴ This was coherent with his professional planning experience in Portugal as, for instance, in Lisbon's and Coimbra's master plans, which greatly consisted in planning and designing central areas. On Lisbon's see Marat-Mendes and Oliveira, "Urban Planners in Portugal in the Middle of the Twentieth Century: Étienne de Gröer and Antão Almeida Garrett"; on Coimbra's see Etienne de Gröer, *Anteplano de Urbanização E Embelezamento E de Extensão Da Cidade de Coimbra*, trans. David Moreira da Silva (Coimbra, 1948).

legislation, to the latter he added “needed” legislation.⁸⁵⁵ He prescribed: (1) the beautification and hygienization of city centers, by demolishing quarters, reducing densities and opening avenues, gardens and squares; (2) the rational distribution of housing, commerce and industry, separating the activities that were not conducive to an healthy urban environment; (3) keeping the rural hinterland as a vast green space, whose existence was justified in being the “lungs” of cities, which he argued as following from Howard’s precepts; (4) any new construction in rural areas, with the exception of those serving agricultural activities, should be prohibited, and those few allowed were not to be entitled to infrastructures, such as sewage, unless their proprietors paid for it.⁸⁵⁶ In fact, de Gröer advanced a whole manual of city planning for the future planning of Portuguese cities.



36 An example of higienic demolition in Frankfurt, used by de Gröer, in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, 1946, p.37.

In-between pictures of Venice, Hilversum, Lisbon, Welwin garden-city in England, he presented model sections of street profiles, intersections, pictures of housing quarters and new towns, namely some images of his plan for Coimbra. All sorts of detailed solutions regarding the correct renewal and building of houses, public buildings and spaces, streets and industrial areas followed. Ranging from

⁸⁵⁵ Gröer, “Introdução Ao Urbanismo.”

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid*: 43.

ideal street width and profile, to housing disposition, form and dimensions, to the laying of highways, sidewalks and streets. It supplied directives, a comprehensive range of spatial hypothesis, as well as their hygienic, social, functional and economic implications. Last but not the least, de Gröer supplied suggestions on how to formulate urban legislation and how to concretely elaborate what he called an “Urban Extension and Renewal Plan.”⁸⁵⁷ To create a new plan a planner had to follow through with the study of the existing city, the new city or “extension,” the countryside, avenues, streets, coupled by economic, social and cultural studies of these elements. Yet, the plan started with: “In effect a drawing is what the urbanist must do (...).” Not just any drawing though, but one that was able to translate the “many social, technical and architectural problems,” involved in organizing life in cities. Elements only graspable from the study “(...) of the existing city, from its reasons of historical being, geographical and economical, and the study of its development (...).”⁸⁵⁸



37 Pictures of the garden-city of Welwin, used by de Gröer in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, 1946.

De Gröer’s contribution to the DGSU, in its first report, was simultaneously a lesson in urban planning, directed at a wider audience: “(...) mainly to the youth, to whom belongs the mission of the creating the future of a country.”⁸⁵⁹ A summary of the challenges and proposals already developed for the DGSU, together with their colleagues at Lisbon municipality’s Urbanization Services, where the French planner worked between 1938-40 and again between 1947-48. As well as a manual for its planners and other possible Portuguese planners, supplying principles, rules, methods, concrete solutions, together with economical evaluations of certain urban measures. All of this was coupled in appendix, with specific amendments to a future national urban legislation and concrete suggestions to ongoing planning challenges. The text seemed to have been made to initiate DGSU’s architect-planners, while constituting its unspoken rules book, but also as a public information campaign. For instance, in its patron-oriented tone, always referring possible problems, burdens and responsibilities for municipalities, and finishing the text with an overall economic evaluation of the plan, its problems and

⁸⁵⁷ “Plano de Arranjo Urbano e de Extensão,” between the following pages he described the information, the tools and the results expected in such a plan, see Ibid; 45-76.

⁸⁵⁸ “É com efeito um desenho que o urbanista tem de fazer (...) deve, primeiro que tudo, traduzir fielmente as soluções dos muitos problemas sociais, técnicos e arquitecturais. (...) É o estudo da cidade existente, das suas razões de ser históricas, geográficas e económicas, e o estudo do seu desenvolvimento que porão esses problemas ao urbanista (...)” see Ibid: 47.

⁸⁵⁹ “(...)principalmente à juventude, a quem pertence a missão de criar o future de um país (...)” see de Ibid.: 18.

benefits. In part, this was also intent on pitching the tool of urban planning to Portuguese municipalities. The text ended with the following words: “It was to hinder municipalities from uselessly dissipating the money of which they are the faithful depositaries, but not to force them to do fantastic and foolish expenditures, that urbanists were born.”⁸⁶⁰

Together with this dialogue between planner and public administrator, this first DGSU report allows us to consider yet another spokesperson and set of concerns, at this government apparatuses’ inception. The architect Cotinelli Telmo, who had a central role in the early aestheticization of the dictatorship, for instance coordinating the *Exposição do Mundo Português* in 1940, contributed with a text devoted to the role of the architect in urban planning. The importance of this role was argued in contrast with the lesser role of the “pure technician,” alluding vaguely to engineers. He asked, regarding the crafting of functional zoning, of avenues and squares: “What would the pure Technician do without the natural skills and formation of the Artist (...)?”⁸⁶¹ Telmo replied that neither the artist nor the “pure technician” were able, by themselves, to reasonably fulfill the complex task of urbanizing the country:

On the other hand, it would be unconscionably unfair to consider that a master urban plan, designed by Architect, could (...) diminish the value of creation and independence of the technicians that imagine, develop and realize the great works of underground trains, distribute energies, supply water, (...) conquering a glorious place in the eyes of the World. These are the Engineers, holders we would not dare leave in the shadows and that we much rejoice in evoking, for being the brothers-in-arms of Architects in the thrilling and noble mission of Urbanizing.⁸⁶²

If this serves to show that the functionalist solidarity of experts, discussed in the last chapter, was at the heart of the constitution of a desired strong government of national space, it also highlights the central role architects assumed in the advancement of DGSU and its planning stakes, at least in intent. In its post-war inception, following with Duarte Pacheco’s program of territorial modernization, the DGSU placed the architect, namely the future architect-planner, at the center of a national cleansing and improving of urban Portugal.⁸⁶³ The liberal growth of the late 1950s and 1960s, would undermine this authority imbedded by the state in the architect, feeding the critiques with which we started this chapter. Yet this *projecto* of authority lingered as the original promise to fulfil the plan of a much expected modernization, ordering and correcting, of the country. Importantly, it crafted a political and professional position from which architects read the urban development of the country in its 19th

⁸⁶⁰ “Foi para impedir os municípios de dissipar inútilmente o dinheiro de que são depositários responsáveis, mas não para os obrigar a fazer despesas fantásticas e um pouco loucas, que nasceram os urbanistas.” see Ibid: 80.

⁸⁶¹ “O que faria o Técnico puro, sem as aptidões naturais e a formação do Artista (...),” earlier importing to pure technicians the following dilemma: “Technique for its own sake, actually, has re-conducted Man to barbarity, killing in he (...) what in him there was of human and personal,” translated from “A Técnica pela Técnica, alias, tem reconduzido o Homem à barbárie, matando nele (...) o que nele havia de humano e pessoal,” see Cottinelli Telmo, “Arquitectos E Urbanismo,” in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, vol. 1^o (Lisboa: Gráfica Santelmo, 1946), 13–15: 13-14. The artist should be here understood as the architect.

⁸⁶² “Por outro lado seria desmedidamente injusto considerar que um plano director de urbanização, traçado por Arquitecto, pudesse (...) diminuir o valor de criação e a independência dos técnicos que imaginam, desenvolvem e realizam as grandes redes dos metropolitanos, distribuem energias, abastecem de água, (...) conquistando um lugar glorioso aos olhos do Mundo. São eles os Engenheiros, titulares que não ausariamos deixa na sombra, e muito nos apraz evocar, por serem os irmãos de armas dos Arquitectos na apaixonante e nobre missão de Urbanizar.” Ibid: 15.

⁸⁶³ On Pacheco’s importance for the creation of DGSU, see Lôbo, “Planos de Urbanização: A Época de Duarte Pacheco”; and Costa, “O País a Régua E Esquadro: Urbanismo, Arquitectura E Memória Na Obra Pública de Duarte Pacheco.”

century-inspired, disorganized, liberal and chaotic, development, in part awaiting Pacheco Duarte's return. This contribution by Telmo, when put together with the other three, however, also allows to grasp the dynamization of a government process with the creation of a new expertise.

This first DGSU report acted the concocting of an urban discipline, its knowledge and methods, with the political program for a strong state and a disciplined management of space. It translated competences and causes for the physiognomic caring of the country's bodies. We can observe how a specific urban knowledge and practice brought by de Gröer, resided at the inception of an urban governing apparatus. As well as how, within its becoming, reform-minded engineers proposed the strategic goals of a strong government, and architects projected their position within its re-organization of national space. In this respect, Sá e Mello's defense of "in-depth study of the past, of the organization and evolution of urban agglomerates, of physical and climatic conditions, of their development tendencies," was the integration of de Gröer's urban doctrine for governmental effect.⁸⁶⁴ There was a close conversation between the planner, the administrator, the engineer, the architect and the politician in the post-war reorganization of the ministry of public works' powers. Between these experts was produced a transformation of ideas, categories and plans from disciplines to causes, from knowledge to administration, from understanding space to governing the physiognomy of the country's sick body.

This enactment of a government apparatus spawned an original urban doctrine and expert definition as it enabled a specific way of conceiving the *desenho* of cities. Namely as a *projecto* of spatial government was also translated in a specific set of pedagogical tools, productive principles and methods, to be applied in the creation of Portuguese architect-planners. To understand the practice of urban *desenho* that came about within this projection of power and government, however, it is crucial to grasp what political causes were inscribed in the principles, methods and tools de Gröer brought to DGSU. Stated differently, we must find out why in this first DGSU report, planning was defined regarding physiognomy, the analysis of in-depth history, environmental conditions, economic projections, low density, the importance of green space, the delimiting of the hinterland as natural reserve. We must try to identify what and who else spoke in this report and set the frames for *urbanology*. Here, we must follow the French connection. The ministry of public works' and architects' conversations with de Gröer were, at the same time, a conversation with his teachers, colleagues, institutions, urban experiences and political causes. We need to travel to France, specifically to Paris, in order to better grasp the propositions of *desenho* animating the formation of a modern urban expertise in Portugal.

Social causes, urban problems

The relevance of going back to Paris is not only due to de Gröer's presence at the DGSU. The activities of French planners in Portugal brought about various novelties and changes. In Pacheco Duarte's time these were concentrated in the drawing of the dictatorship's urban master plans, PGUs. As recently recognized by Suzana Lobo, the latter greatly owed their formulation to the *Plans d'Aménagement, d'Embellissement et d'Extension des Villes*, established in France between 1919 and

⁸⁶⁴ "(...) é indispensável o estudo profundo do passado, da organização e evolução dos aglomerados urbanos, das condições físicas e climáticas, das suas tendências de desenvolvimento," see Mello, "A Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização."

1924.⁸⁶⁵ These plans were established by two laws named Cornudet, after the Count that signed them, the first of 14 of March of 1919, the second of 12 of July of 1924, and legalizing the obligation of towns over 10.000 inhabitants to accomplish master plans, comprising renewal and extension works. Like the PGUs, these plans *d'Aménagement* implied the categorization of cities by population, environmental conditions and regional development expectations, as well as the crafting of master plans and the rallying of the then new expert, the architect-planner. Like in the late 1940s in Portugal, this expertise was honed through a network of new institutions, such as *L'École des Hautes Études Urbaines*, founded in 1919 with the first Cornudet law, and with the second of 1924 transformed into the *Institute d'Urbanisme* of the university of Paris. These were where de Gröer, among many others, taught Moreira da Silva and Faria da Costa. Like later in Portugal, planning as an autonomous discipline and the architect-planner as central technician to the organization of the nation-state empire, emerged within a process government consolidation.

Between Portugal and France, the architect-planner Donat-Alfred Agache (1875-1934) assumed an essential role as transporter of new forms of urban government. He was responsible, with many others, for the writing of the first Cornudet law. In 1933 he was directly invited by Duarte Pacheco to design the urban plan of *costa do sol*, transporting the stakes and causes of the governing will enacted in that law to Lisbon's urbanization office and the ministry of public works.⁸⁶⁶ It was he that in 1938 brought Étienne de Gröer to Lisbon, making the way for the conversation presented in the DGSU.⁸⁶⁷ Urban planning was, for Agache, "a science and an art," requiring "precise knowledge and a special competence,"⁸⁶⁸ in which, however, talent played a major role. The general coordinates for the expertise of the architect-planner were the following:

The engineer will supply logical solutions, the architect will know how to decorate a city with noble and picturesque constructions; but it is reserved to the Urbanist to coordinate all these values in a global conception, in a word, to do a *beau plan*.⁸⁶⁹

The discussion between de Gröer, Cotinelli Telmo and Sá e Mello about the architect-planner and the art of planning tapped a larger becoming of the urban discipline, to which Agache was connected. This was a practice and knowledge of urban discipline intertwined with the government and control of the growth of the *Third Republic's* cities, as well as of its colonial environments. Agache, among many other influential French planners, were active in planning all over Europe and its colonial dominions. This was a discipline and government nurtured through very specific institutions, one of the most active

⁸⁶⁵ Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia": 481; for an overview of the *Plans d'Aménagement* see Vivianne Claude and Pierre-Yves Saunier, "L'Urbanism Au Début Du Siècle: De La Réforme Urbaine À La Compétence Technique," *Vingtième Siècle, Revue D'histoire* 64, no. 1 (1999): 25–40.

⁸⁶⁶ For an extensive comparison between Agache's ideas and the writing of the PGUs decree-law, see Lobo, "Arquitectura E Turismo: Planos E Projectos - As Cenografias Do Lazer Na Costa Portuguesa, Da 1ª República À Democracia:" 485-8.

⁸⁶⁷ De Gröer worked with Agache in the master plan of Rio de Janeiro, designed between 1927-32, published under the title *Rio de Janeiro: Le Remodelage d'une Capitale*, becoming a central reference to Agache's ideas and work. See Marat-Mendes and Oliveira, "Urban Planners in Portugal in the Middle of the Twentieth Century: Étienne de Groër and Antão Almeida Garrett."

⁸⁶⁸ "L'Urbanisme est une science et un art. Il exige de ses praticiens des connaissances précises et une compétence spéciale, (...)" Donat-Alfred Agache, J.M. Aubertin, and E. Redont, *Comment Reconstruire Nos Cités Détruites: Notions D'urbanism S'appliquant Aux Villes, Bourgs et Villages* (Paris: Colin, 1915): 5.

⁸⁶⁹ "L'ingénieur fournira des solutions logiques, l'architecte saura orner la ville de constructions nobles ou pittoresques; mais il est réservé à l'Urbaniste de coordonner toutes ces valeurs dans une conception d'ensemble, en un mot de faire un *beau plan*." Ibid.

being the *Société du Musée Sociale*.

Founded in 1894 by the industrialist, social reformer and politician Jules Siegfried (1837-1922) and the engineer and social reformer Jean Jacques Émile Cheysson (1836-1910) this society was thought as a permanent and active museum specially concerned with the social effects of the second industrialization, the unorganized growth of cities, and campaigning for the design of civil welfare and social peace. Modeled on and stemming from the ephemeral museum of the social designed by the catholic reformist and sociologist Frédéric Le Play (1806-82) for the world exhibition of 1889. Le Play was a prolific sociologist that focused much on workers communities and followed the idea of a possible return to an organic, natural, organization of society, around which the destructive forces of modern industry could be annulled. The *Musée's* objectives, according to Siegfried, were the following:

Its end is to gather and place at the public's disposal the documents, plans, statutes, relative to French and foreign institutions that have as object the improvement of the material and moral situation of workers.⁸⁷⁰

Economically sponsored by Count Aldebert de Chambrun (1821-99), a wealthy and reform-minded industrialist, and acknowledged by government authorities, the *Musée* was constituted as a private foundation of public utility. It also worked as a specialized policy forum, as its founding members charged it with the mission of promoting welfare policies and campaigning for concrete legal and urban measures to suppress the destructive effects of industrialization and urbanization. Specialized, because its outlook was defined as technical, that is, based on scientific forms of knowledge and action, and not on politics, religion or ideology. A role to which much contributed Le Play's catholic and reactionary view of French society, together with Durkheim's scientific stance on the social.⁸⁷¹ In many respects, the *Musée* could be considered what we today know as a *think-tank*, gathering an influential group of agents, administrators, patrons of industry, politicians, experts and campaigning, lobbying or advising on the application of policy. Despite its focus on sharing and divulging information on social issues for public use, this *Société* operated as a parapolitical body.⁸⁷² Its founding board of directors was composed by a former prefect of Paris' police, Albert Gigot (1835-1913), an arms lobbyist and Le Playist sociologist, Paul de Rousiers (1857-1934), the secretary general of the iron and steel producers' organization (*Comité des Forges*), Robert Pinot (1862-1926), a specialist on labor relations, Léopold Mabileau (1859-1941), and an historian that later became the director of the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, Henri Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu (1842-1912).⁸⁷³ Most of these held or had held public offices, circulated through various educational and economic institutions. The *Musée* united a social reform minded, liberal, elite of various political and professional proveniences in direct contact with the

⁸⁷⁰ "Son but est de réunir et de mettre à la disposition du public les document, plans, statuts, relatifs aux institutions françaises et étrangères, qui ont pour objet l'amélioration de la situation materielle et morale des travailleurs." from Jules Siegfried's speech at the *Musée's* inauguration, in AA. VV., *Le Musée Social: Inauguration, 25 Mars 1895* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1895): 7.

⁸⁷¹ For a detailed account of the sociological theory at the *Musée's* inception see Janet R. Horne, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Christian Topalov, ed., *Laboratoires Du Nouveau Siècle, La "nébuleuse Réformatrice" et Ses Réseaux En France, 1880-1914* (Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1999).

⁸⁷² For a comprehensive understanding of parapolitics see Eric Wilson, *The Dual State: Parapolitics, Carl Schmitt and the National Security Complex* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012); Horne, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State*.

⁸⁷³ For a more complete description of the various members along the *Musée's* history see Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995):185.

productive forces of the Third Republic. Despite their different political perspectives, the *Musée* was crafter to generate a political consensus around a common social problem. As Léon Bourgeois, prime-minister of France between 1895 and 1896, would write at the inauguration of the *Musée*:

(...)Mr. Chambrun's noble initiative (...) that should connect any good citizen to the development of a work that, removing itself from the passion in the party observation of social achievements, will contribute to making serenity penetrate political life, the good intention that is the condition of any science, and will so strongly help to found social peace.⁸⁷⁴

To replace politics with the serenity of science or what Siegfried named "the practical study of social issues,"⁸⁷⁵ namely placed against the fragile and ephemeral alliances of the liberal state, was the driving axis for its acting of social peace. Around this common object the various proclivities gathered in the *Musée* rallied their scientific activism. This peace was defined in a very specific manner. Referencing Alexandre Ribot (1842-1923)⁸⁷⁶ at the *Musée's* inauguration, Siegfried defined the task of "elevating humanity's material and moral situation," in the following manner:⁸⁷⁷

The honorable Council president, Mr. Ribot, with a rare elevation of words and thought, this latest days, in a speech that has had a profound resounding in the country, made precise the nature of these relations, made of esteem and trust, that should be established between employees and their bosses. (...) Each solidary with the other, we wish to dissipate prejudices and prove that between capital and work there should not exist struggle.⁸⁷⁸

This drank its inspiration from Le Playists' theories of social organicism, but also from various and developing corporatist economic theories, not strange to the ones at the core of Salazar's dictatorship political economic policy. This drank, more immediately, from political reactions to the embattlements between industrialists and workers roving France throughout the late 19th century.⁸⁷⁹ In this sense, a certain moralization of science and, on the other hand, a certain scientific rendition of morally, can be traced to the *Musée's* stated apolitical political mission, as argued in the following:

⁸⁷⁴ "(...) la noble initiative de M. de Chambrun (...) que doit attacher tout bon citoyen au développement d'une oeuvre qui, en dégagant de la passion des partis l'observation des faits sociaux, contribuera à faire pénétrer dans la vie politique la sérénité, la bonne foi qui sont les conditions de toute science, et aidera ainsi puissamment à fonder la paix sociale." from a transcribed telegraph, authored by Léon Bourgeois, in *VV., Le Musée Social: Inauguration, 25 Mars 1895*: XI.

⁸⁷⁵ In the full sentence: "Vous le voyez, Messieurs, notre Société se propose de rendre facile à tous, homes politiques, patrons, employés, ouvriers, jeunes gens de nos Écoles, l'étude pratique des questions sociales, et de mettre en pleine lumière les solutions appliquées et les expériences faites" Ibid: 9.

⁸⁷⁶ Was a lawyer and politician, becoming prime-minister of France through four different periods: in 1892-93; 1895; 1914 and 1917. He also dedicated himself to the improvement of the material and moral conditions of workers, publishing in 1910 "Les Habitations à bon marché," and in 1922 "La crise du logement," publications concerned with the state of worker's housing.

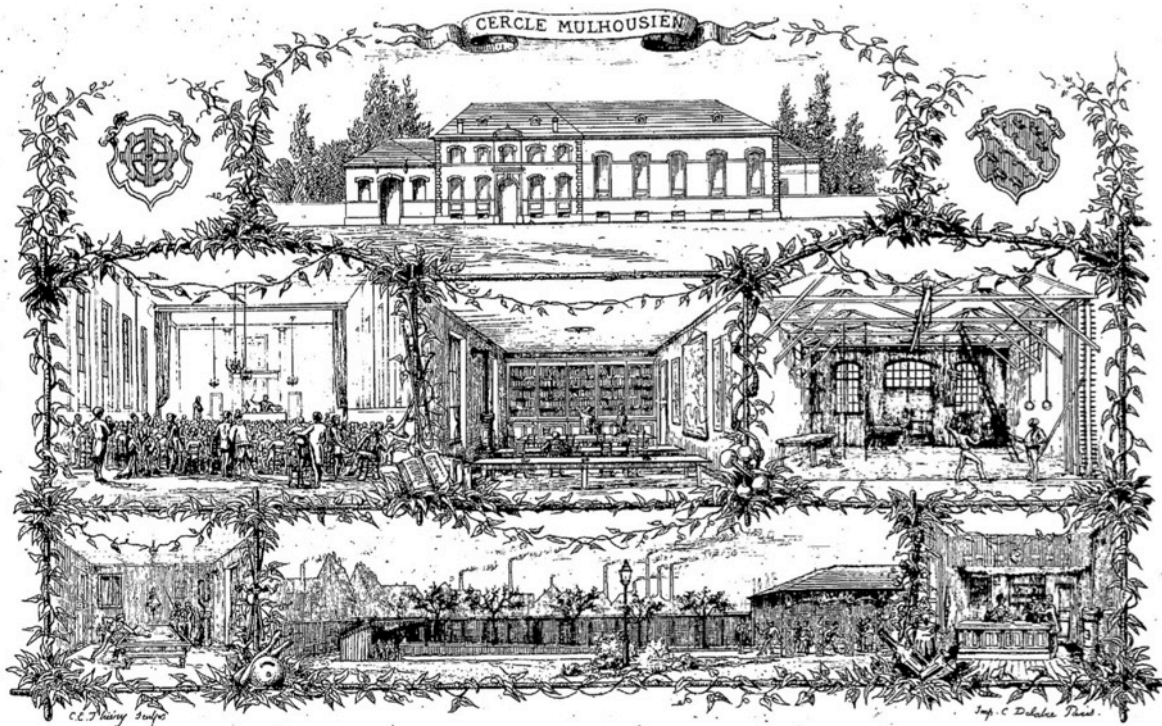
⁸⁷⁷ "(...) relever la situation morale et matérielle de l'humanité," *VV., Le Musée Social: Inauguration, 25 Mars 1895*.

⁸⁷⁸ "L'honorable président du Conseil, M. Ribot, avec une rare elevation de paroles et de pensées, ces jours derniers, dans un discours qui a eu un profond retentissement dans le pays, a précisé la nature de ces relations, faites d'estime et de confiance, qui doivent s'établir entre les employés et leurs chefs. (...) Solidaires les uns des autres, nous voulons dissiper les préjugés et prouver qu'il ne doit pas y avoir lute entre le capital e le travail." Ibid.

⁸⁷⁹ Stephen Broadberry and Kevin O'Rourke, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe: 1870 to the Present*, vol. 2° (New York, Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914* (London: Abacus, 2003) originally published in 1987.

We firmly believe that economic science is not a simple affaire of discussion, but that it should become more and more for the country, not solely a source of wealth, but a moral force.⁸⁸⁰

This moral science derived its material form according to very specific models. Regarding the problem of housing workers, which was as much a central topic of concern for the *Musée*, as for French politicians and social reformers, the designing of models emerged around the question of the right physiognomy for *cités ouvrières* (workers' cities). Because solidarity between capital and labor was at the kernel of an enterprise for "social economy," the city idea governing the discussion was quite specific, according to Siegfried:⁸⁸¹



38 The communitary and harmonious spatial environment of the Mulhouse factory, Jules Siegfried in *La Misère: son histoire, ses causes, ses remèdes*, 1877.

Workers' cities, we will reveal them.

Cities have as their end to supply workers with little separated houses, well built, healthy and proper, having court and garden if possible, at a relatively low price, and to offer them the means to become proprietors, on their charge to pay along a certain number of years, at their ordinary renting value, a small monthly sum taking place as amortization and permit to those that have created the renting of

⁸⁸⁰ "Nous croyons fermement que la science économique n'est pas simple affaire de discussion, mais qu'elle doit devenir de plus en plus pour le pays, non seulement une source de richesse, mais une force morale." VV., *Le Musée Social: Inauguration*, 25 Mars 1895: 10.

⁸⁸¹ Before its formation, Siegfried and many others in the *Musée*, were involved in various welfare institutions, charitable actions and legal campaigns for worker's welfare, especially focusing on better housing, see Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*.

their own funds.⁸⁸²

This proposal to improve the moral and material conditions of workers' lives, to which the *Musée* was devoted, followed the rapports of already existing workers' cities. Such as the one produced in France by the *Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, in which Siegfried was a member, or in that of Le Havre.⁸⁸³ Along the lines of avoiding both the abject misery and the socialism of workers, seen as interconnected, *Musée* members advocated for single-housing, proprietorship and soothing local expressions. These would form a morally disciplining environment that could be extended by programs of reproduction, namely the building of schools and churches within factory grounds. Siegfried rallied, after describing some examples of such successful workers' cities:

Do we want to do in turns, the fortunate person and the true conservative; do we want to fight at the same time the misery and socialist errors; do we want to increase the guarantees of order, of morality, of political and social moderation? Let us create workers' Cities!⁸⁸⁴

In this elaboration about cities for a politically and socially moderated society, architects were not far, for it was they that accomplished the plans and designs of many of these workers' cities. Around the *Musée's* scientific cause for social peace gathered a number of architects. As they borrowed their expertise for the grasping of the possibilities of this peace in the body of the city, so too the *Musée* gave way to a moral science of governing space. Various were the architects directly involved in the *Musée* and in transforming its sociologic, economic and political agenda into concrete spatial practices and knowledge. I will next present only three that can help assemble a sense of the evolution of a planning practice connected with the *Musée*. All of which passed through Paris' architecture school and helped form the institutions through which modern planners would be cast in the wake of the *Plans d'Aménagement*. The three architects are Eugène Hébrard (1849-1923), Henri Prost (1874-1959) and Donat-Alfred Agache, who together form a family of practice started with Hébrard.

⁸⁸² "Les Cités ouvrières nous le montreront. Les Cités ont pour but de fournir aux ouvriers de petites maison séparées, bien bâties, saines et propres, ayant cour et jardin si possible, à un prix relativement bas, et de leur offrir les moyens d'en devenir propriétaires, à la charge par eux de payer pendant un certain number d'années, en sus de la location ordinaire, une petite somme mensuelle qui tient lieu d'amortissement et permet à ceux qui les ont créées de rentrer dans leurs fonds." in Jules Siegfried, *La Misère: Son Histoire, Ses Causes, Ses Remèdes* (Paris: Librairie Germer Baillière & C^e, 1877): 200-1.

⁸⁸³ Ibid: 200-12.

⁸⁸⁴ "Voulons-nous faire à la fois des gens heureux et des vrais conservateurs; voulons-nous combattre en même temps la misère et les erreurs socialistes; voulons-nous augmenter les garanties d'ordre, de moralité, de modération politique et sociale? Créons de Cités ouvrières!" in Ibid: 211-12. It is important to have in mind that by 1877, time of publishing of these lines, conservative did not have the derogatory connotation that it has today. If you remember from chapter 2, this was when several conservation efforts from archeologists, artists and architects were at play to re-construct nations and regional identities through history. Conservation and conserving was not specially conservative, but modern and edifying.

Crafting cities for social peace

Hébrard graduated as an architect in 1880, afterwards integrating the Paris' municipal office of public works, in which he worked throughout his life at different periods. From early on, Hébrard focused his attention on the problem of modern transportation, understanding it as that new element truly revolutionizing cities and their livelihoods. For Le Play's universal exhibition of 1889, he proposed an integrated train system to help movement across the exhibition grounds. While the project was rejected it got him notoriety as architect-planner, after which he was made sub-inspector to the construction of the *Palais de Machines*, built for the exhibition and later for that of 1900.⁸⁸⁵ Meanwhile, he also worked as a city architect and inspector, in 1908 joining the *Musée* in a more formal capacity and heading one of the working groups under its newly created section of urban and rural hygiene.⁸⁸⁶ Hébrard was credited with having formulated, during the first decade of the 20th century, the planning solutions then followed by municipal planners in the renewal of old Paris, in its adaptation to modern infrastructure, namely regarding the problems of transport, density and hygiene.⁸⁸⁷

Greatly oversimplifying, his *projecto* for the modern upgrading of the city was framed in three operations: (1) punctual demolitions of dense central areas, making room for air, roads, squares and parks; (2) laying an effective new road system, connecting with new transportation networks and organizing the city's outer extensions; and (3) designing parks, both in unimpeded central areas and in new peripheral areas, as necessary mental and physical hygienic protocols for city life.⁸⁸⁸ This set of operations gathered: an historical analysis of the city, comparing it with other cities facing similar problems, such as Berlin and London; the statistical treatment of movement patterns, densities and economical projections; upholding the principle of preservation and beautification of monuments; and designing new road systems as site-specific interventions, fitting Paris' noble physical iconography. Hébrard, together with the more socialist-inclined *Musée* members, argued that healthy city growth and planning were dependent on subjugating private interests, specially the liberal real-estate, to a common, as in unitary and not as belonging to everyone, governing public authority. One that could become cohesive and long-lasting enough to ensure the continued discipline of city growth.⁸⁸⁹

In 1911, Henri Prost, who was one of Hébrard's chief assistants, took over his mantle in the *Musée*. Like Hébrard, for Prost urban renewal through planning required a specific attention to material and moral hygiene, and the in-depth knowledge of the history of a city. Also for him parks had a central role in the new modern city, as apparatus of health. Just as new roads had to produce the correct managing (*aménagement*) of growth and use of the city, so too parks had the task of managing its hygienic assembling, while allowing for its beautification and remoralization, namely in the enactment of history

⁸⁸⁵ For a comprehensive biography see Nicolas Lemas, *Eugène Hénard et Le Futur Urbain: Quelle Politique Pour L'utopie?* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008).

⁸⁸⁶ According to Rabinow this section was presided by Jules Siegfried, Georges Benoit-Lévy, Georges Risler, Robert de Souza and Eugène Hénard, the latter headed the group responsible for investigating urban problems and proposing planning solutions, see Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*: 254.

⁸⁸⁷ Hébrard's *Études sur les Transformations de Paris*, written between 1903 and 1909, is credited with having formulated the problems and the solutions, see *Paris D'hier et de Demain* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1966): 37.

⁸⁸⁸ Eugène Hébrard, "The Cities of the Future" (Town Planning Conference London, London: The Royal Institute of British Architects, 1911), 345–67; specifically on demolitions see Raoul de Clermont, Fernand Cros-Mayrevieille, and Louis de Nussac, eds., *Le 1er Congrès International Pour La Protection Des Paysages (Paris, 17-20 Octobre 1909)* (Paris: Société Pour La Protection des Paysages de France, 1910).

⁸⁸⁹ See Lemas, *Eugène Hénard et Le Futur Urbain: Quelle Politique Pour L'utopie?*

through monument conservation. With this operative system, as we might call Hébrard's planning proposal, Prost combined a culturalist approach, which he tried in planning commissions in Anvers (1910) in Belgium, and in various cities in Morocco (1913).⁸⁹⁰ His approach on how to gather the landscape for the effective and beautiful management of a city, besides statistical, historical and economical data, included walking the city, becoming acquainted with its people, daily habits and distributions. He used drawing and what we today call informal interviews to capture the distribution of city life.⁸⁹¹ This method was specifically tried in the Anvers master plan, and it had two implications for the formulation of the plan: (1) an attentive intervention in old city parts, combining old and new spaces with the preservation of historically acquired urban values in view; and (2) the projection of urban extensions according to a distribution of class and culture, placing each social position by him captured in well determined city spaces, mirroring the class distribution observed in the existing city.⁸⁹²



39 Master plan for Casablanca, Morocco, Henri Prost, 1914.

The broad zoning discussed and applied by Hébrard, consisting mainly in separating industry, housing and public services, was made more complex and socially determinant with Prost's attention to urban cultures.⁸⁹³ Prost then applied this cultural approach in ethnic and racial distinctions in his plans for Rabat, Meknes, Fes, Marrakesh, among other cities, translating these as divisions that needed to be

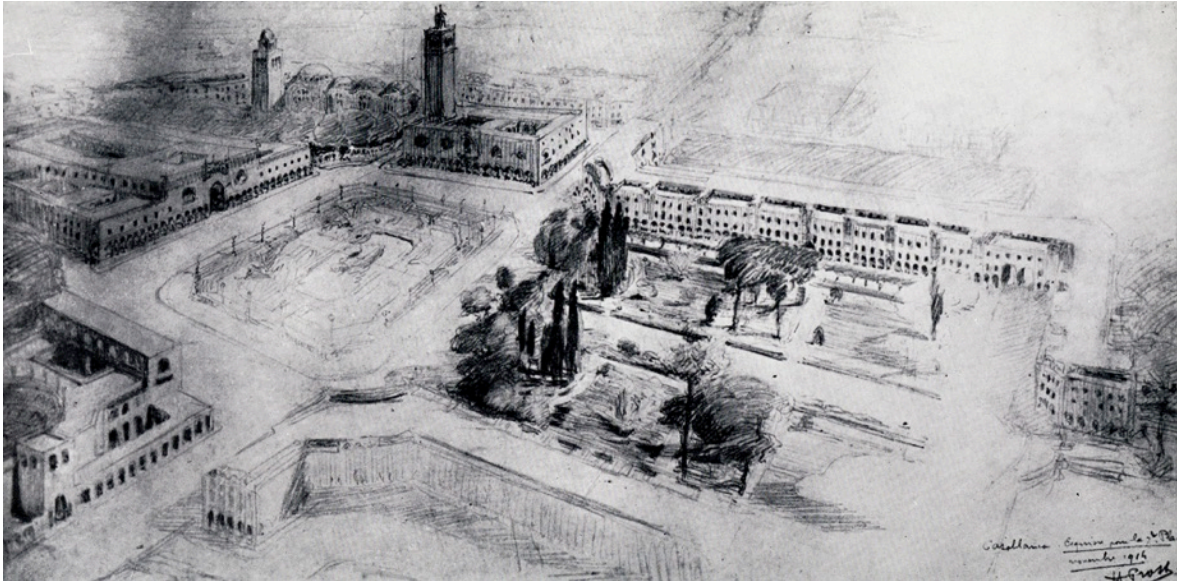
⁸⁹⁰ See Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*; and Jean-Pierre Frey, "Henri Prost (1874-1959), Parcours D'un Urbaniste Discret (Rabat, Paris, Istanbul...)," *Urbanisme*, June 2004.

⁸⁹¹ See Frey, "Henri Prost (1874-1959), Parcours D'un Urbaniste Discret (Rabat, Paris, Istanbul...)."

⁸⁹² See Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*: 238-39.

⁸⁹³ The zoning practiced by Hébrard and discussed in the *Musée* was inspired in various international experiments, but mainly in Howard's garden city. However, the radical socialist impetus contained in Howard's zoning and regional planning, was translated within the *Musée* into a technical knowledge and operation, namely when George Risler presented a translation of Howard's ideas in 1909 at the *Musée*; for Hébrard's affinity with the garden city see Lemas, *Eugène Hénard et Le Futur Urbain: Quelle Politique Pour L'utopie?*; for its role in the *Musée* see the foundational text AA. VV., *Le Musée Social: Inauguration, 25 Mars 1895* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1895).

respected and reinforced; and that should be given specific and delimited architectural spaces and forms.⁸⁹⁴ This approach was developed on top of the urban operations delineated by Hébrard: transportation, hygiene and aesthetics. Yet transformed along the lines of an urban sociology informed by Le Playist theories, and an environmental survey close to the human geography of Vidal de La Blanche.⁸⁹⁵ Especially the latter's emphasis on relating morphological with cultural elements was highly influential in Prost's method of urban surveying.⁸⁹⁶



40 Drawing for Casablanca's main square and civic center, Henri Prost, 1914.

For Prost, the correct *aménagement* of cities had to be effective regarding the modern challenges of transport and hygiene, and hence rely on the scientific knowledge of modern engineering, statistics, infrastructure and economic studies. But it also had to effectively produce the qualities of a city, its formal beauties, values and cultural differences. A culture in place and objectified should be made to appear through the plan. Within the culturalist spirit of nation-state and ethnic building of late 19th century, this implied an attention to regional styles, vernacular expressions, and to the architectural languages capable of identifying cultural limits. This was supposed to apply both in renewed old parts and in new urban extensions.⁸⁹⁷

Agache, who joined the *Musée* in 1902, followed this new approach with Prost. Also he was an assistant to Hébrard. For him the scientific aspects of urbanism were stabilized in the same education of transportation, hygiene and infrastructure. Like Prost, the structural aspects harnessed from these planning priorities had to be dealt together with the artistic aspects of the urban profession. Agache

⁸⁹⁴ Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*.

⁸⁹⁵ On La Blanche see chapter 3.

⁸⁹⁶ Vivianne Claude, *Faire La Ville : Les Métiers de L'urbanisme Au XX Siècle* (Marseille: Parenthèses, 2006); regarding Agache's use of this method see Paulo André, Teresa Marat-Mendes, and Paulo Rodrigues, "Alfred-Donat Agache Urban Proposal for Costa Do Sol. From the Territory to the City" (15th International Planning History Society Conference, São Paulo, 2012).

⁸⁹⁷ Besides the cases from Prost in Belgium and Morocco, we can see this approach in practice in Italian colonies, see Mia Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007); and, to a different degree, in the first state sponsored workers quarters in Portugal, built during the 1930s as, for example, the private initiative promoted by *Comércio do Porto*.

defined planning as “a science and an art.” Like Prost, the problems of cities had to be answered with an attention to the technical, infrastructural, and economical situations, but also to the distribution of classes, cultures and the possible redistribution of social conflicts. Furthermore, the plan also to deal with the equally essential aesthetical properties of cities, which stood for its moral and cultural values. This assembling of planning priorities and instrumentalities was achieved in a specific manner. Specially regarding urban renewal of old city parts, according to Agache:

We desire exactly that, out of respect for the traditional physiognomy of our towns and villages, municipal buildings: town-halls, schools, post-offices, etc., etc.. are conceived in the character proper to the land, and in the absence of rewards that they be instituted by local groups to encourage owners and the architects in establishing their constructions in harmony with the land, in order to preserve in each region its local color.⁸⁹⁸



41 Henri Prost’s higienic and culturally sensible demolitions, Casablanca, 1914.

Intervening in the city had to be able to respect and beautify it, as regional harmony bestowed a specific spatial and architectural order. At the same time, the planning intervention had to be able to

⁸⁹⁸ “Nous souhaitons même que, par respect de la physionomie traditionnelle de nos villes et de nos villages, les édifices municipaux: mairies, écoles, hôtels des postes, etc., etc.. soient conçus dans le caractère proper du pays, et qu’au besoin des primes soient instituées par des groupements locaux pour encourager les propriétaires et les architectes à établir leurs constructions en harmonie avec le pays, afin de conserver à chaque région sa couleur locale.” see Agache, Aubertin, and Redont, *Comment Reconstruire Nos Cités Détruites: Notions D’urbanism S’appliquant Aux Villes, Bourgs et Villages*: 7.

relocate the classes and cultures as needed for the peaceful and ordered fruition of public peace. The renewal of a city, its beautification and the reification of its civic qualities, relied in its historical reification and the regrouping of cultural values along clearly defined zones. Through these formulations of the power of the plan in refashioning modern cities, the *Musée's* cause of social peace inspired and forming a culturally clad solidarity between capital and labor, was given a very specific apparatus.



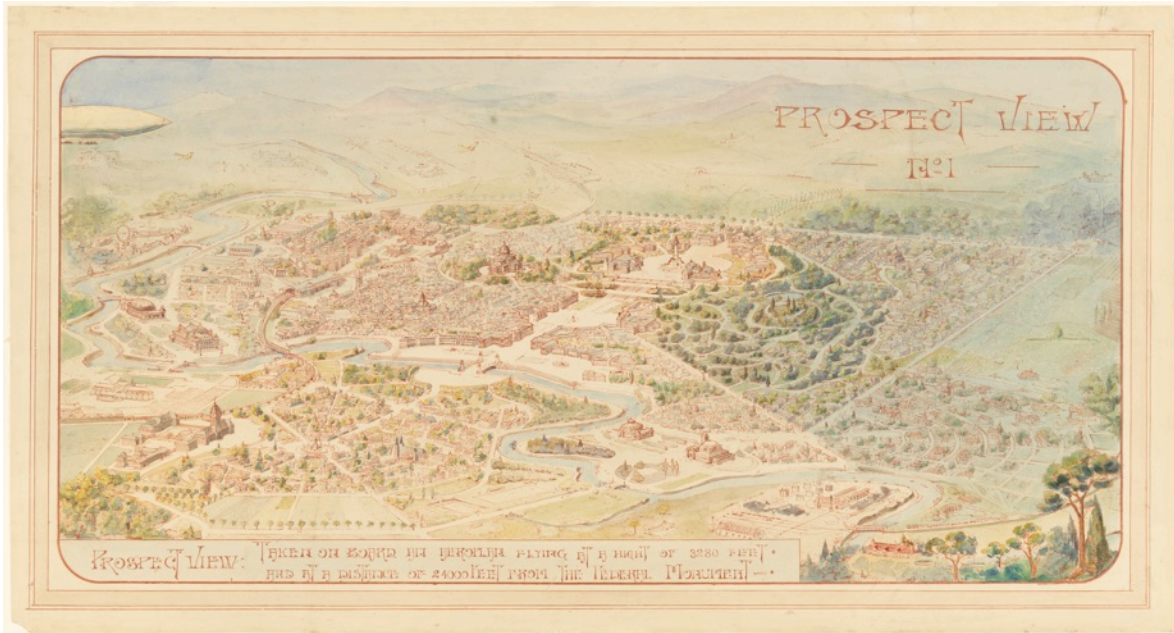
42 A city of clear centrality and power disposition. Agache's design for the civic center of Canberra, Australia, 1912, National Archives of Australia (NAA: A710, 9)

The *Musée's* members confrontations with liberal politics also informed a proposition that Agache and Prost worked from Hébrard's tutorship: that of the need of an *aménagement* beyond politics, at least beyond liberal politics. The *beau plan*, as Agache said, was thought as such a technology able to surpass this structural problem of modern politics. According to the latter, usually the time frame identified for a master plan involved projections to 30 and 50 years, this was a problem regarding the plan's dependence on political affiliations.⁸⁹⁹ As had been for Hébrard, private real estate power was, together with the absence of a strong government, the main enemy for a healthy urban process.⁹⁰⁰ This dialogue, with a liberal and disorganizing enemy, was answered by the scientific and essentialist character of planning and the role of the architect-planner as simultaneously doctor, engineer, sociologist and artist. To this mattered that urban history and the historical becoming of urban

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid: 2.

planning itself, served to project planning as scientific and respecting autonomous truths, namely regarding structures of values, livelihoods and cultures, cast as urban facts to be reorganized. But also culture, in the wake of Le Playist and Durkheimian sociology, was articulated as an object open to scientific delimitation and essential definition that, in the hands, of Prost and Agache, enabled and the spatial and architectural distribution of culture, class and ethnicity. Stated differently, social peace, by urban planning, was a composed and autonomous technical exploit, garnering a vast range expertise.



43 A city with strong centers in Agache's design for Canberra, Australia, 1912, National Archives of Australia (NAA: A710, 8).

“Talent,” the artistic character, played within this new combination expertise a specifically important position, different from the one traditionally conceived by the architectural profession. Firstly, artistic talent was deemed essential for the good planner, both for Prost and Agache, certainly a legacy of the *beaux-arts*. Yet artistic volition, to these architect-planners, was built from scientific observation, of development, economy, culture, environment, landscape and history. As much as it derived from the neo-platonic ideal of the activity of projecting a pre-formed idea upon reality. This idea was now rewritten as a complex assembling of information, rational observation and projection that had to be manifested as an *ensemble*. Agache's notion of the *plan d'ensemble* synthesizes this object of talent. In the first congress organized by the *Société Française de Urbanistes*, in 1923 in Strasbourg, he argued:⁹⁰¹

Planning (of cities) is a work of assemblage that has as its goal to supply the general directives that allow the modeling of a city at the rate and in the measure of its development. This work of

⁹⁰¹ This society was founded in 1911 by Agache, M. Auburtin, A. Bérard, E. Hébrard, L. Jaussely, A. Parenty, H. Prost, J. C. N. Forestier, E. Redont, all members of the *Musée* that later worked on the first Cornudet law. The congress was organized in collaboration with the *Institute de France*, *Institute Pasteur*, the *Union Internationale des Villes*, the *International Association of Garden-Cities* and the *National Housing and Town Planning Institute*, see Organisation International du Travail, “Congrès International d’Urbanisme E d’Hygiène Municipale,” *Informations Sociales*, August 3, 1923.

assemblage needs to be studied in function of well defined anthropogeographic, economic and social data.⁹⁰²

The novelty here was the new anthropogeographic character of planning. It now involved producing environments, regions, cultures and their productivities. Insofar as this passed through the *Musée Social*, we can claim these architect-planners developed an anthropomorphic art of governing city life. Vested in social harmony, controlled growth and directed economies, as well as on the campaigning for the absolute power of the previewer of cities: the planner and the *beau plan*. A power beyond politics, made material in things older, stronger and richer than politics – history of civilization, biological conditions, cultural solidarity and difference. As developed by Hébrard, Prost and Agache, this art relied on a specific gathering of knowledge: a combination of statistical, engineering, economical studies, with historical, cultural, morphological and biological appreciations. And in a very specific method: on the constitution of an urban geography based on seeing and walking the city, knowing its long history, understanding its cultural divides and values; as well as its morphology and the needs, economy, movements and projections contained in it. Lastly, it relied on a number of specific urban solutions: a master plan for a city should involve its regional dependencies, networks and projections; the hygienization of spaces, namely by punctual, and sometimes not so punctual, demolitions;⁹⁰³ the placing of green areas and parks; the promotion of worker's welfare based on the garden-city model animated by Siegfried's relation between property and social peace; and the modernization of the existing city as a historically attentive dialogue between old and new, procuring to reify aesthetical, symbolical and cultural values, while not compromising a spatial distribution of class, gender and race deemed more harmonious.

This new art of planning the collective for a social peace had an enduring effect, namely in France, in Portugal, but also, following Mia Fuller's analysis of modern architecture and planning in fascist Italy, in the latter country.⁹⁰⁴ This art circulated through the *Plans d'Aménagement, d'Embellissement et d'Extension des Villes* between 1919 and 1924, was at the foundation of the *Société Française des Urbanistes*, was part of the driving concerns of *École des Hautes Études Urbaines*, and latter of the *Institute d'Urbanisme*. As Rabinow argued, it framed a new "middling" way of being modern and of tending to the modern character of cities.⁹⁰⁵ De Gröer who worked directly with Agache, circulated these institutions and co-produced their lessons, was in many respects one of the most eloquent translators of this art into a Portuguese *urbanology*. His introduction to planning in the DGSU report followed through the premises set by Agache and others earlier one.⁹⁰⁶ And it so not only in terms of principles and methods, but also in terms of solutions. For instance, writing of a possible future solution regarding the experience of the war:

⁹⁰² "Le Plan (de ville) est une œuvre d'ensemble qui a pour but de fournir les directives générales permettant de modeler la ville au fur et à mesure de son développement. Cette œuvre d'ensemble a besoin d'être étudiée en fonction de données anthropogéographiques, économiques et sociales bien définies." see Société Française des Urbanistes, *Où En Est L'urbanisme En France et À L'étranger 1923* (Paris: L. Eyrolles, 1923).

⁹⁰³ In the remodeling of Rio de Janeiro, Agache proposed the demolition of all un-aesthetical, unhealthy and unsanitary housing, namely we today call *favela*, see Underwood, "Alfred Agache, French Sociology, and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil."

⁹⁰⁴ Although Fuller does not highlight the French connection, various Italian architects and planners, such as Piacentini and Giovanni Muzio were directly influenced by the urban anthropomorphic theories coming out of Paris. See Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism*.

⁹⁰⁵ What Rabinow names as the culture of "middling modernism," see *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*: 320-58.

⁹⁰⁶ Agache, Aubertin, and Redont, *Comment Reconstruire Nos Cités Détruites: Notions D'urbanism S'appliquant Aux Villes, Bourgs et Villages*.

Before this war, there was the tendency to substitute surface construction for that construction in height, as a means of concentrating the population in a few skyscrapers, in order to leave large free spaces between these. The Architect Le Corbusier was one of the initiators of this theory (...) It has a thousand flaws. (...) 1° - life in these skyscrapers depends on the good and fast functioning of elevators – which is not always occurs; (...) 2° - construction price is extremely high and, as consequence, high are also the rents; 3° - the inhabitants are piled on top of each other and miss private gardens, (...) living in family houses, built on lands that taken together would not occupy a larger surface than that of the skyscrapers and the indispensable spaces between them, these people would have the comfort and pleasure that an individual dwelling surrounded by vegetation would offer (...).⁹⁰⁷

It was not a coincidence that also for de Gröer the main enemies of the good plan were politics, the parliamentary kind, and liberal speculation. The solution was a strong public government, ruled by experts, and capable of ensuring the 30 to 50 years time-frame of the expected complete re-ordering of a city. Furthermore, as shown before, for de Gröer planning was an autonomous composite science and art, requiring a specific talent, and morally bound to reify the existing values of a society, nation or urban community. Gardens, punctual demolitions, and natural reserves, as well as highways and local monuments, were also key apparatus through which to morally and physically order the urban collective. This presupposed, in line with Hébrard, Prost and Agache's lessons, the assembling of a scientific vocation with a cultural, moral, sensibility. In this vein, it is surprising to find that also for him, the architect-planner was simultaneously an engineer, a physician, a psychologist and sociologist an historian and an artist:

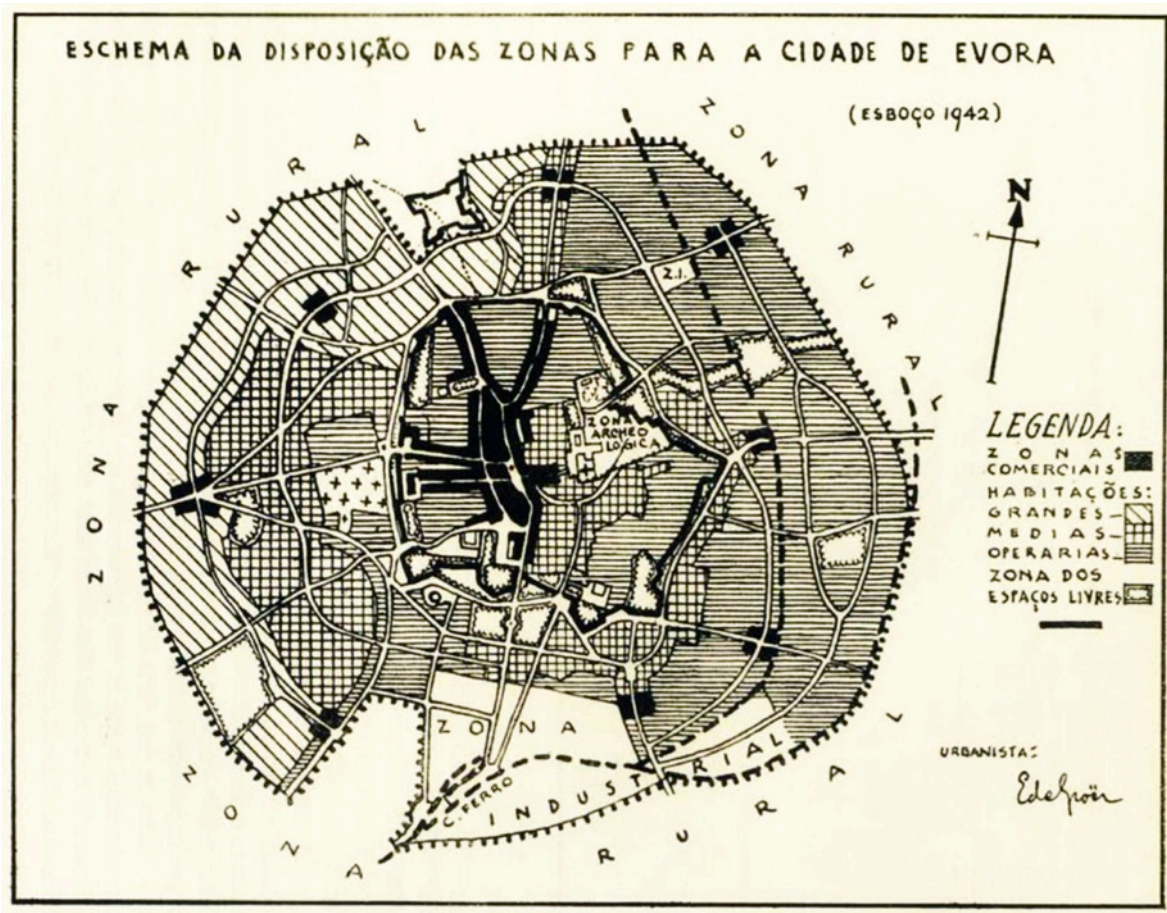
(The architect-planner) Starts by settling himself, for some time, in the city he is supposed to modify, like a good doctor that sits by his patient, to observe the client's physical and moral state of health, to well comprehend the evil to cure and the possibilities offered to accomplish it. The Urbanist gives many steps to walk all the nooks and crannies of a city, questions people, researches municipal archives; because he is required to see and know all: the administrative and cultural importance of the city, its commerce and industry, its access roads (train tracks, roads, rivers and airports), its interior communications, its climate, its dominating winds, the characteristics of its soil, the natural wealth of its region, its historical and artistic wealth, the compositions of its population, the latter's housing, the conditions for its existence, its state of sanitation, etc., etc.. The urbanist's mission is complex and exhausting.

When, at night, he comes back to his Hotel room, he cannot endure any more, so much he walked,

⁹⁰⁷ “Antes desta guerra, houve tendência para substituir a construção em superfície pela construção em altura, de modo a concentrar a população em uns poucos de arranha-céus, a fim de deixar grandes espaços livres entre estes. O Arquitecto Le Corbusier foi um dos iniciadores desta teoria. (...) Tem mil defeitos. Eis os principais: 1° - a vida nestes arranha-céus depende do bom e rápido funcionamento dos elevadores – coisa que não se dá sempre; (...); 2° - o preço da construção é extremamente elevado e, como consequência, elevadas também as rendas; 3° - os inquilinos estão amontoados uns em cima dos outros e têm falta de jardins particulares, enquanto que, morando em casas familiares, construídas sobre terrenos que no seu conjunto não ocupariam uma superfície maior do que a dos arranha-céus e dos espaço indispensáveis entre eles, estas pessoas teriam o conforto e o prazer que oferece uma habitação individual envolvida por vegetação. (...)” Later adding that they believe that collective housing will eventually disappear, as cities stretch along modern roadways and extended networks, in Gröer, “Introdução Ao Urbanismo.”

talked, photographed and measured.⁹⁰⁸

This became structuring in Portuguese architects' dealing with the city and its planned changes. The way this art of planning for social peace framed the power and task of the architect-planner, the methods for apprehending, anthropogeographically, urban landscape, animated a national rewriting of the architect as planner. As well as the emphasis on history, ethnic and cultural values, and on direct, personal, experience of space. Such as, likewise, the defense of a strong government, beyond politics, capable of walking the plan to its bright destination in an ordered future, as the plan itself was an apparatus beyond politics, addressed simultaneously to factual needs, efficient productivities and cultural truths.



44 Master plan for Évora, stratifying “big,” “medium” and “workers” housing areas, Etienne de Gröer in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, 1946, p.26.

⁹⁰⁸ “Começa por instalar-se por algum tempo na cidade que deve modificar, como um bom medico que se senta à cabeceira do seu doente, para observar o estado de saúde física e moral do cliente, para bem conhecer o mal a curar e as possibilidades que se lhe oferecem para o fazer. O Urbanista dá muitos passos para percorrer todos os cantos e recantos da cidade, interroga pessoas, pesquisa arquivos municipais; porque lhe é preciso ver tudo e tudo saber: a importância administrativa e cultural da cidade, o seu comercio e a sua indústria, as suas vias de acesso (caminho de ferro, estradas, rios e aeroportos), as suas comunicações interiores, o seu clima, os seus ventos dominantes, as características do seu solo e sub-solo, as riquezas naturais da sua região, as suas riquezas artísticas e históricas, a composição da sua população, a habitação desta, as condições da sua existência, seu estado sanitário, etc., etc. A missão do urbanista, é complexa e fatigante. Quando, à noite, volta ao seu quarto de Hotel, não pode mais, de tal forma andou, falou, fotografou e mediu.” in *Ibid.*: 47-8.

Urban priorities

The transformation of this art of planning for social peace into young architect-planners started effectively in Portugal with the implementation of the two courses of *urbanology* in architecture schools in 1945. In Porto, this entered the school through with David Moreira da Silva's. He directed the decreed 16th course of "urbanization projects" from 1945 to 1961. This was the practical course of the two foreseen to craft Portuguese architect-planners, the 15th was conceived as theory of urban planning. Moreira da Silva learnt his urbanism from Paris' *Institute d'Urbanisme*, and honed his urban architecture skills at the *beaux-arts* school, frequenting both in the late 1930s. The lessons and writings of Marcel Poëte,⁹⁰⁹ Eduard Fuster, Roger Picard, Gaston Jéze, William Qualid⁹¹⁰ and the practical skills in urban design taken from Louis Bonnier, Jacques Gréber, Georges Sebille and Henri Prost were especially important to him.⁹¹¹ His professorship in Porto was especially inspired by Prost's lessons and methods, focusing greatly on functional and social zoning, hygienic concerns and urban history, and also emphasizing the formation of legislative expertise in architecture students.⁹¹²

Coherent with the school's direction, designed in the early 1940s by Carlos Ramos and others,⁹¹³ Moreira da Silva used his practice as planner, as classroom material and vice-versa. When returning to Portugal from Paris he started a practice that became prolific early on. Starting as collaborator to Étienne de Gröer in Luanda's and Coimbra's master plans, and in 1940 his own practice, joined by his wife and architect Maria José Marques da Silva, daughter of the architect José Marques da Silva. Through their office, they developed several architectural and urban planning works, namely urban plans in mainland Portugal: for Águeda, Amares, Elvas, Chaves, Matosinhos, Paredes, Barcelos, Aveiro, among others. Due to the lack of architect-planners in Portugal, Moreira da Silva and Maria da Silva were highly requested for the development of master plans and other forms of urban government, such as the design of legislation. In the latter capacity Moreira da Silva served as consultant to various municipal commissions, namely in Porto on the municipal commission of art and archeology from

⁹⁰⁹ Marcel Poëte (1866-1950) was one of the founders of the institute and was highly influential in the culturalist rendition of urbanism, drawing close to Prost's ideas and proposals. Poëte joined Gaston Bardet and Françoise Bardet together in the writing of an influential history of the evolution of cities. Poëte's notion of urbanism has been associated with Bergsonian Vitalism and its critique of positivism and functionalism, especially evident in the emphasizing of long historical roots or evolutionary routes for certain cultural morphologies, see Vincent Berdoulay and Olivier Soubeyran, *L'Écologie Urbaine et L'urbanisme: Aux Fondements Des Enjeux Actuels* (Paris: La Découverte & Syros, 2002); Charissa N. Terranova, "Marcel Poëte's Bergsonian Urbanism Vitalism, Time, and the City," *Journal of Urban History* 34, no. 6 (September 2008): 919-43.

⁹¹⁰ Fuster and Picard were specialized in labor, health and social security rights and measures, their contribution lay in informing the social organization produced with urbanism; Jéze and Qualid were experts in administration and administrative organization, contributing on legal and regulatory productivities related with urbanism, see Topalov, *Laboratoires Du Nouveau Siècle, La "nébuleuse Réformatrice" et Ses Réseaux En France, 1880-1914*.

⁹¹¹ Louis Bonnier (1856-1946) and Jacques Gréber (1882-1962) were prolific architects graduated and teaching at the Paris' Beaux-Arts School, associated with the City Beautiful movement. Georges Sébille (1870-1962) also graduated from the Beaux-Arts, worked as architect in the municipality of Paris, was involved with its regional plan in the 1930s, and was early on involved with the SFU – *Société Française d'Urbanistes*. See Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*; regarding Moreira da Silva's appropriation of these influences see Pires, "O Ateliê de Arquitectura/Urbanismo de David Moreira Da Silva E Maria José Marques Da Silva Martins: Visibilidade E Memória": 96, 121-2.

