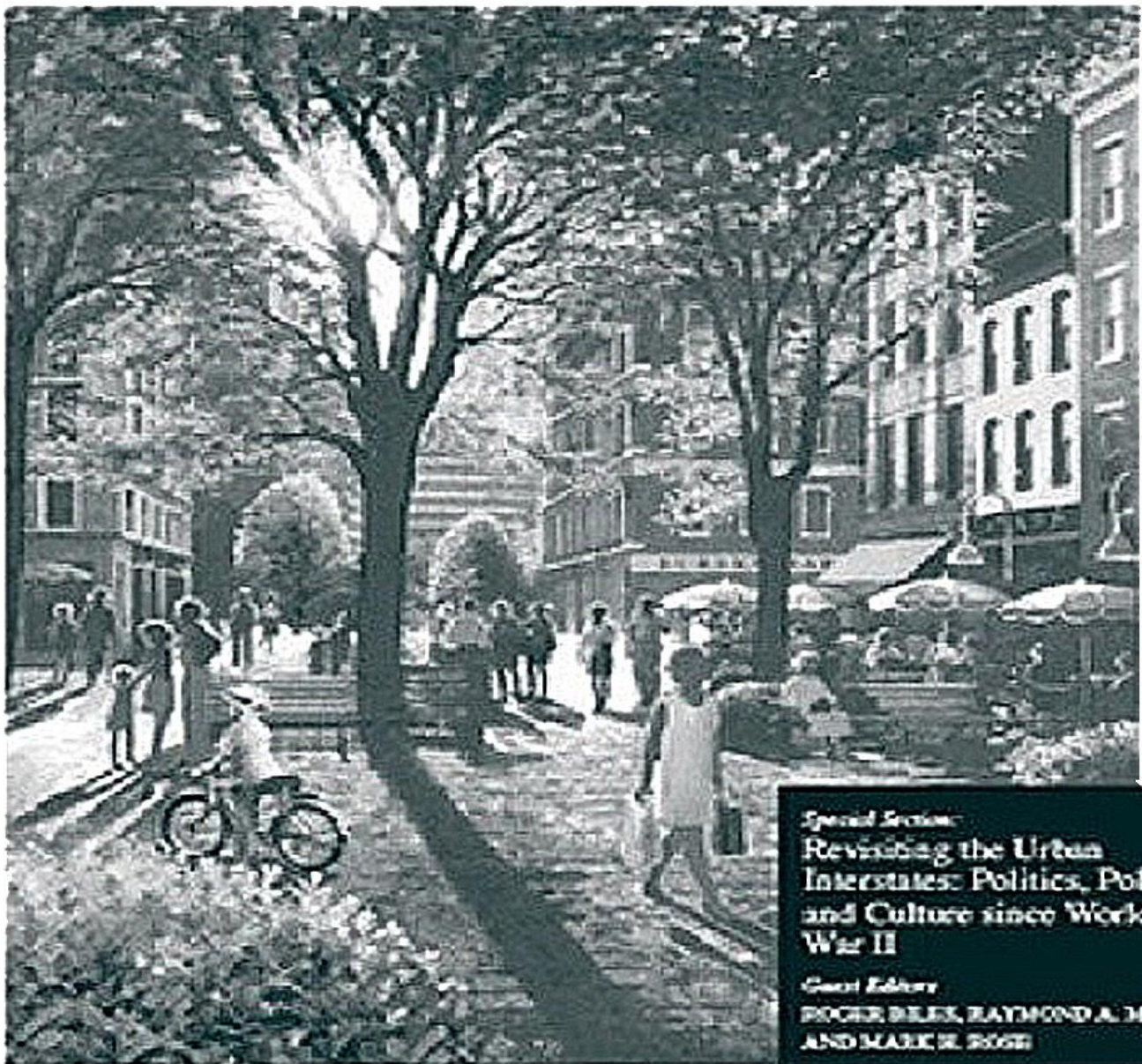


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# Reshaping the Urban Space in Portuguese Fortified Cities: New Green Spaces Resulting from the Rehabilitation of Urban Fortifications—From the Nineteenth Century until the End of the Estado Novo Dictatorial Regime (1974)

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## Abstract

In the early nineteenth century, the (obsolete) Portuguese urban fortifications were frequently ruined and suffering from a gradual desertion around them. With the emergence of patrimonial concerns, those defensive structures began being considered as historical and cultural monuments. As a result, the isolation of these monuments became a common practice that often created public green areas (gardens and parks) framing monuments, giving them a picturesque image. The consequences of these rehabilitation actions on urban fortifications in Portugal are analyzed here, focusing particularly on those that created new public green spaces within and around urban areas. In fact, the shape of several Portuguese cities was conditioned by those interventions: not only were breathing areas conceived in the middle of dense urban masses, allowing their fruition by local populations, but also some ancient urban belts associated with former defensive needs were recovered by those interventions.

## Keywords

Portuguese fortified cities, urban morphology, ancient urban fortifications, public green spaces

## Prologue

With a few exceptions such as the Romantic writer Almeida Garrett (1799–1854), voices defending architectural heritage were generally concerned with exceptional monuments throughout most of the nineteenth century,<sup>1</sup> ignoring the patrimonial values associated with urban settlements.<sup>2</sup> Among the urban intervention practices at that time, made according to the exiguous economic possibilities of Portugal, were hygienist operations and modernizing actions in urban cores. Closely associated with progress, these actions usually consisted of the demolition of

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**Figure 1.** Note: Castle of the Moors in Sintra (source: Instituto para a Habitação e a Reabilitação Urbana, collection of DGEMN).

ancient buildings, replacing them with new ones and giving the old construction materials another use. The demolition of groups of buildings also allowed the opening of large avenues and squares, the construction of new public and residential buildings, the planting of gardens, the creation of road and railroad accessibilities, the integration of sanitary infrastructures, and the “liberation” of major architectural monuments—not forgetting also the increase of speculative interests from the real estate industry.

These hygienist operations, partially inherited from the Enlightenment’s urban plans, were part of the ambitious plans for the regularization and renovation of ancient urban cores, attempting to provide them with modern infrastructures. The most significant plan of this kind was applied in Paris between 1852 and 1870, according to the ideals of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809–1891). As for obsolete fortified urban structures, systematic demolition frequently happened, mostly due to modern demands. The demolition of the bastioned wall of Vienna is the best-known case, originating the *Ringstraße*, an impressive urban belt around the old urban core that received a radial road and new public buildings.

In Portugal, as in other European countries, several gaps in ancient urban tissues were produced by the gradual desertion of some walled spaces, due to the migration of their populations to other places with better living conditions (health needs, communications and accessibilities, growth conditions and socioeconomic demands). The walled urban cores increasingly abandoned became partial islands of degradation without functionality. This was motivated by a long process of obsolescence of these medieval and modern fortifications.

