PORTUGUESEs IN CIAM X

Maria Helena Maia and Alexandra Cardoso
CEAA | Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo
Escola Superior Artística do Porto, (ESAP) Portugal

Abstract

The Portuguese delegation at CIAM X presented a proposal for a rural community. This was an innovative attitude that reflected the rapprochement to vernacular architecture. The same approach that is present in the survey to folk architecture, carried out in the 50s by some of the Portuguese modern architects.

This paper focuses on the characteristics of the Portuguese proposal on Drubovnick in 1956 and what it represented in terms of national and international architectural culture.

Starting from coeval documentation – letters, drawings, reports, notes and other manuscripts – it was intend to re-read the choice of the Portuguese team in its articulation with the rural world. This choice represents an innovative contribution that combine multiple approaches, which going through anthropology culminate in the architecture.

On the one hand, it is important to deepen insight of the level of relationship of this project with the Arnaldo Araújo’s CODA (Contest for Obtaining the Diploma of Architecture). On the other hand is important to explore connections with the urban interventions that were running on the countryside.

Keywords: CIAM 10; CIAM Porto; Vernacular; Rural Habitat; New Regionalism

Portuguese in CIAM

The Portuguese liaison with CIAM dated from post Second World War, specifically in 1952, when Alfredo Viana de Lima (1913-1991) and Fernando Távora (1923-2005) travelled to Hoddesdon in England to attend the CIAM 8 Congress. At that
time, Viana de Lima was invited by S. Giedion and JL Sert to be the CIAM’s Portuguese delegate.

This is precisely the date that the ODAM\(^1\), a group of modern architects, existing since 1947 in Oporto, joins the CIAM. As a consequence, in 1952 the ‘ODAM’s project for a new status\(^2\)” was drawn up, in which architects and architecture students, who were admitted, should be totally integrated “in the objectives and purposes of the organization and take the responsibilities that are required also as members of CIAM”. In addition, another ODAM’s intention was “Promoting the values in which Modern Architecture and Urbanism must be established that have been formulated by CIAM and struggle for its adoption”, which shows the dependence of ODAM relating to CIAM and some overlapping objectives between ODAM and CIAM Portuguese delegation.

The settling in Oporto of all architects of the Portuguese group gave its name - CIAM Porto -, despite not having existed no other group in the country. Though, there was an intention to form "with modern architects from around the country, a unique national group, with the same objectives and purposes" and "establish the most convenient liaison with CIAM"\(^3\), aspire which did not happen.

Upon its formation, CIAM Porto will be actively involved both at CIAM Council Meetings and the latter 3 CIAM congresses that followed\(^4\). A year after its acceptance, CIAM Porto, still “in organization”, leaves Portugal for the first time to attend the CIAM Council Meeting held in Sigtuna, (Sweden), related to the preparatory work of CIAM 9, around the definition of Habitat as well as its

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1. Organização dos Arquitectos Modernos [Organization of Modern Architects]. Upon its entry to the CIAM, the intention was to change the initial designation to the Organization for the Defense of a Modern Architecture, maintaining the original acronym, ODAM. Vd handwritten note on the document ODAM - Projecto para um novo estatuto. Typewritten document, 18/XI/1952. CEAA Archive

2. ODAM - Projecto para um novo estatuto. Typewritten document, 18/XI/1952. CEAA Archive

3. ODAM - Projecto para um novo estatuto. Typewritten document, 18/XI/1952. CEAA Archive

4. As CIAM Porto group, coordinated by Viana de Lima, its participation was at the CIAM council meeting in Sigtuna, 1952 June 25-30, at CIAM IX in Aix en Provence 1953, July 19-26, at CIAM council meetings, Paris, 1955 and July 4 in La Sarraz 1955 8-10 September and at the CIAM X in Dubrovnik, 1956 August 3-13. In the last CIAM Congress in Otterlo (The Netherlands) in 1959, the guidelines were in order to finish the participation of national groups and return to the old method of individualized communication. So Fernando Távora presented the Project for Vila da Feira market and Viana de Lima the project Bragança hospital
guiding principles and form of representation, with the aim of drawing up a Charter. Fostering this debate, the Portuguese group presents a proposal of intent, drafted under Viana de Lima’s responsibility and guidance\(^5\), which focuses on two main aspects: (1) "Analysis of Habitat’s functions " and (2) " Suggestion for a Grid".

