

The *Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda* by Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva (1941-1943)

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Abstract

This chapter presents an analysis of the Urban Plan for Luanda (1941-1943), in Angola, developed by the architect-urbanists Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva.

In order to do so, this chapter: i) identifies the urban principles that have guided the proposal of the Urban Plan for Luanda, and the framework structure that supported it; ii) identifies and analyse original graphical and written elements related to the Urban Plan for Luanda; and finally iii) evaluates the Urban Design proposal for Luanda by Groër and Moreira da Silva. This chapter concludes that the *Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda* was sustained on a specific methodology that is here ascertained. Moreover, that the Urban Plan for Luanda was strategically influent in the future urban development of Luanda. This, despite the fact that this plan, paid by the City Council of Luanda, was immediately subject of alterations and revisions by the City of Council of Luanda itself, even before its conclusion by Groër and Moreira da Silva, in 1943.

1. Introduction

Although researchers worldwide have largely studied colonial cities, we know little about the effects and performance of the planning principles that have guided the urban planning of those cities. All these studies have increased our knowledge about the history of colonial cities, but they mostly cover their analysis on the urban planning produced in those cities. However, only a few have looked at colonial cities, at the same time that have tried to trace the origins of the urban planning principles that were implemented in such cities, as for example the Garden Cities theory (Bigon, 2013; Home, 2009; Matos and Ramos, 2008). Other studies have attempted to trace

the relationships between the different actors that have worked in specific colonial cities (Ramos and Matos, 2012), however without analysing the planning principles followed by the planners of those colonial cities.

Interest into the urban proposals for Luanda, the capital city of Angola, is testified in a number of investigations. Shortly after the conclusion of the Urban Plan for Luanda, the so called *Plano de Urbanização para a Cidade de Luanda* (PUCL), developed by Etienne de Groër (1902-1974) and David Moreira da Silva (1909-2002) between 1941 and 1943, Vasco Vieira da Costa (1911-1982) dedicated special attention to this plan in his final dissertation, entitled *Satellite City Number 3* (Costa, 1948). The PUCL was used by Costa (1948) as the starting point for his plan proposal for Luanda where the author draws a colonial city based on the idea of satellite cities.

The *Ensaio de Iconografia das Cidades Portuguesas do Ultramar* by Silveira (n.d.) represents an important contribution to the understanding of the African cityⁱ. This *atlas* resumes the origin models of the cities present in the four continents and traces them to the common origin of the Portuguese discoveries period.

Mourão (2006) in his analysis of the continuities and discontinuities of the colonial process through a reading of Luanda exposes a chronological overview of the urban development of Luanda. This investigation is informed by the analysis of different maps found by the author for the city of Luanda, including the PUCL.

Fonte (2007, 2012) draws attention to the process of occupation of the Angolan territory between 1920s and 1970s, through a systematic analysis of the different urban centres. The author argues that the development of Luanda is better explained under a political context, which was commanded from the capital Lisbon. Fonte highlights the strong influence that Groër had in the Portuguese urbanism of the 1940s and shows how Groër and Moreira da Silva applied Howard's theoretical model in the plan of Luanda (2012, pp. 55-57).

Milheiro (2012) pays special attention to the squares of the empire in a work dedicated to the Cabinet of Colonial Urbanisation and the Luso-african cities' plans. The author states that the square planned by Groër e Moreira da Silva eventually become a model followed by other colonial cities.

Correia (2012) presents a study that aims to evaluate the modernist architecture of Luanda from 1950 to 1975. The author states the importance of the architects that worked with Le Corbusier in the construction of Luanda and focuses the roles of

Vasco Vieira da Costa and Fernão Lopes Simões de Carvalho (1929-). This study is also complemented with an exhaustive identification of existing cartography, maps and plans that reveal the different urban proposals for Luanda. In this collection of documents, two plans from 1942 and 1947 are of particular interest because they relate to the PUCL. The 1942 plan is clearly identified as being authored by Groër and Moreira da Silva. Diligences to obtain digital copies of these maps in order to provide further investigation have already been attempted by the authors of this chapter.

Calls for comparative studies that touch on the work produced by Groër have been taken up only in a few cases. They include analyses of urban planning proposals considered in different cities and with different architect-urbanists (Marat-Mendes and Oliveira, 2014), produced in one specific regional area (Marat-Mendes and Sampayo, 2010, Marat-Mendes, 2009, Pereira, 2009), or within one city (Camarinhas, 2009, 2011), but also for the same country (Lôbo, 1995). There are also studies that have analysed Groër Planning Proposal antecedents (André et al., 2013; Pereira, 2009). But most of these works have been focused in the work of Groër produced mainly in Portugal.

In the light of the previous studies, an analysis of the work produced by Groër in a different geographical context appears as a useful addition. Luanda is well suited for this purpose. Conceived during the first half of the twentieth century, contemporary to urbanization programme that Groër was conducting in Lisbon, and of a number of urbanization plans all over Portugal, the PUCL becomes an important object of study to Groër. The City Council of Luanda ordered the plan, with the strategic support of the Portuguese government. Duarte Pacheco, the minister for Public Works, since 1932, and whom accumulated the Presidency of the City Council of Lisbon in 1938, might be the responsible for the invitation of Groër to work with the City Councils of the two capital cities of the Portuguese Empire and Colony, respectively Lisbon and Luandaⁱⁱ. Although the PUCL have also counted with the collaboration of Moreira da Silva, the Urban Plans for Lisbon and Luanda seem to integrate common urban planning principles and methodological frameworks: namely, the Ebenezer Howard theory and its regional approach as well as the French Urban Planning principles. Moreover, the two urban plans were planned during the same period of time, guided through common planning thoughts, and conducted by the same urbanist, Groër. Despite the analysis of the Urban Plan for Lisbon by Groër has been subject of several

analysis as for example the ones conducted by Marat-Mendes and Sampayo (2010) and Marat-Mendes and Oliveira (2014), the PUCL has not received yet the same attention. How has the PUCL meet the urban principles advocated by Groër? Has the PUCL adapted differently to Groër planning principles?

The purpose of this study was to provide some answers to these questions, while examining the PUCL, developed by Groër, whom have collaborated also with Moreira da Silva in other previous plansⁱⁱⁱ.

This chapter is organized in two parts. After this introduction, this chapter moves to the PUCL. More precisely it analyses: i) Groër and Moreira da Silva background; ii) the contract that has established the work program for the PUCL; but most important, iii) it systematizes, in a chronological manner the original graphical and written elements that are related to the PUCL^{iv}, and that were identified at the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, in Lisbon, and at *Fundação Instituto Marques da Silva*, in Porto. The final part of the chapter provides an analysis of the contribution of the PUCL, by Groër and Moreira da Silva. More precisely, it evaluates how have this plan contributed to the future development of Luanda, through an evaluation of the process of the making of the PUCL and its revision by the City Council of Luanda.

2. The *Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda*

This section presents the work produced by Groër and Moreira da Silva for the PUCL. It analyses the background of two architects involved in the plan for Luanda and the origins of the urban proposal for Luanda, as requested by the City Council of Luanda in 1941. It then moves to the description of the PUCL that was concluded in 1943. The focus is placed on the systematized graphical and written elements related to the plan, in order to ascertain the theoretical framework that has guided the architect's work, but also the methodological framework that was followed by the architects in their work for Luanda.