### **First Attempts in Creating Public Green Spaces Associated with Ancient Urban Fortifications**

The abandoned castle of the Moors (*castelo dos Mouros*) in Sintra was acquired by the Portuguese consort, King Ferdinand II (1816–1885) in 1838, at an auction in which the fortification was included along with the sixteenth-century convent of Our Lady of Pena (*convento de Nossa Senhora da Pena*) and its surrounding land (Figure 1). Since the Middle Ages this medieval

fortification had become progressively an abandoned space, due to the migration of former dwellers to the village of Sintra, located at the foot of the mountain where the castle is sited. Ferdinand II was committed by the purchase contract not only to make repairs to the former convent, but also to ensure the conservation of the ancient fortification.<sup>3</sup> Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha came from a Germanic culture strongly influenced by the Romantic Movement, reflected in his passion for arts, culture, history and national heritage. Enthusiast of picturesque ambiences, Ferdinand II included in the construction program for his new castellated palace in Sintra an ambitious landscaping project, where the ruined medieval fortification would be the assured highlight of the palatial park.

The Romantics were fascinated by the infinite splendor of Nature and its sublime landscapes of mountains, lakes, and forests, especially if adorned (in symbiotic complementarity) with ruins of ancient architectural structures, such as medieval castles, for instance. These picturesque sceneries intended to capture Nature's perfection, where bucolic ancient ruins were melancholically marking the inexorable passage of time. Germanic and British Romantics were particularly attracted by these hedonistic feelings, and that is why several old and new castellated buildings underwent landscaping projects to frame them inside green spaces such as parks. The Germanic area was largely predisposed to these themes, having numerous fortifications surrounded by luxuriant forests, as can be seen for instance in the castellated palaces of Wartburg (Eisenach), Neuschwanstein (Hohenschwangau), Rheinstein (Trechtingshausen), Stolzenfels (Koblenz), Hohenzollern (Hechingen), or Reinhardsbrunn (Friedrichroda), the last belonging to Duke Ernst I (1784–1844) of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, uncle of the Portuguese King Ferdinand II.

Ferdinand II made an (poorly documented) intervention to the ruined castle of the Moors in Sintra during the 1850s, which was to have been restricted to consolidation and rebuilding of missing battlements and parts of the defensive wall.<sup>4</sup> The Portuguese king had no interest in restoring the castle using inventive models, nor in losing the fortified structure due to its natural degradation. Because of these issues, one could say that the action taken was guided by an intention to stop the natural degenerative process and repair the defensive wall, towers, and the small chapel located within the walled area (probably the only built structures still standing inside the fortification). His purpose would have been to conceive a romantic green space where the old castle would contribute to establish a picturesque and hedonistic space. The placement of foot-paths and profuse vegetation inside (and around) the walled area, where buildings were standing before, would contribute to the sublimation of this space, emphasizing the impression of a gradual return to Nature of the old fortified area. Despite the castle of the Moors no longer being part of the urban area, it is however located in the huge park covering the mountain and embracing the village of Sintra.

Similar measures to convert abandoned walled areas into green spaces were tested and implemented subsequently in some other instances, such as the walled areas of Évora, Santarém and Tomar. The ancient royal vegetable garden of Évora was transformed into a Romantic public garden between 1863 and 1879 by the Italian architect-scenographer Giuseppe Cinatti (1808–1879), installed in a space with the remains of the medieval city wall. Several scenic mock ruins (*Ruínas Fingidas*) were integrated using a defensive tower and reusing architectural structures from old convents and palaces that had been demolished. This garden became a privileged space for leisure and bucolic contemplation.

In Santarém, the abandoned space of the ancient citadel became a garden called Sun Gates (*Portas do Sol*) from 1896 onwards, after its conversion into a green urban space with a privileged sight over the Tagus River and its valley. As for Tomar, the walled area of the Templar castle, whose population had moved gradually to the new urban core near the Nabão River, began being gardened by monks of the adjacent convent of Christ (*convento de Cristo*), as part of its monastic enclosure. With the acquisition of the former convent in the middle of the nineteenth century by António Bernardo da Costa Cabral (1803–1889), Count of Tomar, this walled space underwent several interventions in order to improve the garden, especially from 1898 onwards.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, converting urban gaps in abandoned walled areas to be green spaces for public enjoyment was an option taken in several cases in Portugal, either as urban gardens or as parks located within cities' peripheries. In some cases, when castles were surrounded by ancient urban tissues morphologically very dense, these new gardens became open spaces allowing the breathing and conviviality of local populations.

The nineteenth-century patrimonial interventions on architectural monuments usually considered them as unique museological elements that should be "released" from their surrounding urban tissue, individualizing and thus valuing them. As a result, some urban operations were taken trying to isolate architectural monuments by demolishing built structures added to them over time, and even the surrounding minor architecture. These operations were intended to monumentalize the major architectural structures by giving them an urban emphasis.<sup>6</sup> Concerning the fortified structures, several examples of this practice can be found throughout Europe, mainly the isolation of fortified gates as remains from vanished fortifications, as for instance the Soprana Gate in Genoa, the Palatina Gate in Turin, the San Donato Gate in Bologna, the Serrans Gate in Valencia, the Westgate in Canterbury, the Amsterdamse Gate in Haarlem, or the Brussels Gate in Mechelen, several of them in the middle of lawns. Such demolitions around fortified structures were, however, fairly rare in Portugal during the nineteenth century; unlike religious and palatial architecture, fortifications began being regarded very slowly as architectural heritage, especially the medieval ones. Only at the end of the nineteenth century did the appreciation of urban settlements as patrimonial heritage begin to acquire some relevance.

The municipalities, which often promoted the most destructive practices of urban intervention in ancient cores, began receiving severe criticisms from several patrimonial defenders. The latter accused the former of causing massive destructions within ancient urban tissues, in the name of supposed progress.<sup>7</sup> Placing value on urban cores as patrimonial heritage began acquiring more relevance in Portugal towards the end of the nineteenth century, with the publication of the book *O Culto da Arte em Portugal* by José Ramalho Ortigão (1836–1915). As part of the *neogarrettian* movement, which restored the Romantic cult for traditional and ethnographic ideals found in the works of Almeida Garrett, Ramalho Ortigão referred to the problems of the preservation of ancient urban settlements, criticizing the modernizing and hygienist actions in cities through substantial demolitions. According to Ramalho Ortigão, the ancient cores should be preserved not only for their value as testimonies of the past, but also because they could provide significant economic benefits from tourism.<sup>8</sup>

The criticisms defending the preservation of urban cores were also made in other European countries from the second quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> John Ruskin (1819–1900) defended in his works *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (published in 1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (published between 1851 and 1853) that spaces around monuments should be preserved because they were contextualizing them, facilitating their understanding and perception. Due to their proper identities and characteristics as repositories of physical and memorial contributions of several generations of inhabitants, the urban heritage should be unconditionally preserved, from the humble house to the most valuable architectural monument. In his work *Der Städtebau nach Seinen Künstlerischen Grundsätzen* from 1889, Camillo Sitte (1843–1903) recognized old cities as architectural monuments transmitting knowledge and memories and should, therefore, be preserved. Sitte also criticized the demolition of defensive walls, absurdly leaving their fortified gates as isolated monuments.<sup>10</sup> Among others, Max Dvořák (1874–1921) also defended the urban settlements against their destruction or modification without reasonable justification, because they would have important patrimonial values. In fact, even "façadist" operations of beautification were criticized by Dvořák, who pleaded that when new, constructions should be simple, functional, and respectful of local traditions.