The starting point was to establish a "method of analysis", with full implementation of each particular case and with reference to each national group. Considerations drawn from the case studies in different countries of the world would provide to achieve common objectives to define the Charter of Habitat, thus contributing to accomplish the “desired universal scale” \(^6\).

Following this proposal, Viana de Lima have been invited to be part of one of the two preparatory commissions of CIAM 9, established to define the “Habitat Grid”, together with Eccochard, Forbat, Hovens Greve and Tyrwhitt and chaired by Bodiansky\(^7\).

In ‘Housing Considerations’\(^8\), CIAM Porto suggests that the Charter of Habitat should pursue "on our social realities, on the urgent needs of our population, with the purpose to awaken in all who are responsible the desire of housing for everyone." Consequently the notion of minimum scale arises: the objectives, the concepts, the analysis but foremost "the desire to see the 'Charter of Habitat' not a form of techno-aesthetic-philosophical directives, but above all a charter of rights to determine the minimum housing conditions applicable to all countries", are now depending on that scale.

In the following meetings, the Portuguese group led by Viana de Lima, will present not only successive inputs to the Charter of Habitat but also some

\(^{5}\) Presentation of the Portuguese proposal at CIAM Council Meeting, Sigtuna, Sweden. Viana de Lima Typewritten document. CEAA Archive

\(^{6}\) CIAM X/Rapport du Groupe CIAM portugais à la Réunion CIRPAC du 4 Juillet 1955. Typewritten document. CEAA Archive

\(^{7}\) The other commission established to define Habitat, chaired by Wogensky, consisted of Alaurant, Ahrén, van Eesteren, Emery, van Eyck, Lauritzen and Roth . CEAA Archive

\(^{8}\) Considérations sur le logement. Typewritten document of Portuguese CIAM group, undated. CEAA Archive
approaches to the *Grille CIAM d’Urbanisme*, over which recognizes quality but also some rigidity that would need to be smoothed.

Moreover, the discussion about the constraints of the *Grille CIAM* would be also addressed within the ODAM, which used an improved version, from the point of view of their authors, in the group exhibition held in Oporto precisely in 1952. The application of the *Grille* as a reasonable tool in the analysis of the city, divided by the Athens Charter’s four functions, was a lively debate that went far beyond the CIAM.

The Portuguese CIAM group reaffirmed their proposals to adapt this working tool in addressing issues of urbanism and habitat, against the new solution widespread by Team 10, which proposed a more synthetic approach, now considering each problem as an entity, and thus in total rupture with the ancient analytical method, expressed by the *Grille* CIAM. In relation to this solution, which CIAM Porto accepted losers, but without much conviction, stressed the fact that not seems feasible, "the analysis of Habitat, according to the scheme

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10 For the Habitat functions initially defined - *Health, Activity* and *Thought* - it was proposed by CIAM Porto another new one, entitled *Affectivity.* CIAM X / Groupe CIAM Portuguais /Réunion CIRPAC du 4 Juillet 1955 / Rapport sur le scheme de Grilles proposées. Typewritten document. CEAA Archive

11 Designation that CIAM X Commitee, composed initially Bakema, Smithson, Candilis and Gutman came to adopt during the preparation of the congress. This initial group, incorporated new elements, and ended up getting quite wider and whose activity was far beyond that for which it was originally created.