⁹¹² Maria Pires inclusively compares some of his class notes with some of Prost's in Paris, showing the similarity in guidelines, priorities and class structure, see *Ibid*: 156-168.

⁹¹³ The modern reform initiated in 1940 aimed to draw teaching closer to reality, mingling the class-room with the architecture studio, the city-hall office and the planning office; course exercises mirrored actual commissions, see Coutinho, "Carlos Ramos 1897-1969: Obra, Pensamento E Acção"; Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)."

1946 to 1974.

Moreira da Silva only taught the 16th course, the theoretical 15th course was given by António Brito e Cunha, who had started as Moreira da Silva's assistant on the 16th course in 1945. Unfortunately, of the later very little is known, making it difficult to identify its specific acting. As is equally unknown the role of their assistants, the architect José Sequeira Braga to Brito e Cunha, and the architect João Andresen to Moreira da Silva, both hired from the school ranks in 1948, and assisting *urbanology* teaching until 1961. Moreira da Silva's 16th course was processed around emulation exercises, twice per year, and requested the following from students: (1) a written description of the urban situation, comprised by an historic, geographic - physical and human - economic and environment study; secondly (2), a description of the proposed urban plan, focusing on transport networks, land uses and densities, infrastructures, public and green spaces, and renewal of existing constructions; thirdly (3), the sketch of an urban legislation projecting the key areas for zoning, plot measures and building restrictions. Moreira da Silva also required students to present regional and local plans of the site, pictures, and detailed drawings of the urban proposal, when needed, together with the written parts.⁹¹⁴

António Brito e Cunha's 15th course was processed according to the basis created by José Fonseca Llamedo in the course's first year of 1945/46. Llamedo taught the course according to a scheme of masterly classes, where he introduced the students to the principles, methods and reference examples of planning. Since 1939 he worked as architect-planner in Spain's *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* (Housing National Institute) and collaborated with the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (National Institute of Colonization), two of the most powerful government bodies through which modern planning practices were being developed in Spain.⁹¹⁵ In the latter country, the *Plan General de Ordenación Urbana*, inspired in the French *Plan d'Aménagement*, was the urban apparatus around which many of the discussions on the new scientific art of urbanism coalesced. The architect-planner Pedro Bidagor Lasarte, close to Franco's regime, promoted and directed this apparatus in 1941, where many other architect-planners came to practice, namely Secundino Zuazo Ugalde and the German architect-planner Hermann Jansen, contemporary to Hébrard.⁹¹⁶ Thus, it is supposed and only supposed because of lack of information regarding Llamedo's classes in Porto, that also these were inspired by lessons from Paris' *Institute d'Urbanisme*. There having been many common elements between Brito e Cunha's theoretical classes and Moreira da Silva's practical ones. This is suggested by student assignments.

In 1945/46, During Llamedo's stay at Porto, students were asked to plan and design a kindergarden complex in the town of Matosinhos, peripheral to Porto, and as part of a larger urban renewal process. The six students attending *urbanology* that year⁹¹⁷ invariably started by writing Matosinhos as

⁹¹⁴ See Pires, "O Ateliê de Arquitectura/Urbanismo de David Moreira Da Silva E Maria José Marques Da Silva Martins: Visibilidade E Memória": 162; for an overview see Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)": 281-5.

⁹¹⁵ See Carlos Sambricio, *Madrid, Vivienda Y Urbanismo, 1900-1960: De La "Normalización de Lo Vernáculo" Al Plan Regional* (Madrid: Akal, 2004).

⁹¹⁶ The Spanish, French and German development of urbanism came together on a number of methods and proposals, namely functional and social zoning, the importance and prophylactic character of green areas, and the centrality of economical and transport system's planning. Furthermore, these were similarly developed as governmental techniques for old national bounds and new colonial territories, between east, south and the north, urbanism was created as discipline and form of government. For the Spanish case see Ibid.; for Jansen see Katharina Borsi, "Drawing the Region: Herman Jansen's Vision of Greater Berlin in 1910," *The Journal of Architecture* 20, no. 1 (2015): 47-72.

⁹¹⁷ Albertino Galvão Roxo, António Carvalho Almeida, Ernesto Celestino Leal, Fernando Martins Sousa, João Andresen and Fernando Martins Sousa are the six students in question, FAUP-CDUA/AE/URBLG/001.

“progressive,” with “economical possibilities,” “laborious,” of a “privileged geographical situation,” “important town,” with a justified urbanization plan “superiorly approved.”⁹¹⁸ Grounding their projects for the part of town where the new school would be implemented, students highlighted the need of keeping with the foreseen “economical and hygienic plan.”⁹¹⁹ Respecting the possible opening of a new avenue and the construction of new housing, the school complex contributed directly to effecting, for a quarter, a “work of renewal and sanity.”⁹²⁰ To design a direct contact with nature followed from this urban principle, because of its importance both for the moral education of children⁹²¹ and to the urban environment as a whole. Andresen clarified: “The educational function must be entrusted to the environment – it is needed that it be healthy, natural, true, (...).”⁹²² Thus, most kindergardens were surrounded by natural areas, “great green areas,” “restful green belt,” most proposals extending these to its urban vicinities and vocation. This followed from the need to produce both physical and moral hygiene, “sanity,” as also did the projected demolition of existing parts of Matosinhos.

All students articulated the importance of conducting punctual demolitions, however, highlighting the importance of reusing existing buildings. Yet, when these placed in check the “economical and hygienic plan,” demolitions were required for the becoming of “more airy and comfortable” situations.⁹²³ Stated differently, demolitions, sometimes referred to as “sacrifices,” were necessary whenever “hygienic and salubrity conditions” were not present. Andresen went a bit further than his colleagues by proposing the following:

(...) expropriations and demolitions foreseen in this description have the goal of opening arteries (transport)(...), but that by a question of psychological, hygienic and aesthetical order, more demolitions are still advisable (...).⁹²⁴

This is not the only aspect in which Andresen went further than his colleagues. Regarding principles of plot delimitation and building regulation, he proposed that “(...) housing destined exclusively to the working class (...) become an essentially economical problem.”⁹²⁵ And regarding a more general disposition: “That it is a good principle of economic, moral and physical order that each landowner or tenant disposes of a small garden and private arable plot.”⁹²⁶ Lastly, regarding finishing statements, he argued the following:

⁹¹⁸ “(...) progressiva e com possibilidades económicas,” Galvão Roxo; “(...) laboriosa e progressiva vila, (...) com o plano geral de urbanização superiormente aprovado (...),” Carvalho Almeida; “privelegiada” Martins Sousa; “(...) progressiva e importante vila de Matosinhos.”

Andresen. Moreira and Maria da Silva developed in 1943 an urbanization plan for Matosinhos, see Pires, “O Ateliê de Arquitectura/Urbanismo de David Moreira Da Silva E Maria José Marques Da Silva Martins: Visibilidade E Memória”: 163.

⁹¹⁹ “(...) o plano económico e higiénico.” Albertino Galvão Roxo.

⁹²⁰ “(...) uma obra de renôvo e sanidade.” João Andresen.

⁹²¹ That, according to the student Fernando Martins Sousa, “in contact with nature will have a healthier life,” “(...) a criança, em contacto com a natureza terá uma vida mais sadia.”

⁹²² “A função educadora deve estar confiada ao ambiente – é preciso que êle seja saudável, natural, verdadeiro (...),” Andresen.

⁹²³ “(...) mais arejadas e cómodas,” Albertino Galvão Roxo.

⁹²⁴ “(...) expropriações e demolições previstas nesta memória têm como finalidade a abertura de artérias (...), mas que por uma questão de ordem psicológica, higiénica e estética, mais demolições seriam ainda de aconselhar, (...).”

⁹²⁵ “Que as habitações se destinam exclusivamente à classe operária, e com tal torna-se um problema essencialmente económico.”

⁹²⁶ “Que é bom princípio de ordem económica, moral e física que cada proprietário ou inquilino tenha à sua disposição um pequeno jardim e terreno cultivável privativo.”

The Sky, the Sun, Water, the plants, the stones, the animals and Humanity itself – All this needs to appear in its good and true rendition, with its best and purest meaning. It must be taught to discover right here the truth – it is needed that She appear. An environment and architecture that fulfills this function.

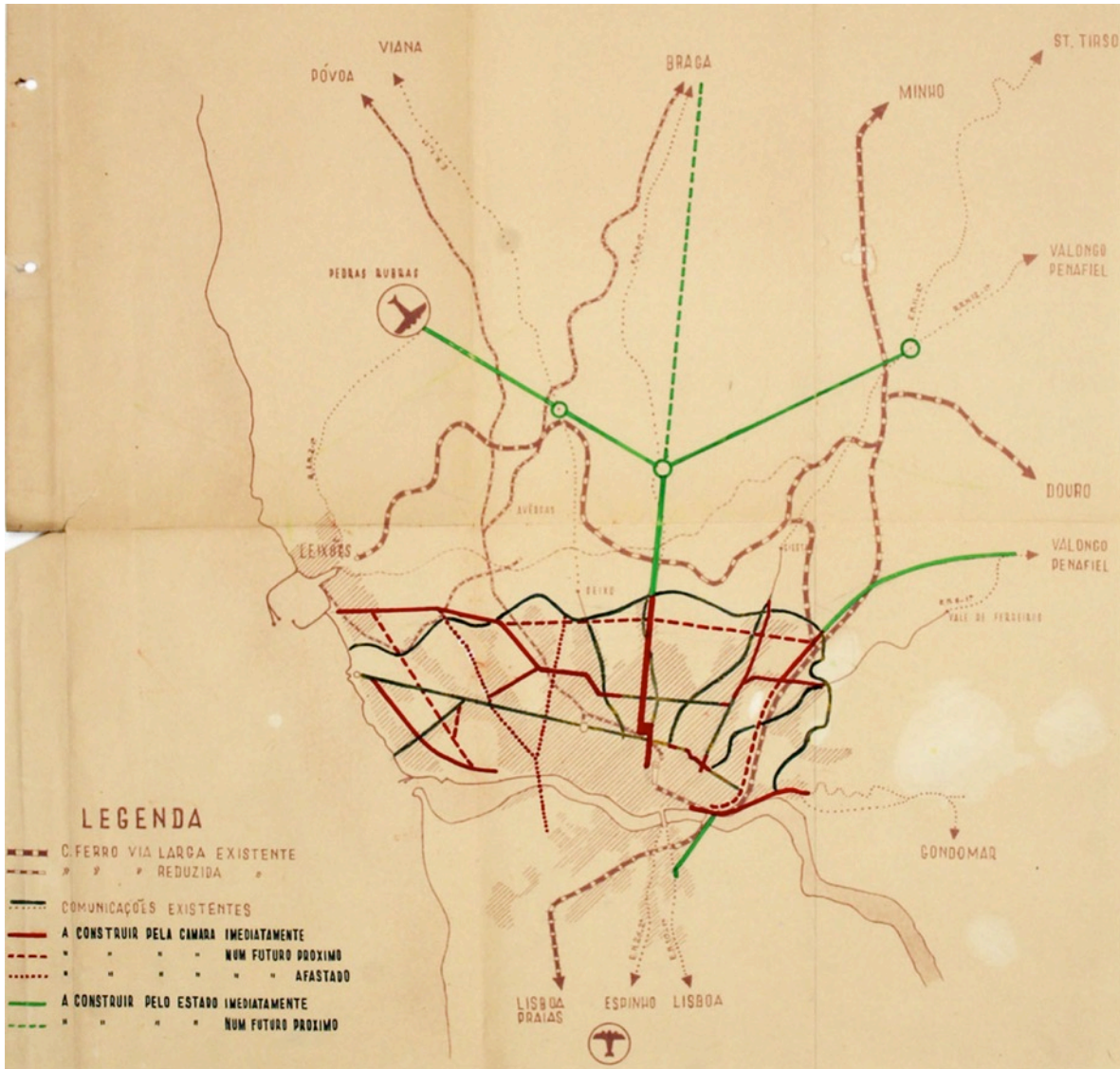
Functionalism, yes, that functionalism that can be a true expression, that irradiates life and light. Young souls must not be aged.⁹²⁷

By 1944 Moreira da Silva and Maria da Silva were developing the urban plan for Matosinhos, as an official PGU request by the municipality. The “economical and hygienic plan” referred by students was actually their teacher’s. As the student assignments suggested, the plan’s guiding lines greatly focused on the higienization of Matosinhos, namely by designing new public squares, parks and through demolitions of unsanitary neighborhoods and constructions. He also proposed a new road system connected with the larger traffic network of Porto’s metropolitan area ranging north to the *leixões* port. “Superiorly,” however, da Silva’s proposal followed the directives elaborated for Porto’s regional master plan, despite the fact that Matosinhos, having more than 2.000 inhabitants, to autonomously develop a PGU. By 1944/45, Porto’s master plan was coordinated by the engineer Antão de Almeida Garrett but followed from a previous first plan for embracing the city-region problem in Porto by the Italian architect-planner Giovanni Muzio.⁹²⁸ Muzio’s plan, on its part, departed from an earlier one elaborated by Marcello Piacentini’s office and interrupted in 1939. Moving beyond the latter’s emphasis on planning the city through centrally placed urban designs, Muzio re-elaborated Porto’s plan in view of regional structures, such as the laying of a new road system and the definition of stalite cities and their urban limits. This followed more closely with Almeida Garrett’s own priorities for transforming Porto into a northern capital, with its own vast region of metropolitan influence.⁹²⁹ Garrett, in fact was the coordinator of the urbanization office, while Muzio played the part of first author yet working as consultant to he plan.

⁹²⁷ “O céu, o Sol, a Água, as plantas, as pedras, os animais e a própria Humanidade – Tudo isto precisa de aparecer no seu bom e verdadeiro aspecto, com o seu melhor e mais puro significado. É preciso ensinar a descobrir já aqui a verdade – é preciso então que Ela apareça. Um ambiente e uma arquitectura que cumpra essa função. Funcionalismo, sim, aquêlo funcionalismo, que seja uma expressão verdadeira, que irradie vida e luz. É preciso não envelhecer as almas novas.

⁹²⁸ Muzio built his career as an architect compromised with translating modernity into the historical values of Italian culture and heritage, producing in the early 1920s various examples of a middle-ground between Milan’s palatial architecture, mainly from the 18th century, with the new modern forms, programs and construction methods. His stakes as a spatial professional were early on connected with the cultural project of the Italian dictatorship. From the mid-1920s onwards he devoted himself to the translation of this architectural path into urban theory and practice. He co-founded with many others, *Club degli Urbanist*, in 1925, devoted to the urban rethinking of Milan. In 1927 the latter presented a proposal for Milan’s master plan winning second place, in which the future of the city was conceived in terms of the preservation of its historical monuments, for aesthetical and civic reasons, the creation of new buildings, serving the state and in consonance with local architectural expression, and the freeing up of congested parts of the city by spreading its population through low-density new quarters, radially disposed and formally confined by new avenues, plazas, green areas and civic monuments. In 1936, his reputation as architect-planner was consolidated with a professorship in Milan’s technical university, heading the course *urbanistica*. See Irace, *Giovanni Muzio 1893-1982: Opere*; Terry Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy: Visions of Utopia 1900-Present* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005).

⁹²⁹ Garrett’s notion of the urban region and the capital status of Porto followed from the planning ideas of an earlier engineer colleague that had sketched a regional plan for Porto in the early 1930s, see Ezequiel de Campos, *Prólogo Ao Plano Da Cidade Do Porto* (Porto: Empresa Industrial Gráfica, 1932).



45 Plan sent by Almeida Garrett to Muzio, 1940, Porto's municipal archive (D-CMP/13(2)-M2).

Guided by Garret,⁹³⁰ the new plan started from city-region problem, trying to answer Porto's urbanization office desire for an overhaul solution to the region's traffic system and the control of the city's peripheral extensions and what they started considering as its satellite cities (Gaia, Foz, Matosinhos and Leça). Simultaneously, it attempted to identify with Duarte Pacheco's formulation of the PGU as the methodical foreseeing of an organic regulated whole.⁹³¹ The plan elaborated for approval gave form and regulation to the image of Porto as a morally and materially well-organized,

⁹³⁰ Throughout 1940 and 1941, Garrett sent Muzio a number of zoning directives, plans and urban studies concerning Porto, its peripheries and satellite cities.

⁹³¹ The Minister Duarte Pacheco came to Porto in 1941, among other things, to meet Muzio and learn of the developments of Porto's master plan, see Garrett, *História Da Evolução Dos Planos Gerais de Urbanização Da Cidade Do Porto*. In the meeting he suggested Porto's possible expansion areas, which were integrated by Garrett as planning directives then sent to Muzio, document of 14 of March of 1941, titled "Hierarquia das Vias Principais," D-CMP/13(13), in Porto's historical archive. On Pacheco's definition of the PGU, see Sandra Vaz Costa, "O País a Régua E Esquadro: Urbanismo, Arquitectura E Memória Na Obra Pública de Duarte Pacheco" (Master's Dissertation, Faculty of Literature of the University of Lisbon, 2009).

economically disciplined, capital of the north. As part of its regional ambitions, Muzio's plan contained the urban plans for Foz, Nevogilde and Matosinhos to the west, as well as for the small villages of Pedrouços, Rio Tinto and Campanhã, that were to be involved in the city's outer ring. The road system was projected in two main axis, both crossing central Porto, one north-south, another west-east. When reaching the city, these would become wide, strait, tree-laden avenues. The west-east axis was thought to be urbanized all along its length, starting from Boavista roundabout, first emerged Campo Alegre's urbanization, designed around the new *arrábida* bridge. Then came the industrial area of Ramalde, that concentrated all the industries in the west in a dense industrial quarter, surrounded by new economical housing, intended for workers and central Porto's homeless. The axis then finally reached the coast urbanization of Foz.



46 Plan of the city's new central traffic lanes, Muzio, 1940, Porto's municipal archive (D-CMP/13(5))

Pockets of green areas, which Garrett called reserves in 1941, were deemed essential for the city's salutary, hygienic, growth. Several new public gardens were proposed in the more immediate limits of the old city and in its throughout its outer perimeter. The new proposed quarters contained large gardened squares and, in between, for example, Campo Alegre and Ramalde urbanizations, large pockets of undeveloped areas, kept as green reserves. Several of these were also thought along the northern limits of the city, between the *senhora da hora* area, Pedrouços and Rio Tinto; and to the east limit, around the train tracks, a large public park was designed. The new quarters, such as that of Campo Alegre, were projected as "neighborhood units" of medium density, with three to four stories housing blocks, surrounded by small gardens and inner courtyards with possible private gardening areas. These new housing areas were complemented by public spaces, such as elementary schools, small civic centers and public gardens, usually grouped around a central square. The industrial quarters of Ramalde, while following this general layout and density scheme, because it was destined for workers, it was designed as a much denser urbanization. The housing blocks were implemented side by side, divided by small alleys, and distributed along a rigid orthogonal grid only interrupted by the public, gardened space, of the elementary school. Large green strips, some of them with sports facilities, surrounded the whole industrial quarter.

In this plan, and contrary to former planning designs, the city's perimeters were clearly identified by a group of westbound roads that followed a zoning scheme elaborated by Garrett with suggestions from Duarte Pacheco,⁹³² and sent to Muzio in 1941. The designing and correcting the traffic system in this followed an element that in former plans had mostly only been hinted: functional zoning. The new street layout obeyed the "need," according to Garret, of displacing density, functions and smells. In his portrayal of Porto, the city lived in a chaotic and unsanitary situation, where next to a palace there existed an illegal worker's quarter, a small factory, a commercial warehouse, creating a most unharmonious and unpleasant urban situation. Functional zoning or the tearing apart of these urban intersections was detrimental for the good organization of the city and its regional master plan. Muzio identified the problem all too well, having been involved in a similar proposal regarding the crowded central areas of Milan. With the reorganization of the road system, they proposed the functional zoning of the city and its broader urban region along the following categorical and geometrically concentric elements: civic and cultural center; commerce; housing; green area; industry; green area; housing; commerce; civic center;⁹³³ repeating the pattern along the new axis. Furthermore, this circumscription was supposed to be achieved through the use of local architecture languages, either found in monuments or other architectures with acknowledged cultural value, or recreated from these.



47 Muzio's design for the area of Campo Alegre, 1941, Porto's municipal archive (D-CDT-ROL/B2-7).

⁹³² See the last footnote; document of 18 March of 1941, titled "Linhas Gerais do Plano," D-CMP/13(14), D-CDT/B4-37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, in Porto's historical archive .

⁹³³ This patterned sequence can be literally observed in the axis starting in *aliados*, going through *boavista*, following along the new fast-way to the *leixões* port and ending in *nevogilde*.

The Matosinhos municipality had to follow these urban guidelines that were inclusively supported by Pacheco Duarte, yet not without some resistance. Moreira da Silva and Maria da Silva's plan emerged from Matosinhos own government will to developed its master plan, while awaiting for Porto's regional one to be fully developed and approved. This was not without its political and technical conflicts, such as Garrett delaying the delivery of up-to-date topographical plans of Matosinhos, in order to stall its urban plan. Nevertheless, da Silva's moved forward with their plan and respecting the cultural and higienic attitude also imbued by Muzio in Porto's regional master plan. The students of the 16th course in 1944/45, thus, combined and re-interpreted these various scales of economy and higiene projected upon Porto's urban region, in the body of a kindergarden and its urban setting. These projected kindergardens implied the drawing of large green areas, the establishing of new quarters, new avenues, and vast demolitions because of the needs "(...) of psychological, higienic and aesthetical order," "superiorly" approved.

In the school year of 1946/47, with Llamedo gone and Brito e Cunha heading the 15th course, 16th course students continued on Matosinhos. Unfortunately, only one student assignment from this school year seems to have survived, that of Albertino Galvão Roxo regarding an "Urbanization and Extension Plan for an Industrial Center" for *senhora da hora* in Matosinhos.⁹³⁴ The inquiry of the urban situation then involved a more complex set of aspects, comprising the surveying of current edification, streets and pathways, public and green spaces, physical geography, climate, population and economy, as well as comprehensive historical accounts.

The principles applied by Roxo involved a group of proposals by now familiar. Regarding the importance of green areas, he argued the need to create strips of trees along the new avenues, new parks and to renew existing ones. Along these lines, he proposed a "different" allotment of urban areas, where "(...) spaces that can continue to be explored as kitchen patches and gardens will be demarcated."⁹³⁵ Regarding salubrity and commodity, he proposed to "limit the area to occupy (with construction) in order to avoid excessive density and extension," accomplished with mixed typological housing solutions, mainly of medium-low (150 inhabitants per acre) density, and through functional zoning. He also proposed the creation of a civic center, enhancing existing buildings and adding new ones, amounting to: "a church, schools, day care, market, cinema and public administration."⁹³⁶

From this school year, there are also drawings from the 15th theoretical course, unfortunately these are equally few. From the student Gaspar Cadaval Souza Coutinho there is a collection of small drawings of historic city plans, such as Pompeii, Athens, Rome, Washington, Paris, among others. The drawings were executed with great detail and in small dimensions, occupying an A5 dimensioned sheet. The cities drawn were invariably presented as closed, self-contained, objects with clear limits, zones and distinctions between spaces. They seem to have been done as small engravings, similar to those accomplished by the architect-planner Robert Auzelle, for his *Encyclopédie de L'Urbanisme*, which started being published in 1947.⁹³⁷

⁹³⁴ "Ante-plano de Urbanização e Extensão dum Centro Industrial."

⁹³⁵ "(...) diferente aproveitamento do solo (...) serão marcados espaços que podem continuar a ser explorados com hortas e jardins."

⁹³⁶ "(...) limitar a área a ocupar de maneira a evitar uma densidade excessiva e uma extensão exagerada. (...) church, schools, creches, mercado, cinema e repartições públicas."

⁹³⁷ Robert Auzelle and Ivan Jankovic, *Encyclopédie de L'Urbanisme* (Paris: Vincent et Fréal, 1947); according to a former student of *urbanology*, Carlos Carvalho Dias, Auzelle's engravings were used in urbanism classes, see Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)": 283.

Along the following years, several similar works by emulation drawing of city plans continued, most existing student works pertaining to the school year of 1953/54. The subjects most drawn are public housing designs in northern countries, such as David Hellder, S. Dranger and N.E. Ericsson's quarter in Malmo, Sweden; Paul Holsoe and Vigo S. Jorgensen's quarter in Copenhagen, Denmark; Lakeview terrace in Cleveland, North America; and Paul Dopff's Neudorf in Strasbourg.⁹³⁸ The presentation of these cases comprised plans, elevations, sections and perspectives, executed in several scales, and coupled with an analysis text.

Coming back to the school year of 1948/49 and 16th practical course, we find the student Benjamin Carmo's urban plan for a central area of Porto. Titled "Urbanization Plan of a Central Nucleous of the City of Porto," it replaced the thorough inquiry of the urban situation, usually demanded, with a personal take on what modernist planning implied.⁹³⁹ He summarized: "(...) yesteryear's interest in a super-centralized center, avoiding paths, is opposed today with the capacity of means of transportation and the conception of freeing space."⁹⁴⁰ The student supplied the theoretical and practical coordinates from which this notion stemmed: "We can discuss between the Federative Urbanism of G. Bardet⁹⁴¹ and the Urbanism of Le Corbusier. (...) however, he (the urbanist) has today as objective to free centers super-centralized in favor of an opening." He, nevertheless, cautioned: "Obviously (...), there are values that must be preserved, even valorized."⁹⁴² The defense of a Le Corbusian fate to the city was seasoned with a recognition of existing values. By then da Silva and his wife started the master plan for Aveiro, which they developed throughout the 1950s, until being dismissed in 1960 by the municipality, in order to hire Robert Auzelle for the development of a new master plan. Carmo's work seems unrelated to the teacher's commissions at the time.

The urban proposal he put forward was written around three main objectives: (1) freeing the central area with a new transport network; (2) valorizing the existing architectural elements; (3) creating a new distribution of uses. This latter meant applying functional zoning as he proposed to distribute commercial, public and housing along separate and formally limited bounds. Given that his area of work involved a central part of Porto, he also proposed the valorization and emphasizing of a civic center, formed by a group of historical buildings and public institutions. This was also accomplished by demolishing all those buildings, mainly housing, that had a negative effect on the becoming of a new improved civic center and, more generally, on the hygiene of the urban situation. He proposed the "total demolition of hundred of terrible dwellings," to be replaced by an "economical and social order"

⁹³⁸ The students authoring these works are Alberto Manuel Santos Mesquita, António Emílio Teixeira Lopes, António Montenegro Araújo, João Rufino Paiva, Luís Vasconcelos Amaral, Maria Augusta Miranda Guedes. It is not clear for which course, if the 15th or the 16th, these works were developed. In the same year, Maria Guedes also developed a compilation of old city plans similar to Roxo in 1946/47, where Pompeii, Rome, Athens, etc., are presented by detailed and small plans.

⁹³⁹ "Ante-plano de Urbanização do Núcleo Central da Cidade do Porto."

⁹⁴⁰ "Com efeito ao interesse de ontem num cento super-centralizado, evitando percursos, opõe-se hoje com a capacidade de meios de transporte e concepção de libertar o espaço."

⁹⁴¹ Standing for Gaston Bardet (1907-89), architect-planner graduated in 1938 from Paris' *Institute d'Urbanisme*, collaborating with Marcel Poëte, and of the exponents of a culturalist view of planning and modern urban life, often pitted against Le Corbusian ideas. He gave a master class at Porto in May 5 of 1947, see "Moniz, 'O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)': 283; for an overview of Bardet's ideas and career see Jean-Pierre Frey, "Gaston Bardet, Théoricien de L'urbanisme Culturaliste," *Urbanisme*, no. 319 (2001): 32-36.

⁹⁴² "Pode discutir-se entre o Urbanismo Federativo de G. Bardet e o Urbanismo de Le Corbusier. (...) no entanto, ele (o urbanista) hoje tem como objectivo libertar os centros super-centralizados em favor dum desafogo. Evidentemente (...) há valores que convém não só conservar, como até valorizar."

done in mix typological housing.⁹⁴³ Green areas appeared once again as central elements, while he proposed to “valorize and extend” existing ones. Most of these proposals following with Muzio’s and Garrett’s urban principles. Respect for existing architectural values, furthermore, was also expressed in his proposal of urban legislation, declaring that new constructions were thought to need to prove their aesthetical connection with the surrounding buildings in order to be built. This enacted the principle of historic and cultural continuity developed by Muzio that would also, later, provoke several northern architects’ angry reply to the possibility of a *portuense* style of building regulation.⁹⁴⁴ Lastly, and extending the earlier reference to Le Corbusier, the urban design, building blocks and public spaces he proposed as the new the civic center were accomplished in free-standing blocks of eight stories, surrounded by open squares and green spaces.

When reaching 1952/53, the existing student works show a different degree of demand or an integration of other, perhaps more delimiting elements.⁹⁴⁵ Throughout this period da Silva continued to work on several plans around Porto, such as Matosinhos, and the design of specific public spaces. He was, however, part of Porto’s municipal commission of art and archeology, accompanying the development of its master plan by Garrett, in the capacity of an observer of architectural values and tradition. That year’s task was to conceive an urban plan for a new university campus in Porto and its surrounding neighborhoods.⁹⁴⁶ All student works started with an inquiry of the urban situation, focusing transport, geography, morphology, existing architectural values, road, public and green spaces, and economic aspects. Some students emphasized the need to connect the new city extension with the existing city, striving for structural and aesthetical continuity.⁹⁴⁷ Others emphasized new needs regarding transport, hygiene and green spaces, as well as regarding the university campus’ new architectural expression.⁹⁴⁸ Despite different degrees of prescribed integration of the existing, all works acknowledged and proposed demolitions as essential process for the plan’s becoming. Alcino Soares, who most clearly defended integrating the new urban area with the existing city, wrote: “There are, however, little surfaces that are always necessary to eliminate for compositional effect. In these cases, we were careful to force the constructions of less value.”⁹⁴⁹ José Luiz Pinto Machado, another student defending urban integration by design, wrote that it was important to “conserve the existing, as long as there one can “live” within hygienic or wholesome concepts.”⁹⁵⁰ Manuel Tato spoke of the needed “sacrifices” for the correct application of the “treatment prescribed” by the planner. Maria Odete Costa Moreira spoke of “bad neighborhood.” Demolitions were usually named “sacrifices” in this assignment and recommended, in general, whenever the principles of hygiene and sanitation prescribed by modern planning were not respected.

Zoning was proposed by all students along very similar lines, always involving the division between

⁹⁴³ “(...) demolição total das centenas de péssimas moradias (...) for economical and social order.”

⁹⁴⁴ “Exposição Dos Arquitectos Do Porto Ao Presidente Da C.M.P.”

⁹⁴⁵ Pires also recognizes a difference in school assignments in these years, see “O Ateliê de Arquitectura/Urbanismo de David Moreira Da Silva E Maria José Marques Da Silva Martins: Visibilidade E Memória”: 163.

⁹⁴⁶ “Ante-plano de Urbanização do Bairro Periférico Duma Cidade Universitária.”

⁹⁴⁷ For example, Heitor Alves Bessa and Alcino Soares Costa, who wrote: “(...) connect the university city to the existing city, avoid demolitions of the existing” (“(...)ligar a cidade universitária à cidade existente, evitar demolições do existente”).

⁹⁴⁸ For example the works of Manuel Fernandes Tato and Manuel Nunes de Almeida.

⁹⁴⁹ “Há, porém, pequenas superfícies que são sempre necessárias eliminar para efeito da composição. Quando destes casos, tivemos o cuidado de forçar as construções de menos valor.”

⁹⁵⁰ “(...) conservar o existente, desde que aí se possa “viver” dentro dos conceitos higiénicos ou salutareis.”

residential, mixed, industrial, leisure and public or civic programs. Following from this, the university campus, the new commercial areas, new housing quarters, and new possible industrial hubs were divided according to the road system. The latter was an initial focal point in all works. In this functional dividing, green areas such as new parks and sports facilities played a key and familiar role. Álvaro Augusto Oliveira Vieira wrote: “The green spaces, true lungs of any urban agglomerate, supply the best possibilities of improvement and embellishment (...) elements of plastic valorization.”⁹⁵¹ Or, as written by José Pinto Machado: “(...) we should contribute to give back to man an “habitat,” a natural environment. (...) green spaces are the fresh air reserves of any agglomeration (...)”⁹⁵² An yet in another work, by João Queiroz Castelo Branco: “ (...) involving the “city” in a green belt that at the same time acclimatizes the environment and (...) helps the formation of agreeable perspective.”⁹⁵³ Thus, green belts, new parks, some proposed from existing ones, were put forward as essential articulators of the urban plan’s physical and moral sanitation, as well as detrimental to its aesthetic beauty.

Because a considerable amount of housing was supposed to be foreseen, most works devoted many pages to defining its various attributes, functionalities and future regulation. Two notions had in these exercises a new presence: (1) the definition of housing patterns along three class typologies; and (2) the idea of “neighborhood unit.” The distribution of housing according to social class was something also articulated by Prost, Agache and de Gröer. In 1948, however, it was also brought forth by Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Costa Martins at the first national congress of architects, in their communication “Economical Housing and Social Readjustment.”⁹⁵⁴ In it they defended that public sponsored economical housing should foresee and serve three social levels: high, medium and low income. Porto’s *urbanology* students made use of a similar class typological distribution, categorized as H1,2 and 3 types. Some emphasized the need for adding private gardens and arable plots, yet, most proposed this housing axiology as a central element for producing urban harmony, both socially and aesthetically. Only the student Alcino Soares Costa wrote a critical observation of this recipe for urban harmonization, in the sense of the *Musée’s* idea of social peace: “Actually, what exists is a methodological classification that can harm democratic principles.”⁹⁵⁵

The working with the “neighborhood unit” might also be seen to come via the French connection. Within Prost’s, Poëte’s and Bardet’s cultural understanding of cities, the *quartier* was articulated as an important unit of identification of a city’s livelihoods and urban cultures. This was backed by sociological research into urban geography.⁹⁵⁶ The *quartier* and its epistemological and design hypothesis, constituted a confrontation with the modernist ideas of Le Corbusier and the *athens charter*, specially present in post-war *Grand Ensembles*. By 1950, this urban-sociological unit was translated into Paris’ *Plan D’Aménagement* and used, by architect-planners with it involved, as a planning intervention

⁹⁵¹ “Os espaços verdes verdadeiros pulmões de todo o aglomerado urbano fornecem as melhores possibilidades de beneficiação e embelezamento (...) elementos de valorização plástica.”

⁹⁵² “(...) pois que devemos contribuir para devolver ao homem um “habitat,” um meio natural. (...) as zonas verdes são as reservas de ar puro da aglomeração (...).”

⁹⁵³ “(...) envolver a “cidade” de uma cintura verde que ao mesmo tempo climatizasse o ambiente (...) ajuda a formação de perspectivas agradáveis.”

⁹⁵⁴ “Habitação Económica e Reajustamento Social.” For an analysis of the relation of this presentation with the housing and urba policy discussions occurring in Portugal see Bandeirinha, *O Processo Saal E a Arquitectura No 25 de Abril de 1974*.

⁹⁵⁵ “Realmente o que existe é uma classificação metodológica que pode prejudicar princípios democráticos.”

⁹⁵⁶ Frey makes a comprehensive case regarding Bardet’s connection with the social theories of Chombart de Lawe, see “Gaston Bardet, Théoricien de L’urbanisme Culturaliste.”

unit. Planners coming from Paris' *Institute d'Urbanisme* and working in the city's master plan promoted the urban neighborhood as the object through which good urban practices could be crafted. De Gröer, for instance, in his master plan for the city of Coimbra, in 1948 wrote the following concerning method: "(...) we will accomplish the study of the city, quarter by quarter; we will examine, one by one, each of its urban parts (...). Each of its already built parts, each quarter, each separate case, will demand an adequate treatment (...)."957

The quarter, furthermore, not only molded the action of the planner, but also enunciated a apolitical political mission. Writing about the "organization of collective life," Robert Auzelle wrote the quarter in the following terms:958

The therapy of today's urbanism consists, in first place, in conducting measurements of zoning and construction regulation. Equally imposing, as we came to highlight, is the need to favor in the interior of the city the development of a communitary life, without which today's towns are threatened with disaggregation. It seems to us that this goal will be more easily attained if we operate at a reduced tier where the inhabitant will participate more spontaneously in an elementary collective life: the quarter.959

In Porto and for students of *urbanology*, this crafting of the neighborhood perhaps circulated more directly from the city's regional master plan. In 1952, Garrett published for the first time its general principles and specific measures. In this plan, the "big city," was written as gripped by "a fake orientation of life (...) making us loose interest for our similar, when it is in them that we can find a favorable environment to our own happiness." Garrett developed as one of the plan's philosophy: "Only in a friendly environment can man feel well."960 For this rescuing of urban Porto, the neighborhood played a central role as that spatial-cultural unit through which to assemble urban friendliness again. Yet, it did so animated by a very specific model. "In a village," wrote Garrett, "the lords are like the natural protectors of the most in need that know having in them a support – and the first feel themselves morally obliged to do so. Everybody knows each other and everybody counts on one another. If a poor dies, the neighbors support does not fault, whatever their economic situation."961 This performance of the village, written in the founding code of Porto's master plan, did only serve an

957 "(...) faremos o estudo da cidade bairro por bairro; examinaremos, uma por uma, cada um das partes urbanas (...). Cada uma das partes já construídas, cada bairro, cada caso separado, exigirá pois um tratamento adequado (...)." in Etienne de Gröer, *Anteplano de Urbanização E Embelezamento E de Extensão Da Cidade de Coimbra*, trans. David Moreira da Silva (Coimbra, 1948): 49.

958 Rabinow argued that Auzelle's idea of the *Plan de Masse* was the direct and operative translation of this understanding of the city by its *quartiers* having, in a contradictory manner, the opposite effect of its intended culturalism and rejection of modernist planning. See *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*: 4-5.

959 "La thérapeutique de l'urbanisme actuel consiste en premier lieu à procéder à des mesures de zonage et de réglementation de la construction. La nécessité s'impose également, comme nous venons de le souligner, de favoriser à l'intérieur de la cité l'essor d'une vie communautaire, hors de laquelle les villes d'aujourd'hui sont menaces de désagrégation. Il nous semble que ce but sera plus facilement atteint si l'on opera à un echelon réduit où les habitants participeront plus spontanément à une vie collective élémentaire: le quartier." in Robert Auzelle, *Technique de l'Urbanisme: L'Aménagement Des Agglomérations Urbaines* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953): 33.

960 "(...) numa grande cidade, uma falsa orientação da vida tem feito perder o interesse pelos nossos semelhantes, quando é neles que podemos encontrar o ambiente favorável à nossa própria felicidade. (...) Só em ambiente amigo o homem pode sentir-se bem." in *Ibid*: 16.

961 "Numa aldeia, os senhores são como que protectores naturais dos mais necessitados que sabem ter neles um amparo – e os primeiros se sentem moralmente a isso obrigados. Todos se conhecem e contam todos uns com os outros. Se morre um pobre, não lhe falta o acompanhamento dos vizinhos, qualquer que seha a sua situação económica." in *Ibid*: 16.

ideological narrative of return and wholeness. In a typological fabrication of the village, with a determined size, number of inhabitants, services and densities, Garrett based the partial planning units for the city's renewal. He called these the "natural levels" of "our" human organization.⁹⁶² As if formulating a general philosophy of human organization, the plan enunciated:

The fusion of small groupings for the formation of bigger ones, with wider possibilities of allocation in administrative, social and cultural equipment, should not be done with the total loss of their own individuality, so in the measure of the man in which they naturally formed.⁹⁶³

Around this definition, the plan proposed four "natural" levels of urban organization: the neighborhood, "having as base the primary school and that, covering about 130 families, reconstitutes the village;" the large quarter, "having as base the primary school of 8 rooms, that is, four times bigger than that of the neighborhood, where it is no longer possible the easy acknowledging of parents by the conviviality of the kids in school, but where people, 2.000 to 4.000 inhabitants, are enough to have bigger demands: stores, small station (...);" the residential unit, "our old municipality – covering from 5.000 to 12.000 inhabitants, reaches a more perfect urban level and similar to that of our towns;" the urban unit, "covering many residential units, that should not exceed, however, the 70.000 inhabitants, being preferable that it stay in the 40 to 50 thousand, considered as limit to the full use of the common goods. Already corresponds to the small city."⁹⁶⁴ The neighborhood unit and quarter were thus crafted as the basic building blocks for Porto's future modern harmony, its possibility of restoring a humane dimension to the "big city."

This performance of the neighborhood can be found in a majority of student works from 1952/53. In fact, all *urbanology* student works of 1952/53 referenced the importance of complying with the *Plano Regulador*,⁹⁶⁵ Garrett's master plan, often in the beginning of their presentations. Some students argued the need to develop proposals within its "spirit," others simply named some of its guidelines concerning traffic arrangements and urban development perspectives. All, however, signalled the neighborhood as key project unit through which to work the city. Álvaro Augusto Oliveira Vieira, regarding urban principles, wrote these were supplied with "(...) a so enlightened as useful, efficient and reciprocal neighborhood unit."⁹⁶⁶ Fernando Pereira da Silva de Freitas Leal wrote of "close neighborhood" and the importance of "(...) understanding the small nuclei for the evolution of bigger ones."⁹⁶⁷ Heitor Alves Bessa discussed the "neighborhood unit" as a "natural urban expansion."⁹⁶⁸ Maria Odete Moreira wrote of "bad neighborhood" and the need to bring the values of "comfort, salubrity and economy" to it.⁹⁶⁹ The neighborhood or *vizinhança* was a central topic of concern for these students and more commonly identified with a principle of planning, as well as a natural expression of good city existence. Stated

⁹⁶² "(...) o nosso modo de viver (...) escalões naturais." in Ibid: 17.

⁹⁶³ "A fusão dos pequenos agrupamentos para a formação de outros maiores, com mais amplas possibilidades de dotação no seu equipamento administrativo, social e cultural, não deve fazer-se com a perda total da sua individualidade própria, tão à medida do homem que tiveram formação natural." in Ibid: 16-17.

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid: 17.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁶ "(...) uma tam esclarecida como útil, eficiente e recíproca unidade de vizinhança."

⁹⁶⁷ "vizinhança próxima (...)o entendimento de pequenos núcleos para a evolução de outros maiores (...)."

⁹⁶⁸ "unidade de vizinhança (...) natural expansão cidadina."

⁹⁶⁹ "conforto, salubridade e economia."

differently, the ideal body for the receiving of comfort and hygiene, as articulated in Porto's master plan.⁹⁷⁰

The intervention area of the new imagined university campus also involved lands used as agricultural, in Porto's immediate outskirts. By then there was no clear and specific limit between established city, old hamlets and farming villages, old and new industries, these limits were being produced in the 1952 plan. In 1952/53 the limit was proposed by students, following the city's planning guidelines crafted and institutionalized at that time. The new campus and surrounding housing quarters were proposed to be clearly delimited and divided. Firstly, by the renewed road system and, secondly, by the proposed architectural shape of the new quarters. Against these elements, the difficult to define outskirts were pictured as "rustic area" or "rural area."⁹⁷¹ Following de Gröer's crafting of rural areas as the needed lungs of cities, which was also taken up by Muzio's and Garrett's plan, most students proposed to leave the outskirts as agricultural green areas, with low and highly constrained construction ratios. For example, Heitor Alves Bessa wrote that in these areas only a "2% maximum of covered area" be allowed and that "(i)n this zone only constructions of a purely agricultural interest will be permitted."⁹⁷²

Along the following school years, *urbanology* students continued to be challenged with demanding urban exercises, requiring comprehensive reports on urban situations, detailed regulatory proposals and physical solutions able to embrace the geographic, functional, historic and economic complexities of modern city growth. In 1953/54 they were assigned the renewal of *leixões* port and its urban surroundings, delimiting Matosinhos to the north. Like previous works, students invariably started by developing inquiries into the actual situation: grounded in long historic accounts, geographic appreciations and studies of future development. This latter element was, in this assignment, animated by considerable amounts of economic studies regarding the port and its needed modernization: container volume, boat traffic, truck circulation. To the commendable technical expertise shown by students and regarding the functioning and structure of an important commercial harbor, solutions previously elaborated were, however, entrusted to its urban renewal. A new road system, the establishing of urban perimeters, green belts and parks, demolition of inadequate constructions and regulation of new ones. Higiene, economy, beauty through history and cultural reification. By then an apparently stable set of tools and understandings over urban productivity.

Lastly, for the year of 1954/55 only the work of José Baptista Semide was found and it involved an urban inquiry of the city of Coimbra. As that of the port the former year, and many others before, it relied on a long historical account of the city's formation. The historical account, in this case, was enriched by geographical appreciations of soil and demography, after which the work was entirely devoted to the particular history and architectural appreciation of the city's monuments. After graduating, Semide joined Porto's urbanization office and, in 1961 by Távora's request, headed the recently created urbanization office of Aveiro, founded on behest of Robert Auzelle for the execution of

⁹⁷⁰ One of the most direct results of this preponderance of the quarter is observable in the design of densities, most student works identified the 150 people per acre target as ideal; but also in the combination of mix housing typologies and the definition of specific architectural expressions to neighborhoods, reinforcing their material identity.

⁹⁷¹ Heitor Alves Bessa, presents two assignments in the year of 1952/53, one regarding the planning of the new campus, another regarding the urban inquiry of the town of Ermesinde and a proposal for its urban regulation, titled "Análise e Inquérito Urbano do estado Actual da Villa de Ermesinde."

⁹⁷² "2% máximo de área coberta (...). Só serao permitidas nesta zona as construções de interesse puramente agrícola."

the city's master plan.

Despite considerable gaps in *urbanology's* assignments between 1945 and 1955, we can appreciate how the urban principles and methods taught by Moreira da Silva, and in a different way by Brito e Cunha, much shared with the lessons and practices of the Paris' *Institute d'Urbanisme*. Namely with Prost, Agache, de Gröer and later Auzelle. This is observable in the knowledge operated by students: (1) long historical accounts, especially based in morphology; (2) physical and human geographic appreciations; (3) infrastructural and economic studies, especially regarding transport, sanitation, electricity, functional zoning and economic development. As well as in the methods and systematic priorities: (1) the establishing of efficient road systems; (2) functional and social zoning; (3) the implementing and regulation of city limits; (4) the importance of parks and green areas; (5) the identification, delimitation and reification of civic centers, public monuments and native architectural languages. The undertow of which was the imagined establishment of class hierarchy, the destruction of unhealthy, unsanitary and uneconomical livelihoods, the naturalization of the dichotomy between city and country, and the top-down design of an organized city life, crafted for an effective urban harmony.⁹⁷³

By going through these works of initiation into *urbanology* we can observe how a varied group of individuals, soon to be active architects and architect-planners, appropriated an ethics of city-building that travelled from France, Indochina, Morocco, Algiers, Paris and its urban region, into Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, Luanda and then Porto. This constituted a specific apparatus for undertaking the organization of collective life by a form of city crafting that, according to Porto's architecture students, was grounded in an untimely discipline: "The concept of urban plan and of previous ordering (...) was already born in IMEMORIAL times. We can even observe urbanistic principles in cities dating from prehistoric ages."⁹⁷⁴ A old discipline that derived its necessity and social-political validity from: "Everything in life being or must be organized. Without organization there will not be method, (...) the understanding of small nuclei for the evolution of bigger ones (...) must not be accomplish with individualisms, but yes in the measure of a moral, humane, well-organized formation."⁹⁷⁵ Its technical mission was simultaneously political, in the apolitical language of the village for instance, and moral, by making hygiene, functionality and economy work as a complex of physical and ethical dispositions of urban bodies.

By 1955/56 the city's bodies were, in fact, being thoroughly moved around, rehabilitated and destroyed. Within Garrett's master plan, in 1956 the municipality approved the *Plano de Melhoramento para a Cidade do Porto*, the city's *improvement plan*, as it can be translated. This followed from a program of demolitions and rehousing, namely of poor dwellers from central Porto and from several *ilhas*, started in 1955 and as part of the master plan's design for central and peripheral Porto. A new law of 1956 was designed to enlarge the supply of public housing in order to quell the chronic, and embarrassing, lack of suitable housing conditions in Portugal.⁹⁷⁶ Porto's *improvement plan*, backed by

⁹⁷³ Jeanne Haffner makes a very compelling case for the association between the idea of top-down planning and French urbanism in the first half of the 20th century, namely relating it with aerial photography, which was also a common practice in Portugal during this period, see *The View from Above: The Science of Social Space* (Cambridge, London: MIT Press, 2013).

⁹⁷⁴ "O conceito dum plano de urbanização e de ordenação prévia, (...), nasceu já em tempos IMEMORIAIS. Podemos até notar princípios urbanísticos em cidades que datam de eras pré-históricas." José Luiz Pinto Machado, 1953.

⁹⁷⁵ "Tudo na vida ter de ser ou estar organizado. Sem organização não haverá método, (...) o entendimento de pequenos núcleo para a evolução de outros maiores (...) não deve fazer-se com individualismos, mas sim à medida de uma formação moral, humana, bem organizada." Fernando Pereira da Silva de Freitas Leal, 1953.

⁹⁷⁶ Decree-law n° 40.616, May 28 1956

state and central bank loans, aimed to build the 6.000 houses publicized years before with Ramalde.⁹⁷⁷ Its main objective was to solve, in a permanent manner, the “moral, social and political” problem of the *ilhas*.⁹⁷⁸ Within Garrett’s planning discourse, Porto’s ugly, dirty and mean⁹⁷⁹ were going to be moved into a “new, more sane” life in the modern and green outskirts.

Ilhas and other unhealthy habitats throughout Porto, namely in central Porto and closer to sites for the new fast road circling the city, were reduced to rubble. People were moved around between temporary structures and clandestine neighborhoods until the first new and modern workers’ quarters were erected. The first of these were those of *bom sucesso* in the area of *massarelos*, *Pio XII in campanhã* and *carvalhido* in *paranhos*, all of which were concluded by 1960. Several others were under construction, such as the *pasteleira* neighborhood in *lordelo*,⁹⁸⁰ the *outeiro* and *amial* neighborhoods in *paranhos*, among others that would only be finished in the early and mid 1960s.⁹⁸¹ This plan for improving Porto’s housing situation continued throughout the 1960s with the construction of many other residential units, such as Ramalde’s second and third phase. According to municipal reports, from 1956 and along the next ten years, the municipality built 6.072 housing units spread through fourteen new neighborhoods. These, however, did not follow Garrett’s formulation of “natural” units and its underlying village type, as they were not supplied with the public facilities - schools, shops, public repartitions, sport centers, etc... - he recommended in the 1952 plan. Besides modern housing blocks that, regarding structure, dimensions and expression, followed from Távora’s design of Ramalde, little else was built.⁹⁸² The improvement plan stopped short of creating the urban life foreseen by Garrett. The priority was to build living quarters for the new homeless that had been created by the salubrious demolitions of central Porto under the pretext of solving a public “emergency.”⁹⁸³ For everything else people had to make due, as the establishing of shops, schools, health centers, cultural spaces and green areas was accomplished in tune with a liberal spirit. For instance, Távora’s earlier Ramalde quarter only had one grocery shop throughout the 1950s and 1960s, established by a private entrepreneur in a surviving old farmhouse, in the limits of the housing area. Some primary goods, such as vegetables and eggs, were supplied directly by surrounding small farmers, caught in-between the new fast-way, industrial zone of Ramalde and the modern housing neighborhoods.

These were not the only bodies in Porto, however, being changed around. Throughout the late 1950s and 1960s, the city underwent several profound changes: an urban center, almost, freed of poor

⁹⁷⁷ “Uma Verdadeira Cidade Nova Para 6 Mil Habitantes, Vai Ser Construída Em Ramalde, Segundo as Mais Modernas Concepções Urbanísticas.”

⁹⁷⁸ *Ibid*: 18.

⁹⁷⁹ As in Ettore Scola’s 1976 movie, *Brutti, sporchi e cattivi* and, as we will later see, this was how poor inhabitants and the lower classes in Porto were often portrayed by writers, opinion and policy makers.

⁹⁸⁰ Cabral and Portas supplied at the time a thorough analysis of its main agents, achievements and faults, as said in the former chapter, see Cabral and Portas, “Uma Realização Da Câmara Municipal Do Porto: O Conjunto Habitacional Da Pasteleira.”

⁹⁸¹ See Queirós, *No Centro, À Margem. Sociologia Das Intervenções Urbanísticas E Habitacionais Do Estado No Centro Histórico Do Porto*; the architects Bartolomeu Costa Cabral and Nuno Portas offer a list of the works accomplished and underway closer to the event, in “A Política Habitacional Da Câmara Municipal Do Porto E O Problema Das ‘Ilhas,’” *Arquitectura*, December 1960: 31. Information on the built neighborhoods, including a map of their location in the city, can be found in Porto’s municipality webpage, at <http://www.domussocial.pt/habitacoes/c/bairros>, accessed in January of 2016.

⁹⁸² The modern neighborhoods built through this plan were designed by architects working in Porto’s urbanization office, that is, working behind closed doors and from the same models. Távora’s design for Ramalde was considered a “first essay” of a new, modernist inspired, attitude towards the city, the neighborhood and urban livelihood by, for example, Bartolomeu Costa Cabral and Nuno Portas, “Uma Realização Da Câmara Municipal Do Porto: O Conjunto Habitacional Da Pasteleira,” *Arquitectura*, December 1960: 32.

⁹⁸³ *Ibid*: 47.

and clandestine neighborhoods – *ilhas* - the renewal of old street fronts, the laying of new fast-ways, the delimitation of new industrial areas and of a vast new urbanized belt of modern blocks, interspersed by old farms, estates, village-like agglomerates, industries and green plots awaiting urban development. The city's limits were enforced by law, as well as of its satellite cities, such as Matosinhos and Leça da Palmeira, to the north. This was the northern capital desired by the city's master plan making its appearance. This was also the collective discipline Garrett elaborated in 1952, from the accumulated experience of Piaccentini's and Muzio's urban studies. In this city forge and within these ideas of a city, the generation of architects taught by Moreira da Silva developed their knowledge of the urban.

Walking by demolished neighborhoods, crossing the old road being enlarged, at a distance glimpsing the foundations of the new quarter of *bom sucesso*, the student architect-planner would go up *santa catarina* and *lázaro*, in old Porto, and behind *s. bento* train station reach the school in an old mannered building, where he - almost always a he back then - would sit in a classroom that had been a large bedroom, and where he would hear from his teacher that he had to design a new urban unit near central Porto, a new campus in *massarelos* or the traffic and public arrangements of the *leixões* port. Also he was part of the great demolition works and its accompanying bright modernized future, seizing the city. Thus his practice and knowledge found a place in a city being modernized, and performing the causes of the planner: physical reification of civic virtues, crafting good neighborhoods, regional expressions, the drawing of clear boundaries and natural landscapes supplying "man with its habitat," supplied its projections; the purview of "psychological, hygienic and aesthetical order."⁹⁸⁴ This was partly how *urbanology* came alive between the school and the planning of Porto, as an apparatus for social peace and order. Insofar as *urbanology* constituted for young architects the moral and practical education of the making of their dealings with the city, it promoted a place in and for the city: a specific active position for what a city should be. This infused a certain style of apprehending the Portuguese city. A considerable portion of this style passed through Paris, de Groër, DGSU, Muzio's and Garrett's plan. Yet it also emerged from the transformation of the art of planning the collective for a social peace, by making its causes and methods pass through another specific set of causes placed through the hinterland, "our" character, and a search for an architecture true with "Man and Land." To understand how this place and position for the city was constituted we need to go beyond the disciplinary, ideological and government formulations at the heart of Portuguese planning in the dictatorship. Here, we must turn in more detail to the student also part of the demolitions, yet inspired by a national cause. Insofar as future architect-planners built their *projecto* for the city with de Groër, Auzelle and many others, at least some also transformed this *projecto* with their own "big city" and good natured village. The search for a true modern architecture was also a needed fabrication of coordinates for a true Portuguese city, as said before, an affirmation of the city imbued in an architectural project. We will now turn to this affirmation, its experiences and objects, from the more personal point of view of one student of *urbanology*.

⁹⁸⁴ "ordem psicológica, higiénica e estética," João Andresen, 1946.

6 Urban common-sense: drawing fundamental urban values, 1954-62.

Fernando Távora studied *urbanology* in Porto's school, joined the city's urbanization office under Garrett before graduating, and in the early 1950s as he was planning Ramalde, joined the school as assistant to Ramos' design studios. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find Távora's student assignments in the 15th and 16th courses, yet he performed, probably better than any other student from Porto in the 1940s, the chaining of classroom and municipal office, of learning to plan and planning Portuguese cities. Further, he performed this chaining of disciplinary development and practice into the search of a new route to Portuguese modern architecture, projecting compromises with *portuguese truth* and "vital reality." Through his chaining of the problem of planning, a city *projecto* was developed between the *athens charter*, the emergency of DGSU's planning mission, and commitments to "Man and Land." If the rural dwelling transformed the norms and forms of a national modern architecture, its villages and peasant community transformed how some architects reviewed urban planning and their agency as urban designers for a pacified modern society. A style of apprehending the Portuguese city emerging with a search for a true modern architecture passed through this chaining, and Távora will help us search its collective terms and experiences.

Regarding the post-war recreation of urban expertise and mission, however, Távora seems to have been mostly a silent agent. Yet, as far as silences go, this one spoke intimately to an architecture culture searching for renovation. As was the case with the magazine's *Arquitectura* 1957 new editorial direction, one of its most outspoken institutions. Távora had a central place in the new addressing of priorities and practices, namely as Nuno Portas in 1961 focused his then young career as promising a resolution of modernist ideas with the need to answer "vital reality."⁹⁸⁵ Yet, Távora produced few theoretical contributions to *Arquitectura*'s discussion of urban issues.⁹⁸⁶ Despite this, he performed a fluid and powerful role in conveying a city *projecto* and of architecture's duty or "service," as he would call it, in its accomplishment of a "big city" critique and the formulation rooted progress. His case is ideal for the study of a determinant form of apprehending the city for modern Portuguese architects. for several reasons. Firstly (1), he made himself a *portuense*, living, working, breeding the city of Porto, where both his personal and professional life were centered. Secondly (2), he was taught by Moreira da Silva, by Antão de Almeida Garrett and later by Robert Auzelle when he came to work under him on the master plan of Aveiro in the early 1960s. Thirdly (3), from an early age he was actively involved in the modern reorganization of Porto, being Ramalde one of the most eloquent examples of this participation. Lastly, most scholarship regarding Távora focuses almost exclusively his architectural designs and lessons, avoiding his urban planning ideas and practices, as well as his role in the production of Porto's modern re-organization, among other cities such as Aveiro. Two exceptions to this must be named. Sofia Ferreira's history of the urban planning of Aveiro and architect Maria Teresa Hilário's analysis of Muzio's and Távora's plans for central Porto, within a history of that area's planning since the early 20th

⁹⁸⁵ See Portas, "Arquitecto Fernando Távora, 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional, Um Estudo Crítico."

⁹⁸⁶ During the late 1950s and early 1960s, he wrote just two articles for *Arquitectura*, one about his summerhouse in Ofir and another with Filgueiras and the architect Alfredo Viana de Lima, regarding their presentation at CIAM X of the urban renewal of a village in *trás-os-montes*, much influenced by the *inquiry*. See Távora, "Casa Em Ofir"; Lima, Távora, and Filgueiras, "Tese Ao X Congresso Do CIAM."

century.⁹⁸⁷ The first, however, delimits Távora's participation in the planning of Aveiro to a long historical description of the city's various planning strategies since 15th century: Távora's plan emerges as small episode in the 1960s, succinctly referred. The second work, on the other hand, re-presents Távora as the modern revolutionary in relation to a mostly conservative history of city planning: here his agency is that of a hero-architect. This chapter aims to overcome both limitations.

As we will see, Távora developed a very specific idea of what a city should be and how architecture related to its accomplishment. Stated differently, he developed a very specific *projecto* of city together with the search for a true modern architecture. This *projecto* was more influential and wide-ranging than granted, being shared by colleague architects "friendly" with the national architecture renewal advanced in 1945, and specially in the measure that it performed a concern with making the modern city more "humane" and, as contradictory as it may seem, more "natural." This chapter aims to show that this professional mobilization of what a city should be was not something apart from the efforts of rethinking the norms and forms of a national architecture committed with "Man and Land." On the contrary, it mediated its ideas, proposals and practices into the contested bodies of modern urbanity, first of all regarding changing Portuguese cities, such as Porto, but also distant, foreign, cities.

In what follows I will try to account how different cities were understood as *projectos*, that is, as concrete ideals inspiring an amassing of knowledge, pre-dispositions and practices for a desired city. We will observe how the grouping of different city experiences and their projections, formed a specific way of understanding the role of planning, modern development and the ethical projection of the architect. The cities enacted by Távora and others vary in time, scale and projection, and were activated through different experiences and mediums: scientific reports, intellectual essays, field trips, for instance. To better grasp how different experiences of different cities were transformed into *projectos*, and how these were then used to frame the edifying role of planning, it is useful to think of *projecto* as phantasmagoria. The former, as exposed in the introduction, is about the action of selecting and projecting something from a given reality: of putting forward one of its parts and making it stand as an interpretative key for the whole, its principle of collection or of, as Latour wrote, the "enveloping of the collective."⁹⁸⁸ The idea of phantasmagoria here used does not contradict this conceptual operation, it will hopefully reinforce its conceptual range.