The changing of the Portuguese people's mindset regarding patrimonial questions, provided by the First Portuguese Republic (*Primeira República*) instituted in 1910, allowed the

implementation of several civic participations that contributed to educate populations about the preservation of urban cores and natural landscapes. The Law of the Portuguese Cultural Heritage<sup>11</sup> (*Lei de Bases do Património Cultural Português*), enacted in 1911, provided for the expropriation of monuments and their surroundings, based on the public interest. It was also attempted to define specific urban rules for areas involving classified buildings, in order to protect them.<sup>12</sup>

However, it was only in 1924 that the protected areas around monuments were legally established,<sup>13</sup> forbidding new structures (*non aedificandi* areas) or simply getting a special protection. Defined by a radius of fifty meters around classified monuments, these protected areas had special rules intending to prevent the modernization of these urban areas from an image level (kinds of “old-fangled” and picturesque features that were attempted to be preserved). Property owners inside protected areas were also required to comply with determined stipulations. The preservation of the surrounding frame of monuments was generally based on aesthetic assumptions, encouraging more and more the Portuguese people acquiring knowledge and becoming concerned about landscaping values—in some aspects anticipating the *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* of 1931. The Portuguese legislation recognized the importance that areas around architectural monuments increasingly began acquiring.

## The Isolation of Architectural Monuments and the Creation of Public Green Spaces

Under the dictatorial regime of New State (*Estado Novo*), from 1933 onwards, the law establishing the rule of fifty-meter radius around architectural monuments was reiterated.<sup>14</sup> However, it was also established that the General Bureau for the National Buildings and Monuments<sup>15</sup> (*Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais—DGEMN*) and the National Board of Education (*Junta Nacional de Educação*) could also propose larger protected areas for monuments whenever the previous rule was considered inadequate. During the 1930s, the *DGEMN* carried out several gardening and arborisation operations in empty spaces around and inside some fortifications that had undergone patrimonial interventions towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, as for instance in the fortifications of Tomar, Feira (Santa Maria da Feira), and Leiria.

In Santa Maria da Feira, between 1920 and 1921, the Surveillance Commission for the Safeguarding and Conservation of the Castle of Feira (*Comissão de Vigilância pela Guarda e Conservação do Castelo da Feira*) took the initiative of establishing a protected area around the castle in order to preserve its natural frame.<sup>16</sup> This was the first known case in Portugal where a special zone of patrimonial protection around a military monument was established. In the following two decades, this fortified structure and its surrounding area continued to be the object of several patrimonial interventions.

Concerning the intervention made to the fortification of Leiria, whose population also abandoned the walled area to establish themselves near the Lis River, after his first proposal to restore the castle,<sup>17</sup> the Swiss-born architect Ernst Korrodi (1870–1944) realized that it was impossible to restore it based on the remains and insufficiently reliable documentation. Due to that, the operations performed by him in the 1910s and 1920s attempted to value the ruined structure as a “dead monument” containing an aesthetic capable of evoking hedonistic feelings.<sup>18</sup> This was achieved with an arboreal integration of the monument and the introduction of pedestrian paths for visual contemplation and enjoyment.<sup>19</sup>

Besides some approach to the prerogatives of Romantic landscaping, the intervention made by Korrodi was partially influenced by the philological ideas of Camillo Boito (1836–1914) and also by the thoughts of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB). The SPAB was founded in 1877 by William Morris (1834–1896) among others, and its goal was to protect monuments and to promote preventive conservation values, condemning strongly the arbitrary

restorations in ancient buildings. This movement had an enormous influence over patrimonial actions, especially in the United Kingdom: for instance, the castles of Caergwrle and Llawhaden (Pembrokeshire) became ruins, and the option taken was to preserve them by consolidating the ruins, applying a conservative maintenance and composing the space around them. That way the structures were turned into picturesque ruins within gardens with green lawns, giving the remains an attractive and respectful romantic ambient where the ancient testimonies would have the main importance.

Returning to Portugal, the ideological policy of the *Estado Novo* credited a major role to national monuments, which would represent a huge symbolic load related to the patriotic Portuguese identity. Under the motto “material restoration, moral restoration, national restoration” (*restauração material, restauração moral, restauração nacional*),<sup>20</sup> classified medieval monuments became clearly favoured in the interventions made by *DGEMN*, since they were considered testimonies of national origins and were revealing emblematic events of the national history.<sup>21</sup> That allowed an easy retention of ideological collective messages given by the strongly nationalist regime.<sup>22</sup>

The appropriation of medieval fortifications as patriotic national symbols was highly potentiated during the *Estado Novo*, which converted them into guardians of the Portuguese people, territory, and national spirit. Medieval fortifications—and also, in a certain way, the modern ones—were thereby recognized as privileged testimonies of the national formation, and the *Estado Novo* regime considered that it was its obligation to revert the degraded condition of them.

In addition to the fortified structures, their surrounding spatial context began being a target for patrimonial interventions conducted by the *DGEMN*. As Miguel Tomé says, the surroundings of fortifications were perceived as their formal and functional extension, being part of their ancient defensive system. Besides releasing the defensive monuments from the amalgam of “spurious structures” that were hiding them, the demolition of those built structures around fortifications intended to assume the purpose of recovering their supposed original spatial frame. These interventions generally consisted of the creation of a vast green space surrounding the fortified monuments, intending to recover their ancient defensive *devezas* (an open and empty space around fortifications, like a meadow).

After the interventions, the fortifications became thus substantially isolated from their contiguous urban mass. Consequently, gardens and public urban or semiurban parks were formed around and inside the fortified monuments, which were frequently surrounded by peripheral paths. In addition to the reframing of ancient fortifications, these new green spaces were also playgrounds and leisure spaces for local populations, becoming often breathing areas inside dense urban tissues. Generally, masses of trees and footpaths located around fortifications were carefully studied in order to take advantage of the best visual approaches of the monuments, allowing an outside contemplation and giving a better visual perception of them. More than mere objects artificially musealized, the ancient fortifications standing dominantly in green spaces carefully disposed around them produced a huge visual impact on the (urban and rural) landscape.

The vast program of patrimonial interventions carried out on Portuguese ancient fortifications in the end of the 1930s and in the 1940s included broader concerns with the surroundings of military monuments. For instance, in the bulletin *Boletim da DGEMN* dedicated to the intervention in the castle of Lanhoso (Póvoa de Lanhoso), mostly carried out between 1938 and 1939, the problems associated with the surroundings of medieval fortifications were specifically mentioned here, as well as the crucial need for recomposing a “supposed” natural frame in connection with inherent picturesque values. This was achieved by making an aesthetic reshuffle of vegetation and ground, complemented with the construction of better accesses to the old fortifications in order to facilitate visits by the public.<sup>23</sup>



**Figure 2.** Note: Castle of St. George in Lisbon (source: Instituto para a Habitação e a Reabilitação Urbana, collection of DGEMN).