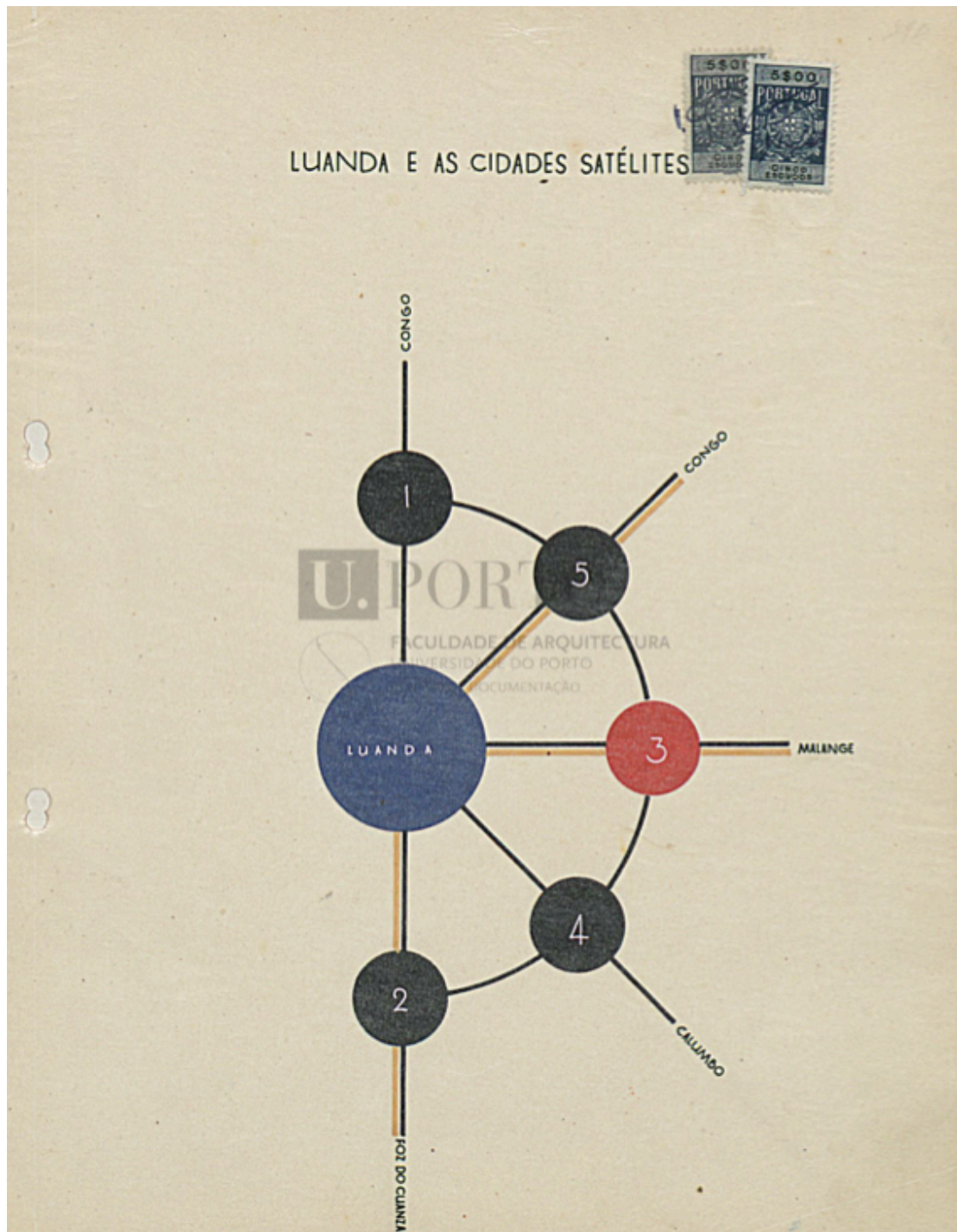


Figure 1 – Luanda and the Satellite Towns, by Vasco Vieira da Costa in 1948.

Source: Repositório Temático da Universidade do Porto (<http://repositorio-tematico.up.pt/handle/10405/48347>) [accessed on 14 April 2014].

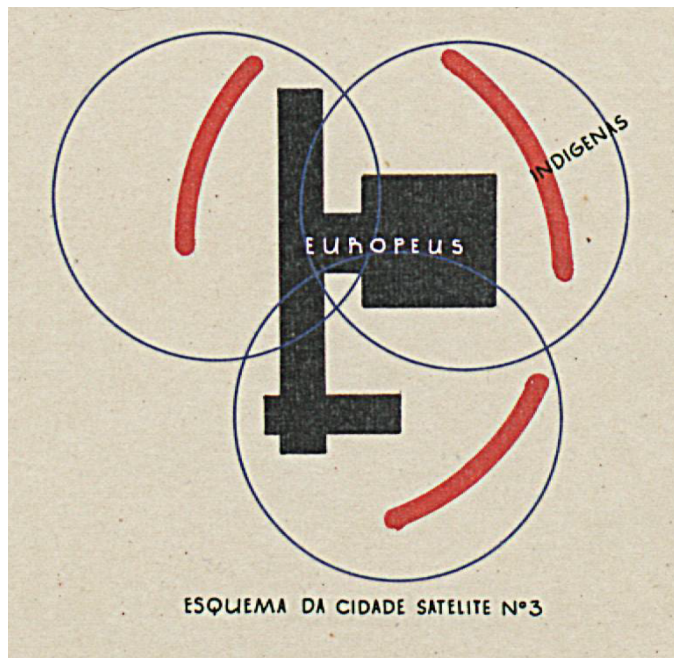


Figure 2 – Scheme of Satellite Twon number 3, by Vasco Vieira da Costa in 1948.

Source: Repositório Temático da Universidade do Porto (<http://repositorio-tematico.up.pt/handle/10405/48347>) [accessed on 14 April 2014].

2.1 Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva

Groër and Moreira da Silva were two architect-urbanists whose background is now important to compare in order to elucidate the theoretical framework that accomplished the development of the PUCL.

Groër was born in Warsaw, Poland, and was formed as an architect at the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. He immigrated to France in 1920 where he became naturalized in 1936. An active collaborator of at least three French Reviews^v, *La Vie Urbaine*, *Urbanisme and Travaux*, Groër was also a member of the *Société Française des Urbanistes* (SFU)^{vi} and a professor at the *Institute d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris* (IUUP)^{vii}.

Moreira da Silva was born in Porto, Portugal, where he initiated his studies in architecture in 1924, at the *Escola das Belas Artes* in Porto^{viii}. Resident in Paris since 1931, he concluded his studies as an architect in 1934 at the *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaus-Arts*, in Paris, and his diploma in Urbanism at the IUUP in 1939, both with a grant provided by the Portuguese government between 1936 and 1939 (Moreira da Silva and Tavares, 2009). On the 15th September of 1940 he would become a member of the French Architects Association (Pires, 2012, Vol.2, p.8).

Groër and Moreira da Silva were both architects and urbanists whom have coincided in Paris between 1936 and 1938, at the *Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris* (IUUP), while the first as a lecturer and the second as a student^{ix}.