The idea of phantasmagoria here applied comes via Walter Benjamin's interpretation of Karl Marx' commodity fetishism. Marx wrote that a "phantasmagorical form of relation between things" acted in the capitalist commodity. This phantasmagoria proper to capitalism, served to hide the separation between product and production, nature and culture, "first nature" and "second nature," or more literally between the value commodity and the actual work put into its construction.⁹⁸⁹ This phantasmagoria was read by Marx as the action of the phantom of capitalism, that is, the pervading and disembodied presence of its ideology. Benjamin, concerned with reviewing Marx's monolithic separation between ideology and reality, on the other hand, transformed the notion of phantasmagoria

⁹⁸⁷ Sofia Almeida Silva Ferreira, "Aveiro No Estado Novo - A Cidade Idealizada Versus A Cidade Operacionalizada" (Master's Dissertation, Faculty of Literature of the University of Porto, 2003); Hilário, "Giovanni Muzio E Fernando Távora: Projectos Para a Avenida Da Ponte E Para O Campo Alegre."

⁹⁸⁸ Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*.

⁹⁸⁹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowkes, vol. 1 (London: Penguin, 1992).

from the reflection of a phantom to the latent expression of a real object, an immanence.⁹⁹⁰ Oversimplifying, for Benjamin capitalist ideology did not determine capitalist labor, transactions and working relations, these determined capitalism, not however as their ideological superstructure, but as their actual expression and representation.⁹⁹¹ Inspired by the actual *phantasmagoria* device, Benjamin turned the concept from an effect of ideology to a means for carrying reality through its representations: the phantasmagoria became a reality allegorically active.⁹⁹²

The pertinence of Benjamin's notion of phantasmagoria regarding *projecto* and its acting resides in this latter sense: so too the act of projecting in *projecto* may be said to allegorically activate a reality. Not because it just represents reality, something derived and imposed despite its concreteness, but instead because it is an articulation of some of its experiences that makes part of this concreteness appear more real and as more important. Such as the capitalist formulation of production appeared more real and hegemonic than other forms of production to some in the 19th century. It is not a fake or ideological fabrication of reality, but its subjective expression placed in movement. Crucial in this articulation is the absence of a definite delimitation between representation and objective reality. A phantasmagoria may be said to produce a haunting in which established boundaries between theory and practice, real and simulacrum, subject and object are diffused, and several things, times and ideas are made to occupy a same space.⁹⁹³ These do not appropriate a space as reflections of something else beyond them, but as subjective expressions of objects, produced facts and concrete experiences.

In this vein, *projecto*, that practice taught to architects for putting forward a design environment, can be understood as the act of crafting a phantasmagoria from a reality. In this articulation, *projecto* is not an immaterial, theoretical and subjective element imposed on reality, only existing in a world of representations, of paper and paper-architectures. On the contrary, it a key part of its material expression. Translated into recent architecture theory, this phantasmagorical articulation of *projecto* can be argued as similar to that proposed by Anthony Vidler's reading of the architectural uncanny.⁹⁹⁴ He mobilized the idea that certain buildings and spaces exude an estrangement that is a phantom of psychological and cultural experiences of modernity. Yet, Vidler's notion of the uncanny and its haunted quality is supported by a sharp distinction between representation and object: "(...) there is no such thing as an uncanny architecture, but simply architecture that, from time to time and for different purposes, is invested with uncanny qualities."⁹⁹⁵ This limits the phantasmatic action to representations of objects invested as uncanny but neutral themselves: a building is just there and from time to time a couple of people interpret it as uncanny and phantasmagorical.

This goes against the idea that objects may act in strange and uncanny ways by themselves, that is, by the acting of their phantoms. A more useful concept for the articulation of *projecto* as phantasmagoria resides in the idea, borrowed from anthropology, of the "make-believe" space. This is

⁹⁹⁰ See Margaret Cohen, "Walter Benjamin's Phantasmagoria," *New German Critique*, no. 48 (Autumn 1989): 87–107; and the more recent reelaboration of Benjamin's concept of phantasmagoria in Sami Khatib, "Fantasy, Phantasmagoria, and Image-Space. Walter Benjamin's Politics of Pure Means," in *Die Politik Des Phantasmas*, vol. 5 (Phantasma und Politik, Berlin, 2013).

⁹⁹¹ Walter Benjamin, *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 3 (1935–38) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁹⁹² The phantasmagoria was a *camera obscura* spectacle developed by Etienne-Gaspard Robertson in the late 1790s, in vogue during the 19th century, see Cohen, "Walter Benjamin's Phantasmagoria."

⁹⁹³ See Jake Kosek's helpful definition of haunting, drawing on Benjamin's phantasmagoria, in *Understories: The Political Life of Forests in Northern New Mexico* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006): 259.

⁹⁹⁴ Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1992).

⁹⁹⁵ Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1992): 12.

namely borrowed from Yael Navarro-Yashin's work on Cyprus landscapes of war and the idea that "(...) the make-believe refers not singularly to the work of the imagination or simply to the materiality of crafting but to both at the same time."⁹⁹⁶ Stated differently, a space through which the tangible and the ideological are crafted together: where objects subjectively and subjects materially express themselves. The concept of make-believe crosses the border between representation and objective reality, becoming specially helpful for the study of city *projectos* or the expression of allegorically active urban realities forming an ethical experience of modern urbanity. It implies the collection of a specific group of experiences, objects and ideas, then assembled as an encompassing frame for action, just as the panorama of the *phantasmagoria* stood for the actual experience of a city. By studying those activated by Portuguese architects in the construction of an edifying city-building practice, this chapter aims to grasp the make-believe cities animated with the search for a true modern architecture. As such, I will not be studying ideas about cities as planning theories or representations, but as the crafting of *projectos*, from a specific professional experience and expressing particular urban priorities, cast in relation to the positive *projecto* of an architecture for *portuguese truth*.

This chapter greatly relies on primary sources, namely articles, essays and reports regarding cities and trips to cities. I will start by interpreting Távora's texts regarding planning, Porto's planning throughout the 1950s and his experience of North American urbanity, to where he travelled in 1960. This latter experience crafted an important phantasmagoria as the North American city was constituted as a specifically negative make-believe "big city," heralding, as architect Carlos Duarte identified, a demoralizing and socially destructive city *projecto*.⁹⁹⁷ This will take us to two other projections of North America and its phantasmatic dimensions, namely one by the latter and another by architect Luís Pinto's, both published in the pages of *Arquitectura*. Lastly, these three enactments of North America will be interpreted together, in order to arrive at some of the elements around which a common *projecto* for a modern Portuguese city was articulated by architects desiring a modern architecture compromised with *portuguese truth*.

To the best of my knowledge while accounts of individual architects' trip impressions and essays on cities abound, as well as individual accounts of urban ideals. Accounts of mutually constituted phantasmagorias derived from observing foreign cities not so much. In this sense, Távora is here a former *urbanology* student and practising planner that will allow to chain together a collective formulation of the Portuguese city, animated by the *projecto* of an architecture engaged with *portuguese truth*. By accounting for the cities in the latter's projecting idea of city, that is, for its composition of make-believe spaces, this chapter hopes to enrich our knowledge of the crafting of cities, specially from a Portuguese perspective. By showing how specific objects, social organizations and urban realities were transformed into active phantasmagorias, it also hopes to arrive at some of the base ingredients constituting a style of apprehending the Portuguese city, and developed by engaged Portuguese modern architects. On the other hand, this chapter aims to test the efficacy of city *projecto* as a conceptual tool, in relation to exercises of assembling the collective, that is, of picturing and delimiting a script for the city.

⁹⁹⁶ Yael Navarro-Yashin, *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012): 5.

⁹⁹⁷ Carlos Duarte, "Elementos Sociológicos Do 'habitat' urbano," *Arquitectura*, December 1960.

From Venice

As a silent agent, Távora participated in the 1953 IUA congress, having gone with Carlos Ramos to the second IUA congress in Morocco in 1951. Together with Viana de Lima he was the most assiduous Portuguese presence in the CIAMs. He was acquainted with the new editors of *Arquitectura* and their “critical” mission, and was increasingly influential in Porto’s school. He was one of the few Portuguese architects, surely the youngest, to whom *Arquitectura* dedicated an anthology-like piece in 1961. Written by Portas and evaluating twelve years of Távora’s work, the piece presented an architectural practice enunciating: “More than a refined “design,” (...) the arrival of a conception much more connected to vital reality (...).”⁹⁹⁸ Quoting Távora’s 1945 manifesto, for Portas his work was “opportune” because: “(...) what impresses us is the fact that in that work, concerns were made denser, contents deepened, facing the problem of adequacy (to the needs, to the context, to the labor and industrial possibilities, available) without having been necessary to adopt, beforehand, another preconceived formal system.”⁹⁹⁹ For architects and an architecture magazine such as *Arquitectura*, compromised with re-reading Portuguese architecture practices in the face of contemporary critiques of modernism, Távora’s works were “productive,” “rich” and “sound” reflections on the engagement between architectural form and Portuguese conditions.

With the 1945 manifesto, the 1956 *inquiry*, Távora, together with Teotónio Pereira, Keil do Amaral, as well as others, predisposed national architecture culture to be reinvented with a concreteness of Portuguese reality. Portas’ 1961 essay was as much a homage to Távora’s creativity and efforts, as it was the defense of a train of thought and practice on the future ordered re-organization of Portuguese space. Parallel to the needs of better understanding the actual effects of urbanization, came the need to reframe the possibilities of architectural form. It was as such that Portas represented Távora’s still short career, as invested with giving form to concrete Portuguese needs, conditions and cultural dispositions, beyond stylistic and doctrinarian trends.¹⁰⁰⁰ Yet, Távora’s designs also worked through the constitution of a specific Portuguese city. If the brick, stone and concrete of his works only whispered a form of being part of the city. His writings, on the other hand, progressively clarified a specific idea and experience of city. For an architecture culture in search of “moral convictions” and the “(...) intelligence and sensibility (...) to answer the deep needs of man,” as Carlos Duarte wrote, Távora’s work and thinking enacted an architectural-urban morality that deserved attention.¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁸ “Mais do que um apurado “design,” é a chegada a uma concepção muito mais ligada à realidade vital (...)” in Portas, “Arquitecto Fernando Távora, 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional, Um Estudo Crítico.”

⁹⁹⁹ “(...) o que nos impressiona é o facto de nessa obra se terem adensado as preocupações, aprofundado o conteúdo, encarado o problema da adequação (às necessidades, ao meio, às possibilidades da mão-de-obra e da indústria, disponíveis) sem lhe ter sido necessário adoptar de antemão outro sistema formal feito.” in *Ibid*: 22.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Of Távora’s relation with these, Portas wrote: “(...) of his knowledge of the recent accomplishments of the modern movement he has been able to extract less these formal aspects and more the lesson of a method. Participating in the four CIAM realized throughout the last decade, the architect would had have the opportunity to follow, live, the crisis process that has been generated in the modern movement’s own stronghold (...), because not being “part” of the “team X” opposition to “orthodox functionalism” or the “Italian revision,” from that he could extract a better awareness of the deep causes that separated them;” (“(...) do seu conhecimento das realizações recentes do movimento modern tem sabido retirar menos estes aspectos formais e mais a lição de um método. Participando nos quatro CIAM realizados ao longo da última década, o arquitecto teria a oportunidade de acompanhar, ao vivo, o processo de crise que se gerou no próprio reduto do movimento moderno (...), porque não sendo “parte” na oposição do “team X” ao “funcionalismo ortodoxo” ou à “revisão italiana,” daí pôde extrair uma melhor consciência das causas profundas que os separavam;”) in *Ibid*: 16.

¹⁰⁰¹ Duarte, “Elementos Sociológicos Do ‘Habitat’ Urbano,” *Op.Cit.*

Before being introduced to *urbanology* by David Moreira da Silva, in the late 1940s, Távora's concerns seemed more directed at style and formal creativity. In his 1945 manifesto, the focus was the house, specifically the *Portuguese house*, and the arguing for a Portuguese modern architecture grounded on *portuguese truths*. The immediate post-war and the prospect of reconstruction made themselves felt in the article: "This is the main work to accomplish for the resolution of the grounding-problem: *Portuguese houses for all Portuguese*."¹⁰⁰² In an Europe partially reduced to ruins, homelessness and civilization were tied in an uncomfortable manner. Even if, closer to Távora's body, was the everyday experience of Porto's recent homeless and poorly housed - but also those from nearby farming lands or in the vicinity of his family estates – justifying the will to change national minds and souls through a true house.

After his *urbanological* initiation and when working in Porto's urbanization office, he started publishing about the city, urban planning and the role of architecture as a broad discipline of form giving. The first known article ranging the subject was of November of 1952, in the second issue of a magazine on culture and the arts, founded that year by historian and journalist Carlos de Passos, in his words, "(...) in detriment of the invigoration and intellectual reification of the homeland, as factor representative of the mental conscience of the *luso* people, not alien to the moral and aesthetic unrest of today."¹⁰⁰³ Titled "Architecture and Urbanism, the lesson of constants," through it Távora developed a definition of both disciplines - planning and architecture - as one and the same practice: the organization of space.¹⁰⁰⁴ As discussed before, he advanced that this common discipline possessed three "constant, fundamental," elements: "permanent modernity," "the collaboration of all" and "the importance of space in conditioning life."¹⁰⁰⁵ Architecture and urban planning, through these three structuring elements, were "(...) inherent to the nature itself of man, indispensable extension of his life," conditioning and enabling life, existentially emerging from the collective and modern "(...) in the accuracy of relations between the work and life."¹⁰⁰⁶ As he argued the existential universality of the phenomenon should be read in its variety, some of the few concrete experiences grounding the essay were supplied:

Nobody can deny the phenomenon's (spatial organization) persistence: in Architecture it is the savage's elementary hut or the refined Parténon, in Urbanism the incipient agglomerate of constructions or the complex metropolis. (...) How many changes of spirit between the Arab that is an architect when assembling his tent or the Renaissance man that writes architecture treatises! Universality of the phenomenon, permanent and endless variety in the realizations. Why not?¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰² "Este é o trabalho principal a fazer para a resolução do problema-base: *casas portuguesas para todos os portugueses*." Távora, "O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa," November 10, 1945.

¹⁰⁰³ "(...) em prol do avigoramento e realce intelectivos da pátria, como factor representativo da consciência mental do povo luso, não alheio às inquietações morais e artísticas da actualidade." my italics, in Carlos de Passos, "Editorial," *Lustada - Revista Ilustrada de Cultura, Arte, Literatura, História, Crítica*, May 1952.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Távora, "Arquitectura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes."

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid: 153; see chapter 3, "from the beginning."

¹⁰⁰⁶ "(...) inerente à própria natureza do homem, prolongamento indispensável da sua vida, (...) na exactidão das relações entre a obra e a vida," further elaborating that "The great works of Architecture and Urbanism were always modern in the sense in which they translated exactly, that is, according to a perfect relation, their involving conditions." ("As grandes obras de Arquitectura e Urbanismo foram sempre modernas na medida em que traduziram exactamente, isto é, segundo uma relação perfeita, as suas condições envolventes." in Ibid: 152-3.

¹⁰⁰⁷ "Ninguém pode negar a persistência do fenómeno: na Arquitectura é a cabana elementar do selvagem ou o refinado Parténon, no Urbanismo o incipiente aglomerado de construções ou a complexa metrópole. (...) Quantas cambiantes de espírito entre o árabe que é

Keeping within architecture's written tradition, here he was still within the primordial hut and the palace, yet he promptly moved to less abstraction-filled examples. As a perfect illustration of "permanent modernity," the *san marco piazza*, in Venice, he argued, "(...) is a typical example of formal diversity and permanent quality. Between the first and last building that compose that extraordinary urban organism there exist centuries of difference, centuries that mean evolution, diversity, variety. Each one of those buildings was modern and because all were, the constant of modernity presides over the ensemble; it doesn't matter the style in which each was realized - it matters, yes, the similar attitude that presided in its conception."¹⁰⁰⁸

By the 1950s, the city was a widely visited destination, with a riveting tourism business, namely serving European architects, artists, intellectuals of many sorts. Of the various texts produced by visitors of the city, one in particular by Henri Lefebvre (1901-91), is worth placing here in dialogue with Távora's. In his *The Production of Space* of 1974, the latter included Venice midstream a discussion of how space is socially produced. He departed from the idea that everything is produced,¹⁰⁰⁹ articulating with Marx' notion of "concrete universal" for an understanding of production that involves both historical determination and contingency.¹⁰¹⁰ He contrasted his argument with those of philosophers that defended either God (Descartes) or the absolute (Kant, Hegel) as the fundamental agent of production of space:

Consider the case of a city - a space which is fashioned, shaped and invested by social activities during a finite historical period. Is this city a work or a product? Take Venice, for instance.

(...)

Who conceived the architectural and monumental unity which extends from each palazzo to the city as a whole? The truth is that no one did – even though Venice, more than any other place, bears witness to the existence, from the sixteenth century on, of a unitary code or common language of the city. This unity goes deeper, and in a sense higher, than the spectacle Venice offers the tourist. It combines the city's reality, with its ideality, embracing the practical, the symbolic and the imaginary. In Venice, the representation of space (...) and representation space (...) are mutually reinforcing.¹⁰¹¹

arquitecto ao montar a sua tenda e o renascentista que escreve tratados de arquitetura! Universalidade do fenómeno, variedade permanente e infindável nas realizações. Como não?" in Ibid: 151.

¹⁰⁰⁸ "(...) é um exemplo típico de diversidade formal e de qualidade permanente. Entre o primeiro e o ultimo edificio que compõem esse extraordinário organismo urbano existem alguns séculos de diferenã, séculos que significam evolução, diversidade, variedade. Qualquer desses edificios foi modern e porque todos o foram a constante da modernidade preside ao conjunto; não interessa o estilo em que cada um deles foi realizado – interessa, sim, a semelhante attitude que presidiu à sua concepção." in Ibid: 153-154.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Henri Lefebvre wrote: "There is nothing, in history or in society, which does not have to be achieved and produced. "Nature" itself, as apprehended in social life by the sense organs, has been modified and therefore in a sense produced." in, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell, 1991): 68.

¹⁰¹⁰ He argued: "(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder." in Ibid: 72-73.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid: 73-74; for definitions of representation and representational space see page 33. In an oversimplified manner, the difference between both terms was between the representation of the spatial relations of production and order, or institutionalized and governing representations, and "clandestine" living representations of spatial experience, circulating beyond the latter.

Lefebvre's point being that such a thing as a city, "a village" or "a flower," were not simply produced, in the strict sense given to production, for instance as usually imbued in the meanings of labor production or productive force. On the contrary, even though a city "has, after all, been "composed" by people, by well-defined groups," its production was coextensive to its pulsating life. Stated differently, it could not be spoken exclusively in terms of its architecture, urban plans, arrangement of productive forces or its specific capitalist phase, which would all amount to various representations of space and not representational spaces. If Venice constituted an emblematic case, both for him and Távora, it was because it acted, probably more eloquently than other European cities, in the following manner:

Here everyday life and its functions are coextensive with, and utterly transformed by, a theatricality as sophisticated as it is unsought, a sort of involuntary *mise-en-scène*.¹⁰¹²

Stated differently, it performed a sort of organic *milieu*, where institutions, laws, architecture, planning, commerce and production, as well as daily habits, both "clandestine" and not, seemed to dance together for its own play. Between Távora's and Lefebvre's use of the city of Venice exist 22 years, very different personal walks, as well as different object and objectives. Yet, for all their possible differences, it is not a lesser fact that the *serenissima* had an important role in two texts aiming to rethink modernity and its productivities. Távora's essay is but a few pages long, largely remaining within the general enunciation of premises. Nevertheless, also he operated an unbundling of the concept of modernity, modern and, consequentially, of modernism through a pre-modern urban spectacle. By arguing that the universality of spatial organization - whereas Lefebvre spoke of production - laid in three constants, "fundamentals," also he was striving to identify production of space as both contingent and historically structured. As argued: "The architect or the urban planner are not enough for the realization of Architecture and Urbanism; they are only the organizers of the magnificent synthesis translated in works and in which a whole unending series of elements collaborate."¹⁰¹³ There was an attempt to professionally integrate the involuntary *mise-en-scène* the architecture of the city was made to enact.

Venice was a *mise-en-scène* of the intimacy, "accuracy" according to Távora, between form, living conditions and possibilities where, as Lefebvre wrote, there was no division between represented and lived space. However, as the latter rightly noted, since the 16th century Venice's urban form was the result of urban and architectural constraint, constituted both through building norms and legal standards that were transported through the concepts of *misura*, *consuetudo* and *mediocritas* enacted by the city's architects, patrons and politicians.¹⁰¹⁴ Távora's argument veered to the elevation of this designed continuity as the "Great tradition," as opposed to the transitory and "passing traditions" of

¹⁰¹² Author's italics, Ibid: 74.

¹⁰¹³ "O arquiteto ou o urbanista não são suficientes para a realização da Arquitectura e do Urbanismo; eles são apenas os organizadores da síntese magnífica que as obras traduzem e na qual colabora toda uma infundável série de elementos." in Távora, "Arquitectura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes": 154.

¹⁰¹⁴ For a detailed historical interpretation of these concepts and their productivities in Venice, see Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*, trans. Daniel Sherer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006): 219-257. *Misura*, literally means measure but is applied in renaissance architecture as the idea of standard, of something being produced in the measure of. *Consuetudo* derives from the Latin *consuetudinem*, meaning custom or habit. *Mediocritas* derives from the Latin *mediocris*, which is related to the mean, middling and the idea of the moderate or the normal.

style. The spatial organizer had first to find its agency in the historical structuration of space and its long lasting common agreements, because “(...) the great works of the past emerged from a tight collaboration (...)” from “successive generations” connected by common needs.¹⁰¹⁵

While Lefebvre was concerned with dismantling the technocratic, sociologic and governmental structures of modernity, for the becoming of an emancipated understanding of urban space and its productions. Távora, on the other hand, was more immediately concerned with the ontological definition of the discipline of architecture and its agency in an un-chained world, as Le Corbusier said.¹⁰¹⁶ According to his constants, architecture and urban planning, interchangeable as the same activity of spatial organization, were at the forefront of human existence: spatial organization was its collective manifestation, mutual ordering and conditioning, natural as a “flower.”¹⁰¹⁷ For this reading, modernity had to be something else than technocratic, thus Távora performed the braking of its modern time capsule and instead presented modernity as an attitude towards time. This notion demarcated itself from modernism as architecture style because its concern regarded a position of continuity with the historical structuration of space, instead of a brake with the latter. In the words of Alvar Aalto, “(...) we cannot think archaic art to be less than the Acropole – and the art of Giotto is not superior to that practiced by his architect and painter colleagues that came after.”¹⁰¹⁸ As Távora wrote from the “Arab tent” to the Parténon, this attitude of modernity was supposed to be democratic with time and its many spatial producers. Yet, this democracy was latter arranged by Távora according to a vertical form of participation, “between men of successive epochs,” and an horizontal one “between men of the same epoch.”¹⁰¹⁹ The later he argued in the following terms:

(...) a builder collaborates more in the realization of a house than a simple worker, yet both the latter as its inhabitants, as well as those that supply the furniture and the cloth or arrange the gardens, are collaborators; it is from the totality of their efforts – totality that goes from the architect’s effort in conceiving the house, to the fruition or experiencing of the same by its dwellers - that results the quality of the accomplished work.

A couple of years later, he designed such an experiment with the Ofir summerhouse: the builder was his brother, the engineer Bernardo Ferrão, friend of the house’s patron and future dweller Fernando Ribeiro, whose wife, according to her son, much discussed the house’s furnishings and decorations with Távora, continuing to do so after the house was finished; of the workers that built the house in the record time of a few months, living in a warehouse nearby the Fão bridge, little is known of their collaboration.¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰¹⁵ Távora, “Arquitectura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes:” 154-5.

¹⁰¹⁶ Le Corbusier, *When the Cathedrals Were White*.

¹⁰¹⁷ Both Távora and Lefebvre use the flower as metaphor and object, in a similar manner, performing a similar action, that of capturing the organic character of seemingly non-organic things, such as space. See “O Problema Da Casa Portuguesa”; and Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*: 74, 119, 172.

¹⁰¹⁸ “ (...) nós não podemos achar a arte arcaica menos elevada que a Acrópole – e a arte de Giotto não é superior à praticada pelos seus colegas arquitectos pintores que viveram posteriormente.” in Alvar Aalto, “O Ovo de Peixe E O Salmão,” *Arquitectura*, February 1953: 16 (orig. 1947, “The trout and the mountain stream,” *Domus*). Aalto’s argument was also grounded on a biological metaphor, that of the fish egg and the salmon, a parable to illustrate the idea of the necessary natural growth of the arts.

¹⁰¹⁹ Fernando Távora, *Da Organização Do Espaço* (Porto: FAUP, 2008) (orig. 1962).

¹⁰²⁰ See chapter 4.

Both notions of participation considered foremost a constrained set of actors – dweller, engineer, designer - directly implicated in design and neglected most other producers of space seemed. Távora also did not clarify how these forms of participation were processed, appropriated and confronted. This might be related to the fact that, while the young architect and the tempered urban sociologist met in Venice twenty years apart, the first followed a path towards the defense of a specific group of spatial producers, as the second tried to embrace ever wider productions of space. The 1952 article from Távora should be seen as contributing to the process of defending, firstly, the architect’s disciplinary agency and secondly, the need for urban planning and the architect’s role in it. Távora joined his voice to others that, through *Arquitectura*, upheld the architect’s importance in the growing urbanization and of the country. Thus he argued, for instance: “Of always is the truth, here denominated as constant, that the environment exerts over man a capital influence. It is largely in the hands of Architecture and Urbanism the organization of the environment in which man lives, of the buildings in which he inhabits and works, the cities, the regions or countries in which he finds himself integrated.”¹⁰²¹ To this defense of professional stakes was joined a dire portrait of the situation: “The analysis of many contemporary manifestations in this matter gives a perfect index of that crisis, that of forgetting the constants, something fundamental that is substituted by the secondary and the decorative, even if these manifestations almost always invoke traditional aspects and the return to the past.”¹⁰²²

This negative portrayal was something Távora pressed all along the 1950s throughout various articles, progressively becoming harsher on his appreciations of current Portuguese architecture and planning. He departed from the notion that, as he wrote in 1953, “(...) we live a transitory period, desintegrated, absent of unity, alien, in many respects, to the reality of man (...)”¹⁰²³ A time in which, as he added later that year: “(...) our Architecture and Urbanism are going through a crisis because they are not modern, that is, they don’t accomplish with accuracy the synthesis of our needs and of our possibilities, this way not constituting the perfect translation of the portuguese man in the multiplicity of its relations.”¹⁰²⁴

Some of these lines were used by Portas in 1961 to frame Távora’s relevant critical role in Portuguese architecture. Together with other lines from the 1945 manifesto, they served to show Távora’s compromise with a critique of current practices to which Portas subscribed. In a revelant manner, the latter inclusively made 1953 an historic turning point in the former’s career. Together with the design for the Vila da Feira market, 1953 came to represent Távora’s “(...) solidity in the organization and poetics of spaces, in detriment of the concrete life called to live in them.”¹⁰²⁵ Yet, what

¹⁰²¹ “É de sempre a verdade, aqui denominada constante, de que o meio exerce sobre o homem uma influência capital. Está, em grande parte, nas mãos da Arquitectura e do Urbanismo a organização do meio em que o homem vive, dos edificios em que habita ou trabalha, das cidades, das regiões ou dos países em que se encontra integrado.” in Távora, “Arquitectura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes”: 155.

¹⁰²² “A análise de muitas manifestações contemporâneas nesta matéria dá o índice perfeito dessa crise, desse esquecimento das constantes, de qualquer coisa de fundamental que é substituído pelo acessório e pelo decorativo, ainda que quase sempre essas manifestações invoquem aspectos tradicionais ou de retorno ao passado.” in Ibid: 155.

¹⁰²³ “(...) vivemos um período transitório, desintegrado, ausente de unidade, alheio, em muitos aspectos, à realidade do homem (...)” in Fernando Távora, “Da Colaboração Em Arquitectura E Urbanismo,” *Comércio Do Porto*, March 24, 1953.

¹⁰²⁴ “(...) a nossa Arquitectura e o nosso Urbanismo atravessam uma crise porque não são modernos, isto é, porque não realizam exactamente a síntese das nossas necessidades e das nossas possibilidades, não constituindo desse modo a tradução perfeita do homem português na multiplicidade das suas relações.” in Fernando Távora, “Para Uma Arquitectura E Um Urbanismo Portugueses,” *Comércio Do Porto*, August 25, 1953.

¹⁰²⁵ Portas further added: “(...) each new work may emerge obeying the appreciation of a particular or unprecedented aspect. It is perhaps a provisional limit (the modern movement in Portugal has so few years!) but that reveals itself appreciably important for a reflection, because for

Portas neglected to read and this short trip to Venice allowed, is that Távora's proposal of modernity and its vertical and horizontal democracy, binding architecture work and life, was dependent on bringing-about a *consuetudo* and *mediocritas*, that is, a rule of common government. The chronic absence of this rule in Portugal, of a common structure of participation in space for all to follow, at the head of which was the architect and planner, became the background from which he later launched several critiques to the changing Portuguese landscape. As well as from which this *urbanology* student searched the fundamental elements for a possible city of *consuetudo*, for its possible *projecto*, organic as a flower.

From Porto

From 1953 to 1957 Távora wrote several articles through non-specialized magazines, extending the arguments for a modern spatial organization, a better understanding of Portuguese space and a wider recognition of the architect as the better suited for the organization of space. For it was the architect that, through its simultaneously artistic and scientific education, as Agache's architect-planner, was better able to summon the collaboration of all presiding any "great work." These articles have already been the target of rich interpretations, unbundling some of its biographical tones and cultural stakes. This is specially the case of Eduardo Fernandes' analysis of Távora's authorship of an architecture *school* in Porto.¹⁰²⁶ His analysis is comprehensive, yet bounded and self-centered in Távora's own stakes. In what follows I will try not to duplicate this analysis, instead focusing on how the various arguments put forward by Távora framed and already collected an idea of city to which an architect of true Portuguese architecture should be working for.

In the city newspaper *Comércio do Porto*, the same that built in the early 20th century Porto's first workers' quarters, Távora published an article titled "Of Porto and its space" in 1954, concerned with qualifying the city of Porto and defending its undergoing planning.¹⁰²⁷ "To the city as sculpture we address ourselves in this article; sculpture in permanent movement (...)," he started. It was a "living" sculpture:

The house, the street, the tree, the car, the man, the sky, the water, the flowers... - magnificent or mundane synthesis of elements that nature provides and constructions by man realize. Magnificent or mundane synthesis because not all cities are beautiful, not all are harmonious, neither of the same quality (...).¹⁰²⁸

its notable capacity to give form, it may reveal successive levels of concerns in the architect's action." ("(...) solidez na organização e na poética dos espaços, em função da vida concreta que chama a viver neles; (...) cada nova obra pode surgir obedecendo à valorização de um aspecto particular ou inédito. É um limite talvez provisório (o movimento moderno tem em Portugal tão poucos anos!) mas que se revela apreciavelmente importante para uma reflexão, porque, pela sua notável capacidade de dar forma, pode revelar sucessivos níveis de preocupações na acção do arquitecto." in Arquitecto Fernando Távora, 12 Anos de Actividade Profissional, Um Estudo Crítico": 23.

¹⁰²⁶ Eduardo Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Actualização de Uma Ideia de Escola* (Guimarães: Escola de Arquitectura da Universidade do Minho, 2010): 135-162.

¹⁰²⁷ Fernando Távora, "Do Porto E Do Seu Espaço," *O Comércio d'O Porto*, January 26, 1954.

¹⁰²⁸ "(...) grande e bela escultura (...) É à cidade como escultura que queremos referir-nos neste artigo; escultura em permanente movimento, (...): a casa, a rua, a árvore, o automóvel, o homem, o céu, a água, as flores... - síntese magnífica ou banal de elementos que a natureza

To search for qualifiers, fundamental elements, Távora proposed: “To evaluate a city as organized space, only one solution: to walk it, live it, roam its streets, go down its hills, up its high points, inhabit its houses, feel it like the living organism that does not stop, that changes day to day.”¹⁰²⁹ Like Henri Prost in Anvers, Belgium, a half a century before, or Etiénne de Gröer, a decade before, Távora advanced urban analysis through direct physical experience, emotional and implicated in daily life, yet at the distance of the expert about to make it more higienic and functional.¹⁰³⁰ This method had taken Prost to propose the mantainance of the observed social distribution in the city, as well as the reification of historic values, namely through the preservation of certain, thought more traditional, building areas. This had lead de Gröer to argue for similar urban measures, centered on the idea of preserving historic values. Távora, apparently not straying far, identified Porto in the following terms:

Portuense urban space, the city of Porto, came to be perfectly defined in 1895: the sea, the river, the ring; a central nucleous of old foundation, extending towards the interior through roads and paths and, here and there, small peripheral nuclei, small villages with their church, its yard, its street, its mentality.¹⁰³¹

This representation of the city’s matrix, as if it were the original sketch of its “living sculpture,” explained three elements forming the fundamentals of “*portuense* spatial organization:” “natural conditions, the type of agglomerate of the peripheral areas and the mentality of the man from Porto, aspects which are not possible to fully separate, (...)”¹⁰³² (1) The city’s rugged granite geography and humid climate “(...) justify, in part, a certain roughness, at times rude, of our space, a certain strengh in our architecture, a certain absence of rectilinear alignment in our streets, a certain picturesque to our groups of constructions (so perfectly portrayed in our popular *cascatas*).”¹⁰³³ (2) The city’s type of peripheral agglomerate:

(...) creates, by its own nature, by the dispersal that presides in it, these so banal interruptions of our urban space in which, to groups of houses, follow fields, that from an urban zone it is possible to

proporciona e de construções que o homem realiza. Síntese magnífica ou banal porque nem todas as cidades são belas, nem todas são harmónicas, nem todas são de uma mesma qualidade (...).” in *Ibid.*

¹⁰²⁹ “Para avaliar uma cidade como espaço organizado, apenas uma solução: percorrê-la, vivê-la, deambular pelas suas ruas, descer as suas encostas, subir aos seus pontos mais altos, habitar as suas casas, senti-la como organismo vivo que não pára, que dia a dia se altera.” in *Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁰ See chapter 6. For more detail on Prost and his plan for Anvers, see Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*: 238; see also Etiénne de Gröer, “Introdução Ao Urbanismo,” in *Boletim Da Direcção Geral Dos Serviços de Urbanização*, vol. 1º (Lisboa: Gráfica Santelmo, 1946), 17–85: 47-48.

¹⁰³¹ “O espaço urbano portuense, a cidade do Porto, ficou perfeitamente definido em 1895: o mar, o rio, a circunvalação; um núcleo central da antiga fundação prolongando-se para o interior por estradas e caminhos e, aqui e ali, pequenos núcleos periféricos, pequenas aldeias com a sua igreja, o seu adro, a sua rua, a sua mentalidade.” in Távora, “Do Porto E Do Seu Espaço.”

¹⁰³² “(...) as condições naturais, o tipo de povoamento das zonas periféricas e a mentalidade do homem do Porto, aspectos estes que é impossível separar completamente, (...)” in *Ibid.*

¹⁰³³ “(...) justificam, em parte, uma certa dureza por vezes rude, do nosso espaço, uma certa força da nossa arquitectura, uma certa ausência de grandes alinhamentos rectos nas nossas ruas, um certo ar de pitoresco dos nossos agrupamentos de construções (tão perfeitamente retratados as “cascatas” populares.” in *Ibid.* *Cascatas*, literally translating as waterfalls, was a designation regarding the aesthetic appearance of old river front neighborhoods in central Porto, whose agglomeration in a step morphology and density of building, produced the idea of a waterfall of windows and constructions.

follow the farming toil, in which streets open onto great greens that might be thought of as parks if we didn't know them beforehand as farms. And still resulting from this dispersal, that group spirit, of village, so pronounced in Porto even arriving, sometimes, to be translated in different accents proper to this ir ti that place.¹⁰³⁴

Lastly, (3) *portuense* mentality, derived from its form of geography, economy and from this village pattern, possesses and “individualism” that leads the normal *portuense* “(...) to react against any imposition of urban order, (...) individualism to which is added a strong and true love of the land, of the soil that he occupies and possesses, love that, translating a still healthy ruralism, presents all sorts of difficulties when it is necessary to obtain space for any end.”¹⁰³⁵ These composed Porto's urban *mediocritas*, the elements from which a common, non-confrontational, way of dealing and judging the city could depart: its terms of general agreement, its urban *consuetudo*. As rich as this description of Porto's living sculpture is, its target was exactly the difficulties presented by *portuenses* “when it is necessary to obtain space for any end,” namely, for instance, for the accomplishing of a master plan.

Besides the fact that these three elements created an urban space “(...) with its own characteristics, entirely different, for example, from Lisbon (...),” the issue was that:

Porto has today a Regulating Plan of its urban space, Plan that, framed within a vaster Regional Plan, establishes the general ordering principles of the agglomerate's life in the multiplicity of its manifestations (...). It is in the basis of that Plan that the city is currently growing, through private or official initiative. Here and there with the dispersal and the ease peculiar to the landscape of Porto, houses, gardens, factories or residential groups appear and that show how the *urbe* can be modern, and it is interesting to note how, little by little, Porto is creating spaces entirely at the scale of our time, simultaneously following the line of its great traditions.¹⁰³⁶

Ramalde, for instance, was one such place where modernity and the “scale of our time” touched, as latter re-presented by Távora.¹⁰³⁷ Directly at stake in these lines was Garrett's master plan, published in 1952 and ranging the named vaster regional scale of Porto. Távora argued this plan and its several rules for housing, industry, parks and the city's “social system” at large, allowed modern Porto to emerge “organically,” namely because its fundamentals were accounted for. Furthermore, in this becoming new organic order, modern architects had a central place, for Porto's “most modern architects” were, “before

¹⁰³⁴ “(...) cria, pela sua natureza, pela dispersão que a ele preside, estas tão vulgares interrupções do nosso espaço urbano em que, a grupos de casas, se sucedem campos, em que numa zona urbana é possível acompanhar trabalhos de lavoura, em que as ruas se abrem sobre grandes relevados que dir-se-iam parques se não soubéssemos de antemão tratar-se de quintas. E ainda resultante desta dispersão, esse espírito de grupo, de aldeia, tão vincado no Porto e chegando até, por vezes, a traduzir-se em acentos de pronúncia próprios deste ou daquele lugar.” in Ibid.

¹⁰³⁵ “(...) a reagor contra qualquer imposição de ordem urbana, a não aceitar fàcilmente uma cêrcea, uma cor ou uma implantação, individualismo a que se acrescenta um forte e verdadeiro amor pela terra, pelo solo que ocupa e possui, amor que, traduzindo um ainda saudável ruralismo, apresenta dificuldades de toda a ordem quando é necessário obter espaço para qualquer fim.” in Ibid.

¹⁰³⁶ “O Porto possui hoje um Plano Regulador do seu espaço urbano, Plano que, enquadrado num Plano Regional mais vasto, estabelece os princípios gerais ordenadores da vida do aglomerado na multiplicidade das suas manifestações (...) É na base desse Plano que a cidade cresce actualmente, mercê da iniciativa particular ou da iniciativa oficial. Aqui e ali com a dispersão e o à-vontade que são peculiares à paisagem do Porto, aparecem casas, jardins, fàbricas ou grupos residenciais que mostram como a urbe pode ser moderna, e é interessante notar como, pouco a pouco, o Porto vai criando espaço inteiramente à escala do nosso tempo, seguindo paralelamente, a linha das suas grandes tradições.” my italics, in Ibid.

¹⁰³⁷ See chapter 1, “new avenues.”

anything else, true *portuenses*.”¹⁰³⁸ He finished with a enticing rally, as if officially campaigning for the master plan’s accomplishment and promotion:

Porto can, Porto has all the possibilities for creating, beyond small spaces, like streets, squares or gardens, an urban space structured according to the most modern urban conceptions. (...) Porto can become a great and beautiful sculpture, a sculpture different from that which soo many desire, by forgetfulness or ignorance of the character of our space, proposing preconceived forms to the natural forms of *portuense* space. Porto can – if Porto comes to want to – be a great and beautiful sculpture.¹⁰³⁹

Although optimistic, this rally to the possibility of a planned Porto, according to its *portuense consuetudo*, already bears a small sign of criticism, namely against “forgetfulness and ignorance” of the Porto’s natural character. Still in 1954 the enthusiastic tone was substituted by a darker appreciation of Porto’s possibilities in another newspaper article. Arguing that anything that arranges space must have the participation of the artist, namely the artist of space - the architect - he posed the question “How to demand it to a world that forgets art?”¹⁰⁴⁰ At stake in his article was the pitting of technical against artistic concerns. Távora started by defining that every realization, every work, had both a technical and artistic quality, yet the present time emphasized mainly the technical. According to him, this was especially negative regarding the designing of cities. The power of his question carried the imprint of a failure of planning and the architect. Not because it was unable to correctly design the city, but because that so called technical emphasis of the times, excluded the artist and the artistic in the organization of space. Apparently, for a strong, individualist and liberal landscape as Porto, understood by Garrett in similar terms,¹⁰⁴¹ art was as much an imposition as urban order. The next year Távora’s critique became more harsh and pessimistic.

In a 1955 article on the same newspaper, he wrote there “(...) was a time, and long it was, in which the organization of our space was harmoniously accomplished by man (...),” a time in which “all formal manifestation of human existence was a work of art,” from the “oil candle” to the “palace.”¹⁰⁴² For him, this time was long gone because “(...) disorder, chaos, the ugliness, the pretentiousness, invaded our beautiful and old space,” of which he meant both national and international space. It was a world crisis related with the “decadence of contemporary man.”¹⁰⁴³ Yet, the cause for this crisis seemed to be very local and personal, as he detailed it in the following terms:

¹⁰³⁸ “(...) os mais modernos arquitectos do Porto, são antes de tudo, verdadeiros portuenses” in Távora, “Do Porto E Do Seu Espaço.”

¹⁰³⁹ “O Porto pode, o Porto tem todas as possibilidades de criar, para além de pequenos espaços, como ruas, praças ou jardins, um espaço urbano estruturado segundo as mais modernas concepções urbanísticas. Para tanto ele possui todos os elementos, sendo urgente que o portuense tome consciência de tais possibilidades e, sobretudo, do verdadeiro carácter do seu espaço. O Porto poder ser uma grande e bela escultura, uma escultura diferente daquela que tantos pretendem por esquecimento ou ignorância do carácter do nosso espaço, antepondo formas preconcebidas às formas naturais do espaço portuense. O Porto pode – assim o Porto queira – ser uma grande e bela escultura.” in *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴⁰ “Como exigí-la a um mundo que esquece a arte?” in Fernando Távora, “A Posição Do Artista Plástico,” *O Comércio d’O Porto*, de Agosto de 1954.

¹⁰⁴¹ Garrett, *Plano Regulador Da Cidade Do Porto*.

¹⁰⁴² “Tempo houve, e longo foi, em que a organização do nosso espaço era realizada harmoniosamente pelo homem (...) Toda a manifestação formal da existência humana era obra de arte (...) a candeia de azeite (...) o palácio.” in Fernando Távora, “Para a Harmonia Do Nosso Espaço,” *Comércio Do Porto*, March 1955.

¹⁰⁴³ *Ibid.*; a notion borrowed for José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (London and New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), which Távora read, and as pointed, for instance, by Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Actualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*: 148.

(...) here a factory grows next to a church, with its chimney and its noise, there a road or a freshly opened and anarchically edified street, or a great industrial unit that provokes the chaotic dawning of a village, further there, in a small and peaceful town, wall to wall with its humble and simple buildings, local vanity lifts a house in “modernist” style or still, the purity of a natural landscape is offended by the destruction of a tree or a water stream.¹⁰⁴⁴

What the year before he referred to positively as “the dispersal and the ease peculiar to the landscape of Porto,” now returned as a destructive and progress impeding force. The *mise-en-scène* he had put up for the city’s possibilities of *portuense* greatness and distinction were breaking apart. The dispersal and individualism, so proper to *portuense* spatial mentality, were not finding their harmonious expression. However, he proposed as “remedy.” Given the problem was simultaneously local and global, of the times, Távora argued for the strengthening of national bounds. A “movement” of the greatest “national reach” should be developed to “transform portuguese man.” This movement was argued in four measures. Firstly (1), a regulating plan for the whole country, of “National Space that, integrating the local and regional Plans, (...) would consider the Country as a great living sculpture in permanent movement.”¹⁰⁴⁵ Secondly (2), centers dedicated to the study of the “phenomena of spatial organization” should be set up, where “everything that occupies space,” from industrial products to vegetation, would be understood in relation to their integration in the broader organization of Portuguese space. These centers would also be responsible for the study of “our” architecture - later that year conducted by Távora himself through the *inquiry* - and, thus, for reframing the education of “professionals connected with the organization of space.”¹⁰⁴⁶ Thirdly (3), and stemming from these centers, schools forming future spatial organizers should be reformed in the sense of straightening the bonds between the various professions, so that future works are “total, complete,” integrally embracing both technical and artistic values. Lastly (4), to insure the artist’s - architect’s - presence in the organization of national space, he argued that a “great education campaign of the people” was needed and essencial for producing a national awareness of the “importance that harmony plays in the life of each, (...).”¹⁰⁴⁷

Specifying this “great movement” later that year Távora directed a critique to fellow architects: “All this comes about regarding some concepts among Architects, contemporary to us (...), who believe that following a determined formula, a determined fashion or, if you will, (...) a determined “style,” achieve

¹⁰⁴⁴ “(...) aqui uma fábrica que cresce, com a sua chaminé e os seus ruídos, ao lado de uma igreja, é acolá uma estrada ou rua acabada de abrir e anarquicamente edificada, ou uma grande unidade industrial que provoca o caótico despontar de uma aldeia, mais além, numa vila pequena e tranquila, paredes meias com os seus humildes e simples edifícios, a vaidade local levanta uma casa em estilo “modernista” ou ainda, a pureza de uma paisagem natural é ofendida pela destruição de uma árvore ou de uma linha de água.” in Távora, “Para a Harmonia Do Nosso Espaço.”

¹⁰⁴⁵ “(...) do espaço Nacional, que, integrando os Plaos locais ou regionais, (...) consideraria o País como uma grande escultura viva, em permanente movimento.” in Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁶ “(...) dos futuros profissionais ligados à organização do espaço.” in Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁷ “(...) grande campanha de educação da Grei. (...) importância que a hmonia desempenha na vida de cada um (...).” in Ibid; the word Távora uses for people, *grei*, is an older Portuguese form of naming collective, deriving from the Latin *grex*, which means to gather, namely the herd or flock of sheep. In Portuguese and in the 20th century, the word *grei* was widely used in monarchical circles, namely, for instance, in *integralista* texts, such as those published in the magazine *Áleo*. Circles to which Távora was connected in more than one way. For a sense of the uses of *grex* in the Iberian Peninsula and its connections to pastoral discourses, see Javier Irigoyen-Garcia, *The Spanish Arcadia: Sheep Herding, Pastoral Discourse, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2014): 129-132.

the quality in their buildings.”¹⁰⁴⁸ In a time when, as he described, “(...) all the accomplishments of the best Architects in the world come knocking on the door of our spirit through the book, the magazine or the trip,” the object of the Portuguese architect’s attention should be clarified.¹⁰⁴⁹ He did this, first, by enacting an historic dialectic between two objects:

Not long ago, (...), we sheltered ourselves in two buildings constructed with totally different spirits; in one of them there was all the formal grammar of a determined trend of contemporary Architecture: lighting shades, “pilotis,” abstract painting, (...); in the other, an old building of about two hundred years of age, nothing of that grammar – pavements, walls, windows and doors, limiting and relating spaces, organized, actually, with a noteworthy clarity.¹⁰⁵⁰

These two buildings, then, entered a silent conflict. The first should have immersed the person in its spatial experience, while the second, centuries apart, should have very little to say and make feel, he argued. Yet, the contrary was the case for Távora, because: “(...) beyond “style,” something in common should unite the two buildings: the quality of its space (...), however, said quality does not exist in the contemporary building for that, despite the use of all the above mentioned formulae, there we didn’t find the least parcel of space with soul, the least parcel of harmonious space.”¹⁰⁵¹ In the older building, on the contrary, he enacted an immediate embrace: “(...) as soon as we made contact with its organized space, something embraced us, that dresses our body well, that invites us to roam, intensely and totally (...).” In this “natural” experience of space, the “(...) question of “style” totally disappears, because the quality, its fundamental condition, rises above.”¹⁰⁵² This dialectic served to argue that contemporary architects wanting to be “modernist” or, its supposed reversal, *portuguese*, shared false “attitudes.” Because these “(...) contribute nothing to the creation of a modern portuguese Architecture that, possessing the same quality as much of our fine past Architecture, will certainly possess its own formal grammar, exact, clear and concrete translation of today’s Portugal.”¹⁰⁵³ For Távora, this was the attitude that produced buildings that, despite everything, “(...) continue living because their essential doesn’t die.”¹⁰⁵⁴ Like Venice.

¹⁰⁴⁸ “Vem tudo isto a propósito de alguns conceitos que nos parecem errados entre Arquitectos nossos contemporâneos que (...) crêm que, encaminhando por determinada fórmula, por determinada moda ou, se quiseram (...), por determinado “estilo”, atingem a qualidade nos seus edifícios.” in Fernando Távora, “«Estilo» E Qualidade Em Arquitectura,” *O Comércio d’O Porto*, de Dezembro de 1955.

¹⁰⁴⁹ “(...) numa época na qual todas as concepções, todas as ideias, todas as realizações dos melhores Arquitectos do mundo vêm bater à porta do nosso espírito através do livro, da revista ou da viagem.” in *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁵⁰ “Não há muito (...) abrigámo-nos em dois edifícios construídos com espíritos totalmente diversos: havia num deles toda a gramática formal de determinada corrente da Arquitectura contemporânea: quebra-luzes, “pilotis”, (...); no outro, um velho edifício de cerca de duzentos anos de idade, nada dessa mesma gramática – pavimentos, paredes, tectos, janelas e portas, limitando e relacionando espaços, organizados, aliás com notável clareza.” in *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁵¹ “(...) para além do “estilo,” qualquer coisa de comum deveria unir os dois edifícios: a qualidade do seu espaço (...) tal qualidade, porém, não existe no edifício nosso contemporâneo, pois que, apesar do emprego de todo o formulário já citado, não encontramos ali a mínima parcela de espaço com alma, a mínima parcela de espaço harmónico.” in *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁵² “(...) sentir imediatamente, uma vez tomado contacto com o espaço organizado, qualquer coisa que nos abraço, que veste bem o nosso corpo, que nos convida a deambular, a percorrer, intensa e totalmente (...) e desaparece totalmente a preocupação do “estilo” porque a qualidade, condição fundamental, o sobreleva.” in *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁵³ “(...) nada contribuem para a criação de uma moderna Arquitectura portuguesa a qual, possuindo a mesma qualidade de tanta da nossa bela Arquitectura passada, terá, certamente, de possuir uma gramática formal própria, tradução exacta, clara e concreta do Portugal de hoje.” in *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁵⁴ “(...) as obras continuam a viver porque o seu essencial não morre.” in *Ibid*.

A year after surveying with others buildings that “don’t die” in the hinterland, Távora published the Ofir work in *Arquitectura*, exposing his thesis of the “composite.”¹⁰⁵⁵ A truly articulated architecture, articulated with the environment, the “place,” the program, the building process, the desires of the Ribeiro family, could only be a “true composite,” he argued. A “mishmash” or a “mixture” might have followed, respectively, a “traditionalist” or “modernist” style, but “letting everything and everybody speak” led to “(...)the adopted principle,” of which “there is not the least doubt that it is the only suitable to follow so that our works accomplish, by their individuality, universal value.”¹⁰⁵⁶ This exercise was trying that quality emerging from the dialogue between the new and old building. In part, experiments such as Ofir were attempts to produce the *misura* of a landscape, to give body to its produced *consuetudo* between “Man and Land.” Távora searched the essential of a work that “embraced immediately,” that would “not die,” in this performance of fundamentals: a geography, a morphological type, a personalized character and accent. For *portuenses* a *portuense* master plan, for Portuguese a Portuguese house. Yet, the claims projected through these bodies also had a vaster scope or intent: a national campaign. Architects, as *the* spatial organizers, should lead the efforts of producing a modern harmony. While ambiguous regarding how the “collaboration of all” might be processed, or how spatial organization’s “life conditioning” might be studied, architects and architect-planners were foremost understood by Távora as the “translators,” “thinkers,” spokespersons of the “synthesis” between life and form expressed in the “true work.”¹⁰⁵⁷ Perhaps because of this, he returned in 1957 to the argument of the need for a global planning at “national, regional, local” scales and for a national education campaign.

The “harmonious organization of the habitat” and the role of the urban planner, was this piece’s central topic of discussion.¹⁰⁵⁸ This was the first time Távora differentiated between architecture and urban planning within the art of governing space.¹⁰⁵⁹ However, this differentiation mainly served a critique of the foreign planner. In a “city in crisis,” filled with the “disorder, chaos, disharmony (...) that man created to live in,” he described the planner’s activity as such: “(...) arrives and much knows, but he comes from afar and his formation is abstract, theoretical and impersonal (...).”¹⁰⁶⁰ This was a foreign planner that having accomplished a “more or less” comprehensive inquiry applies a plan “by chance full of beauty, of impeccable design, empty of sense however.”¹⁰⁶¹ Each surveyed element misunderstood or fabricated to serve the plan’s purpose: “the terrain’s shape, the structure and history of the agglomerate, the semblance of the population,” all easily elapsed.¹⁰⁶² He admitted exceptions, yet conclusively affirmed: the city belonged to this urban planner that “imposes,” neglecting the dialogue

¹⁰⁵⁵ Távora, “Casa Em Ofir.”

¹⁰⁵⁶ “Foi deixando falar tudo e todos, num magnífico e inesquecível diálogo, tentando um verdadeiro *composto*, que chegámos a esta realização. Quanto ao seu valor intrínseco, o futuro, o grande juiz, dirá alguma coisa; quanto ao princípio adoptado, não se nos oferece a menor dúvida de que ele é o único a seguir para que as nossas obras atinjam, pela sua individualidade, valor universal,” my italics, in Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁷ In 1952 he wrote: “It is largely in the hands of Architecture and Urbanism the organization of the environment in which man lives, of the buildings in which he inhabits and works, the cities, the regions or countries in which he finds himself integrated.” in “Arquitectura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes”: 155.

¹⁰⁵⁸ “a uma organização harmónica do habitat” in Fernando Távora, “Imposição E Expressão No Urbanismo,” *Rumo*, June 1957.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Eduardo Fernandes argued this was due to Távora’s participation in the CIAM congresses, see Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Actualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*: 150.

¹⁰⁶⁰ “está em crise a cidade (...) desordem, de caos, de desarmonia (...) que o homem criou para viver (...) chega e sabe muito, mas vem de longe e a sua formação é abstract, teórica, impessoal.” in Távora, “Imposição E Expressão No Urbanismo.”

¹⁰⁶¹ “por ventura cheio de beleza, de traçado impecável, vazio no entanto de sentido.” in Ibid.

¹⁰⁶² “a forma do terreno, a estrutura e história do aglomerado, o fâcias da população” in Ibid.

with the land and “(...) the man that guarantees its vitality.”¹⁰⁶³ The plan and its projected city, he pressed, should “(...) result from the expression of its people,” and for these to find the city’s expression they needed to be educated, namely in “(...) the fundamental principles of urbanism.”¹⁰⁶⁴ Only thus could “man” find “(...) his city, fruit of his own expression.”¹⁰⁶⁵ It was not by the hands of skilled foreign planners, such as Robert Auzelle arriving at Porto’s urbanization office in 1956, that the city’s *consuetudo* was being achieved. Architects, specifically Portuguese and *portuense* architects, needed to have a greater say on the fate of a space that was also theirs.

Through these various articles, Távora advanced a position that stood for the answering of real needs, the avoiding of fashions and foreign impositions, but also for the claiming of an essential articulation between being modern and being local, belonging to a character: the most modern of Porto’s architects were also, first of all, *portuenses*.¹⁰⁶⁶ For those desiring to confront planning and architectural “fashions” with “vital reality,” Távora articulated a critique of modernism with a cultural-political mission: that of fulfilling “our own path,” in view of an intimate relationship with a concrete cultural landscape. As he argued through several articles, this involved the wide and informed recognition of the Portuguese architect and the architect-planner. A strong will to apply a national plan: a vast ordering along a Portuguese *misura* and in which architect-designed space would play the role of universal *consuetudo*, the possibility of agreement and familiarity with “our” character. A “great movement” of planning and education at the national level. Yet, to be able to produce the “great education campaign of the people,” firstly the architect educators needed to be educated.

By 1957 a long awaited educational reform to art and architecture schools, first formulated in 1949-50, was implemented. However, mainly due to its long waiting period, its application was faced with opposition and critique from various sides, namely from the younger assistants such as Távora, Andresen and others that had started teaching in the early 1950s.¹⁰⁶⁷ Foremost in the new curricula was the lack of any substantial change to the teaching of *urbanology*, urban planning and associated courses. In this respect, Távora’s critique of the “foreign planner” in the above cited article, might be seen as a critical reference to this situation. Propelled by it and the diminishing role of the architect in planning issues, both schools of architecture, Porto and Lisbon, searched pedagogical sources and experiments to ground a revision of the educational reform and an upgrade to the urban formation of architects.¹⁰⁶⁸

Within these priorities, North American architecture education came up as forward thinking, represented by sounding modernist masters as Walter Gropius and Josep Lluís Sert, and pictured as more experimental in methods and knowledge acquisition.¹⁰⁶⁹ Modernism, of course, had moved there with its masters and their various experiences to frontstage schools, such as the MIT and Harvard. Thus, a year after the implementation of the 1957 educational reform, Lisbon sent architects Frederico

¹⁰⁶³ “homem que garante a sua vitalidade.” in Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁴ “tem de resultar da expressão da sua gente (...) princípios fundamentais do urbanismo.” Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁵ “encontrar a sua cidade, fruto da sua própria expressão.” in Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Távora, “Do Porto E Do Seu Espaço.”

¹⁰⁶⁷ Many were the immediate critiques to an educational reform long in the waiting and out of time such as, for instance, Francisco Keil do Amaral’s critique in Francisco Keil do Amaral, “A Reforma Do Ensino de Belas-Artes,” *Arquitectura*, 1958.

¹⁰⁶⁸ On the reform and its various variegations see Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69).”

¹⁰⁶⁹ Carlos Ramos had been the one sparking the interest for North American architectural pedagogical experiences, by translating Gropius’ text “Blueprint of an architect’s education,” in 1950, in which parts of his curriculum and pedagogical strategy was inspired. Gropius text was published as “Plan Pour Un Enseignement de L’Architecture” in *L’architecture D’aujourd’hui*, February 1950, from where Ramos translated it.

George and Luís Fernandes Pinto on month-long trips to North America. In 1960 it was Porto to send its architect-teacher to learn from the newer experiences of modernism. In early 1960 Távora departed to New York.¹⁰⁷⁰

The unexpected museum of disharmony

When in 1959 the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation¹⁰⁷¹ opened a competition for study scholarships, from Porto's school various were those interested in applying. Coordinated by Carlos Ramos, a group was composed by Viana de Lima, Augusto Amaral, Fernando Távora among a few others, dedicated to finding a support for a trip to the World Design Conference in Japan, occurring in 1960.¹⁰⁷² With the support of Ramos, Távora was awarded a scholarship for a four-month trip with the official intent of studying the architecture and urban planning pedagogy in various North American schools.¹⁰⁷³ In early February of 1960 Távora departed to Washington on a trip through various of its major cities, but also Hawai, Mexico, Japan, Thailand, Pakistan, Lebanon, Egypt and Greece. By his own design and will what was initially a study trip to the North America became a world tour of architectural and urban reconnaissance. While his focus was initially directed at modernist-inspired architecture, when reaching Japan, it changed to pre-modern architectures and objects: traditional japonese palaces and houses, the pyramids in Egypt, the Parthenon in Greece. Starting by the considered most modern nation at the time, he progressively found his way into the origins of a classical tradition.

By 2012, year of the publication of Távora's trip diary, resulting from a biographical exhibition,¹⁰⁷⁴ research on this trip and its implications in Távora's career was mostly confined to a single work, a master dissertation by the architect Ana Mesquita.¹⁰⁷⁵ Developed with great detail and with the broad objective of understanding the importance of the trip to the development of architectural competences, this work is a key source and reflection to what follows. However, I aim to go beyond its detailed biographical focus and, instead, foreground how a powerful and meaning-filled imaginary of North American urbanity came alive. An imaginary that joined others developed by Portuguese architects,

¹⁰⁷⁰ Later in the 1960s, both Távora and George coordinated, with others, the post-1968 educational reforms of Porto's and Lisbon's schools, respectively.

¹⁰⁷¹ Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian (1869-1955) was an Armenian businessmen, proprietor of one of the largest personal fortunes in the world in the early 20th century, derived from his brokering of oil deals in Iraq, from which he received the nickname "Mr. five per cent man," see Ralph Hewins, *Mr Five Per Cent: The Story of Calouste Gulbenkian* (New York: Rinehart, 1958); Rosas and et al, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*.

¹⁰⁷² In a letter by Carlos Ramos to the Foundation of January of 1960, in Ana Mesquita, "O Melhor de Dois Mundos: A Viagem Do Arquitecto Távora Aos EUA E Japão - Diário 1960" (Master's Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2007): 25-26.

¹⁰⁷³ In his scholarship application form the following institutions were named: "Columbia University, Howard University, Harvard University, MIT, University of Pensilvania, IIT and Institute of Design" in Ibid: 30-31.

¹⁰⁷⁴ The diary, Fernando Távora, *DIário De "bordo,"* trans. Jane Considine and Tiago Esquível Faria, Rita Marnoto (Porto: Gráfica Maiadouro, S.A., 2012); the exhibition catalogue, José António Bandeirinha, ed., *Fernando Távora: Modernidade Permanente* (Porto: Associação Casa da Arquitectura, 2012).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Mesquita, "O Melhor de Dois Mundos: A Viagem Do Arquitecto Távora Aos EUA E Japão - Diário 1960."

forming a common phantasmagoria of what modes of city and urban life should be avoided. North American cities, planning an cityness was constituted as a specifically negative “big city” to avoid.