Much more significant was the intervention made to the castle of St. George in Lisbon, carried out between 1939 and 1947 for the celebrations of the Double Centenary of the Foundation and Restoration of the Independence of Portugal (*Duplo Centenário da Fundação e da Restauração da Independência de Portugal*) and for the commemoration of the 8th Centenary of the Conquest of Lisbon (*Oitavo Centenário da Tomada de Lisboa*) (Figure 2). The Portuguese dictator António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970) and his minister of Public Works and Communications (*Obras Públicas e Comunicações*), Duarte José Pacheco (1900–1943), expressed both the symbolic importance of the castle of St. George as a “sacred spiritual acropolis of the Portuguese nation,” by analogy with the Acropolis of Athens dominating the urban landscape of the Greek capital. The intervention carried out to this castle was conditioned by the desire to provide a monument with strong visual impact standing out on the urban landscape of the Portuguese capital.

The initial operation carried out directly on the medieval fortification was the demolition of buildings and other structures considered “parasitic,” releasing thus the old castle. That was followed by its restoration, producing a haughty silhouette that could be recognized immediately as an imposing medieval fortification from when Lisbon was conquered from the Moors by the first Portuguese king. The recomposition of the area around the castle was established, thereby allowing its perception from other parts of Lisbon. Once again the organization of a green space allowing an isolated appearance of the castle of St. George was intended by the intervention. The castle rose in a visually dominating mode over the ancient core of Lisbon.<sup>24</sup>

Significantly, a document from 1940 by Augusto Frazão Etur, sent to the *DGEMN*'s director for Monuments, Baltazar da Silva Castro (1891–1967), dealt with the problem of the natural frame of hills with castles.<sup>25</sup> In this document, Augusto Etur proposed the maintenance of the preexisting natural vegetation along with a judicious arboreal composition, the construction of earth retaining walls made with stone and rough-looking battlements, and the introduction of paths with Roman pavement around the fortification, allowing for its visual contemplation.<sup>26</sup> Despite trees, bushes, and other vegetation planted in 1944, in reality the landscaping project for the castle's garden/park, conceived by Gonçalo Ribeiro Telles and José Pulido Garcia, was not consistently implemented before 1959.

The coeval intervention carried out in Guimarães followed several assumptions similar to the ones taken in Lisbon. Once again, the symbolic importance attributed to Guimarães as the birthplace of the Portuguese nation was intimately connected to the castle of St. Mamede, traditionally considered the place where was born the first Portuguese king, Afonso I Henriques (1109–1185). Near it was the chapel of St. Michael, where Afonso Henriques was supposedly baptized, and the palace of the Dukes of Braganza (*paço dos Duques de Bragança*), directly related with the royal dynasty that regained the Portuguese independency from Spain in the seventeenth century. These three monuments were placed next to each other in the upper part of Guimarães, which was gradually abandoned by its population in favour of the lower part of the city.

From the middle of the 1950s onwards, Rogério Azevedo (1898–1983) and António Viana Barreto<sup>27</sup> (1924–2012) projected an immense green park for the area around these three architectural monuments, complementing the restorations carried out on them. The park consisted of an immense lawn crossed by footpaths and punctuated by arboreal volumes that monumentalized the classified buildings and enabled the creation of privileged perspectives for their contemplation.<sup>28</sup> According to José Ferrão, the demolition of the remaining residential buildings and the gardening of this space, besides associating these three national monuments as a single monumental set, created also the isolation of this space from the urban tissue of Guimarães, recovering and thereby reestablishing the symbolism associated with sacred hills.<sup>29</sup>

The third and most emblematic vertex related to the double centenary celebrations was the intervention performed in Vila Viçosa. The demolishing operations of buildings added to the defensive city wall and the restoration of fortified structures were followed by the recomposition of the surrounding area of the fortification (formed by the fifteenth century “artillerist castle” and the medieval city wall around the oldest part of Vila Viçosa). While inside the walled area a green space isolating the artillerist castle from the intramural urban core was created, the space outside the city wall was transformed into a park with a vast lawn delimited by a path around the fortification. Carried out between the late 1930s and the early 1940s, the operations intending to redefine the local image were focused on the medieval fortification, but implied also a partial reconfiguration of the existing urban space.

As mentioned by Nuno Portas, the new urban spatial structure for Vila Viçosa proposed to connect its fortified complex, the complex constituted by the palace of the Dukes of Braganza (*palácio dos Duques de Bragança*) and convent of St. Augustine (*convento de Sto. Agostinho*)—the House of Braganza’s pantheon—and the town’s main square containing the Town Hall and the parish church. This was achieved by demolishing several blocks of buildings, producing two main results: the expansion of the main square into the new garden around the city wall, allowing a visual perspective scenically favoring the fortification through its monumentalization, and the introduction of a new avenue connecting the palace’s square and the main square.<sup>30</sup>

Despite having eventually some influences from similar actions taken since the nineteenth century, these operations isolating monuments can be compared to others made during the Italian dictatorial regime of Benito Andrea Mussolini (1883–1945), which had been in many aspects a model for the Portuguese *Estado Novo*, including the patrimonial panorama. For instance, the regulatory plan for Rome presupposed the opening of large urban roads (as *Via della Conciliazione*) and the demolition of urban quarters considered as lugubrious (as the old Borghi quarters). These practices, known as *sventramento*, implied also archaeological excavations and demolition of modest buildings attached to ancient structures considered as architectural heritage, in order to monumentalize them.

As for Portugal, a number of other interventions in fortified structures created green parks and other public spaces, recomposing scenically the landscape around defensive structures. Particularly from the beginning of the 1940s until the beginning of the 1960s, buildings added to defensive walls were demolished, followed by the restoration of fortified structures and recomposition of

their nearby surroundings according to formulas usually based in the introduction of green spaces. This can be observed in parts of the city walls of Oporto, Trancoso, Beja, Évora and Lagos, as well as in the castles of Chaves and Ourém, and on the hill where the fortification of Santiago in Palmela stands.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, even when some huge interventions in areas around fortifications were carried out intending to transform them into green spaces, the majority of the proposed interventions in Portugal were minimalistic actions—especially those where fortifications were far from urban settlements. These minimalist interventions tried to preserve the existing natural frame by performing minimum compositions on vegetation and paths, as happened in interventions carried out at the fortifications of Castro Laboreiro, Numão, and Moreira de Rei, among others. This kind of intervention was most probably influenced by SPAB's precepts, namely, with the disagreement with restoration and the supporting of conservation through consolidation, continuous maintenance, and recomposition of surrounding areas of monuments, by turning them into romantic and picturesque green spaces with gardens and lawns respecting the architectural remains.

### **Beautification Plans, Improvement Plans and Safeguarding Plans (*Planos de Embelezamento, Planos de Melhoramento, and Planos de Salvaguarda*)**

As happened with other architectural monuments, the patrimonial interventions carried out at fortifications were also extended to their surroundings, trying to scenically frame and monumentalize these classified buildings. The operations performed in spaces around ancient fortifications generally consisted in their isolation from other buildings through demolishing actions and recomposition of green spaces, emphasizing their uniqueness and creating privileged perspectives of them. The impossibility of demolishing all the nearby buildings, along with the progressive recognition of relations between fortified structures and their surrounding urban environment, began changing to options that respect the common architecture. The minor architecture began being also recognized as heritage, because it composed the surrounding area of military monuments by giving scale, visual relations, and framing and contextualizing them.

