

MEMÓRIA E POLÍTICAS URBANAS DO RIO DE JANEIRO (ANOS 1960 E 1970) MEMORY AND URBAN POLICIES IN RIO DE JANEIRO (1960S AND 1970S) FLÁVIA DO NASCIMENTO

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Abstract

The discussion regarding the appreciation of the downtown area of Rio de Janeiro as urban environmental heritage gained momentum in the 1970's, motivated by the tension caused by successive losses of significant and culturally valuable landmarks, and by the change in the conceptual canons of preservation as well as actions by preservation agencies at the federal and municipal levels. As part of the debate proposed by the Dossier The Construction of Memory in VIRUS Magazine, this article aims to understand the trajectory of social mobilizations around urban memory in the old capital of the country after the creation of the new capital, Brasília. We are interested in exploring how the pre-existing urban sites of Old Rio were transformed from obstacles – in the initial moments after the change of the capital – into representations of identity value, leading to innovative policies for the appreciation of memory. The article addresses how the city's master plans and urban transformation projects were intermingled with a sense of loss and the social construction of a past identity in the city after the capital moved to Brasília. We discuss how, in the mid-1970's, the Basic Urban Plan – also called PUB-Rio – enabled the protagonism of urban preexistence and memory, making urban preservation policies in Rio de Janeiro possible. Thereafter, the relations between past and future in urban management practices emerged. This article discusses the uses of the past in the city of Rio de Janeiro involving urban projects and cultural heritage actions in the 1960's and 1970's.

Keywords: Rio de Janeiro, Urban memory, Urban heritage, Pre-existence

1 Introduction

The difficulty of conceiving a role for the city of Rio de Janeiro in the new national context after the capital's move to Brasília had been discussed since the end of the 1950's. According to Marly Motta (2000, p.13), the political moment encompassing the newly created Guanabara State until its incorporation to Rio de Janeiro State was highly volatile. In this paper we will address how the charged political atmosphere of the period involved disputes regarding the urban memory of Rio de Janeiro. The construction of memory, a theme of the VIRUS magazine Dossier, developed slowly in Rio de Janeiro post-Brasília and was characterized by many symbolic conflicts.

In the beginning of the 1960's, Rio was treated as the capital of the future, whose natural beauty would be enhanced by Carlos Lacerda's wide-ranging modernization program that – albeit ambiguously – took many actions aimed at the construction of the city's memory, such as the foundation of the Museum of Image and Sound (with an audiovisual archive of the city), the creation of the Historical and Artistic Heritage Division of Guanabara and the numerous celebrations of the city's

Quadracentennial in 1964. After the 1970's, the unease with the discourse of modernization, motivated, among other factors, by the loss of architectural landmarks, led to preservation policies for the city driven by the urban memory.

We refer to memory as a social construction, mobilized by social actors around the idealization of Rio Antigo (Old Rio) in the 1960's, and later, in the 70's, as an urban right to memory underscored by the policies of the Cultural Corridor. To understand the trajectory of this idea of preservation linked to the protection of memory, we will address Rio's urban policies from the Lacerda Administration to the Basic Urbanistic Plan of 1977, which led the way for preservation policies.

Carlos Lacerda's administration, the first elected governor following a difficult race with the competing candidate Sérgio Magalhães, had pledged to ensure the role of the city – now a State – in the political life of the nation. The governor's political and administrative strategy was to organize the apparatus inherited from the Federal District giving it the flair of a State, which Lacerda called the "statification" of Guanabara. The nickname of Belacap (short for Beautiful Capital), as a counterpoint to Novacap (short for New Capital) coined for Brasília, was created to forge identity and self-esteem.

The physical attributes of Belacap, besides its natural beauty, would be guaranteed by Lacerda's extensive construction plans. The modernization of the city's infrastructure, among other things, went from ensuring the water supply (with the construction of the Guandu Pipeline), to the much questioned social housing program that had replaced the project implemented in the 1950's by Carmen Portinho from the Department of Affordable Housing (DHP). Headed by Sandra Cavalcanti, starting in 1962, the program removed numerous slums from Rio's South Zone and transferred the population to housing projects comprised of single-family homes in areas distant from the downtown. The school construction program was also one of the government's centerpieces. Almost 200 schools were built during this period – many of them designed by Francisco Bolonha, formerly of DHP and an important architect belonging to the second generation of Modernists known as the Carioca School (Nascimento, 2008).