In the following interpretation of Távora’s trip I will focus exclusively on his stay in North America, specially in his written experiences of its urban landscapes. Reports of educational institutions and of trips to other destinations were taken as secondary and will only be used in sequence with the study of Távora’s experience of North American urban life. This might be accused of artificially designing the 1960 trip around just one region and a very specific group of experiences, however, the reading of the diary suggests that the North American experience was not only the most emotionally charged, and longest, lasting three months within the four month trip. It was also the most professionally enlightening and engaging. Read in sequence with later writings from Távora, it also proved to be the more influential, as Ana Mesquita as shown and as I intend to further develop. As argued by Mesquita Japan, for instance, proved highly influential, especially when comparing photographs taken by Távora of old Japanese temples and gardens, and his own design for the tennis pavillion at *quinta da conceição*, Leça da Palmeira.¹⁰⁷⁶ However, I argue this influence is described solely in positive terms, which, in fact, results from Távora’s own selection of islands of order and beauty within an urban experience that he reports as tiring and disheartening, such as that of North America.

This being said, in what follows I will not enact the diary chronologically but, instead, around the categories, judgements and qualifiers Távora deployed to face North America. Stated differently, I will try to recompose an idea of his experience based on in-site inscriptions of modern urbanity in the world’s leading capitalist democracy. Contrary to a chronological and more biographically focused description, this will supply a better grasp of how a specific form of modern city was recomposed as a phantasmatic object. The latter emerging within Távora’s projection of what he later called “humanity’s great dream,” emerging from the cultural tree trunk “Greece-Rome-Europe” and supported on the two civilizational pillars of “(...) respect for man and the search for knowledge of his relations to the universe.”¹⁰⁷⁷

To help the recomposition of this object I will resort to other readers of North American landscapes, namely to the American writer and amateur geographer, among other things, John Brinckerhoff Jackson (1909-96). The latter became an early reader of North American vernacular urban landscapes and critic of modernist architecture and planning.¹⁰⁷⁸ A decade before Denise Scott Brown’s and Robert Venturi’s prominence in advancing the values of popular landscapes for architects, J.B. Jackson was representing the rich articulations between daily life, symbol and form.¹⁰⁷⁹ Specially regarding architectural and urban situations until then undeserving of educated attention such as, for instance: the billboard, the neon light, the highway, the trailer, among many other modern things. His writings are

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibid: 38.

¹⁰⁷⁷ “Grécia-Roma-Europa (...) a valorização do homem e a procura do conhecimento das sua relações com o universo.” in Távora, *Da Organização Do Espaço*: 31-2. Few non-marxist encapsulations of white European imperialism epistemology are as concise and informative as this one.

¹⁰⁷⁸ On Jackson and his influence in North American cultural studies see Paul Groth et al., *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson*, Chris Wilson and Paul Groth (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003); on his modernist critique see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, “J.B. Jackson as a Critic of Modern Architecture,” in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson*, Chris Wilson and Paul Groth (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 37–48.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Denise Scott Brown acknowledged, although in passing, Jackson’s importance to her and Venturi’s ideas, in Denise Scott Brown, “Learning from Brinck,” in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 49–61.

pertinent, as well as useful, to counterpose Távora's reading with that of another traveller concerned with apprehending North American urbanity.

Távora arrived February 13 in Washington. The city impressed him, with its well designed plan, comfortably dimensioned and furnished avenues, some compact quarters with regulated heights. However, at the same time, walking through the city progressively revealed a number of confrontations and bodily violences that initiated Távora in some uncomfortable aspects of the North American city. Being winter, the long avenues very soon became too long, arid and lonely. The prevalent use of the car constituted the walking stranger's isolation and alienation from human contact, which he registered. By the third day his body was impressed by another landscape. As he wrote down, a "(...) chaos turned form," as if it were a war-torn city:

(...) it is a beautiful city in two dimensions, that is, in plan, its third dimension, however, is chaos. One could say that it was all bombed and that the city was rebuilt in a state of emergency (...) This afternoon I looked in vain for an ordered Avenue; I found nothing: to a magnificent 10 story building follows a parking lot with 2 to 3 stories, of precarious construction and, right next to it, a small construction of reduced front with 3 stories or something similar. It is truly chaos turned form.¹⁰⁸⁰

Embedded in this chaos, the capitol, the white house, the Jefferson memorial, although accomplished in a respectful style and well built, were "(...) mediocre, especially when compared to the French prototypes that originated them." He added in conclusion: "I cannot fail to mention, for now, the impression of creative incapacity provoked by these buildings."¹⁰⁸¹ This was when and where Távora first started developing the intuition that to North American space presided a "social and spiritual attitude" characterized by uprootedness, continuous change and ephemerality, as if everything and everyone lived in a state of emergency. Some months later, in March 17, late at night reporting on his conversation with John T. Howard (1911-95), head of the MIT department of city planning, he specified this "spiritual" attitude:

The spirit of the "pioneer" that builds today to abandon tomorrow in search of a better plot or better climate or different society or different working conditions, maintains itself in the American population. There is here, moreover, and original reason: all the immigrants that created the United States didn't come here to be still, (...).¹⁰⁸²

This ease or fluidity of movement, which Távora progressively identified with an ethical and moral fluidity and lack of limits, justified the "(...) ease with which demolitions of whole quarters are accomplished to make new buildings."¹⁰⁸³ It justified the war-like portrayal of the North American city, continuously caught in a space-time revolution and its electrifying environment. As when in New York by night he wrote: "(...) everything moved as if fireflies in a warm summer night."¹⁰⁸⁴ He read this

¹⁰⁸⁰ Távora, *DIário De "bordo."* 48.

¹⁰⁸¹ Ibid: 46.

¹⁰⁸² Ibid: 191.

¹⁰⁸³ Ibid: 191.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Ibid: 80.

attitude not only in demolished downtowns suffering urban renewals, or in the intense movement of its streets, but as something flowing within everything American. Especially regarding the house and the idea of home he vividly portrayed a rupture. Still reporting on his conversation with Hall: “Then we spoke of houses and I compared our “good” granite wall, with at least 30cm, with the 7 or 8 centimeters of thickness of the wooden house’s wall, which is here by far the most common solution.”¹⁰⁸⁵ According to Távora, this material difference was formed by the “pioneer spirit” that created a situation in which: “(...) the sense of the “home” as the family center and as physical support of a simbolical value of continuity of generations does not exist in the United States.”¹⁰⁸⁶ Of his trip from New York to Philadelphia by bus, he wrote:

Curious note: in the whole trip I didn’t see the smallest work of architecture, though I saw hundreds and thousands of buildings. There is a certain “air of encampment” in many of these american things.¹⁰⁸⁷

Throughout his stay in North America Távora was invited by many different people to dine in their homes, getting to know different ways of this camp-like architecture mode. In every home visited he was attentive to its workings, registering on his diary plans, functions, programs, this and that constructive or organizational detail. Next to which he wrote the experience of the home, the comfort or discomfort felt in living rooms, the process of having drinks before dinner, the kindness of hosts, the amazement with the kitchen apparatus. Homes full of modern appliances, canned goods and other transformed and transforming things. He registered his surprise at how the wives moved between kitchen and living room, joining the men in drinks, not spending much time in the kitchen, where thanks to the myriad of canned goods, a “wholesome” meal was prepared in no time. Yet, despite the warmth report of these experiences, the “air of encampment” and its spirit of uprootedness seemed not to leave Távora’s experience of North American dwelling. This made him progressively critical of the moving home and its prevalent mode of territory: the suburb.

The German philosopher Theodor Adorno (1903-69), who emigrated to North America in 1948, in 1951 published a book narrating how philosophically damaged was North American life and, thus, modern life itself.¹⁰⁸⁸ As if agreeing with the émigré philosopher, for Távora North American dwelling was uprooted, frail and discontinuous. A mode of dwelling very far from the notion of the house as the historical interface between family, land and society, with which he seemed to compare the modern houses he visited. J.B. Jackson helps clarify the confrontations at stake in this appreciation of modern dwelling. In his enacting of three historical forms of dwelling in North America through the fictional story of several generations of one family, Jackson portrayed three distinct modes of living and types of house making the history of North American landscapes.¹⁰⁸⁹ To the first settler generation, “landed on the shores of New England to establish a home in the wilderness,” the house was an “ark” transporting

¹⁰⁸⁵ Ibid: 191.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Ibid: 59.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Theodor W. Adorno in *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a Damaged Life* (New York, London: Verso, 2005) compared “dwelling,” as in *dasein*, in North America to bungalow living in order to articulate that what the German poet Friedrich Hölderlin called “dwelling poetically” was destroyed in modern times, and North America was the model of this existential disaggregation with the mobility and ephemerality of its bungalow dwellings.

¹⁰⁸⁹ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “The Westward Moving House,” *Landscape*, Spring 1953.

the God, custom and social mission with which the settler family sought a better life: bounded, frugal and contained, a fortress of old roots in a new land. The second generation, firmly settled and expanding its agricultural productivity, opened the house into the landscape. Isolated from the agglomerate, entrepreneurial, it embraced the prairie and, thus, erected the farming “homestead” with its picket fence, timber structure and cladding, as well as new functional bodies - the barn - creating one of North America’s more pervading folk imaginaries. The last generation of this family’s dwelling was portrayed by Jackson as no longer an ark, nor an autonomous homestead in the prairie, but as “Ray’s transformer,” Ray being the direct descendent of the original settler family. With a growing agrobusiness and the development of modern technology, the house could be separated from work. It was now devoted exclusively to leisure, rest and entertainment: it was a modernist 1950s home. Jackson concluded:

(...) he (Ray) sees himself nor as a child of God (original settler) wishing to learn the parental command, not as a child of nature (second generation) heeding the good impulse, but as an efficient and reliable instrument for transforming the invisible power within him into a power adapted to the world as he knows it.¹⁰⁹⁰

In this parable, Jackson enacted how the “transformer” vanquished the older orders, creating a more “freer,” yet “in many ways much poorer” place-making. It heralded, as he wrote before, “a new human landscape” in which “(t)he desire to identify ourselves with the place where we live is no longer strong.”¹⁰⁹¹ Yet, for him, this new landscape, like the one it superceded “will in time produce its own symbols and its own beauty. The six-lane highway, the aerial perspective, the clean and spacious countryside of great distances (...) will in a matter of centuries be invested with magic and myth.”¹⁰⁹² For the Portuguese architect invested in producing a true Portuguese modern architecture in continuity, this lack of a grounded identity in “Ray’s transformer” was more than ethically negative, it was a sign of global decadence. Despite auscultating with various people on the validity and benefits of the suburb and their transformers, namely with heads of planning departments and other relevant educated interlocutors, for Távora, more than a “waste” of space, these represented how North American life was “compartmentalized.”

Between the house, the shopping mall, work, parks and other programs, there was usually no physical connection than that afforded by the road and the car, he observed. It was in the car that he saw the clearest expression of this compartmentalization: “I notice here, once more, that if americans could have the automobile in the kitchen and go with the automobile to the religious ceremony or to the cobbler or to the toiled, certainly they would do it.”¹⁰⁹³ Later Jackson hazarded the guess “(...) that for three-quarters of the American public the automobile (in its widest definition) is seen primarily as essential to the process of making a living. It not only takes us to work, it is part of work itself.” For him the accessibility demanded by the automobile promoted nothing other than “a new ordering of

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibid: 21.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹² John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “Ghost at the Door,” *Landscape*, 1951: 9.

¹⁰⁹³ Távora, *DIário De “bordo.”* 218.

space.”¹⁰⁹⁴ Yet, while for Jackson the automobile brought about a spatial ordering, connected and fluid with moving living spaces, revealing rich and new forms of “participation through movement.”¹⁰⁹⁵ For Távora these essentially represented a fracturing of space and, hence, a destructive force in spatial-living continuities. As we saw with his 1952 article on the fundamentals of spatial organization, for him the idea of continuity bore an important tangle of meanings, both physical, historic, chronologic and social continuity: his notion of Venice’s *consuetudo*.¹⁰⁹⁶ Thus, his picturing of North American compartmentalization encompassed a number of other fracturings ranging the moral and the ethical, and not only the spatial, and signaling larger signs of decadence. For instance, of the many museums he visited he resumed the following:

We grown used to this idea of Museum, comfortable, clean, with air conditioning, special lighting, guides, catalogues, organized tours and that’s that; (...) On one side life – dirty, messy, ugly, practical – on the other the museum that one visit on Sundays to “elevate our spirit” and increase general culture. Here the Museum delirium is impressive. Too much money, need to show knowledge, compartmentalized life in watertight sectors – and behold our fall into this Museum thing (...) Oh! How many times better a Middle Ages without geniuses and museums!¹⁰⁹⁷

The North American museum, for Távora, made history artificial and thus revealed a deeper moral compartmentalization, this time between people and history. This impression was reported regarding various instances representing the inadequacy of what he understood as healthy, morally and physically, life. For example, in April, roaming the streets of Chicago in a particularly lonesome mood: “(...) this Easter environment everywhere and I alone, lost in this monster that is Chicago, without a friend, without the possibility of speaking portuguese and even without notice from back home.”¹⁰⁹⁸ He thus captured Chicago:

In one of the streets a choral group sang, like in the good times of the Middle Ages, when by the door of cathedrals theatre would occur. But times changed: the group barely fitted in the sidewalk, traffic immediately got complicated and the music was lost in the thousand and one noises of the city. (...) few persons stoped to hear the singers (...) and the choral group that was numerous and would make a show if facing the walls of a small gothic church, was ridiculous in its framing by the skyscrapers and noise.¹⁰⁹⁹

North America seemed to suffer a chronic lack of sense of place, paradoxically this resulted from the compartmentalization of its living, driven by the “pioner’s spirit,” as well as from a general lack of limits. As he reported while flying to Phoenix in April 19: “A word I didn’t hear here was “limitation”

¹⁰⁹⁴ He added: “The harmonious street perspective, the homogenous neighborhood of spacious private territories, the last traces of established boundaries, have all been destroyed by the piecemeal and unplanned introduction of a new ordering of space.” in John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “The Accessible Landscape,” *Whole Earth Review*, March 8, 1988: 7-8.

¹⁰⁹⁵ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “The Abstract World of the Hot-Rodder,” *Landscape*, 58 1957: 27.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Távora, “Arquitectura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes”; as we will later see, he further developed the idea of spatial/social continuity as a sort of calling or mission for architecture, much inspired by his negative impressions of North America.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Távora, *DIário De “bordo.”* 222-3.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Ibid*: 257.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Ibid*: 257-8.

of growth or “limitation” even in its wider sense. These people have gotten used to developing so fast that they are convinced that this has no end, limits are gone.”¹¹⁰⁰ He was contemplating the grid, the vast, continuous and anonymous Jeffersonian land ordinance of 1785 and its modern expansion west. This was what Jackson saw, despite Jefferson’s anti-urban ideas and the grid’s adaptability to a highly speculative economy, as the utopian “(...) blueprint for an agrarian equalitarian society” and a “(...) device for the promotion of virtuous citizens.”¹¹⁰¹ What ideologically came close to Salazar’s projection of an harmonious agrarian Portuguese society, although not framed in equality, Távora read as the expression of an amoral limitless, conducted by rationalist economic forces and technical drives. This impression was expanded to various interlocking critiques of North American habits, work methods, mentality, economic and political structures. For instance, reporting on his visit to the Ford Rouge Plant in Detroit and its comfortable, by that time’s standards, eight hour shifts in the Taylorist assembly line:

(...) it seems to me like a new slavery. Of course these slaves have the car, television, perhaps their own house, work only fourty hours a week, earn proportionally more than a university professor, etc., etc., but wouldn’t it be better to earn less, have a lesser car, etc., etc., and have a freer life, more creating? (...) Another curious aspect is that the Ford Foundation spends yearly billions in social, scientific, artistic, etc., activities (...) and does not concern itself with the environmental improvement of those 40.000 “modern happy.” It is another paradox of democracy and abundance.¹¹⁰²

A few lines after, he added to this description:

(...) if these people were at war, if they worked with an “idea,” if there were a “faith” beyond all of this, but the truth is that I feel here only the intention of producing for selling, for buying, for producing, etc., in a sort of vicious circle, with no exit.¹¹⁰³

Although Távora was catholic, this use of “faith” did not refer specifically to religion, but instead to the notion of a *telos* or the presence of a driving idea, agreed/imposed among all members of an identifiable community/society and rearranging the ordering of feeling. Like the “faith” of Cupertino de Miranda, as we saw in chapter 4, or the universal *consuetudo* of a culture, such as we saw earlier in this chapter. North America lacked one, while Portugal overflowed with its sense of historic becoming and

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid: 263-4. Távora wrote this before going into a long description of his notion of the chronic lack of planning in North America, resulting in limitless suburbs, emptying cities, centralizing mega-plans for highways and shopping centers, especially naming Chicago, and the difficulties of setting inter-municipal and regional planning governance.

¹¹⁰¹ After going through various of Jefferson’s anti-urban arguments, as well as common interpretations of the grid plan, Jackson articulated: “The grid system, as originally conceived, was thus a device for the promotion of “virtuous citizens.” Its survival is a testimony to the belief, once so common among Americans, in the possibility of human perfectibility. So it was not only logical but appropriate that the grid, despite its obvious shortcomings and its abuse by speculators, should have remained the characteristic national design for the environment. It is, to repeat, the symbol of an agrarian utopia composed of a democratic society of small landowners.” in John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “Jefferson, Thoreau, and After,” *Landscape*, 66 1965; for a comprehensive account of the political and technical projects imbued in the grid see Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008): 113-144.

¹¹⁰² Távora, *DIário De “bordo:”* 211.

¹¹⁰³ Ibid: 211-2.

portuguesismo. Further down, Távora's deployment of "faith" became sharper. Still in another instance of this reading of North American vacuity, he proceeded to give it an existential and political meaning. In a April 13 entry, roaming about his encounter with two students in the IIT in Chicago, from which he had the negative impression of their unquestioning inspiration in Mies, which for him should be confronted with the "Mies-Wright dilemma:"

By the way this is something I haven't heard here – ideas.

Maybe people don't have time to think. You don't see benches anywhere, the parks don't have anybody and when people sit it is to do something and it seems that thinking here is doing nothing. (...) The "dolce far niente," the "bater o papo," the "causer" and other similar things are not known here. The only people with which I managed to talk where Sert (Spanish) and our Consul in New York. With Americans a conversation is initiated but something always comes up that interrupts it.(...) We don't even know the treasure we have in some of our "backward" manifestations. Wouldn't it be possible to create a platform between this slavery and ours? (By the way, when I say ours, I don't say of those people that in Portugal have my level of life or even inferior, because we are much better than current americans. When I say ours I am refering to those Portuguese that starve, etc., etc. But even regarding some considered poor, (...) I doubt if America could offer them much better things.)¹¹⁰⁴

It so happened that North America had much to offer these "Portuguese that starve," as thousands of Portuguese immigrants found there nurturing and developing environments all throughout the 20th century. However, Távora was not specifically tracking where the folk architecture from the Portuguese hinterland was migrating to, neither did his acquaintances allowed such involvement with the hinterland. His encapsulation of what North America offered was the following:

America gives the right to a car, fourty hours of work, house, heating, toilet, hot and cold water, social equality, supposed racional equality and in a general sense anything that is directly inherent to money that, it must be said in truth, does not lack. But paradoxically it gives an enourmous percentage of cancer, heart and mental diseases, gives juvenile delinquency, gives terrible racial problems, forces people to work like moors, provides the greatest areas of Slums in the civilized world (I think), all the problems of urban life (traffic, air pollution, anonimity, absence of a communitary life, competition, etc.), and its democratic ideal leads to the creation of extraordinary potentates (press, television, unions, real estate, big warehouses and companies, etc., ect.) that command the country's whole life. And regarding the Faith in something other besides money or small bourgeois necessities, I haven't sensed anything.¹¹⁰⁵

By April Távora had gone through several east coast cities, talked with a number of urban planning specialists, both in celebrated universities such as the MIT and IIT, and in municipal and regional town planning agencies and institutes. He had already met with a number of private practising architects and planners. He had tried the streets, the cars, the diners, the home cooked dinners, roamed the suburbs,

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid: 250-1.

¹¹⁰⁵ Ibid: 251-2.

the turn-pike, saw Broadway and the electric advertising “everywhere.” Early on in the beginning of his trip in New York, he was informed by Walter Garcés, an architect working in planning at the UN that “These guys here don’t do anything; the people in charge of american urbanism are the Real Estate guys.”¹¹⁰⁶ When in New York, visiting the top of the empire state building, he reported:

Don’t ask me if I thought it beautiful or ugly, I was up there for two hours thinking about it and didn’t reach any conclusion. There is only one obvious truth: it is “quantitatively” the biggest enterprise of all times (At one point I though maybe the view from Santa Luzia over Viana,¹¹⁰⁷ the river mouth, the river and the sea to be more beautiful. (...) The comparison is stupid but I am so rooted in my things that I dared to make it.¹¹⁰⁸

From the top of *santa luzia*, which Távora brough with him and apparently did not forego while travelling, North America weared him down. When arriving in Phoenix, on his way to Frank Loyd Wright’s taliesin west and a short visit to Mexico, suffering the hot weather and bright light, he exclaimed: “I started feeling at home.”¹¹⁰⁹ Távora had crossed south the imaginary line that Jackson articulated to separate “(...) two nations, two landscapes, two ways of looking at the world and of living in it.” Two modes of being proper to North America, geographically described by him as follows: “(...) to the south of the Rio Grande the world of Man is thought of as created in the likeness of a social theory and not, as with us, in the likeness of an economic force.”¹¹¹⁰ When crossing this imaginary line further into Mexico City, Távora’s diary was filled with such emotional statements as the following: “The hotel room could be of a hotel in Seville. Likewise. But this is really what I need and what I have been missing: humanity, race, contrasts. I am tired of hygiene, well-being and perfection.”¹¹¹¹ This was probably so much the case that, when returning to California for a week before setting out to Hawai and Japan, he barely scrippled a dozen or so of lines in the diary.

In the days preceding his “escape” south, we can find Távora’s more critically charged representations of North American urban life, specially regarding those aspects Jackson represented as designed “in the likeness of an economic force.” Regarding the structure and effects of its form of democracy, he wrote:

Is not american democracy a sort of orchestra without a conductor, in which each musician spends an enormous time and effort in convincing everybody else that his music is the right one? (...) Can this democracy compose anything as powerful, in unison, eternal and wholesome as a Ninth Symphony? Or in terms of organized space, something like the Acropolis or a Cathedral or a Venice?¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰⁶ Ibid: 100.

¹¹⁰⁷ A high viewpoint with a church and sanctuary, looking over the city of Viana do Castelo, 60 km north of Porto by the coast.

¹¹⁰⁸ Távora, *DIário De “bordo.”* 108.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ibid: 269.

¹¹¹⁰ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “Chihuahua as We Might Have Been,” *Landscape*, 1951.

¹¹¹¹ Távora, *DIário De “bordo.”* 276. Before Mexico, Távora visited Taliesin, which inebriated him with a sense of architectural perfection for its groundness, sense of place, of harmony, as if the work had been done “by God,” even moving him to tears, as he describes in the diary.

¹¹¹² Ibid: 260.

For him the amounting evidence of lack of “faith,” or “conductor,” to the energetic movement of forces in action in North America, in the end, produced questionable results. Of his consultation with planning experts, although I have not focused this matter, he derived a few useful notions that he wrote in his diary as directly missing in Portugal. Of architecture, besides the impact with Frank Lloyd Wright’s Taliesin, little else was worth mentioning, having even considered Gropius’ Breuer house nothing more than a sophisticated “refrigerator.” As he wrote in the beginning of his trip, he saw many buildings, but almost no architecture. Everywhere North American architecture was driven by superficiality, advertising, ephemerality, continuous creative destruction, “as if in war.” All within a broad and limitless landscape of acampment-like forms. The life witnessed was, in his terms, a form of modern “slavery,” compartmentalized, uprooted and lacking in creativity. Despite many positive remarks and experiences, he laid down throughout the trip of this and that particular aspect of North American life, his ending remarks were negative in essence. As we might read from the following lines, written after his meeting with the two students at the IIT in April 13:

Of course the Country is thoroughly rich, but if another Country with a Faith, a structure, a planned economy, etc., etc., emerges to face it - that is, with the advantages and without the inconveniences - America will not hold.

Alas, maybe I am thinking wrongly, but if we in Portugal could eliminate the authentic poverty we have without enlarging the wealth of the rich and, as a group, continue with the classic national sobriety, I think we would lose nothing. These colossi of Rouges Plants, of New York Times, of Rockefeller Centers, of Macy’s, of highway traffic, of concentration of people and houses, etc., etc., are entirely abominable. The world should avoid them and if it wants to see them it can visit America, like one visits a Museum or a Zoo. I believe that America is a magnificent laboratory; it is indispensable to get to know her, exactly and mostly to know what must be avoided at all cost. Europe’s great luck, in what concerns me, was that of having accomplished in America the civilizational experience it created with the Renaissance. It can now look to this son and perhaps give a different guidance to its grandsons. I am cloying myself with stupidities.¹¹¹³

Similar Americas

Távora was not the only Portuguese architect to have expressed such North America. From 1957 onwards the magazine *Arquitectura* was concerned with publishing reports and impressions from Portuguese architects travelling abroad, especially those making prolonged study trips for the purpose of disciplinary development. This was part of its new stated mission of keeping national architectural discussion in tune with international developments.¹¹¹⁴ Throughout the late 1950s it published, for instance, a report on prefabrication in England, specifically Hertfordshire, by architect Vasco Croft de Moura and several “impressions” on the “nordic countries” by architects Leopoldo C. Almeida and F.

¹¹¹³ Ibid: 252.

¹¹¹⁴ Duarte et al., “Editorial.”

Gomes da Silva.¹¹¹⁵ As such reports on international developments, critical glimpses of North America, its society and space, were also enacted in the pages of *Arquitectura*. One such trip report centered on North America was the architect Luís Fernando Pinto's "The Current Moment in American Evolution," published in 1959.¹¹¹⁶ Pinto travelled there in the mid-1950s for five months, on a grant from the State Department, namely granted through the American Council of Education. The grant was given the program of conducting study stays in the country's main architecture schools. Pinto's piece, however, did not mention these schools or any possibly derived input. Instead, his report was entirely about a general appreciation of North America as:

A country in which everything is permitted, from the most unpleasant and low edifying neighborhoods of Chicago, Boston or New York, for example, to recently founded cities such as Phoenix and Arizona, where I found in all layers of the population, without exception, pride for living there and enthusiastic concern for its progress (...).

In what concerns me, for having observed that there in fact exists a guiding spirit that intends to transform that local pride in national pride (...) this last example is much more important than the disagreeable ones, always pointed to and that mainly shock us for being European and not knowing how to give our faults their proper relative value.¹¹¹⁷

His piece followed to identify this "guiding spirit" and its architectural expression, with the optimistic register of someone who was seeing, against other European observers, a nation "(...) in a full ascendant phase of its evolution."¹¹¹⁸ While this "spirit" was very much its own, specifically tied to a North American identity and way-of-being, for him it essentially resulted from the following:

The Americans are convinced of the need and usefulness of mutual contacts. They verified that they extract many teachings from cultures strange to theirs and are proud that to another may be useful the experience of its years of work, relatively limited in time but effective and solidly structured in wholesome moral principals and true intellectual capacities.¹¹¹⁹

Assembled in these ingredients, the North American "guiding spirit," was portrayed in the following manner: "The United States have been the only country with the possibilities of verifying and improving the extreme level of variation between numerous elements of technical order that abound

¹¹¹⁵ Vasco Croft Moura, "Pré-fabricação Em Hertfordshire," *Arquitectura*, August 1958; Leopoldo C. Almeida and F. Gomes da Silva, "Impressões Sobre a Arquitectura Nos Países Nórdicos," *Arquitectura*, September 1958.

¹¹¹⁶ Luís Fernando Pinto, "O Momento Actual Da Evolução Americana," *Arquitectura*, June 1959.

¹¹¹⁷ "É um país que permite tudo, desde desagradabilíssimos e pouco edificantes bairros de Chicago, Boston ou New Orleans, por exemplo, até cidades recentemente fundadas, como Phoenix e Arizona, onde encontrei em todas as camadas da população, sem excepções, orgulho por ali viver e preocupação entusiástica pelo seu progresso (...). Quanto a mim, por ter observado que existe, de facto, um espírito orientador que pretende transformar esse orgulho local em orgulho nacional (...) é este último exemplo muito mais importante do que os aspectos desagradáveis, sempre apontados, que principalmente nos chocam por sermos europeus e não sabermos dar às nossas deficiências o devido valor relativo." in *Ibid.*

¹¹¹⁸ "(...) em plena fase ascendente da sua evolução." in *Ibid.*: 33.

¹¹¹⁹ "Os americanos estão convictos da necessidade e futilidade de contactos mútuos. Verificaram que extraem muitos ensinamentos de culturas estranhas à sua e orgulham-se que a outrem seja útil a experiência dos seus anos de trabalho, relativamente poucos em tempo mas eficiente e sólidamente estruturados em íntegros princípios morais e verdadeiras capacidades intelectuais." in *Ibid.*

isolated in the whole Globe (...).¹¹²⁰ This technical order and its development was not something simultaneous to intellectual, social and cultural development, but according to him the “standard” by which the development and advance of “civilized countries” should be measured. Because, what was “erroneously” understood as defining the “organization of american problems today,” was in fact a universal tendency that:

(...) will come in the future to consolidate in a similar basic style throughout the World, differing from region to region only in secondary manifestations provoked by psychological or environmental factors.¹¹²¹

Despite these secondary resistances, this North America seemed to be the energy of an advanced new technical order, progressively and determinantly embracing the globe. In a most particular manner, for him this universal order and stage of civilizational evolution was actively translated in the following social-material bundle: “(...) through steel, the *drugstore*, discipline, aluminium, correctness, hygiene, simplicity, bronze, diet, publicity, synchronicity, the machine calling, speed and the search for efficiency, the will and need to reach a goal, the will to accomplish by valid means.”¹¹²² To this metal, biological, social, technical, ideological apparatus corresponded specific forms of space. He recognized North American architecture possessed a “guiding will” and “intention” that drove its many individual manifestations in unison as an elevated expression of civilization. Despite there having been attempts at creating what we might designate a regionalist North American architecture, traced by Pinto to the “Midwest,” with “Sullivan, Adler, Richardson and mainly F. Loyd Wright.” What demarcated its uniting “spirit” was the “extraordinary technical development” put in motion after WWII.

Within this meta-history, which we might call modernist fundamentalist, in the sense of an undying belief in the historical redemption of a total technical order only deterred by “psychological and environmental” elements, Pinto then spoke exclusively of enigmatic modernist buildings. His intent was, after all, to interpret how an architecture practising this technical order, which he identified as the spirit of North American civilization, was being accomplished. Skidmore, Owings and Merrill’s¹¹²³ *lever* house was, for him, the greatest design feat in unison with this great historical movement. He described it alongside buildings from Minoru Yamasaki (1912-86), Eero Saarinen (1910-61) and Louis Kahn (1901-74), as worthy examples of a determined American “will.” The *lever* house however stood beyond these, even surpassing Mies Van der Rohe’s *seagram* building, which he presented as the “exponent” of a bad design.¹¹²⁴ The latter was “(...) wasted space in Park Avenue,” driven by the “(...) naïve concern of providing an orthogonal perspective;” its plint “(...) with no meaning to the common transient.”¹¹²⁵

¹¹²⁰ “Os Estados Unidos têm sido o único país com possibilidades de verificar e comprovar o grau-limite de variação entre inúmeros elementos de ordem técnica que abundam, isolados, por todo o Globo (...)” in Ibid: 35.

¹¹²¹ “(...) que virá a consolidar-se no futuro num estilo de base semelhante em todo o Mundo, diferindo de região para região apenas em manifestações secundárias provocadas por factores psicológicos ou ambientais.” in Ibid.

¹¹²² “(...) através do aço, do *drugstore*, da disciplina, do alumínio, da correcção, da higiene, da simplicidade, do bronze, da dieta, da publicidade, da sincronização, do apelo à máquina, da velocidade e procura de eficiência, da vontade e necessidade de atingir um fim, da vontade de se realizar por meio de expressões válidas.” in Ibid: 36-7.

¹¹²³ Louis Skidmore (1897-1962), Nathaniel Owings (1903-84) and John Merrill (1896-1975).

¹¹²⁴ See Pinto, “O Momento Actual Da Evolução Americana.”

¹¹²⁵ “(...) há realmente espaço desperdiçado na Park Avenue (...) a preocupação ingénua de proporcionar uma perspectiva ortogonal, (...) não tem significado para o transeunte vulgar.” in Ibid.

While this report mainly highlighted what he considered the positive elements of North America, he could not help representing some of its problems. In the forefront of which was, “paradoxically,” immigration. For Pinto, that same element that was constitutive of North American greatness was, at the time of his visit, the “(...) main element delaying the country’s progress.” For the new immigrants came with their backward cultures, habits and ideas, leveling down the country with their underdevelopment.¹¹²⁶ These Americans, “(...) only because they live in America,” were nevertheless being “developed” through education and taught “(...) respect for oneself, others and the nation.”¹¹²⁷ According to Pinto, they were progressively being incorporated into what he described as the metal cast social-material bundle moving North America to the future.

The other main problem by him observed was the prevailing presence in the country of what he called petit-bourgeois attitudes, also identified in connection to “(...) the enormous layer of average population: orderly and hardworking.”¹¹²⁸ Yet, also this element was being turned around, as he recognised that petit-bourgeois attitudes, “(...) although important in the whole country, are relatively rare in the responsible layers,” that is, in the ruling elites. Furthermore, this petit-bourgeoisness, according to him, was “annulled” by the country’s “guiding” social-technical order, setting the world standard.¹¹²⁹

In 1960 *Arquitectura* gave notice of another North America. In the same issue in which Cabral and Portas appraised the Pasteleira neighborhood and its urban shortcomings, moving into a critique of the city that should not be, the architect Carlos Duarte published a piece on the “Sociological elements of the urban habitat.”¹¹³⁰ Although phrased and framed in a broad manner, the article was entirely devoted to North American urban habits, forms and patterns. As Duarte clarified in the article’s heading, it was an extract from his presentation at the congress on the urban “habitat,” in the architects’ union in 1960.¹¹³¹ Duarte discussed the following encompassing elements of city transformation: “centralization, de-centralization, segregation, invasion and succession.”¹¹³² Portraying the modern city, “born of the industrial revolution,” as an unbalanced entity from the start and in need of constant “adjustments,” his article aimed to problematize the arts of adjustment.¹¹³³ He went about this supported in a wide-ranging scholarly bibliography. From what became known as Hoyt’s and Burgess’ concentric model of urban evolution,¹¹³⁴ a number of other Chicago school urban sociologists and tinkers, such as William Ogburn for instance,¹¹³⁵ to French urban expertise, specially present in various writings from Chombart de Lauwe’s *Centre d’études Sociologiques* and from Maurice Halbwachs.¹¹³⁶ In short, his references

¹¹²⁶ “(...) é o principal elemento retardador do progresso do país.” in Ibid: 34.

¹¹²⁷ “(...) respeito por si próprio, pelos outros e pela nação.” in Ibid: 35.

¹¹²⁸ “(...) enorme camada de população média: ordeira e trabalhadora.” in Ibid: 34.

¹¹²⁹ “(...) embora muito importantes em todo o país são relativamente raras nas camadas responsáveis.” in Ibid: 34.

¹¹³⁰ Duarte, “Elementos Sociológicos Do ‘habitat’ urbano.”

¹¹³¹ See chapter 5, “transforming the rural dwelling into a city.”

¹¹³² “Factores de transformação da cidade: centralização, descentralização, segregação, invasão e sucessão.” in Duarte, “Elementos Sociológicos Do ‘habitat’ urbano.” 17.

¹¹³³ Ibid.

¹¹³⁴ Articulated through Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1925); Homer Hoyt, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities* (Washington: Federal Housing Administration, 1939).

¹¹³⁵ William Ogburn, *Social Characteristics of Cities* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1936).

¹¹³⁶ Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe and Jacques Bertin, *Paris et L’agglomération Parisienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952); Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Classes Sociales* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008).

ranged predominantly within French and North American urban sociology, with one and another detour into England, such as the social geographer Robert Dickinson.¹¹³⁷ Framed in such a broad manner and supported by such a ranging bibliography, one would expect a comprehensive critical analysis of several cities, namely European. The congress in 1961 was, after all, centered in European urban productions, with Chombart de Lauwe and Robert Auzelle as invited speakers. Yet, as soon as he started defining the category of “segregation,” Duarte’s article transformed into a piece entirely devoted to North American urban problems.

In its cities, emigrant communities acted “(...) as foreign colonies and constituting authentic cities within the city.”¹¹³⁸ Moving from one ring to another of Hoyt’s and Burgess’ concentric model, he reported the “downtown” was where all business and commercial activity was concentrated; the first ring was a show of “(...) physical and social decadence (...) manifested by the concentrations of poverty, delinquency, family conflict, mental illnesses, prostitution and other (...)” Its middle rings, to where the better off families manage to escape from this first ring, “(...) have seen some improvements;” Its last ring a “dormitory.”¹¹³⁹ Using terms borrowed from Lewis Mumford (1895-1990), all of this was proof of “(...) the current inadaptation of man to the urban environment.”¹¹⁴⁰ Duarte then pitted the city against the countryside to further push the point of the modern’s city negative agency, comparing statistics. By this route he arrives to a small mining town of 1500 people in the rocky mountains. There “(...) practically everybody knows each other and everybody is catalogued, theft is a difficult practice. In the defense of an inherited ethic, the community exerts over its members a superior vigilance, which the police itself cannot exert in big centers.”¹¹⁴¹ Simultaneously, and following the Chicago school sociologist William Ogburn’s retelling,¹¹⁴² there “(...) the inhabitants enjoy a greater freedom than anonymity itself affords. (...) They are free to be equal to themselves, different from others.”¹¹⁴³ To the city, he granted, only those “unsatisfied and original,” “the criminal and the adventurous,” migrate, “thickening its underworld.”¹¹⁴⁴

This antithesis enacted the (North American) city a destructive force, fragmenting the solid and bounded common ethics alive in the countryside. Bringing the subject home, he wrote: “Of the progressive destruction of small agglomerates by big cities we have good examples close to us. Many people still remember what Cascais and Amadora were 20 or 30 years ago (...)”¹¹⁴⁵ This urban process

¹¹³⁷ Robert Dickinson, *The West European City: A Geographical Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 1951).

¹¹³⁸ “(...) como colónias estrangeiras e constituindo autênticas cidades dentro da cidade.” in Duarte, “Elementos Sociológicos Do ‘habitar’ urbano.”

¹¹³⁹ “(...) decadência física e social nela se manifestam, grandes concentrações de pobreza, delinquência, desintegração familiar, doenças mentais, prostituição e outros (...) tem visto algumas melhorias (...) um dormitório.” in Ibid: 19.

¹¹⁴⁰ “A desadaptação actual do homem ao meio urbano” in Ibid: 20.

¹¹⁴¹ “(...) praticamente toda a gente se conhece e todos se encontram catalogados, o roubo é uma prática difícil. Na defesa de uma ética herdada, a comunidade exerce aí sobre os seus membros uma vigilância superior à que a própria policia pode realizar nos grandes centros.” in Ibid: 22.

¹¹⁴² Duarte derives this rocky mountain example from Ogburn, *Social Characteristics of Cities*.

¹¹⁴³ “(...) os habitantes destes usufruem de uma liberdade maior que o próprio anonimato propicia. (...) São livres para serem iguais a si mesmo, diferentes dos outros.” in Duarte, “Elementos Sociológicos Do ‘habitar’ urbano.”: 22.

¹¹⁴⁴ “insatisfeitos e originais (...) os criminosos e os aventureiros, que aí vão engrossar o seu submundo.” in Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁵ “Da destruição progressiva pelas grandes cidades dos pequenos aglomerados próximos temos nós de resto bons exemplos por cá. Muita gente se lembra ainda do que eram Cascais e a Amadora há 20 ou 30 anos (...)” in Ibid: 27. Cascais was and is an up-end suburb of Lisbon to the west, Amadora is an area in the south bank of river *tejo*, facing Lisbon that, in before the 1950s saw little development, being mainly composed of farms and scattered agglomerates and industrial units.

of “decadence of local values,” for him went hand-in-hand with people’s indifference and higher mobility. In his opinion these assumed another emblematic form: the suburb, “(...) the evolution of modern urban societies, is that of the escape to the suburbs and consequent production of peripheral dormitories.”¹¹⁴⁶ Moving to his conclusions, he quoted Howard through another: “His great ideal - said Howard - of connecting the pleasures of the country with those of the city was reduced to the mundane idea of connecting the pleasures of the home with those of the garden.”¹¹⁴⁷ The conclusive remarks followed:

The intense social and religious life of the Middle Ages and the political and cultural effervescence of the past century, appear to many people reduced to the level of the home, the level of television and radio, of card games, of gardening works.

This tendency for the family’s isolation, for abstention and political and social irresponsibility manifests itself, certainly, with more clarity in countries of English language (...).¹¹⁴⁸

He argued this phenomenon was derisive of social life and universally ranging,¹¹⁴⁹ warning that through various “known records,” there are signs in Europe of a “(...) declining social life - or better, of spontaneous social life, not organized.”¹¹⁵⁰ He enriched this dark hue to North American urban life and its global pervasiveness through various demographic elements, sociologic and psychologic elaborations on the decay of modern, industrial, living and working habits. For instance, he compared mortality rates between “city” and “countryside.” Through numbers such as these, North American urbanity epitomized for Duarte the powerful degenerative and disaggregating force present in modern urbanization, as driven by technology, individualism and petit bourgeois concerns. He ended the piece by provoking:

We walk, thus, in Europe towards a petit-bourgeois society of which today’s America shows us the pattern?

By what we have seen before, in terms of social life it today means a society in which human relations grow poorer and more restricted, in which man more and more closes itself egotistically in his home and attends only to his personal life. An urban society of suburbs, of single-family houses, absent of a communitarian sense, of human warmth and collective participation.¹¹⁵¹

¹¹⁴⁶ “(...) à evolução das sociedades urbanas modernas, é o da fuga para os subúrbios e consequente produção de dormitórios periféricos.” in *Ibid*: 28.

¹¹⁴⁷ “O seu grande ideal – o de Howard – de ligar os prazeres do campo com os da cidade foi reduzido à ideia comezinha de ligar os prazeres do lar com os do jardim.” in *Ibid*.

¹¹⁴⁸ “A intensa vida social e religiosa da Idade Média e a efervescência política e cultural do século passado, aparecem para muita gente reduzidas ao nível do lar, o nível da televisão e da radio, dos jogos de cartas, dos trabalhos de jardinagem. Esta tendência para o isolamento familiar, para a abstenção e a irresponsabilidade política e social manifesta-se, com certeza, com maior nitidez nos países de língua Inglesa, (...)” in *Ibid*.

¹¹⁴⁹ Although he also claimed: “The analysis of other dormitories could, notwithstanding, takes us to different results. (And among us one verifies many times the social life of the suburbs to be more intense than in many neighborhoods of the capital).” (“A análise de outros dormitórios poderia, de resto, levar a resultados diferentes. (E entre nós verifica-se até que muitas vezes a vida social nos subúrbios é mesmo mais intensa que em muitos bairros da capital.)” in *Ibid*.

¹¹⁵⁰ “(...) para o declínio da vida social - ou melhor, da vida social espontânea, não organizada.” in *Ibid*.

¹¹⁵¹ “Caminhamos, pois, na Europa para uma sociedade pequeno burguesa de que a América actual nos mostra o padrão? Pelo que vimos atrás, em termos de vida social significa isso actualmente uma sociedade em que as relações humanas se empobrecem e restringem, em que o homem

For him this could not come to pass, because, he asked:

(...) should we, architects and planners, accept the current situation of urban societies and conceive spaces that translate them or, on the contrary, should we channel them in a sense that, from the point of view of our moral convictions, seems to us fairer and more humane, with the risk of incomprehension and attacks?¹¹⁵²

In short, Carlos Duarte explained that a monstrous *projecto* of a city was coming to Europe, imposing its asocial logics and deriding its long enriched “spontaneous life.” A coming or invasion that should be confronted with “moral conviction.” At the same time he recognized that any city should not solely be understood in negative terms, for in cities occurred most cultural and political revolutions, because of its multitude, as well as a progressive increase in human welfare. Despite this, he made little effort in reading (North American) urbanity otherwise. Thus resulting that, by the end of the urban report, we are confronted with a geo-moral embattlement of sorts: on the one side, the petit-bourgeois, alienated, technologic and economically driven North American city, with its decay and suburbs; on the other, “our” moral convictions grounded on an intense Middle Age and efervescent 19th century, and a small town in the rocky mountains.

Making the city more humane

What importance can we attribute to these activations of North American urbanity as a phantasmagoria of a city and society to avoid? Given they are crafted from very particular personal experiences, how do they co-constitute the terms and debate for a more humane city, more connected with “vital reality” and *portuguese truth*? An obvious difference between the three reports/re-presentations of North America must be clarified. Távora’s was private, written down in his personal diary and never published in the form of a trip report until 2012. His written North America was, thus, mainly shared with relatives, friends and colleagues, within his professional and social circle that, however, was composed by some of the most influential architects teaching and practising, namely in Porto.¹¹⁵³ Luís Pinto’s report, on the other hand, was the direct result of a five-month trip and the

mais e mais se fecha egoísticamente no seu lar e atende apenas à sua vida pessoal. Uma sociedade urbana de subúrbios, de casas unifamiliares, ausente de sentido comunitário, de calor humano e participação colectiva.” in Ibid.

¹¹⁵² He added: “From my part I believe, as many others, that what better defines the quality of an urban plan is the degree of intelligence and sensibility in it revealed to answer the deep needs of man and not the prejudices of men and what may exist of transitory in today’s life.” (“(...) devemos nós, arquitectos e urbanistas aceitar a situação actual das sociedades urbanas e conceber espaços que as traduzam, ou, pelo contrário, devemos encaminhá-las no sentido que do ponto de vista das nossas convicções morais se nos afigura mais junto e mais humano, com risco mesmo de incompreensões e ataques. Por meu lado estou em crer, como muitos outros, que o que define melhor a qualidade de um plano de urbanismo é o grau de inteligência e sensibilidade nele revelado para responder às necessidades profundas do homem e não aos preconceitos dos homens e ao que pode haver de transitório na vida actual.”) in Ibid: 31.

¹¹⁵³ According to him, at his departure in Lisbon’s airport the following family and friends were present: “Tucha (wife), Zé and Walter (brothers), Father-in-law and Father, Carlos Ramos, D. Castelbranco and wife, Rui Pimentel, Tito Figueiredo, Augusto Amaral, V. de Lima (as in Viana de Lima), José Azevedo Campos, Bento Lousã, Sergio Fernandez, José C. Loureiro, Luís Cunha, Álvaro Siza, Vasco Cunha, Jorge Gigante, Duílio da Silveira, Luiz Botelho Dias.” in Távora, *Diário De “bordo.”*

outcome of a theoretical re-articulation of its experience, public in intent and set on associating broader meanings to North American modernist architecture. Duarte's differed from both as his activation of the country had the objective of problematizing an hegemonic and negative modern "habitat." His was grounded on an indirect experience, demarcated by a comprehensive intellectual network of meanings.

The three modes of making North America appear as an emblematic and powerful experience of modernity share little in terms of process and aims. Yet, throughout the three enactments a consistently common set of elements emerge as to what makes and unmakes modern North America and, through it, the fundamentals of modern urbanization and its effects. Common to all is a mode of ethical questioning that seemed invested in mapping between morally good and bad urban conducts advanced through specific articulations of form, program, planning, culture and politics. As ethics is an active moral agency in a relation of definition to the self, the other and their connections, it is co-constituted through the moral negative or that which is considered decadent, unfit, destructive.¹¹⁵⁴ It is as such that North American urban life, architecture or, in Távora's words, spatial organization, seemed to emerge as an interlocutor to the debate of a more "humane" city. A debate taking place in Portugal, namely through the pages of *Arquitectura*, but also in classrooms and offices.¹¹⁵⁵ North America was, as Pinto interestingly noticed, a social-material bundle from which these three architects projected a number of ethical anxieties regarding the fate of the city, the possibility of planning, the role of the architecture profession and the desire for peaceful modern life. Its pertinence to the formation of a style of apprehending the city, thus, regards the way this foreign phantasmagoria ties together a set of terms and critiques around which the style developed.

One of its clearest terms can be read in the confrontation between Pinto's North America and both Távora's and Duarte's. As we saw, for the first, an emerging technical order was what objectified his optimistic reading of the probable hegemony of North American ways of life and space. Pinto inclusively argued that he saw the positive where others only saw the negative, simply because they "were european" and tied to their european problems. Távora and Duarte, on the contrary, read that technical order as these "europeans," as that which endangered wholesome and historically acquired ways of life. For Duarte, american machine-like urban life separated people from each other, from the community, from public participation and, in a more general sense, from their happiness and health.¹¹⁵⁶ For Távora, it was embodied in what he called a "new slavery" that offered people cars, homes, televisions and other modern comforts, but that disconnected them from a full existence. The existential Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa was inclusively brought forth to help him battle the phantom: "Let others take up my madness, And all that went with it, Without madness what is man, But a healthy beast, A postponed corpse that breeds?"¹¹⁵⁷ North America lacked poetry to its ways. Its phantasmagoria

¹¹⁵⁴ I am specifically using here the notion of ethics as dialectical practice put forward by Michel Foucault in *The History of Sexuality: The Use of Pleasure*, vol. 2 (London: Penguin, 1998).

¹¹⁵⁵ Such as, for instance, Teotónio Pereira's office that, according to former collaborators, also constituted a space of open and experimental discussion, many times compared to a needed extension of Lisbon's school, see Ana Tostões and Clara Távora Vilar, eds., *Arquitectura E Cidadania: Atelier Nuno Teotónio Pereira* (Lisbon: Quimera, 2004).

¹¹⁵⁶ He greatly emphasized the numbers of child mortality, general mortality, mental illnesses and other problematical urban bodily-psychological situations, in Duarte, "Elementos Sociológicos Do 'habitat' urbano."

¹¹⁵⁷ Fernando Pessoa, *Fernando Pessoa: A Little Larger Than the Entire Universe - Selected Poems*, trans. Richard Zenith, Richard Zenith (London: Penguin, 2006): 376 (orig. 1933); the last three lines are written by Távora when in North America in 1960, see Távora, *Diário De "bordo."*

extended the critique of modernism, especially of the *athens charter* and its proposal of urban reproduction, through technology, division and movement.

More relevant, however, were the specific terms in which North American urban form and life were made to articulate this critique. Both for Duarte and Távora, rigorous zoning, building densification - skyscrapers - the promotion of car usage and its highways, produced North America's "spectacular" expression, as Pinto would say. In the more detailed view of Távora this had a most degenerative result in street life, remember the choral group in Chicago. The street no longer affording various experiences of being in the city, as a cluster of medieval streets would, but only serving movement and flux. Here movement was taken as the opposite of community. In another sense, for both Távora and Duarte North America showed the negative extents of the internalization of functionalism as communal and personal ethic, as a project of the self. For Duarte, it was embodied in how North Americans lived isolated in their homes, disconnected from others. But also in the specialized attitude with which, according to him, they went about their daily routines and the construction of the relations between work, leisure and rest. In a similar vein, Távora highlighted the apparent lack of time proper to most he met in the country: "always the look at the watch." It symbolized, among others things, a life compartmentalized in time, driven by specialized and isolated partial space-times, as against an organic flow of linear time. In these terms he wrote of Ford assembly workers as "new slaves" because of the compartmentalization of their mode of participation in the "work." Simultaneously he articulated this disaggregating mode as a general cultural disposition by picturing museums as exceptional programs in urban routine, separated from everyday life, places where people occasionally came to "elevate (their) spirits." In everything, in the enormous amount of work, effort, dedication he observed from planning students, to industrial workers, to housewives, to waitresses, to heads of departments, to the view from the empire state building, he signalled the chronic lack of a "faith," besides that of winning money. Which takes us to an important element of this North American phantasmagoria.

One of the elements missing from Pinto's North America was any reference to its economical prowess and power, instead talking in abstract of "energy," "advancement," "extraordinary development." What for his modernist phantasmagoria was a secret engine, for Távora's and Duarte's it assumed center stage: its economic spirit or "pioneer spirit." Duarte read it specifically in daily routines and in city development and urban plans, emphasizing how, save some exceptions, North American cities followed almost exclusively an economic logic. Távora read this throughout various objects and processes, formulating the idea of lack of "faith." As Duarte, he read it in planning and urban growth, but specially in his impression of the grid that "limits are gone (...) (t)hese people have gotten used to progressing so fast that they are convinced that this has no end."¹¹⁵⁸ As well as in the pervasive presence of advertizing, the campment-like architecture and even in canned soup, embodying for him North Americans' economic thinking. As he argued, this civilizational motive, the economy, was a weak one if confronted with a "Country with a Faith." Likewise, although in a very different register, Duarte pitted the commodified "petit-bourgeois society" he saw as constituting North America, against "our" more socially and morally solid collective life, endangered by "(a)n urban society of suburbs, of single-family houses (...)." Perhaps, it was not as solid as he thought, which brings us to the one element in which all three seemed to converge.

¹¹⁵⁸ Távora, *DIário De "bordo."*: 264.

North America was essentially petit-bourgeois, driven by petit-bourgeois concerns, producing and serving a petit-bourgeois world-view. Pinto, interested in an heroic enactment of modernist North America, belittled this by arguing that its ruling classes prevailed uncontaminated and, further, that the “technical order” was progressively anuling this petit-bourgeois character. Duarte framed the geo-moral problem of the nefarious prevalence of one hegemonic city model through the enemy of a petit-bourgeois society, “(...) which today’s America shows us the pattern.” Távora, on the other hand, almost did not use the word, although it enacted its presence throughout the diary in descriptions of various events, objects and habits. Until finally stating: “And regarding the Faith in something other besides money or petit bourgeois necessities, I haven’t sensed anything.”¹¹⁵⁹ Stated differently, petit-bourgeois was a master signifier deployed by all three architects to signal North America’s chronic lack of a political-cultural project, of a “faith,” and in Pinto’s case to signal one of the main deterrents to the emergent technical order.

Coming back to Pinto’s bundle of metal, drugstores, discipline and wills, these lessons from North America were relevant because they activated a correspondent bundle of moral, political, organizational, spatial problems, of which I only identified a few conductors. While for Pinto this bundle was mostly positive, for the network of architects trying to appropriate an active role in the planning and construction of Portuguese cities with *portuguese truth*, it re-signified a critique of modernist architecture and city planning, devoid of its early militancy. As Távora argued, North America was perhaps the most eloquent incarnation of a modern project started by Europeans. Its critique would help reorganize Europe’s projects because, according to Távora: “Europe’s great luck, in what concerns me, was that of having accomplished in America the civilizational experience it created with the Renaissance. It can know look to this son and perhaps give a diferent guidance to its grandsons.”¹¹⁶⁰

One of the main negative elements feeding a re-guidance of urban priorities for Portuguese architects was the hegemony of economic reasoning they read in North America. Especially for Távora and Duarte, this was not brought back to economy itself, but to the idea that there “only” economic forces and factors governed the process of organizing space and society. Furthermore, this government was processed according to, for them, two negative attitudes and priorities: *laissez-faire* and petit-bourgeois concerns. Both of which undermined the idea of a planned economy and a planned national spatial expression, that is, of the possibility of a cohesive social-spatial organization, firmly rooted in “our” cultural truths: a vast national *consuetudo*. For Távora this specially involved the will and means to “(...) continue with the classic national sobriety,” as a national calling, a “faith.”

This critique of *laissez-faire* and petit-bourgeoisness emerged at a time when urban growth in Portugal was originating a number of condemnable results for these architects. The implemented PGUs and regional master plans, namely Porto’s, were unable to create envisioned “collective disciplines.” City centers were not fully reorganized and ennobled, despite various ongoing processes of expropriation and renewal. Urban regulation of new constructions, both in terms of containing city areas and regulating architectural quality, were not enforced. Public housing efforts followed a logic of particular endowments, as government authorities failed or were unwilling to produce a national public housing policy. Both new infrastructures and public facilities were not accomplished in due pace and with the quality required for the foreseen integrated progress of urban growth: the case of Porto’s newly

¹¹⁵⁹ Ibid: 252.

¹¹⁶⁰ Ibid: 252.

built public neighborhoods was a specifically emblematic case in point.¹¹⁶¹ In short, following the promise-filled late 1940s and early 1950s, when the prospect of PGUs and the emergence of the DGSU made architects envision possibilities for professional, cultural and political realization, in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, these promises were progressively disassembled and portrayed by architects as failures of organizational and political will.¹¹⁶² From which was not unrelated that most architects writing the pages of *Arquitectura*, were distant from decisions over urban plans, regulations and policies. At best, some had indirect power over the making of these tools for modern development. Yet, specially plans and urban developments progressively fell to engineers. Porto's planning might be taken as an emblematic case in point, as Távora's praise to Garrett's master plan in 1954, should be read as one manifestation of the early optimism regarding the institution of modern planning in Portugal and the seminal role of DGSU.¹¹⁶³ While his 1955 and later articles, on *Comércio do Porto*, should be read as increasingly pessimistic reactions to the latter's failure in ennobling the "great living sculpture" with which he identified Porto.¹¹⁶⁴

Despite there having been, at the time, rich and layered understandings of these "failures," one particular group of forces and determinations was highlighted by architects: (1) individualism as petit-bourgeois manifestation; (2) economic speculation, specially grounded on a growing real-estate market; and (3) the lack of a cohesive and effective governing will or of the formation of an effective government of national. As we saw in chapter 4, this was particularly the case with coastal urbanization. Initially imbued with plans and cohesive modern visions, the coastal suburb and summer town fast became the exploit of profiteers, unlicensed builders, petty greeds, as portrayed, for instance, by Keil do Amaral regarding *algarve*.¹¹⁶⁵ While to the south *algarve's* galloping urbanization became one emblematic case for architects' critique of the hegemony of economy, individualism and petit-bourgeois concerns over planning, this critique ranged many other landscapes. On the one hand, it was a critique formed through the *inquiry's* fieldwork in 1956, as surveying architects found remote places of vernacular beauty to be already endangered by petit-bourgeois priorities and notions of "fake progress." Among which most of the surveying teams highlighted those people that, having travelled or lived in cities, brought to harmonious communities "crass" expressions, with "no respect for the surrounding." When finally publishing the results in 1961, five years apart from the fieldwork, as much more had already been built and spoiled we can read a cry for a disappearing landscape, destroyed by money, self-interest and lack of strong governance. On the other hand, this critique grew with appraisals of recent urban developments that combined new disciplinary lens such as, for instance Cabral and Portas article in 1959 on the *pasteleira* neighborhood. In it, they produced an analysis of urban development, specially articulated around housing programs, that would frame architects' critique of urbanization:

¹¹⁶¹ Bartolomeu Costa Cabral's and Nuno Portas' "Uma Realização Da Câmara Municipal Do Porto: O Conjunto Habitacional Da Pasteleira," *Arquitectura*, December 1960, was specially directed at analyzing these outcomes.

¹¹⁶² At the time, Nuno Teotónio Pereira offered in 1969 one of the most complete appraisals of the failures and future possibilities of the various housing and urban policies put in place with the dictatorship's development plans, in "Habitações Para O Maior Número," in *Escritos: 1947-1996* (Porto: FAUP, 1996), 78–97 (orig. January 8 1969, presented at a congress on urban planning in Funchal).

¹¹⁶³ Távora, "Do Porto E Do Seu Espaço."

¹¹⁶⁴ For instance: Távora, "Para a Harmonia Do Nosso Espaço"; it was Eduardo Fernandes who emphasized this progressive pessimism in Távora's articles, see Fernandes, *A Escolha Do Porto: Contributos Para a Actualização de Uma Ideia de Escola*.

¹¹⁶⁵ Amaral, "Não Deixemos Estragar a Nossa Terra: Nuvens Negras Sobre O Futuro Do Algarve."

The great majority of habitational realizations that have been effected among us, in the last two decades, constituted by small isolated groupings, normally disarticulated from planning (where the plot's price interests or where interests the plot's price...) and disarticulated amongst themselves; directed by the conception of capital profits related to average rents more than to the rents the classes more in need can pay; directed by free or unionized demand, more than facing the consequences of urgent plans of urban sanitation.