12 In a document compiled by Bakema, dated from 1955, for the first time the Portuguese group presents a critique of the synthetic nature of the new grille, which in their view would create difficulties in the analysis of the working committees. (CIAM X – 1955 / Resumé des réactions dans "Instructions aux Groupes" / (Project no 5, envoyé aux groupes le 22.12.‘54) Typewritten document. CEAA Archive. Later, Filgueiras, translating the feel of the Portuguese group, notes that the TEAM X guidelines constituted not only a deviation, as well as a step backwards from the previous CIAM grilles and the Portuguese proposal for CIAM X was the possible, given the new guidelines. (Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, *Aditamento à Grille C.I.A.M. d’Urbanisme*, paper presented to XXIV Congresso Luso-Espanhol para o Progresso das Ciências. Madrid: November 1958, p.10. Typewritten document. CEAA Archive
proposed by Team 10 [...] because it does not form a structure of propositions through a careful analysis."\(^{13}\)

One can recall that in the Report presented to the CIRPAC\(^{14}\) meeting of July 4, 1955, the Portuguese group openly expressed his disagreement with the direction followed by Team 10, even complaining that their proposals were never considered. At that time, and in a last attempt, they propose a solution which brings together the guidelines presented at the Paris Council meeting, in 1954, with those now under discussion for the CIAM 10 Congress\(^{15}\).

One hypothesis could be raised: since the Team 10’s proposals were focused in identity and community issues with great emphasis on human relations, maybe they can somehow have removed the ‘security blanket’ from a whole “established” process of reading and doing city, rooted in a functionalist approach.

So far, the analysis of each of the four functions was understood as totally within itself, without allowing other relationships than those established by the plot of the *Grille d’Urbanism*\(^{16}\).

The Porto Portuguese group also took part in the choice of venue and date of the CIAM X. When it was recognized that this could not be held in Algiers, an attempt was made to hold this congress in Portugal in Braga city. For this, CIAM Porto got the official support of the government, specifically by the Minister of Public Works of the Salazar government\(^{17}\).

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\(^{13}\) CIAM X / Rapport du Groupe CIAM portugais à la Réunion CIRPAC du 4 Juillet 1955. Typewritten document, 29-06-55. CEAA Archive

\(^{14}\) Comité International pour la Résolution des Problèmes de l’Architecture Contemporaine [International Committee for the Resolution of Problems in Contemporary Architecture].

\(^{15}\) CIAM X / Rapport du Groupe CIAM portugais à la Réunion CIRPAC du 4 Juillet 1955. Typewritten document, 29-06-55. CEAA Archive

\(^{16}\) We thought the Portuguese team was aware of the limitations of the Grille CIAM d’Urbanism, as can be seen from the observation by O.L. Filgueiras: "that which refers to the organization of life escapes through the meshes of the four functions - and is, in fact, beyond the scope of an analytical thought" (Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, *Aditamento à Grille C.I.A.M. d’Urbanisme*, paper presented to XXIV Congresso Luso-Espanhol para o Progresso das Ciências. Madrid: November 1958, p.10. Typewritten document. CEAA Archives

This attempt turned out to be inconsequential because the Yugoslav group had first submitted the proposal for the meeting be held in Dubrovnik, which effectively has happened.

The only consequence of the Portuguese proposal was the postponement of it for one year later. This is because, the preparation of the meeting was transformed into a field of discussion, critique and disruption arising from what some perceived to be the lack of CIAM 9 results, to launch a *Charter of Habitat* and the inadequacy of analytical methods addressing the problems of the postwar city.

It should also be noted that the dynamism shown by CIAM Porto in international meetings, had no parallel in the national context.

As already mentioned, the CIAM group ended up confined to Oporto, where quickly absorbed the ODAM group\(^{18}\). There were periods of some internal disagreement, as reflected in the group meetings' minutes which resulted in changes, among others, of its initial constitution\(^{19}\). Moreover, the moment that CIAM Porto was created precisely corresponded with the beginning of the discussions that will lead to internal cleavage and contestation within the international CIAM. This process has sufficiently already studied to abstain from developing it in this paper (vd. E.P. MUMFORD, 2002).