In 1941, after having already collaborated in previous urban plans, Groër and Moreira da Silva were both contracted by the City Council of Luanda to develop the PUCL, on the 24th October of 1941 (doc.1, table 2). According to the signed contract the work was to be initiated in this same year and follow a calendar, which determined its conclusion approximately in May 1943. The collaboration between Groër and Moreira da Silva was not new. Either separately or in collaboration, both architects have testified a number of experiences in the preparation of Urbanization Plans, in Portugal and in the Portuguese colonies as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1 – Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva Urban Plans.

Date (start-end)	Plan	Architects
1928-1930	Plano de Urbanização do Rio de Janeiro	Étienne de Groër*
1938-1948	Plano Geral de Urbanização e de Expansão da Cidade de Lisboa	Étienne de Groër*
1940	Plano de Urbanização de Coimbra	Étienne de Groër David Moreira da Silva
1940	Anteplano de Urbanização de Moel do Minho	David Moreira da Silva
1941	Anteplano de Urbanização de Águeda	David Moreira da Silva
1941- 1943	Plano de Urbanização de Luanda	Étienne de Groër* David Moreira da Silva
1941	Anteprojecto de Remodelação da zona marginal do Funchal	David Moreira da Silva
1942	Anteplano de Urbanização de Paredes	David Moreira da Silva
1942	Anteplano de Urbanização de Monte Real	David Moreira da Silva
1943	Anteplano de Urbanização da Vila de Matosinhos	David Moreira da Silva
1943	Anteplano de Urbanização da Vila de Gabela	David Moreira da Silva
1943	Anteprojecto de Urbanização da Construção Av. do Infante Funchal	David Moreira da Silva
1944	Anteplano de Urbanização das Termas do Gerês	David Moreira da Silva
1944	Anteprojecto de Urbanização do Largo da Camacha – Madeira	David Moreira da Silva
1944	Anteplano de Urbanização da Cidade de Aveiro	David Moreira da Silva
1944	Anteprojecto do Parque da Cidade do Funchal	David Moreira da Silva
1944	Anteplano de Urbanização da Vila de Amares	David Moreira da Silva
1944	Urbanização da Vila de Paredes	David Moreira da Silva
1944	Plano de Urbanização de Braga	Étienne de Groër**
1944-1946	Plano de Urbanização da Costa do Sol	Étienne de Groër*
1945	Anteplano de Urbanização da Vila de Valongo	David Moreira da Silva
1945	Anteplano de Urbanização de Águeda	David Moreira da Silva
1945	Anteplano de Urbanização de Aveiro	David Moreira da Silva
1945	Anteplano de Urbanização da Cidade de Chaves	David Moreira da Silva
1945	Anteplano de Urbanização da Cidade de Barcelos	David Moreira da Silva
1945	Anteplano de Urbanização da Cidade de Elvas	David Moreira da Silva
1946	Anteplano de Urbanização da Vila de Valongo	David Moreira da Silva
1946	Anteplano de Urbanização de Aveiro	David Moreira da Silva
1946	Braga	Étienne de Groër*
1946-1953	Plano de Urbanização do Agrupamento Costa da Caparica, Trafaria, Cova do Vapor, Almada.	Étienne de Groër*
1947	Anteprojecto de Urbanização do Santuário da Nossa Senhora da Conceição do Sameiro (Braga)	David Moreira da Silva
1947	Anteplano de Urbanização de S. Jacinto	David Moreira da Silva
1947	Anteplano de Urbanização de Aveiro	David Moreira da Silva
1947	Évora	Étienne de Groër*
1947	Plano de Urbanização de Beja	Étienne de Groër**
1947	Plano de Urbanização de Abrantes	Étienne de Groër**
1948	Plano de Urbanização da Chamusca	Étienne de Groër *
1948	Anteplano de Urbanização de Aveiro	David Moreira da Silva
1948	Plano de Urbanização da Figueira da Foz	Étienne de Groër
1948	Plano de Urbanização de Pombal	Étienne de Groër *
1948	Plano de Remodelação da Baixa Pombalina	Étienne de Groër *
1949	Anteplano de Urbanização da Cidade de Elvas	David Moreira da Silva
1949	Anteplano de Urbanização da Cidade de Guimarães	David Moreira da Silva
1949	Plano de Urbanização de Sintra	Étienne de Groër**
1950	Anteplano de Urbanização de Vizela	David Moreira da Silva
1951	Anteplano de Urbanização da Avenida projectada entre os Largos do Município e de José Novais (Barcelos)	David Moreira da Silva
1951	Anteplano de Urbanização de Chaves	David Moreira da Silva
1953	Guimarães	David Moreira da Silva
1954	Anteplano de Urbanização de Caldas das Taipas	David Moreira da Silva
1955	Plano de Urbanização de Moscardide –V.F. Xira	Étienne de Groër*
1955	Anteplano de Urbanização de Amares	David Moreira da Silva
1955	Anteplano de Urbanização de S Jacinto	David Moreira da Silva
1955	Anteplano de Urbanização de Valongo	David Moreira da Silva
1956	Anteplano de Urbanização de Cacia-Sarrazola	David Moreira da Silva
1957	Anteplano de Urbanização de Guimarães (aditamento)	David Moreira da Silva
1959	Anteplano de Urbanização de Vizela (esboço)	David Moreira da Silva
1959	Anteplano de Urbanização de Aveiro (aditamento)	David Moreira da Silva
1960	Anteprojecto de Urbanização do centro de Aveiro	David Moreira da Silva
1962	Anteprojecto Paços do Concelho - Valongo	David Moreira da Silva
1963	Esboço Geral de Urbanização de Barcelos	David Moreira da Silva

Source. Pires (2012). Information for plans indicated with symbol * was provided by Lôbo (1995), and with symbol ** was provided by DGOTDU (2005).

From the previous table it is possible to verify that Moreira da Silva have worked on a

great number of plans, when compared to Groër. However the plans worked by Groër indicate a scale approach that covers also the regional one. Namely, with the Plan for Costa do Sol (Marat-Mendes, 2009; Lôbo, 1999). Moreover, Groër testifies a very precise urban line of thought that was supported on (i) Ebenezer Howard Garden City theory; (ii) on his knowledge of the several urban legislation; (iii) on how and why should a '*plan d'aménagement et d'extension*' be done; and (iv) the urban principles adopted by the French plans of urbanization (Groër, 1945, 1945-46, 1948). It was precisely because of this last reason that Groër was contracted by the Luanda authorities to prepare the PUCL (doc. 1, table 2).

2.2 The PUCL by Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva

This section introduces the PUCL. The impossibility of identifying the complete process of the PUCL by Groër and Moreira da Silva inhibited a comprehensive analysis of the original plan. Moreover, from the analysis of a number of other investigations regarding the PUCL, including Mourão (2006), Fonte (2007), Correia (2012) and Pires (2012), one can verify that none of these authors had access to the complete process of the PUCL. Nevertheless, the plan is mentioned in official documents and publications between 1944 and 1952 (see tables 2, 3, 4 and 5).

Moreover, Costa (1948) in his final dissertation testifies that he had access to the PUCL, by Groër and Moreira da Silva, as indicated in the bibliography of his work, that dates from 1942, in two transcriptions (1948, p. 3, 22) of the Plan, but also with the inclusion of two drawings that are believed to belong to the PUCL (doc.13 and 14, table 4).

This chapter follows with an identification of all the written and graphical elements (original and reproductions) that this investigation has directly related to the PUCL.