(...) It must be referred the need felt by all the Country's municipal authorities of a radical expropriations program that guarantees the necessary reserves to urban expansion without encumbering with the profit of the minority the houses needed by the majority; refraining the feverish environment of speculation that permeates not only the capital as well as most of the Country.¹¹⁶⁶

One of the valences of this piece by Cabral and Portas was that they greatly focused on administrative protocols and achievements, mostly leaving aside ideological and socio-cultural appraisals. Yet, there was a growing contradiction between the unplanned, individualized and profit-driven character of urban growth and the supposed highly planned collective government by the dictatorship, filled with strong cultural references to *portuguesismo* and national spirit. This lead architects, such as Teotónio Pereira for instance, to progressively reframe their critique not towards the general need for a cohesive city and architectural planning, based on "our" culture and its truths, but towards the more immediate failures of planning discourse and its class dispositions. This sometimes lead to more open political confrontation with the regime.¹¹⁶⁷

Regarding this image of a country being roamed by profit-driven, self-interested and unregulated forms, the North American phantasmagoria sharpened its edges and strengthened the image of its morally dangerous *projecto* of urban life. If the hegemony of economy was seen as its driving force, the erasure of territorial limits and the compartmentalization of collective life, namely by higher mobility, were its concrete urban phantoms. Stated differently, the urban sprawl, the car, the single-family house, the business congested downtown, the new dense shopping streets, constituted the meaningful bodies of a culturally unplanned, devoid of "faith" and ethically disinvested urban existence, carrying forth the destruction of "natural" landscapes. If the North American phantasmagoria gave these elements a massive, dangerous and foreign silhouette, its interpretations by Távora, Duarte and Pinto enacted elements to confront it. Stated differently, in their dealings with this "big city" to avoid, they

¹¹⁶⁶ "A grande maioria das realizações habitacionais que se tem efectivado entre nós, nas duas últimas décadas, constituída por pequenos agrupamentos isolados, normalmente desarticulados da planificação (onde o preço do terreno convem ou onde convém que o preço do terreno...) e desarticulados entre si; dirigidos pela concepção do rendimento dos capitais mais a rendas médias do que às rendas que as classes mais necessitadas possam pagar; dirigi-las a uma procura livre ou de âmbito sindical mais do âmbito sindical, mais do que a encarar as consequências dos urgentes planos de saneamento urbano. (...) Refira-se a necessidade urgente que sentem as entidades municipais de todo o País de uma translação radical de expropriações que garanta as reservas necessárias à expansão urbana sem onerar com o lucro das minorias as casas de que necessitam as maiorias; refreando o clima febril de especulação que perpassa não só na capital como já em grande parte do País." in Cabral and Portas, "Uma Realização Da Câmara Municipal Do Porto: O Conjunto Habitacional Da Pasteleira": 31.

¹¹⁶⁷ Nuno Teotónio Pereira all along the 1960s wrote about the clandestine neighborhoods emerging throughout Lisbon, illegal processes of eviction and the designed failure of urban and housing plans. This lead him to assume central roles in left oppositional movements, first within progressive catholic circles, then as part of associations and movements on the socialist left, such as MES - Movimento de Esquerda Socialista (Socialist Left Movement), constituted in 1974. For his writings on Portugal's urban problems see *Escritos: 1947-1996*, Manuel Mendes, 2 - Argumentos 7 (Porto: FAUP, 1996).

summoned those social-material organizations to ground a planned, culturally and morally cohesive urban life.

Távora much said while at the top of the empire state building: “At one point I thought maybe the view from Santa Luzia over Viana, the river mouth, the river and the sea to be more beautiful.”¹¹⁶⁸ In this expression of homesickness, we should read a nurturing object of concern, personal and professional, strengthened in confrontation to the North American city: the small, historic, sober, domestic scaled agglomerate, with its medieval cluster of streets, its old institutions of common livability, its echos of a long established *consuetudo*, transmitting the idea of a steady course for the future. Its originating apparatus being the village and its formally, socially and politically cohesive communitarian life, conceived as organic. Not because Viana do Castelo, the city pictured in Távora’s memory, was a village, but because it could be thought as a large village or a city in the image of a village. This was how Távora read the social-spatial fundamentals of Porto in his 1954 article. One such fundamental making Porto a specific and specially rich social-spatial organization, was the preponderance of its *portuense* mentality, making every neighborhood a village.¹¹⁶⁹ The village-like arrangement of community and space was identified as a central element in crafting an harmonious cityness, and this was not particular to Távora’s reading of a more “humane” city.

Antão Almeida Garrett, likewise, made Porto’s master plan, of 1952, emanate from the notion that what defined the quality of a city were its village-like social units and relations: the interdependence between professions, social roles and established hierarchies; their relations to bounded spaces, such as the village-sized neighborhood. Comparing the city to a large estate, ruled by a benevolent and wise lord of the land, also for Garrett the future of the city involved a modern translation of this village-like good nature of collective life.¹¹⁷⁰ Also for Garrett, this enactment of the village was deployed against individualism as “egoism,” the main enemy of his plan. From the village he articulated the four levels of neighborhood, quarter, residential and urban units recomposing the city within a sought peaceful ordering.

Carlos Duarte, in his interpretation of the North American haunting, also deployed a village-like space and community against which to confront the mortality, mental illness, criminality rates of the city. Despite not being in Portugal, but instead in the rocky mountains, and not being constituted by farmers but by miners, it was nevertheless a village where “(...) the inhabitants enjoy a greater freedom than anonymity itself affords. (...) They are free to be equal to themselves, different from others.”¹¹⁷¹ This acted together with the pitting of the “intense social and spiritual life” of the Middle Ages against the anemic modern suburbia. Also for Duarte “our moral convictions” lay in and with the articulation of a village-like world, while, as a point of comparison, Pinto’s interpretation of North America was entirely devoid of any and whatsoever village-like reference. For him, the planet’s fate rested in the advanced technical order he saw that country originating.

This invocation of the village as a critical social-material actant, from which the modern city and its *projectos* were evaluated, can be read within a broader history of anti-urban intellectual productions. This Portuguese contribution can be argued to share several elements and common causes with, for instance, North American and English architects’ and planners’ critiques of modern city life, from the late 19th

¹¹⁶⁸ Távora, *DIário De “bordo.”*: 108.

¹¹⁶⁹ Távora, “Do Porto E Do Seu Espaço.”

¹¹⁷⁰ Garrett, *Plano Regulador Da Cidade Do Porto.* .

¹¹⁷¹ Duarte, “Elementos Sociológicos Do ‘habitar’ urbano.”: 22.

century to mid-20th century.¹¹⁷² The influence of Ebenezer Howard’s garden-city idea and Lewis Mumford’s writing, and their encompassing critiques of the modern industrial city, for instance, were active with post-war Portuguese architects.¹¹⁷³ Yet, contrary to these, as well as to Frank Lloyd Wright’s pastoral urban visions, which constituted a leading influence to Távora and many other Portuguese architects in the 1950s inclined to make modern architecture more “humane,” the village invocation did not serve to pit the countryside against the city in detriment of the first. Instead, the idea of village and village-like community was articulated as a lens through which to project the Portuguese city and its possible resistance of a nefarious hegemonic urban model. Not by making it less urban, but by making it more than just urban, in the senses observed by Távora, Duarte and Pinto in North America. Távora’s interpretation of Porto as a “living sculpture” should be seen as one of its most eloquent *desenhos*.¹¹⁷⁴

While this enactment of the village and representation of the city as a large village might have a place in a global history of anti-urbanism, its more direct connections reside with the formation of *urbanological* knowledge in Portugal. From Henri Prost’s notion of historical surveying and respect for already present social-material distinctions. To Agache’s and de Gröer’s principles for ennobling the city’s history and respecting the limits of its communities.¹¹⁷⁵ A practical knowledge over the city in which historical identities, the neighborhood and acquired social-material structures played a central role. To these agents, the Italian architect-planners Marcelo Piacentini and Giovanni Muzio. Their ideas resonated intimately both with the French planners’ notion of modernization through respect and auscultation of history, as well as to the notion of making objects-in-exhibition of acquired cultural identities, specifically enacting the connection between tradition and nation. The idea of the neighborhood as a sort of social and moral glue to the city’s growing modern body, was specifically constituted from these forms of identifying the city itself. Later, both Gaston Bardet and Robert Auzelle, the first having a direct relationship with Garrett, the former with many of Porto’s architects, namely Távora, further articulated the village-like neighborhood for thinking and projecting the city. For instance, by giving it enriched cultural and sociological readings. In this respect, Chombart de Lauwe played here a central role, giving these readings depth and sociological solidity, and connecting them more directly to a critique of modernist planning and the need to avoid the “big city.”¹¹⁷⁶

Following from the *Musée Social*, to which all of these actors shared some affinity, if not for sharing its institutions and forms of knowledge, then by the proximity of theories on the social,¹¹⁷⁷ the

¹¹⁷² Comparisons can be made to the importance of the rural and the idea of pastoral living in-between various historical critiques of the city as amoral and destructive. For a comprehensive account regarding North America see Morton White and Lucia White, *The Intellectual versus the City, from Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962); Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*; Michael J. Thompson et al., *Fleeing the City: Studies in the Culture and Politics of Antiurbanism*, Michael J. Thompson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

¹¹⁷³ For instance: Carlos Duarte, “Introdução a Howard, Garden Cities of To-Morrow,” *Arquitetura*, April 1959. Namely the following books: Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1938); Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961). On modern Portuguese architects’ reading of this authors and others within their networks, see Pedro Baía, “Da Recepção À Transmissão: Reflexos Do Team 10 Na Cultura Arquitectónica Portuguesa 1951-1981” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2014).

¹¹⁷⁴ Távora, “Do Porto E Do Seu Espaço.”

¹¹⁷⁵ Not all communities but those deemed representative of worthy civic-urban virtues, which invariably involved a mostly white high middle class. This can be observed in Agache’s and de Gröer’s plan for the Lisbon area or the latter’s for Coimbra, for instance.

¹¹⁷⁶ See chapter 4, “transforming the rural dwelling into a city.”

¹¹⁷⁷ Such as Chombart de Lauwe, whose catholic affiliations and concerns made him identify with a number of Le Playist ideas, see chapter 4.

invocation of historical continuity, communitarian cohesion, wholesome urban morals, habits and civic values were not invested in invalidating the city. On the contrary, these elements were deployed to revalidate by transforming it in a an organism of social peace and cohesion, a major concern for the *Musée's* industrialists, politicians and police chiefs. The village projection and its potency, for post-war Portuguese architects and planners interconnected this view through various yet common readings of the city. But, more importantly, by framing the city's future in relation to a social and historic continuity, ensuring rootedness, respect and culture. For this reason we find the activation of the village, itself crafted into a phantasmagoria, in various and sometimes contradictory projects such as, for instance, Garrett's master plan. For this reason too, we find North American urban space pitched as a the hegemonic invasion of a monster-city and cultural or civilizational project to avoid. For in all its possibilities, neither Távora, nor Duarte, nor Pinto for that matter, felt the nurturing environment of a village-like city, as they did from the top of *santa luzia* in Viana do Castelo.

I am not arguing that these architects' crafting of urban community was solely determined by the foreign influences mentioned above. Just as the working ideas of Prost, Agache and de Gröer were not determined by the cultural geographies of Vidal de La Blanche and Albert Demangeon. On the contrary, these mutually constituted another body for modern society, in which its industrial, colonial, class-driven, disaggregating movements could be pacified through attemptive considerations to cultural and social-material limits, besides the technological requisites of the modern city. So too Portuguese architects, invested in renewing the profession in the post-war by reformulating its models, norms and logics, co-constituted the village-like essence of Portuguese urban life with those French architects, planners, geographers and social scientists, together with Portuguese ethnographers, archeologists, engineers, and a North-American haunting. This enabled a specific ethical reconstruction of the modern Portuguese collective, as it was productively worked through the *inquiry* and the "universal," in Távora's sense,¹¹⁷⁸ values found in bounded rural communities, and displaced by "city things."

This informed post-war Portuguese architects' projections of urban life, grounding a number of key elements for the *projecto* of a Portuguese city, such as: mixed use, the house's extension into public space, the cultural, civic and aggregating role of public space, the importance of recognizable formal symbols, spatial boundness, specific notions of scale and density within a medium-range between the village and the *unité d'habitation*. On the other hand, it also informed views on the relationships between city and countryside, and between metropolis and territory. Namely around two issues: (1) the clarification of limits between the first group - city and countryside should be lived and understood in their own limits; and (2) the defense of the autonomy of small, medium and periheral agglomerates, as they were envisioned as organic wholes in themselves, not determined by "the city." These, in turn, grounded general precautionary ideas regarding the loss of regionalist identities and social-material landscapes, that often assumed the idea of a character, such as Porto's *portuense* character, as portrayed by Távora. The impetus, driving these new priorities, resting on the projection of the country itself as composed of a variety of organically bounded social-material units, with very specific habits and cultural inclinations, as the geographer Orlando Ribeiro first envisioned and architects surveyed.¹¹⁷⁹

Regarding the urban growth of Portugal during the 1960s, this *projecto* of the city assumed an important role in architects' embattlements with the petit-bourgeois, speculative and technical aspects

¹¹⁷⁸ Távora, "Arquitectura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes."

¹¹⁷⁹ See chapter 3.

driving the urban enterprise. The emphasis on the creation of urban limits, public spaces and the defense of an architectural expression in tune with “vital reality,” formed key points around which architects argued for a planned spatial organization of Portugal. In its possibility, the village and the neighborhood were key bodies projected forward to make modern spatial organization stand for a “good” organization of society. Despite architects’ lack of power in urban decision making, the lack of a national apparatus devoted to administering housing and the absence of a strongly exercised rule of law over national space, they held on to their country itself, morally facing the coming North American haunting.

In what follows, I will attempt to show this specific *projecto* of the city assembled in a process of professional-educational re-formulation, urban politics and renewal. To do so I will move closer to Távora’s premises for a desired “good” spatial organization of Portugal, encompassing both architectural design and urban planning. Proceeding by reading these with reforms to Porto’s architecture school and the possibility of renewing Porto’s central neighborhoods, which was part of an urban process originally thought by the planner Richard Barry Parker (1867-1947) in the early 20th century, then worked by Muzio and regulated by Garrett. By doing so I hope to identify how this gathering of the profession in a collective regionalism, the village-unit, historical continuity, a cohesive culture and “character,” was constituted in a specific set of strategies and methods for organizing the city.

III.

Ribeira-Barredo



7 Dealing with the village in the city: the making of a city's center, 1960-69.

It is a sunny morning to arrive in Porto. To step out of the inter-urban train into the platform at *são bento* station in central Porto. This is perhaps one of the few train stations in Portugal, if not the only one, that tells the visitor, like Milan's *centrale* and *gare du nord* in Paris: "yes, Europe was an empire, a complex and internally war-ridden one, but an empire nonetheless." Its neo-classical stone masses, the scale of the arches, the finely designed iron work of the hangar, the giant pointer watches, it tells our body of that immense 19th century. Even though this station was built in the early 20th century from the ruins of an old benedictine monastery. Designed by José Marques da Silva, the bearer of Porto's architecture school *beaux-arts* tradition and father-in-law to David Moreira da Silva. However, contrary to *centrale* and *gare du nord*, whose imperial entrepreneurialism literally cleared the urban field for their monumental bodies, *são bento* maintains a direct and probably uncomfortable dialogue with a past, present and future city penetrating it. As if built on the crater of a powerful bomb, the station emerges buried in the city.

Its tall and semi-covered train hangar, contrary to the fully-covered ones of Milan and Paris, make its platforms the stage for a moving show observed by a barrage of old and new windows. To the north, a continuous wall of housing constitutes the station's north façade. Housing from all periods and times: there are gothic houses with no more than 3 meters wide; one that looks even older, due to its bluntness, granite and smaller windows; blocks from the the 19th century, with their richly designed ceramic tiles and rationalist façades; blocks from the early 20th century, more robust and austere; another, more modern, with open galleries over the station's platforms; one that is being renewed, another already renewed and shining in brightly plastic colors. All, side by side, forming a rich wall of materials, windows, widths and heights, to which the traveller is greeted. It is nothing short of surprising, judging by the amount of picture-takers normally found in the platforms facing north.

To the east, from where the trains bring us, there is a massive granite wall, sculpted with two archways, both monumental, yet one larger than the other. On top of the larger was carved in the stone the name of D. Carlos I, the station's patron and one of the last Portuguese kings, murdered for the republic's sake. Behind its name, a burst of uncontrolled green, a variety of bushes and plants, and then a mishmash of concrete facades, no longer forming a wall, but a contained dance of wind directions and business opportunities, punctuated by a skewed and huge apartment block, possibly from the 1980s. Carried by the train, we emerge from this arched hole beneath greenery and city, as if we arrive to central Porto not from a distant location, but from its underbelly. We were already there, inside, in the dark, amidst damp foundations.

To the south we can see the mountain starting to go down to the river's north bank. A bundle of small houses and modest apartment blocks give us its sloping contour. The massive granite and concrete walls to the east are replaced by a multitude of tin surfaces, sloped ceramic-tiled roofs, a church tower, small and contained windows observing the train platform sideways. Sharply contrasting with the north façade, made of a barrage of tall aligned buildings, this one presents us with what appears to be an older, smaller and humbler city. Its façades, roofs and windows act a medieval subsistence, yet what is most striking is not its automatic reading as "historic." There is, in fact, an old medieval part of town behind there. But what first grabs our attention, the landscape in the forefront of this south façade, is sufficiently "non-historic" to be modern, as in constructed after the advent of modernism. Small and

apparently badly executed brick and concrete walls, some of them with their brick exposed for lack of paint, others covered in rusty tin sleeves. Banal modern materials and apparently badly tended, contained in the triangular profiles of traditionally shaped houses. Assembled in an apparently unruly mesh of similar triangles and materials, and crowned by an ecosystem of antennas and satellite dishes, amidst cables and ropes whose sources and destinations seem as individual as the tourists arriving in the platform today. It looks like a Portuguese village, not one of those in postcards, but an actually lived, everyday, village, where most construction was probably accomplished by dwellers, without an urban plan, infrastructure or most modern conveniences. An agglomerate of shoulder by shoulder individual capabilities and desires, left mostly to itself and punctuated by antennas and satellite dishes. What is most striking is not the fact that this somewhat aesthetically unappealing mass projects itself into train arrivals and departures, suggestively interrupting the “I am a powerful Europe,” spelled by the train station building, with a “I am an old and poor country.” The surprising moment arises with the question: “What is a village, and a poor and not specially beautiful one at that, doing in central Porto in 2015, right on top of its central train station?”

I travelled to Porto this sunny morning partly to come to terms with this question. I am to meet Mr. Cândido Venceslau, an old dweller to one of the oldest parts of Porto, *Ribeira-Barredo*. A place that, according to various accounts, was a sort of urban village until very recently. A place, I hoped, that would at least partially clarify how such a complex and large city as Porto could be read through the interpretative key of the village. In the process, Mr. Venceslau was also going to tell me about Távora and architects’ dealings with the contentious issue of renewing his dwelling area. Specifically regarding what happened in the 1960s, when various plans and architects were brought upon its stones and people in the hope of qualifying it as “historic,” that is, of turning its village into a city by extending the city of Porto and its representative power, modern amenities and conducts into its streets and buildings. I assign too much responsibility to Mr. Venceslau for he should give me a taste of how a mixture of expropriation, modern planning, political strategies, international heritage standards and architectural design, crafted his old neighborhood from the village we see projecting itself into *são bento*, to the bustling “historic” district of today.

In this chapter and from Mr. Venceslau’s guidance into Ribeira-Barredo, I aim to re-assemble this urban village by articulating the processes and experiences that historically constituted it, with the elements that made the urban village an important experience of the city of Porto. What is it made of and how effective is it as an interpretative key of Porto’s urbanity, are the main questions for a first section of this chapter. In trying to answer these questions, this chapter uses first-person accounts from walking the city, interviews, official documents from the municipal archive, and newspapers, together with a network of scholarly work on Porto’s demographic and urban history. The main research on Porto here used comes from sociologists Virgílio Pereira and João Queirós analyses of the city’s planned development from the perspective of its underclasses, namely *ilha* dwellers and poor workers.¹¹⁸⁰ Both researchers and authors focus on the city’s housing crises and how they were historically dealt with by politicians, experts and poor dwellers. Pereira, for instance, gives notice of how the municipality legislated urban norms and protocols since the early medicalization of poor neighborhoods in the 19th

¹¹⁸⁰ See, for instance and written in English: Virgílio Borges Pereira, “The Structuration of Lifestyles in the City of Porto: A Relational Approach,” in *Routledge International Handbook of Sociology of Art and Culture*, Laurie Hanquinet and Mike Savage (London: Routledge, 2015), 421–35; João Queirós, “Precarious Housing, Everyday Life and Relation with the State in Porto’s Historic Centre in the Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy,” *Análise Social* 206, no. XLVIII (2013): 102–33.

century, that is, since these started being officially read as health, physical and moral, hazards.¹¹⁸¹ Queirós, on the other hand, although departing from the same basis, focuses on the construction of social position and distinction of some of the city's poorest, within expert and popular discourse, and the city's planning history.¹¹⁸² Their relevant takes on Porto's social history joins a broader initiative of mapping the city's controversial modern becoming, through a variety of historic, geographic and cultural studies.¹¹⁸³

Pereira's and Queirós' research, however, demarcate its own agenda and are specially tied to a theoretical framework advancing the ideas of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Their comprehensive analysis of the city's planning history passes through understanding the construction of class distinction and its prevalent structures, in modern Porto. While their accounts, specially of *ilhas* and Ribeira-Barredo, are precious for the present chapter, the aim of producing the structures of class in Porto is not. In what follows I do not aspire to contribute to this research regarding its theoretical stance. I will not be concerned with picturing how class structures were also embodied through architecture practices. Although a classist portrait of Porto is somewhat inevitable when dealing with this city, the present chapter does not aim to enrich the arguments for its specific distinction and distribution of classes. It aims, instead, to understand how a certain architecture practice of the city was constituted with its villages, where many of the city's poorest dwelled and still dwell. Nevertheless, this chapter is especially indebted to João Queirós who, after a personal meeting, not only opened doors to the pertinent body of sociologic research focusing the city's construction, but also doors to Ribeira-Barredo, namely to Mr. Cândido Venceslau. In many respects, he allowed me a richer and more intimate contact with Porto's urban villages.

The use of the somewhat awkward key of the urban village serves to follow through on the urban metaphor chaining post-war Portuguese architects city *projecto*, as exposed in the last chapter.¹¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, it also serves to demarcated a contested construction of the city of Porto. That village overlooking São Bento became there over a long history of urban confrontations, expropriations, resistances and negligence, and it persists through combinations of precarity, resistance and negligence.

The first section of this chapter also aims to account for how a specific mode of urban village was first articulated as an urban problem. Through second-person accounts of the urban history of Porto ranging from the late 19th century to the 1960s, as well as the use of some concrete cases and first-person accounts, this section tries to answer the questions: was there a history of dealing with these urban-villages as problems to be solved? If so, what agents and elements better describe this history, and how did it evolve? This will directly address the social history put together by Pereira and Queirós, among many others. Specifically, it will involve capturing an image of how the city's authorities and experts dealt with the threats of moral, political and physical danger, observed in the bodies of the poorest. While this section will try to apprehend considerably vast elements pertaining to Porto's construction and deconstruction, it will also come back to Ribeira-Barredo and its specific dialogues

¹¹⁸¹ Pereira, "Uma Imensa Espera de Concretizações... Ilhas, Bairros E Classes Laboriosas Brevemente Perspectivados a Partir Da Cidade Do Porto."

¹¹⁸² Queirós, *No Centro, À Margem. Sociologia Das Intervenções Urbanísticas E Habitacionais Do Estado No Centro Histórico Do Porto*.

¹¹⁸³ Various relevant works are collected in Alexandra Esteves and et al, *Família, Espaço E Património*, Carlota Santos (Porto: CITCEM - Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória, 2011).

¹¹⁸⁴ This becomes less awkward if looked from the perspective of the work developed by the urban anthropologist Rahul Srivastava and the architect Matias Echanove regarding the inherently village-like processes forming contemporary metropolis such as Mumbai and Tokyo, for instance. For an overview of their debates see <http://urbanology.org/> and <http://urbz.net/>, accessed 19 April of 2016.

with urban progress. Then, the last question to be answered in this section and leading us to the next: can Ribeira-Barredo help us answer how a specific way of dealing with Porto's urban villages evolved?

Producing a reading the city's dealings with danger by passing through Ribeira-Barredo is also about creating room to bring together a number of architectural experiments, debates and practices formed in dialogue with the village underbellies of Porto. Ribeira-Barredo in special and along the 1960s, became a highly charged area of knowledge and intervention: charged with social workers, church interventionism, architectural surveyors, plans, designs and political economic dreams.

A second section will turn to the formation of expert tools. We will go back to the surveying tools activated in the *inquiry* and how they were translated into pedagogy in Porto's school. This part concerns specifically: (1) the tutelage of Octávio Lixa Filgueiras' courses of architectural analysis - *Arquitectura Analítica I* and *II* - given throughout the 1960s; (2) their practiced articulation of design analysis as social-material surveying; and (3) the study of some students' assessments of this pedagogical laboratory. This will be based in historic accounts regarding the constitution of these courses, as well as in first-person accounts of their experience and interpretation, collected both in recent interviews to students from the time and the analysis of student reports. The question leading this assembling of the formation of an expert attitude towards architecture surveying is: one of the *inquiry's* more emancipating actions was to enable a sort of "trial-by-fire," how was this trial transformed and made to transform the discipline when reformulated to penetrate the city of Porto and, through its analysis, teach initiates the ways of the architect?

A third section will return Távora to the scene, although he will never be far away from it. It will specifically return to his role in the school reform taking place in the late 1950s, to his contribution to Filgueiras' pedagogical program. But also to his written reelaboration of the activity of architecture, post-North America, as a socially committed practice of organizing space. Departing from the description of the school environment constituted by Filgueiras' courses, this fourth section will focus on Távora's collaboration in *Barredo's Urban Renewal Study*, developed in the late 1960s.¹¹⁸⁵ This will take us to Ribeira-Barredo and the urban project and method through which its social-material advancement was mobilized, nearing the end of the dictatorship. From the late 1950s, the area became the target of intense planning recreations of the city's center. This was the result of a progressively built focus on its urban morphology and history as container of an historical path to the city's imagined origin. Stated simply, it slowly became an area of strategic economic and identitary interest, a door probably first unlocked by Barry Parker's urban plan for central Porto,¹¹⁸⁶ then clearly opened by Arménio Losa's demolition works for the celebration of the *Plano dos Centenários* in 1940.¹¹⁸⁷ From then on, the area continually moved from plan to plan, strategic priority to economic scheme, from politician to engineer, to architect and then politician again, re-starting several times. Until in the late 1960s it reached Távora's turn to re-think its forms, lives and effects in the city.

The third section will focus on the urban plan resulting from Távora's involvement in the process of renewing the city's "historic" center. Despite fairly well known among Portuguese architects and urban

¹¹⁸⁵ Direcção dos Serviços de Habitação - Repartição de Construção de Casas, "Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo" (Câmara Municipal do Porto, May 1969).

¹¹⁸⁶ Rui Tavares, "Urban Recentering. Memory and Urban Refoundation. The Oporto Replanning of Central Area by Barry Parker," in *Planning Models and the Culture of Cities*, 2004.

¹¹⁸⁷ While working as head of Porto's urbanization office in the late 1930s. For a brief overview see Hilário, "Giovanni Muzio E Fernando Távora: Projectos Para a Avenida Da Ponte E Para O Campo Alegre."

history researchers, amateur and professional, this phase of planning of central Porto remains somewhat unexplored, specifically in what concerns the transformation of professional tools, political stakes and embattlement of city *projectos*.¹¹⁸⁸ In coming back to this decade of planning and, in more detail, to Távora's intervention, I hope to enrich our understanding of the productive apparatuses, the professional, political and organizational paths, assembled to enable this area's experience today as a bustling, young and hip, historic city center.¹¹⁸⁹

Yet, my claim is not to "explain" its present state of affairs but, instead, to understand its early projection and distribution of possibilities, from the point of view of the professional dialogues started by post-war Portuguese architects in search of a disciplinary renovation. This will be further empowered by reading the proposals of Ribeira-Barredo's urban study together with a dissertation by Távora, titled *Of Spatial Organization* and first published in 1962.¹¹⁹⁰ In this text, written a year after returning from North America, he addressed the discipline's ontology and professional mission. Amidst a contested educational reform, claims from students and some teachers to draw practice closer to society, and a city passing through successive and profound urban changes, Távora negotiated a position to re-project the discipline as politically essential. Yet, without ever actually having to refer himself to politics. In this sense, this section will also consist in broadening the connections of this essay, as well as using it to broaden the implications of the sought renewal of Barredo in the late 1960s.

I hope to illuminate the connections being drawn by Távora to claims of architectural autonomy and social compromise. But also, and more importantly, the connections to the landscapes, practices and elements helping to draw another sense of the profession and discipline, within the search for a true Portuguese modern architecture. The question leading the fourth section is thus the following: when returning from the modern metropolis and facing a city in desire of modernity, yet composed of villages, what articulation of the discipline's acting projected its restitution as a needed institution, and above all concerned with social improvement? For this I will assemble together personal accounts of the area's historic experience with descriptions of: (1) key institutions involved in disciplining and improving its modes-of-life; (2) architecture students learning to be architects while exploring an invisible area of their town; (3) and Távora's elaboration of its social-material renewal.

A recent article, published in 2014, is key to this assemblage of agents around Ribeira-Barredo.¹¹⁹¹ Written by architects Gonçalo Canto Moniz, Luís Miguel Correia e Adelino Gonçalves, it briefly yet comprehensively addresses this interlocking between poor dwellers, an urban renewal process and

¹¹⁸⁸ Flowing from the European Capital of Culture ambiance of 2001, the municipality published a retrospective of its urban rehabilitation of central Porto, by a municipal office coordinated by the architect Rui Loza, of the family of Arménio Losa, see V. A., *25 Years of Urban Rehabilitation*, Rui Loza (Porto: Porto Municipality, 2001); this appeared, for instance, in João Pedro Costa, "Urban Rehabilitation Societies: The Oporto Case as a Reference in the Portuguese Practice," in *Bauhaus and the City: A Contested Heritage for a Challenging Future*, Laura Colini and Frank Eckardt (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2011), 88–112. Besides the above mentioned official publication, the most complete works regarding Barredo and its urban changes, specifically Távora intervention, are Queirós, *No Centro, à Margem. Sociologia Das Intervenções Urbanísticas E Habitacionais Do Estado No Centro Histórico Do Porto*, and Gonçalo Canto Moniz, Luís Miguel Correia, and Adelino Gonçalves, "O Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo. A Formação Social Do Arquitecto Para Um Território Mais Democrático," *Estudos Do Século XX*, no. 14 (n.d.): 315–37. These last two publications are used here as helpful resources.

¹¹⁸⁹ It is worth reading the short introductions to the city by the following tourist place-makers:

<http://www.europeanbestdestinations.com/destinations/porto/> ; <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/portugal/the-north/porto/introduction> , accessed 19 of April of 2016.

¹¹⁹⁰ Távora, *Da Organização Do Espaço*.

¹¹⁹¹ Moniz, Correia, and Gonçalves, "O Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo. A Formação Social Do Arquitecto Para Um Território Mais Democrático."

architecture pedagogy. Although this chapter was written between late 2015 and early 2016, it did not integrate this article until a later time. However, its enactment of Ribeira-Barredo with the development of architecture tools more in tune with a democratic turn, in late 1960s, helped evaluate the solidity and extension of the connections that I tried to draw here. Yet, this chapter proposes to go beyond the recognition of the innovation of Ribeira-Barredo's urban plan, whose gathering of experiences and agents mainly serve to prove its pertinence in the changing urban renewal priorities in Europe during the 1960s. My main aim is not to evaluate this plan's singular creative role in introducing innovating urban practices in Portugal and part of a broader European reviewing of modernist norms. But instead to try to grapple how a collective project of architecture, started in 1945 with a search for *portuguese truth*, found its city practice and position in a projection of the Portuguese city. Stated differently, this chapter enlarges the enactment between old city part, urban renewal and architectural tools, enacted by Moniz, Correia and Gonçalves' article. It aims to make sense of how a renovation of professional architecture, structured in knowing the country-itself and the city-itself, was formulated as a specific way of dealing with the modern city. What city *projecto*, what materials and tools, and what rearrangement of the urban was practiced in the search for Porto itself? However, before I attempt to answer this we must first slowly follow Mr. Venceslau from street to street, shadowing the stones and the stories he tells me about them.

Ilha, another name for Porto's villages within

I move past the train station's monumental entrance hall, where most tourists fixate on cause of its traditional portuguese ceramic tiles. Making my way through the digital cameras I head to the street towards Porto's Sé, in front of which I am to meet Mr. Venceslau and Paula Braga, a sociology major that produced the meeting. I start to walk up the *D. Afonso Henriques* avenue, which I have gotten used to name *bridge* avenue. This avenue condenses a complex history of plans, authors and failed intentions. It constitutes an imaginary straight line extending the *Luis I* bridge. Barry Parker articulated a first possible morphology in the early 20th century. Arménio Losa proceeded to rework that initial hypothesis in the late 1930s. Piaccentini and later Muzio, together with Antão Almeida Garrett, re-designed it in relation to the city's new master plan in the 1940s. While working in Porto's urbanization office, Távora authored yet another instauration of this continuously adjourned great urban axis, that was supposed to conduct people, coming from the south, directly into the heart of Porto. This great centralizing intention was what connected the several designs of its making, yet Távora gave it a specially functionalist logic, separating car from pedestrian traffic by extending the bridge into an elevated avenue. It never came to pass, any of it. The bridge was eventually connected with a road leading cars to central Porto, yet the straight line to the center was driven underground, as it came in a time when traffic in central city areas was looked upon with suspicion. The axis exists, but was abruptly cut from its centralizing movement. Like in the train station, to arrive in central Porto cars are taken first through damp foundations, reemerging in the midst of a densely cluttered city.

While walking this great amputated axis, dreamed by architects, the Sé monumentally announces its privilege over the city. To the right, the vacant space opened by the demolishing of one side of an old quarter, to the left a large area, also past target of demolitions, now occupied by a small market place and a groups of rigorously paved sidewalks and small green strips. Wounds and bandages of the

avenue that never happened. Tourist traffic becomes more intense once coming close to the Sé's north façade. The scenographic effects accomplished by the demolitions in the late 1930s, conducted by Arménio Losa for the *Plano dos Centenários*, really find their justification in the baroque experience of approaching the church. It used to be surrounded by all sorts of housing, making it literally impossible to feel it as an isolated monument.

Trying to remind us of this impossibility, or at least of another experience of the monument, there stands Távora's last work, facing the church to the west. It was designed and built in the early 2000s, with one of his longest collaborators, Carlos Martins, and as a monument to Porto's old town-hall, of medieval foundations, and from whose foundations the building emerges. A monument of a public monument. In practice it became a tourist information space, while its forceful granite walls, assembling of icons and directions, performs the now invisible embattling between religious and civil government. It is nothing short of a highly charged building, at least on the part of some local politicians, municipal technicians, architects and intellectuals. Its erection was controversial, moderately confronted by the church, but especially confronted by the surrounding dwellers as an urban mistake, a useless expense of public money, a process of heritage destruction. It seems many people had grown accustomed to feeling the church unimpeded over their heads. As one moves past its north façade, heading to its main square, a tension is definitely enacted in the short distance between the church's baroque granite and the municipal tower's modern granite. Thus a gateway was instaured between church and municipality, on the other side of it Mr. Venceslau is already expecting me, amidst waves of guided travellers in sandals and bangladesian-made sneakers. Paula Braga and a friend, also a sociology major, joins soon after.

After introductions and basic questions about my knowledge of Ribeira-Barredo, Mr. Venceslau goes straight into autobiographical mode. What better way to start a guided tour if not by knowing the guide. He was born within Ribeira-Barredo's damp stone walls, into a family "rich of kids and work," as Teotónio Pereira's team wrote in the *inquiry*. He started work in the area, progressively extending his professional activities around it. He still lives here and proudly, excited with the eminent role as translator of its misteries. We start walking and stories are suggested from the church and monastery framing us. He jumps into the role of the Church in the area. He speaks of their priests is slightly derogatory terms. Those "padrecos," literally those "little priests," would descend from their palace on the top of the hill to collect alms and warn against the vices of prostitution, drinking and deprivation, all things, supposedly as common to the area as rats.

Ribeira-Barredo is the area framed between the *douro* river and the plateau of the Sé, its material history is one of upward mobility of stone, nobles and money. It grew from riverside commerce, fishing campaigns and its relevance as a trading port, once the commercial center of the city in the 15th and 16th centuries. The great change to its central position occurred with the transference of commercial and noble houses to agricultural estates and proto-industrial activities inland, in the 18th century. The late 19th century, but more so in early 20th, then opened the avenues, the consolidated urban strategies, sustaining the sprawling of the city's power centers inland. The decisive blow to its centrality came in the early 20th century with the enlargement works of the *leixões* port, to where ship traffic was progressively moved. The Ribeira pier was no longer the centre of commerce and trade that it had been for centuries. Along the latter century, Ribeira-Barredo progressively became an area of more precarious seasonal labor developed around the wine, fishing and primary goods industries. This means dockers, grocers, fisherman, sailors and adjacent small tasks that, before the *leixões* port complex shared the area

in number with businessmen, bankers, patrons, foreign visitors. Money and goods were unloaded and carried somewhere else.



48 Ribeira-Barredo from above, unknown author and date, in *Barredo's Urban Renewal Study*, 1969, fig. 5.

By the late 19th century, the area was largely composed by a moving population of migrants, brought together under working seasons or temporary work campaigns.¹¹⁹² This is how, for instance, poor farmers from the *vouga* river region around Ovar, north of Aveiro, came to be intimately connected with Ribeira-Barredo: moving there for seasonal work during the *sável* season, a river fish, amidst taberns, markets and precarious homes, making families and other legacies. As Mr. Venceslau says, a bunch of rough and working people, unconsidered by all, illustrating with the saying: “Ciganos, Vareiros e Rabelos, mal vê-los é vê-los mal.” Gypsies, boatmen from Ovar and boatmen from *douro* river, how it might be translated, composed by Mr. Venceslau as the fathers of modern Ribeira-Barredo. In other terms, a riff-raff, mostly propertyless, uneducated and active in demeaning tasks, occasionally exposed to the infructiferous sermons of descending “little priests.”

Until quite recently, the Church held considerable properties in the area, suggesting Mr. Venceslau's tone of spite and suspicion was more complex and contested than expected. Jesuits, for instance, started investing heavily in the area in the 16th century, aspiring to own what at the time were some of the city's most attractive properties.¹¹⁹³ There existed a history of correlation between the priests' role in elevating

¹¹⁹² See Fátima Loureiro de Matos, “Os Bairros Sociais No Espaço Urbano Do Porto: 1901-1956,” *Análise Social* XXIX, no. 127 (1994): 677–95.

¹¹⁹³ Unknown, “O Velho Bairro Do Barredo,” *O Tripeiro*, February 1968.

local souls and the priority of retaining rent profits and values, as well as key power positions regarding municipal authority. Amidst the descending little priests, however, there was the priest that became known as Father Américo, Américo Monteiro de Aguiar (1887-1956), whose charitable work near the people of the area was inclusively celebrated with a square and a late canonization. Father Américo dedicated most of its priesthood in the promotion of welfare, education and living improvement to the urban poor. When designated to Porto's Sé, most accounts tell he quickly became very attached to the "poor" people of Ribeira-Barredo, especially its young, to which he was especially devoted. In 1952 he wrote a book dealing exclusively with the conditions and nobility of its people. By those years he was trying to create an association for tending to the young, but also providing their families with a minimal of welfare support and counseling, project interrupted by his abrupt death in 1956.¹¹⁹⁴

In front of the old jesuit college, seminar and house to Porto's bishop, from the late 19th century onwards, Mr. Venceslau tells that the Church's attitude regarding the neighborhood changed with Father Américo. He retells when bishop António Ferreira Gomes (1906-89), leading the Sé after Américo, asked to meet some representatives of the neighborhood's youth in the late 1950s, among which was Mr. Venceslau. He retells how this was surprising, because the people, from lower Ribeira-Barredo, had grown accustomed to seeing themselves down and the priests up there, each in its own place.

Bishop António Gomes wanted to correct this gap and continue Américo's work, using the youth as foundations for a new bridge between Church's christian calling, people-in-need and living improvements. This bishop became known for its opposition to Salazar's mismanagement of faith and government. He directly did so, for instance, in a letter addressed to Salazar in 1958, by opportunity of general Humberto Delgado's candidacy to president. In it he warned: "The Church's cause in the soul of the people, of workers and the youth is being lost; and if this is lost, what can we expect for the Nation?"¹¹⁹⁵ He eventually started spending longer periods of time abroad. Yet, before he helped promote some of the platforms for the reinvesting of the Church's cause in the people, specifically in workers and the youth through the work of JUC and catholic unionism.¹¹⁹⁶ One of these platforms was the Social Center of Barredo, founded after his letter to Salazar in 1961, and directly translating Américo's christian vocation for welfare, especially tuned to the young. The Center was supervised by Porto's Church, Dr. Maria Almeida Garrett and the engineer Almeida e Sousa. It was composed by a kindergarden, an infirmary, a social service bureau and a group of educational-leisure programs for the youth.

This Center assumed a relevant role both in the Church's reformulated social mission to win back the hearts and minds of youth and workers, and in Ribeira-Barredo's history from then on. At the same time, it played a key role in translating between town-hall, Church and the population of Ribeira-Barredo. Dr. Maria Almeida Garrett and Almeida e Sousa were, in this instance, the mediators charged with the work of translation between authority and bustling living mass. This penetration of the municipality into area became instrumental, namely in the smoothing of local passions for the correct

¹¹⁹⁴ Father Américo had a prolific work throughout the country, setting welfare programs and associations, and namely in the center and south of Portugal. His passing through Porto was brief and late in his career, yet he is locally celebrated for his supposed charitable work namely in Ribeira-Barredo.

¹¹⁹⁵ "Está-se perdendo a causa da Igreja na alma do povo, dos operários e da juventude; se esta se perde, que poderemos esperar da sorte da Nação." in António Ferreira Gomes, "Pró-Memória," July 13, 1958: 3.

¹¹⁹⁶ See chapter 1 for an overview of these associations.

prosecution of the various planning activities that were conceiving to radically remodel the area. Under Garrett's and Auzelle's, and then Távora's supervision, the Social Center articulated between plan, technician, politician, on the one hand, and "gypsies and boatmen," on the other. This was especially so given the neighborhood's reputation for isolation, defensiveness and violent reaction. As Almeida e Sousa recently put it: "(...) they were rowdy, brutish, folk, impossible to deal (...) many times I went in there to calm the spirits, (...) but there was no arguing with those people."¹¹⁹⁷

As we start going down the hill from the Sé through dense stone streets, Mr. Venceslau illustrates this fame with a roll of stories. There was one time in the 1960s, he tells, when a huge police force was making its way down lower Ribeira-Barredo, the reason is momentarily forgotten. Yet, this police force did not move an inch "inside," according to him, for it was received by a gathering of dockers, "tough men," "big as closets." A heated confrontation ensued. At some point someone or various someones were badly injured, yet the ambulance would not descend as far as lower Barredo, according to Mr. Venceslau because of their violent reputation. The result being the production of a huge communal procession carrying the injured to the hospital on foot.

In another retold memory, Mr. Venceslau was still young and searching for a job. He found one in the south bank of the river, in Gaia, making the straw coverings of port wine corks. He tells of how he did not say where he came from, this being common practice among those from Barredo who wished to have and preserve jobs outside of its all-too-human walls. At some point, his boss wished to fire him, reasons unknown, giving him a couple more days of work. In that interval, the boss found out where he came from by talking with a fellow worker not from Ribeira-Barredo. The day after said discovery his to be late boss approached him with immense sympathy, revoking the decision to fire him. The point being, tells Mr. Venceslau, that his boss was afraid of a violent repercussion. Stated differently, as one sociologist registered:

Here there was a lot of hunger, a lot of hunger indeed. And there those times that I told you in which people beat policemen, they beated policemen. One time – and this is not a lie – they put a policeman "a cantar de galo" (literally translatable as "doing a rooster"), they put it inside a chicken roost, while he didn't sing as the roost, they wouldn't let him go... What was a kind of revolt. People barely had to eat, or didn't have at all, and on top of that had to pay fines, ect?!¹¹⁹⁸

As we further descend into the neighborhood, the Sé at our backs, passing through one and another rehabilitation of an old, granite enclosed, dwelling, Mr. Venceslau calls our attention to an unnoticed landmark. It is an invisible landmark, for there is nothing, only an empty space, which he fills with his voice: "Here was the *ilha dos 30*, one of Porto's first *ilhas*."

The first *ilhas* can be traced back to the mid-18th century economic reforms of Marquis de Pombal, namely its corporatization of port wine production, and the governor's João de Almada management of

¹¹⁹⁷ Interview, 2015.

¹¹⁹⁸ "Passou-se aqui muita fome, muita fome mesmo. E houve aquelas vezes que eu lhe disse, que as pessoas batiam nos polícias, batiam nos polícias. Uma vez – e isto não é mentira! – puseram um polícia a cantar de galo, puseram-no dentro dum galinheiro, enquanto ele não cantasse de galo, não o libertavam... Era uma espécie de revolta. As pessoas mal tinham para comer, ou não tinham, e ainda tinham de pagar multas, etcetera!" in João Queirós, "Precarious Housing, Everyday Life and Relation with the State in Porto's Historic Centre in the Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy," *Análise Social* 206, no. XLVIII (2013): 102–33: 116.

the city's urban growth.¹¹⁹⁹ During this period, before the French invasions of the beginning of 19th century, the city came to know a period of economic growth. Both peripheral and central areas of the were appropriated by a rural-provinient, undisciplined, working class, making-do with a variety of life support arrangements from available space and materials. From this varied and historically multiple process of labor positioning in the city, a number of specific architectural configurations emerged, later in the 19th century becoming identified as *ilha*.

Foremost, one specific architectural configuration was made to stand out from this history as the most produced, written about and representative *ilha*. This is what became known as the “corridor” *ilha*, its most canonical formulation.¹²⁰⁰ This specific typology emerged when working-class housing started being the object of bourgeois concern and curiosity. Not for the sake of worker welfare, but, more immediately, for business. This was when housing workers, instead of letting them find their own place, started to be understood as a market waiting to happen. Porto's upper, but also upper-middle and middle-classes, explored this discovery, in the shadow of a highly liberalized municipal government and a semi-feudal productive structure. Following the regency of the Almas in late 18th century, who regulated plot standards for the whole city within its recognized limits, the most common plots were deep and narrow, taking up as less street length as possible, for this was the measure of its price: the larger the front façade, the richer its owner was.¹²⁰¹ Understandably, plot inwards became something of a political and economic invisibility, which brought about other invisibilities.

Within expansive innards, proprietors, as well as all sorts of businessmen, started building “corridor” *ilhas*. These were usually composed by paired rows of single rooms, each the home for a worker and his family. Rows of rooms were assembled along one or two straight corridors, usually uncovered and functioning as an inner alley. Until the beginning of the 20th century there was no supervision of these constructions, thus infrastructure and amenities were minimal if existing at all. Many times the inner alley served as sewer. Sometimes one bathroom was made to serve a dozen or so of house-rooms, other times none was built, which invariably involved the makeshift of some corner, hole or bucket into a toilet facility. Likewise kitchens were also not important, most known islands not having been constructed with amenities for cooking. This was a socio-material experience not very distinct from the *back-to-back* and similar worker housing in 19th century industrial London.¹²⁰²

Mr. Venceslau, making us stand in the vacant space of a disappeared *ilha*, describes in colourfull detail this experience. “People here were really miserable.” There lived a family of eight in a 3 by 4 meters room. There in the back was a little shed with a hole in the ground. We can feel the height of the little rooms with the gestures of his arms, as well as the width of the comunal corridor. Pointing one

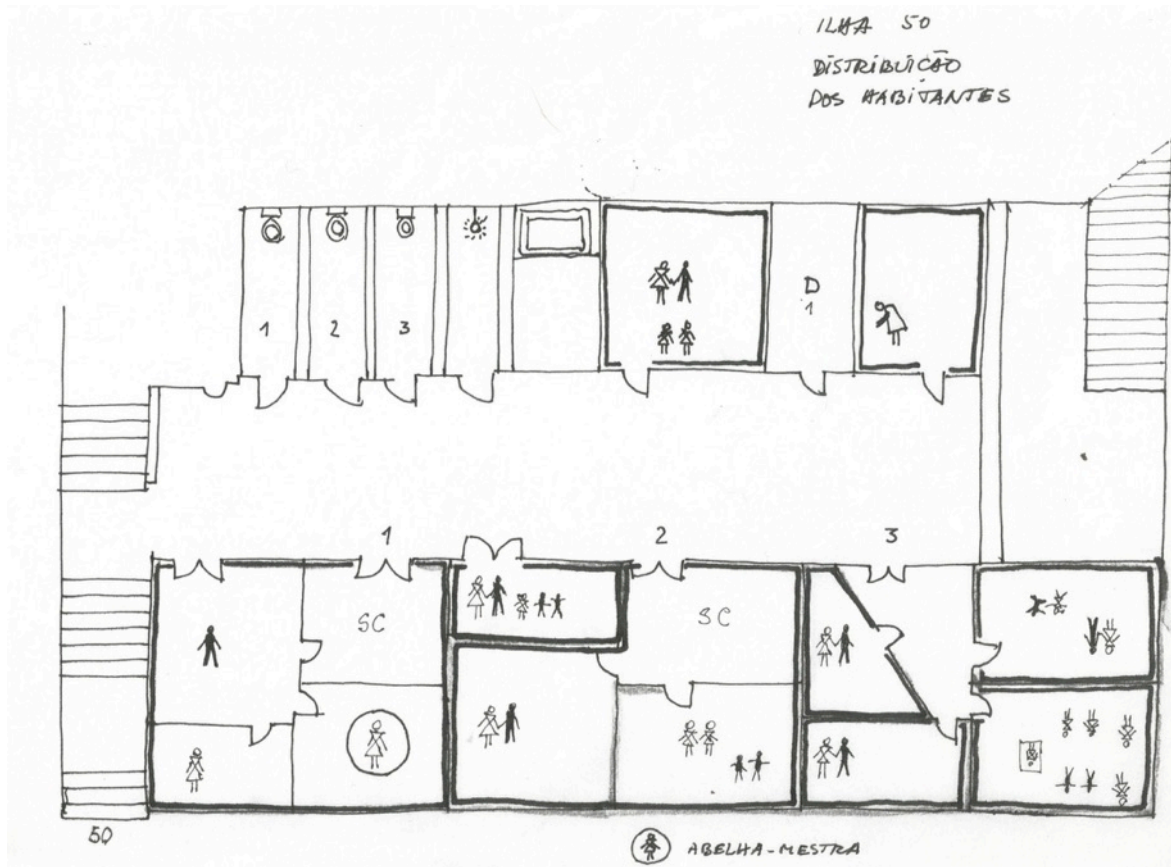
¹¹⁹⁹ Ferrão, *Projecto E Transformação Urbana Do Porto Na Época Dos Almas, 1758/1813: Uma Contribuição Para O Estudo Da Cidade Pombalina*.

¹²⁰⁰ A reading argued, for instance, by Pereira, “As Ilhas No Percurso Das Famílias Trabalhadoras Do Porto Em Finais Do Século XIX”; Ferreira et al., *As “Ilhas” do Porto: Estudo Socioeconómico*.

¹²⁰¹ This type of urban plot was implemented during the eighteenth century by the city governors João e Francisco de Almada. The plots were standardized at 5,5 metres in width and could reach up to 100 metres in depth, see Ferreira et al., *As “Ilhas” do Porto: Estudo Socioeconómico*; Pereira, “Uma Imensa Espera de Concretizações... Ilhas, Bairros E Classes Laboriosas Brevemente Perspectivados a Partir Da Cidade Do Porto”; Pereira, “As Ilhas No Percurso Das Famílias Trabalhadoras Do Porto Em Finais Do Século XIX.”

¹²⁰² For an overview of English worker's housing typologies see Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 3^o ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); on the “corridor” *ilha* see Manuel C. Teixeira's “The Development of Nineteenth Century Working-Class Housing - the ‘Ilhas’ - in Oporto, Portugal” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Architectural Association, 1988), which is still one of the most detailed accounts of this kind of *ilha*; for an overview of its role in the material-urban history of Porto see Vítor Oliveira, *Urban Morphology: An Introduction to the Study of the Physical Form of Cities* (Cham: Springer, 2016): 78-85.

hand to the entrance, excavated in an old, probably medieval, wall: “Here slept the *abelha-mestra*.” Literally translating as “queen-bee,” this was one of the names given to the woman managing the *ilha*, collecting its rents, ensuring an unknow modicum of manners, the figurehead of an absentee landlord. These women, for it seems they were usually women, gained a place in the bad side of history, judging by Mr. Venceslau’s gestures and expressions.



49 Drawing of an *ilha* in Ribeira-Barredo, by architecture student Augusto Faria Monteiro Pacheco, 1963-64, for the course of *Arquitetura Analítica*, given by Lixa Filgueiras, FAUP archive (ARQAN2/007-mi2-doc.3-76).

We come out of the invisible *ilha dos 30* and start making our way down the steep street, literally called the Stairs of Barredo (*Escadas do Barredo*). Passing several private landmarks, such as the old house where the neighborhood’s police sergeant used to live, or another where a banker and his mistress occasionally met, we eventually reach, after many knee-straining steps, Mr. Venceslau’s old family house. Here, some ceremony he invoked by his body, an important performance of the past will take place. He lived in the ground-floor of a three-stories small granite building, two windows per floor, his having only one and a door. He lived there with his family of eight, father, mother and five brothers and sisters, until some years into his marriage. For lack of means the newly-wed lived there in their first years of married life. According to him, they had no water, having to supply in a communal fountain. Neither bathroom, which happened in a bucket in a corner of the one-room flat that, with the help of a curtain, was temporarily made into its own area. Fitting eight people into a 4 by 4 meter room presented its challenges. According to him, on the one bed his parents and younger siblings slept.

Beneath the stairs another two would fit on top of straw mattresses, then there was some room in front of the bed for one or two bodies and, lastly, the space in the front of the street door. He retells how his two oldest brothers slept with their heads towards the door, which started the habit of announcing oneself in a particular manner when entering the home, even so not avoiding the occasional head-door clash.

They did not own the room, they rented it. Eventually Mr. Venceslau managed to buy the property, which nowadays is renewed, but his parents lived all their lives in the above described situation, which he insists in pointing out. Despite the situation of dire poverty, Mr. Venceslau does not describe this past life in sad or melancholic terms. On the contrary, he exudes a proud energy, as if he knew he is the bearer of a secret edifice of Porto, of which he holds the basement key. On the other hand, the description of the direness of life in those days is alternated with stories about the richness of the neighborhood's communal life: the gang of kids and their pranks, the boatman's tales, the happy drunk episodes of grown-ups, the mutual help, the summers in the street, bustling with everybody that mattered. Even though Mr. Venceslau was a working child, helping his father or starting his career as cork maker at the age of 14, and then his independent enterprise of key making, machine repair and lock picking. A key question starts to form: what distinguishes this way and spatial mode of life from that of the *ilha*, as it is known through reports, black and white pictures, and scholarship?¹²⁰³



50 A typical room in crowded Ribeira-Barredo, in *Barredo's Urban Renewal Study*, 1969, fig. 15.

¹²⁰³ As, for instance, illustrated in the "socio-economic" study by Porto municipality when the city was European Capital of Culture for a year, in Ferreira et al., *As "Ilhas" do Porto: Estudo Socioeconómico*.

Unaware of this question, Mr. Venceslau continues guiding us through the narrow stone streets and alleys, into small squares and staircase interceptions. Now a small confined square with a beautiful stone fountain, deactivated. We enter a atmosphere of stillness of its making, unknown. Then a meeting point between three streets and where a group of three rough and rosy cheeked men gather in its stone steps, looking suspicious. Finally the bustle of tourists, restaurant stewards, guides and the clink of glasses starts to penetrate the stone mass. Until now, besides the one and other curious looking sandal wearing northern tourist, wandering the narrow alleys, there has been almost no presence of outside circulation and contact. As if we just spent one hour, at least, meandering through somewhere far away from the center of the country's second largest city. As the sounds of the economy become audible it is clear we are moving closer to the river pier, where most bodily traffic is now concentrated, again.

It is at this point that I ask Mr. Venceslau about the human "hives" I read were common to Ribeira-Barredo, especially lower Barredo. To which he answers, "you're standing next to one." A massive, squared, four-stories building, occupying the bigger half of a whole quarter, windows designed in rigid order, following an unflinching grid, with a decaying aspect, cement peeling off, wooden frames fastly corroding. Mr. Venceslau adds: "hives was how the technicians referred to this type of house, we say *paquetes* (ocean liner), because it was like a large ship, full of people and rats." Like in the *ilha dos 30*, he tells me this also had a *queen-bee* managing the property, collecting rents, representing the absentee landlord. Who also came with the name *suga*, he informs me, which comes from a vernacular way of saying *sub-aluga*, literally the word "subleser" transformed to mean the squeezer or an equivalent to the 1960s North American *pusher*, that whom squeezes the other bees of their money.¹²⁰⁴

Once again, this role was usually played by a woman and its reputation as *suga* was won through the habit of making rentees pay for any amenity that could be proclaimed as extra. In practice, most of these *ocean liners* provided a bed, sometimes only a flea-ridden straw mattress, among various closely adjoined in long open halls, separated at times by curtains or tight together in rooms converted for whole families. Each floor, sometimes each block, had a bathroom and a water tap. Usually there were also kitchens, at least one kitchen per block. A rentee's fee usually gave her/him the right to a bed, bathroom and kitchen use. Yet, kitchen use, as well as bathroom, did not entail the free use of its tools, such as pans, spoons, knives, oil or wood, and toilet paper, soap or towel. Along these lines, a very many of things were counted as extra. Mr. Venceslau tells of people having to rent a spoon, a pillow, a little bit of wood for a fire. These *ocean liners*, he informs, where were the most miserable lived, people with the most precarious jobs, that would leave the room or bed during the day and only pay for the night, carrying their goods around.¹²⁰⁵

These places were the target of a particular form of concerned attention by planners, public authorities and politicians in the process of modernizing Porto. Thus the advent of its two and distinct meaning names, the *hive* and the *ocean liner*. The first containing a mass of stinging and aggressive animals, the second containing cramped passengers in unknown voyages, but that all too ironically with Ribeira-Barredo as final destination. This distinction helps us reformulate the question of the *ilha*. What distinguishes the *ilha dos 30* from Mr. Venceslau's old home, from the *ocean liner* just visited?

¹²⁰⁴ The songs *The Pusher* by Steppenwolf of 1968 and *Pusherman* by Curtis Mayfield of 1972, thoroughly illustrate the point if we replace the drug dealer occupation by the bed dealer one.

¹²⁰⁵ This mode of dwelling is better appreciated in comparison, see, for instance, the comprehensive and enlightening account by geographer Paul Groth of downtown San Francisco in the early 20th century in Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

Certainly all of them are composed of different lives, forms and materials, but they all share a number of key, we could say structuring, elements that establish a sort of continuity between a specific form of dwelling, of being and being positioned in the city that corresponds to a distribution of labour and class.

If you remember, this dissertation began with an *ilha* of a non-canonical type, that is, not a “corridor” *ilha*. In Ramalde we passed through what we could call a “rural” *ilha* or a farmstead at the city limits, transformed by migration and need into a small and condensed collective housing agglomerate. Like these there were and still are many others placed in peripheral and other not so peripheral areas. Especially these “rural” *ilhas* grew at a time when the peripheries were sought for the installing of factories. They assumed a key role in local industrial reform, namely by making it affordable for workers to live close to their work station.¹²⁰⁶ Here too, as with the more urbane “corridor” *ilha dos 30*, Mr. Venceslau’s house and the *ocean liners*, the central issue was affordability and access. It is about creating room and business opportunities around the migration of labor, either from somewhere inland in the country to the city, or from job to job within the city.

Similar conditions of rent, of relation between landlord, absentee landlord and dweller. Similar sharing of *sugas*. Similar general lack of amenities and living conditions. And more importantly, similar productions of a relationship between inside and outside. All of these forms of dwelling produced a specific interiority, a cloisterized environment, built on scarce means, mutual help and an extraneous position within the city. Usually produced in an architectural shape, either designed or self-built, that articulated the act of enclosing, both protecting and setting apart. In fact, what seems to most distinguish forms of dwelling is not that some are in central parts of town, others in new avenues, others still in rural-industrial outskirts. Neither that some are blocks, other “corridors” and others still agglomerated homesteads. But that *ilha* was made to stand for one specific architectural typology: the “corridor” *ilha*.

This is due to the role attributed to this specific form of dwelling of Porto’s labor: (1) it can be traced to a designer and a model, comparable to other European models, current at the time, the *back-to-back* for instance ; (2) it was an entrepreneurial initiative by “good” citizens; (3) because of the business opportunities they represented, these *ilhas* flourished with Porto’s late 19th century industrialization; (4) they were scattered all throughout the city; (5) when in the late 19th and early 20th century the *ilha* became a problem, it was mainly to this *ilha*, built shoulder to shoulder with “good” homes, that doctors, police directors, politicians and architects turned their immediate attention. All of these elements make for a robust case of their specificity as “the” *ilha*, and reproduced by repeated accounts of its specificity to Porto.¹²⁰⁷ Yet, this specific form of *ilha* and it is a form in specific, an architectural form that makes its specificity, is the less formally specific. It shares, together with England’s *back-to-back* workers’ houses and many others, what we could call an international history of the becoming of a liberal housing market for workers in the 19th century. While our attention is caught in this specific form of dwelling attributed to modern precarious industrial labor, we run the risk of not considering that it produced in Porto a specific mode of dwelling, common to many other forms of dwelling, architectural shapes and urban spaces.

¹²⁰⁶ Specifically regarding industry in Ramalde see *Ovindo Ramalde: Memórias E Registos*.

¹²⁰⁷ For instance: Teixeira, “The Development of Nineteenth Century Working-Class Housing - the ‘Ilhas’ - in Oporto, Portugal”; and A., *As “Ilhas” do Porto: Estudo Socioeconómico*.

A mode configured in different forms along a common effect, that cannot be reduced to model and typology, but instead grasped as a pattern of spatial experience. Spaces built in and in-between the consolidated walls of the city, in all sorts of inner and residual spaces within quarters, blocks, vacant lots and estates. In conditions of partial or total invisibility. Spaces configured as “nests in the city,” a “shell” and that, from the late 19th century onwards, were physically and morally identified as an epidemic.¹²⁰⁸ Spaces to which one descends and climbs from, even though they might be physically contiguous with streets and quarters. Making places that one enters “inside,” in which one is no longer in the “city.” An urban border made both of sharply defined limits and an indefinite spring of unknown, uncontrolled, dangerous things that need particularly suited public handlers. Spaces that position their dwellers simultaneously within and outside the city, in a skewed relation with its forms, laws and goods. Islands in fact, but not just because they are designed as autonomous spatial units within courtyards and following a specific architectural typology.

