Raul Lino and the City

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Abstract
Over a period of nearly one hundred years, Raul Lino da Silva (1879-1974) experienced the profound political, social and economic changes that marked the twentieth century in Portugal. Having been born during the Constitutional Monarchy (1822-1910), he lived through the First Republic (1910-1926), the Military Dictatorship (1926-1933) and the Second Republic, or Estado Novo (New State, 1933-1974), and died shortly after the Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974, at the dawning of the Third Republic. Raul Lino was the architect who published the most in Portugal, having become known through his advocacy of the “Campanha da casa portuguesa” ("Portuguese house campaign"), which provoked a great deal of controversy among his peers. He is less known for the transversal quality of his synthesis between architecture, the decorative arts and territory, and its underlying affirmation of an idea of the city, which we conjecture from a diagonal reading of his theoretical and plastic narrative. We limit the analysis to the first half of the 20th century, concentrating on ten case studies, that encompass architectural projects, urbanistic plans and reports. The above expound the broad conception which he defended in the same year as was held the First National Architecture Congress (1948), whose proposals ratified in Portugal the orthodoxy established in 1933 by the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM). Quoting Aristotle Raul Lino conceived the city as the locus of happiness, shaping the possibilities of consensus between tradition and modernity by means of architecture, which is both envelope and stage for our collective existence. In fact, Raul Lino anticipated themes to be found in the narratives of authors like Aldo Rossi (1966), Paul Virilio (2004, 2009) or Peter Zumthor (2006), and his thought proves particularly relevant and timely in the present day.

Keywords
Raul Lino, architecture, city, circumstance, modernity, continuity

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Introduction
During the first three quarters of the 20th century, Raul Lino (1879-1974) pursued the Wagnerian Gesamtkunstwerk and developed, with each new synthesis of decorative arts, architecture and urbanism, an ontology of the total work of art. He conceived an architecture that extended itself “from the spoon to the city”, such as Walter Gropius (1883-1969) and earlier successors of William Morris (1834-1896) - earning for himself, according to Nikolaus Pevsner (1936), the epithet of “[meridional] pioneer of modern design”.

Since the dissolution of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM – Otterloo, 1959) and the triumph of the paradigm of modern orthodoxy in Portugal – which was not unrelated to the polemic over the retrospective exhibition of his work at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (1970) – considerable readings has already been undertaken on Raul Lino, particularly as regards his ineffable notion of the Casa Portuguesa (Portuguese House) and the intrinsic modernity of the spatial organization of his domestic architecture.

We are not aware, however, of any research on the activity which he himself defined as “urbanistic architecture” (1945), “art of urbanization” (1945) or “valorization” (1952). It is this that we propose, in other words, to interpret the encompassing scope of Raul Lino’s territorial architecture, with particular emphasis on the idea of the city. Our reflection will be based on a diagonal interpretation of projects and other writings, with varied destinations, disciplines and scales, undertaken during the first half of the 20th century in Portugal. Proposition which he conceived as a synthesis of continuity between man and circumstance, according to the formulation of Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955), for whom “All life is finding oneself within the ‘circumstance’, or world.”.

Raul Lino conceived an architecture of human scale, strongly opposing the post-Fordist standardization and mechanicism of the international style. He was, among his peers, the Portuguese architect who published the most and, ostracized by the professional community, increasingly emphasized the dramatic character of his narrative. In fact, he anticipated arguments that have continually returned, with each new technological revolution, in modernity’s crisis, or better in ‘modernities’ crises. Suffice it to compare his declaration of the death of architecture (1955) with the agony of Terre Natale (2008-2009) proclaimed fifty years later by Paul Virilio (1932-2018).

These arguments, we believe, underline the striking topicality of our reinterpretation of Raul Lino, which we interpret, in the light of the “weak thought” of Ignasi de Solà-Morales (1942-2001), as a problem of contemporary culture, intrinsic to our research, and which we intend to develop more fully in a autonomous project.