### Preparing CIAM X

As is well known, the CIAM 10 resulted in adopting the TEAM 10 proposals, instructed by CIRPAC to prepare “the program, the standards of presentation and the method of work” \(^{20}\), and “all of them agreed to work as a group and

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\(^{18}\) To the replacement of the ODAM group by the CIAM Porto, it was already called attention by P. Vieira de Almeida e M.H. Maia (1986) e P. Vieira de Almeida (1996). Later, Alexandra Trevisan (2013) will specify that the replacement will not have been immediate, and the two groups coexisted until 1953. Towards a better understanding of the relationship between the two groups see Alexandra Trevisan (2013).

\(^{19}\) The study of the Minutes of the CIAM Porto meetings in its multiple implications is currently underway in the CEAA.

\(^{20}\) CIAM/ Paris, June 30th, 1954. CIAM Council Meeting minute. Typewritten document . CEAA Archive
meet as frequently as necessary, maintaining close contact with an Advisory Group” 21. It is also well known that these proposals constitute a split in relation to previous congresses and reflect the critical review of the Athens Charter doctrine, started with Doorn’s manifest in 1954.

On the way, the idea of getting a Charter of Habitat was lost.

However, the theme of Habitat remains on CIAM 10, but now with the sub title: 'Problem of Inter-Relationships: First CIAM proposals – Statements and Recommendations', which refers to a new theoretical universe more focused in identifying problems and solutions at different scales, rather than concern for the establishment of universal principles.

From Team 10’s point of view, the study of human associations should be constituted the aim of urbanism, and also should “consider every community as a particular total complex”, despite its dimension. This led to the identification of four fields working scales: (1) city, (2) town, (3) village, (4) isolate 22.

In the guidelines sent to all national groups, Team 10 clarifies that it is not intended to present “entire projects for villages, towns or cities, but just projects with ideas for [ideal] habitat, which could be integrated within those structures” 23.

Simultaneously, the main relationships are defined to be discussed within each scale of association to establish the physical conditions of the habitat: (1) housing and its extensions (2) old type’s houses and its architectural expression (3) height and low buildings (4) free vehicles traffic and pedestrians circulation (5) regional elements and current means of expression (6) daytime and night-time habitat.

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21 Consisting of: J.L.Sert (President), S. Giedion (General Secretary), Le Corbusier (Vice-President), W. Gropius (Vice-President) and J. Tyrwhitt (Liaison Officer)” (CIAM/ Paris, June 30th, 1954. Typewritten document. CEAA Archive

22 Structural scheme / CIAM X. Guidelines to the groups. Typewritten document, December 1954. CEAA Archive

23 TEAM X guidelines to the groups. CEAA Archive
Finally, these guidelines contained a new method of work presentation, which wanted to be synthetic, in opposition to the previous analytical method, accused of reading the city as a fragment.

The projects had to be condensed into 4 standard panels, with different levels of treatment: "Panel 1 – The Problem"; "Panel 2 - General Solution"; "Panel 3 - Detailed Solution"; "Panel 4 - Contributions".

The graphic documentation and the nature of information that should be on each panel were also predetermined.

The Portuguese team – consisting by A. Viana de Lima, F. Távora and O.L. Filgueiras, with the collaboration of 1 engineer (Napoleão Amorim), 2 trainees architects, (Arnaldo Araújo and C. Carvalho Dias) and 1 ESBAP student, (Alberto Neves) – chose to contribute to the village working scale by proposing the 'Plan for a Rural Community' in Trás-os-Montes.

The work will be presented in Dubrovnik Modern Art Gallery, in August by the Portuguese delegates, Viana de Lima and Fernando Távora.

**The Portuguese Project**

Regarding the projects displayed at CIAM 10, five of them were directly related with the rural world, although their approaches had been different. Its authors were the Smithsons, John Voelcker, Aldo van Eyck, the Norwegian PAGON (Progressive Arkitekters Gruppe Oslo Norge) group and the one presented by CIAM Porto, (vd. N. Mota, 2012).

The Portuguese team, despite its declared disagreement with the adopted grid, responded in a qualified way with a proposal that fostered the relationship between modern language and features of vernacular tradition of the region.