The 1960's arrived with the state government's discourse of renewal and its practice of replacements and demolitions. Renewing the city was part of the strategy for its appreciation. In the beginning of the 60's, newspapers headlined the demolitions of the Praça XV Market, the Lloyd Building, the remains of Castelo Hill – all considered as urban blots. Some Central Avenue buildings were also torn down. Cleansing the city was a social and urban theme. (Tribuna da Imprensa, 1958/01/14, 1958/03/14).

Urbanism was, in effect, one of the great undertakings of the Lacerda Administration. The idea of Rio de Janeiro as an ungovernable city had taken root since the end of the 1950's, before the transfer of the capital. The sensation had been one of collapse. The urbanistic projects were prioritized within the context of creating a positive image for Belacap, and consumed a significant part of the State's revenues. Many of these projects, such as Flamengo Park and the Rebouças tunnel, had already been developed or discussed by the City Hall in the 1950's, and were implemented with some changes by the new administration. Organizing traffic by eliminating trams and opening new bus lines, creating and expanding avenues throughout the city, building new tunnels, establishing new recreational areas – these were some of the targeted actions that became paradigms of the modern and up-to-date image of Rio (Perez, 2005, pp.72, 197-201).

In general, the urban intervention projects conducted in the years of the Lacerda government followed the model established since 1910, which involved developing targeted projects known as Alignment and Allotment Projects. These were done internally by City Hall, usually involving technical experts from the Transportation and Public Works or Urbanism sectors in order to effect urban changes in designated areas. The projects were approved by the City Hall and received numbers. The main proposals for urban transformation in the downtown area, such as Rio Branco and Diagonal Sul Avenues, the Perimetral Overpass and Presidente Vargas Avenue, for example, were undertaken as Approved Alignment Projects (PAA) or Approved Allotment Projects (PAL).

However, the need for a global urban planning emerged at the end of the Lacerda administration when the decision was made to enact a Master Plan for the city. The global plan that guided Rio until the 2000's would be a gift to the city and a legacy of Lacerda's period, helping to pave the way for his candidacy to the Presidency of Brazil. In order to elaborate the Master Plan, the Doxiadis Consulting firm, headquartered in Athens, Greece, was hired in 1964 to work with the assistance of the Cedug – or Executive Commission for the Urban Development of Guanabara, headed by the architect and urbanist Hélio Modesto, with several technical experts from Rio de Janeiro to help in collecting data.

The Greek architect Constantinos Doxiadis had been an international urban planning consultant since the 1940's, responsible for plans in numerous cities around the world. As Vera Rezende explains, Doxiadis' theory was organized around the concept of *ekistics*, which in simple terms means the science of human settlements by means of community networks. Humans should live in equilibrium with their habitat by observing their relation to nature, societies, structures and networks. The city wouldn't simply expand, but grow within the landscape in a dynamic way, bringing to the expanded areas the necessary elements for human life (Rezende, 2015; Mello, 2012).

With regard to the downtown area, our interest here is the Doxiadis Plan, officially named the "Long-Term Urban Development Plan for the State of Guanabara", which addressed the need for decentralization through the organization of community networks. This had been an emphasis of the Lacerda administration, with the creation of administrative areas and industrial zones in the West region as well as the transfer of slum populations to housing blocks away from downtown.

The objective was to decrease the concentration of housing and labor in the more upscale areas of town and relocate new services and functions to where was still a rural area of the city, according to 1937 zoning (Perez, 2005, pp.201-203). The plan highlighted the need for the city to organize itself in independent communities – self-sufficient and balanced among themselves, connected by expressways intersected by green areas. However, the downtown area would retain its centrality in the metropolitan region, with its role as the region's gravitational core. In other words, the proposal was not to minimize the importance of the downtown area, but to render the rest of the city more balanced in relation to it (Mello, 2012, pp.43-55).

The value of land and the role of commerce had already been understood by Lacerda, when, at the beginning of his tenure, he had been pressured by downtown businessmen fearing the impact of the Diagonal North-South Avenue on their businesses. Organized around the SAARA – or Society of the Friends of Alfândega Street's Adjacent Areas - these businessmen managed to revoke the 1963 urban plan and guarantee that the traditional commercial zone remained permanent. The allegation that the zone was among the most profitable in the city ended up convincing the governor to revoke the project and maintain commercial activities (Mello, 2012, pp.43-55).