Universality and circumstance: Anglo-Germanic antecedents in Raul Lino’s formation and Portuguese proposal
Thanks to the prosperity of the family business in building materials, Raul Lino benefited from a carefully worked-out Anglo-Germanic programme of studies, drawn up by his father under the influence of Sintra’s Wagnerian music-lovers. This training, quite alien to the francophone beaux-arts tradition cultivated by the national academy, he began early on in England (1890-1893), under the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement. Later continued in Germany (1893-1897), strongly influenced by the profound perception of Portuguese
architecture(s) and circumstance(s) contained in the research of his teacher and mentor, Albrecht Haupt (1852-1932)\textsuperscript{12}.

As for the English approach, he is consciously indebted to the “British cottage”\textsuperscript{13}, and in particular to the *Artistic House*\textsuperscript{14} of M H. Baillie Scott (1865-1945) and to the picturesque British urbanism of Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) and Barry Parker (1867-1947) – ideas about the organization of space in domestic architecture\textsuperscript{15} and the expansion and construction of the city\textsuperscript{16}, which have their meridional counterpart in the proposals of Raul Lino.

Returning to Lisbon before his eighteenth birthday, in 1897, in the depressed climate that followed the British Ultimatum of 1890, he soon turned his attention to opposing the drift towards internationalism. This was to be the *leitmotif* of his quest and resolute conviction, which he was to underline, epigraphically, on the eve of the retrospective exhibition of his work at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (1970):

I have already said that the strongest motive behind the campaign for the *aportuguesamento* ['portugueseness'] of our houses and architecture is a longing to recover the lost harmony of the scenery, of the towns and cities of Portugal, the desire to re-establish the decorum which, at least in appearance, should be maintained on the stage of our existence\textsuperscript{17}.

On the idea of the city in Raul Lino (1900-1934)

Raul Lino presented his first professional project to the competition for the Portuguese pavilion at the 1900 International Exhibition, in Paris, which was a plausible synthesis inspired by Renaissance structures, in combination with elements of Mudéjar architecture. He conceived it as a final exercise in the self-taught course he had completed after undertaking innumerable study visits in Portugal, from North to South (1897-1899), in obedience to the “grand plan of study assignments”\textsuperscript{18} which Albrecht Haupt had drawn up for him in Hanover.

He was defeated by Ventura Terra (1866-1919), an architect who had studied at the *École de Beaux Arts de Paris* under Victor Laloux (1850-1937), whose project materialized, in an eclectically dressed-up metallic structure, the conquests of science and technology which the Exhibition was designed to celebrate. Such was the spirit of the times, which ruled out any chance of success for projects such as that of a town house in continuity with tradition, which Raul Lino published in the magazine *A Construção Moderna* (The Modern Construction, 1900-1919).

In this, his first published project, we can detect, subtly expressed, conciliation between the desire for cosmopolitan modernity and the scent of the Mudéjar [Mudejar] architecture tradition of his meridional circumstance. This perception is emphasised by the chosen perspective and by the complicit flânerie of the strolling onlookers, who give it a human scale and anticipate, as it were, the construction of an “urban fact”, which could plausibly be used in the domestic architecture that was then beginning to frame the new bourgeois neighbourhoods of the Avenidas Novas, (New Avenues) in Lisbon.
As far as we can gather, that brief sketch was intended by Raul Lino to publicize his proposal, and did not correspond, objectively, to any project catalogued in his estate\textsuperscript{19}, even though it represented, as regards situation, scale and atmosphere. Notwithstanding its similarity to that of his earliest domestic architecture project to be built in Lisbon, the Casa Ribeiro Ferreira (Ribeiro Ferreira House), at Avenida Fontes Pereira de Melo, 17 (1906-1909, demolished). He did not, however, prove able, with the projects he published in \textit{Construção Moderna}, to attract a bourgeois clientele, sufficient to put into effect his modern town house project.

This was a sparse set of proposals, whose fragrance varied according to the more or less artificious milieu in which his architecture was inserted. We can single out the Casa Elisa Vaz (Elisa Vaz House), also built in Lisbon on the corner of Avenida da República and Rua Elias Garcia (1912, demolished), whose scale and formal delicacy are attuned to the “varied aspects imposed by special circumstances of milieu and period.”\textsuperscript{20} Particularly expressed intention in the composition of the elevations, in the employment of a somewhat ephemeral semantics in the manner of \textit{Jugendstil}, as befitted the atmosphere of vague cultural density of the \textit{Avenidas Novas} (New Avenues).