If this configuration of a specific mode of dwelling forms the cast through which Porto’s poor working classes have been making a city, then why reduce *ilha* to the “corridor” typology? If we only consider the latter, then Porto’s central area probably never had a *bive* problem. Instead, if we consider the *ilha* a dwelling pattern, with common spatial effects, some common formal dispositions and a specific mode of dwelling, we can better read the expansion, contraction and dislocation of the working poor around Porto. Describing the *ilha* as a patterned spatial experience of dwelling and not as a set of architectural typologies is not an idiosyncratic stake. On the contrary, it is an attempt to convey a fuller understanding of its historical process and current existence, as a produced position in and group of socio-spatial relations with the city. This is how a great majority of the historically constituted living labor of Porto came to be present and form its history in the city. From the human “corridors” of the 19th century, throughout the fluctuating *bives* of the early 20th century, it became the process of urban configuration of Porto working class livelihoods, its villages within.¹²⁰⁹

If we define the *ilha* in such a general way, then one is rightly entitled to ask what exactly makes it a mode of city specific to Porto and its modern history? Two interrelated elements might be put forward: (1) its specific persistence and resistance; (2) and its identification with an habitual experience of Porto, making it inclusively stand for something that has been held as traditional to the city, at least from mid-20th century onwards. This last element might be said to emerge from the way the *ilha*’s neighborly mode was read within projections of the city’s identity, namely as composed of semi-autonomous neighborhoods, bursting with character. Seeing Porto as a city made of so many villages, each with its own rooted ways, making different yet *portuense* identities, implied the *ilha* in a cacophony of strong-spirited communities: all very true to themselves and to the city of Porto.¹²¹⁰ Ribeira-Barredo, on its part, played this role exquisitely, in the oldest part of town, simultaneously vilified and glorified as home to demeaning but authentic *portuense* lives.

¹²⁰⁸ Paulo Castro Seixas, “Ilhas E Novos Condomínios No Porto Do Século XX, Reflexos Do Passado, Interrogações Do Presente,” in *Família, Espaço E Patrimônio*, Carlota Santos (Porto: CITCEM - Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória, 2011): 500.

¹²⁰⁹ For an overview of some of the sociological patterns associated with *ilhas* see Virgílio Borges Pereira, “Uma Imensa Espera de Concretizações... Ilhas, Bairros E Classes Laboriosas Brevemente Perspectivados A Partir Da Cidade Do Porto,” *Sociologia: Revista Da Faculdade de Letras Do Porto* XIII (2003): 139–48; and Pereira, Op.cit..

¹²¹⁰ As, for instance, articulated by Távora in his consideration of Porto’s fundamentals, see Távora, “Do Porto E Do Seu Espaço.”

This is richly articulated by a magazine article on Ribeira-Barredo of 1968, by the regionalist newspaper *O Tripeiro*, also the name by which Porto's citizens reinscribed part of their distinction - those that eat pig's guts with beans, as the name literally implies. The article started by framing:

The neighborhood of Barredo, (...), is almost entirely reserved to its inhabitants that there, isolated from the world, like feudal lords in marked lands preserve themselves. Rarely does one glimpse some adventurer stepping on Barredo's territory and never did any type of vehicle there passed.¹²¹¹

The writer then went into some personal impressions:

One of the times I was there, it would have been three o'clock in the afternoon, I even saw a female inhabitant sitting in the street's doorway eating, all satisfied, a delicious boiled cod surrounded by potatoes and greens, with the dish firmly in the left hand, the fork in the right and a piece of bread in the lap. How bizarre!

In that same occasion it was also given to me to see a group of neighbors washing clothes in the public way with an ease, as if they were in plot of their making.¹²¹²

These episodes that form the "impression of a small village jammed between mountains," were however, less peaceful than might be suggested by this visiting gaze. The writer tells us: "Barredo, by its characteristics is nothing more, nor should be, then a residential area of flagrant poverty. Commerce there, as well as industry, is weak, almost nul."¹²¹³ And these regrettable elements occupy the heart of the city, like the "direct domain" of its dwellers. After enumerating a list of meager existing shops and occupations, the writer summarized:

Barredo was, is and shall always be what it has been since the beginning until our days. Barredo didn't change its physiognomy, nor certainly will change. It is a memory from the past that subsists in the present to become a relic in the future.¹²¹⁴

The prediction was not totally off. Independently, as architectural morphology and modes-of-life were made one and the same, foundations, identity and precarity were chained together, made to stand for a specific lived relic of Porto, an essential distinction, resistant to this day. This brings us to the first element producing the *ilha's* specificity to Porto: the persistence and resistance of its mode of dwelling. If *ilhas* have come to form an essential part of the city's identity and distinctive experience, although

¹²¹¹ "O bairro do Barredo, (...), é quase privativo dos seus habitantes, que ali, isolados do mundo, se conservam como senhores feudais em terra coutadas. Raramente se vislumbra algum adventício a pisar território do Barredo e nunca ali passou qualquer espécie de veículo." in "O Velho Bairro Do Barredo": 46.

¹²¹² "Numa das vezes que lá passei, seriam uma três horas da tarde, até vi uma moradora sentada à porta da rua a comer, toda consolada, um apetitoso bacalhau cozido cercado de batatas e verduras, com o prato firme na mão esquerda, o garfo na direita e o naco da sêma sobre o regaço. Uma bizzarria! Nessa mesma ocasião também me foi dado observar um grupo de vizinhas a lavar a roupa na via pública, com um à vontade, como se estivessem em terreno de sua lavra." in Ibid.

¹²¹³ "impressão de uma aldeola encravada entre montanhas, (...) O Barredo, pelas suas características não passa nem pode passar de zona residencial de flagrante pobreza. O comércio ali, bem como a indústria, é fraco, quase nulo." in Ibid.

¹²¹⁴ "O Barredo foi, é, e será sempre o que tem sido desde a origem até aos nossos tempos. O Barredo não mudou de fisionomia, nem mudará por certo. É uma recordação do passado que subsiste no presente para se tornar em relíquia no futuro." in Ibid: 47.

not as much or in the same way as Ribeira-Barredo, it is greatly because attempts to make them disappear have historically failed. Only very recently have the majority of *ilhas*, and mostly “corridor” ones at that, been demolished, nevertheless leaving a number of them untouched for posterity.¹²¹⁵ Any comprehensive walk through Porto reveals a number of survivors. Even though the *ilha* has been the target of educated hate and planned discipline since at least the early 20th century, the various plans developed to end *ilhas* have mostly been incomplete by design. This makes for a fundamental distinction between *ilhas*, *back-to-back* quarters in London and depression era hotels in downtown San Francisco, as forms of placing the working class in cities. In the latter cities, comprehensive, intense and progressive urban cleansing processes took place. Left to persist, *ilhas* in Porto have formed the persistence of a simultaneously acknowledged and contested urban identity, of a specifically distinctive classist distribution of the city.¹²¹⁶ This does not imply that a number of protocols were not heavily invested in disciplining the *ilha*, usually by making it disappear. The story of the *ilha* is as much that of the making of its authentic position and livelihood in the city, as that of the progressive construction of its epidemic, pathological, nature and ensuing destruction. However, as we conceive the *ilha* as a mode of dwelling and not as an architectural typology, we may better grasp a general pattern by which a knowledge of the epidemic was met with efficient treatments.

By the end of the 19th century it became common, in the parlors and clubs of the bourgeoisie, doctor’s offices, police stations and in industrial and commercial associations, to address the working class “nests” of the *ilhas* as a “hidden city.”¹²¹⁷ From the secluded and private “cabins in the theatre of the world,”¹²¹⁸ the *ilha* was articulated as a problem that needed to be governed, that could not be left, anymore, to the musings of the market. It is essential to bear in mind that the discovery of this hidden city was mostly embodied in “corridor” *ilhas*, which housed approximately a third of the city’s population. But also during this period emerged the expression *human hive*, in direct connection to this new concern for the workers’ city. These new names and their seizing of an uncontrolled city specifically emerged with cholera epidemics in 1883 and 1885. The sickness in the city propelled, a decade later with an outbreak in 1899, which forced a city quarantine, public sanitation campaigns. These articulated the exposing of the *ilha* with the formation of a government of urban pathologies, firstly and foremost, on behalf of the city’s health and hygienics, very much within 19th century use of body metaphors for the city.¹²¹⁹ The governing idea emerged that to a certain group of physical aspects corresponded a set of moral and ethical proclivities: *ilhas* were taken as physically and morally decaying viruses, spreading and contaminating the city.

For those inclined to expose the unequal relationship between landlords and poor workers, the *ilha* emerged from an immoral real-estate market and an out-of-control government.¹²²⁰ For others, its

¹²¹⁵ The latest cleansing campaign was with the European Cultural Capital, process registered with numbers in Ferreira et al., *As “Ilhas” do Porto: Estudo Socioeconómico*.

¹²¹⁶ Queirós, *No Centro, À Margem. Sociologia Das Intervenções Urbanísticas E Habitacionais Do Estado No Centro Histórico Do Porto*.

¹²¹⁷ Pereira, “The Structuration of Lifestyles in the City of Porto: A Relational Approach”; Pereira, “As Ilhas No Percurso Das Famílias Trabalhadoras Do Porto Em Finais Do Século XIX.”

¹²¹⁸ Phrase used by Mota in “At Home Com a Burguesia Do Porto. Fronteiras Entre O Público E O Privado,” in *Família, Espaço E Património*, Carlota Santos (Porto: CITCEM - Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória, 2011), 519–46.

¹²¹⁹ For the use of body metaphors in city government see Osborne and Rose, “Governing Cities: Notes on the Spatialisation of Virtue.”

¹²²⁰ Gros, *O Alojamento Social Sob O Fascismo*. Gros describes various positions forming the debate, while herself underwriting the marxist position and reading the *ilha* as the reflection of the immorality of the capitalist superstructure.

decadence was more directly the result of its dwellers' immorality.¹²²¹ Either way the spatial self-organization of the working class was associated with social and moral dispositions within the city, interchangeably seen as victims or perpetrators of urban physical-moral corrosion. Physical pathologies - cholera outbreak, typhus, etc... - were made to go hand-in-hand with moral pathologies - promiscuity, alcoholism, prostitution, and criminality - as well as with personality traits - brutish, uncultured and dunce individuals. Groups of relations that were translated in the shapes and positions of these victims and perpetrators in the city, and specially pursued to the *ilha*.¹²²² Urban space was thus brought forth as the acting object making certain social and medical truths accessible to a concerned correcting of the city. The danger and immorality was not only present in the more dramatic experience of outbreak, but also in the constant confrontation with the *ilha*. Any socially respectable citizen would face on a daily basis the destitute, the criminal, the prostitute, for they lived side-by-side.

The *ilha*, furthermore, was seen as promoting "hatred of society," through false ideas, these being socialism, anarchism, communism and variations within the scope of a social revolution from below.¹²²³ It was perhaps not a coincidence that the headquarters of Porto's workers' association and socialist party were housed in popular areas surrounded by 19th century *ilhas*. These constituted hotspots for political militancy and radicalism, occasionally justifying armed response from city authorities.¹²²⁴ Political claims, however, were also a forefront to desires and ways-of-life that imperiled the constitution of urban conduct framed by the bourgeois family and its urban ethics. This structural model to modernizing societies, with its sexual and programmatic hierarchy, its austere normativity, in Porto's case influenced by English *victorianism*, was disturbed by the collectivist, unorthodox, extended family arrangements and "uneducated" social practices that sprang from *ilha* networks.¹²²⁵

With the outbreaks of late 19th century, what we could call social-ecological areas of concern were formed as central problems for urban renewal.¹²²⁶ These ranged wide and far throughout the city, as the *ilha* proliferated and as downtown *human hives*, were identified to the same dangerous socio-ecological pathology. The *ilha* was both understood as a social-ecological space and an urban condition, traced not only to the diseased bodies of the less fortunate. But also to various inner-cities within the planned city and to unwanted areas of political infighting. Urban reform from this articulation onwards, specifically propelled in 1899, became associated with the constitution of this "target," with this object of problems that needed to be solved in order to progress.¹²²⁷ However, despite wide acknowledgement of the need to reform the *ilha*, its various bodies, as well as the bodies of its dwellers, urban reforms were late, slow and mostly ineffective.

¹²²¹ Pereira, "As Ilhas No Percorso Das Famílias Trabalhadoras Do Porto Em Finais Do Século XIX.": 482.

¹²²² For an encapsulation of several educated diagnoses along the early 20th century, see Gros, *O Alojamento Social Sob O Fascismo*.

¹²²³ Pereira, "As Ilhas No Percorso Das Famílias Trabalhadoras Do Porto Em Finais Do Século XIX.": 482.

¹²²⁴ Ibid.

¹²²⁵ There is a long history of English influence in Porto, namely from the port wine corporatization onwards, which attracted the settling of various English interests in the city. The social influence of these migrations and settlings can be seen in novels of the time such as Júlio Dinis, *Uma Família Inglesa* (Porto: Porto Editora, 2010). For a detailed analytical account of the English influence in the city's bourgeois spaces and spatial habits see Nelson Mota, "A Arquitectura Do Quotidiano: Público E Privado No Espaço Doméstico Da Burguesia Portuguesa Nos Finais Do Século XIX" (Master's Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2006).

¹²²⁶ For an overview of the meaning of social-ecology and its use in contemporary urban critical studies see Erik Swyngedouw, "The Antinomies of the Postpolitical City: In Search of a Democratic Politics of Environmental Production," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33, no. 3 (September 2009): 601–20.

¹²²⁷ Pereira, "Uma Imensa Espera de Concretizações... Ilhas, Bairros E Classes Laboriosas Brevemente Perspectivados a Partir Da Cidade Do Porto."

One of the first operations into this problematic environment was a privately promoted worker welfare campaign, promoted by an housing project funded by the newspaper *Comércio do Porto*.¹²²⁸ It consisted of 87 houses built around 1899 and 1904,¹²²⁹ in *monte pedral*, *lordelo* and *bonfim*, at the time areas on the city's limits. These workers' neighborhoods, though conceived to upgrade the livelihoods of the working class, accomplished this in a very specific way. They were, in fact, too expensive for most working-class families, as made clear by the reply of a weavers' association to an inquiry in 1909. It complained of the use of these houses to award the most successful and politically moderate workers, instead of being used as egalitarian improvements to workers' general living conditions.¹²³⁰ Some industrial patrons followed this model of awarding workers' elites as, for instance, the weaving and cloth factory of *Jacinto* did around the same time in Campo Alegre, another rural-industrial peripheral zone.

A concerted political program designed to promote the construction of affordable housing only emerged in 1918.¹²³¹ Within the liberal economic government of the first Portuguese republic (1911-1928), urban policy legal framing was strategically aimed to promote the gains of the existing real-estate stakeholders. Affordable houses developed during this period, ranging until 1933, were made to return a profit on investment. They were promoted by private investors of all sorts, namely municipal agents themselves and their local corporations, which used the central state as bank providing easy and charge-free access to credit. During this period, hundreds of municipally promoted houses were built in the immediate periphery of central Porto.¹²³² Although this was a departure from the lack of affordable public housing until then, the houses built were destined for those workers more economically and professionally established. The selective articulation between improved living conditions and personal merit followed that practiced in the *Comércio do Porto* neighborhoods. Furthermore, given the growth of the city's population, the number of built houses was insufficient and left intact most *ilhas* and possible *ilhas*, along with its social-ecological pathology, while promoting the demolition of some in the process.¹²³³

This manner of resolution to the pathology, arising from a growing industrial city and the place, spatial condition and position of its working mass, continued along the same lines through the military dictatorship, seizing state power in 1926. But equally through the early years of Salazar's dictatorship, seizing its power in 1933. Only much later, during the 1960s, did urban policy embrace more integrative attitudes towards the presence of a distinct workers' city within the city, that is, towards the large and conflictual urban presence of the working-class in Porto. Yet, as we will see, the city welcomed new perspectives of urban renewal along a specific managing of social-material productivity and distribution.

The hegemonic pattern active in most of Porto's urban renewal history, however, followed a group of coordinates already firmly elaborated in the late 19th century. For instance exposed by the republican critique elaborated of journalist Emídio de Oliveira in 1885:

¹²²⁸ I am just focusing on housing projects aimed at mitigating the problem of the working class after 1899.

¹²²⁹ Matos, "Os Bairros Sociais No Espaço Urbano Do Porto: 1901-1956."

¹²³⁰ See Pereira, "As Ilhas No Percurso Das Famílias Trabalhadoras Do Porto Em Finais Do Século XIX.": 486.

¹²³¹ See Paulo Almeida, "Bairros Económicos Do Porto: A Casa Como Arma Política," in *Família, Espaço E Património*, Carlota Santos (Porto: CITCEM - Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória, 2011), 503-18.

¹²³² *Ibid.*

¹²³³ See Matos, "Os Bairros Sociais No Espaço Urbano Do Porto: 1901-1956"; and Pereira, "Uma Imensa Espera de Concretizações... Ilhas, Bairros E Classes Laboriosas Brevemente Perspectivados a Partir Da Cidade Do Porto."

The miserable and starving people need to remember well this undeniable truth - that the sanitation of their saddest addresses is not to the end of solidarity and justice, but a simple means to ensure the security of the wealthy neighbors. When did government ever care for the housing of the proletariat? (...) But today the situation has changed, and the prized illustrious, perpetual advisors of a State that is so in need of many advices, approach the holes where the indigent nestles, telling him: "Clean yourself for the love of God! If today you are the revolutionary focus against which I can send my municipal troops, tomorrow you will be the infection focus against which there is nothing I can do, besides running."¹²³⁴

The history of Porto's construction followed this strategic relation between "sending in the troops" - troops of experts, philanthropists, charities and armed troops - and "running" somewhere to the periphery of the "infection focus" that, as explained above, was a biological, environmental, social and political infection. The "sending the troops" meant often the literal demolition of *ilhas*, planned from time to time. And "running" did not mean only the escape of the wealthy into countryside or seaside insulated urban areas, such as the English colony in the Foz. But also the removal of some workers, namely those playing more important roles in production, from the dangerous environments of the *ilha*. Sending troops and running was, after all, the urban dynamic of most modern industrial urbanity, as we can observe, for instance, in the English, French and German experiences of the time.¹²³⁵ Still is, as we can observe in recent urban renewal and expropriation processes in India, South Africa and Brazil, for example.¹²³⁶ The "sending the troops and running" protocol is a global experience of urbanity, a persistent and continuously revitalized process of building the city by selection. As such, it is, has been and was the urban process that determines the presence and absence of the working class in official concerns, discourses and plans: from time to time the strategic negligence enabling the slum, the informal and the illegal, is reviewed to accommodate awareness, upgrading and displacement. This is also the story of the *ilha*: long neglected but then reviewed and acknowledged, to be acted upon. Its subjects, the living labor of Porto's industry, surveyed, made aware, socially upgraded, in other words, "corrected."

¹²³⁴ "É preciso que o povo miserável e faminto se recorde bem desta incontestável verdade – que o saneamento das suas tristíssimas moradas não é um fim de solidariedade e de justiça, mas um simples meio de garantir a segurança da vizinhança rica. Quando foi que o governo se importou com a habitação do proletariado? (...) Mas hoje o caso muda de figura, e os ilustres medalhados, conselheiros perpétuos dum Estado que de tantos conselhos precisa, abeiram-se das tocas onde se aninha o indigente, dizendo-lhe: 'Lava-te por Deus! Se hoje és o foco revolucionário contra quem posso mandar as minhas tropas municipais, amanhã serás o foco de infecção contra o qual eu nada posso fazer, senão fugir.'" in Emídio de Oliveira (as Spada), "Teoria Das Medidas Governamentais Contra a Cólera," *Folha Nova*, August 3, 1885.

¹²³⁵ See Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*.

¹²³⁶ For Indian cases see D. Asher Ghertner, "Gentrifying the State, Gentrifying Participation: Elite Governance Programs in Delhi," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 3 (May 2011): 504–32; and Gautam Bhan, "Planned Illegalities: Housing and the 'Failure' of Planning in Delhi: 1947-2010," *EPW - Economical & Political Weekly*, June 15, 2013; for African ones see Claire Bénit-Gbaffou and Sophie Oldfield, "Claiming 'Rights' in the African City: Popular Mobilization and the Politics of Informality," in *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*, Susan Parnell and Sophie Oldfield (London, New York: Routledge, 2014), 281–95; Mark Swilling, "Sustainability and Infrastructure Planning in South Africa: A Cape Town Case Study," *Environment and Planning* 18, no. 23 (2006); for Brazilian see Teresa Caldeira, *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in São Paulo* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000); and Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014). On the most recent cases propelled by the 2016 Olympics, see Simon Romero, "Slum Dwellers Are Defying Brazil's Grand Design for Olympics," *The New York Times*, March 4, 2012, online edition; and Owen Gibson and Jonathan Watts, "World Cup: Rio Favelas Being 'Socially Cleansed' in Runup to Sporting Events," *The Guardian*, December 5, 2013, online edition.



51 A demolished "corridor" *ilha*, 1950s, Porto municipal archive (F-NP-02-GBB-01-00096-037).

A social architechnology, knocking on doors and little red books

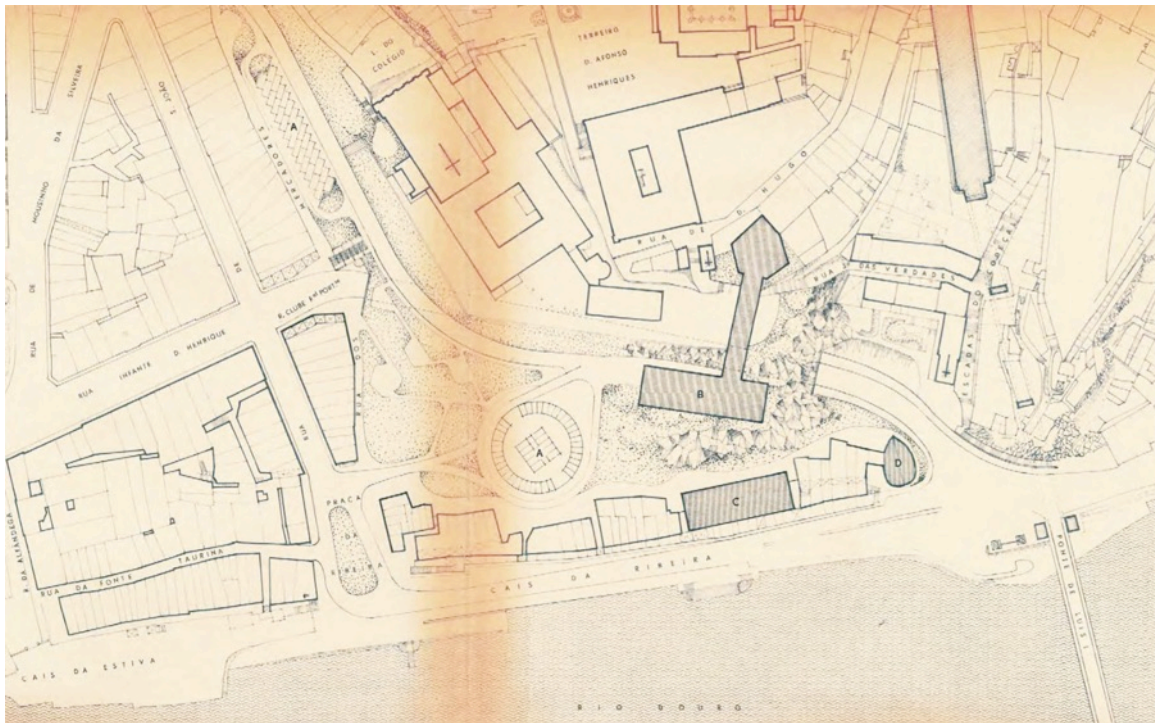
By the 1950s and early 1960s this pattern of “armed” correction of the urban pathology continued to be the norm. Despite Garrett’s master plan emphasis on the redeeming typology of the urban village and its *portuense* nature, it mostly implied the vast displacement of poor dwellers from the city’s noble spaces to its peripheries. This followed the urban principle of clearing central Porto, for its historic, economic and cultural renewal. Within this strategy, Robert Auzelle’s *improvement plan* of 1956 accomplished a thorough demolitions program of *ilhas*, with the intent of finally solving its problem, namely by displacing its dwellers to a modern periphery, made of various architectural species derived from Távora’s Ramalde. Yet, by the early 1960s, these demolitions were insufficient for the city’s “cultural” renewal. Within its plan for the city center, ranging from Ribeira-Barredo to the town-hall in the *aliados* avenue, Auzelle proposed the demolition of large portions of the existing city. Most of Ribeira-Barredo was supposed to give way to a new tourist and commercial area, defined by a cleaned river front and various parks and parking areas. His urban design followed the culturalist priorities regarding modern urban planning, propelled by the *Institute d’Urbanisme* and its culturalist architect-planners, such as Agache and de Gröer. As well as from a supposed sociologic sensibility, informed by collaboration with Chombart de Lauwe.¹²³⁷ Yet, in the identification of local urban values and expressions, the plan profoundly re-made central Porto, through destruction. This was perhaps the foreign planner against which Távora wrote of accomplishing a plan “by chance full of beauty, of impeccable design, empty of sense however.” In Porto’s school and for those architects concerned with *portuguese truth*, this sending troops and running protocol was a contentious issue, even if draped in comprehensive and culturally focused urban knowledge.

Auzelle’s plan never came to pass for a variety of reasons, being its elevated costs and its radical demolition program two of them. In his defense, the demolitions proposed followed a long line of renewal plans that were as radical as his. Namely, for instance, the plan for Ribeira-Barredo’s urban renewal by the municipality in 1954, in which an even greater number of demolitions were proposed. However, the recentering promoted by Auzelle’s specific morphological identification of the city’s cultural values, exacerbated a continuous war front on the *ilha* and its capture, in this case, of the old city center. The 1956 *improvement plan* and the master plan’s ambitions of finally eradicating the *ilhas* failed more than predicted: not only did many *ilhas* survived the demolitions program, new ones were being built on the vacant lots left by the latter. It was into this highly contested and invested territory, made by the city’s workers “traditional” mode of dwelling, that the old pattern of sending the troops and running started to be reviewed, namely by architecture students.

From the pedagogical culture invested on extending the school out into the city, into architecture offices and the municipality, architecture students came into contact along the 1960s with Ribeira-Barredo and the problem of the *ilha*. Through specific courses, pedagogical experiences and connections to practice, students met the city’s modernization in its own terms, directed to seize the truths of the land. As we will see, the truth made valid by the contact between students and changing city, was mostly that allowed by a group of professional ideas and methods, worked in the post-war through

¹²³⁷ Auzelle connected himself early on with Chombart de Lauwe and his search for an empirical urban sociology. They shared careers as teachers in the same institutions, *Institute d’Urbanisme*, territorial policies and government apparatuses, *Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l’Urbanisme*. Together with many others, they remade Prost’s and de Gröer’s proposal for truly knowing a city’s culture by walking it, into a more robust science of urban relations, produced through inquiries, statistics and demographic studies, for instance.

DGSU, French planning ideas and the search for *portuguese truth*. In effect, approaches to a post-modernist,¹²³⁸ more “humane,” practice although invested in reviewed tools, largely involved bringing about an *architectology*, that was then also apt in making a technology out of the collective, instead of a more collective technology.¹²³⁹ Yet, the “approach to the real,” as written by a former student from Porto’s school from this period,¹²⁴⁰ allowed a number of dialogues that richly tested a possible *social architecture*, going beyond established disciplinary frames. Crucial regarding the school’s experience of the city, the architecture laboratory produced out of Ribeira-Barredo by Filgueira’s courses was one such platform of other dialogues. To better understand this platform, however, we need to briefly underline the institutional frame through which it came about.



52 Making a garden and parking lot out of Ribeira-Barredo, Auzelle’s plan for central Porto, *Improvement Plan*, 1956, in *Barredo’s Urban Renewal Study*, 1969, plate 14.

¹²³⁸ Used here in the literal sense of “post,” as that which makes an effort to overcome something, in this case modernist architecture’s social engineering claims, yet not with the contours given of a new avant-garde, as argued by Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977).

¹²³⁹ The word *architectology* had several uses. Vasco Lobo and Alfredo da Mata Antunes, in *Problemas Actuais Da Pequena Habitação Rural* (Coimbra: Imprensa Nacional, 1960) used it for a universe of concrete effective sources, found in the countryside, serving the quality of architecture as a technology of space; on the other hand, for instance Nuno Portas, in “Ensino de Arquitectura: Uma Experiência Pedagógica Na ESBA Do Porto,” *Arquitectura*, January 1963, used it as a paradigmatic type of architect emerging from educational reforms of the 1950s and 1960s; Portas cites a report on English architecture education, evaluating the importance of the “technologist” for a more effective architecture riddled with new technological challenges, Leslie Martin, “RIBA Conference on Architectural Education,” Conference report (Oxford: RIBA, 1958), <http://www.oxfordconference2008.co.uk/1958conference.htm>; I believe Lobo and Mata Antunes reading follows from the same use of the term “technologist” associated with architecture.

¹²⁴⁰ Fernandez, *Percorso, Arquitectura Portuguesa 1930/1974*.

The late 1950s, specifically 1957, was when an educational reform to arts and architecture degrees, authored by the ministry of national education, came into effect.¹²⁴¹ The reform aimed to overturn an older one from the early 1930s and modernize fine-arts curricula, namely architecture and urban planning. This implied the transformation of a *beaux-arts* grounded pedagogical culture, whose main scripts resided in art and architecture history, archeology, drawing and construction expertise. To a modernist pedagogical culture, grounded on late-bauhausian formulations, namely those developed by Walter Gropius, among other, in east coast North American universities.¹²⁴² With the 1950 reform was scripted the transformation of architects, from competent artists into competent social-material technicians. The new curricula involved integrating a larger amount of scientific knowledge into the degree, namely from engineering, physics, mathematics, geography. But is also prescribed integrating more tools for the “social” as well, from sociology, urban history studies, population studies, psychology. The architect was to become, according to the decree-law, a “humanist-technician,” proficient in the articulation and coordination of the various knowledge areas identified, at the time, as taking place in urban operations. This is why the word *architectechnology* became especially prescient. Following its Greek etymology and Mata Antunes use of it, it articulated the technology to rule all others.¹²⁴³ In line with modernist educational agendas, the Portuguese was to become a more complete professional.

The implementation of the 1957 law, however, was contested and riddled with discontinuities and controversial debates. There was no consensus among faculty around its projection of the architect as technician, its prescribed curricula or the role of the former curricula. But also neither regarding the new role of assistants, nor the articulation between the various expert areas architects were then supposed to command. The problem of articulating these various areas inclusively created a much discussed gap between what was expected that a spatial technician know and what belonged to architecture as a, at least, two millenia old profession. Oversimplifying, it was a debate for coherence, autonomy and development that, provoked by the 1957 decree-law, continued to this day revolving around searches for a pre-disposed disciplinary core and propositions of innovation and contamination.¹²⁴⁴ In the late 1950s, this debate controversially mobilized teachers and students around the problem of what the *architechnician* might mean: (1) if a more thorough knowledge of urban reality might implicate a more efficient practice; (2) what of the tools proper to architecture, inherited through a long history of theory and practice; (3) how to hold together the seams of a discipline at a “crossroads,” and mostly absent from urban decision making. As we saw in chapter 5 and 6, this was animated by a growing awareness of the complexity of urban problems and the minor active role

¹²⁴¹ Decree-law n° 41 362 of November 14 1957, it actualized and effected the 1950 decree-law n° 2043 of July 10.

¹²⁴² As we saw in chapter 1, Carlos Ramos translated in the early 1940s some of Gropius ideas for the modern architect’s education.

¹²⁴³ Vasco Lobo and Alfredo da Mata Antunes, *Problemas Actuais Da Pequena Habitação Rural* (Coimbra: Imprensa Nacional, 1960), see chapter 2.

¹²⁴⁴ This is but a dual diagnosis of various fluctuating positions, yet this duality may be taken as an ongoing discussion between those who argue that the specificity of architecture, as a well defined professional calling and area of knowledge, proceeds from its long historical constitution and its radical autonomy from other areas of knowledge and practice. And those who argue its continuity is mostly justified in its permanent actualization with technological advancement. As enigmatic examples, see, for the former, José António Bandeirinha, “SAAL 1974-2014: Por Uma Arquitectura,” in *O Processo SAAL - Arquitectura E Participação 1974-1976*, Maria Burmester (Porto: Serralves Foundation, 2014), 43–63; and, for the latter, José Pinto Duarte, “Customizing Mass Housing: A Discursive Grammar for Siza’s Malagueira Houses” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001). Both extracting from Álvaro Siza’s *malagueira* design distinct ontological and practical scripts for the architectural discipline.

architects had in these. It was also animated by the constantly contested professional position and market slots, architects appropriated in Portugal. The debate continued all along the 1960s, until having a dividing moment in 1969, with the pitting of calls for professional renewal from a younger generation, against those of consolidation and professional solidarity from an older one, of which Távora, Teotónio Pereira and Keil do Amaral were spokespersons, although with distinct voices.¹²⁴⁵

One of the key sites of dispute in this process was what could be meant by new “approaches to the real.” If knowing in greater detail the chemical constitution of construction materials, the assemblage of structures, the working of sewage networks, might be seen as compensatory to architecture’s technological efficiency. Knowing in greater detail what moved the collectives implicated in architecture and planning works, created the problem of how architecture was or was not “social.” This implied reviewing the modernist definition of social change: an inevitable future oriented evolution defined and made possible by the plan and the masterful hand of the total architect. This was in fact a central site of disciplinary deconstruction, animated by a growing emphasis to leave canons and search for a more practical awareness of industry, economy, urban policy, community organization. This decentered the discipline’s grasp of “the social.” Stated in other terms, it presented the problem of how was architecture associated to the collective that it scripted and transformed: how was architecture made of and for collectives? This largely became the central problem “exploding” in a 1969 national meeting of architects in Lisbon, when the Paris connection brought not only planners and urban pacification, but student protesters, architect activists, marxist French philosophers and urban unrest.¹²⁴⁶

In Porto’s school, one of the key sites in which this problem started circulating was Octávio Lixa Filgueiras’ analytical courses. The first one, *Arquitetura Analítica I*, was implemented with the reform of 1957, becoming one of its first and longest manifestations, it lasted until the late 1960s.¹²⁴⁷ Soon after, *Arquitetura Analítica II* was created and made to form, with the first, a two-year interlocking introduction to junior students of architectural drawing and inquiry methods. These new courses replaced two others from the older reform, closer to a *beaux-arts* tradition. *Arquitetura Analítica I* replaced *Ordens e Trechos Arquitectónicos*, literally meaning *Architectural Orders and Phrases*, which consisted in teaching to developed elaborate pencil and water-color drawings mimetizing existing construction details and other architectural details. *Arquitetura Analítica II* replaced a course named *Edifícios e Monumentos da Antiguidade*, meaning *Antiquity Buildings and Monuments*, and that, like the former, involved apprehending antique monuments and buildings through mimetic exercises, also in pencil and water-color.

In the first years of these courses, namely until 1960, Filgueiras followed through with the classical-inspired learning by mimetic drawing of existing buildings. The emphasis was on drawing well as the means for accurately apprehending an architectural reality. Something that was kept all along as the courses’ core. This continuity, however, already came with a number of inflections involving other priorities. From 1960 onwards these were progressively clarified in practice and theory, as the two

¹²⁴⁵ For a detailed account of the confronting positions in 1968 see João Afonso, “O Encontro Nacional de Arquitectos: Tomar Consciência Da Sociedade,” *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 91 (2010): 27–39; for a reading from the perspective of Porto’s and Lisbon’s schools, see Gonçalo Canto Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)” (PhD Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2011).

¹²⁴⁶ See Afonso, “O Encontro Nacional de Arquitectos: Tomar Consciência Da Sociedade”; and Gonçalo Canto Moniz, “A Formação Social Do Arquitecto: Crise Nos Cursos de Arquitectura, 1968-1969,” *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 91 (2010): 56–76.

¹²⁴⁷ Moniz called it the 1957 reform stablest course in Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)”: 483.

courses of architectural analysis were reoriented to capture relations, instead of static elements. As the first product of the 1950 reform in Porto, these courses tried both to ground the architecture activity in its central tool and process - drawing - and to open its forms of inquiry into the social extensions of architecture or its concrete effects on spatialized life. Nuno Portas, writing in the immediate aftermath of the courses' first years and specifically heralding Porto's adaptation of the 1950 reform, gives us a clear idea of these investments. For him, *Arquitetura Analítica*, assumed a "primordial" role in the 1950 reform, specially because of the central role of its introduction to architectural drawing. In his words: "(...) in the measure that young students find their schedule and, above all, their concerns, almost entirely dominated by the courses of generic scientific scope (mathematics, physics), running the risk of only much later getting to know the true nature of this work to which, after all, they come."¹²⁴⁸

Drawing was here the profession's core, "true nature," deployed by Portas in an embattlement with the overburden of scientific demands and the possible risks of the 1950 reform's scientific reformulation of the profession. For him, Filgueiras' courses reedemed the reform, the profession and the modernization of the architecture degree. This was, as recognized by him, an old tradition of practice, holding few innovations in its hands, as it were. It was its specific articulation of the old practice of drawing with two new problems or what we should more rigorously name problematic relations, that produced its importance and power. These were two new disciplinary priorities, according to Portas: the "human-problem-in-need-of-architecture" and the "attention to the rural and popular world."¹²⁴⁹

The first involved dissipating what Portas called the "master-architect" image or what Filgueiras' called "the marvellous pencil."¹²⁵⁰ His courses, through functional organigrams and other diagrams, together with detailed drawings, maps and a written report, consisted in bringing about, "objectively," the "relation between society and architecture, integrating in the synthesis of form the available knowledge about the man to which one builds."¹²⁵¹ Stated differently, it was about educating an "anti-marvellous-pencil-architect." One that relied in analytical mapping (living functions, programatic zones, material functions) and methods to come to an understanding of the reality of architectural projects, and not the ability of one's creativity when with a pencil in hand. Firstly, then, these courses were propelled by an ambition to grasp more comprehensively the relation between the "human-problem" and form. This knitted together the threads of the search for a true architecture, the *inquiry*, the validity of CIAM's lessons and culturalist urban methods received via Paris.

A second grounding relation came directly via the experience of the *inquiry* and the working of the information gathered during the field work. Filgueiras started sending their students to gather information, through drawing, historic research and interview, of vernacular objects and spaces. The

¹²⁴⁸ "(...) na medida em que os jovens estudantes encontram o seu horário e, sobretudo, as suas preocupações, quase inteiramente dominadas pelos cursos de índole científica genérica (matemática, física), correndo o risco de apenas chegarem a conhecer muito tarde a verdadeira natureza daquele labor a que, afinal vêm." in Nuno Portas, "Ensino de Arquitectura: Uma Experiência Pedagógica Na ESBA Do Porto," *Arquitetura*, January 1963: 16.

¹²⁴⁹ "problema humano-que-carece-de-arquitetura," "atenção ao mundo rural e popular," in Ibid: 16-17.

¹²⁵⁰ Ibid: 16; the original expression was attributed to Arnaldo Araújo in a correspondence between him and Filgueiras of 1964, in its original form being "Anti-arquitecto-lápis-maravilhoso," see Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69):" 487.

¹²⁵¹ "as relações entre sociedade e arquitectura, integrando na síntese da forma o conhecimento disponível sobre o homem para quem se constrói." in Portas, "Ensino de Arquitectura: Uma Experiência Pedagógica Na ESBA Do Porto:" 16; the diagrams applied followed the CIAM model of the functional grid, diagramming living functions - work, leisure, etc... Filgueiras published a review of its application in Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, "Aditamento À Grille CIAM d'Urbanism," *Arquitetura*, December 1959.

directing of students to rural and vernacular architectures was equally about dispelling the idea of a genius architect, namely by making students aware of the quality of so many “anonymous” folk architects. But it also articulated the aim to supply the student with tools to apprehend the unspoken historic dimension from which architecture also emerged. This specifically combined the habitual tools of drawing with what Portas called an “anthropological reflection.”¹²⁵² And it directly involved the use of photography and in informal interviewing, although not systematized or organized in any specific way, to the best of my knowledge.

These two grounding articulations of the human problem in need of architecture, framed first and second year students’ introduction to the architecture profession and its core process: drawing. They enunciated a particular combination of analytical means: drawing, maps, diagrams, written reports, photography, written impressions, whose combination and mutual translation evolved with the courses’ different subjects throughout the years, appropriating a specific development. As these moved closer to the unfolding of the decade and Paris sending architecture activists and urban unrest through radiowaves and paper, this dialogue between anthropologic translations and the synthesis of form, through drawing, passed through the living concerns of Ribeira-Barredo and its moving plans. At this point a stronger anthropological inflection seized the courses, translating the rigour of architecture inquiry by drawing into various undisciplined contacts.

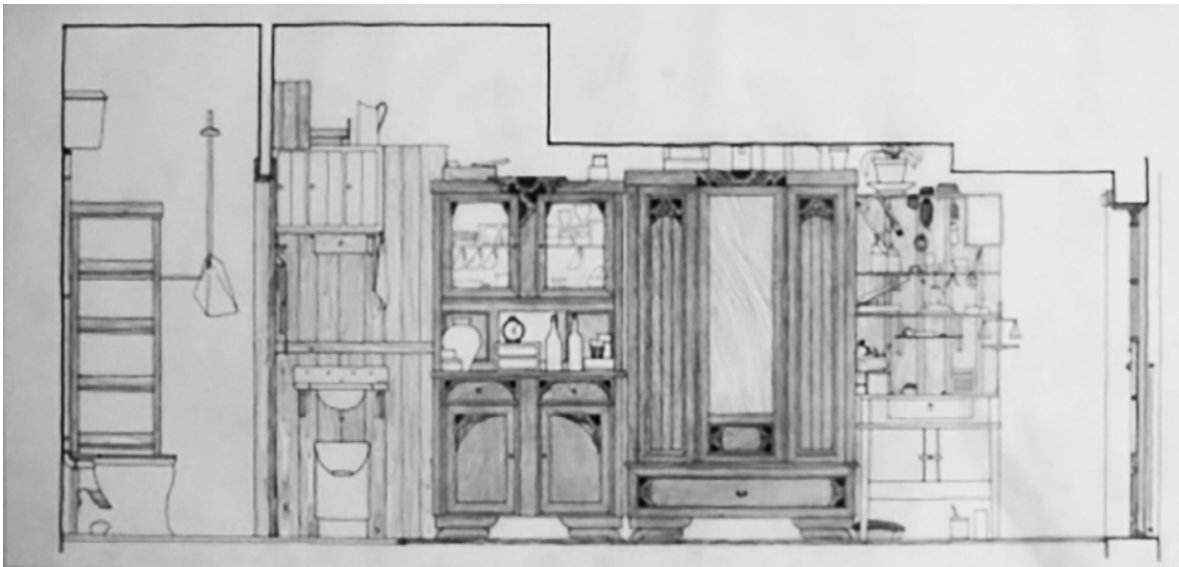
Around 1960s, however, the courses developed bridges with less potentially polemical spaces. Still following the mimetic tradition, although with added levels of analysis, in 1961-62 *Arquitectura Analítica* assigned the analysis of three recently built modern schools: one from Viana de Lima in Bragança, another by Távora in Vila Nova de Gaia and another by Lúcio Miranda in Covelo. That school year Filgueiras also introduced a first exercise in urban analysis, trying out the CIAM scheme of analysis, but greatly focusing on the rigorous surveying of quarters with drawing: façades, streets, architectural detailing and morphology. This was kept as one of *Arquitectura Analítica I* grounding purposes, namely to introduce first-year students to architecture drawing. In 1962-63, with Auzelle’s plan reaching its public presentation, Filgueiras assigned students to analyse fishermen neighborhoods in Matosinhos through *Arquitectura Analítica II*.¹²⁵³ Here, the CIAM scheme was mixed with photographic surveying, detailed free-hand drawing and population inquiries. Filgueiras’ experience in the *inquiry* was more clearly translated in the classroom and field. On the other hand, the model for the population inquiry was based on a pilot inquiry developed by the LNEC in Lisbon, and for the construction and housing division of the ministry of public works. It involved noting down family constitution, earnings, work affiliations and general housing conditions (if the family had access to clean water, sewage system, etc...). It would henceforth be used often in urban analysis assignments.¹²⁵⁴

¹²⁵² Portas, “Ensino de Arquitectura: Uma Experiência Pedagógica Na ESBA Do Porto”: 17. He is, however, quite critical of the importance of both the “human-problem-in-need-of-architecture” and the “anthropological reflection” in the school’s activity, claiming the former never became a central priority and that the school’s curricula was emphasizing scientific specialization or what he called the “architectician.” Also and regarding the possible intersection with anthropology, Portas was quick to defend that such disciplinary contamination should never endanger the “vision of racionalization (...) of planning” needed for the architectural activity.

¹²⁵³ In *Arquitectura Analítica I* that year students were assigned the analysis of the public park of *quinta da conceição*, which was being renewed by Távora.

¹²⁵⁴ This inquiry form was developed in the late 1940s and used by various architects in the school, municipality and practice. For instance, see Arménio Losa, “Section Portugaise - Besoins D’une Famille En Matière de Logement: L’abri,” in *Rapport Final - Troisième Congrès de L’Union*

This first rehearsal for a more composite urban analysis was, furthermore, invested with a specific mobilization of the new curricula and the school itself. Supported by Carlos Ramos, Filgueiras joined his courses to Arnaldo Araújo's, Távora's and Andresen's around the problem of analysing Matosinhos' urban situation and future development. The school rehearsed its role as a large planning office, a public consultant as it were.¹²⁵⁵ The combination of urban analysis with proposals of intervention, was complemented with photography and poetry competitions, as well as other assignments post-school, required by Filgueiras. These constituted holiday assignments that varied largely in scope, yet gathered a specific use of drawing as surveying and form of contact with the real. Furthermore, these holiday assignments were usually directed at unconventional objects, for an architecture student. This was the case with the drawing of farming utensils in 1963.¹²⁵⁶ Or the assignment *Os Barcos de três tábuas do Rio Zêzere*, in which the student, through rigorous hand drawings, had to portray the composition and use of said boats.¹²⁵⁷ Or still, and instrumental to the uses of drawing later applied to Ribeira-Barredo's urban analysis, the drawing of the student's own domestic space, usually the bedroom or family living room.¹²⁵⁸ Here, students turned to their own spatial production, capturing through drawing as thoroughly as they would a boat from the *zêzere* river or a farming utensil the elements composing the human use of material and form.



53 Drawing of the interior composition of a Ribeira-Barredo home by student Jorge Canto Moniz, FAUP archive (ARQAN1/009-pr10-doc.13-2).

While students took home this way of making-appear the mechanics of spatially organized life, in the school they were being sent “out there” to the city, namely Ribeira-Barredo. The school year of

Internationale Des Architectes (Lisbonne: Librairie Portugal, 1953), 305–12. We can observe an explicit use of this inquiry in the student Nuno Guedes de Oliveira's work of 1964-65.

¹²⁵⁵ For more detail see Moniz, “O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69):” 486-7.

¹²⁵⁶ See, for instance, Fernando Vilaça's student work.

¹²⁵⁷ *Three board boats of the zêzere river*. See, for instance, the student works from Helder Tércio and Ana Maria Mendes Baptista of 1964.

¹²⁵⁸ See, for instance, the student work of Jorge Canto Moniz of 1965.

1963-64 was the first time Filgueiras sent their students there. It is relevant to have in mind that Auzelle's master plan was publicly presented in early 1963. This should not be read as a coincidence, but instead as a dialogue around capturing that area, for the future of the city and for the future of its architects in it. The class was divided in groups, each assigned a quarter that it was supposed to understand and represent. This meant listing dwellers' occupations, existing spatial programs, building conditions and typologies, infrastructure problems, density and family constitution, and then rigorously drawing buildings, namely façades and plans, when possible, that is, when dwellers allowed students in their home. The students that were allowed that intromission produced detailed drawings of the dwelling spaces and their furnishings, applying to its assemblage of objects, dimensions and materials the same disciplined drawing process that was applied to their bedrooms and up-town living rooms.¹²⁵⁹ Some of these survey drawings went into great detail, for instance showing the compositional metric of decorative aprons, the imprints on mugs, the detailing of saintly figurines and other things composing a home, tavern or shop.

That school year also produced the first, to the best of my knowledge, detailed free-hand drawings of *ilhas*, including representation of density, family aggregate and amenities. Such as the drawing from the student Augusto Faria Monteiro Pacheco of a "corridor" *ilha* in Ribeira-Barredo (image 49), where bathrooms and their furnishings, number, gender and age range of dwellers, as well as where the *queen-bee* lived, were marked on a sketched plan. According to Mr. Venceslau, these places were not of easy access. Namely because the *queen-bee*, would usually impede any entering that did not seem advisable, which in part explains the sketched, done on the spot, expression of this drawing. Independently of their being or not somebody to impede more comprehensive surveys from students, many other drawings of Ribeira-Barredo homes, namely plans, were accomplished on the spot, yet filled with a variety of information, ranging family aggregate, professions, sleeping, working and hygiene spaces, number of windows, doors, beds, stoves, dressers and other furniture. Drawings complemented by pictures, written notes and more free-hand drawings.

From then on the *Arquitectura Analítica* courses proceed from this combination of inquiry techniques with free-hand sketches and rigorous drawing of various spaces, enriched by holiday assignments, photography and poetry competitions. Assignments followed, as many other courses in Porto's school, its culture of shadowing actual commissions. So, if in 1963 Filgueiras sent students to Ribeira-Barredo on account of Auzelle's master plan, in 1967 he did so again, this time on account of Távora's coordination of a municipal commission charged with studying the area's renewal. This particular articulation of analytical tools, set on giving a concrete expression to the "human-problem-in-need-of-architecture," with actual ongoing processes, produced a particular experience of the architecture profession. Stated differently, as expert drawing or being able to draw with rigour and discipline mingled with the aim of bringing about a "human-problem," junior students were made to articulate very specific bearings of the preposition "in-need-of-architecture." This becomes clear from students' reports of their experience of *Arquitectura Analítica*. These also help to understand how the *inquiry's* trial-by-fire passed through Filgueiras' courses. Two specific years, that of 1962-63 and 1967-68, and the retelling of two former students are here the focus.¹²⁶⁰

¹²⁵⁹ Most students from the early 1960s seem to come either from middle or upper-middle class families, judging by the living rooms and bedrooms they presented to Filgueiras' consideration.

¹²⁶⁰ I interviewed Rui Loza in mid-2015 and Ricardo Figueiredo in early 2016.

1962-63 was the year the school organized a bundle of disciplines around the study of Matosinhos and its urban future. *Arquitectura Analítica* students were divided in groups through various assignments along the year. Some groups surveyed the architecture of *quinta da conceição*, being designed by Távora's office. Others surveyed streets in Matosinhos and drew their building façades in detail. Some had to develop interpretations of the *athens charter*, reporting on its scheme of living functions and possible pertinence. Then there were the photography and poetry competitions, as well as the holiday assignments described above. Of the ten student reports analyzed, most emphasized as the courses' most negative aspect the delaying of deadlines and the overburden of work. While as the most positive, most emphasized the self-realization of having been initiated in the profession.¹²⁶¹ Yet, each report is quite distinct from the next, projecting both the variety of personal stakes and the richness of demands presented by the courses.

João Barros, after emphasizing like many others the "utility" of studying the *athens charter*, wrote the holiday assignments as "social inquiries" whose necessity is beyond a doubt, however, lacking in orientation because "(...) we did not possess the needed knowledge for its realization."¹²⁶² For him, the photography and poetry competitions were of "interest," the second of "enormous interest," the first underdeveloped due to lack of discussion. The courses' biggest flaws were the lack of "more thorough" works and the flexibility of dealines. In finishing remarks, he wrote: "The most relevant aspect was, however, the creation of a new and more evolved mentality tending to integrate the student in a work regime also new and more evolved, as the member of a team, a class and a School."¹²⁶³

A point also central to Alberto Pacheco's report, who gave the following poetic elaboration: "The first year of *Arquitectura Analítica* was the making of a contact, a human laboratory in which the analysis was bestowed on us, our lack of mastery and not knowing how to swim. But even so we crossed the canal to a second year of more consolidated and defended terrain, that will demand more of us."¹²⁶⁴ Regarding the hardship involved in this swimming of the architecture canal, Mário Bonito wrote: "About the applied method during the first year, one can say it was guided in the sense of efficient and durable memorization, through the repetition of work from which the student must, on his own and has much as possible, resolve. The waste of time aparently verified (...) is one of the disadvantages that can be pointed."¹²⁶⁵

The amount of repetitive worked involved in developing rigorous drawings of façades and plans, verifying measures, correcting formal expressions, which these last words are specifically about, was also criticized by João Barros, Vilaça Couto, de Vasconcelos, among others. This critique was usually associated to the problem of "lack of time." António Pereira, sharing this diagnosis, also advanced what

¹²⁶¹ From João Barros, Garcês (first name unknown), Mário Bonito, Alberto Pacheco, António Janeiro, Fernando Vilaça Couto, Manuel Gonçalves, Bernardo Ferrão, Miguel Silva Pinto e Alexandre de Vasconcelos, from the Historical Archive of the Architecture Faculty of Porto, under the reference: FAUP/CDUA/E(S)BAP/CA/TE/ARQAN2/007, m42 – doc. 7.

¹²⁶² "(...) não possuíamos os conhecimentos necessários para a sua realização." in report by Barros, doc. 7-10.

¹²⁶³ "Aspecto de maior relevância foi, no entanto, a criação duma mentalidade nova e mais evoluída tendente a integrar o aluno num regimen de trabalho novo e mais evoluído também, como membro de uma equipe, duma turma e duma Escola." in Ibid.

¹²⁶⁴ "O 1º ano de *Arquitectura Analítica* foi de tomada de contacto, um laboratório humano em que a análise recaía sobre nós, a nossa falta de geito e o não saber nadar. Mas mesmo assim atravessamos o canal para um 2ºano de terreno mais consolidado e defendido, que exigirá mais de nós." in report by Alberto Pacheco, doc. 7-07.

¹²⁶⁵ "Sobre o método aplicado durante o primeiro, pode dizer-se que ele se orientou no sentido de uma memorização eficiente e durável, através da repetição de trabalhos dos quais os aluno deve desembaraçar-se por si só, tanto quanto possível. A perda de tempo que aparentemente de verifica (...) é uma das desvantagens que se podem apontar." in report by Mário Bonito, doc. 7-08.

we could call a structural critique of the courses. In a general sense he named the year as of “weak productivity.” The reasons identified being the low cultural level of many colleagues “fresh out of highschool,” the lack of time for so much work, and furthermore: “(...) the existence of two establishments: the School and the Faculty. There are so clear divergencies, both in the environment and the teaching method (...)”¹²⁶⁶

The problem of lack of time also came with the overburden of courses and assignments, some of them, as the last diagnosis pointed, from areas felt as otherly strange and, sometimes, “secondary” to the learning of architecture. The amount of work required of students in the drawn surveys of *Arquitectura Analítica*, concentrated their concerns between primary and subsidiary exercises to their proficiency in architecture. Most emphasized the usefulness, the importance and the central interest in the execution of labourious detailed drawings of existing buildings, as well as the pertinence of studying the *athens charter*. Some, like António Pereira, described how a number of other work demands, when faced with the latter, appeared secondary and time wasting. Yet, in the deemed less essential activities forming the work load of *Arquitectura Analítica*, there was one in specific that assumed a key role by most, although identified as incomplete, unguided and not thoroughly discussed. This was the holiday assignment, widely portrayed as an important “social” element in their education as architects. For instance, Manuel Gonçalves wrote the christmas assignment as “(...) an initiation of the social function of the architect.”¹²⁶⁷

Another element that stands out is the specific tonality given to the meaning of this “social.” The report by Garcês is pertinent in this point, although only indirectly giving us access to it. In what is mostly a long letter explaining his absence from the architecture school, due to the three years of military training common at the time, and exposing his full-hearted will to persevere in the degree, he wrote the following:

The army, forcefully gathering in restricted environments a great number of individuals from social levels, psychologies and mentalities of the most diverse, allowed me a better understanding of Man and the World, fact of great utility and more difficult to reach academically. The possibility of knowing a people of interesting ethical and social characteristics, with a culture greatly valid in almost all of its aspects.¹²⁶⁸

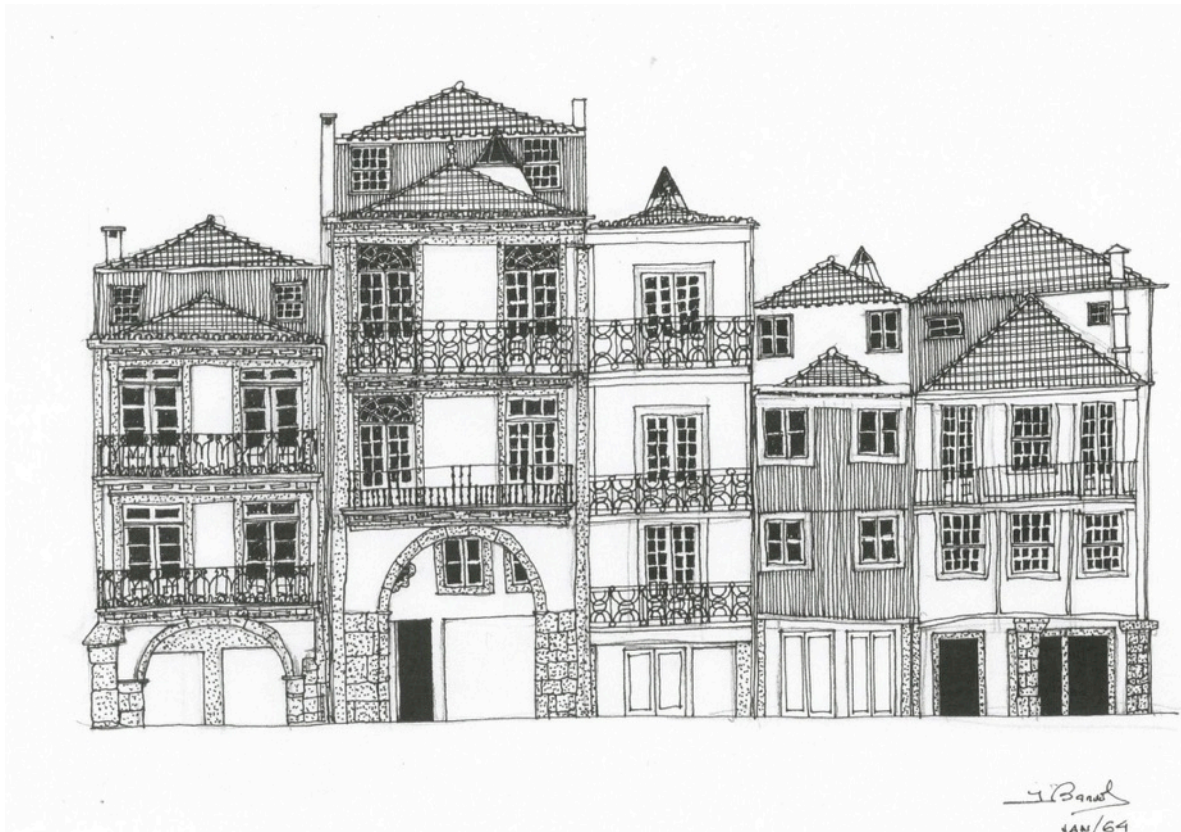
From this brief walkthrough student reports we could sum up that by 1962-63 the *Arquitectura Analítica* courses were set up with a specific animating core: the minutious surveying of existing buildings and the rigorous execution of its drawn representation. The discipline seems to have developed around the aim of introducing students to the disciplined practice of architectural drawing - the façade, the plan, the section – through meticulous and elaborate hand drawing, tiresome and object

¹²⁶⁶ “(...) a existência de dois estabelecimentos: a Escola e a Faculdade. Há divergências tão nítidas, quer no ambiente quer no método de ensino (...)” in report by António Pereira, doc. 7-04. Faculty does not mean here teaching staff, but the institution within the school of architecture was integrated, and to which students had to go to have engineering, mathematics and physics classes. This student is specifically referring to the gap between the latter and Filgueiras’ and others courses at the architecture school.

¹²⁶⁷ “(...) uma iniciação da função social do arquitecto.” in report by Manuel Gonçalves, doc. 7-06.

¹²⁶⁸ “A tropa reunindo forçosamente em ambiente restritos grande número de indivíduos de camadas sociais, psicologias e mentalidade das mais diversas, permitiu-me um melhor conhecimento do Homem e do Mundo, facto de grande utilidade e de mais difícil alcance académico. A possibilidade de conhecer um povo de características étnicas e sociais interessantes, com um cultura sob quase todos os aspectos bastante válida.” in report by Garcês, doc. 7-09.

of complaint, “waste of time,” “memorizing repetition.” From this core branched the “social” component, namely exercised more freely through the holiday assignment, poetry and photography competitions, but also in a less consistent manner, as João Barros reported. As suggested by Garcês, and observable in later student works, there was also a specific pendant for apprehending this “social” component in a circumscribed anthropological manner. The study of vernacular objects and the delimitation of culture to a number of measurable elements, more or less valid, seem to have formed the precondition for understanding the “social function” of architects. Here, at first glance at least, the social activity of architecture seems to be tied to the idea of a cultural nature and boundness, articulated by Távora in 1945, for instance, and then practiced by the *inquiry*, among other sites of making Portuguese culture appear as an object-in-exhibition. A social architecture was still a *portuguese* architecture. The study of the *athens charter* and CIAM scheme did not necessarily contradict this articulation, as it was involved in the functional understanding of both modern and vernacular buildings, as well as boats and utensils.