The SAARA episode, which in a way guaranteed the permanence of important remnants of traditional Rio de Janeiro, shows how - in the beginning of the 1960's- the pretension of modernity exemplified by the public works and urban transformation undertaken by Lacerda were linked *pari i passu* to the perception of loss. In fact, in February, 1961, the Samba School Estação Primeira de Mangueira was champion of the Carioca Carnival with the Samba theme "Recollections of Old Rio". The lyrics highlighted Rio de Janeiro as a "traditional city", celebrating the characteristics which were now gone, such as the Castelo Church, the gas lamps, the serestas and the general splendor, as well. As the lyrics go:

*Rio cidade tradicional
Teu panorama é deslumbrante
É uma tela divinal
Rio de janeiro
Da Igreja do castelo
Das serestas ao luar
Que cenário tão singelo
Mucamas sinhás moças e liteiras
Velhos lampiões de gás
Relíquias do rio antigo
Do rio antigo
Que não volta mais.¹*

The sense that changes were underway is expressed in the concept of the city "that will return no more", that has been transformed. There was a celebration of the Rio of the past, that had disappeared a long time ago or was being torn down in full view, unable to be part of the aspirations for the new State of the federation. The discourse of the future was predominant. The past, celebrated through the key idea of nostalgia as expressed in the song's lyrics, represented the symbolic loss of the city's memory. This sensation of loss would endure for several years, and would be felt in the projects for downtown of the 1970's. It is worth questioning whether there had been any plan or interest in preserving the city, especially its more traditional area, its downtown. Would there be a place for heritage preservation policies or any feeling of loss in such an intense transformation process?

2 Iphan, Uses of the Past, and the Transformation of Rio de Janeiro's Downtown Area during the 1960s

Preservationists and protagonists of national heritage have always directed their attention towards the city of Rio de Janeiro, so much so that, even after the capital moved to Brasília, the federal preservation agency, Sphan - or Service for the Protection of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage - remained in Rio, headquartered at the Gustavo Capanema Palace. Nonetheless, the downtown area had sparked little interest as an urban setting needing protection. Although Iphan, since the beginning, had carried out several legal protective actions for heritage buildings in the downtown area of Rio de Janeiro, these involved mainly isolated buildings representative of the colonial period.

Dispersed in the urban fabric of the city center, the buildings were far from configuring what could be called an urban setting. As early as 1938, a year after the creation of Iphan, several "historical and artistic monuments" were listed for protection. Churches predominated in the lists of 50 protected heritage sites between 1938 and 1940. But there were also historical gardens, such as the Passeio Público and Valongo Gardens, fountains, and civil architecture buildings like the Old Customs House, the Itamaraty Palace, the former National Mint, and the Arco do Teles complex. In the 1950s, some other cultural assets were added to the list. Among the greatest novelties were the Gustavo Capanema Palace and the Seaplane Station, protected as monuments of national modern architecture (Nascimento, 2013).

The management of national heritage, with regards to Rio de Janeiro, was subjected to Iphan's general guidelines during the period, and listings were created in an isolated manner, favoring aspects of monumentality and exceptionality, and avoiding large urban centers for concern that legal protection could interfere in economic development and hinder the city's growth. Homogeneous cities (small, isolated, and far from the big centers) were listed, being understood as artistic objects closed within themselves (Sant'Anna, 2004). Despite its significant historical and artistic collection of sites, Rio de Janeiro had only specific and isolated buildings that were state-protected, a situation that was very distinct from the notion of an urban complex.

Since the 1930s, Rio de Janeiro's downtown area went through a verticalization process, and, if not for the preserved urban spots, it would have been significantly altered. The decree-law 25/37 ensured the preservation of selected monuments, while the remaining landscape continued changing dramatically. During the 1960s, Iphan was consistently under pressure to preserve Rio de Janeiro's downtown due to rapid urbanization and the need for new practices and attitudes regarding cultural heritage in Brazil. In Rio, verticalization took place in specific areas. Already in the 1950s, the Rio Branco Avenue was fully verticalized. The new aspect of the preservation movement involved the pressure to preserve the oldest remaining portion of the colonial center: Praça 15 de Novembro Square, the former Largo do Paço and power center of the Imperial period (Colchete Filho, 2008; Sisson, 2008). What happened at this location helps to understand the impasses regarding the city's urban renewal and its relation to preservation.