Only from 1945 onwards, after the end of most of the major restoration interventions connected to the double centenary celebrations, the first proposals for the definition of Special Areas of Protection (*Zonas Especiais de Protecção—ZEP*) established around architectural and archaeological monuments began appearing. This was possible because of the experience acquired after the recognition of connections between monuments and their surroundings, due to the interventions previously made.<sup>32</sup> The *ZEP* began being generally applied as a complement to the vast interventions carried out to architectural monuments, intending to protect their picturesque surroundings that were contextualizing and, at the same time, favoring predetermined views and perspectives of them.<sup>33</sup>

Although in several cases an effective safeguarding of monuments' surroundings existed, demolishing operations of structures around monuments were frequent when financial means were available. Nevertheless, demolishing operations of ancient urban settlements with hygienist objectives or for isolation of architectural monuments began to be increasingly criticized, including inside the *DGEMN* itself. In fact, Raul Lino da Silva (1879–1974) was one of the *DGEMN*'s leading voices that criticized those operations.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, the protection of urban sets of significant dimension surrounding architectural monuments increased the consciousness of the importance of minor architecture as depository of picturesque and aesthetic values, along with the eminent historic values. Ancient buildings could ensure authenticity to the antiquity of urban cores, contextualizing the architectural monuments by introducing intimate connections

between singular monuments and their surrounding minor architecture and public spaces. These three elements started to be observed as hinged structures, which, when read together could enable the understanding of several of their characteristics: their historic stratification level, urban morphology, construction techniques, implantations, and alignments, among others.<sup>35</sup>

The respect for landscapes as cultural heritage needing to be preserved also assumed importance. The patrimonial interests evolved from individual protection of architectural monuments to collective protection of urban complexes around monuments or parts of cities, and later to urban cores, including entire towns. A significant change happened in the patrimonial policy of the *Estado Novo* during the period when Eduardo de Arantes e Oliveira (1907–1982) was minister of the Public Works, between 1954 and 1967. The concept of heritage was definitely extended to popular architecture and to landscaping context (urban, rural, and natural).<sup>36</sup>

The beautification plans in urban settlements were the first where urban cores were assumed as heritage. The patrimonial objectives of these plans, such as the ones carried out in the walled towns of Óbidos, Évoramonte, Guimarães, and Miranda do Douro, were focused on the preservation of the environmental urban character through interventions performed in public spaces, as well as the appreciation of architectural elements considered as typical and characterizing public space (façades, portals, balconies, eaves, etc.).<sup>37</sup> In the middle of the 1950s, beautification plans in Portugal began evolving to improvement plans, denoting progress concerning the patrimonial concepts and procedures of patrimonial safeguarding. More than mere cosmetic operations in public space, the improvement plans were not based on specific interventions in key points—generally around architectural monuments or in squares and other delimited spaces—nor in stylistic depuration of façades. Instead, these plans were included in urban plans of a larger scale that effectively introduced significant improvements in urban infrastructures and intervened spaces.

One of the main objectives of these operations was to provide the inhabitants of intervened urban settlements with better conditions appropriate for contemporary living demands; this was visible in the supply of better infrastructures (sanitation, electricity, telecommunications, and water supply). In addition, the requalification of public spaces was achieved with de-densification operations through the demolition of some specific built structures and with the rehabilitation of monuments and some private buildings. For the implementation of improvement plans, walled cities with image unity and urban integrity but also with picturesque features for touristic purposes were generally chosen, such as the plans carried out in Valença, Bragança, Marvão, Almeida (Figure 3), and Monsaraz.

This kind of urban intervention can once again be affiliated to European planning movements, this time closely connected to some precepts of Gustavo Giovannoni (1873–1947). As can be seen in his book *Vecchie Città ed Edilizia Nuova* published in 1931, Giovannoni claimed that cities reflected its own inhabitants through their history, ambitions, character, artistic qualities, memories and, due to that, their own identity. That is why “minor architecture” could not be considered indifferently as a mere picturesque frame of architectural monuments, but as a monumental urban set. Being living monuments, their preservation would only be possible with their continuous use by people. To do that, diversified and compatible functions and lifestyles should be reestablished or introduced in preexisting urban settlements.

Refusing massive demolitions of old buildings, Giovannoni developed a model of surgical demolitions of dissonant elements (“parasitic” structures, ruined buildings, etc.) in the urban tissue, calling it *diradamento*. This allowed the creation of small breathing spaces (gardens, squares) in dense ancient quarters, as well as the introduction of new public buildings and infrastructures, improving local hygienic conditions. The morphologic homogeneity of ancient urban cores, such as building heights, colors, architectural languages, materials, shapes, and so forth, would be regulated by established measures. If necessary, reintegration of façades could be made to achieve their pristine image, avoiding nevertheless revivals in new buildings. The ancient urban cores would be confined and separated from new urban areas where, in many cases, the old defensive walls became the border between both.



**Figure 3.** Note: Fortress of Almeida (source: Instituto para a Habitação e a Reabilitação Urbana, collection of DGEMN).

In Portugal, the intervention carried out in the fortified city of Valença presented another distinct problem related with urban bastioned walls: the complexity of their safeguard was different from the medieval walled cities. Several urban walled defenses had already lost their strategic and functional importance in the Middle Ages. Because of that, city walls were frequently abandoned, fell into ruins, were dismantled, or were obstructed by buildings occupying the ancient *devezas*. This way, the patrimonial interventions were generally composed of demolitions in order to clear portions of the defensive walls, being completed with partial reconstructions whenever needed and the gardening of the surrounding ground to allow an allusion to the ancient *devezas*. However, that abandonment did not happen with bastioned walls built in strategic locations where their functionality was maintained, in some cases until the nineteenth century. The maintenance of the military easement included not only fortified structures, but also all the field of fire (the open area around the fortification). That fact contributed to maintaining the whole area free from other constructions.<sup>38</sup>

According to Miguel Tomé, the difficulty of safeguarding this heritage was not related to its restoration or reconstruction, but with the subsequent maintenance and conservation of the physical integrity of these enormous defensive complexes, constituted by bastioned walls with large surrounding spaces.<sup>39</sup> Consequently, the *modus operandi* followed by the DGEMN consisted in interventions in the intramural urban core, along with interventions in the fortified monument and in the landscaping component framing it. In addition to the restorations and improvement actions in defensive structures (bastioned walls, bulwarks, ditches, ravelins, tenailles, hornworks, and others), excavations were also carried out intending to reconstitute the configuration of the surrounding ground exterior to the bastioned wall—the ancient field of fire, including slopes, scarps, and glacis, among others.

Despite the inevitability of cleaning undesirable vegetation in the former field of fire, part of this vegetation was needed to assure the stability of the soil and of the defensive structures made with it. This fact allowed keeping these vast areas as green spaces free from construction. The maintenance and protection of green spaces with large dimension represented indeed a serious problem, which sometimes resulted in neglect due to the lack of funds.<sup>40</sup>

The gardening of these spaces was frequently complemented with other actions: the construction of peripheral paths around defensive walls allowing privileged views over the monuments, and the expropriation and demolition of buildings added over time in the interior side of defensive walls, clearing them and allowing the incorporation of an intramural peripheral path punctuated by gardened spaces (especially in ancient bulwarks).

## Epilogue

From the beginning, patrimonial interventions on the Portuguese architectural heritage of defensive nature often generated the creation of urban and semiurban green spaces (gardens and parks). This was achieved by occupying and reformulating abandoned areas formerly belonging to fortified structures, by demolishing buildings added to fortifications throughout the ages or by taking advantage of empty fields previously imposed by military easements. Besides having partially recovered ancient *devezas* and fields of fire—and, through these, turning visible again one of the most important urban belts marking an important stage of the city's evolution—these interventions modified the urban morphology of some Portuguese cities. This was done by allowing the creation of green spaces for breathing and relief inside dense urban tissues, by acting aesthetically on monuments and city landscapes, and by generating cultural centers of leisure allowing for the conviviality between local communities.

The following two decades after the fall of the dictatorial regime (in 1974) witnessed a slow decline in interventions on the architectural heritage; however, the beginning of the new millennium marked a huge increase of interventions on ancient fortifications through the Program for the Recovery of Castles (*Programa de Recuperação de Castelos*) promoted between 2000 and 2006 by the Portuguese Institute of the Architectural Heritage (*Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico—IPPAR*). This program had several goals, some of them continuing previous actions, namely consolidation, recovering and rehabilitation of ancient fortifications, valorization through their revitalization for society's leisure, and study and promotion of this heritage. The assignment of new functions to military monuments allowed their reintegration in the contemporary social life, thanks to a more consistent use that ensured their future operativity while they were functioning as catalysts of urban regeneration.<sup>41</sup>

The walled spaces continue to be converted into open spaces frequently gardened, some of them complementing cultural functions (museological or expositive) or even hotel functions. These new green spaces for leisure can periodically be used for cultural events (theatre, music, expositions, recreations, etc.) through the insertion of permanent or temporary supporting structures, which influence the perception of these fortified spaces. Even spaces around military monuments continue to receive interventions, most of them by the creation of gardened parks with lawns, trees, and other kind of vegetation.

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## Notes

1. For a better understanding of the Portuguese patrimonial panorama, see: Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos, "Anamnesis del Castillo como Bien Patrimonial: Construcción de la Imagen, Forma y (Re) Funcionalización en la Rehabilitación de Fortificaciones Medievales en Portugal" (PhD dissertation,

- University of Alcalá de Henares, 2012); Jorge Custódio, “*Renascença*” *Artística e Práticas de Conservação e Restauro Arquitectónico em Portugal Durante a I República: Fundamentos e Antecedentes* (Lisbon: Caleidoscópico, 2011); Jorge Custódio, coord., *100 Anos de Património: Memória e Identidade (Portugal 1910-2010)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico, 2010); Maria Helena Maia, *Património e Restauro em Portugal (1825-1880)* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2007); Miguel Tomé, *Património e Restauro em Portugal (1920-1995)* (Oporto: FAUP Publicações, 2002); Maria João Neto, *Memória, Propaganda e Poder: O Restauro dos Monumentos Nacionais (1929-1960)* (Oporto: FAUP Publicações, 2001); Paulo Simões Rodrigues, “Património, Identidade e História: O Valor e o Significado dos Monumentos Nacionais no Portugal de Oitocentos” (MA thesis, University of Évora, 1998); Lúcia Rosas, “Monumentos Pátrios: A Arquitectura Religiosa Medieval – Património e Restauro (1835-1928)” (PhD dissertation, University of Oporto, 1995); Miguel Soromenho, Nuno Vassallo e Silva and Jorge Custódio, “Salvaguarda do Património - Antecedentes Históricos,” in Maria Leal Coelho, coord., *Dar Futuro ao Passado* (Lisboa: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura - Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico, 1993), 22–71.
2. Almeida Garrett was perhaps the first one in Portugal who expressed a patrimonial concern with urban settlements, as can be seen in his book *Viagens na Minha Terra* (published in 1846). According to Paulo Rodrigues, this novel notes a strong protest against destructions carried out in Santarém, defending the image appreciation of the city as an urban settlement with patrimonial values that must be preserved. Therefore, the city would be considered by Almeida Garrett as a huge monument requiring protection. Rodrigues, “Património, Identidade e História,” 54–55.
  3. After some repairing, restoring, and remodelling works in the ancient convent, in order to transform it into a place for small stays of the royal family in Sintra, Ferdinand II realized that the old structure did not ensure proper conditions of habitability, comfort and dignity as befitting a royal residence. Because of that, an ambitious enlargement of the complex was decided, through the articulation of new structures with the former convent.
  4. The action of Joaquim Possidónio Narciso da Silva (1806–1896), court architect to whom the intervention in the castle of the Moors is generally attributed, seems to have been focused on the upper part of the defensive walls and in the towers (existing battlements show their different constructive techniques). Catarina Coelho, “A Ocupação Islâmica do Castelo dos Mouros (Sintra): Interpretação Comparada,” *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia* 1 [iii] (2000): 213.
  5. Isabel Godinho Mendonça, “Os Restausos no Convento de Cristo em Tomar nos Séculos XIX e XX – Critérios de Intervenção,” *Lusitana: Arqueologia, História da Arte e Património* 2-4 (2004): 155–78.
  6. For instance, among several aspects developed for the achievement of a better functioning in cities, Reinhard Baumeister (1833–1917) stated in his work *Stadterweiterungen in Technischer, Baupolizeilicher und Wirtschaftlicher Beziehung* (published in 1876) the conservation of architectural monuments through their restoration and isolation from other constructions.
  7. Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) was perhaps the first and most important defender of the Portuguese architectural heritage in the nineteenth century. He created awareness in the Portuguese society of the importance and values of this patrimonial heritage and the need to preserve it for future generations. He was also one of the main voices that criticized the conduct of municipalities regarding ancient urban cores. Alexandre Herculano, “Mais um Brado a Favor dos Monumentos II,” *O Panorama* 94 [iii] (1839): 50–51. José Cristino da Silva reinforced the criticisms about destructive higienistic actions and their supporters, who were considered as uncultured beings that should be instructed about the importance of ancient urban settlements. José Cristino da Silva, “Assumptos Uteis: O Culto das Ruínas,” *A Nossa Patria* 78 (1908): 3. Francisco de Sousa Viterbo (1845–1910) also intuited about the patrimonial values of ancient urban settlements, understanding the need of giving them better sanitary conditions appropriate to modern times. This should be made through punctual and respectful interventions, avoiding the perversion of urban settlements. Francisco de Sousa Viterbo, “Os Monumentos,” *O Archeologo Portuguez* 1-9 [xvii] (1912): 30. Rebellling against the supposed modernization and higienist urban interventions that were damaging ancient buildings and settlements, José da Silva Pessanha considered that ancient cores were owners of touristic benefits that could attract economic profits to local people. Beyond that, the existing values of old and typical cities and their surroundings were important documents on the history of Portugal. Nevertheless, his interest about urban heritage was merely culturalist, since his appreciation of cities was only from an aesthetical (and historical)