54 Facçades of Ribeira-Barredo by student J. Barros, 1964, FAUP archive (ARQAN2/007-doc.5-27).

For students being introduced to the architecture profession, despite the multiple threading passing through *Arquitetura Analítica*, the course was greatly about drawing well, as systematized in de Vasconcelos’ comprehensive report conclusions:

the students’ skills were developed regarding a group of practices essential for the architect’s work - surveys, correct use of material, graphical conventions, ...; - the class was initiated in elementary

knowledge of construction techniques and materials; - the aesthetical sensibility and critical sense of students was fomented; - the student was lead to take the profession in its most valid aspect of social need, destined to resolve and satisfy the real needs of its community.¹²⁶⁹

The focus on drawing well, with specific techniques and specific graphic expressions, did not prevent the work of drawing from provoking ways for dealing with a “social” introduction to the profession. On the contrary, the elaborate drawing discipline, as taught by Filgueiras, enabled a manner of making contact that only through a parallel and artificial operation could be made to report back to the ethnical reification of Portuguese culture, that is, to pre-established ideas of what the community served by architecture is. In fact, Filgueiras’ performance as teacher, re-enacting habits aquired from surveying the hinterland, opened a specific way of making contact. This is, at least, how Rui Loza remembers his time in *Arquitectura Analítica*.

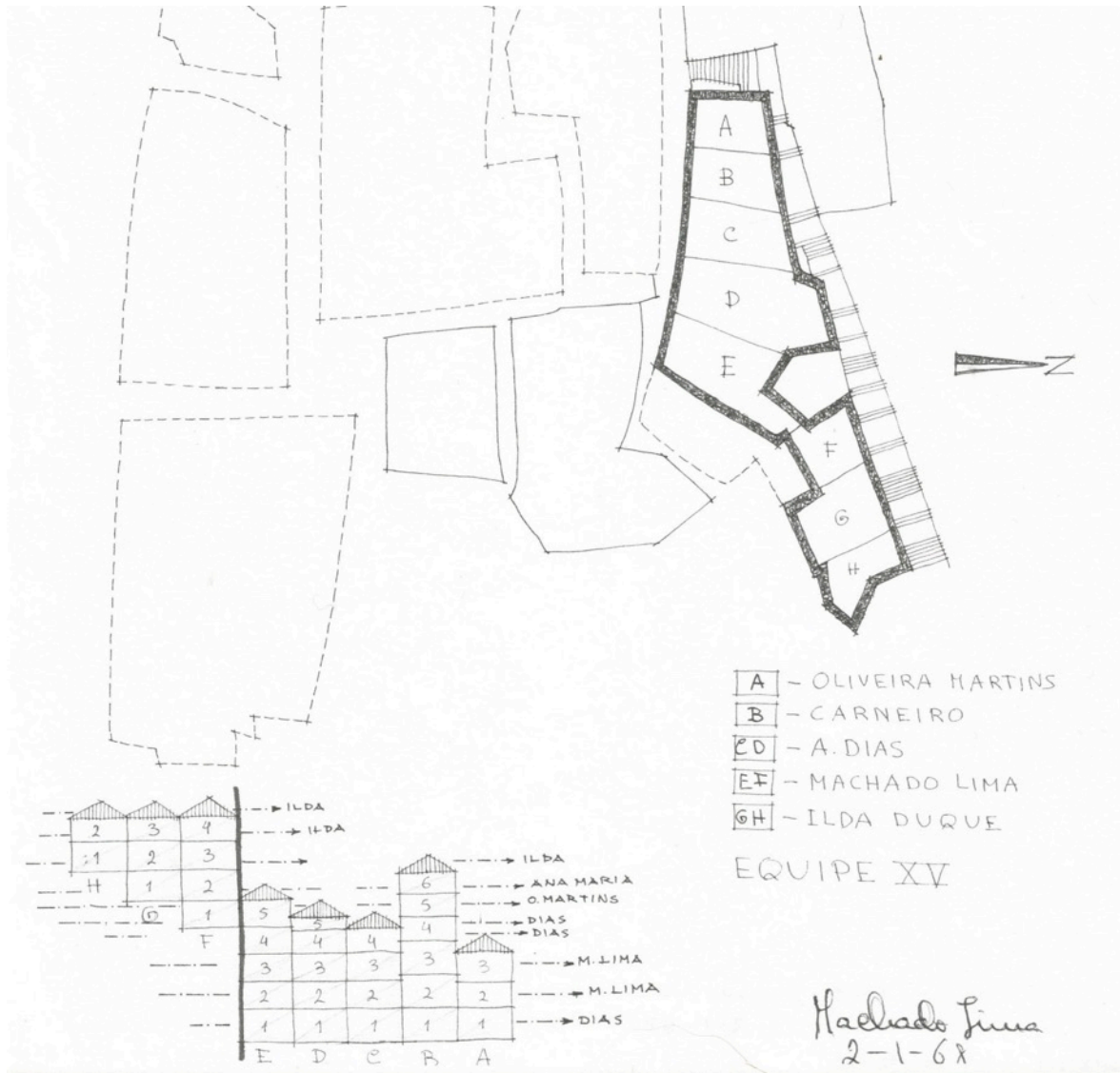
Entering the school in 1967, fresh out of highschool, for Loza, Filgueiras was the “most striking personality in the degree (...) he gave us a cold shower of reality, put us in front of a world, sent us to the street (...) he put us in front of a drawing table and taught us to draw, only drawing (...) he taught us never to take things for certain, to verify, to review again and again, to be critical (...)” In 1967-68 they were assigned, in *Arquitectura Analítica I*, to survey the façades of the buildings making *almada* street, all the way from the *républica* square to *clérigos*. Each student was assigned 21 meters of street width and organized alphabetically. As Loza explains, this meant that each one had to coordinate with the one before and the one after. Reaching the year’s end all the drawings would be assembled side-by-side and everything had to fit together.

In this assignment, Filgueiras started by sending students out for the first surveying of measurements. Then, from that started the “lesson in method (...) right in the first class in the first year there was an overcharge of method, rigour (...) Filgueiras would come up to one of us, look at a drawing and ask ‘where is the name, the date, the scale of the drawing...and this is from where? Ah, this is fake, this is not a serious drawing’ (...) it was a trial by method.” As in another memory around the drawing table, when a mistake was made on a drawing, “we would say...‘I already did this four times now,’ to which he would reply ‘well, you must do it a hundred times,’ (...) this was the discipline he put us through.” What Mário Bonito named in his report of 1963, a “time-wasting repetition” work.

But the shock of entering the architecture degree with Filgueiras, coming from highschool, and what demarcated his “stiking” persona as teacher, were not only these “lessons of method, rigour and discipline.” A key part of its power in transforming non-architects in architects resided, as Loza described, in the putting out-there, in sending the students into “a world.” In the first year assignment of façade surveying in *almada* street, Loza retells a common situation: “sometimes one of us would complain, ‘Mr. architect, I cannot take measures of the fourth storey windows because the Mrs. doesn’t let me in her house (...) to which Filgueiras would say, ‘have you tried asking about her children, and have you asked if her husband is healthy or sick, and what about what she likes and dislikes...in conversation with her, you’ll see that you will probably end up being invited for tea,’ (...) I mean, he

¹²⁶⁹ To which he added the negative aspects: “disorder, lack of persistence, dispersal, (...)” (“- desenvolveram-se as aptidões dos alunos num conjunto de práticas essenciais ao trabalho do arquitecto – levantamentos, uso correcto do material, convenções gráficas,...; - iniciou-se a turma em conhecimentos elementares de técnicas e materiais de construção; - fomentou-se a sensibilidade estética dos alunos e o seu senso crítico; - o aluno foi levado a encarar a profissão no seu aspecto mais válido de necessidade social, destinada a resolver e satisfazer necessidades reais da sua comunidade. (...) desordem, falta de persistência, dispersão, (...)”) in report by Alexandre de Vasconcelos, doc. 7- 01.

wouldn't give us the answer (...) and this, for a 18 year old kid coming from your daddy's house, was school!"



55 Student work distribution within a team, regarding the surveying of a block in Ribeira Barredo, 1968, FAUP archive (ARQAN2/007-mi4-doc.12-3).

That first year the students only had to start such dialogues of consented intromission in a few occasions, for a few homes, according to Loza. Filgueiras would usually not accompany students in the “field.” In the second year, with the task of surveying Ribeira-Barredo, they had to start such dialogues at every turn, also because the course’s objective was no longer just façade representation, but also plans, sections and construction details. Furthermore, as Loza explains, “Filgueiras had a thing, that doing plans was also representing people and equipment (...) architectural surveying was not just walls. It was walls, beds, tables, chairs, all the objects. Where was the stove, where were clothes washed, how many sleep in which bed (...)” In the first year it was about learning the basics of architecture representation and surveying, among which tools, such as the pencil, the graph pen, the ruler, the drawing table,

tracing paper, students were also informally introduced to the utility of chatter. It was a tried and effective tool, namely for opening locked spaces, for enabling other routes into the *drawing-out* of space, and surely key in the *inquiry's* survey work.

In 1968-69, in *Arquitectura Analítica II*, sending Loza's class into Ribeira-Barredo pursued the deepening of these tools, then broadening drawing to everything or almost everything composing a home. Students were divided in small groups and each assigned a group of buildings and a couple of streets. They had to produce drawings of plans, façades, sections and a detailed house interior. It was in these drawings, more expressively in the latter, that everything needed to appear in detail, the stove, the apron, the mug. The process, as retold by Loza, was tiresome and derived from patient work: "(...) those people were fustigated with inquiries (...) we would knock at the door and always say the same, 'we are architecture students, we come to take some measurements (...) it is not for the town-hall, this is for nobody, it is just for school (...)'. To which people usually acquiesced, when not the first time, then by the second. Ricardo Figueiredo, a student surveyor from the year before with *Arquitectura Analítica*, adds that Ribeira-Barredo dwellers usually asked "(...) if the students came from the town-hall, from the Social Center or some other public institution. They would say: 'what are you going to demolish this time around?'"

Loza gathers two specifically strong memories of Ribeira-Barredo from this process of taking measurements: "(...) the most surprising situations would come up, like a chair without a bottom, probably somebody's toilet or a chicken tied to a piece of furniture inside a home (...) probably saved for a family party." But also: "(...) and then it was an indescribable spectacle which was the misery, the hunger, the poverty (...) I remember seeing a basin full of potatoes in pawn, only if for the buying of some medecin to save your kid's life, what makes one pawn food...?" Memories of misery also shared by Ricardo Figueiredo in his *Arquitectura Analítica* experience of that part of town. Relevantly, before this contact with the area, Loza had only and only in passing, been there in 1962, after that year's floods, "(...) entering Barredo was not part of (...), it did not exist, it was a guetto."

In 1968-69 it revealed itself in detail and sharp measurements "(...) we found it in books about 19th century Paris, with the big bourgeois, the worker, then the homeless, all in hierarchy...it was there." But there were different zones according to Loza. At the time, the buildings facing the river front still belonged and where inhabited by people of a "higher social stratum," where said Parisian-Haussmanian spatial hierarchy could be observed. Those that Auzelle proposed to keep and rehabilitate as of historic value, amidst the vast demolitions all around. While behind them, the neighborhood's innards, was the domain of *queen-bees* and *ocean-liners* or what Loza calls "those denser stories."

This tiresome, patient and revealing school work came at a time when the school's environment was invested with wide and continuous debates, among students, among teachers, among both. With the making of sides to stand on regarding school reform, urban politics, the "social" role of the architect and the artist, the regime. While Loza's class was making its trips into Ribeira-Barredo, news from Paris and its student uprising arrived via paper, the radio, but also through the accounts of colleagues experiencing it first-hand, such as the architecture student Manuel Nicolau Brandão. Despite the dictatorship and its control of public opinion and freedom of press, that would slightly alleviate from 1969 onwards, things, dangerous things, came in. As, for example, Mao's "little red books," according

to Loza, arriving in boxes to be distributed around the school and various student groups, “not by legal means, but they arrived.”¹²⁷⁰



56 A chair without a bottom, Ribeira-Barredo, in *Barredo's Urban Renewal Study*, 1969, fig. 16.

In this scripting of new passions, Filgueiras, according to Loza and Figueiredo, did not have a very vocal role. On the contrary, he is identified to a professoral persona, essentially appearing neutral to the various macro and micro revolutions. Arnaldo Araújo, on the other hand, “stood out (...) with a very consistent position, very critical,” says Loza, namely for his support of student’s claims for a more radical revision of the 1950 reform, specifically that of reorganizing the curriculum around the “social” function of the *architect-nician*.¹²⁷¹ Yet, as suggested by Ricardo Figueiredo, Araújo formed a pair in the 1960s with Filgueiras in the putting-the-student-into-the-world and the emergence of the “human-problem-in-need-of-architecture.” While Filgueiras sent students to contested and “inaccessible” places

¹²⁷⁰ Whose original title is *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*, most probably in Porto they had access to the french version *Citations du Président Mao Tse-Toung* of 1966.

¹²⁷¹ For a detailed analysis of the debates occupying the school and its various agents in this period, see Raquel Geada e Paulino, “O Ensino Da Arquitectura Na ‘Escola Do Porto’. Construção de Um Projecto Pedagógico Entre 1969 E 1984.” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto, 2013); João Leal, in his interpretation of the *inquiry*, already identified in Araújo a more militant attitude regarding the misery observed in the hinterland. According to his deployment of the *inquiry*, most architect-surveyors, namely the northern coordinators - Távora, Filgueiras - were more concerned with correctly representing the hinterland, while Araújo, still a student at the time, wished to combine analysis with intervention, even if very punctual and small architectural interventions, such as the repairing of a roof, the renewing of a façade, etc.... See João Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970). Cultura Popular E Identidade Nacional* (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2000): 192-94.

such as Ribeira-Barredo, with a very specific set of tools. Araújo gave the students Gaston Bachelard (1884-1962), Henri Lefebvre and a whole composition of arguments for how to read the social in space.¹²⁷² This nowadays forms a silent combination of strange and conflictual passions from a turmoiled and unclear late 1960s, mostly accessible through archival archeology, yet with a particular immanence.

It is worth reading through a written final report from that year of *Arquitectura Analítica*, 1967-68, of unknown author or authors, to better grasp the particular imprint of this laboratory. It started:

Our contact with Barredo was an experience that we can never forget. Beyond the apprehended skills, we had the opportunity of entering people's houses, and we got to know how is life in the city's poor neighborhoods. For what we saw, we think it impossible to go through such an experience without taking an attitude of compromise with certain problems.¹²⁷³

This experience was described, through direct impressions and inquiries, has dire. Streets emanating "nauseating" smells, people's "tired" appearance, the "piled up trash" everywhere, "memories not easily forgetable." They, for the report is written in the third person plural, found homes with 4 by 4 meters, cramped with large families and paying small fortunes. They includevely described particular families leaving in such conditions, one of which composed by mother and two children, a 12 year old son and a "mentally ill" 18 year old daughter. The home missing what they observed to be missing in most homes in the area: a private toilet. They described housing blocks ridden by "sifles" (syphilis), mental illnesses and tuberculosis. And, as an illustration of the neighborhood's status as "insalubrious," they described an alley named "rat alley" where a vast community of rats dwelled "soo at ease, that they don't even run from noise." What compromises, then, did such experiences provoked in the architect apprentices?

We took Barredo rehabilitation as a real fact that would have as aim to improve the dwelling conditions of the area (...) having in sight, however, the adaptation of inhabitants to the needs of a different future situation. (...) It would have to follow a general rehabilitation of the region, integrated in a rehabilitation at the national scale. It would not just be an architecture work, but a work of collaboration between various professions. It would not solely have as aim the improvement of housing conditions, but, in last analysis, the improvement of living conditions.¹²⁷⁴

¹²⁷² Specifically in his classes of *Teoria e História da Arquitectura* 1 and 2, *Theory and History of Architecture*, which he lectured from 1963 until 1969, see Moniz, "O Ensino Moderno Da Arquitectura: A Reforma de 57 E as Escolas de Belas-Artes Em Portugal (1931-69)": 481.

¹²⁷³ "O nosso contacto com o Barredo foi uma experiência que nunca poderemos esquecer. Para além dos conhecimentos apreendidos, tivemos oportunidade de entrar nas casas das pessoas, e ficámos a saber como se vive nos bairros pobres da cidade. Pelo que vimos, achamos que é impossível passar por uma tal experiência, sem tomar uma atitude de compromisso com determinados problemas." in *Arquitectura Analítica II* student report, 1969.

¹²⁷⁴ "Encarámos a recuperação do Barredo como um facto real, que teria por finalidade melhorar as condições de habitação da zona, (...) tendo, no entanto, em vista, a adaptação dos habitantes às necessidades duma futura situação diferente. (...) Teria que obedecer a uma recuperação geral da região, integrada numa recuperação à escala nacional. Não seria apenas um trabalho de arquitetura, mas um trabalho de colaboração entre várias profissões. Não teria apenas como finalidade melhorar as condições de habitação, mas, em última análise, melhorar as condições de vida." in *Ibid.*

That year of 1967-68 the *Arquitetura Analítica* assignment was also supposed to supplement the architectural-human survey with final, yet brief, proposals of urban renewal. So, this group posed the question:

Facing these problems, we asked ourselves what we could do, as Architecture second year students, within a renewal plan of the area. It appeared to us that we could only present some solutions, which might be wrong, but that reflect our attitude in relation to the fundamental questions of architecture, urbanism and life.¹²⁷⁵

And they proceeded to present the drawings proposing the maintenance of most buildings, coupled with punctual demolitions, aimed at clearing more congested spaces. The remaining buildings would be rehabilitated along its architectural languages and provided with efficient modern amenities, such as divisions between sleeping, working and eating, toilets, better infrastructure regarding water and sewage. In conclusion the report argued these drawings were “perhaps wrong,” yet reflecting that architecture practice could not avoid the “human-problem-in-need.”

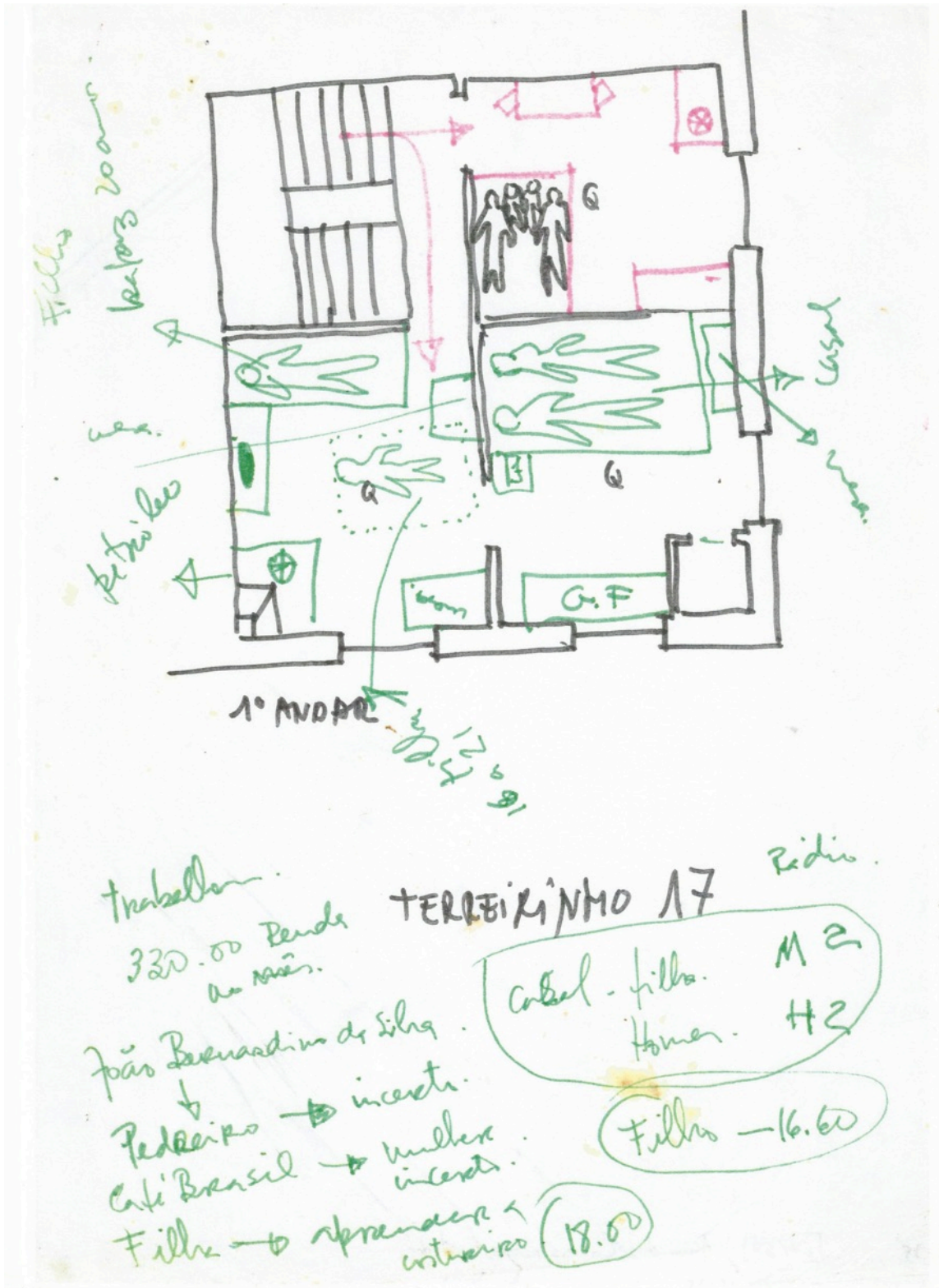
For Loza, however, the *Arquitetura Analítica* experience in Barredo, in 1968-69, was not directly about becoming aware of a social problem and rethinking architecture in its thrall. Political motivations “were various, and for each one.” Instead, it was more immediately about pleasing Filgueiras’ disciplined methods and rigour, of accomplishing well the assignment. Yet, after graduating and already in democratic Portugal, Loza made most of his professional career in tight connection to Ribeira-Barredo, namely as one of the architects and coordinator of the *Comissão de Reabilitação Urbana da Ribeira-Barredo* CRUARB.¹²⁷⁶ According to the longest director of the Social Center, the engineer Almeida e Sousa, Loza became the one to go to when in need of anything, that is, a key interlocutor to that urban area. We might say *Arquitetura Analítica*’s pedagogical laboratory flowed into lasting forms and dialogues, combined with Mao’s “little red book” illegally arriving in boxes, May in Paris, the school’s environment of debate and change, and Arnaldo Araújo’s, as Ricardo Figueiredo says, “opening of other readings of space.”

At the same time, when students knocked at the door, they would say “(...) this is not for the town-hall, this is for nobody, it is just for school (...)”¹²⁷⁷ Following Filgueiras’ lead, the aim with this door-knocking was to learn to be an effective architect and not a social worker. Yet, the line between both was not specifically clear when the core issue animating various heated debates in the school and some streets in Paris, was the *social architetechnician* and the “human-problem-in-need-of-architecture.” After all, the school was not exactly a “nobody,” even less filled with no-bodies. It had an active role in the making of Porto, in framing its public causes, or were it not for its culture of putting its pedagogy “out-there” in the city, in architecture, engineering, urban planning offices. Stated differently, why did CRUARB, under Loza’s direction, follow the renewal strategy and tactics developed by a municipal team lead by Távora?

¹²⁷⁵ “Perante estes problemas, perguntámo-nos o que poderíamos fazer, como alunos do segundo ano de Arquitectura, dentro dum plano de recuperação da zona. Pareceu-nos que poderíamos apenas apresentar algumas soluções, as quais poderão estar erradas, mas que são o reflexo da nossa atitude em relação a questões fundamentais da arquitectura, do urbanismo e da vida.” in *Ibid.*

¹²⁷⁶ Translatable as *Ribeira-Barredo Urban Renewal Commission*.

¹²⁷⁷ Rui Loza, interview, 2015.



trabalho.
 330.00 Renda
 ao mês.

TERREIRO NMO 17

Ridim.

José Bernardino de Silva
 ↓
 Pedreiro → incerto.
 Café Brasil → mulher
 incerto.
 Filho → aprendiz
 contábil (18.00)

Café - filha. M 2
 Home. H 2

Filhos - 16.60

(18.00)

57 Sketch of an apartment in Ribeira-Barredo, detailing the number, age and bodily arrangement of dwellers, as well as professions, work stations and the apartment's distribution of functions, unknown student, 1967-68, FAUP archive

In the following and final section I will try to knit together a meeting place between this pedagogical laboratory for a *social architect* and the making of the “human-problem” of the city. For this we will follow Távora more closely and his emergence in the process of renewing Ribeira-Barredo. In the process I hope to show the articulation between thinking the city as a social problem, the consolidation of professional methods and the contact with, the making appear anew of, the *ilha*. The aim is to produce enough movement between these sites so as to better answer the question: what “fundamental questions of architecture, urbanism and life” came out of Ribeira-Barredo? Or, differently stated, how did the challenges posed to urban development by this historic *ilha*, compose a specific relation between architecture practice, city planning and the organization of urban life?

Here we will come back to the city *projecto* suggested in a true Portuguese modern architecture. Namely to its role in enveloping a specific collective and in giving a technological discipline, such as architecture, its sense of service. Távora is pertinent for this discussion for at least three reasons: (1) his acting as a channel between the school, the town-hall, its urban-political ambitions, and international developments regarding planning and urban renewal; (2) the expression he gave to his experience of North America, making it last through a small treatise on architecture’s mission as organizer of society, threaded between pedagogical concerns for the future Portuguese architecture coming out of Porto, and the need to continue to serve *portuguese truth*; lastly, (3) the way he made, together with others, Ribeira-Barredo put forward a synthetic city *projecto*, founding a key script for the *social architect*, that is, a central interpretative key for how the “social” entered architecture practice in Portugal. Ribeira-Barredo enabled to articulate architect, planning and the organization of urban community in a direction, served by specific tools and methods, and a specific enveloping of the collective.

With, for and beyond Ribeira-Barredo

In 1968 there was a chair in Portugal that probably did more for democracy than all “little red books” and their readers combined. As the story goes, Salazar, aged 79, in early August in his summer house in Estoril, was about to sit down when the targeted chair, as if seized by the hot winds coming from Paris, among other hot winds such as those coming from Angola and Moçambique, fell over, precipitating the dictator’s temporary exit from history.¹²⁷⁸ The tumbling did not incapacitate the dictator right away, but that September he was stepping down of his honorary post as the nation’s father and giving way to Marcello Caetano (1906-80) and what became known in Portuguese 20th century historiography as the “Primavera Marcelista,” literally meaning the *Marcelista Spring*.¹²⁷⁹ The latter stood for a signal that Caetano’s stewardship of the regime promised an opening of the country, a softening of

¹²⁷⁸ I say temporary for quite obvious reasons. Although Salazar died in 1970, his prominent role as part of the imagination of Portugal, specifically of its possibilities and tendencies for greatness, never actually passed away, occasionally being infused with new lives. As an example: between 2006 and 2007 RTP1, a public television channel in Portugal, produced a televised competition, through popular vote, for the “biggest portuguese of all time.” The program was called *Os Grandes Portugueses*, and Salazar came out in first place, before D. Afonso Henriques, the country’s first king, and Camões, the nominated carrier of the country’s soul in poetry. Curiously, in second place came Álvaro Cunhal, the leader of the communist party throughout the dictatorship’s last decades, as if the televised competition somehow repeated the revolutionary hangover from the late 1970s.

¹²⁷⁹ Rosas and et al, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*.

the regime's discipline, a welcoming of concessions to democracy and economic development. The motto authored by Caetano to inscribe this promise of government was "evolution in continuity."

This performance of openness was taking place after seven years of colonial wars and the progressive estrangement of Portugal's alliances with North America and England. As the rest of North Atlantic empires were abandoning their colonial rules for the long range rule of self-government practices, Portugal heavily invested in a long protracted war, over several fronts, to keep its empire intact. Caetano's *spring*, besides the promise of concessions to democratic practices and economic development, performed the promise of less estrangement from the rest of the world, which, in this case, meant only North America and the some countris in Europe. Evolving in continuity, when what was behind to be continued was almost fourty years of dictatorship, beared an obvious poisonous gift: continuing the dictatorship with other words, like *Direcção-Geral de Segurança* - DGS (General Secretariat of Security) for *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* - PIDE (International and State Defense Police), and other minor concessions. So it was that the bright, hope-filled, dream of development and openness withered rapidly, seized by confrontations with the supporters of the old regime and the growing dissent of university students, poor and stripped of rights workers, the wars' casualties and general growing dissent.¹²⁸⁰

As if animated by the will to translate the spatial potential of this short-lived *spring*, *Barredo's Urban Renewal Study*, submitted in 1969 to the ministry of public works, argued the following:

We believe, firstly, that the physical and social morphology of the sector should be altered by a dynamic, secure and permanent process of renewal at all levels, giving thus to the word renewal its true meaning, which is that of continuing-innovating, in a constant motion of modification for better conditions, but respecting the positive values that by chance may exist and that should not, thus, be destroyed.¹²⁸¹

If this "continuing-innovating" was made to resonate with the promise of openness and new development performed by Caetano's "evolution in continuity," it also opened the city as a field of production for possible new articulations between democratic practices and urban development. For Távora, leading the study and most likely authoring the lines above, "continuing-innovating" was as much about the possibility of new urban practices, as it was about the progressive consolidation of a professional project in which architecture innovation was projected hand in hand with the ability to seize *portuguese truth*. In this concatenation of urban promises, personal and disciplinary projects, the possibility to "continue-innovating" with Ribeira-Barredo's renewal also went beyond the reviewing of past plans and the idea of finally putting an end to the problem of the "historic" *ilha*. It involved advancing a city *projecto* in which the renewal of one city part presupposed the rewriting of the whole

¹²⁸⁰ Although there were many forces and movements crafting the regime's breakdown, internal and external, the war is recognized with having performed the main role in precipitating the end of the dictatorship, namely because the carnation revolution of 1974 was only possible and acted by dissenting military ranks, it was a military *coup d'état* and not a popular revolution. See, for instance, Ibid; and Fernando Rosas, *Salazar E O Poder: A Arte de Saber Durar* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-china, 2012).

¹²⁸¹ "Cremos, em primeiro lugar, que a morfologia física e social do sector deverá ser alterada por um processo dinâmico, seguro e permanente de renovação a todos os níveis, dando portanto à palavra renovação o seu verdadeiro sentido, que é o de continuar-inovando, num movimento constante de modificação para melhores condições, mas respeitando os valores positivos que porventura possam existir e que não deverão, portanto, ser destruídos." in *Direcção dos Serviços de Habitação - Repartição de Construção de Casas, "Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo"* (Câmara Municipal do Porto, May 1969): 33.

city. In the study's words:

But a true renewal cannot be effect (...), if two basic aspects do not accompany it: these are globality and openness. It is global the operation that affects the heart and flesh of men, their physical, spiritual and economic life, the habits and life of a community, that thinks flowers and infrastructures, that touches houses and streets, that does not forget the lamp's detail at the same time as it conceives the whole as a landscape value inserted in an urban context; it is global the operation that is framed in terms of the City and not the sector, as is global only a operation that is of all and for all and not of some and for some. And, without openness there is no globality.¹²⁸²

The urban renewal proposal had to follow a "total concept of the City, given these are operations that, for their importance and consequences, do not rest on the phenomenon in itself (...)." ¹²⁸³ In what follows I will attempt to interpret what this assembling of ideas was made to mean for Ribeira-Barredo, professional practice and the architecture curricula. Keeping in mind that its preposition, that of "continuing-innovating," intensified the dreamed promises of Marcello Caetano's "evolution in continuity" and the beginning of the dictatorship's slow downfall.¹²⁸⁴ The question, then, is the following: what professional practices were articulated with a "total concept of the City" emerging from Ribeira-Barredo and how did these drew democracy closer?

In early 1967, Távora was called to lead an existing municipal urban studies commission, re-organizing its team for the development of an urban solution to Ribeira-Barredo. The revamping of the commission followed the instauration of the decree-law nº 47 443 of December 30 of 1966, extending the timetable of the *improvement plan* created in 1956.¹²⁸⁵ The commission was constituted in 1962 by the municipality to accompany Auzelle's master plan, in the improvement works of the city's old central areas, starting with Barredo-Ribeira.¹²⁸⁶ Legally, Távora's urban study was written as an extension of the "benefits (...) already obtained" by this former plan. It emerged from a state request by Porto's municipality to solve the persistent problem of what was the "satisfactorily fulfilled" *improvement plan*. The persistent problem was the renewal of the old center, although from Auzelle's renewal plan punctual demolitions and small public works were conducted, which gave the area a ruined appearance:

¹²⁸² "Mas uma verdadeira renovação não pode efectuar-se (...), sem que duas características básicas a acompanhem: são elas globalidade e abertura. É global uma operação que afecta o coração e a carne dos homens, a sua vida física, espiritual e económica, os hábitos e a vida de uma comunidade, que pensa nas flores e nas infraestruturas, que toca nas casas e nas ruas, que não esquece o pormenor do candeeiro ao mesmo tempo que concebe o todo como um valor de paisagem inserido num contexto urbano; é global uma operação que se enquadra em termos de Cidade e não de sector, como é global apenas uma operação que é de todos e para todos e não de alguns e para alguns. E, sem abertura, não há globalidade." in Ibid: 34.

¹²⁸³ "(...) num conceito total da Cidade dado que são operações que, pela sua importância e suas consequências, não se compadecem com a visão do fenómeno em si, (...)." in Ibid: 37.

¹²⁸⁴ For an extended description of the relation between the political moment and professional debates reaching Ribeira-Barredo see Queirós, "Precarious Housing, Everyday Life and Relation with the State in Porto's Historic Centre in the Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy"; and Queirós, *No Centro, à Margem. Sociologia Das Intervenções Urbanísticas E Habitacionais Do Estado No Centro Histórico Do Porto*: 46-57.

¹²⁸⁵ Decree-law nº 40 616 of May 28 1956.

¹²⁸⁶ Távora wrote in 1969: "(...) not only because they were those (areas) that more problems presented but also for the Mr. Minister of Public Works having shown the greatest interest for that area." "(...) não só por serem dos que mais problemas apresentam mas também por ter o Senhor Ministro das Obras Públicas mostrado o maior interesse por essa zona." in *Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo*: 28.

its community “soo filled of ruins, living among ruins.”¹²⁸⁷

As said earlier, Auzelle’s design for Ribeira-Barredo was never executed, for reasons that intersect two important changes in the country’s landscape. Firstly (1), despite the country’s economic growth during the 1960s, with the extension of the wars the regime moved considerable sums of treasury out of key development ministries, such as public works.¹²⁸⁸ As a result, ongoing urban master and improvement plans suffered cutbacks and delays, given that execution and funding of any plan was centrally dispatched by the ministry of public works. The municipal commission set up in 1962, to study the urban improvement of Ribeira-Barredo, was not only understaffed, being constituted by one architect and one technical staff member. Its proposals were also indefinitely stalled by ministerial bottlenecks. Secondly (2), in this period of delays, developments in international urban debates regarding the definition of “historic” and intervention in heritage, changed the validity of Auzelle’s plan. Its proposed extensive demolition of an old central area, with the publication of the *venice charter* in 1964 became highly condemnable. Potentially “historic,” this area was no longer just an hygienic problem to be cured. In the light of this new charter, which opened the category of “historic” to include not only monuments, but also vernacular buildings, streets, in urban and rural areas alike, Auzelle’s proposal was non-conforming, despite its stated objective of activating the “historic” performance of a *portuense* character.¹²⁸⁹ For these, among other reasons, the area was still without an effective urban renewal plan by 1967, even though demolitions and displacement had not stopped.

According to engineer Almeida e Sousa, Távora appeared in this setting, as if summoned by the *venice charter* as its local emissary, to be a “break in the demolitions.”¹²⁹⁰ The commission by him coordinated from 1967 to 1969 integrated the *Repartição de Construção de Casas*¹²⁹¹ of the municipal *Direcção de Serviços de Habitação*,¹²⁹² which was headed by a family member: the engineer D. Luís de Noronha e Távora. The municipal commission was also composed by the engineer Adriano Amendoeira dos Santos, the architect Florêncio Neto de Carvalho, the builder José Domingues Pereira dos Santos and the drawing technician António Ferreira Maia. It further integrated, specially for Ribeira-Barredo’s urban study, the social worker Maria Rosa Correia de Sousa and the municipal jurist Armando Dias Gomes. In effect, their study presented in 1969, demanded the immediate suspension of any demolitions until the global sense of their proposal was achieved, that is, until the area’s renewal was thoroughly re-organized within a framing of the city as a whole. However, was not this global framing an essential part of former master plans for the city, such as Auzelle’s? It was. The latter, for instance, worked a general view of the city’s development from Garrett’s master plan and its emphasis on a new traffic network, peripheral development and historic reification of the city’s *portuense* character. The point was not that projections of the city as a whole were not in place, but that their urban study of Ribeira-Barredo desired to subvert these. Namely that by a “foreign planner” that imposed his abstract knowledge on a landscape he ignored, for their mission was to restore a planning dialogue with the land

¹²⁸⁷ “tão cheia de ruínas, vive entre ruínas,” in “Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo”: 34.

¹²⁸⁸ Rosas and et al, *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*.

¹²⁸⁹ Piero Gazzola and Raymond Lemaire, “The Venice Charter: International Charter for the Conservation and Resoration of Monuments and Sites” (2nd Internation Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Venice, 1964); for its reading against former renewal plans for Ribeira-Barredo, see Queirós, *No Centro, À Margem. Sociologia Das Intervenções Urbanísticas E Habitacionais Do Estado No Centro Histórico Do Porto*.

¹²⁹⁰ Interview, 2015.

¹²⁹¹ Translatable as *House Construction Office*.

¹²⁹² *Direction of Housing Services*.

and “(...) the man that guarantees its vitality.”¹²⁹³



58 Accomplished demolitions (dark grey) and to be accomplished demolitions (light grey), following a renewal and rehousing plan of 1949, within Garrett’s master plan, in *Barredo’s Urban Renewal Study*, 1969, plate 12.

This re-framing came with a proposal to reorganize the municipality’s management of urban operations, directed towards making services more agile, coordinated and dynamic, in order to capture the equally agile, coordinated and dynamic “nature” of the city. The study started, however, with the why of stopping demolitions. The central issue was that of the “problem of the *ilha*” and how the municipality accomplished a “wide action” to its resolution, namely by building “about 10.000 houses (...) scattered through various zones (...)” to house the recently homeless.¹²⁹⁴ Yet, *ilhas* did “(...) not constitute the only sectors of deficient housing,” there being the need of urban renewal “(...) of sectors different from those where so far municipal action has been verified.”¹²⁹⁵ The issue was that there was a need for a wider municipal action, “(...) not only in *ilha* sectors but in all the other City sectors that present deficient conditions of housing – soo much more grave than that of the *ilhas* (...)”¹²⁹⁶ In a subtle and legally infused narrative, the study thus started by arguing that the municipality’s attention to “corridor” *ilhas* and the scattering of its population through new modern quarters, was at least partially wrong for the city. They recognized that the urban conditions associated with these *ilhas*, namely conditions of insalubrity, insolation and unhealthy human density, were present in many other

¹²⁹³ Távora, “Imposição E Expressão No Urbanismo.”

¹²⁹⁴ “uma ampla acção (...), cerca de 10.000 fogos (...) dispersos por vários sectores (...)” in “Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo”: 1.

¹²⁹⁵ “(...) não constituem os únicos sectores de habitação deficiente, (...) de sectores diferentes daqueles onde até agora se tem verificado a acção municipal.” in *Ibid.*

¹²⁹⁶ “(...) não apenas nos sectores das ilhas mas em todos os outros sectores da Cidade que apresentem condições deficientes de habitação – tantas vezes mais graves do que as das ilhas (...)” in *Ibid.*

places not denominated as *ilhas* and with far worse dimensions. The study thus advanced:

The awareness of the difficulty of such action and the need of an experience in sectors perhaps less complex, lead Town-hall to delay its renewing action in these other sectors, having understood, however, that the moment has arrived to face such problem.¹²⁹⁷

Ribeira-Barredo was to be the “typical and concrete” example for a basis of urban intervention into this flowing of the *ilha* throughout the city, beyond the “corridor” *ilha*. The study used the area as the vehicle for broader debates on the planning and building of decent housing in the city as a whole, and specifically regarding the municipality’s capacity for enveloping and making effective this whole. Going beyond its legal framing, the study was not solely justified as part of the *improvement plan* of 1956. Ribeira-Barredo and its “historic” character served as entrance point, “case-study,” into a review of the *improvement plan*’s inherently flawed housing policy. Furthermore, the area served as key case-study for this reviewing, as well as for reviewing the city’s global planning. Ribeira-Barredo was not only a “typical case of degradation.” But also contained a key “meaning” for the city. Its central position and the significance in a possible centralization of the city’s culture-as-an-object, irradiated solutions for the whole city, they argued. If this translated Távora’s architecture ambitions of seizing the city by one of its parts, making it productive for a projection of the city as a whole, it did so by articulating in it a variety of readings and voices.

Two specific institutions formed the study’s script and power of its claim, and were openly acknowledged at the beginning of the study. These were: the Social Center and the Porto’s school.¹²⁹⁸ The first was crucial as mediator to the area’s population and for its knowledge of the constitution and aspirations of this population. In its small working space in the ground floor of a four-stories building by the river front, next to the medieval arches, was where Távora and his team first met Ribeira-Barredo dwellers, namely young dwellers. The space was used for youth-directed activities of reading and study groups, playing games, organizing outdoor activities, among others, namely that of enabling contact with residents through their children. These supplied the Social Center’s key mediation with Ribeira-Barredo homes and their problems. Likewise, in this small room next to the old archway, Távora and his team met a “youth that wants to be integrated (...) in *portuense* society” and through whose goodwill and energy they inquired households, photographed *ocean liners*, got to know what was engaged in the delight with which that old woman sitting at her doorstep was eating boiled cod with potatoes and vegetables. This is how Mr. Vencelau met Távora and the municipal commission, as one of the young gathered at the Center and then becoming an informant to the urban commission and its study. Knocking the neighborhood’s doors with an architect by his side, helping out in the inquiries, sneaking into *ocean liners* to report on their living conditions, going to the public meeting of the study.¹²⁹⁹

¹²⁹⁷ “A consciência da dificuldade de tal actuação e a necessidade de uma experiência em sectores porventura menos complexos, levou a Câmara Municipal a protelar a sua acção renovadora nestes outros sectores, entendendo-se, porém, ser chegado o momento de encarar tal problema.” in Ibid.

¹²⁹⁸ Ibid: 2.

¹²⁹⁹ Távora, however, according to the engineer Almeida e Sousa and Mr. Venceslau did not go many times to the Social Centee and Ribeira-Barredo, making few occasional visits. According to Mr. Venceslau, intern architects and the commission’s staff were the ones that more time spent “down here.”

The Social Center was also an interface between the *Instituto de Serviço Social* (Social Service Institute) and Ribeira-Barredo. Created by Porto's Church as a private cooperative, by the initiative of bishop António Ferreira Gomes, this institute was one important operation articulating the latter's plan of repositioning the Church in society. It served to form social assistants that would work in various charitable and social associations in the city, namely coordinated by the Church such as Ribeira-Barredo's Center. The course lasted three years and its main target areas were physiological hygiene, law, theology, philosophy and the practical formation of social service itself. The latter involved incurring in various periods of traineeship along the three years, through which the institute's students met Ribeira-Barredo, together with some architecture students, as also a "trial-by-fire." According to engineer Almeida e Sousa the institute's sending of students to the area became their habitual initiation in the 1960s into the social assistant career. "Every year," he says, "there would be a new batch of fresh students coming in, it was the ritual." These students, among already practiced social assistants, would arrive in Ribeira-Barredo as representatives of the Social Center and through it produce various reports, theses, inquiries.¹³⁰⁰ These reports and inquiries, accomplished by various generations of students in their traineeship and various social workers, supplied the urban study with its comprehensive population descriptions and ethnographic detail. Among various elements regarding age groups, density and family aggregate, the study presented detailed analysis of disease patterns, hygienic habits, work distribution and related difficulties, family problems, as well as causes and kinds of abuse, and even, in a section entitled "The current situation seen by the population," taking up seven pages, a multitude of personal accounts, complaints, musings, stories of the everyday by interviewed dwellers.¹³⁰¹

That small ground-floor room next to the archway played a key part in articulating Ribeira-Barredo's much larger stake on a global renewal of the city. Through it flowed the many reports, social inquiries, acquaintances and contacts, crafted by many social workers and apprentices, that produced the study's grounding. That which supported its claim of giving renewal its "true meaning," of both physical and social betterment. Through that small room it was also possible to rally the help of some of the neighborhood's youth, namely a small group of teenagers to which Mr. Venceslau belonged, that acted the study's following claim:

(...) if it is true that time is a fundamental factor to the renewal of a sector that time built, it is also true that it cannot be realized by the sum of small initiatives, without the creation of a climate of participation that envelops everything and all in a common and aware desire to change the situation, (...).¹³⁰²

The study reflected the determinant role of this group of neighborhood teenagers throughout. In the sociologic rendering of Barredo, it wrote: "(...) the teenager, although conditioned by unbalances and conflictual forms of aggressivity, in a general manner formed by constant tutoring, as future mentor of

¹³⁰⁰ Such as the reports, for instance, *As actividades das mulheres no Barredo* (Women's activities in Barredo) from 1960 by Esmeraldina Adelaide do Couto Oliveira, and *O Serviço Social de Casos no Barredo* (The Social Service of Cases in Barredo) from 1965 by Maria Irene Saramago Bonifácio, both cited in "Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo": 16.

¹³⁰¹ "A situação actual vista pela população" in "Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo": 20-26.

¹³⁰² "(...) se é verdade que o tempo é factor fundamental da renovação de um sector que o tempo construiu é também verdade que ela não pode realizar-se pela soma de pequenas iniciativas, sem a criação de um clima de participação que englobe tudo e todos, num desejo comum e consciente de alterar a situação, (...)." in *Ibid*: 33.

the area he might, despite this, be the positive base of support for a human planning that involves the socio-economic promotion of this community.”¹³⁰³ Later, when presenting the importance of an “intense action” of public awareness directed at preparing dwellers for the urban works, “the youth might have a more active role.”¹³⁰⁴ Namely in the creation of work groups designed to ease the process, such as that developed by the municipal commission from Mr. Venceslau’s group of friends. Beyond the suggested investment in the neighborhood’s youth as its “future mentors,” Mr. Venceslau and his group were instrumental to reach a population “fustigated by inquiries” and false promises, especially for a study claiming actual knowledge of the area’s urban reality.¹³⁰⁵

In that same little room where all these elements passed and where chained, so too was the apprenticeship of at least two different school years of architecture students. As Loza describes it: “Filomena (referring to the colleague Filomena Vasconcelos) and I went there when we were surveying and immediately we were overrun by kids, playing with us, asking about our doings, they wouldn’t leave us alone...we would make them do drawings, mainly so we could have time to take the place’s measurements.” Loza and his class, however, were not supposed to directly address Távora’s urban study. It was the former year, that of 1967-68, that openly worked, through their school assignments, for Ribeira-Barredo’s urban renewal. That year Filgueiras sent his *Arquitectura Analítica* students for the first time into the area, coordinating with Távora’s fifth year course *Composição de Arquitectura 3* (Architecture Composition 3). In the latter, the assignments given by Távora were actual architecture surveys and proposals composing the commission’s study by him coordinated. Students worked in groups targeting quarters as intervention unit. Each group assigned a quarter and then each quarter divided between group members. All proposals developed solutions that kept the urban morphology of the area, applying few and controlled punctual demolitions. All advanced the thorough rehabilitation of existing architecture, while proposing the upgrading of the building quality through the use of modern material, structures, amenities and adapting apartment plans for lower densities and greater privacy.¹³⁰⁶

Távora’s and Filgueiras’ classes together supplied the urban study with its detailed morphologic survey, inquiries, photographs and reports. This detailed survey of “all the dwellings in Barredo” was openly acknowledged in the study.¹³⁰⁷ The students’ contributions to the design solutions, however, was not. A variety of reasons can be summoned for this omission: (1) that students’ solutions followed from the one already elaborated by their teacher; (2) that openly acknowledging their contribution might have created problems within the municipality; (3) that their possible contributions were mostly secondary at best; among other reasons. Any of which does not cover for the fact that two classes in Porto’s school worked for a whole year as an extension of the offices of the municipal commission

¹³⁰³ “(...) o adolescente, embora condicionado por desequilíbrios e formas conflituosas de agressividade, marcado de maneira geral pela permanência em tutorias, como futuro mentor da zona, poderá, apesar disso, ser uma base positiva de apoio a um planeamento humano que vise a promoção sócio-económica desta comunidade.” in Ibid: 18. In this context, tutoring should be read as constant social supervision, namely through the Center, and not as constant presence of the teenager in formal educational institutions, aiming for the social and personal elevation of the teenager.

¹³⁰⁴ “(...) a juventude poderá ter papel mais activo, (...)” in Ibid: 36.

¹³⁰⁵ The study wrote the youth as key to, in its words, the “(...) elimination of bad will and suspicion that normally exist in the affected population – and we well know, by lived experience, what goes on in Barredo (...)” (“(...) eliminação da má vontade e da desconfiança que normalmente existem nas populações afectadas – e nós sabemos bem, por experiência vivida, o que se passa no Barredo (...)”) in Ibid: 35.

¹³⁰⁶ See the pertinent and helpful assembling of Ribeira-Barredo’s school exercises with the actual urban study, by Moniz, Correia, and Gonçalves, “O Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo. A Formação Social Do Arquitecto Para Um Território Mais Democrático.”

¹³⁰⁷ “Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo”: 2.

headed by Távora. The area's urban renewal study definitely passed through the various aspirations of "little red book" reading students, even though its effects may have been underplayed, and are nowadays momentarily out of view. Furthermore, this passing through was not a small thing, at least for some of the students, as the *Arquitectura Analítica* report with which we finished the last section of this chapter expressed: "an experience that we can never forget."

This pedagogical laboratory, independently of the readings we may make of its role, joined the vast work by social workers and trainees, Mr. Venceslau's and his friends' neighborhood activism, in helping the urban study articulate a whole city from a real one. These various movements, students and interested dwellers greatly formed, as stated above, the script and the power of the urban study's claims regarding a true renewal, "openness and globality." What city and with which "landscape values," then, appeared from this combined seizing of its various and dynamic parts?

Looking "past the ruins," physical and human, partly produced by the municipality's "good intentions," the study found a part of Porto that held the potential to be "(...) no more a ghetto, nor a mass of ruins, but a living center and a beautiful element of the urban landscape."¹³⁰⁸ A "social-morphological" urban whole from which the municipality's and the state's urban protocols could receive a precious infusion of urban priorities, methods and solutions. Through which the study globally claimed:

And so as it is not enough to inquire the housing problem in order to study the renovation of the sector, it is also not enough, in what regards buildings and for a life of human, social and economic plenitude, to build houses.¹³⁰⁹

Because "(...) men are worth infinitely more than houses," which made the mass dislocations of poor dwellers accomplished by the municipality's *improvement plan* particularly "inhuman." In the study's words, a population had the "acquired rights" and the "City" had the "obligation," not to afflict its "economic interests, (...) psychological and social structure" with the violence of "mass dislocation."¹³¹⁰ This aspect was "more important," yet presupposed by the preposition that "(...) a cultural value is a whole and not just the parts of a whole," like a building is just one part of a "context" that is made meaningful by various supporting parts.¹³¹¹ Ribeira-Barredo, a "physical and human complex" where the "(...) time dimension has such elevated meaning," powerfully embodied this critique of modern planning and its proposition of, in the study's narrative, replacing an inherent and historically conquered cultural value for an entirely new one, imposed on "Man and Land."

The power of the study's critique to Porto's *improvement plan* and former modern plans, as well as of its claim to a true and globally reaching urban renewal, hinged on the resolution of this "cultural value" Ribeira-Barredo acted. Resolution means here "the quality of the determination" and not the resolving of something or its loosening into the stream of reality. On the contrary, the urban study's process was that of selecting and determining from the dynamic and contested stream of realities

¹³⁰⁸ "(...) não mais um gheto nem um monte de ruínas, mas um centro vivo e um belo elemento da paisagem urbana." in Ibid: 59.

¹³⁰⁹ "E assim como não baste inquirir do problema da habitação para estudar a renovação de um sector, não basta também, em matéria de edifícios e para uma vida de plenitude humana, social e económica, construir casas." in Ibid: 37.

¹³¹⁰ "(...) os homens valem infinitamente mais do que as casas, (...) os seus interesses económicos (...) toda a sua estrutura social e psicológica." in Ibid: 32.

¹³¹¹ "(...) um valor cultural é um todo e não partes de um todo, (...)" in "Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo": 32.

making Ribeira-Barredo, a particular set of urban, architectural and collective or political values. The values extracted from Barredo held together the radical proposal, at the time in Portugal, for a dynamic and multi-levelled process of urban renewal, activating architecture institutions, administrative agility and social institutions, as complementary in a true social-urban renewal.¹³¹² We already saw how the Social Center held together a specific group of experiences, “modes of being” as the study would say, making Ribeira-Barredo. In order to accurately grasp the sought true renewal project and the meaning of its motto “continuing-innovating” we need, however, to understand how these “modes of being” were assembled together with other elements to form a urban cultural value as a whole. For this, it is key to account for the various fields of knowledge deployed to hold together Ribeira-Barredo’s planning possibility. Stated differently, what passed through “the ruins”?

The study’s structure seems to follow the framework of urban inquiry worked into the DGSU in 1945-46 and the first configuration of the *urbanology* courses. Close to de Gröer’s urban planning methods, the study started with a “physical picture” lead by a brief history of Porto’s formation, providing the civilizational script through which Porto’s character was made to emerge.¹³¹³ In it, Ribeira-Barredo was narrated as key story to its historical meaning. It moved into the description of this area’s morphologic connections with surrounding city areas. Then a description of its “geo-climatic” conditions, followed by a general description of its building architecture, function, present state and “historic” value. Complemented by an analysis of the area’s roads and public fares, its public services and infrastructures. Lastly, it presented an interpretation of the area’s cultural values. All of these elements were derived from considerations of the area’s geology and morphology, leaving its “social” aspects for a second section called “human picture.” This developed a description of the demography, health status, professional activities, socio-economical and education levels, and a sociologic portrait of the area’s population. A variety of maps supplemented the study throughout, drawing densities, building status, functions and movements, and similar to the maps used by Auzelle in his plans, namely that of Porto and Aveiro.

In the sociologic portrait, the study moved beyond this already well defined set of urban tools, worked through Porto’s school, *urbanology* and Paris *Institute d’Urbanisme*.¹³¹⁴ In this portrait of the human-problem-in-need-of-architecture, the elements flowing through the Social Center were made to appear in their richness, and accompanied by various reports from the Social Service Institute. The novelty regarding such planning studies resided in the introduction of two key elements in the sociological description: an analysis of dweller’s reactions to re-housing and a description of the “the current situation seen by the population.” As said before, these parts combined took up a considerable parcel of the study and came with the important role of showing the “raw and naked truth.”¹³¹⁵ Stated differently, the urban study’s main innovation resided in letting the Social Center speak generously. This was the key step towards the “human,” “social,” side of renewal that the study proposed.

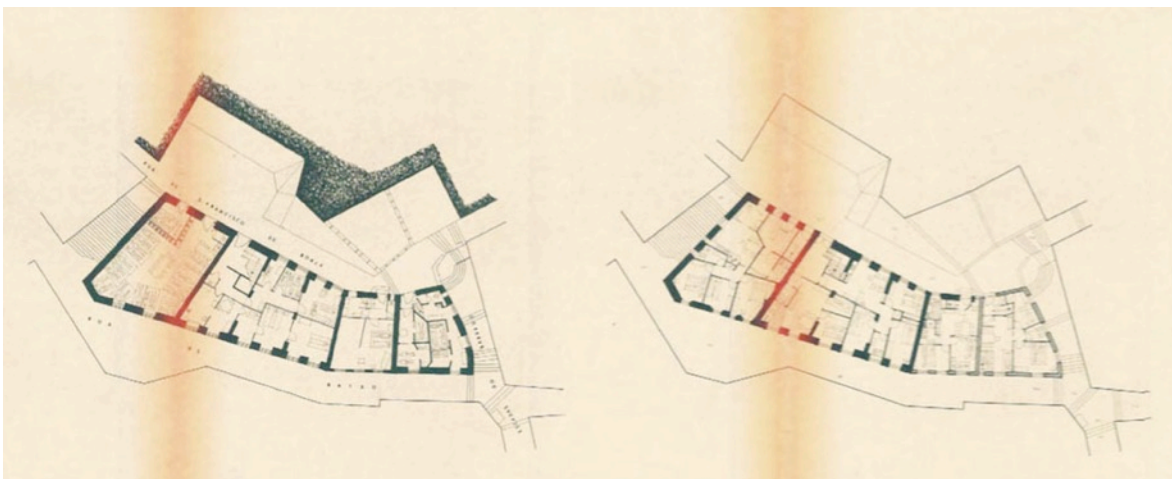
¹³¹² This point has been successively upheld by a variety of works, for instance: Gros, *O Alojamento Social Sob O Fascismo*; Mário Falcão, “O Porto, Os Planos Municipais E O Turismo,” *Revista Da Faculdade de Letras - Geografia XV/XVI* (2000 1999): 63–78; Costa, “Urban Rehabilitation Societies: The Oporto Case as a Reference in the Portuguese Practice”; Queirós, “Precarious Housing, Everyday Life and Relation with the State in Porto’s Historic Centre in the Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy”; Moniz, Correia, and Gonçalves, “O Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo. A Formação Social Do Arquitecto Para Um Território Mais Democrático.”

¹³¹³ Gröer, “Introdução Ao Urbanismo.”

¹³¹⁴ See chapter 5.

¹³¹⁵ “(...) a verdade nua e crua da situação,” in “Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo”: 20. The interviews were collected by the social worker Maria Rosa Correia de Sousa.

This section was followed by an appraisal of former urban plans and studies, active urban laws and strategic aspects identified to the area. From this analysis the study highlighted two main strategies for the area that should be kept from Auzelle's master plan: culture and tourism. This was followed by a planning proposal. The latter strictly followed the presentation frame espoused by de Gröer twenty years before in the DGSU's first report.¹³¹⁶ It laid its philosophy, strategic guidelines, urban and architectural program, then followed by an appraisal of its economic and social advantages, as well as shortcomings. This was followed by a decree-law proposal and a case-study intervention, which involved two quarters, those that were studied and designed by the 1967-68 architecture students. To this habitual way of addressing a plan, within the *urbanology* culture emerging in the post-war, the study joined a number of innovative elements. It proposed preserving dweller's right to their place, prioritizing that Ribeira-Barredo inhabitants should be kept in their neighborhood and only moved when entirely necessary. It proposed the formation of local working groups, formed by young dwellers, that would help translate the plan's priorities and steps to the population, as well as assist in house calls, required in re-housing and re-construction processes. Furthermore, the study proposed the creation of a municipal department dedicated to dialoguing with inhabitants, educating these in regards to the plan and to their participation in it.

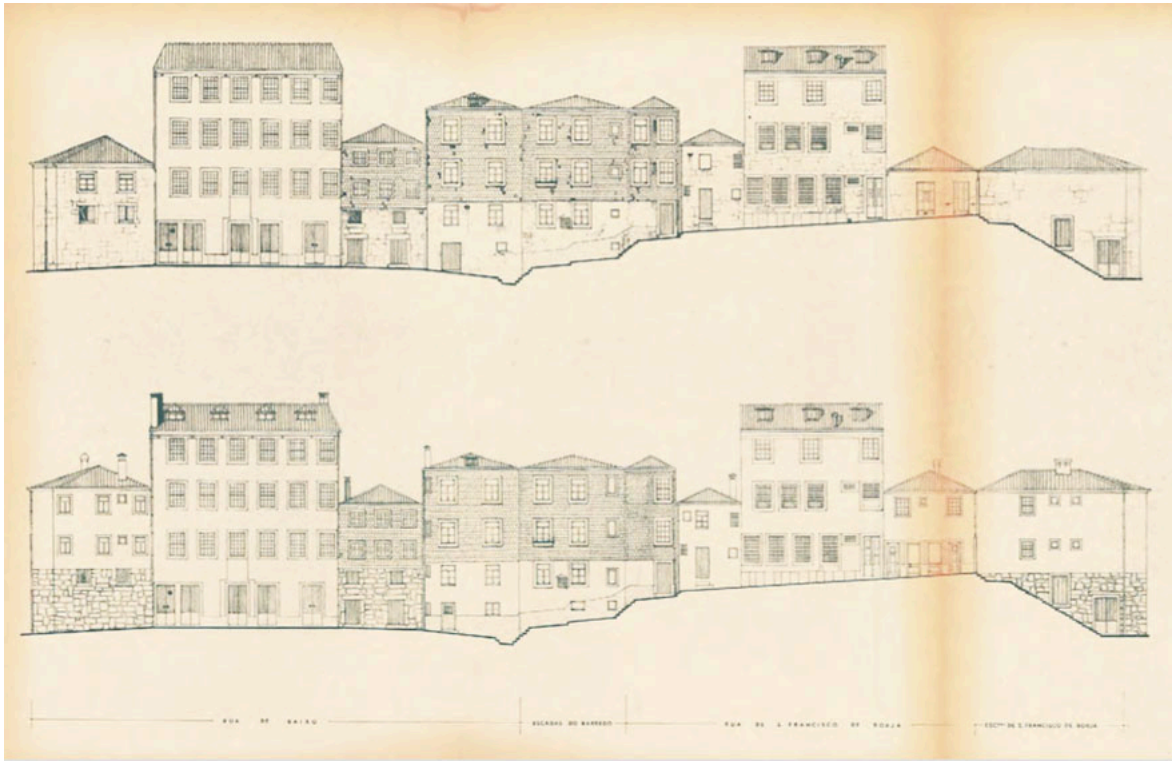


59 Before and after drawing of one block, changing density, in *Barredo's Urban Renewal Study*, 1969.

These proposals appeared in the study's strategic guidelines, urban program and decree-law proposal. Seen in sequence with other plans in Portugal from the same period, it was most probably the first concrete urban plan to propose the creation, not only of local groups for the success of any urban renewal and rehousing operation, but also a public office dedicated to practising a form of participated planning. Something that was only practiced in all its ambition, and only very briefly, during the revolutionary period of 1974-76. On the other hand, this urban study was by far the most comprehensive urban analysis of an *ilha* and the relations of its population with the city at large. To which should be added another innovations, from the point of view of its architectural program. It proposed to integrally restore Ribeira-Barredo as a complex and indispensable social-material heritage to the city of Porto. Firstly (1), apparently following the *venice charter*, the whole area was written as a

¹³¹⁶ Gröer, "Introdução Ao Urbanismo."

living heritage that needed to be preserved. Secondly (2), the “traditional” attitude of restoration, re-making everything as it was, was disavowed in favor of what was described as a more proactive solution, containing the full meaning of “continuing-innovating.” The architectural renewal proposed the reconstruction of the historic expressions of the area’s architectures, through new techniques and modern combinations, and not through the mimetic repetition of an original shape.