Figure 2

[Casa Elisa Vaz (demolished), Avenida da Republica, n.º 57, Lisboa, [?], 1912-1952, From Raul Lino family collection.]
Raul Lino was at this time meeting the demand for projects for single-family homes on the part of the intellectual elite and upper bourgeoisie who identified with the dynamic resumption of tradition which was intrinsic to his vision and work, building, for the most part (though not by choice), in non-urban *milieux*. During the first three and a half decades of the 20th century, however, he also provided a response for other types of building and purposes, such as housing blocks, offices, hotels, casinos, shops, educational and recreational facilities. This output\textsuperscript{21}, which has been neglected by the historiography on Raul Lino, will also be stressed in our approach.

Few and far between, as a consequence of the economic crisis which ensued after the First World War (1914-1918) and into the nineteen-twenties, were the commissions which would allow Raul Lino to impress on his work an urban *joie de vivre*.

![Gardénia store facade in the lower right corner](http://arquivomunicipal2.cm-lisboa.pt/xarqdigitalizacaocontent/PaginaDocumento.aspx?DocumentoID=1470337&AplicacaoID=1&Pagina=1&Linha=1&Coluna=1) (accessed October 1, 2018)
In relation to this period, we will concentrate on one of his most effective and enduring syntheses, the project he drew up in 1917 for the Gardênia store, in Rua Garrett, in the Chiado, then one of the most elegant neighbourhood of the city of Lisbon.

![Figure 4](image)

Raul Lino, “Projecto de transformação de loja (...),” general, ground and floor plan, elevation on Rua Garrett, and sections, 1917. from Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, Obra 4911, Proc. 1047/1ªREP/PG/1917:

Raul Lino organized the architectural space of the Gardênia store as a route, allocating the main resources of the meagre area at his disposal after the fashion of a perambulation, so as to encourage the contemplation of the merchandise and invite consumption. The double-height ceiling, in turn, and the mezzanine floor between the entrance and the access to the upper floor, half-way along the longitudinal floor plan, result in a harmonious gradation of volumes between the street and the interior. Unmistakeably emphasising a cosmopolitan dialectic, the representation of a lamp-post majestically dominates the modest scale of the transverse section.
The front elevation of the store, towards Rua Garrett, on the other hand, promotes a civilized conciliation between the floor plan and the “decorous manner in which [the work] must be undertaken – if not for the greater satisfaction of the proprietor, at least out of respect for the society in which we live”\(^2\), as Raul Lino argued, from a theoretical point of view, in his text.

We may, perhaps, consider the *magnum opus* of his urban output to be the project of the Tivoli cinema (1918-1924), commissioned by the show-business entrepreneur Adolfo de Lima-Mayer.

Opening in 1924, the Tivoli cinema conforms an eloquent synthesis between urban aesthetics and the large land area necessary to fulfil a programme conceived for 1114 spectators. Raul Lino gave priority, in the organization of architectural space, to the location of the entrance at the rounded corner which articulates the two longitudinal volumes, along Avenida da Liberdade (the Restaurant) and Rua Manuel de Jesus Coelho (the Gallery), as devices for protecting the acoustic integrity of the enclosed space.

The impression caused by the whole edifice, between the vertical modulation of the cylindrical volume at the corner and the horizontal mass of the two volumes, is a balanced one, emphasizing the symbolic function of the entrance and indelibly enhancing the appearance of the most noble avenue in the city of Lisbon.

**Figure 5**

There are other surprising projects drawn up by Raul Lino for the same purpose – the cinema – whose experience was to become sensorially complete with the advent of sound in 1930, as is the case of the “Project for a performance hall on land situated between Rua 31 de Janeiro and Rua da Madeira in the city of Oporto” (1930). Although never built, that project stands out as a competent synthesis in solving the urban problem, promoting continuity in terms of its insertion and the proposed closure of the mesh by means of architecture. The allotment is enclosed within a city block near the Batalha square, and borders on two streets situated at markedly different levels, a feature which implies that the functional resolution of the architectural programme takes place at the core.
Figure 7
In the above front elevation of the “Modified Façade facing Rua 31 de Janeiro”, attentive to the limited dimensions of the frontage, we can infer an accentuation of scenic artifice befitting the function of the projected building. Which is not unrelated to the exuberant lighting possibilities offered by the four rows of glass plates, which crown the space below the veranda/balcony, as shown in the “Axial section”. This intention is enriched by an ample tectonic palette, profusely exemplified in the countless illustrations of minutiae included in the detail drawings.