- point of view, in which urban heritage was a temporal and picturesque representation of the past. José da Silva Pessanha, "Melhoramentos Locaes," *Arte* 73 (1911): 2–3.
8. José Ramalho Ortigão, *O Culto da Arte em Portugal* (Lisbon: António Maria Pereira - Livreiro Editor, 1896), 92–93.
  9. In his book *Contrasts; Or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*, published in 1836, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–1852) already rebelled against what was happening in British industrialized cities.
  10. Charles Buls (1837–1914), in his book *L'Esthétique des Villes* from 1893, also criticized the clearing of architectural monuments intending to isolate them; for him, the closer buildings with less magnificence would allow to compare scales, aesthetics, and opulence, among others. Curiously, considering the defensive walls impossible to preserve, Buls accepted the restoration and isolation of their fortified gates, remaining thus as memories from the past.
  11. Decree nr.1 of 26 May 1911.
  12. Enacted three months before the institution of the republican regime, the Decree of 23 June 1910 already envisaged the existence of public easements around classified architectural monuments.
  13. Law nr.1700 of 18 December 1924.
  14. Decree nr.21875 of 18 November 1932.
  15. Created in 1929 by the dictatorial regime, the *DGEMN* was the state entity responsible for public works (communication routes, dams, ports, mines and public buildings like schools, post offices or town halls), including interventions in the architectural heritage.
  16. In fact, in a report from 1915 made by Alberto da Cunha Leão Filho, inspector of the Directory of Public Works of the District of Aveiro (Direcção das Obras Públicas do Distrito de Aveiro), the commission proposed the expropriation of lands around the castle, in order to make a protected area for it. Alberto da Cunha Leão Filho, "Castelo da Feira: Relatório Sobre as Obras Mais Urgentes a Realisar Nêsse Castelo" (manuscript), Juin 09, 1915, *DGEMN* collection, *Castelo da Feira* files, *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana*. See also: Maria Helena Barreiros, *O Castelo de Santa Maria da Feira (Séculos X a XX): Formas e Funções* (Santa Maria da Feira: Comissão de Vigilância do Castelo de Santa Maria da Feira, 2001), 77.
  17. The initial proposal from 1898 planned the reconstruction of the castle following the ideals of "stylistic restoration" as Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879) had enounced. Ernst Korrodi, *Estudos de Reconstrução Sobre o Castelo de Leiria - Reconstituição Gráfica de um Notável Exemplo de Construção Civil e Militar Portuguesa* (Zurich: Instituto Polygraphico, 1898).
  18. As was pointed out by the inspector Paulo de Barros in his report made by order of the Council of Art and Archaeology of Coimbra (Conselho de Arte e de Arqueologia de Coimbra). Paulo de Barros, "Castelo de Leiria: Consolidação das Ruínas do Afamado Monumento Medieval," in *O Instituto* 4 [xiv] (1917): 177–86. See also: Saul António Gomes, *Introdução à História do Castelo de Leiria* (Leiria: Câmara Municipal de Leiria, 2004), 202–7; Lucília Verdelho da Costa, *Ernst Korrodi (1889-1944): Arquitectura, Ensino e Restauro do Património* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1997), 217–23.
  19. Besides the respect for authenticity of architectural remains, visible in the clear distinction between what was old or new, a harmonious integration between monument and nature was attempted, valuing some isolated buildings as sculptural elements surrounded by controlled vegetation, revealing a major concern with aesthetic appreciation rather than historic veracity. As happened in the castle of Leiria, several beautification actions were made to some Portuguese medieval fortifications, by using vegetation intending to give a picturesque aura.
  20. António de Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos e Notas Políticas* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1936), ii, 145–49.
  21. The *DGEMN*'s activity on the Portuguese heritage was conditioned by ideological rules emanated by political leaders of the regime, as well as by pragmatic criteria of efficiency, economy, and easy execution. In fact, the regime imposed its own political agenda, using the architectural heritage as an important propagandistic piece; that way, a primacy of political reasons was established over the artistic and documental interests of monuments. In many cases, *DGEMN*'s technicians were turned into mere executors of those policies. Tomé, *Património e Restauro em Portugal*, 84–85.
  22. For the *Estado Novo*, the monuments should be easily perceived by people and immediately identified with persons or events which were supposed to be praised. Therefore, all the built elements obstructing

- or deforming the reading of monuments should be eliminated in order to recover their “primitive purity.” This intention encouraged the implementation of numerous architectural reintegrations with sacrifice of contributions added throughout time. Just as rewriting history according to its ideology, the regime also rewrote symbolic messages transmitted by monuments: the *Estado Novo* imposed its own political agenda as the motor for increasing the activity of patrimonial recovery. Neto, *Memória, Propaganda e Poder*, 145–49.
23. “... After finishing the restoration, a new problem arose. Indeed, only at that moment was truly realized – almost imperatively – the need for recomposing the natural frame of the Castle of Lanhoso, because it is really part of its admirable archaic picturesque frame. ... If limited exclusively to the Castle, the restoration work would be undoubtedly incomplete. ... The major work made was the opening of an access road. ... After the opening of the road, the cleaning and general recomposition of the ground was carried out.” João de Castro, “Antes da Restauração,” *Boletim da DGEMN* 29 (1942): 20–21.
  24. In a text entitled “Regarding the Problem of the Reintegration and Dignification Projected in the Castle of St. George (Em que se Toca o Problema da Reintegração e da Dignificação Projectada do Castelo de S. Jorge),” Matos Sequeira mentioned that “in the arrangements of the Castle should be considered the study of buildings’ volumes and arboreal masses, as well as the outline and proportion of defensive walls, towers and accessory buildings. Regarding the problem of urban architecture, this consideration is concerned to make the hill an impressive panoramic background from all viewpoints. ... Due to that, the projected work should have a parallel care with the Castle itself and with its surrounding area. The latter, formed by sloping ground that is too steep for construction, should be better and more densely wooded. ... Apart from the reintegration and dignification work projected for the Lisbon’s acropolis, it is necessary to take the advice to care for the artistic part, and the aesthetic sensibility should be practised alongside with the archaeological sensibility. The exhumation of the ruin is not sufficient; its spiritualization is also necessary.” Matos Sequeira, “Em que se Toca o Problema da Reintegração e da Dignificação Projectada do Castelo de S. Jorge” (typescript), April 08, 1938, DGEMN collection, Castelo de S. Jorge – Lisboa files, Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana.
  25. Letter (typescript) from Augusto Frazão Etur to Baltazar da Silva Castro, September 26, 1940, DGEMN collection, *Castelo de S. Jorge – Lisboa* files, *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana*.
  26. Curiously, a copy of a letter to the mayor of Lisbon was received by the *DGEMN* in 1965, protesting against the vegetation planted there twenty years before. The outraged writer of this letter mentioned that during the restoration, many resources were spent trying to uncover and make visible the castle of St. George; ironically, after finishing the intervention, a huge financial cost was expended again to cover and unacceptably hide the castle—now with trees, ivies, and other vegetation. Letter (typescript) from [illegible] to António Vitorino da França Borges, April 27, 1965, DGEMN collection, *Castelo de S. Jorge – Lisboa* files, *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana*.
  27. Viana Barreto was one of the authors of the project for the new green space around the tower of St. Vincent in Lisbon, better known as Belém Tower (*torre de S. Vicente em Belém*).
  28. Paulo Varela Gomes orally mentioned the possibility of some influence from the Modern Movement being perhaps present in the minds of *DGEMN*’s architects when performing patrimonial interventions. In this case, through the fetishist/culturalist exposure of the architectural monument in the middle of a large lawn, like a sculptural piece of art in a museum, obliterated from its historical visual contextualization. According to Robert Auzelle, Le Corbusier (1887–1965) considered that remains of ancient civilizations should be isolated in parks as a monumental necropolis/sanctuary, a cemetery of tombstoned poetry or sacred grove of relics. Robert Auzelle, “O Problema dos Bairros Antigos,” *Arquitectura* 71 (Lisbon: Iniciativas Culturais Arte e Técnica, 1961): 5. David Lowenthal mentioned that lawns rigorously mowed around architectural monuments would emphasize their austere, majestic and ancient disposition, allowing to frame the ruins’ disorder by monumentalizing them. David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 390–92.
  29. José Ferrão Afonso, “Guimarães – Da Fundação a Património da Humanidade,” *Revista de História da Arte* 4 (Lisbon: Instituto de História da Arte - Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2007): 263–64.
  30. Nuno Portas, “A Formação Urbana de Vila Viçosa: Um Ensaio de Interpretação,” *Monumentos* 6 (1997): 59.