60 Before and after drawing of façades of the same block, in *Barredo’s Urban Renewal Study*, 1969.

This design attitude followed the premises of a former plan to a demolished area in Ribeira-Barredo by architect Luís Cunha: “It will, therefore, be the criterium of sensibility towards the fundamental values of the landscape that will guide the conception of new construction and not only that of historical reconstitution, in this case, as is clear, impossible in the same measure as is that of affirmation of modernity for modernity’s sake.”¹³¹⁷ But it also dialogued with similar experiences of urban renewal, such as that by Italian architects Giuseppe Campos Venuti, among others, in Bologna’s master plan. Developed during the same period, approved in 1969, this master plan also proposed to control the city and its growth through the renewal of its historic quarters. It was more specifically invested in controlling the city’s suburban expansion, by fixating its population in central areas, yet it practiced a similar principle of architecture rehabilitation, through the combination of historic architecture

¹³¹⁷ “Será portanto o critério de sensibilidade aos valores fundamentais da paisagem que orientará a concepção da nova construção e não somente o da reconstituição histórica, neste caso, de resto, impossível ou da afirmação da modernidade pela modernidade.” in “Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo”: 30. It is meaningful that the study highlighted how this proposal by Luís Cunha was rejected by the state for not “integrating (...) the existent architectural assemble.”

expression with modern combinations and functions.¹³¹⁸



61 Luís Cunha's photomontage illustrating the attitude to construct the new in continuity, in *Barredo's Urban Renewal Study*, 1969, plate 25.

As we can see through this brief list of the elements presented by the urban study, it was richly elaborated, namely by allowing a wide interdisciplinarity and thorough analysis of past proposals, speak in its claims. At the same time, its validity was robustly expressed in a well structured presentation of issues, problems, solutions and expertises, following closely the French *urbanology* lessons. However, how did this combination allow Ribeira-Barredo to act as a whole, a “fundamental value,” for the city?

An “agglomerate” that had “naturally” born between the river and the hill of *penaventosa*, where the Sé complex now rests, birthing “many cities” in a “crossing of roads.” A centre of “extraordinary importance” in the middle ages that, however, as it was progressively abandoned by its “original population” became a place of “degradation, a sort of residential drain where a place can always be found as long as one pays those that of the situation know how to best profit.”¹³¹⁹ A place whose “historical evolution and role” in the city give it a “temporal density.” The variety of times present in its buildings, streets and squares “(...) physically document a long an intense life that culminates today in a situation of true torture.” Even if so, its “historical value,” “naturally” gives it a special “beauty and

¹³¹⁸ The connection to this Italian experience is emphasized in order to argue the innovation, as well as the common European stakes, of Távora's urban study, by Moniz, Correia, and Gonçalves, “O Estudo de Renovação Urbana Do Barredo. A Formação Social Do Arquitecto Para Um Território Mais Democrático”; and also by Queirós, *No Centro, À Margem. Sociologia Das Intervenções Urbanísticas E Habitacionais Do Estado No Centro Histórico Do Porto*.

¹³¹⁹ “(...) de degradação, numa espécie de vazadouro residencial onde sempre se encontra lugar desde que se pague àqueles que da situação sabem tirar o melhor partido.” in *Ibid*: 5-6.

character,” equally present in the “smallest detail” and the “ample assemble.” An assemble, “(...) in truth, extremely meaningful for *portuense* urban landscape,” offering itself to the traveller from the south with an “extraordinary vigour.”¹³²⁰ Ribeira-Barredo was the city’s “natural” birth rejected, the material measure of its roots.

Its dwellers in the 1960s were not unaware of the “cultural value of its environment.” It was not only its “historical and aesthetical value” that gave Ribeira-Barredo its “special meaning,” but also its human frame, “(...) unfortunately with so many negative aspects – gives it a characteristic *tónus* by its type of life, its activities, its reactions its language, its mode of being in a word.” It “must evolve” to a new frame but also full of “character and vigour,” namely around the area’s “notable touristic aptitude.”¹³²¹ There in the birthing of a city was a “(...) populacional group that manifests itself as urban, in aspirations, attitudes and forms of culture, although forming a group aside the city (...)”¹³²² A group in which there is a “rootedness and love” for its environment, made also by “bonds of solidarity and mutual help.” Where there was always “place for one more.”¹³²³ A group, however, vastly afflicted by “(...) marginality, juvenile delinquency, adultery, prostitution, and alcoholism,” as well as unemployment, uncertain job and housing opportunities, illiteracy and welfare exclusion.¹³²⁴ “(W)hat positive values,” the study asked, could be found in a “(...) sector so delapidated in all its aspects”?

We will say, before anything else, that to find them we must learn to see beyond the ruins. And, in effect, beyond the human ruins we find men – and where there are men there is always hope – with acquired rights and with ambitions, with a social structure and, mostly, with a youth that wants to integrate, and will have to integrate, *portuense* society; and that community, so full of ruins, lives amidst ruins, where eyes that know how to see find visual manifestations of past cultures that must not be lost and not only for their evocative or sentimental aspect, but also for its pragmatic aspect, because they constitute permanent lessons the past guarantees the future. Continuing, therefore, innovating.¹³²⁵

The promising youth were to be the agents, the “mentors,” of a re-validation of Ribeira-Barredo’s “temporal density,” activating its various pasts in a thriving cultural center, improving their lives in the process, while these guaranteed past lessons. The proposed renewal tended to these elements, having in aim the social and cultural dividends of rehabilitating a place pregnant with history and strong communal feelings of belonging. At the front of which was touristic potential as a way of “bringing life

¹³²⁰ “(...) documentam fisicamente uma vida longa e intensa que culmina no tempo presente com uma situação de verdadeira tortura. (...) em verdade, extremamente significativo na paisagem urbana *portuense* (...)” in *Ibid*: 12.

¹³²¹ “(...) infelizmente com tantos aspectos negativos – lhe dá um *tónus* característico pelo seu tipo de vida, suas actividades, suas reacções, sua linguagem, seu modo de ser, numa palavra; (...) carácter e de vigor. (...) uma notável aptidão turística (...)” in *Ibid*: 13.

¹³²² “(...) agrupamento populacional que se manifesta urbano, em aspirações, atitudes e formas de cultura, embora formando um grupo à parte da cidade (...)” in *Ibid*: 19.

¹³²³ “há sempre lugar para mais um,” expression cited in *Ibid*: 15.

¹³²⁴ “(...) marginalidade, delinquência juvenil, adultério, prostituição, mancebia e alcoolismo.” in *Ibid*: 17.

¹³²⁵ “(...) que valores positivos poderão existir num sector tão delapidado em todos os seus aspectos. Diremos, antes do mais, que para os encontrar é preciso saber ver para além das ruínas. E, com efeito, para além das ruínas humanas encontramos homens – e onde há homens há sempre esperança – com direitos adquiridos e com ambições, com uma estrutura social, e, sobretudo com uma juventude que quer integrar-se, e terá de integrar-se, na sociedade *portuense*; e essa comunidade, tão cheia de ruínas, vive entre ruínas, onde olhos que saibam ver encontram manifestações visuais de culturas passadas que não podem perder-se e não apenas pelo seu aspecto evocativo ou sentimental mas também pelo seu aspecto pragmático, porque constituem lições permanentes que o passado garante ao futuro.” in *Ibid*: 33-34.

back to the city's center." The observed beyond the ruins had to fit a "total concept of the City," a "global vision" that also implied, "naturally," a "regional vision," articulated thus:¹³²⁶

(...), nothing lives isolated in a City: just think, for example, the programming and construction of the Directional Centre of Campo Alegre, partly provoked by the existence of the Arrábida Bridge, cannot be exempt from thinking in the fate of the old center, whose function will be diverse but that is a complementary element to that one in the whole of the City;¹³²⁷

Everything in a city was connected, chained in a sequence of effects that needed to be inserted "harmoniously in the urban assemble," as an "organic whole." Ribeira-Barredo, the old center, had as much a role to play in the unfolding city as the new urban center being thought for Campo Alegre. Continuity and balancing of positions, arranging a consensus in the body-city as a whole, were the main needs and challenges of the urban study. For this whole, Ribeira-Barredo and its "temporal density," perpetuating precious lessons from the past, had to be rehabilitated "no matter the cost." Its fundamental value had to be reinscribed in the living city fabric, no longer a "ghetto" but producing the city's center anew and infusing the whole "organism" with its "vigorous character."

As enticing as this preposition of the city sounded, a key part of its elaboration did not derive from the task of studying the urban renewal of Ribeira-Barredo. Neither from the organic metaphors brought to Portuguese *urbanology* by Agache's and de Gröer's measuring of urban cultural values, as well as the specific set of solutions harking back to the *Musée Sociale* and its sought urban social peace. To understand what body-city, as in body politic, passed through and animated this study's articulation of a punctual renewal with a view over the whole city, we need to follow its coordinator more closely. Stated differently, we must turn to Távora in 1961-62 and the way he transformed his experience of North America in a specific city *projecto* and advanced architecture's "service" for a world with a "faith" and balance.

By 1962, among other colleague teacher-assistants such as Filgueiras and João Andresen, he was asked to develop a dissertation. It served as institutional vehicle for professional promotion into full-time and paid teaching position. Távora delivered a dissertation titled *Of Spatial Organization*.¹³²⁸ In it he undertook the tasks of, in sequence, (1) developing an ontology of architecture and urbanism as spatial organization, (2) deploying a portrait of the hegemonic spatial organization in the world, and lastly (3) developing an appraisal of Portuguese spatial organization, its faults and needed reforms. Regarding the first operation, it extended the ideas presented in his 1952 article of the three fundamentals of spatial organization - life conditioned and conditioning; the collaboration of all; permanent modernity.¹³²⁹ He argued in more detail the unquestionable fact that "Man" produces space merely by moving, conditioning and conditioned. Thus, making it impossible to dissociate what only

¹³²⁶ "um conceito total da Cidade" in Ibid: 37.

¹³²⁷ "(...), nada vive isolado numa Cidade: só pensar-se, por exemplo, na programação e construção do Centro Direccional do Campo Alegre, provocado em parte pela existência da Ponte da Arrábida, não poderá deixar de pensar-se no destino do velho centro, cuja função será diversa mas que é elemento complementar daquele no todo da Cidade;" in Ibid: 38.

¹³²⁸ Fernando Távora, *Da Organização Do Espaço* (Porto: FAUP, 2008); while João Andresen delivered one titled *Para Uma Cidade Mais Humana* (Porto: ESBAP, 1962); and Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, *A Função Social Do Arquitecto: Para Uma Teoria Da Responsabilidade Numa época de Encruzilhada* (Porto: ESBAP, 1962).

¹³²⁹ Távora, "Arquitectura E Urbanismo: A Lição Das Constantes." See chapter 6.

for convenience was named, and is named, the natural and the artificial.¹³³⁰ The organizing of space is as natural to “Man,” as the latter is natural to nature, he claimed.

It was regarding how space is organized through the collaboration of all, however, that he departed from the 1952 argument, including a distinction between “occupying” and “participating” space, and then a transformation of the latter in “collaboration.” Venice’s *san marco* square appeared once again as enigmatic object of the need of this transformation. In it the various participations making space, which ranged wide and far for Távora, came together in an “acting in common,” following a common goal, we could say a unique and unitary vision of the collective space. He claimed that as much as space is organized through “freedom of choice” there is a “moral imperative” to organize it “harmoniously” and with “limits.”¹³³¹ From this stemmed that space possessed two essential forces: continuity and permanent transformation. It was, thus, the collective’s moral duty to ensure spatial continuity in face of permanent transformation. This presupposed a crucial operation of articulating, by literally identifying, the making of physical limits with a life of common morality. This came specially in reply to the dangers read in the North American haunting, as we will see. I am here following closely the thesis that this dissertation was partly the undelivered trip report of his travels in 1960.¹³³²

In the pertinent second and third sections of Távora’s dissertation, contemporary social-spatial maladies were directly addressed, as well as his answer to them in a *projecto* for Portuguese space. These sections abound with references to his trip of 1960, most specially to North American urbanity. Mostly from these he extracted global “wrongs” regarding the contemporary organization of space. The latter traced back to most of the categories discussed in the last chapter: individualism, technical specialization, economic governance, petit-bourgeois character and interests.¹³³³ The various negative motions passed through modern spatial organization, specially North America, were read as a “disease of space,” with a specific manifestation named “delapidation.”¹³³⁴ Távora argued that everytime forms within a society clash, contradict each other and desintegrate, there is delapidation of, in the moral-physical negotiation he set up, both society and space, mutually constituting each other. In his words:

Delapidation is thus a process of creation of forms devoid of efficiency and beauty, of utility and sense, of forms without roots, (...) that nothing add to organized space (...). And this “disease” (...) affects, for example, the economy in the measure that created forms are not efficient or, if they are by themselves, they are not in the widest sense of the position they take; it affects culture in the measure that the created forms destroy existing values or don’t create values of cultural meaning; affects, in one word, man, in his physical and spiritual life, in the measure that the created forms (...)

¹³³⁰ He wrote: “Dislocating his body, building his house, plowing a field, writing a letter, dressing himself, painting, driving his automobile, raising a bridge, we could say - living - man organizes his surrounding space, creating forms, some apparently static, others clearly dynamic.” (“Deslocando o seu corpo, construindo a sua casa, arroteando um campo, escrevendo uma carta, vestindo-se, pintando, conduzindo o seu automóvel, levantando uma ponte, poderíamos dizer - vivendo - o homem organiza o espaço que o cerca, criando formas, umas aparentemente estáticas, outras claramente dinâmicas.”) in Távora, *Da Organização Do Espaço*: 14.

¹³³¹ See Ibid: 20-21, 25-27.

¹³³² This thesis was put forward by Ana Mesquita, in “O Melhor de Dois Mundos: A Viagem Do Arquitecto Távora Aos EUA E Japão - Diário 1960” (Master’s Dissertation, Department of Architecture of the University of Coimbra, 2007).

¹³³³ Some of these were specifically translated through José Ortega y Gasset’s ideas of the “senorito satisfecho” and the “barbarie do especialismo” in José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (London and New York: W.W. Norton, 1993); see Távora, *Da Organização Do Espaço*: 21.

¹³³⁴ Távora, *Da Organização Do Espaço*: 26-27.

compete for the devaluing of its physical environment, to disturb his existence in multiple aspects.¹³³⁵

Regarding the economic effects of delapidation, it is important to bear in mind this notion of “the position they take,” because a crucial part of the solution put forward for the city as a whole in the urban study, consisted in harmonizing different and confronting positions. Notwithstanding, Távora followed this disease to North America, indirectly recognizing its pathology as of European birth by framing the history of modern evolution from east to the west, from Greece, to Rome, to Europe and then North America. The “disease” was borne of Europe, yet grew into a full-blown pathology in the west. He recognized that this powerful civilizational motion of development, centered on a concern for “Man,” through technology, economy, individualism, personal freedom and comfort, created many “desintegrations, contradictions and confusions,” between “Man,” himself and nature. The modern world was out of balance by the force of its own ambitions and transformative powers, full of excentric positions, ambiguity and lack of limits, moral and physical, mixtures of “traditional” ways and “modern techniques.” Stated differently, full of “cyborg” existences, according to Haraway, or still, of hybrids exposing the pre-modern patterns of modern processes, according to Latour.¹³³⁶

Nothing manifested this “desintegrative” power of transformation like North America, the final point in the evolutionary line started in Greece, and nothing better made it a structural mode of living than its idea of city or lack thereof:

It impresses, while going through north-american cities, by chance the more typical of the contemporary occidental man, the discontinuity of its organized space: zones that grow from one day to the other, zones that from one day to the other die, enormous and amorphous vacuums that, like blows, dilacerate space, giants next to pigmies, industry harming residence, “rich” and “poor” sectors, areas where the sun, the great animator of forms, never penetrates and, here and there, shy green spaces or even and only shy trees that the asphalt and polluted air practically stop from existing.

But the city also rules over its neighbor spaces and there the spectacle is perhaps even more desolating; construction grow by the thousands like mushrooms in fertile land, in a “laissez faire” of monotonous disharmony. It is then the spectacle of the suburbs, sectors neither one thing nor the other, amorphous, uncolored, uncharacteristic, passive, without the soul that, even perhaps diabolical, the city always possesses. And because the city attracts city, “conurbation” is born or the constellation of cities that tends to eliminate the spaces that separated them, in a constant frenzy, in a limitless insatisfaction.¹³³⁷

¹³³⁵ “A delapidação é assim um processo de criação de formas desprovidas de eficiência e de beleza, de utilidade e de sentido, de formas sem raízes, (...) que nada acrescentam ao espaço organizado (...). E esta “doença” (...) afecta, por exemplo, a economia na medida em que as formas criadas não são eficientes ou, se o são por si, não o são no sentido mais amplo da posição que ocupam; afecta a cultura na medida em que as formas criadas destroem valores existentes ou não criam valores de significado cultural; afecta, numa palavra, o homem, na sua vida física e espiritual, na medida em que as formas criadas (...) concorrem, pela desvalorização do seu ambiente físico, para o perturbar em aspectos múltiplos da sua existência.” in *Ibid*: 27.

¹³³⁶ Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*; Latour, *Nous N'avons Jamais Été Modernes. Essai D'anthropologie Symétrique*.

¹³³⁷ “Impressiona, ao percorrer as cidades norte-americanas, porventura as mais típicas do homem ocidental contemporâneo, a descontinuidade do seu espaço organizado: zonas que crescem de um dia para o outro, zonas que de um dia para o outro morrem, vazios enormes e amorfos que, como golpes, dilaceram o espaço, gigantes ao lado de pigmeus, a indústria prejudicando a residência, sectores “ricos” e sectores “pobres”,

A vast “machine” where limits had been striped off, giving way to the amorphous, the amoral and the devoid of culture. Having framed the pathology afflicting contemporary spatial organization in this performance, the task was then to conduct the “arduous and costly fight” for the recreation of “harmony of organized space, resulting, after all of the harmony of man with himself, with his similar and with nature.”¹³³⁸ In “Man,” despite the “chaos” in which he finds himself, “hope” could be found, as in the youngsters from Ribeira-Barredo.

In the dissertation’s third and last section, dealing with Portuguese space, the identification of its afflictions is as much the tracing of delapidation as it is an interpretation of North American contamination, specially focusing on mushroom-like suburban growth.¹³³⁹ But delivering judgements on the spirit of specialization, individualism and its negative counterpart, egoism, and their evolution in Portugal. The country’s organized space, Távora argued, which for most of its history had a consistent, integrated and continuous historical evolution, in the recent decade was afflicted by an overwhelming “delapidation.” The main perpetrator of this, although mostly as a passive agent, was urban government and planning. Laws were incomplete and partial, not following an idea of the whole, as well as badly applied and late. Urban plans reproduced these aspects, and furthermore installed a discontinuity especially grave for Távora: a division between the plan and the city’s architecture, that is, between the work of the planner and that of the architect. As he wrote, a “good architecture” could not work in a “bad plan” and vice-versa. Continuity was not respected, as well as the actual living spatial organization, or what he called “the circumstance.” Both planning and architecture works in Portugal, according to him, were evolving along the wrong path of not paying sufficient attention to this “circumstance,” not making the project emerge from it. Here, the “collaboration of all” acted a key role, yet the solution for this broadest of problems, the “delapidation” of portuguese space, started with the plan.

If planning was the main problem, it was also its main solution. Távora argued for the creation of a “national plan,” in sequence with a discussion in national assembly in 1960, sparked by the problem of Lisbon’s metropolitan urban plan. In his view, a national plan would supply the “guidelines” regarding urban policy for the whole country, from which particular regional plans would stem, and from which then local master plans would be drawn. Planning would also have to be made more agile and dynamic, approved in shorter periods, more effectively executed and adapted to deal with the changing conditions of “the circumstance.” In this sense, planning and architecture processes, which should integrate one working whole, needed to create a network of platforms for making contact with “the circumstance” and extract its essential truths to produce socio-spatial continuity. In the grasping of “the circumstance” the historic past played a specially important role, one that “should be defended,

áreas onde o sol, o grande animador das formas, nunca penetra e, aqui e ali, tímidos espaços verdes ou até e apenas tímidas árvores que o asfalto e o ar poluído impedem, praticamente, de existir. Mas a cidade impera também sobre os espaços seus vizinhos e aí o espectáculo é talvez ainda mais desolador; as construções nascem aos milhares como cogumelos em terra propícia, num “laissez faire” de monótona desarmonia. É então o espectáculo dos subúrbios, sectores que não são uma coisa nem outra, amorfos, incolores, incaracterísticos, passivos sem a alma que, mesmo porventura diabólica, a cidade sempre possui. E porque a cidade atrai a cidade, nasce a “conurbation” ou constelação de cidades, que tende a eliminar os espaços que as separavam, num frenesim constante, numa insatisfação sem limites.” in *Ibid*: 35-36.

¹³³⁸ “árdua e custosa luta (...) harmonia do espaço organizado, resultante afinal da harmonia do homem consigo próprio, com o seu semelhante e com a natureza (...)” in *Ibid*: 46.

¹³³⁹ He wrote: “(...) that process of progressive delapidation of peripheral urban spaces constitutes a disease that, practically, has no cure.” (“(...) esse processo de delapidação progressiva dos espaços urbanos periféricos constitui uma doença que, praticamente, não tem cura.”) in *Ibid*: 53.

stubornly, no matter what.” Yet, with a “constructive attitude,” making it actual. Housing, the hot topic of the day, was also selected as the key national problem through which the solution to delapidation should be worked within the former framework.

The main fields through which Távora proposed to ready the terrain for these changes, besides vast and unspecified legal alterations regarding urban policy, were education and the “collaboration of all.” Education meant not only the education of architects, but also of everybody else. Vast educating campaigns should be promoted to prepare politicians, experts and populations alike for the “work to be done.” Guidelines for this field, even abstract ones, were not advanced, although some contested topics were touched, such as the small contribution of professional architects in the making of Portuguese cities.¹³⁴⁰ Regarding the vast collaboration efforts entailed by this “national work,” it is key to remember that within this text’s acting collaboration is not participation, but instead participation organized as a common whole, guided by a same goal. This led to the problem of what common goal might unite the vast and dispersed participations active in spatial organization. Távora, apparently aware of the difficulty of this question, did not address economy, politics or civic principles, but culture.

After describing the “intense cultural unbalance” present in the country between the coast and the hinterland, he claimed it was “interesting to notice” that there had been more “harmony” in past periods, when the “church and social elites guaranteed a more intense cultural unity,” than in the present time.¹³⁴¹ In that past, there was a qualitative and geographical balance of organized space throughout the country, as well as a consistent and continuous architectural language. What this past had that the present did not, in his words, was:

(...) more important than individuals, an integrated and continuous culture, that reached and tied all in a common sense of thought and action, a tradition that evolved slowly but safely (...).¹³⁴²

In this atemporal regime, architecture, both buildings and urbanities, were “(...) organized with cohesion, respecting realities, in a regime of full and total collaboration.”¹³⁴³ However, he safeguarded that this was not arguing for a return to some past, but that in order to re-balance contemporary spatial organization, to give continuity to its continuous transformation, one “(...) should search the essential from that past that we remember dearly and said essential is called unity, cohesion, balance, integration.”¹³⁴⁴ This confronted a multitude of individuals lost in communication through the proliferation of modern technology, as he wrote, “agitated and bumping each other” in a “demonic dance.” Far from each other, although made closer through technology, these collectives “(...) no longer possess a “culture”, (...).”¹³⁴⁵ The dissertation then finished with the following rallying cry:

Before architect, the architect is man, and a man that uses his profession as an instrument to the benefit of other men, of the society to which he belongs. (...) That parallel to an intense and

¹³⁴⁰ Ibid: 60-61.

¹³⁴¹ Ibid: 67.

¹³⁴² “(...), mais importante do que os indivíduos, uma cultura contínua e integrada, que atingia e prendia todos, um sentido comum de pensamento e de acção, uma tradição que evoluía lentamente mas com segurança (...)” in Ibid.

¹³⁴³ “(...) organizados com coesão, com sentido das realidades, em regime de inteira e total colaboração.” in Ibid.

¹³⁴⁴ “(...) haverá que procurar-se o essencial desse passado que recordamos com saudade e tal essencial chama-se unidade, coesão, equilíbrio, integração.” in Ibid.

¹³⁴⁵ Ibid: 69.

necessary specialization, he place a profound and indispensable humanism. So be it the architect – man among men – organizer of space – creator of happiness.¹³⁴⁶

Participation, to become collaboration, had then to pass through this “essential” of a past culture, emerging united, cohesive, balanced and integrated on the other side of the tunnel. Partly, Ribeira-Barredo’s urban study performed this voyage and tried to produce its success in a highly confrontational setting, amidst ruins. Rehabilitating a past - the city’s birthing by the river - the city as a whole might find its essential elements. By making its old architecture contemporary, instead of demolishing it, this past spoke to a present filled with the prospects of a thriving tourist center. Identifying and projecting a collective, Mr. Venceslau and his youth group, would establish a peace between the classes, operated by dialoguing in a common culture and character: *portuense* society. By making Ribeira-Barredo the center to an unchained urban whole, like a “disease without cure” spread through a vast metropolitan area, a healing would ensue. Having this dissertation in mind, the body-city projected with Ribeira-Barredo’s renewal study was a very specific leviathan.¹³⁴⁷ The notion of its bodily moral cohesion, organic “nature,” and possible harmony were dependent on a particular constitution of the king’s head, in this case made of “a culture” and “a plan,” a strong and agile municipal government, an effective urbanization office and Social Center, dedicated architecture students and responsive dwellers. All conducted by experts with an eye for looking beyond the ruins, into the cultural essence of an urban area about to become a thriving tourist spot.

The possibility of a collective first-technology

The success of this voyage through an essential commons was actually also dependent on a variety of other elements. Namely, among others, municipal and state budgets, legal timetables, superior approval, the possible interest in crafting a new policy for urban renewals, political and economic support, both from *portuense* affluent citizens and the ministry of public works, as well as dweller support. Ribeira-Barredo’s urban study not only proposed a new legislation for urban renewals, it put forward a reconfiguration of the municipality’s urbanization office practices and the creation of a new office, directed at making collaboration out of participation. It also presupposed a large budget and a long period of execution, as the renewal works would both take more time and be more costly than erecting new constructions. This last element was openly acknowledged in the study’s pages and confronted with the possible “social” and “cultural” gains involved in its proposed integral urban renewal. As well as with the possible economic opportunities of a thriving tourist area. *Portuense* capital, however, did not see the same opportunities in the city’s old center, as it did in beach towns, new modern housing and industry, and Ribeira-Barredo would only start the process of becoming a profitable tourist area much

¹³⁴⁶ “Antes de arquitecto, o arquitecto é homem, e homem que utiliza a sua profissão como um instrumento em benefício dos outros homens, da sociedade a que pertence. (...)Que a par d eum intenso e necessário especialismo ele coloque um profundo e indispensável humanismo. Que seja assim o arquitecto – homem entre os homens – organizador do espaço – criador de felicidade.” in Ibid: 74-75.

¹³⁴⁷ For the next line, it is important to imagine the picture of the leviathan presented in Hobbes, *Leviathan*.

later.¹³⁴⁸ Likewise, the ministry of public works was looking elsewhere and a positive accent to the study never came while the dictatorship lasted. In effect, right after its public presentation in 1969 the study was abandoned, specifically in some drawer in Porto's town-hall and another one in the ministry in Lisbon.

With the 1974 carnation revolution it reappeared, then fuelled by the housing policy environment created around the SAAL program. As a public commission dealing directly with the central state, as other SAAL operations, the CRUARB was created and headed by the architect Jorge Gigante, student to Távora and Filgueiras in those years of surveying the human-problem-in-need-of-architecture. This commission organized Ribeira-Barredo dwellers in associations, with the help of the Social Center, and started a participated process of renewal and rehousing. Due to the short life of SAAL, this phase of the area's renewal was equally short-lived. In the 1980s it reappeared once again as a municipal commission, this time headed by Rui Loza. The study's original attitude of "continuing-innovating," specially regarding building re-construction, re-emerged and the works steadily proceeded along several decades, renewing the area's "temporal density." Other elements proposed by the study, however, such as the creation of local groups and a municipal department dedicated to dialogue with the population, were discontinued, buried in the drawer.¹³⁴⁹

The urban study also had other lives, such as that given to it by Mr. Venceslau, who holds the 1968-69 process in high esteem, as well as Távora himself. For him, the latter was a "great man," one of the reasons being because "he could speak with us (...) he made the plan not for but with us." Mr. Venceslau, who was in his teens at the time, proceeded to head a dwellers' association in the revolutionary period of 1974-76, helping, among other things, with the rehousing of people from Ribeira-Barredo to the later infamous *aleixo* towers, recently demolished.¹³⁵⁰ He coordinates a public association, founded and working in Ribeira-Barredo called *Civitas-Porto*. It is dedicated to making tours of the area, organizing events regarding its social history and also guided tours of other *ilhas*.¹³⁵¹ We could say that the small working group assembling some of the neighborhood's youth in 1968-69 had a long-lasting and irradiating effect.

At another level, the study might be said to have produced a powerful reading, at least among architects, of the *ilha* and its specific mode of being part of the city of Porto. The study's main aim of rethinking Porto's housing problem as an urban renewal problem beyond the "corridor" *ilha*, made its living conditions and "modes of being" extend beyond the situations circumscribed to the latter. At the same time, translating the *ilha* into Ribeira-Barredo, supposedly the oldest part of town, and through an interdisciplinarity acknowledge a specific urban way of dwelling, with its habits, "language," with its "acquired" right to belong, projected the *ilha* as a form of *portuense* community. Furthermore, it did so together with a claim on the whole city that is, as an essential part of its cultural identity as a whole. Those lives "in" and "amidst ruins" were recognized as part of the city's sense of being and no more as that which "was not part." This operation of discovery and projection might be said to have an

¹³⁴⁸ Only in the late 1990s did the municipality develop an urban plan to refurbish the area with spaces and services to accommodate a larger tourist vocation, see Margarida Gomes, "Chegou a Hora Da Ribeira," *Público*, July 27, 1999, <http://www.publico.pt/local-porto/jornal/chegou-a-hora-da-ribeira-121603>.

¹³⁴⁹ See the compilation of CRUARB's works in CRUARB, *CRUARB: 25 Years of Urban Rehabilitation*, Rui Loza (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2000).

¹³⁵⁰ Unknown, "Acordo Abre Portas À Demolição Das Restantes Torres Do Aleixo," *Jornal de Notícias*, June 25, 2015, sec. Local, <http://www.jn.pt/local/noticias/porto/porto/interior/acordo-abre-portas-a-demolicao-das-restantes-torres-do-aleixo-4645361.html>.

¹³⁵¹ See <https://www.facebook.com/civitasporto/info/?tab=overview>

important role in Porto's SAAL strategy and operations, whose coordinators and architects were either friends to Távora, close acquaintances or students.

The influence of this operation of making the *ilha* count for the city can be seen, for instance, in SAAL brigades' emphasis on collaboration, the creation of dweller's work groups and the slow development of the architecture designs. Or in its regional coordinator's idea, Alexandre Alves Costa, that the main strategy was to ensure the physical inscription of dwellers' claims and fights within the city. This within was especially literal in this case, as most poor dwellers to be rehoused lived in-between, "inside," "down-in" the consolidated city.¹³⁵² Or still and more specifically, in Álvaro Siza's brigade project for the *são victor ilhas*, which he expressed in the following manner in 1976:

The image of the "ilha" is, (...), something that the population as a whole repudiates. But repudiating this image that implicitly supposes segregation and misery, does not necessarily mean refusing the system of topographical adaptation and that which deemed positive exists in that community.

Nowadays possibilities are being examined for the enlarging of the areas in relation to the agregation of cells or the superimposition of another floor, according to the identified standard dimensions. Possibilities are also being examined for communication between the various "ilhas" via interior paths in the inner-alleys, considering the "ilha" as possible support for the city's development.¹³⁵³

The passing through of participation into collaboration was then operated in openly read "little red books," various sorts of leftist cries and popular mobilizations and appropriations, the whole mass of dissent and rebellion that had just exploded from four decades in the dictatorship's "pressure cooker."¹³⁵⁴ But in this broad process, the passage through a cultural essence, fundamental centre of common agreement, also played a key role in transforming participation in collaboration, as many of Porto's brigades relied in the possibility of treating the city as a whole. As expressed above in Álvaro Siza's words, to make the *ilha* the possible support of the city's future, it was not only a part, but a key part of the latter's essential *portuense* quality. However, the various other calls, mobilizations and red books passing through the *ilha* then, differed substantially from Távora's proposal for the whole city in the Ribeira-Barredo urban study.

The passage through the cultural essence, that gathers its strength, like Garrett's leading metaphor of the village in Porto's master plan,¹³⁵⁵ in the possibility of an harmonious, cohesive, community guaranteed by a past. In this projection, both the Church and social elites, the established powers of the land, played a key role in ensuring unity and commonality of culture. For its effectiveness, said unity in

¹³⁵² José António Bandeirinha, *O Processo Saal E a Arquitectura No 25 de Abril de 1974* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2011): 227.

¹³⁵³ "A imagem da "ilha" é, por isso mesmo, algo que a população repudia em bloco. Mas repudiar esta imagem, que supõe implicitamente segregação e miséria, não significa necessariamente recusar o sistema de adaptação topográfica e aquilo que de positivo existe naquela comunidade. Actualmente estão a ser examinadas as possibilidades de aumentar as áreas mediante agregação de células ou sobreposição de mais um piso segundo as dimensões-standard identificadas. Estão a ser examinadas também as possibilidades de comunicação entre as várias "ilhas" com percursos interiores aos logradouros, considerando a "ilha" como possível suporte para o desenvolvimento da cidade." cited in Bandeirinha, "SAAL 1974-2014: Por Uma Arquitectura": 265-66; text first published in 1976, in *Lotus International*, 13, pp. 80-93.

¹³⁵⁴ This expression has a fluctuating usage in Portugal, I am specifically using it as a metaphor for the violence and suppression of freedoms perpetrated by the dictatorship, according to use given to it, for example, Fernando Rosas in a talk on PREC, of April 2015, in Montemor-o-Novo.

¹³⁵⁵ See chapter 7.

a “common sense of thought and action” depended much more on the re-creation of an harmonious collective, that is, on enveloping the affected people in common non-confrontational script. Than in the meticulous and interdisciplinary analysis of the elements of an existing conflictual one.

The urban study’s emphasis on the youth as “mentor,” as “promising,” “wanting to integrate in *portuense* society,” covered for the fact that the majority of the area’s population was not interested in either the renewal plan, the area’s cultural “lessons” or its “temporal density.” As both engineer Almeida e Sousa and Mr. Venceslau say, those were people tired of promises, segregated and estranged. Mr. Venceslau early on participated in the study and remembers it with joy, yet his father and mother, most of his friends and neighbors, most of the people at which doors he went knocking with an architect by his side, “didn’t care that a plan was being made to rehabilitate their houses. They were tired of plans, surveys, interviews from priests, social workers and people from the municipality. For them it was just yet another season of demolitions and empty promises.” This was made clear, for instance, in the few public presentations of the study’s results, at which, according to Mr. Venceslau, besides his involved group of teenagers there was usually nobody else from the neighborhood.

The exclusion-driven effects of the specific vision of “organism” in city as a whole, are also shown through its mapping of different groups within the neighborhood. For instance, it describes the area as being formed by a combination of fluctuating and permanent residents, then pitching the second against the first, which are identified as “eroding” the area’s communitary habits and cultural sense. As well as charged with bringing to the area more “atavistic” and traditional ways of being, that conflict with the neighborhood’s “natural” urban attitude and ways. Despite the fact that this group of outsiders, mostly migrants from peripheral rural areas, constituted the majority of the area’s population. At another level, the number of “ilegal” and “irregular” matrimonial relations, including single mothers, unmarried couples and other modes of being together or alone, outside the christian wedding, involved significant percentages of the population. These were deemed equally nefarious to the community’s integrity and in need of active resolution.

It can be argued that these judgments based on surveyed information, came more specifically from the christian frame of the Social Center, inevitably passing down some of its tested recipes for a morally healthy community. Stated differently, it can be argued that this was one of the concessions enabled by the specific interdisciplinary arrangement of the study. And so it could have been, a possible unintended and secondary “social” renewal brought about with the desired physical renewal of Ribeira-Barredo. This, however, did not contradict the vision assembled in the designed cohesive community, with a natural culture, proprietor to essential elements, and potentialized by Távora’s specific concatenation of the past with a present organic whole, capable of balancing spatial organization around a common cultural *ethos*. “Continuing-innovating,” like Caetano’s “evolution in continuity,” contained a series of unwanted gifts from the past, specially for a country that was apparently being lead to more democratic habits.

This “continuing-innovating” contained a dated formulation of the professional architect and its service to the collective. This was presupposed in the city *projecto* of the continuous organic whole. Ribeira-Barredo’s urban study helps clear its contours. While leafing through its pages one is taken aback by the detail and amount of information combined, truly producing a comprehensive portrayal of a dynamic urban area. Yet, its practiced interdisciplinarity was not a trans-disciplinarity, in the sense that each disciplinary information basket was tightly contained: first the morphologic, then the “social,” then the *urbanological*, followed by the architectural, and finally the legal. For presentation purposes,

the rigid organization of matters might be said to produce a specific effectiveness, yet lacked any attempt to collect together or combine identified social issues with morphologic and architectural ones. This resulted in a clear distinction between the consideration of the supposed social effects of a well developed plan and architectural strategy, and the neglect of the spatial effects of a well developed collective. Thus, for instance, the main justification for the creation of dwellers' work groups and a municipal office dedicated to "social" issues, was the effectiveness of the plan and renewal works. While the effects of the works on remaining dwellers were not considered, at least officially. Work groups were supposed to make the demolition, rehousing and rehabilitation processes "willing." Similarly was the main task put forward for the "social" municipal office: to inform dwellers of plans and their importance for the improvement of their lives, to make collaboration out of participation. Of course these channels, if they came to exist, might be used as two-way streets. Yet their script and motivation was that of, inspired by Távora's dissertation, educating for a common goal in which professional architecture played the coordinating and transformative role. Stated differently, in the urban study it was clearly a case of *architechnology* plus the "social," and not of a more collective *architechnology*. Above anything else came the renewal of Ribeira-Barredo's historic architecture.

It is worth coming back to the phrase "(t)hat parallel to an intense and necessary specialization, he (architect) place a profound and indispensable humanism." It is worth understanding its place in the changing school environment of the late 1960s, as well as regarding the development of the human-problem-in-need-of-architecture. Written in 1962, when *Arquitectura Analítica*, among other pedagogical laboratories, crafted the contours of the former formulation, this phrase by Távora translated the school's negotiation with the 1950 reform and its requirements of specialization. As much as it translated the will of several teachers to combine this requirement with their experiences of the miserable hinterland and the search for a true architecture emerging, as "naturally as a flower," from the people.

By 1968-69 the school underwent a convulsion: its activities were partly suspended. There were orders from the ministry of education to reorganize the degree. Its halls and rooms were filled with general assemblies voicing both teachers and students. During those and the following years, the school was making its future pedagogy and the architect's place, through a complex series of negotiations between teachers, teachers and state, and teachers and students. Oversimplifying, besides administrative and management issues, the central polemic was built around the discussion of the architect's definition between its "social" and "artistic-technical" service. Or, in Távora's sense, between an humanist and a specialist formation. By 1971, pressured by the state to establish a school structure and pedagogy, the school's scientific committee, lead by Távora, laid the foundations of what would later be called *bases*, literally "the basis."¹³⁵⁶ This pedagogical strategy, integrating the importance of the architect in city planning, in culture and the "happiness of man," reformulated the various courses around "the essential" of drawing, history and studio design. Everything else, from the technical courses in mathematics and engineering, to the "social" ones, should follow from this "basis."

This was the proclaiming and crafting of the pedagogical structure that would then structure most architecture courses in Portugal and re-write the more ambiguous experiences around the human-problem-in-need-of-architecture in a clear disciplinary autonomy. The choice for Távora's humanism

¹³⁵⁶ See the detailed account of this process by Geada e Paulino, "O Ensino Da Arquitectura Na 'Escola Do Porto'. Construção de Um Projecto Pedagógico Entre 1969 E 1984."

was one that involved putting aside the blurred line between architect and social worker, experience by Filgueiras' students in Ribeira-Barredo. In a certain sense, the period of experimentation started in the late 1950s had come to an end. Filgueiras left the school in 1971. Arnaldo Araújo had left before in 1969, later founding, together with others, the private arts and architecture school cooperative *Árvore*, in Porto.¹³⁵⁷ While with different claims and paths, their specific production of the human-problem moved elsewhere. Also in this sense, “continuing-innovating,” like Caetano’s short spring, had to wait until 1974 and its carnations to be acted in its democratic promises.

¹³⁵⁷ Although Filgueiras left for different reasons than Araújo, the latter for the increasing retreat of student claims in the school and of the “social” vocation of architecture, the former for disagreeing with the scientific committee regarding student participation and their pedagogical direction, see Ibid: 229-326.

Conclusions

It is said that Távora sometimes provoked with the phrase: “I am Portuguese architecture.” Maybe informally amongst friends in Porto, perhaps shared in a discussion regarding his defense of a Portuguese identity. Notwithstanding, he was not embarrassed to be called a nationalist. On the contrary he argued, for instance in 1992, that “(...) if we are from Portugal we must work for Portuguese”¹³⁵⁸ Throughout the last seven chapters I tried to assemble how post-war Portuguese architects re-constituted the discipline regarding two critical objects: a true Portuguese house and city. Doing so from the perspective of Fernando Távora’s networks and some of the practices associated with *The Porto School*, allowed to examine this professional re-elaboration as also the search for a modern Portugueseness. The search for the truths of the land and its forms mediated a dialogue between two supposed opposites: the dictatorship’s spatial language of government and modernist architecture, arriving via foreign magazines and the trip to the CIAMs. This opened a productive field of architecture creation, scripted in a new found contact with “Man and Land.” Through it was developed a project to organize the nation around spaces and forms simultaneously modern and regional, “evolving in continuity.”

As we saw, this did not involve politically confronting the dictatorship. It did not re-inscribe the country in other political scripts that might threaten the regime. On the contrary, the driving aim to find the rules for a house and city to contain all Portuguese animated the frame of an organic nation, with a well defined and identified people. Yet, it can be argued that the architecture ideas and practices discussed enacted an expert confrontation of both traditional and modernist forms. A confrontation with the formal dogmas of modernism from concerned regionalists and, on the other hand, with “false” regional shapes from concerned modernists. Távora, Teotónio Pereira and Amaral’s manifestos might be seen to simultaneously enact all the roles in this dialogue, both modernists and regionalists, developmentists and conservatives. This can be argued to have been a way of covertly confronting the dictatorship, justified in the existence of censorship and the fear of exile or prison, if not for the fact that this idea was a late rewriting of a professional generation.¹³⁵⁹ The notion that the three manifestos, the *inquiry* and the new modern houses contained the seed for a democratic change was an idea projected very close to the dictatorship’s downfall.

Closer to events, the manifestos, the *inquiry* and the new modern houses brought forward not a different enveloping of the Portuguese collective, but a similar faith in the organic nature of the nation as that held and enforced by the dictatorship. To this scripting mattered Távora’s *integralista* inspiration and Teotónio Pereira’s ease in catholic circles, two of the dictatorship’s main ideological fountains. But also Keil do Amaral’s relationship with rurality and the hinterland. Although coming from a family of long held liberal republican habits, and thus more inclined to ideologically embattle the dictatorship, also he approached the hinterland from the distance of his own projections of an orderly cultural nature. The scripting of the Portuguese as part of an organic nation, with its unity in variety, its

¹³⁵⁸ “(...) se somos de Portugal temos que fazer trabalho para os Portugueses.” in Fernando Távora and Jorge Figueira, “Fernando Távora, Coisa Mental: Entrevista,” *Unidade*, June 1992: 102.

¹³⁵⁹ Namely put forward by Nuno Portas’ influential interpretation of the political character of these architects’ initiatives, specifically regarding the *inquiry*, in Nuno Portas, “A Evolução Da Arquitectura Moderna Em Portugal: Uma Interpretação,” in *História Da Arquitectura Moderna*, Bruno Zevi (Lisbon: Arcádia, 1973), 687–744.

prefixed social positions and histories, served, as the architect António Freitas wrote at the time, to elaborate a “practical application of a concept of tradition,”¹³⁶⁰ not without its mechanical character, “partial” and “partialist,” as Teotónio Pereira wrote much later.¹³⁶¹

This framing openly avoided the more conflictual interdependencies between urban and rural, deprivation and design, cultural reification and social mobility, and also in the measure that it departed from a way of thinking the modern city as an organic whole directed towards social peace. Influenced by Le Playist notions of community and identity, Alfred Agache, Etienne de Gröer among others, brought this way of thinking the city into the heart of DGSU, municipal planning offices and *urbanology* courses. Their cause was that of the “new technician of cities,” the architect-planner, as the only competent to harmonize technology and development with history and culture through the *beau plan*. This way of thinking was clearly enacted by Távora in his appreciation of Porto as a “living sculpture” and in his defense for the need of a national urban plan.¹³⁶² This cause was also that at the core of the search for a true architecture for the Portuguese. In a period when public works and the regime’s reliance on architects wavered, the latter process advanced the architect as a cultural technician, the only competent to seize not only the living cell, but also the whole Portuguese territory.¹³⁶³

Alberti’s metaphor, comparing the form of the city to that of a building, is key to understand this professional projection, articulated in the search for a true architecture and city.¹³⁶⁴ Specially from Távora’s perspective, the correspondence of all the parts to a whole, the power of a driving idea, sometimes called faith or project, and the all-encompassing touch of the plan, grounded the modern architect that also thought cities. This was, of course, an architecture culture upheld by the modernist masters. Yet in Portugal and specifically in Porto, it was more directly brought about, in the post-war, through the combination of searching a true architecture, learning to work the *beau plan* of de Gröer and reading Gropius and Le Corbusier through the few magazines that arrived from democratic Europe. Stated differently, it was an enactment of the modernist doctrine of the *architectnician*, together with a regionalist sensibility and cultural performance, and an ethnographically-inspired auscultation of concrete needs, at a time when it seemed the country and its strong government had no “plan” for its architects. It was, more directly, an embattlement for a place in the urban development of the country.

Teotónio Pereira gave a precise measure of the transforming limitations of this architecture project regarding possible political change in Portugal. Questioned about a house he designed together with Nuno Portas in 1957-59, contemporary to Távora’s Ofir summerhouse, the interviewers argued it involved “Deep down democratizing architecture (...).” He corrected: “Organizing it, regionalizing it. And here Távora had a very import role.”¹³⁶⁵ Democracy came much later. The search for a Portuguese

¹³⁶⁰ António Freitas, “Tradicionalismo E Evolução,” *Arquitectura*, December 1959: 37.

¹³⁶¹ Nuno Teotónio Pereira, “Architettura Popolare, Dall’inchiesta Al Progetto,” *Domus*, n.d: 29.

¹³⁶² See Fernando Távora, “Do Porto E Do Seu Espaço,” *O Comércio d’O Porto*, January 26, 1954; and, for instance, Fernando Távora, “Para Uma Arquitectura E Um Urbanismo Portugueses,” *Comércio Do Porto*, August 25, 1953.

¹³⁶³ Mainland Portugal, the colonies were left out of this elaboration.

¹³⁶⁴ See book 1 of Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Cambridge, London: MIT Press, 1988): 23. For an idea of Távora’s predilection for and use of classical texts such as Alberti’s, see José Miguel Rodrigues, *O Mundo Ordenado E Acessível Das Formas Da Arquitectura - Tradição Clássica E Movimento Moderno Na Arquitectura Portuguesa: Dois Exemplos* (Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, 2006).

¹³⁶⁵ “No fundo democratizar a arquitectura (...) - Organizá-la, regionalizá-la. E aqui o Távora teve um papel muito importante.” in Carlos Guimarães, João Crisóstomo, and Luís Loureiro, “Entrevista a Nuno Teotónio Pereira,” *Vitruvius*, April 2008,

house for all Portuguese did not articulate a significant political change, a thorough rewriting or even rebuttal of the regime, but the re-organization of a strong state's production and government of the land. If this speaks of the political limitations of the architecture project first developed between Teotónio Pereira, Távora and Keil do Amaral, it also does so of the use of Foucault's ideas in this dissertation.

The analysis of discourses of power and government allowed to identify the formation of an apparatus around the "urgent need" of housing Portuguese in Portuguese houses. It was developed by young experts finding their way in the profession and the country's urban market, and as a specific proposal for organizing the material, functional and ethical priorities of national space. Foucault's methods allowed to understand how this project was part of an older discursive tradition of projecting the house as a site for the socio-material re-organization of the nation. In chapter 2 we saw how various European architects invested, in the search for the right national house, moral and political projects for dealing with the unchained modern industrial world. The house was the body for a re-balancing of modern subjects in relation to the new collective body of the nation-state. Departing from this tradition, we saw how modern Portuguese architects developed an architecture ethics, articulating moral aesthetical principles, professional prerogatives, a notion of the correct distribution of urbanity and countryside, for a balanced whole. We saw how this implied casting a specific powerful role for the state, namely through the agency of the ministry of public works, as well as a powerful role for a specific expert: the architect-planner. We saw how it implied the formulation of a specific knowledge of space, culture and efficiency, gathering elements from geography, engineering, anthropology, among others, allowing access to the fundamentals of a landscape. In summary, by following Foucault, it was possible to grasp the development of an architecture apparatus that predisposed a specific form of government of the national landscape. Yet, if we just remain within the discourses making this project of government, we run the risk of overestimating its power and agency. In the architect's drawing table the smallest sketch seems to bear the biggest change.

By trying to approach this apparatus through Latour's anthropology of knowledge, we may come to realize that it was simultaneously much less and much more. As an apparatus with a specific strategy and functional determination of practices, it was not very present in the actual government of the country. It failed to give architects a larger role in the country's urban development throughout the growth period of the 1950s and 1960s. A national urban plan was not developed. Most new houses did not follow the standards of a true Portuguese modern architecture, only a minority were "bright *minhota* chimneys." School reforms only integrated its stakes and experiences very partially and briefly. Stated differently, the written power of Távora, Teotónio Pereira and Keil do Amaral's architecture project did not have an hegemonic translation in government practices. Giving too much emphasis to its written and drawn projected potentialities, thus, bears the price of not actually accounting for how it governed specific portions of Portuguese subjects and spaces. This is the main limitation we can observe, for instance, in Pier Aureli's interpretation of Foucault's frame for the study of architecture's political agency.¹³⁶⁶

<http://www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/entrevista/09.034/3288?page=3>. The house in question is located in Vila Viçosa and named *Casa Barata dos Santos*.

¹³⁶⁶ Pier Vittorio Aureli, *Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture Within and Against Capitalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, 2008); Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*.

From the perspective of actual urban developments throughout the 1950s and 1960s in Portugal, Távora's project of architecture and its discourses, appear more clearly as an erudite reaction to the minority and lesser position of architects in the country's growth. In reality, architects had a more powerful and central position in the dictatorship's first decade, with the regency of Duarte Pacheco in the ministry of public works. Thus his undying good reputation among architects. Yet, also from the perspective of actual developments, the texts, drawings, projects and architecture artifacts developed with a true Portuguese modern architecture in mind, also constituted a rich production of Portuguese subjects and landscapes. In Ofir these gave a sense of place and culture to a modern suburban community. Through the summerhouse passed good times, a strongly practiced community, a comfortable and nurturing environment. Also nurturing to business and construction. Through it passed the aspirations of bankers and entrepreneurs, together with a desire to preserve a "natural" landscape made of traditional and wholesome ways, yet modern and entrepreneurial. In its design and execution, the materials of the Portuguese hinterland appeared anew, were involved in new technical solutions and notions of efficiency. Modernist plans and forms were re-interpreted and drawn for another hue and texture of living, one recentering the country's modernity by the beach. If we move to Ribeira-Barredo, it becomes even more difficult to contain all the elements that were transformed in the process of its renewal plan. How can we look to Mr. Venceslau, Rui Loza, Porto's school, the city's master plan, its current preservation policies and the actual neighborhood today, and claim the plan transformed nothing?

If we look to the drawing, *desenho*, of events, then the *projecto* of an architecture apparatus aiming to house every Portuguese in a Portuguese house actually transformed much. This suggests a re-interpretation of Foucault's toolkit, namely of his notion of technology as *techne*. Thinking architecture as a technology of government implies understanding how it deploys specific subjects and practices of subjectivity through its projects. This enables to circumscribe discourses and projects of government in the organization of space, and allows to understand the emergence of apparatuses for governing the spatial collectivity. However, if in this notion of technology we also foreground that which pertains to the artisan, the crafting, the act of transforming through material combinations and connections, we may arrive at a more comprehensive frame for understanding architecture's acting in the political construction of reality. Stated differently, If next to its power of subject transformation, we place its power of material transformation, then architecture can be read as a simultaneously material and social, socio-material, technology of cohabitation. Its power residing as much in its scripted *projecto*, as in the actual drawing of its materiality. Within this reading, architecture is as much a technology to alter the value and use of an empty terrain, of stones and trees, of wind and sun energy, as it is to project a specific individual and its connections to a collective within a strategy. This involves reading its agency as combining a particular transformation of matter, with a transformation of space, with a transformation of the self. In this sense, Ramalde, Ofir and Ribeira-Barredo, for instance, much accomplished.

This re-drawing of the concept of technology implies a particular attention to the anthropologic production of architecture. Within the Latourian vocabulary here used, the notions of passing-through, mediating, transforming, acting and enacting, for instance, appear as specifically useful. Their pertinence being that of allowing to trace how one specific design chains a number of actions, agents and materials to effect a *projecto*, while at the same time, the transformations occurring in this chaining generate their own effects. This dissertation, however, has a series of limitations regarding a more robust

reading of this idea, as well as of the possible political agency that can be read in Portuguese modern architecture in the post-war. For one, its review of anthropology, and possible connections to architecture practice, is highly limited. Secondly, its focus on Távora's frame produces a skewed view of Portuguese post-war architecture. Many other architects and episodes should be gathered to create a more comprehensive reading of the political commitments of the profession in the post-war. Third and lastly, its lack of broader readings of the events here portrayed, namely regarding international developments and similar cases in other countries. This does not allow for much projection of the discussions here enacted and, importantly, limits from the outset the possible answers to the question: what can we learn from this specific case about the political constitution of the practice of professional architecture and its possibilities as a political exercise? Even so, a very partial answer can be put forward.

Coming back to Teotónio Pereira's reading of Portuguese architecture in the 1950s/60s. At the congress on public housing in the architects' union in Lisbon in 1960, he commented on the architecture challenge ahead. Namely regarding the promotion of a national housing policy: "(...) we should clearly show that the causes that move us are above simple (professional) class claims. They are demands set by a whole population of poorly housed, of which we, for having of that a sharper awareness, must be the faithful interpreters."¹³⁶⁷ Throughout his presentation, there was an emphasis on the correspondence between professional and civic responsibilities, using expressions placing both identities in communication: "as scientist and as man;" "as much at the individual level as at the level of class." In 1988, in the preface to the *inquiry's* third edition, he wrote of their younger selves: "It was the awareness of a professional class emerging by assuming their civic and cultural responsibilities. This is where the pioneering spirit of the initiative lies."¹³⁶⁸

One of the key political limitations of the culture of practice here discussed was that this mingling of professional and civic causes, motivations and solidarities was separated. The civic responsibilities, that is, the political motivations and collective solidarities summoned by such ranging subjects as housing for the majority or surveying the poor dwelling conditions in the countryside, were transformed into a professional language and project. The "(...) fight that we must sustain so that they (housing programs) are formulated according to demands dictated by the respect owed to the dignity of men,"¹³⁶⁹ was transfused into the ability to design for the "local context," a rooted modernity, the historic-spatial continuity of landscape and society. Stated differently, its professional stakes and practices did not connect enough with civic responsibilities, did not let speak through them enough ongoing fights for actual political change. As Teotónio Pereira might say, it did not allow architecture practice to directly connect to and articulate causes that could be political.¹³⁷⁰

¹³⁶⁷ "(...) devemos mostrar bem que os motivos que nos movem estão acima de simples reivindicações de classe. São exigências postas por toda uma população mal alojada de que nós, por termos disso a consciência mais esclarecida, temos de ser os fiéis intérpretes." my parenthesis - class is used here in the sense of profession -, in Nuno Teotónio Pereira, *Escritos: 1947-1996*, Manuel Mendes, 2 - Argumentos 7 (Porto: FAUP, 1996): 39, originally presented at the congress as "Aspectos sociais na construção do habitat," in February 14 1960.

¹³⁶⁸ Alfredo da Mata Antunes et al., *Arquitetura Popular Em Portugal*, trans. Maryse Bernardino and Cheilah Cardno, 3^a ed., 3 vols. (Lisbon: Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses, 1988): 267.

¹³⁶⁹ "(...) luta que temos de sustentar para que eles sejam formulados de acordo com as exigências ditadas pelo respeito que se deve à dignidade dos homens." in Pereira, *Escritos: 1947-1996*: 37-8 (orig. 1960).

¹³⁷⁰ In one of his more recent interviews, the interviewer asked Teotónio Pereira what he thought about the fact that his architecture works were commonly portrayed as political, which was met with the reply: "No, I don't think my architecture is political or has a political character. It has sometimes connected with political fields. Public housing, for example, is something to which I have been connected early on and to which I am still connected." in Joana Cunha Ferreira, *Nuno Teotónio Pereira - Um Homem Na Cidade*, Documentary (Midas, 2010).

This research lead me to believe that architecture practice and theory, as a modern professional discipline, does not hold a specific political dynamism over other modern disciplines such as, for instance, law, medicine or engineering. Its mingling with artistic practice and theory, as well as with various social sciences, does not predispose a specifically emancipating form of knowledge. Neither does its supposed intimacy with power and government. What seems to predispose the specific relation of architecture with the political are the connections its fields of transformation enable: space, room, house, city, countryside, for instance. In particular, its prepositive form of material and spatial anthropology constitutes a specific powerful way of making connections appear and participate. It allows to see collectives, their government and change, in material and spatial transformation. Thus, it may hold an emancipating political potential, not because it enacts an ideology, an expert activism, a grand fight between societal projects or a secret subversion only audible for a few. But because it can help *form across*¹³⁷¹ collective re-creations, re-writings, embattlements. *Forming across* does not mean here the transfusion of claims and causes into one object, but the quality and amount of connections enabled to cross an object.¹³⁷²

Maybe for this reason, within the culture of practice forming around the search for a true Portuguese modern architecture emerged architects, such as Teotónio Pereira among many others, that balanced their professional duties with concerned civic causes and responsibilities. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Teotónio Pereira was celebrated in a recent newspaper as “the citizen that did architecture with open arms.”¹³⁷³ For in its forming episodes, the culture of practice he co-developed promoted environments of creativity and awareness that made ambiguous the separation between being portuguese and being a professional, that is, between the concerned citizen and the architect concerned with professional advancement. In its formation, this project for a national architecture, produced environments in which those moved by justice, equality, personal freedom, welfare and change also found larger, that is, more connected causes. In articulating a local way to be modern, by making architectural drawing drift towards ethnography, by enabling architects to experience Portuguese misery first-hand, this culture of practice allowed many *formings across*. It was, nevertheless, increasingly crystalized in a form of professional autonomy somewhat separated from this hibridity. Yet, before that, it opened spaces ambivalent enough so as to promote various kinds of taking of sides, regarding how the Portuguese collective should be transformed. In this research I mainly spoke through the lens of one of its more hegemonic taking of sides, but many more there rest in a constantly flitting past. And, perhaps, it is not too often that an established culture of practice finds some key elements for change and renewal, beyond professional survival and reification, in its own lineage.

¹³⁷¹ As the Latin etymology of transform can be translated from *trans* and *formare* or to *form across*, see <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=transform>, accessed Setpember 16 2016.

¹³⁷² I argue this is the sense in which we should understand Teotónio Pereira’s answer to the political character identified in his architecture works, see note 1372. Public housing enabled to speak of the many people in Portuguese cities fighting for decent housing, of the hipocrisy of the regime for promising housing for all Portuguese and only ensuring it to a select few. But also of class struggle and of how people attempted to circumscribe a community in new urban settings, among other collective stakes.

¹³⁷³ Marina Almeida and Marina Marques, “O Cidadão Que Fazia Arquitectura de Braços Abertos,” *Diário de Notícias*, January 21, 2016, <http://www.dn.pt/artes/interior/o-cidadao-que-fazia-arquitetura-de-bracos-abertos-4991124.html>.

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