In relation to the early nineteen-thirties, mention must be made of the urban quality of Raul Lino’s project for the Loja das Meias store (Stockings Store, 1931-1938). This was a total work of art drawn up with the help of the artists and decorators Fred Kadolfer (1903-1968) and Thomás de Melo (1906-1990), through which he reinterpreted, in a very transparent manner, the “Cartulário pombalino”23 (“The Pombaline Cartulary”) and the dense model of buildings in Lisbon’s Baixa (“downtown”), and the Rossio in particular.
This project certainly underlay the invitation which Raul Lino received from the Lisbon Municipality, three years later, to become a member of the Urban Aesthetics Council. In that capacity, on 5 March 1934, and in his very first speech, he addressed the Municipal Council, insisting on the urgent need for architectural regulation of “The Rossio.”24 And in the framework of a sub-committee created only ten days later, he drew up, together with the architects Pardal Monteiro (1897-1957) and Carlos Rebelo de Andrade (1887-1971), the “Plan for the aesthetic improvement of the Rossio”25, which was to serve as basis for a competition, whose institution was approved at a meeting of the City Council on 23 August 1934.

**On the possibility(ies) of an idea of the city in Raul Lino (1934-1949)**

As member of the Urban Aesthetics Council, Raul Lino placed the Rossio square at the centre of the debate on urbanization in the historic city, proposing, in opposition to the practice of stylistic reintegration then in fashion, a reinterpretation of the Pombaline model which would be capable of “enriching the rhythm of this architecture”26. This was a discussion in line with the public works agenda of the recently instituted *Estado Novo* (The “New State” was the political dictatorship approved in the plebiscite of 1933). Which the Municipality of Lisbon was advancing through the series of public lectures on *Problems of Urbanization* (November 1934 – January 1935), whose progressive slant was most evident in the arguments, so clearly hostile to “the picturesque”27 advanced on 12 December 1934 by the architect Cottinelli Telmo (1897-1948).
Raul Lino continued to develop this vision in the multiple roles he played as author, examiner and decision-maker for the recently reorganized Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais (Directorate-General of Buildings and National Monuments, DGEMN, established on 9 April 1934), the agency of the Estado Novo (New State) which was, at that time, implementing an ambitious national infrastructure programme. Within his sphere of activity he enlarged the scope of the “Campanha da casa portuguesa” (Portuguese house campaign) to include the safeguarding, renovation and expansion of the city, regardless of architectural scales and disciplines.

He was initially engaged in the “study, siting and distribution of works” in Lisbon, Portimão and Oporto (1934-1936), and within this framework elaborated the plans and architectural typologies of the Grupos de Casas Económicas (Housing estates) of Alto da Serafina, Alto da Ajuda and Terras do Forno. Located in the areas surrounding the Águas Livres Aqueduct, the Ajuda National Palace and the Jerónimos Monastery, these sets of buildings emphasise the picturesque, along the lines of the garden suburb layouts inherited from the Anglo-German tradition in which he was trained.

Figure 10
In the plan of the “Grupo das Terras do Forno” we can perceive a desire to reconcile the straight line and the “large regular curve, [which] [...] spontaneously awakens in us a sensation of delight free from any rationality”\textsuperscript{30}, as Raul Lino proposed in a lecture delivered in 1945 and reproduced in the book \textit{Quatro Palavras sobre Urbanização}. In that text, as in “books and other writings, and officially in hundreds of reports”\textsuperscript{31}, as he emphasised in a memorandum in 1945 to the Ministry of Public Works and Communications, he always demonstrated his coherent understanding of architecture as framed by circumstance.
Alongside his work in DGEMN, Raul Lino pursued other activities, among which particular reference should be made to his pioneering role as municipal councillor (1942-1945). In his very first speech (14 April 1942), he criticized the modernist paradigm of large lawned areas. In fact, the closure of these areas to the public contradicted the true recreational function of such spaces, and their maintenance implied financial and environmental costs beyond the means of the Council – a practice whose negative consequences he foresaw in the “effect which the plan adopted for the so-called Parque Eduardo VII will have”, which he countered with his own view, as follows:

“what the population needs in every neighbourhood is, in his [Raul Lino’s] opinion, another kind of easily accessible area, with plenty of shade and no need for expensive flower-beds: in some places simple plots with trees, in others more formal arrangements […] – small woods rather than gardens – which he would like to see scattered throughout the city, leisure gardens, true retreats for the enjoyment of the good people of Lisbon.”

Among other submissions and statements presented within his sphere of activity at DGEMN, he was particularly critical of the obsolescent practice of stylistic reintegration practised by his fellow architects, to which he opposed the more recently accepted principles of heritage management. Among these, his reports on the Protection Zones of the Queluz National Palace (1940) and the National Assembly (1941) are particularly relevant for an understanding of the notion of urban patrimony, in accordance with the conclusions of the Athens International Conference on the Restoration of Monuments (Athens, 1931). An eloquent synthesis, along these lines, is provided by his report on the Protection Zone of the Sintra National Palace (ZPPNS), drawn up within the framework of the Sintra Urbanization Plan (1949) and signed on 24 May 1948, four days after the opening session of the 1st National Congress of Architecture.

“That ancient palace has always held a great charm for me and I have long desired to be concerned with it”, he wrote, referring to the essay he published in 1948, the same year as he wrote the report. For centuries that ancient mass had organized the expansion of the town surrounding it, shaping the perception of the landscape as well as the psychological structure of the community – and, in particular, that of Raul Lino himself, living with his family in the picturesque circumstance of São Pedro de Sintra. Source and frequently focal point of his varied narrative, between 1903, the date of his artistic collaboration in the book by Queen D. Amélia (O Paço de Sintra) and 1948, with his report on the ZPPNS, the perspective on the National Palace was the main axis in composing the organization of architectural space in the Casa do Cipreste (Cypress House – fig. 12).
Paulo Manta Pereira, three axes of views over the monuments from the living room of the Cypress House.


A profile drawn along that precise axis (fig. 13) gives an orographic density to the planimetric projection, allowing us to perceive the simultaneous practice of a spiritual exercise of “wandering” within the atmosphere of “dream and enchantment” dear to Raul Lino, and the physical discipline of the “footing” of his daily excursions into “the Sintra hills, in every direction as far as the Atlantic shore.”
Returning to the 1st Congress, five days before that first great debate organized by the Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos (National Union of Architects), Raul Lino submitted to the Conselho Superior das Obras Públicas (Council for Public Works), on 15 May 1948, the first version of the Ante-plano de Urbanização de Tavira (Pre-Plan for the Urbanization of Tavira, APUT, 1948-1953). This was a synthesis, in fact a kind of culturalist counter-thesis, insofar as its writings and drawings were in accordance with the reasoning he had coherently developed in the “hundreds” of reports he had drawn up on public works projects. His was a position which Keil do Amaral (1910-1975) considered “implacable in his opposition […], over many years, to modern [public] works”, during the controversy over the “Portuguese house” (1970), a statement which cannot be seen in isolation from the ideological context and conjuncture in which it was formulated.
Quite distinctive, in relation to the progressive plans drawn up at the same time, is the incorporation in APUT of the pre-existing urban reality, as an intrinsic motive for the design, together with the exclusion of through-going traffic from the core of the settlement, by means of a projected bypass for the Estrada Nacional 125 (National Highway 125). He thus ensured the double objective of financial viability for the plan’s execution and the safeguard of “the conditions which characterize the town of Tavira […] its pictorial aspects and its historical ambience which give it a special flavour [and which] must not only be preserved, but carefully promoted”40.

Figure 14
Paulo Manta Pereira, Interpretation of the work plan and zones of the Pre-Plan for the Urbanization of Tavira (APUT). [Overlapping drawing on: Raul Lino, APUT (1948-1953); Digital cartography of the Municipality of Tavira (1998)]
Grateful to the idea of the garden city – which he retained from his anglo-germanic formative period (1890-1897) – and to the containing concept of the “green belt” intrinsic to the “Garden City” model, Raul Lino was a pioneer in Portugal in putting forward the idea of a green structure in urban planning. In that sense he drawn a dense lining of trees for both existing and proposed roadways, “a small central park […] cultivating trees in some of the existing squares, and establishing more or less rustic wooded areas”41.