A number of elements were identified at the Portuguese Archive *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, in Lisbon. A number of reproductions of original elements were identified at Pires (2012), as belonging to the Portuguese Archive *Fundação Instituto Marques da Silva* (FIMS), in Porto. Other reproductions of original documents from PUCL were identified in Correia (2012).

The identified material consists on a number of written and graphical elements which have allowed to register in a chronological manner the evolution of the development of the PUCL, while identifying: i) the contract between the City Council of Luanda

and the two architects, ii) the exchanged correspondence between the two architect-urbanists regarding the PUCL; iii) the official correspondence between the architects and the municipal and governmental authorities with respect to the Plan; but also iv) some graphical elements regarding the PUCL and the evolution of Luanda urbanization.

Other elements that have supported the compilation of written elements related to the PUCL includes: i) official publications contemporary to the PUCL and that have noticed this plan (Anon, 1942) and the dissertation by Vasco Vieira da Costa (1948) about the PUCL that testimonies a number of transcript from the PUCL.

This section follows with a systematization of all identified elements (original and reproductions), related to the PUCL. These elements were organised in two categories, namely, the written and the graphical elements, disposed in a chronological manner, in tables 2, 3 and 4. Table 2 includes the written elements. Table 3 includes the graphical elements, identified at *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, from the former *Instituto Portugues de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento* (IPAD) and Table 4 includes graphical elements identified in other identified sources.

Table 2 – The Written Elements

Nº	Date	Type	Document	Source
1	24.10.1941	Contract	Contract for the development of <i>Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda</i> , celebrated between the City Council of Luanda and the architect-urbanists Groër and Moreira da Silva	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0068 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0070 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0071 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0072 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0073 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0074 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0075
2	27.10.1941	Telegram	Telegram from Groër to Moreira da Silva indicating that he will get into the boat that departs to Angola	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0077
3	27.10.1941	Guide	Letter by <i>Agência Geral das Colónias</i> informing about Moreira da Silva Status to work in Angola and that is departing to Luanda.	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0441
4	9.12.1941		Notes over the back of the Letter by <i>Agência Geral das Colónias</i> from 27.10.1941, signed by different offices, attesting Moreira da Silva arrival in Luanda for the first time.	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0442
5	1942	News	Urbanization of Luanda (<i>Urbanização de Luanda</i>)	Anon, 1942
6	17.08.1942	Guide	Notes by the City Council of Luanda informing the return of Moreira da Silva to Lisbon and the conclusion of the second stage of the work.	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0443
7	20.09.1942	Telegram	Telegram from Groër to Moreira da Silva informing that the 'esboço' is approved	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0108 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0108v
8	28.09.1942	Official Letter	Official letter from the City Council of Luanda to Groër and Moreira da Silva	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0210.1
9	23.01.1943	Telegram	Telegram by Groër	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0256
10	16.03.43	Postcard	Card by Gabrielle de Groër to Moreira da Silva	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0252 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0253
11	22.04.1943	Minutes	Copy of part of the Minutes of a meeting at the City Council of Luanda.	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0298 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0299 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0300
12	21.09.1943	Guide	Letter by <i>Agência Geral das Colónias</i> informing about Moreira Status to work in Angola	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0440
13	1943	Report	Land localization for workers housing. Luanda (<i>Localização de Terrenos para casas de funcionários. Luanda</i>)	PT/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DSU H/1974/01506
14	05.01.1944	Newspaper	Notice about the <i>Plano de Urbanização de Luanda</i>	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0434
15	12.10.1944	Letter	Letter from Groër to Moreira da Silva	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0425 FIMS/MSMS/4237-0426
16	--	Text	' <i>Plan d'Urbanization de Luanda</i> ', text written by Groër to Architect Raul Chorão Ramalho with elements to be included in the illustrated catalogue of the Exhibition of Construction in the Colonies, to be held in November 1944 at the IST, in Lisbon.	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0424
17	7.11.1944	Letter	Letter by Groër sent to Engineer Rogério Cavaca, the General Director of the Colonial Ministry, regarding his visit to the Exhibition of Construction in the Colonies	FIMS/MSMS/0398-0009
18	1944	News	Exhibition of Construction in the Colonies (<i>Exposição de Construções nas Colónias</i>)	Anon, 1944
19	December 1944	Article	The exhibition of the construction in the Portuguese colonies realized in the <i>Instituto Superior Técnico</i> .	Perestrelo, 1944
20	1945	Article	The Port of Luanda (<i>O Porto de Luanda</i>)	Perestrelo, 1945
21	1945	Article	Le Tracé D'un Plan d'Urbanization	Groër, 1945
22	1948	Dissertation	Staelite City number 3 (<i>Cidade Satélite nº 3</i>)	Costa, 1948
23	1952	News	City of Luanda (<i>Cidade de Luanda</i>)	Anon, 1952
24	1950-1952	Project report	Urbanization of Luanda (<i>Urbanização de Luanda</i>) i) <i>Elementos para a memória descritiva</i> ; ii) <i>Ante-Plano Geral de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda. Memória descritiva e justificativa</i> ; iii) <i>cópia da portaria-porvisão nº 2749, que altera e define limites das Paróquias de Luanda. (signed on the 15th June 1952)</i> ; iv) <i>notas anexas ao mapa das principais praças e largos revistos no plano de urbanização de Luanda</i> ; v) <i>Regulamento</i> ; vi) <i>Regulamento do esboço da Urbanização de Luanda</i> ; vii) <i>Relatório à-cerca das condições geológicas gerais de Luanda. Plano de Urbanização</i> .	PT/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DUS H/2036/04963
25	1950-1952		<i>Anteplano de Urbanização de Luanda – Bases da revisão, - Regulamento</i> .	PT/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DSU H/2036/01534