The main buildings of the Praça 15 Square were protected by Iphan in 1938. These included the Arco do Teles complex, the Imperial Palace, the Fountain by Master Valentim, and churches in the surrounding areas (Church of the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Church of Our Lady of Lapa of Merchants, Church of Santa Cruz of the Military, Church of the First Order of Our Lady of Carmel). The pressures of verticalization and new real estate on the Praça 15 square dated back to the 1930s. At that time, before being listed by Iphan, the square already had tall buildings. The construction of the Perímetro Avenue, breaking the area's historic connection to the ocean, however, was the hardest blow. Iphan, aware of the construction of the overpass, made an effort to save other sites in the region that would be affected by the viaduct, such as the newly built Seaplane Station. Out of concern for keeping the Station in place, Iphan contributed to changing the design of the viaduct so as not to affect the building. As for the square itself, the historical place where the city began (in the absence of Castle Hill), little was altered and the viaduct was built, severely impacting the area's urban environment.

The limited importance attributed to the square in the 1950s was not strictly a problem of heritage. The Rio Municipality had developed plans for the area's transformation through the 1930s, 40s, and 50s aimed at systematic modification. The first urban project for Praça 15 square dates back to 1938 (the year of the first listing by Sphan), already proposing changes (PAA 2949). The remaining colonial architectural core (around Travessa and Ouvidor Streets) would be completely demolished, giving way to new, larger lots for future high-rise buildings. This project was not carried out and in 1947 a new project was developed (Partial modification of PAA No. 2949).

It takes into consideration the tensions between preservation and renewal that marked urban policies in Rio de Janeiro's downtown in the second half of the twentieth century. The cultural assets listed by Iphan would be saved as small testimonial sites among high-rises of up to 30 floors made possible by the regrouping of colonial lots. The urban design of 1947 maintained only the listed churches. The lots facing the Primeiro de Março and Market Streets would be arranged in groups of three to make way for the new, tall buildings. The small buildings of the *Travessa do Comércio* would be demolished, enabling the construction of a square behind the lots. The region that marked the most important urban formation of the city, of central historical value in the nineteenth century, would therefore be entirely modified².

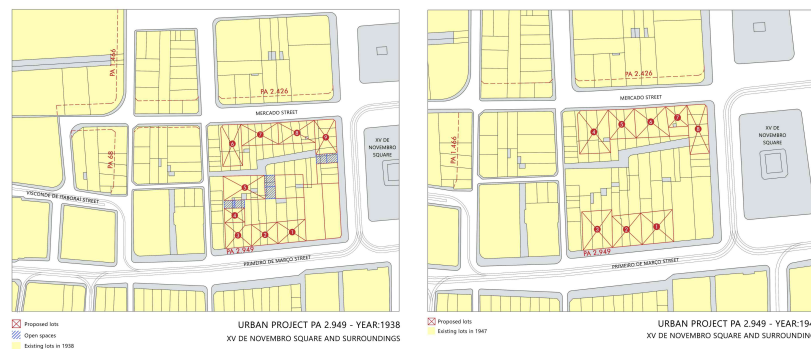


Fig. 1: Approved Alignment Project n. 2949 from 1938 and partial modification plan of 1947 for the *Travessa do Comércio*, Downtown Rio de Janeiro. Source: Rio de Janeiro Municipal Department of Urbanism. Redesigned in 2016.

The changes, however, were not feasible for reasons we can only assume, such as the cost and difficulty of negotiating the lots or demolishing the old houses. But real estate pressure continued. In 1961 the Arco do Teles building, although spared from demolition, went through major intervention. The interest of the owner, Raymundo de Castro Maia, an important industrialist and art collector, required a solution that would guarantee him greater "use" of the property, based on the Alignment Project of 1947. As a result, trading equity had once again entered the picture. The solution was to maintain the old building and build a glazed building over it, although the final result would have been substantially different. Part of the roof would be maintained and the new building would emerge behind the old one. The architect for the project was Francisco Bologna, of Rio's Modernist Movement, who had also designed Lacerda's management schools³.

The wave of verticalization reached other buildings neighboring this set. Also in the early 1960's, the Carmo Convent, which had served as a residence for the Imperial Family, was sold to Banco do Brasil for the construction of its new headquarters and was to be demolished. Iphan received a request to protect the Convent on the grounds that there were still traces of the eighteenth century in the building. Iphan had not listed the Convent along with the other buildings in the square in 1938, and justified its decision based on the building's disfigurement caused by the construction works of the 1920s that gave it eclectic features. The legal protection of the building was effected on the condition that the owner, Banco do Brasil, could build a new building at the back of the lot. A few years later, the bank gave up the business and sold the building to a university, which maintained its intention for new construction. This building, Cândido Mendes tower, emerged in the mid-1970s, when the themes of vertical growth and downtown demolition were trending significantly⁴.