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24 The proposal was presented in French with the title ‘HABITAT RURAL – Nouvelle Communauté Agricole’
25 During 10 days, from 3 to 13 August, 1956.
Maybe it was not just a coincidence that most of the team members were at that time involved in the *Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture*, in particular zone 1 – Minho and zone 2 – Trás-os-Montes.

In fact, it is also not by chance that the village under study is located in Trás-os-Montes. Perhaps the survey was more developed in this area, or the data collected was more conducive to the work in question.

In addition, not only the team of Trás-os-Montes was especially sensitive to anthropological issues, but also had the support of the previous work, which in this region came to be developed by Jorge Dias, the most important Portuguese anthropologist at that time.

Rio de Onor, community village, crossed by the Portuguese-Spanish border, made known by this anthropologist (J. Dias, 1952), has a large presence in the Portuguese proposal. The images of this village are dominant in the 4 panels that were displayed, providing a reference on morphology, implantation, modes of dwell and also in building materials. Most of them were subsequently published in *Popular Architecture in Portugal* (1961) which shows the engagement between this work and the survey.

Moreover, it seems that the proposal has a great freshness in approach to the problem, when clearly the CIAM Porto architects take the rural dimension of the country.

"Portugal is still a country with a primarily agricultural nature (...) and the rural case is, as is common throughout the world, the ultimate concern of those who are responsible, even verifying that the predominance of urban over rural is manifest even in the field our professional and doctrinal activity" (Panel 1).

This awareness, possibly due to the Survey, led to the choice of the region – the Portuguese northeastern - and the scale of intervention – the village.

From our point of view, the proposal seeks to address the problem of isolation and abandonment of the one of the most remote regions that are further away
from urban centers, and in which cultural structures are more archaic, finding a territorial mechanism that will foster its relationship with the rest of the country.

A new community village was created. The plan envisaged the construction of about 40 houses for a community based on 200 inhabitants. Suitably equipped, it had as an objective to foster synergies with other communities and thus contribute to the establishment of the inhabitants in their environment, with much better living conditions, and "within a contemporary concept, defending and revitalizing ancient habits (ways of living)" (A. Viana de Lima, 1996, pág.51-96).
Located in the center of a strategic area, it would act as a structural pivot between other existing villages of the region, and between them and the towns of the region. In turn, these would connect to other urban centers and from these to the main decision centers, which in turn are connected with the largest city – the Portuguese capital\textsuperscript{26}.

Essentially, a little scheme is planned, applied in a remote region of the country, a kind of solution that connects local, regional and national scales. With this new village, the group draws a solution that crosses the different scales of association proposed by Team 10.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure2.png}
\caption{CIAM X village scheme. CEAA Archive}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{26} There are several schemes that document this solution. CEAA Archive. See also the C. Carvalho Dias testimony (2013)
According to the one of the author’s testimony, this proposal also presumed the renovation of the villages which the new cluster was associated with (C. Carvalho Dias, 2013). This refers to the measures that came to be taken at this level by Junta de Colonização Interna (JCI) [Internal Colonization Department] (see MH Maia; I.Matias, 2013).

The new village is located in a valley, on both margins of the river, as is common in the region. The Civic Centre takes the central part of the village in one side and is connected to the church, across the bridge, which is on the opposite margin. Also on the slopes, the housing unit is located in organic lines, parallel to the river path, thus leaving available the fertile land along the water to family farms.

A little further away stands a "cooperative group" that includes diverse equipment for collective use, which includes the school, and the great buildings of agricultural production.

The plan provides for dwelling an evolutionary layout which group 2, 4 or 6 modules of houses, interspersed with small collective structures which support them, giving some breath to the whole set.

The architectural proposal

Although the information contained in the panels included only the parts related to the housing type solution, in the documentation team exists a set of documents which allow us to better understand the idea of the village and the concerns which have inspired its design.

It was proposed to build a church, a school, the Casa del Popolo, a collective oven, a consumer cooperative and a medical care centre, which means to bring together in the same village all community services common in small villages, though to gather them all in the same cluster were relatively rare.
In fact, some of these equipments are designed with surprising modernity in the Portuguese context of the time.