Table 3 – The graphical elements – IPAD

Nº	Date	Type	Document	Source
1	1926	Printed copy	Sketch of the Plano f the City of S. Paulo of Luanda. This image introduces an extensive legend of the most important buildings and allows to read the of most important public spaces).	BN/cc-326-a
2	--	Drawing	Port of Luanda. 4 drawings for the study of the square of the Porto of Luanda.	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
3	July 1942	Drawing	Luanda facilities. Study of the seaside entry square. Scale 1:1000 Identified as belonging to Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva and as made in Oeiras.	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
4	July 1942	Drawing	Untitled drawing. Scheme of the avenue <i>Avenida Marginal em Luanda</i> . Scale 1:2000 Identified as belonging to Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
5	September 1942	Drawing	General plan for the port and marginal land usage of the city of Luanda. Scale 1:2000	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
6	1942	Drawing	Urbanisation Plan for the City of Luanda. Global Map. Identified as belonging to Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva	Correia, 2012, p. 72
7	--	Drawing	Untitled drawing. Study for the marginal land plan. Scale 1:2000	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
8	04.01.1943	Drawing	Plan for the east city marginal of the Urbanisation Plan of Luanda. Scale 1:2000. Signed by Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
9	June 1943	Drawing	Untitled Drawing. Drawing for the port square with a legend of the proposed constructions	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
10	03.07.1943	Drawing	Plan for the Urbanisation of Luanda for the area between the city entrance and the N.S. Nazaré chapel. Drawing of the total marginal seaside with an elevation view of the marginal for each zone and with a detailed drawing of the port square designated as variant n. 3). Identified as belonging to Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva. Signed by Groër	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
11	--	Photocopy	Luanda – Entry Square - <i>Place D'Entrée</i> Scale 1.1000	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
12	1943	Photocopy	1943 Luanda – Empire Square. Elevation Signed by Étienne de Groer and David Moreira da Silva	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
13	--	Photocopy	Marginal Avenue of the Luanda Port - <i>Avenida Marginal do Porto de Luanda</i> Elevation. Scale 1:200 Signed Cid Perestrelo Eng. Civil (IST).	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909
14	--	Photography	<i>Arte-Plano</i> of the Official and Commercial zones and their connection with the high city. By Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial. Scale 1:1000 Signed. Signatures not identifiable.	PT/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DS UH/2036/04963
14	--	Photocopy	Partial plan of the city of Luanda with superimposition of the urbanisation plan (process of the lands for houses of the public workers in Luanda). City Council of Luanda - <i>Câmara Municipal de Luanda, 4ª Repartição</i> . Scale: 1:5000.	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/1974 /01506
16	1947	Drawing	Plan for the Urbanisation of the city of Luanda. General Plan. (<i>Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda. Planta Geral</i>) Identified as authored by the Ministry....	Correia, 2012, p.73
17	03.03.1952	Drawing	General Plan of Urbanization of Luanda. Revised study. (<i>Plano Geral de Urbanização de Luanda. Estudo de Revisão</i>) Signed by Aguiar. With the legend: EP – Public building; C1 and C2 – central commerce; CL and CLI – local commerce; M – mixed; H1, H2 – Existing Residential; H1 – Residential – Economic borough; HI – Residential – native; P and F – Port and Railways; I – Industrial; IC – Conditioned Industrial; L and LP – green; R and RP- Rural and Protected Rural; Main roads; Collective transportation; IA – warehouse. Scale 1:5000.	PT/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DS UH/2036/03306
18	--	Drawing	Port of Luanda (<i>Porto de Luanda</i>). Scale 1:5000	PT/IPAD/MU/DSUH/2036 /15909

Table 4 – The graphical elements – Other sources

Nº	Date	Type	Document	Source
1	---	Drawing	Plan of Luanda Region. <i>Planta da região de Luanda</i> . Scale 1:100 000	FIMS/MSMS/1122- pd7613
2	---	Colour drawing	Region de Luanda Scale 1:100 000	FIMS/MSMS/1122- pd7615
3	---	Photograph	Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva Scale 1: 5000	FIMS/MSMS/Foto1113
4	---	Photograph	Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva This is the same image of document 20 but with no Legend, and the inclusion of the stamp of the City Council, the name of the Plan and a compass rose.	Perestrelo, 1944, p.121
5	---	Photograph	The same photograph indicated in Perestrelo (1944) but scratched over the indication of <i>Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda</i> and also on the stamp of the City Council of Luanda.	Perestrelo, 1945, p.281
6	---	Drawing	Luanda. Nazaré square. Place Nazaré. Signed by Étienne de Groër. Scale 1:1000	FIMS/MSMS/4237-0184
7	----	Drawing	Luanda, Entrance Square (<i>Luanda. Place d'entrée</i>) Scale 1:1000 Signed by Groër and Moreira da Silva	FIMS/MSMS/1122- pd7614
8	1943	Drawing	Luanda – Square of the Empire – E. De Groër and David Moreira da Silva (<i>Luanda - Praça do Império</i>)	FIMS/MSMS/1122- pd7616
9	June 1943	Drawing	Schematic examples of the interdependence of buildings within a block in a residential areas Scale 1: 2000	FIMS/MSMS/pd7617
10	July 1942	Drawing	Drawing of a square for the Plano de Urbanização de Luanda. Signed by Groër and Moreira da Silva	FIMS/MSMS/1122- pd7623
11	---	Drawing	Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda Étienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva Scheme of lots and buildings around Praça D. Afonso Henriques	FIMS/MSMS1112/pd7619
12	1942	Drawing	Urbanisation Plan for the city of Luanda. Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda. Signed by Etienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva Scheme for Av. General Carmona.	FIMS/MSMS/pd7618
13	--	Drawing	Plan from Luanda Region. (<i>Planta da região de Luanda</i>). Plan that indicates Luanda and the main roads train lines connecting Luanda and its five satellite towns. Scale 1:100 000.	Costa, 1984, p.89
14	--	Drawing	Urbanizing Plan of Luanda. (<i>Plano de Urbanização de Luanda</i>). Plan that indicates de Urbanizing Plan for Luanda by Groër and Moreira da Silva and that has been published also in <i>Técnica</i> by Perestrelo (1944).	Costa, 1984, p.91

From the previous tables it is possible to verify that although the PUCL document is not available as a whole document, it is however possible to trace a group of elements that enable to identify: i) a description of the PUCL by Groër (doc. 16, table 2); ii) the evolution of the process of making the PUCL, since the signature of its contract (doc. 1, table 2) until the date that Groër refers to Moreira da Silva that their responsibility to the City Council of Luanda was concluded (doc. 15, table 2); iii) the conclusion of the different stages of the PUCL (docs. 2, 6, 7, 14, 15, table 2); iv) the publicity that was given to the PUCL by the Portuguese authorities, including the official general journal of the Portuguese Colonies (Anon, 1944), but also the advertisement of the plan at the Exhibition of Construction of Colonies that took place in November 1944,

in Lisbon at the *Instituto Superior Técnico*, including in its journal *Técnica* (Perestrelo, 1945); v) a number of reclamations by the architects-urbanists contesting the fact that the PUCL was not properly identified in terms of authorship at the Lisbon Exhibition (doc.17, table 2), and the successive alterations to the plan performed by privates and the City Council of Luanda itself (doc.15, table 2); but also a generous group of graphical and written elements belonging to Groër and Moreira da Silva, that allow us to identify the different scales that architects-urbanists have approached to respond to the developments of the PUCL.

3. The making of the *Plano de Urbanização para a Cidade de Luanda*

This section follows with an analysis of the PUCL. The analysis of the graphical and written elements provided by tables 2, 3 and 4 allows a comprehensive overview of the evolution of the PUCL, but also an identification of the needed elements to respond to the following questions: 1) What was the calendar established by the contract? 2) What was the real calendar of the Luanda Plan evolution? 3) Was the plan concluded and approved?

3.1. The Contract

The making of the PUCL was the main reason for the signature of the contract established in seven pages, between the City Council of Luanda and the architect-urbanists Groër and Moreira da Silva, and that was signed in Lisbon, at the main office of the *Agência Geral das Colónias* (General Agency of Colonies), on the 24 October 1941 and with the presence of several witnesses.

A detailed analysis of the contract, namedy as ‘*Contrato para a Elaboração do Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda, celebrado entre a Câmara Municipal de Luanda e os Arquitectos Urbanistas Étienne de Groer e David Moreira da Silva*’ available at Pires (2012, Vol II, pp.370-371), allows to determine that it established three stages for the accomplishment of the final project. Moreover it indicates the process and the amount of money that the City Council would have to pay to the urbanists for their work.

The first stage of the PUCL work corresponded to the delivery of the *Esboço*. The second stage referred to the delivery of the *Ante-Projecto* and the third stage referred to the conclusion of the Final Studies.

The contract was established along fourteen clauses indicating the wrights but also the responsibilities for the two architect-urbanists and the City Council of Luanda, to guarantee the development of the PUCL.