Curiously, in September 1965, a few blocks from Praça XV square, Governor Carlos Lacerda inaugurated the Museum of Image and Sound in the old building that was part of Brazil's Centennial Exhibition of 1922. The Museum was designed with a modern center for memory of Carioca history and culture. It was a celebration of Rio history, with a pioneering iconographic and phonographic collection. Gathered in the Museum were the images of City Hall's photographer, Malta, as well as recordings and testimonials on the history of music in the city, organized in a very bold exhibition (Mesquita, 2010). Although the main thrust of Carlos Lacerda's administration had been the transformation of the city, the so-called "overcoming of its backwardness" with emphasis on modernity, his government took significant steps that revealed sensitivity to Rio de Janeiro's history and the social construction of the city's memory. The idea of modernity was the key point of Lacerda's administration, but the creation of the Museum of Image and Sound, the Museum of the First Reign and, above all, the celebrations of the Quadricentennial of the City of Rio de Janeiro emphasized the degree to which celebrating the Carioca and his/her city was the trend.

The creation of the Guanabara Historical and Artistic Heritage Division (DPHA), in 1963, was very significant in this process of building the Carioca identity through its history. The Division was founded with the aim of protecting cultural assets of the State. It existed until a merger in 1974 replaced it with the Inepac - State Institute of Cultural Heritage. The first act of protection undertaken by the DPHA downtown underscores the care with the remains of the city that "will return no more". The Ladeira da Misericórdia hill, next to Praça XV square, was registered in 1965, remaining as a testament to future generations, it seems, not because of what it had actually been, but as a representation of the Rio that had disappeared.

The protection of the building was justified by the fact that it was the "only remnant left of the city erected by Mem de Sa, in 1567 on Castle Hill." The protection represented the "preservation of an important documentary element, for reference to the location of the original site of the city"⁵. The results downtown regarding preservation were still perfunctory, and acts of protection were designated according to documentary proof of historical narratives. In this case, there was an ongoing dispute about the date of foundation of the city and to whom the honor of the foundation would be bestowed. During the preparations for the celebrations of the Quadricentennial, the foundation date had been discussed at length and established. The year was 1565, and the martyr, Estácio de Sá, had expelled the French (Turazzi, 2014). Protecting the Ladeira da Misericórdia hill as a symbol of the city of Mem de Sá was a position taken by the historian Marcello de Ipanema, the first Director General of the Division of Historic and Artistic Heritage of Guanabara.

The other act of protection by DPHA in 1965, downtown, involved real estate disputes in the area, as would continuously be the case thereafter. The act related to the Automobile Club of Brazil, located on Passos Avenue, in front of the Public Drive. Its preservation took place amid the real estate and urban design disputes for the downtown. The request for preservation came through the Secretary of State for Education and Culture, Carlos Flexa Ribeiro, due to the threat of demolition to make way for the construction of a new commercial building. The Automobile Club did not consent to the protection and requested its impugnation, claiming damages, since the deal with the construction company had already been consolidated. The protection process continued, and the "architectonic site highly representative of the neoclassical style and closely linked to the cultural life of Guanabara" remained for future generations⁶. The historical and artistic heritage would become - as of this moment and in the following decades of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's - more and more intertwined with the attempt to reveal the urban history of the city. Saving a building would be like salvaging something from the history of Rio. We can observe that this sensitivity to the past existed in the 1960s, but was limited to the field of history and its uses of the past, still far removed from the policies of urban preservation. Legal protections were perfunctory and protection policies were drops in the ocean. The actions remained limited to the heritage of the monument, associated with the Iphan memory frame in which selective practices encompassed the colonial, monumental and exceptional. It would be necessary to wait for the 1978 Master Plan that would enable municipal legislation to open the way to safeguard what remained of Rio de Janeiro's historical remnants in their heterogeneity, as a testament to their own historical processes.

3 Urban Planning Meets Cultural Heritage in the Downtown Area

In the 1970s, demolition pressures on Rio de Janeiro's downtown continued significantly. Urban real estate in the downtown area was still massive even with so many losses, and historical clashes over the permanence of the materiality of the past were very forceful. The Rio Branco Avenue, symbol of modernization in the early years of the twentieth century, was slowly being demolished. Large office towers replacing the eclectic buildings of the Pereira Passos era were being erected with the authorization of Iphan, not without opinions and heated controversy involving renowned proponents of national heritage such as Lucio Costa and Paulo Santos (Guimaraens, 2002; Pessoa, 1999).

The greatest dispute about the materiality of the buildings in Rio was related to the demolition of the Monroe Palace, initially justified by the construction of the subway. As the former headquarters of the National Senate, the building had become "obsolete" when the capital moved to Brasília. In March of 1976, the Monroe Palace was torn down after intense debates in the media, as shown by Fernando Atique (2017).

These urban transformations would have social repercussions, shedding light on the relationship between the military dictatorship, urban space, and works of urban infrastructure, such as the subway, which had great impact on Rio's downtown. The theme of preservation as urban identity and social memory emerged in the 1970s, in the face of historical demolitions and transformations in the urban space that had been occurring since previous periods. The political and institutional decisions by Iphan in light of these facts, focusing on mediating the tensions and pressures between the private and public sectors, clearly did not meet society's expectations and was perceived as insufficient in preserving the city's urban memory.

It was in the 1970s and 80s that urban preservation policies were established in Rio de Janeiro as a response, in many ways, to the wave of urban renewal and demolitions of iconic buildings, mainly downtown. During the civil-military dictatorship in Brazil, great urban projects were executed throughout the country, taking advantage of the effects of the so-called "economic miracle". Works of infrastructure nationwide, like the construction of road networks, sought to "modernize" urban centers and accompany the effects of enormous population growth, changing the features of a country from rural to urban.

What little is known about the history of preservation in Brazil in those years is that - faced with the "conservative authoritarian modernization" promoted by the military regime, pressures of the real estate sector, and urban growth - national heritage technical experts tried to think and act on an urban scale, implementing numerous restoration works, developing master plans for listed cities provided by Unesco consultants, and creating and strengthening local preservation bodies.

Concepts such as urban environmental heritage were highlighted in order to justify protections to certain urban practices and ways of life, or certain architectures and urban spaces outside the colonial and modern canon. Municipalities and states began to act, responding with expressions of care and protection of their heritage, moving beyond the mere listing of sites for protection to seeking instruments of urban planning. This was the case of Rio de Janeiro, where urban planning gained traction,

providing technical support for the executive to issue decrees on the preservation of downtown in the late 1970s culminating in a preservation policy adopted by the municipality (Motta, 2000).

In 1974, Rio de Janeiro went through a new political and administrative transformation with the merger of the states of Guanabara and Rio de Janeiro, which provoked extensive political debate regarding the city itself. The decision by the President of the Republic - although abrupt - was supported by groups that had defended this act since the 1950s. For others, the merger was perceived as a blow to political autonomy (Ferreira; Grynspar, 2000). It resulted in the need for a new administrative configuration, with important consequences for urban planning. The new municipality needed to draw up a Master Plan to organize the city's territory. In July 1975, Decree-Law no. 168 created the Municipal System of Planning and General Coordination with the directive of developing the Basic Urban Plan of the City of Rio de Janeiro within two years.

After a review of several urban plans submitted by foreign consultants (Agache and Doxiadis Master Plans), this was the plan implemented by City Hall's technical experts. This fact is celebrated by Mayor Marcos Tamoyo in his presentation of the Master Plan:

The Municipal Planning Department, made up of professionals at the highest level, experienced and knowledgeable of Rio's problems, was appointed by me directly to develop this Plan. Without any feeling of xenophobia, and also because the skills we have today are the result of so much we have learned from the Agache and Doxiadis Plans, I cannot fail to point out that the present work was conducted by Brazilian technical experts (Tamoyo, 1977, p. V, our translation)

The Basic Urban Plan known as PUB-Rio began in 1976 and was concluded in 1977. According to the testimony of Armando Mendes, urban planner of the municipality and one of the coordinators of the Plan, it was prepared in record time. There was no planning prior to its preparation, so the studies and proposals were organized based on the work and experience of the technical experts in dealing with the city⁷. Promulgated by decree-law of the mayor in 1977, it set up the guidelines for the city's urban planning and pointed to the need to conduct specific studies, which were called Projects of Urban Structuring - or PEUs in the Portuguese acronym.

The plan turned out to be very important for the preservation of the city. It was a turning point in the relation between heritage and planning when, finally, an instrument had been created for the preservation of Rio de Janeiro's downtown. Until that moment, in the history of preservation in Brazil, architects in Iphan's sphere of knowledge were in charge of implementing selective practices. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, the consequences were serious, as we have seen, because the general conduct of the institution was to avoid conflicts and controversies in urban areas of large cities.

An approach to the downtown area of Rio de Janeiro, named the Central and Business Area, was intrinsically connected - and it couldn't be different - to the global view of the municipality and its problems. Rio de Janeiro's development hypothesis was based on the understanding (obtained from extensive and detailed studies) that negative aspects should be corrected, among others:

[...] the decrease in the quality of life and of the urban environment in the city of Rio de Janeiro, due to constant reuse, with increasing intensity, of land located in the best areas, regarding services, equipment, and scenery, sacrificing natural beauty, forest reserves, historical and architectural monuments, and traditional urban environments (Prefeitura, 1977, p. 230, our translation).

We can note here the interest and the loss not only of monuments, but of traditional urban environments. The concept of heritage started to be understood beyond exceptionality: encompassing the urban context. It was an important broadening of the conceptual understanding. According to the plan, the downtown area was characterized by excessive concentration of real estate businesses and land speculation for its urban, commercial, and metropolitan transport infrastructures. The map of land rent left no doubt that, in the context of the city, the downtown area real estate value was high. The development hypothesis was elaborated through planning propositions for each area of the city. For downtown, the guideline was to rationalize growth within the limits of the area, to study the relocation of parking areas, and re-study residential use in peripheral areas, among others. Some of these guidelines enabled the permanence of the so-called traditional urban environments in an effective way in the following years. Namely:

*- Provide conditions for the strengthening of financial, cultural, recreational, and administrative activities as well as specialized services, by means of establishing buildings intensities.
- Optimize the existing equipment to strengthen its role as financial and cultural center.
- Preserve certain urban environments of cultural, architectural, and landscape value (Prefeitura, 1977, p. 245, our translation).*

It was explained that preserving environments of cultural and landscape value was a task for Rio de Janeiro's urban planning, understood within the scale of the city, and not focused on building for aesthetic-stylistic value. In regard of preservation, Area 1 (Port, Downtown, Rio Comprido and São Cristóvão neighborhoods) would have areas listed for environmental preservation due to their cultural and historical characteristics impacting the community, also a conceptual novelty. In addition to downtown, Area 2 (Botafogo, Copacabana, Lagoa, Tijuca, and Vila Isabel) was referred for landscape preservation, Area 5, for its natural areas preservation (Bangu, Campo Grande, and Santa Cruz), and Area 6, for environmental and landscape preservation (Ilha do Governador, Paquetá, and Santa Teresa) (Prefeitura, 1977, pp. 244-246, our translation) It is therefore clear that among the planning propositions, environmental and landscape preservation was highlighted.

The expansion of the field of cultural heritage that occurred in the 1960s and more effectively in the 1970s and 80s has put urban heritage on the agenda of public policies. The creation of new discourses, away from the commitment and representation of national unity through buildings and towards organization in favor of other protagonists and their materializations, was profuse, going from cultural diversity and environmental heritage to communities. It was within the framework of multiple transformations of content and forms of operating that urban issues became central. When appreciating the common architecture, the everyday architecture, the simple architecture, ways of living were consequently being appreciated and quality of life was being advocated.

The concept of heritage in this period was gradually detached from its national symbolic value and started to support the struggle for a less densely-populated urban environment. The concerns were over keeping the urban scale and the atmosphere. It opened the possibility of appreciating urban sites as documents, that is, by virtue of what they represent as remnants of the process of territorial occupation. There was a break with the strictly visual, façade-focused, or stylistic outlook. What mattered were the meanings contained in the forms of the city's materiality, built by the communities that inhabited it. There was a move away from listing isolated buildings towards a more comprehensive form of action, approaching the urban planning, as was the case in Rio de Janeiro.

The 1977 PUB-Rio was a key component in this process, capable of exemplifying how the expansion of preservation concepts occurred in those years.

The 1977 master plan with its interest in preserving downtown, the continued real estate pressure in the region, and the political interest in limiting land speculation in certain areas paved the way for a new phase in Rio de Janeiro's downtown. In 1978, three municipal decrees limited the verticalization of the area and protected several places successively: Providência Hills and Conceição region, Cinelândia, Carioca Street, and finally, Praça XV square⁸. The preservation decrees valued multiple aspects of the city's characteristics: environmental preservation, maintenance of traditional commerce, cultural uses and architecture - all duly based on concepts introduced in the master plan.