This is the case of the health care centre in whose study concludes that, in addition to medical support, this would also support social care and the creation of a kindergarten. This is clear in envisaging housing for professionals who were involved: medical, social workers and teachers.

In turn, in the explanations relating to the Casa del Popolo a very rich program activities, with clearly urban characteristics, are mentioned - "cinema, radio, television, theatre, recitals, lectures, seminars, [...] exhibitions" - which would take place in a meeting room for 200 people, where also would perform the traditional councils of rural communities in the region. This equipment also includes a library, living room, game room, and some facilities.

The primary school should be both in "contact with reality" and "straightly connected with the farming co-operative" a situation that came to be reflected at the level of its location. In addition to a single classroom for both genders, unusual choice at the time, "a work (living museum) room," a teacher/secretary room, a corridor-gymnasium and a cloakroom with toilet facilities were joined. The architectural design of the school provided for the possibility of growth in another room.
This concern with the possible need to increase the building is also present in the proposal of an evolutionary type of housing, included in panel 3.

Moreover, the proposed floor plan was designed to allow for a wide range of types of housing that could easily grow depending on family needs, by filling some voids, strategically placed for the purpose. It is not an architectural process by attaching new structures, but the creation of expansion zones in its internal compositional structure.

The hypothesis of easily turn a small typology in a greater one, fosters in our point of view the stabilization of the family in the same housing nucleus, thus creating possible relations of identity and rootedness with the village community.
Furthermore, it was envisaged that the houses were built “using local materials whenever possible” and that could grow through a process of self-construction that was simultaneously a process of appropriation that “would allow convert such housing [-type] in his home”\textsuperscript{27}.

On the other hand, there is a clear concern in understanding the internal structure of traditional housing and modes of inhabiting the region. This led to the valuing of the fireplace as "core of domestic life" and thus as the focal point of the house. In parallel, this also led to the valuing the role of the square as the core "of life in society" and central part of the village.

The constant presence of porches ensures the areas of transition-space, "space that is neither inside nor outside and reflects an ancestral form of dwelling" (P. Vieira de Almeida, 1963, 2010) and provides the formal proximity to some Rio de Onor’s houses.

The closeness that was sought both in terms of form and functional structure of vernacular housing, did not stop the focus on its improvement, particularly with

\textsuperscript{27} X CIAM Congress. Portuguese Delegation. Typewritten document. CEAA Archive
regard to the introduction of sanitary facilities and a clear separation between residential areas and those that were intended for animals.

This proposal is part of a debate on rural housing that arose at national and international level and, in the Portuguese case led to the reinvention of rural housing, in which diversified solutions ranging from adopting a clearly modernist language to the redesign of traditional forms.

Proposal’s effects

The relationships that were more directly established with the Portuguese proposal to CIAM X are related to Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional Portuguesa (1955-1961) (Portuguese Regional Architecture Survey) and to final thesis degree by Arnaldo Araújo (1957) entitled Formas do Habitar Rural – Norte de Bragança. Contribuição para a estrutura da comunidade (Forms of rural habitat – North of Bragança. Contribution to the community structure), mainly studied the first case than the second.

In fact, in his thesis, Arnaldo Araújo develops the assumption that the accomplishment of the program presented in Dubrovnik could contribute “to the creation of a new regionalism”, through the "effort in analysis and detection of specific needs of specific populations, as well as committed to local proposals for intervention". In addition, "the Portuguese architect, without having to abandon or reduce (and without being able to do so) his relations with the universal lines (technical and aesthetic) of modern architecture, should be close to the realities of his people, to interpret their virtues and build a rooted Portuguese architecture" (A. Araújo, 1957).

Less known is the consequence of this proposal to the official level.
In its resolution dated from 06.12.1956, the Minister of Public Works praised the work of the Portuguese team, specifically Viana Lima, Távora and Filgueiras and expressed the Government's interest in this study.