The APUT is thus a model as regards the intrinsic architectural conformation of the underlying problem to the design of the infrastructures, building alignments, wooded axes and green areas, plots and “zoning” which we consider to be implied in our syncretistic interpretation of the original elements of the Pre-plan (Fig. 14).

**Conclusion**

At the end of this brief survey, in the limited space of this article, of ten examples of his reflection, we can consider that the existence of an idea of the city in Raul Lino has been plausibly demonstrated. The formula “Urbanistic Architecture” is an appropriate expression of the synthesis that he conceived, in each new project, as a dialectic of continuity between man and circumstance, and which he based, as he wrote in the article “Urbanização em atraso” (“Backward urbanization”) on 12 December 1958, “on an architectonic sentiment – I repeat, on an architectonic sentiment”42.

Raul Lino pursued it in opposition to the positivist epistemology which is rooted in the modern theory and history of architecture, and eschewed the usual taxonomies and dichotomies of Architecture versus Urbanism or Town versus Country. He was inspired by a resolute defense of what he considered to be “the meaning [of architecture] as a cultural pattern”43, and his transversal view of the city established possibilities of consensus through architecture, which is envelope and stage of our collective existence – an argument which has been further developed in later writings, among which we can single out those of Aldo Rossi44 (1966), Paul Virilio (2004, 2009)45 or Peter Zumthor (2006)46, and which justifies reconsideration of the striking relevance, in the Portuguese, international and global context, of Raul Lino’s architecture of territory.
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2 This, the first retrospective exhibition of the work of an architect in Portugal, was the subject of a media polemic, related to two antithetical critical interpretations published, respectively, in the exhibition catalogue and in the artistic journal of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation: Pedro Vieira de Almeida, “Raul Lino – Arquitecto moderno”, in Pedro Vieira de Almeida et al., (eds), Raul Lino: Exposição retrospectiva da sua obra, (Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1970), 115-188; and Nuno Portas, “Raul Lino: Uma interpretação crítica da sua obra de arquitecto e doutrinador”, Colóquio: Revista de Artes e Letras. 61 (1970): 14-22.


5 Raul Lino, Quatro Palavras sobre Urbanização (Lisbon, Valentim de Carvalho, 1945): 12.


15 There is a copy of the first edition of *Houses and Gardens*, which Raul Lino will have bought during his honeymoon in England and which bears his signature and the inscription “London, 1907”, in the family archive in Rua Feio Terenas, Lisbon.

16 Describing it as a model, Raul Lino praises the urban improvements project drawn up by Barry Parker for the city of Oporto, in the second decade of the 20th century. Lino, “Parecer”.


18 Raul Lino, *Evocação de Alexandre Rey Colaço* (Lisbon; Valentim de Carvalho, 1957): 11.

19 The estate of Raul Lino is deposited in the Art Library of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, in Lisbon, and contains 667 catalogued architectural projects.


21 A search of the digital catalogue to his estate returns, for the period 1902-1933, 385 records, of which 217 (56%) correspond to “house[s]” and 118 (44%) to other functions and typologies.


23 The "Pombaline plan" approved by the Marques de Pombal in 1758, establishes the illuminist urban configuration of the reconstruction plan of downtown Lisbon after the earthquake of 1755. Its author was the architect and military engineer Eugénio dos Santos de Carvalho (1711-1790), which established the strict composition of the elevations in the "Pombalino Cartulary," including Rossio Square.


26 Lino, “O Rossio”.


31 Lino, “Parecer”.


33 Ibid.: 58.

34 Ibid.: 57-58.


36 The last plan drawn up for Portugal by the French urbanist Étienne de Gröer (1882-1952), after those for Coimbra (1940), Braga (1942), Évora (1945), Costa do Sol (1948), and Lisbon (1948).

37 Completed on 15 May 1948, the Pre-Plan for the Urbanization of Tavira underwent minor alterations on 6 October 1948 and 31 December 1953, before being approved by the *Conselho Superior de Obras Públicas* (Council for Public Works) on 26 August 1953 and ratified by the Minister on 4 September 1954.


41 Ibid., p. 6.


45 Virilio, “Native Land,” “Ville Panique”.