In the case of Praça XV square, as previously discussed, the real estate pressures in late 1970s only increased, and some of the two-story row houses began to catch fire. Alarmed by the possibility of losing the whole Square complex - not yet completely protected by law - Iphan began a study on the surroundings of the listed churches. According to Lia Motta⁹, author of Iphan's first study conducted in the region of Praça XV square, it was at this moment of great real estate pressure that employees of the federal institute urged their president, Aluísio Magalhães, to contact Mayor Israel Klabin; the Mayor then sanctioned the decree of legal protection legitimized by the 1977 Master Plan, which banned the construction of tall buildings in the area. The two-story row houses on the Travessa do Comércio, in Praça XV square, were completely protected as of that moment, and no building could be demolished, and nothing higher than four meters be constructed, in respect for the environment of the two-story row houses.

The succession of decrees concerning environmental protection of the downtown area would end in 1979, but for good reason for the preservationists. Mayor Israel Klabin created a system of municipal administration through Technical Chambers that would deal with latent issues of interest to the municipality. During this process, the Technical Chamber of the Cultural Corridor was created within the framework of the City Plan Commission (COPLAN), with the goal of

[...] developing and presenting studies on the potential of cultural activities in the area called "Cultural Corridor", established by Decree 2216 of 7.20.1979, providing subsidies for the formulation of specific projects aimed at the historical, environmental, and cultural preservation of the area and the maintenance of its traditions, proposing events, new activities and administrative measures that allow the revitalization of the Center of the City in the context of the cultural life of the Municipality¹⁰ (our translation).

From then on the Cultural Corridor project consolidated the legal protection of a large area in Rio de Janeiro's downtown. The project was innovative in many respects and triggered new protection practices for the constructed environment, with numerous developments during the re-democratization period and throughout the 1980s. The undertaking of diverse cultural events in public spaces and the creation of cultural and arts centers were some of the important initiatives and work fronts, since these activities were the focus of cultural heritage during those years in different parts of the world. There were also actions aimed at the appreciation of the public space, renovating squares and broad areas of downtown. The creation of subsidies and tax exemption for the renovation of private properties would be one of the most far-reaching actions with significant effects over the years. Through the daily work conducted by the technical office of the Cultural Corridor Project together with the property owners in the SAARA region, reforms were carried out to gradually remove signs, billboards, posters and other interferences obstructing the façades, thus uplifting the nineteenth century typologies.

Regarding the municipal public administration, the 1970s witnessed the action of a new generation of urbanists from Rio de Janeiro involved in urban projects for the city within the framework of public institutions. Their motto was preservation, making it viable means of urban instruments. Social demand was taken into consideration, involving much more than the legal protection of property, but as a plan of action for the appreciation of buildings as an urban set that includes historical formation, social processes, and present occupation. An awareness of a "past" Rio de Janeiro in face of the modernized new areas underscored the theme for the city. Preservation projects for the constructed heritage were made feasible when nostalgia over loss was experienced as a shared feeling. And these projects will shape the future characteristics of Rio de Janeiro.

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1 Samba theme "Recollections of Old Rio", 1961. Composition: Hélio Turco, Pelado and Cícero. Rio Traditional City, Your Landscape is Breathtaking, Your Canvas is Divine, Rio de Janeiro, Of Castelo Church, of Moonlight Serestas, Such a Simple Scene, Mucamas, Sinhás, Ladies, and Litters, Old Gas Lamps, Relics of Old Rio, Old Rio, that will return no more...

2 Approved Alignment Project n. 2949 of 1938; Partial Modification of PAA n. 2949 in 1947. Rio de Janeiro Municipal Department of Urbanism.

3 Iphan, Process n. 0099-T-38 Arco do Teles and houses n. 32 e 34. Inventory Series and Works Series. Iphan's Central Archive in Rio de Janeiro.

4 Iphan, Process n. 0689-T-62, Old Carmo Convent. Iphan's Central Archive in Rio de Janeiro.

5 DPHA, Process n. 03/300 447/65, Protection of Ladeira da Misericórdia, in Largo da Misericórdia, II RA. Archive of the Research and Documentation Department of Inepac.

6 DPHA, Process n. E-03/001.979/65, Listing of Automóvel Club do Brasil. Archive of the Research and Documentation Department of Inepac.

7 Armando Mendes, interview given in 9.12.2015.

8 Decree n. 1707 of 7.17.1978 (Carioca Street); Decree n. 2216 of 6.20.1979 (Commerce Alley); Decree n. 1768 and n. 1769 of 9.15.1978 (Cinelândia).

9 Lia Motta, interview in 9.26.2015.

10 Resolution n.195 of 9.28.1979 from the Municipal Planning Department and General Coordination.