Specifically, he expressed willingness to welcome with satisfaction not only the next CIAM meeting in Portugal, as well as an exhibition on rural habitat in the
United States, however recommending the contact with SPN/SNI\textsuperscript{28} for the latter proposal.

Finally, the Minister informed that the Report submitted by the architects would be directed to DGSU [General Department of Urban Development Services] to report on "practical course" that could result from their suggestions.

Consequently, the Department's opinion considers the work as being of national interest and points out "two possible practical course" - "the possibility of a broader regional planning, or the particular case of a village (in the same region or elsewhere)" – giving priority to the first hypothesis.

Although being an unstudied subject, it is noted that one year after the proposal to CIAM X, the development of a Regional Plan for Trás-os-Montes\textsuperscript{29} was delivered to this team\textsuperscript{30}.

The underlying enthusiasm to the DGSU’s opinion as well as the manifest interest of the Minister reflects the impact that the Portuguese project had at the national level.

Choosing taking up the problems inside the rural reality, the solution for a new community village, which it was presented by the Portuguese delegation in CIAM X, is a strong example of a dynamic "planning of non-urban areas", with clear advantages for regional development and for the "defence of their cultural heritage and natural values related to it."\textsuperscript{31}

We believe that this connection with the rural landscape found by this team in traditional regional architecture was influential in the paths trodden by the Portuguese architecture.

\textsuperscript{28} The Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN) was created in 1933, and in 1945 was re-named National Secretariat for Information, Tourism and Popular Culture, most commonly known simply as the National Secretariat of Information (SNI). Because of this, the department is usually referred to as the SPN/SNI.

\textsuperscript{29} As can be inferred from the text of two complementary contractual documents, dated from October 1957 and April 1958. CEAA Archive

\textsuperscript{30} Specifically Viana de Lima, Fernando Távora and Octávio Lixa Filgueiras.

\textsuperscript{31} Parecer da DGSU. Arquivo CEAA.
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Alexandra Cardoso. Architect (FAUP, 1994). Integrated researcher and board member of Centro de Estudos Arnaldo Araújo (CEAA), R&D unit 4041 (FCT); Director of CEAA (2003-2010). Has been working with Pedro Vieira de Almeida since 1995, in the study of the work of some Portuguese architects, such as Viana de Lima, Arnaldo Araújo e Octávio Lixa Filgueiras. From these studies resulted in several exhibitions and publications. Member of the projects The "Popular Architecture in Portugal." A Critical Look (PTDC/AUR-AQI/099063/2008 / FCOMP-01-0124-FEDER-008832), Southern Modernisms (EXPL/CPC-HAT/0191/2013) and and Portuguese Participation in CIAM X (ESAP/2013/P06/SATH). Last related publications, include the paper O Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional: contributo para uma historiografia crítica do Movimento Moderno em Portugal (with MH Maia, 2012), the books Dois parâmetros de Arquitectura Postos em Surdina. Leitura crítica do Inquérito à arquitectura regional. Caderno 3 and 4 and the edition of the To and Fro: Modernism and Vernacular Architecture (all three with MH Maia and JC Leal, 2013)

Maria Helena Maia. Graduate in History/Art and Archaeology and PhD in Modern Architecture and Restoration. Professor at ESAP and president of its Scientific Board. Director of CEAA, FCT R&D unit 4041 and principal researcher of its Architectural Studies research group; Researcher of the projects Photography, Modern Architecture and the "Escola do Porto": Interpretations on Teófilo Rego Archive (PTDC/ATP-AQI/4805/2012 / FCOMP-01-0124-FEDER-028054), Southern Modernisms (EXPL/CPC-HAT/0191/2013) and Portuguese Participation in CIAM X (ESAP/2013/P06/SATH). Last related publications, include the books To and Fro: Modernism and Vernacular Architecture (ed.) and Dois Parâmetros de Arquitectura Postos em Surdina. Leitura crítica do Inquérito à arquitectura regional. Cadernos 3 and 4 (all with A. Cardoso and J.C. Leal, 2013). Prizes: