Introduction: Portuguese architects
In Portugal, the 1960s defined a strategic period in the transition to democracy and, consequently, to the present. The outbreak of the colonial war, the growing rural exodus and emigration, as well as student upheaval, contrasted with the period of economic liberalisation and private investment that came from the gradual (although discreet) modernisation of the regime. In these years of disruption, Portuguese architecture found a particularly prolific field of action, both in the volume of commissions and in the diversification of themes and subject matter. For a new generation of architects this was the opportunity to join the international disciplinary debate.

The previous decade had seen the assertion of modern Portuguese architecture. First, as a result of the first National Congress of Architecture held in 1948, where the professional class came together to dispute the imposition of an official aesthetic in the public works of the Estado Novo regime (1933–1974) and demanded an update of state politics regarding the adoption of modern principles in architecture and urban planning.\(^1\) Arquitectura magazine was to have an influential role at this time in disseminating the works and texts of the main authors of the modern movement, including the publication of the full version of the Athens Charter in Portuguese.\(^2\) Also, in publishing the production of what Ana Tostões calls the ‘Green Years’ of Portuguese modern architecture, when the modernist experience of the early 1930s was resumed and substantiated in its ethical and social dimensions. Concerned with projecting a certain image of progress in the new post-war world order, António de Oliveira Salazar’s government would concede to a degree of transformation in cultural and economic values.\(^3\) The expression of this newfound modernity would be crystallised in two important foreign events: the Portuguese Architecture Exhibition of 1956 in London, promoted by the National Secretariat of Information, Popular Culture and Tourism (SNI),\(^4\) and the Brussels World’s Fair of 1958, with Pedro Cid’s American-inspired, mostly via Brazil, Portuguese Pavilion.\(^5\)

Following this initial moment of a more literal appropriation of the modern movement vocabulary, the Survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture, launched by the National Union of Architects in 1955, would shed a different light on the interpretation of the CIAM doctrine, introducing concerns over cultural identity and geographical context. This new awareness of the broader anthropological and sociological role of the architect in the organisation of the built environment derived from a closer contact of Portuguese professionals with their international colleagues, in particular through the attendance and active participation in the Union International des Architectes (UIA) and CIAM.\(^6\) In these meetings, modern architecture was repeatedly questioned, in a growing affirmation of new experiences that surpassed its rigid and absolute model.
Again, *Arquitectura* magazine was central in this repositioning of the Portuguese approach. In an article of 1959, Nuno Portas called upon "The responsibility of a brand new generation of the modern movement in Portugal" in contributing to the move to 'structure and give a certain degree of synthesis and operational effectiveness' to the 'dispersed attempts of thought and action that have been tested in recent years'. It was necessary to define a common methodology, one in which the concrete cultural, technical and social realities in hand were taken into consideration. This move into the field of human sciences placed Nuno Portas, and with him Portuguese architecture, in close alignment with the ideas supporting the international critical revision of the modern movement at the turn of the decade. This revision had led to the dissolution of the CIAM in 1959 and the institution of Team 10 in the same year, opening the path to the dichotomy between 'continuity' or 'fracture' that characterised the architectural discourse and production of the 1960s.

Within this context, the focus of this article is on a specific moment, 1967: a year after the publication of *The Architecture of the City*, by Aldo Rossi, and *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, by Robert Venturi, and a year before May '68. As the decade progressed, there was a clear need for the establishment of new senses of 'city' and 'building', taking into account the growing importance of public opinion and the different approaches that were being proposed in the field of architecture. The International Competition for Amsterdam Town Hall of 1967, with more than eight hundred entries from all around the world, highlighted the diversity of the decade and worked as a contact zone for the multiple visions of monumentality implicit in a building that represented local political and public power. From Portugal, the competition archives register the participation of seven teams of architects from a new generation, protagonists of the transition, not only of a country on its way to democracy, but also in experimenting with new forms and concepts that revised the modern movement. On the other hand, considering the scale and the peripheral condition of Portugal, along with the record of a single architect participating in similar international competitions in the previous decade, the large turnout of Portuguese architects in Amsterdam was representative of a generation in transit across borders. It was an unprecedented experience that reflected the unfavourable conditions that this young generation, eager to engage in the practice of the profession and gain recognition, faced in Portugal.

Due to the relevance of this competition in the European and international contexts, but also to the particular moment in Portugal in the 1960s, the Portuguese participation can be understood as a sign of internationalisation and vitality of the national architectural culture in a transitional climate. In this sense, it is important to show how this broadening of horizons was manifested, implicit in the very presence in Amsterdam, but above all in the diversity of themes approached by the Portuguese architects. The answer to this question stems from the recognition of a double meaning in the Amsterdam competition as a contact zone: the effective response to the site and programme and the subjective context in which the proposals were set, combined with a dispersed and complex process of events, individual routes and learning paths.

**The Amsterdam Town Hall Competition:**

**overall brief**

The question of the construction of a Town Hall in Amsterdam dates back to 1808, the year in which King Louis I claimed the Dam Square Palace as his residence. From this moment, the city administration was repeatedly forced to relocate to different places over the years. This transitory situation generated an increasing need to gather all services into a single facility, although it was not until 1936...
that the intention to commission the design of a new building was assumed by the city council. After a first competition in 1937, won by architects Johannes Berghoef and Jo Vegter, representing a more traditional approach to monumentality in a ‘medieval Venetian style design’, the outbreak of WWII postponed the initiative. Engaged in the effort to reconstruct Amsterdam after the war, only in 1954 did the council resume the process and set a new location in the Jewish quarter next to Waterlooplein, flanked by the Amstel River and close to the city centre. It was for this site that the same team was invited to develop a second project based on similar principles. The result, a traditional rectangular block organised around an inner courtyard that expressed its authority in its rigid form, was not welcomed, either by the public or by architecture professionals.

One of the main opponents to the project was Aldo Van Eyck, who dubbed the design ‘an unimaginable lump of backward fascism’. In his article of 1961 in the magazine *De Groene Amsterdammer*, the young architect defended a more integrated approach to the concept of a city hall: ‘a human place with a human task; one with everyday life and just as real and ordinary’.

The level of criticism generated around this submission was representative of a new understanding of democracy and of the power relations within the urban built environment. In fact, the controversy around the construction of the new town hall came at a time when other issues arose in relation to the urban renewal of Amsterdam, such as the recent intervention for the construction of the subway line that involved the demolition of a strip of buildings in the very heart of the city. It was then proposed to occupy the empty lots with large-scale constructions, in contrast with the silhouette of the city, an idea that, according to Max Risselada, was also strongly contested and, thus, abandoned:

The city hall was a project for the whole city of Amsterdam, but the other one [the subway line] was, in fact, also a project with great influence for the people living there. It became a bottom-up action. Van Eyck joined them. They managed to abolish the original idea and to make a more refined system because they still had to build the subway. Many of the architects who worked with Van Eyck were involved in that project. In fact, he became part of the young protest generation along with PROVO. He protested, himself, with this bottom-up movement.

In this context of upheaval, a building for the town hall meant more than just a physical space for the representation of its citizens. The outcome had to be the expression of both urban and social ideals translated into the spatial and conceptual layout of a building. Under the harsh scrutiny of public opinion, in 1964 the city council dismissed Berghoef and Vegter and decided to promote an international competition of ideas. It was imperative to answer the need for a diversified representative space, capable of engaging with the city at an urban level, but also at social and cultural levels. This was the brief set by the alderman for public works, Joop den Uyl: ‘A democratic city hall for a council by persuasion, a meeting place for citizens’. The idea was in tune with recent examples of civic centres that combined administrative services with cultural and commercial facilities, like Alvar Aalto’s project for Seinäjoki. Another reference would be Aldo Van Eyck’s design for the Deventer Town Hall Competition of 1966 (first prize, never built), where the advisory committee ‘admired the way he “succeeded in taking the principle of the structure of the historic city a step further”, so that “the new town hall would not conflict with the historic city, but rather complete it”’, although the commission in itself implied the also controversial demolition of part of the historical area of Grote Kerkhof.

Chief municipal architect Chris Nielsen was entrusted with the delicate task of supervising the preparations for the Amsterdam Town Hall Competition, consulting the different political parties
in order to draft the programme of requirements. The panel of judges was composed exclusively of architects specialised in building in historic town centres. According to Max Risselada, the chairman Huig Maaskant was ‘an architect of the grand gesture’ and had taken part in the previous competition along with Piet Zanstra, also on the panel. Other judges were Johan Pedersen, Copenhagen city architect, the Belgian Frans van Gool, member of the Old Town Committee of the Amsterdam Board on Beautiful Buildings, the Swiss Jacques Schader and, from England, Sir Robert Matthew. The competition was organised in two phases. A first phase, aiming at the ‘understanding of the architectural possibilities and aspects of urban planning’ of the place, was open to all architects as long as they were ‘accredited and registered as such’. The second phase was limited and based on the results of the open competition. Five to eight proposals were to be selected, after which further detailing would be required and, hence, the exact definition of the programme and budget. Only then would a winner be announced.

The programme did not elaborate on what was understood by a ‘meeting place for citizens’. In practical terms, this only required a large central hall with commercial services – a restaurant, a bar, a kiosk and a tourist office – as part of a series of different-sized reception and workrooms. The fact that the building site was located between two distinct urban scales – the small scale of the city centre and the large scale of the recent urban interventions – did not earn any mention in the programme requirements either, even though a potential conflict was emphasised by establishing a main entrance towards Mr. Visser Square, referring the future building to the scope of the great urban and traffic systems of the city, a ‘vision that met with resistance from a powerful urban-renewal lobby, that appealed for small-scale development’. The only architectural references included in the competition’s brief concerned incorporating a bell-tower, inside or outside the building’s volume, and privileging the use of natural sunlight in the inner divisions. The brief also highlighted the importance of the ‘proportions of the building to be acceptable in the general aspect of the city’, a condition that implied an integration in the volumes and layout of the historic centre.

By the closing date of the competition, 30 November 1967, a total of 803 submissions had been registered. The unexpectedly high number of participants can be explained by the growing internationalisation of Western culture at this time and the scarcity of similar initiatives, only matched by the Toronto City Hall International Competition of 1958 with over five hundred participants. It was within this unique opportunity presented by the Amsterdam competition to work on a project of such scale and particular context that seven teams of Portuguese architects could be found, six from Lisbon and one from Porto: from Lisbon, Pedro Vieira de Almeida, Raul Hestnes Ferreira, Bartolomeu Costa Cabral with Manuel Tainha, Francisco Conceição Silva with Tomás Taveira, Luís Fernandes Pinto, and Victor Consiglieri; from Porto, José Pulido Valente with sculptor José Rodrigues and painter Jorge Pinheiro. Although none of these proposals was selected for the final shortlist of the competition, won by Wilhelm Holzbauer, for the purpose of this article we will present a brief analysis of each of the Portuguese entries focusing on the urban and volumetric layout of the solutions, considering how they adapted to the structure of the city and organised the functional programme, and on the elected constructive systems, considering their impact on the formal expression of the proposed designs at a technological and material level.

Effective Responses: city versus object

For the younger generation taking part in the competition, the Amsterdam centre raised a number
of questions concerning the monumental character of a building such as the Town Hall, representative not only of democracy but also of the population itself. Should the building continue the large-scale transformations that had disfigured the historic city centre of Amsterdam? Or should it reinterpret this process of modernisation through new concepts of citizen involvement, on a continuous and ideological scale with the city? In 1943, the debate around a new concept of monumentality, headed by Josep Lluís Sert, Fernand Léger and Sigfried Giedion, was already associated with the representative buildings of the city. Monuments, they maintained, ‘are the expression of man’s highest cultural needs’, but had become empty shells that did not represent ‘the collective feeling of modern times’. Monumentality, instead of a hermetic gesture or an argument based on empty rhetoric, had to be proposed in new terms. The discussion lasted through the post-war period and the impulse behind this ‘new monumentality’ remained. In the 1950s, it was represented by ‘the mythopoetic structures of Louis Kahn and the new capitols built in India and Brazil, re-emerging in the 1960s and 1970s in the historicism of the Italian Tendenza and the grandiloquent facades of postmodernism’.

A theory for monumentality was thus sought to contradict its formal emptiness. In *The Architecture of the City* (1966) Aldo Rossi refers to urban artefacts as individual and exceptional elements in the history of cities. Evoking memory as an intuitive instrument, Rossi associates the passage of time with history and the idea of a monument is consequently revealed. When form is addressed as quintessential, the urban artefact catalyses the city and the notion of monumentality is ultimately re-founded. But whereas Rossi elects form with an illuminist reverberation, in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (also 1966), Robert Venturi retrieves meaning from the mannerist ambiguity. Contemporary to these views, Dutch structuralism and its main proponents (Aldo van Eyck, Herman Hertzberger, Piet Blom) rejected both meaning and form of the monument as a factor of urban development. What is at stake is, therefore, the negation of the monumental character itself: ‘architects working from a structuralist perspective wanted to design buildings that were non-monumental, without style, without predefined form’.

Hence, in the structuralist movement ‘open structures are – as opposed to closed structures – open to interaction with the outside world’, able to influence ‘and also be influenced by their surroundings’. Finding that cities ‘design themselves from the inside out’, Hertzberger says that buildings undergo the reverse process: ‘buildings are conceived from the outside in’. Mentioning Van Eyck’s project for the new Deventer Town Hall (1966), where the design’s premises are comprised of narrow streets and a dense urban fabric, Dirk van den Heuvel stresses that ‘the public domain and public life literally penetrate the interior of the political institute while upsetting the conventions of urbanism and architecture’. This strategy was also the key principle of Hertzberger’s designs for the town halls of Valkenswaard (1966) and Amsterdam (1967), developed from a grid of inner streets. Although structuralism was built ‘without style’ and ‘without predefined form’, it ended up introducing a very clear and recognisable aesthetic. Nonetheless, the interest here is in retaining not the resulting form, but the relations it promotes with the urban space: the transposition of outer space into the building, in continuity with the urban fabric, and the abolition of spatial hierarchy.

In 1967, the deployments, scales and languages of the proposals submitted for the Amsterdam Town Hall Competition disclosed an advanced stage of the modern revision. The shortlist of twenty selected entries reflected this diversity. However, it is possible to identify some affinities between
the different approaches. The highlight here is on a series of designs that seek a middle ground between the statement of form and the contextualisation in the overall plan of the city, exploring a strong relation with the river Amstel. This was a recurring theme, particularly revealing of the intentions of each architect. Rafael Moneo was the only one to draw the building according to the contour of the river. Arne Jacobsen also acknowledged the river, but drew on the volumetric abstraction of his design. Others, such as Wilhelm Holzbauer, placed the building in the centre of the square. In S. Kondo’s design, a collage of elements at different scales and with different meanings was presented, as it was in the proposals by Adrian Meyer, Hans Ulrich Fuhrimann, Urs Burkard and Marc Funk, albeit with a more controlled formal coherence. Structuralists had a strong presence on this shortlist, perhaps because they were in ‘safe territory’. These proposals sought an intrinsic relation with the water. They crossed the river, always referring the cell to the whole and vice versa. Despite their experimentalism, there is a defined global coherence, particularly in the projects by Hans Davidson, Kees Rijnbout and Moshé Zwarts and of Leo Heijenrijk. Still in the experimental scope, Johannes Hendrik Van den Broek and Jaap Bakema’s mega-structure is notable, designed from the interconnection of the road network with the built volumes. In opposition, Ewa and Jerzy Buszkiewicz presented a completely decontextualised volumetric statement. Others struck a balance between form and context without asserting themselves on either the experimental or contextual side: Groupe GIA, Macy Dubois and H. Fairfield, and Paul Niepoort, S. Jensen and Max Steiger. Either way, none of the solutions was absolutely valid for the whole problem. It is, thus, necessary to elect a few concepts that help clarify and mediate the analysis of distinct proposals, also as a means to situate the Portuguese participation.

In 1969, Forum magazine set out a clear position by standing unequivocally against Wilhelm Holzbauer’s winning solution. From the controversy around the result of the competition, two opposing views can be defined, based on two distinct projects: on one hand, the winning project, on the other, Herman Hertzberger’s design. The first inherited the rigid character of modern architecture. The ‘grand gesture’, which its form suggested, presented itself as insensitive to the surroundings and by focusing on the interior central hall it turned its back to the city, despite the explicit requirement in the competition programme. Nevertheless, according to the criterion that ‘the outward appearance of the building must be acceptable in the overall aspect of the city’, the judges’ panel claimed of the winning submission that ‘a shape of great sensitivity has come into being, which manifests itself favourably in its urban surroundings’. Forum contradicted this statement, arguing that this principle ‘concerns quite different qualities’, such as ‘recognising the importance of the ever changing structure’ of the city and not just satisfying the need ‘for a building as a definite and completed thing’. Conversely, Hertzberger’s design derived from an ‘effort to find a principle of order attuned to the structure of the city’, a structure to which it responded but from ‘different elements as concerns meaning and size’. In this way, it became ‘a city in a house, a house in a city,’ where everyone was free to ‘interpret it in its own way.’ In its structuralist expression, we can trace the volumetric and spatial composition, which was governed by a principle of democratisation of space, through the abolition of hierarchies.

The two proposals that we present as opposites refer to two meanings of ‘monument’ and ‘building’ that, due to the sensitivity of the place but also to the function it represents, are deeply linked to the very meaning of the city. Carlo Aymonino’s reflection on this question is particularly incisive:

It must be asked whether the “finished form” (of a building or complex) will not, by virtue of the unity itself, cancel the relationship between the constructive
typology and the urban morphology ... and will not report the confrontation to more directly homogeneous terms, such as morphological, both architectural and urban. That is to say, how it becomes the point of contact between urban analysis and architectural composition.34

Following the same reflection, Holzbauer’s solution can be placed within the framework of the finished form. It distanced the monument from the surrounding space. Hertzberger, in contrast, sought ‘an approach to the architectural design and, in particular, its compositional aspects through the analysis of urban structures (in their profound transformations and ratifications).35 The first reflects a monumental affirmative and disconnected gesture to the context, while the second portrays a new notion of monumentality, precisely because it contradicts it. From these (op)positions, we define two concepts: the object-building, reflected in Holzbauer, through arguments only regarding its own form; and the city-building, associated with Hertzberger, as a set of ideological arguments of democracy and continuity with the city. In this context, we propose situating the Portuguese entries between these two concepts creating a line, which serves as an instrument for their interpretation and their relative arrangement according to the design arguments they each sustain. We seek, thus, to oppose them by comparing the way in which they approach the city from a critical point of view: whether they embrace the structure of the city or react to it.

By placing the seven entries on this line, we adopt a criterion that allows us to characterise the Portuguese participation in the Amsterdam Competition in a critical perspective. [Fig. 1] A criterion that confronts, simultaneously and as a whole, the individual approaches to the competition brief, the personal references that inform the proposals and their own formal languages. As we will argue, while Conceição Silva and Tomás Taveira ‘unequivocally detach’ their building from ‘the urban landscape of Amsterdam’, Pedro Vieira de Almeida ‘refuses the possibility of an object architecture’.36 These two extremes define a line on which Raul Hestnes Ferreira, Victor Consiglieri and Luís Fernandes Pinto can be placed closer to Conceição Silva and Tomás Taveira’s approach; they are more concerned with affirming the form of the building than with its relation to the city. Costa Cabral with Tainha and Pulido Valente are closer to the ideological approach of Pedro Vieira de Almeida, although they might be positioned in a possible centre because the relation they proposed with the city resulted namely from formal options.

Subjective Backgrounds: the Portuguese participants

The following analysis relates the proposals submitted by the Portuguese teams to the references, paths and circumstances relevant to the creation of a network of relations. While aiming to provide evidence that refers to the broader scope of the 1960s architectonic culture, it also gives a way to question the processes that started to contradict a semi-peripheral condition, still marked by the dictatorship in Portugal. In fact, in 1965, Arquitectura magazine’s editors decided to publish a section dedicated to international competitions, in a bid to recognise Portuguese architects within the international debate.37 These participations were, however, quite sporadic, distinguishing the Amsterdam competition, with seven Portuguese entries, as a turning point and a desired international contact zone. Several questions arise: how did participating in the Amsterdam competition demonstrate the paths, conceptual and formal choices of each architect and position them in relation to Portuguese architecture and their other fellow national competitors? Did they adopt an autobiographical or more attached attitude to the city? Where can we read the conceptual and formal options that we recognise today in the personal paths of the participating architects?
Conceição Silva and Tomás Taveira’s proposal was undeniably an exception in the continuous landscape of Amsterdam, while, however, seeking subtle relations of place and programme. [Fig. 2a, 2b] Positioned at the centre of Waterlooplein, the vertical stance of the five towers is contradicted by the horizontal bridges that connect the site to the opposite banks of the Amstel river. These connections provide direct access to the big central hall from which the programme develops in height – from the public spaces to the more private ones. It was Taveira’s intention to create buildings that somehow ‘constituted landmarks, provoking a reaction in people’. With a glass ‘skin’ that covers the concrete structure, allowing for a visual connection with the city’s skyline, we classify Conceição Silva’s proposal as an object-building. In this sense, it is important to address Tomás Taveira’s fundamental contribution to the range of references of the Conceição Silva atelier, particularly evident in this competition. ‘In fact, my culture is Anglo-Saxon,’ he says. Considering Stirling as one of his ‘heroes’, he travelled to England where he visited the Engineering Building of the University of Leicester (1963), a work that constitutes a strong influence in the project for the Fábrica de Elevadores (elevator factory) which Taveira designed while still a student in 1966, with ‘glass cascades inspired by Stirling and Gowan, alternating vertical planes and projections at 45°’.40

Victor Consiglieri also considered image as a goal, finding in materiality and volume the fundamental premises for his design. [Fig. 3a, 3b] Like Conceição Silva and Tomás Taveira, Consiglieri’s formal approach, referring to the work of Le Corbusier, places him in the same scope of the object. ‘The image that I have of architecture shows that we are always on the path to form’, he said, justifying the proposal as a plastic exercise that proposed an analogy to a pyramid, ‘an upward curve to counteract the public square’. The sum of different abstract volumes highlighted the building in the urban landscape of the city in a composition that, nevertheless, was aware of the public space and explored strong connections to its surroundings. In addition to the shape, the use of concrete emphasised the urban presence of the building, making it easily identifiable. This presence was achieved through the exploration of prefabricated construction, visible on the modular façade.

This expressive character is also particular to Luís Fernandes Pinto, whose work does not show a volumetrically affirmative attitude towards the urban fabric, but rather an unexpected and innovative formal exercise. [Fig. 4a, 4b] From the recognition of the architecture of the city and its scale, the architect proposed occupying the whole of the plot, outlining its perimeter, and assumed a horizontal character in the layout of the volumes, never exceeding the surrounding heights. Their overlapping configuration suggested a distinct image, in a complex but pragmatic composition, determined by the ‘the individualisation of the volumes according to their respective function’. The aesthetics of the building, as a result of the ‘possibilities of reinforced concrete’, reflected the full meaning of the materials as found, such as structure and finish, as well as the use of exposed brick in the base of the building. Its structure was a result of this experimental attitude, and in it we can recognise reminiscences of the brutalist experiences of Paul Rudolph, in the US, whom Fernandes Pinto visited in 1958, and of the Portuguese architect’s later investigations into American architecture.43

The United States is also inseparable from Hestnes Ferreira’s proposal. [Fig. 5a, 5b] We recall that after his passage through Helsinki and the design of the Albarraque House (1960–61), clearly influenced by Aalto, he left for America. Following his studies at Yale, he moved to Pennsylvania, where he worked in Louis Kahn’s studio between 1962 and 1965. As he states, this collaboration allowed him ‘to know the moral strength and
Fig. 1: Diagram with photos of the models of the Portuguese proposals positioned according to the line ‘Object-Building / City-Building’. Diagram: authors.
Fig. 3a

Fig. 3b

Figs. 3a, 3b. Site Plan and Model. Victor Consiglieri, Stadhuis-Prijsvraag Amsterdam, 1967. Source: Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ PRAS, 827.
professional position of Kahn’, and to be inevitably touched by his ‘interest in exploiting knowledge of the great examples of the past’. The analogy between Hestnes’s proposal and Kahn’s Dhaka Parliament (1964–82) is unavoidable, not only because the Portuguese architect took part in its design, but also because the assembly is considered the centre of the composition and represents the space for debate par excellence. Moreover, emphasis should be given to the unequivocal relation of the axial structure of both buildings and their spatial order, ‘receiving light from the glazed surfaces’. The materiality is also a reflection of Kahn’s lesson, present in the use of brick, but also in the design of the archway that circumscribes the building. Although we consider it an object-building, essentially based on motives of form, we recognise in this proposal the philosophical plan that Hestnes rescued from Kahn. The building did not constitute itself as an image before the city, but it also did not adopt its structure. Rather, it suggested the notion of interior space as generator of the external appearance.

Still within the scope of the image, José Pulido Valente reached a more contextualised solution from a formal exercise that addressed the building as a statement, not through its volumetric display but by exploring the concept of town hall as a meeting place. The architect himself acknowledges that he was designing a ‘city-building’, in continuity with the dominant height of the urban fabric and placing the central square at the heart of the composition, determining the pragmatic disposition of the different functional spaces. Despite its modest volume, the building stood out from the urban surroundings as a plastic exercise, deeply rooted in the materiality and dynamics that the constructive elements imposed on the overall configuration. The ‘crystal sculpture’ to which Pulido Valente referred concerned the use of glass as a fundamental element of the language of the building. The surface reflections and the multiple viewpoints explored appear as playful premises that induce the idea of transparency, suggesting a sense of democracy. Pulido Valente explained his proposal, not in relation to any direct influence on his architecture, but rather as an ‘emblem of his way of being’: ‘discreet’, ‘calm’, ‘not spectacular’, ‘working the spaces as they are and as they deserve’. He related his proposal to an artistic object, not by the force of the architectural gesture, but by the intellectual arguments that made it a ‘habitable sculpture’.

A sense of continuity is equally recognisable in the proposal by Bartolomeu Costa Cabral and Manuel Tainha. They occupied the whole area of Waterlooplein in a gesture that evoked the city’s dense urban fabric, where the perimeter of the building adapted both to the layout of the canals and to the height of the surrounding constructions. The concept of the ‘inner street’ governed the spatial order of the internal plan, culminating in a large central atrium. Despite the tower element, set on the horizontal platform, we place this proposal closer to the city-building approach because of the subtlety of its volumetric integration. We also highlight the intention of adopting a light and modular constructive system, distinct from the other Portuguese proposals, that Costa Cabral associated with his propensity for ‘functional aspects’ complementary to the ‘plastic concern’ of Tainha. However, both referred to the ‘practice of architecture’ and the themes of Atelier Nuno Teotónio Pereira, where the two architects collaborated, as being fundamental in their approach to Amsterdam.

The last of the Portuguese proposals, by Pedro Vieira de Almeida, introduced a different perspective. More than any other, we consider it as a precursor of a new sense of building and city, towards the definition of a new monumentality. The ‘rejection of an object architecture’, based on ideological arguments of democracy and of continuity with the city, resulted from the assessment that the importance of a town hall building was
forms and languages, and is revised in a renewed sense of citizenship and urbanity. This transition is more than mere evidence of a number of morphological factors observed in the proposals. It refers to a wider dimension, in which we can recognise a set of relations within Portuguese and international architecture. If the competition was a vital sign of the internationalisation of Portuguese architecture, it also foreshadowed something that is following its own path. In this sense, we discuss below some factors that we consider pertinent, in view of the interpretation of the Amsterdam Town Hall International Competition as a moment of transition.

As we have argued, by rejecting the object, Vieira de Almeida refreshed the relationship between public space and public institution – but he went further. He revisited the spatial concept of a town hall in a full sense of democracy and citizenship. He revised monumentality, rejecting it, and thus agreed with what Doxiadis describes as the way of the transition:

\[ \text{I find I have an obligation to follow only that road ahead of me that is not obstructed and cluttered up with monuments, the road whose largest shadows will be cast by simple, plain, human buildings.} \]

His proposal revealed an authentic political manifesto, whose formalisation was based on the encounter of the civic dimension with the urban scale, in a profound ideological sense. This contrast points to a more experimental and research dimension, inseparable from a critical and subversive stance within Portuguese architecture.

It is time for architectural solutions that are ‘open to problems’. Especially those of urban relations, such as the collective use of the city and buildings, which ‘bear witness, even to the level of perfection, of a path that is purely autobiographical or stylistic (even if this component is essential in an architectural work)’. It is worth noting a common position...
Figs. 4a, 4b. Site Plan and Model. Luís Fernandes Pinto, Stadhuis-Prijsvraag Amsterdam, 1967. Source: Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ PRAS, 110.
Figs. 5a, 5b. Site Plan and Model. Raul Hestnes Ferreira, Stadhuis-Prijswaag Amsterdam, 1967. Source: Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ PRAS, 696.
Figs. 6a, 6b. Site Plan and Model. José Pulido Valente, Stadhuis-Prijsvraag Amsterdam, 1967. Source: Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/PRAS, 4.
with Aymonino, valuing, beyond specific languages, the proposals that ‘best respond to a role of architecture in the city; in the present city, but which open, in the present, to one of the possible hypotheses of the future city’. The transition to architectures that are open-ended is thus of interest here, inasmuch as they do not represent finished forms but propose a critical and especially intelligent reflection of relations with the city, in space and, also, in time.

Perhaps due to the fact that the impact of this competition is yet to be unravelled by Portuguese modern architecture historiography, but also because the temporal distance causes the revolt against a regime that narrowed the intellectual frontiers of Portuguese artists and intellectuals to fade, we find this question of internationalisation greatly smoothed in the accounts of the architects interviewed. Addressing the evolution of this relationship with the exterior is decisive in rebutting the general feeling of ‘periphery’ that Portuguese architecture suffered throughout the twentieth century until the mid-1970s. Although we are dealing with the specific context of the competition, the set of experiences we have analysed represents a challenge to modern ideas. Rationality is consequently reinterpreted in multiple visions, in contradiction with its absolute character. Thus, the Portuguese proposals attest to the dissemination of approaches registered in the national practice of architecture of the 1960s. At this time, referring to Portuguese architecture as a whole is to affirm it as a plural set of experiences. It is not Portuguese in a single sense, but it is not from Amsterdam either. It is from the America of Kahn, the England of Stirling, or the Portugal of Teotónio Pereira.

The concentration of object-oriented approaches in the competition leads us to a separation of the object from its moral load and, thus, to the ambiguity that fosters a pulverisation of formalist tendencies and explorations. The competition, as stated by Pulido Valente, represents a ‘presage of postmodernism’ that reveals not only the intention to transpose national borders, but also the fresh and intense will of a country that wants to be catapulted into the centre of the European discussion. In fact, in 1971 architects continued in transit, this time to Paris, to the Beaubourg Competition won by Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers, giving rise to the Centre Pompidou (1971–77). From Portugal, it is worth mentioning the presence of three teams: Luís Fernandes Pinto, also a contestant in Amsterdam, Ruy Jervis d’Athouguia and Alberto Pessoa, whose authorship of the Gulbenkian Foundation’s headquarters corroborates a previous experience in large cultural complexes, and José Paulo Coimbra Neves with António Costa Pecegueiro. Nevertheless, already in democracy, it was the SAAL Housing Process (1974–76) that concentrated the efforts of Portuguese architects, producing 170 projects for forty thousand families. Conversely, it was this local experience that, by answering and experimenting in small scale housing prototypes within a large-scale programme, helped the international export of a particular know-how. In 1976, within an issue of *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* entirely dedicated to ‘Portugal Year II’, Bernard Huet concluded that ‘from now on our future goes through the Portuguese experience’. Thus, also the SAAL process became a contact zone between the Portuguese experience and international critique, emphasising a special mediation between architecture and the city. A mediation that we claim had already been suggested by the Portuguese teams in the Amsterdam competition of 1967.

Thenceforth, other entries existed in large and medium-sized competitions, where Portuguese proposals started to gain prominence amid international architects: the competition entries by Álvaro Siza in Berlin and Venice, Souto de Moura and Byrne in Belgium, the ARX duo in Berlin, Carrilho da Graça in France and Aires Mateus in Switzerland, among others, to this day. We see how pertinent it is to juxtapose these moments with the phenomenon
Figs. 8a, 8b. Site Plan and Model. Pedro Vieira de Almeida, Stadhuis-Prijsvraag Amsterdam, 1967. Source: Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ PRAS, 271.
of globalisation and the even more evident internationalisation of Portuguese architecture: the post-25 April revolution, the accession to the European Community, the founding of new architecture schools, the exponential growth in the number of architects, younger generations working abroad, as well as the media and digital boom. All of these will be reasons for an unavoidable blending with an international context in growing contact.

Notes
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1. The first National Congress of Architecture, promoted by the National Union of Architects, was sponsored by the Estado Novo government as part of the ‘15 years of Public Works: 1932–1947’ exhibition held in the facilities of Instituto Superior Técnico in Lisbon. The second National Congress of Engineering took place at the same time. The debate was organised and determined by two main groups of architects: Arts and Technical Cultural Initiatives (ICAT, 1946–57), based in Lisbon and mobilised by Francisco Keil do Amaral, Celestino de Castro and Hernâni Gandra, among others; and the Organisation of Modern Architects (ODAM, 1947–56) gathering some of the most representative architects teaching at the Porto School of Architecture and Portuguese delegates to the CIAM, including Viana de Lima, Arménio Losa, Agostinho Ricca, Mário Bonito, Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, Fernando Távora and José Carlos Loureiro. For a more comprehensive overview of ICAT and ODAM, see Ana Tostões, Os Verdes Anos na Arquitectura Portuguesa dos Anos 50 (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1997).

2. The most relevant architectural publication of the time, directed by ICAT from 1946 to 1957 (nos. 1–58).


4. Tostões, Os Verdes Anos.


7. From 1957 to 1974, Arquitectura magazine was taken over by a new generation of Portuguese architects actively committed to the critical revision of the modern movement in Portugal that included the collaboration of Nuno Portas, Carlos Duarte and Pedro Vieira de Almeida, among others.


9. Porto architect João Andresen (1920–1967) who participated in the International Calvert House Competition for the Canadian Home of Tomorrow of 1954, sponsored by McGill University’s School of Architecture and Calvert Distillers Ltd, with 661 submissions from 17 countries; and in the ‘Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial International Competition’ of 1959, launched two years before with the cooperation of the International Union of Architects (UIA), with 400 submissions from 36 countries.


11. Ibid.
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12. Ibid.
14. Geimaerdt, 'Amsterdam Town Hall Competition'.
17. Esteves, Interview with Max Risselada.
19. Geimaerdt, 'Amsterdam Town Hall Competition'.
20. Van Toorn, Stadhuis – prijsvraag Amsterdam.
22. Ibid.
27. Ibid.

30. Geimaardt, 'Amsterdam Town Hall Competition'.
31. Van Toorn, Stadhuis – prijsvraag Amsterdam.
33. Ibid.
34. Carlo Aymonino, O Significado das Cidades (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1984 [1975]), 142, free translation by the authors.
35. Ibid.
37. It is worth mentioning a small note by the editors at the beginning of the section: ‘Some Portuguese architects have been competing in recent international competitions. That is the case for the arrangement of two public squares in the United States, in Pittsburgh [Allegheny Public Square, Luiz Cunha and Carvalho Dias, 1963–64] and San Francisco [Civic Center Plaza, Carlos Duarte with the sculptor António Alfredo, 1964–65], and the touristic ensemble Euro-Kursaal in San Sebastian [António Aurélio, 1964–65]. In the following pages we present the works by the Portuguese teams (the few that we have heard from)’. ‘Concursos Internacionais’, Arquitectura, 88 (May–June 1965): 104–12, free translation by the authors.
39. Ibid.
42. Luís Fernandes Pinto, Design Brief Explanation, Stadhuis-Prijsvraag Amsterdam (Rotterdam, Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/PRAS, 110, 1967).
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
56. Aymonino, O Significado das Cidades, 155, translation: authors.
57. Ibid.
58. Either in its collective expression, or at the level of each individual professional path. The single known published reference to the Portuguese participation in the Amsterdam Town Hall Competition is made in the Jornal Arquitectos magazine article ‘De dentro para fora na década de 50’ (From the inside out in the 50s) by Michel Toussaint, of 2003, which refers exclusively to the participation of Conceição Silva (1922–1982) and Raul Hestnes Ferreira (1931–2018), based on information taken from the respective monographs of 1987 (SNBA/AAP) and 2003 (Edições ASA). Of the remaining Portuguese participants, only Manuel
Biography

Bruno Gil is an architect, researcher at the Centre for Social Studies and guest Assistant Professor at the Department of Architecture at the University of Coimbra. His doctoral thesis presents a cultural approach to architectural research, aiming at both site-specific peculiarities and knowledge transfer networks. His writing appears in *arq: Architectural Research Quarterly*, *Docomomo Journal*, *Writingplace Journal* and *Joelho*.

Susana Lobo is Assistant Professor at the Department of Architecture at the University of Coimbra, researcher at CITUA-IST/UL and associate researcher at CES-UC. She has authored the book *Pousadas de Portugal* (Coimbra University Press, 2007) and the exhibition catalogue *Risco Interior* (Anozero/Edições Almedina, 2015). She was guest editor of *Docomomo Journal 60: 'Architectures of the Sun'* (2019) and has contributed to a number of architectural periodicals. Her research focuses on Portuguese Architecture, Urbanism and Design of the twentieth century, with expertise on tourism and leisure infrastructures.

José Ribau Esteves is an architect, graduated from the University of Coimbra in 2018. Academic work led him to the investigation of the Portuguese participation in Amsterdam’s Town Hall Competition. His master thesis focuses on the competition entries and their meaning in a critical and historical perspective. He currently collaborates with Eduardo Souto de Moura in Porto, Portugal.

Tainha (1922–2012) and Bartolomeu Costa Cabral (born 1929) also have individual publications on their work, in 2002 (Edições ASA) and 2016 (Circo de Ideias), although in none of them is there any mention of the Amsterdam international competition. There are no significant publications on Luís Fernandes Pinto (1930–2016), despite their relevant and comprehensive contributions to the criticism and teaching of architecture in Portugal, José Pulido Valente (1936), Pedro Vieira de Almeida (1933–2011) and Victor Consiglieri (1928–2019).

59. Esteves, interview with José Pulido Valente.