3.2. *The Urban Design of PUCL*

The PUCL by Groër and Moreira da Silva testifies three different scales of approach. Namely, the regional scale, the city scale but also the public scale, as testified in the several original drawings identified in tables 3 and 4.

For the Regional Scale, Groër and Moreira da Silva have established schemes at the 1:100 000 scale. From an analysis of the three drawings (docs 1 and 2, table 3; doc13, table 4) one can identify that Luanda is located in the centre of the planned Region, in a coastal area, surrounded by five satellite towns, and disposed around half of a circle, at a distance of 6 Kms from the centre. Seven main axes connect Luanda to the satellite towns, but also to Funda and Foz do Cuanza. A Circular road connects the five satellites, while other roads and train lines (new and pre-existing ones) are also indicated in the schemes. Moreover, a rural area surrounds each one of the urban areas, including Luanda.

From the analysis of the city scale in the PUCL one can verify that in terms of areas (doc 24, table 2) the plan was organized according to: residential areas, subdivided according to the different social classes; a civic centre for the '*Portas do Mar*' (Sea Gates), an administrative civic centre and a political and cultural centre; several commercial areas with different characters; an industrial area; areas of public open spaces; the port area; the railway areas and the protected rural areas.

From the map of 1942 (doc 6, table 3), identified as being authored by Groër and Moreira da Silva, and comparing it with the plan of 1926 (doc 1, table 2) it is possible to recognise the extension of the city towards East and towards south.

Also three new neighbourhoods in the northwest are identified as well as another one at south and still another one to the southwest, which are marked in red in the map of 1942 (doc 14, table 3). Towards east it is identified an urban area with a regular oval

pattern that would be destined to the expansion of the African native population (Mourão, 2006, p. 311). It is also recognised the presence of a large green area that would make the frontier of the high city. Other green spaces are also identifiable inside the city, namely in the new idealized three neighbourhoods.

At the public scale the analysis of the PUCL has allowed us to conclude that the proposal of the plan for the *Marginal* of Luanda was made around 1942-1943, together with the PUCL. Tables 3 and 4 shows several drawings made for the *Marginal* by Groër and Moreira da Silva.

The majority of the drawings of the *Marginal* are at scales 1:5000, 1:2000 and 1:1000. The architects defined for the *Marginal* buildings of three storeys height, with the ground floor open, directly to the street.

In the *Marginal*, it is noticed the presence of three public spaces (tables 3 and 4): the *Pedro Alexandrino* Square, the square in front of the *Nazaré* church and the square near the port. These two latter public spaces are new proposals of the PUCL. It was not found any official designation regarding the name of the square in front of the *Nazaré* church. In the case of the port square four different designations were found: i) *Praça do Porto* ii) *Place d'entrée* iii) *Praça da entrada marítima* iv) *Praça do Império* (docs 2, 3, 5, 8 and 11, table 3).

One of the latest drawings found for the *Marginal* (doc. 8, table 3) reveals a sea front delineated by closed urban blocks. In the backyard of these urban blocks there are two distinct areas. The one closer to the coastline is mainly used by wholesale commerce and light industry while the one further away is reserved for local residence.

It is clear from this project that particular attention was given to the *Praça do Porto*, which appears also with the designation of *Praça do Império* (Imperial Square). This public space is located at the end of the *Marginal* and has in its vicinity the warehouses of the railway company. At the northeast side of this square are located several customs offices and at southeast the naval services.

The *Praça do Império* is inspired by Lisbon 18th century square, *Praça do Comércio*, as it presents a unified drawing that articulates a language of the buildings that compose it and obey to a reasoning of classic composition (hierarchical), reflecting therefore a model (Milheiro, 2012). There are two kinds of square that appears through time, independently from culture, topography or climate. In this as in many squares build in the colonies, paradoxically, the dominant element is a void, either a

river or the sea. Many squares presented these characteristics in the Portuguese colonies and for that they have received the designation of *Praça do Império*.

3.3 The Revision of the Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Luanda

The contract between the two architects and the City Council of Luanda to the development of the PUCL, established that this plan should be conducted according to the principles of French urbanizing plans, which should be a Programmatic Master Plan and not an Executive Plan^x.

Table 5 – Comparative analysis of the deadlines for PUCL

Stage	Date reality	Source *	Date as Established in the contract **	
Signature of the Contract	24.10.1941	1	24.10.1941	n.a.
Departure of urbanists to Luanda	27.10.1941	2	n.a.	n.a.
Arrival of the urbanists to Luanda	15.11.1941	3	n.a.	n.a.
Beginning of the Project	15.11.1941	n.a.	15.11.1941	After signature of contract and first arrival of urbanists in Luanda
Conclusion of the first stage of the work	9.12.1941	3	n.a.	n.a.
Return to Lisbon with all the need studies. Indication that the studied neighbourhood shall be Ingorabotas. And that together with Eng. Perestrelo they will discuss the Av. da Marginal	January 1942	5	n.a.	n.a.
Delivery of 'Esboçeto'	-	-	15.05.1942	6 months after the urbanists first arrival in Luanda
End of second stage of work	17.08.1942	6	n.a.	n.a.
Aproval of 'Esboçeto'	20.09.1942	7	n.a.	n.a.
Departure of DMS and wife to Luanda to handle the final work	21.09.1943	12	n.a.	n.a.
City Council informs Etienne de Groër and David Moreira da Silva to take into account the on-going studies for Luanda in the port	28.09.1942	8	n.a.	n.a.
Groër declares that the work to Luanda is concluded	12.10.1944	15	n.a.	n.a.
Delivery of 'Ante-Projecto'	-	-	15.11.1942	12 months after the urbanists first arrival in Luanda
Arrival of DMS and wife to Luanda and delivery of the final work.	11.11.1943	12, 23	15.05.1943	18 months after the urbanists first arrival in Luanda
Deadline for City Council to purpose changes to the project	n.a.	n.a.	15.11.1943	6 months after delivery of Final work
Text by Groër explaining the Plano de Urbanização de Luanda to be presented to the Exhibition of Construction of the Portuguese Colonies in Lisbon - IST	November 1944	16	n.a.	n.a.
Presentation of the Plano de Urbanização de Luanda at the Exhibition at IST in Lisbon	November 1944	19, 22	n.a.	n.a.
Letter of Groër contesting the lack of identification of the author's names in the model of the Plano de Urbanização de Luanda presented in the Exhibition. Proposes a model of legenda.	7.11.1944	17	n.a.	n.a.
PU Luanda is presented in the publication of the IST Técnica in December	December 1944	19	n.a.	n.a.
The <i>Plano Geral de Urbanização de Luanda</i> was aproved in 1946 and was elaborated by the Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial, based on the previous study by Groër and Moreira da Silva, which was revised in 1942, by local entities.	1946	24, iv)	n.a.	n.a.

As testified in table 5 the calendar proposed by the contract to the PUCL was not entirely followed. Moreover, there is no notice of the approval of the final project, which indicates that the Plan was not implemented.

The fact that the PUCL by Groër and Moreira da Silva was not implemented has been subject of many conjectures and explanations. According to several secondary sources the plan was not implemented because: i) it would be detrimental to the interests of many landlords (Mourão, 2006. p.311); ii) the Luanda City Council did not have the human resources for its execution and lacked of the legal permits for its execution (Fonte, 2012, p.121); iii) although not approved, many plans would see some parts of them being implemented without legal permits on a case by case scenario on what at a particular moment was considered important for the city of Luanda. An example of this occurred when the initial ideas were reused in several subsequent plans, as was the case of the plan by the Architect João António Aguiar. His work from 1949 develops the plan proposed by Groër and Moreira da Siva (Correia, 2012, p. 70).

The development of an urbanizing plan usually takes a long period of time and during that many unforeseen circumstances might shape the final outcome. Thus, the longer the plan takes to be concluded greater the changes that might occur.

According to primary sources (doc. 24, table 2), the *Plano Geral de Urbanização de Luanda*, approved in 1946, by the *Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial*, was made by local entities, based on the PUCL. The reasons why the 1946 plan was made was because of the need to revise the 1942 Plan for Luanda by Groër and Moreira da Silva, based on three main reasons.

The first reason was the need for relocation of the railway stations from the city centre and from the port to the periphery of the city, as their presence in the city centre hindered urban circulation. The second reason for the corrections made to the plan had to do with the demographic growth observed between 1940 and 1950. During this decade the city saw an influx of population. This represented an increase of 107% of European immigrants and an increase of 144% of native immigrants. This population influx is reflected in the documents of the Luanda council statistical and technical department of 1952 that shows the growing number of buildings built during that decade in Luanda (Table 6 and Figure 3). The third reason for the reviewing the plan was the urgency in reserving new areas for future urban expansion, defining a new urban perimeter, such as the definition of new strategic urban expansion principles.

According to another primary source (doc. 11, table 2) it is possible to verify that in 22 April 1943, the PUCL prepared by Groër and Moreira da Silva had already been approved its first two stages, respectively *the Esboçeto* and the *Ante-Projecto*.

However, at that date the final project was not yet concluded. From this document one can realize that the PUCL imposed changes into the existing buildings frontages, which were not welcomed by the local merchants. Moreover several changes within the city had already meanwhile been undertaken without respecting the plan. Thus, it is possible to verify the private interests were very powerful in the changes effectuated to the plan, even before its conclusion.

From the analysed original documents it was not possible to identify any document proving the approval of the final Plan by Groër. There is however notice that the final plan was concluded, handed to Luanda City Council, and examined by the Colonies General Governor on the 5 January 1944 (doc. 14, table 2).

Moreover, from a letter from Groër in 12 October 1944 (doc. 15, table 2) to Moreira da Silva it is evident that several changes to the plan had been requested by the City Council to the urbanists, to which the urbanists had agreed with, but according to specific conditions. It is also noticed that the urbanists were waiting for 10 months for the answer to their conditions and because of that Groër indicates that their collaboration with the City Council was over.

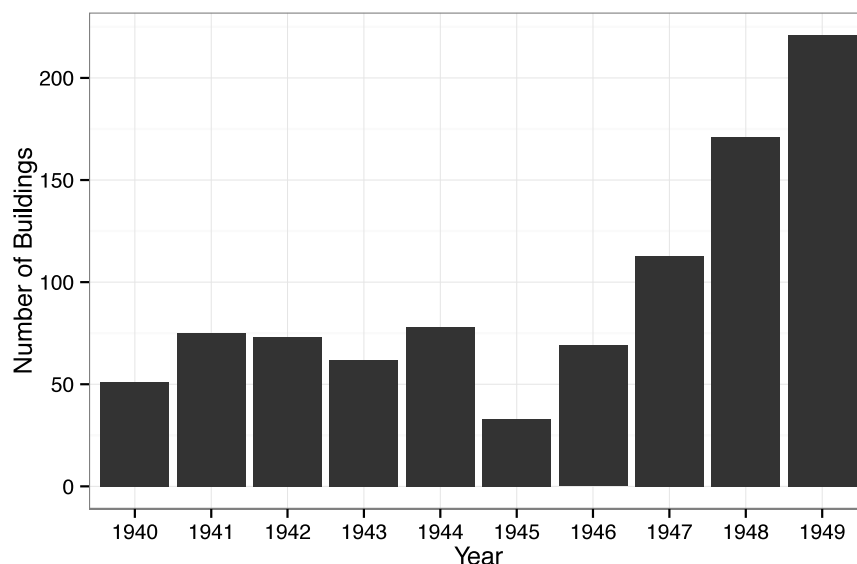


Figure 3 – Number of buildings build in Luanda during 1940-1949

Table 6– number of buildings built during 1940-1949

1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
51	75	73	62	78	33	69	113	171	221

4. Conclusions

This investigation has concluded that the PUCL was conceived through a programmatic approach, in order to conduct the future development of Luanda, rather than an executive study. Moreover, this is the same approach that Groër has defended in other Urban Plans, as for example the Plan for Coimbra.

The PUCL can be defined through three scales: i) the regional scale, at 1:100 000, indicating Luanda, its Region, five satellite towns and the urban and rural areas; the city scale, at 1:5 000, indicating the zoning programme and the city structure; iii) the public space scale, at 1: 2 000 and 1: 1000 while detailing squares and buildings.

A number of written and graphical elements (original and reproduction) are here exposed and allow us to verify: i) the real evolution of the PUCL; ii) the reasons why the plan was not implemented; iii) the calendar followed by the PUCL; iv) that the *Esboçeto* and the *Ante-Projecto* were approved but the same did not happen with the final plans for the PUCL and; v) the reasons that have called for the revision of the PUCL even before its conclusion.

The need for railway relocation, together with the demographic growth and the need for new areas for future urban expansion were the main issues argued by the city authorities to justify why the PUCL was not implemented and needed to be immediately revised, in 1942, even before the conclusion of the plan. However, from the analysed original written elements it is possible to conclude that the private interest of landlords, with the support of the City Council of Luanda, have effectively prevented the plan to be followed as delineated by Groër and Moreira da Silva.

The PUCL urban design analysis shows that Groër and Moreira da Silva have respected the pre-existing structure of the City of Luanda. Moreover, the PUCL urban design was recognised as an important reference, as testified in several official documents, and also by the successive plans that were delineated immediately after its revision, according to the PUCL urban design structure.

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ⁱ It was not possible to date this essay, but among many authors it is assumed that it was written in the period 1956-1960 (Matos et al. 2009). His work is divided in four volumes. The first volume deals with the cities of Morocco and nearby Atlantic islands, the second volume tackles the sub Saharan cities, the third volume studies the cities of Asia and far East, and the fourth volume deals with the cities in Brazil. This work collects more than 1000 images of about 200 cities, including many plans made by the Lisbon Overseas Urbanisation Office.

ⁱⁱ It is not clear why and who exactly have motivated Groër to come to work and live in Portugal. One of the following three reasons might be possible: First, an invitation by Alfred Agache, with whom Groër had collaborated in his office in Paris and in the Urban Plan for Rio de Janeiro. It might have been possible that Agache would like to continue to work with his former collaborator in the works that were being conducted in Lisbon, namely at Costa do Sol (Marat-Mendes, 2009). For a glimpse on the collaboration between these two architects in Brazil see Agache (1930) and the Brazilian newspaper articles published in *O Paiz* between 1928 and 1933. Secondly, a direct invitation by Duarte Pacheco, the Portuguese Minister for Public works, that was well aware of the work produced by the international architect-urbanists, particularly from the IUUP, and that had already invited Alfred Agache to work in Portugal in 1933, as registered in the daily newspaper *Diário de Lisboa* on the 24 of February 1933: 'I have asked to come to Lisbon the great French urbanist Alfred Agache in order to elaborate an urban plan from Terreiro do Paço to Cascais' (*Diário de Lisboa*, 1933); and finally, a possible invitation by João Guilherme Faria da Costa (1906-1971), the first Portuguese architect-urbanist to have conclude his studies at the IUUP, in 1936 (Pires, 2012, Volume 2, p.90). His final dissertation was supervised by Georges Florentine Sébille whom also later supervised Moreira da Silva. After his return to Portugal, he was immediately integrated at the City Council of Lisbon in January 1938. Thus, Faria da Costa might have suggested the name of Groër to the City Council of Lisbon. Despite the real reason, the fact is that Groër stayed in Portugal and received several contracts to collaborate with a number of City Councils to prepare different Urban Plans for Portugal (Lobo, 1995; Marat-Mendes and Oliveira, 2014).

ⁱⁱⁱ For a more detailed analysis of the diversity of Urban Plans developed by Groër and Moreira da Silva see Lobo (1995), Pires (2012) and DGOTDU (2005).

^{iv} These are the elements identified by this investigation. Other elements might also exist. Their use can definitely contribute to complement the analysis of the PUCL.

^v In 1921 Groër signed his articles as *Architect*, later, in 1932 he already signed as *architect-urbanist* (SFU).

^{vi} The *Société Française des Urbanistes* (SFU) was founded in 1911 by Architects D. A. Agache, M. Auburtin, A. Bérard, E. Hébrard, L. Jaussely, A. Parenty, H. Prost, the Engineer and landscape architect J. C. N. Forestier, and the landscape architect E. Redont. This group participated at the Musée Social under the direction of Jules Siegfried, for the preparation of the text which would establish the first French law for the *Aménagement, l'embellissement et l'extension des villes* known as Lois Cornudet from 14 March 1919 and later modified on the 19 July of 1924. On the 10 of March 1914 the French society of architect-urbanists was later registered with Eugène Hénard as President and Agache as the Secretary General. In 1919, while Léon Jaussely became president, Agache continued as the Secretary General for the SFU and together they have actively contested for the promulgation of the Cornudet Law. At the same time, it organised a number of conferences and contests as the *Conférence Interalliée d'Urbanisme*, in Paris and plans for a completion for the reconstruction of devastated city. In 1930, Groër served as member of the Administration Council for the SFU together with MM. Bérard, Jaussely, Aug. Rey, René Danger, Bonnier, Forestier, Bourdeix, Parenty and De Souza. The president was M. Dervaux and M. Prost and Agache the vice-présidents, as identified in the Supplement a L'Architecture Usuelle, (Anon, 1930, p.11).

^{vii} Although it was not possible to identify the courses taught by Groër at the IUUP it was however possible to identify at the IUUP database online the final thesis supervised by Groër, in 1939, at the IUUP. That was by Boulfroy, Jeanne, Andrée-Auguste, 1939.

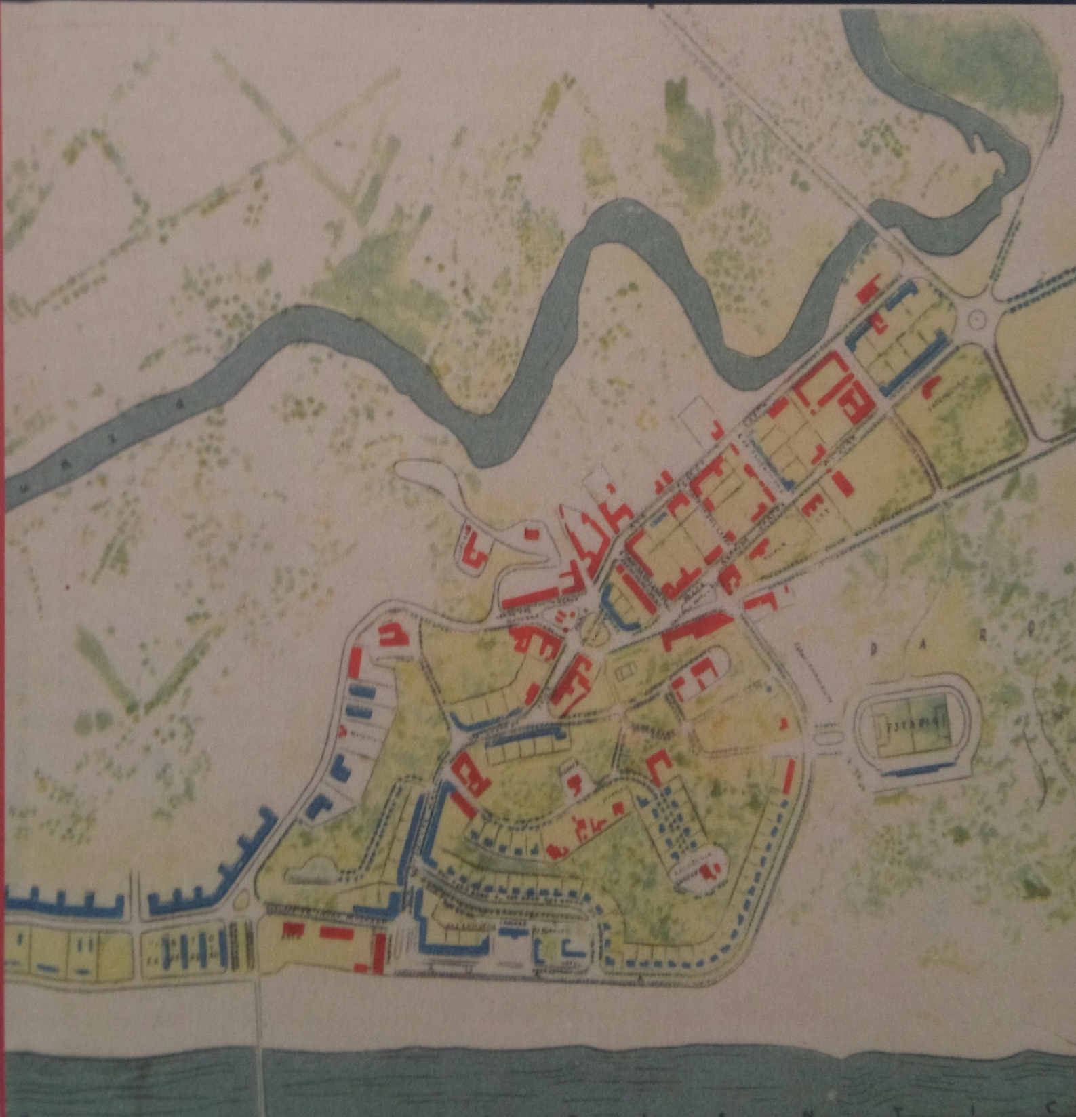
^{viii} Moreira da Silva was a student of José Marques da Silva in 1927-28 (Moniz, 2011, Vol2, p.23).

^{ix} From the analysis of the several course syllabus, list of professors and work files included in Moreira da Silva personal archive at the *Fundação Instituto Marques da Silva*, concerning his period at the IUUP, but also in the second volume of Pires (2012), there is no evidence that Groër was effectively professor of Moreira da Silva.

^x For further analysis of the contract for the PUCL see the digitalization of this contract available in Pires (2012, pp. 370-371).

Edited by Carlos Nunes Silva

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Edited by

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ASHGATE

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