31. The Decree of Law nr.28468 of 15 February 1938 strengthened the preservation of (existing or new) green spaces located around architectural monuments, considering that they provided a decorative frame emphasizing the architectural shapes of monuments.
32. It was in 1945 that the first *ZEP* was applied in a fortification classified as national monument, the castle of Sesimbra, where the restoration works had recently been finished.
33. The existence of *ZEP* did not necessarily imply the protection of minor architecture located around monuments, since this architecture was frequently submitted as a secondary part of the valorisation program of the main monument.
34. Neto, *Memória, Propaganda e Poder*, 261–62. Raul Lino also criticized how the *DGEMN* acted in some of the green spaces around and inside medieval fortifications, as can be seen in his report referring to the castle of Leiria: "... It is sometimes mentioned the 'excessively high and leafy vegetation' hampering the contemplation of the Monument from many viewpoints, reducing also the horizon for those in the Castle. ... The conviction that monuments must exist independently from any landscaping elements such as added construction and natural vegetative ornamentation is a stipulation that impoverishes the architectural monuments themselves lacking the ability to evoke our spirit and charm our visual sensibility. A ruined castle does not have to be placed in a shallow pan, presented as a laboratory preparation under a harsh and clear light of a dissection room. ... How many times a big tree gives emphasis to the Monument behind it, increasing the watcher's curiosity when the entire view of the architectural motif is restrained. ... Regarding the undergrowth or small vegetation ..., one should say that finding wild plants in the area close to the ancient defensive walls of the Castle pleases more than some kind of bourgeois garden's mimes. It pleases us to see rustic vegetation touching the ruins, remembering tough times when the events that gave great honour and fame to the noble Monument happened." Raul Lino da Silva [Report on the conservation of vegetation in the castle of Leiria] (typescript), June 10, 1949, *DGEMN* collection, *Castelo de Leiria* files, *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana*.
35. In 1949 the concept of built heritage was applied to all the built elements or sets with archaeological, historical or artistic value. It defined the concept of "edified element or set with artistic, archaeological, historical or landscaping value," encompassing urban settlements constituted by buildings (even if modest) and squares with coherence, urban integrity and picturesque characteristics. Law nr.2032 of 11 June 1949.
36. Tomé, *Património e Restauro em Portugal*, 168.
37. The beautification plans had their antecedents in the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. If picturesque ideals were already defended for the ancient urban core of Carcassonne by Viollet-le-Duc, it was Alfonso Rubbiani (1848–1913), one of the main supporters of the recovering of picturesque ambiences in old cities. In his booklet *Di Bologna Riabbellita* from 1913, Rubbiani described his purpose of recovering a chimerical Bologna based in documentation, in the suggestions of architectural remains, in analogies with other buildings and in the application of actions approached to the stylistic unity. The rescue of the ancient urban ambient would be achieved through suggestive reconstitution of façades: architectural elements considered as being distorting the buildings were removed and replaced by other ones according to a previously chosen architectural language. These operations, frequently using revivalist styles, attempted to recover a presumable original and idealized shape to buildings, being essentially urban cosmetic operations of artificial embellishment of façades and public spaces.
38. In fact, a document from 1955 prepared by Frederico da Costa Lopes da Silva, general-administrator of the Army, mentioned that the main reason for the inexistence of buildings in that area was the recently cancelled military easement surrounding the bastioned walls of Valença. Lopes da Silva mentioned that the cancellation of the military easement should imply the immediate creation of an area of protection for the fortified monument, to regulate the needs of urbanization and expansion of the city. Letter (typescript) from Frederico da Costa Lopes da Silva to Henrique Gomes da Silva, December 10, 1955, *DGEMN* collection, *Fortificações de Valença* files, *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana*. Three years later, in 1958, the definition of a *ZEP* in Valença included both the fortification and the walled city.
39. Tomé, *Património e Restauro em Portugal*, 148–49.
40. The problem concerning the maintenance of these large protected spaces was still being discussed

later. For instance, in a *DGEMN* official document from 1994, Joaquim Coimbra Soares da Silva mentioned that the maintenance employees of the bastioned wall of Valença and its surrounding space were working continuously like a “carousel”: the time they needed to get around the fortress for the maintenance operations was so long that when they were reaching the starting point, this was already needing maintenance again. Letter (typescript) from Joaquim Coimbra Soares da Silva to Maria do Rosário Mendonça Moura, March 04, 1994, DGEMN collection, *Fortificações de Valença* files, *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana*. In a document from 1966, the general-director of the Higher Education and Fine Arts (Ensino Superior e das Belas-Artes), João Alexandre Ferreira de Almeida (1907–1997), warned that, despite the agricultural occupation of the former field of fire around the fortress of Almeida did not benefit the image of the fortified structure, it would be worse its abandonment because it would be covered by weeds and trash; the expenses to clean it again would be huge. Letter (typescript) from João Alexandre Ferreira de Almeida to José Pena Pereira da Silva, May 31, 1966, DGEMN collection, *Fortificações de Almeida* files, *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana*. Still in the fortified city of Almeida, the local mayor, Joaquim Crisóstomo, wrote a letter in 1969 complaining about the difficulty to maintain the fortified structure due to its large size: besides the problems caused by garbage that people usually dumped in the ditch, the guards also used to set fire to the dense shrubbery growing there in trying to clean it rapidly, and because of that the defensive wall became charred. Letter (typescript) from Joaquim Crisóstomo to José Pena Pereira da Silva, May 2, 1969, DGEMN collection, *Fortificações de Almeida* files, *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana*.

41. Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, *Programa de Recuperação dos Castelos* (Lisbon: Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico - Ministério da Cultura, 2000).

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