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THE ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES
OF SALVADOR'S CLUBS DURING
THE 20TH CENTURY

ABSTRACT

This article deals with specific types of architecture for recreation prevalent in Salvador in the 20th century: that of the clubs. It aims to present and assess their uses, characteristics and architectural features, as well as to reveal their current circumstances, understanding that this is an introductory text. To address this issue, we resorted to intentional clues and unintentional traces. Intentional clues are those left in documents in a clear and repeated manner, with the intention of making lasting accounts of events, for indefinite repetition and with a tendency to recount the same stories. Unintentional traces are those left within documents in a discreet and disperse manner, without the intention of enabling a particular history to take shape or endure. It is also possible for intentional clues to transform into unintentional traces. Although the clubs play an important role in the daily life of local citizens and the city, their current precarious circumstances demonstrate the difficulty of maintaining both their physical structures and their memories.

KEYWORDS

Architecture. Clubs. History. Memory.

ASPECTOS ARQUITECTÓNICOS DE LOS CLUBES DE SALVADOR EN EL SIGLO XX

ASPECTOS ARQUITETÔNICOS DOS CLUBES DE SALVADOR DURANTE O SÉCULO XX

RESUMEN

El artículo trata de un tipo específico de arquitectura de recreación, que se propaga en Salvador durante el siglo XX: la de los clubes. Se pretende presentar y valorar sus usos, características y aspectos arquitectónicos, además de señalar sus actuales circunstancias, aunque consciente de que se trata tan solo de un texto introductorio. Para tratar del tema, se recurre a la utilización de las pistas voluntarias y de los rastros involuntarios. Las pistas voluntarias son aquellas que se dejan en los documentos de una forma clara y repetida, con la intención de que perduren e indiquen determinados relatos de los hechos que deben repetirse indefinidamente, con tendencia a apuntar siempre las mismas historias. Los rastros involuntarios son aquellos que se presentan en los documentos de un modo discreto y disperso, sin la intención de perdurar o de consolidar ninguna historia. También existe la posibilidad de que las pistas voluntarias se conviertan en rastros involuntarios. Aunque los clubes tengan un importante papel en el cotidiano de los ciudadanos y en la ciudad, sus precarias circunstancias actuales demuestran la dificultad de manutención de sus estructuras físicas y de sus memorias.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Arquitectura. Clubes. Historia. Memoria.

ABSTRACT RESUMO

O artigo trata de um tipo específico de arquitetura de recreação que se difunde em Salvador durante o século XX: aquela dos clubes. Pretende-se apresentar e valorar seus usos, suas características e aspectos arquitetônicos, além de apontar suas circunstâncias atuais, tendo-se consciência de que se trata apenas de um texto introdutório. Para tratar do assunto se recorre à utilização das pistas voluntárias e dos rastros involuntários. Pistas voluntárias são aquelas deixadas nos documentos de uma forma clara e repetida, com a intenção de perdurar e indicar determinados relatos dos acontecimentos que devem ser repetidos indefinidamente, tendendo a apontar sempre as mesmas histórias. Os rastros involuntários são aqueles que se apresentam nos documentos de um modo discreto e disperso, sem a intenção de perdurar e de consolidar alguma história. Há ainda a possibilidade das pistas voluntárias se transformarem em rastros involuntários. Embora os clubes tenham um importante papel no cotidiano dos cidadãos locais e na cidade, suas precárias circunstâncias atuais demonstram a dificuldade da manutención das suas estruturas físicas e das suas memórias.

KEYWORDS PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Arquitetura. Clubes. História. Memória.

Salvador is surrounded by architectural spectres. Some of their materiality endures at certain times, although not at others. Despite nearly always existing imperfectly, certain features of Salvador's architecture continue to reveal its history.¹

This text addresses the architecture that existed in Salvador during the 20th century. The population's means of recreation changed with the changes that took place over this period, as entertainment began to be sought in theatres, cinemas, clubs, etc. Such forms of recreation require appropriate spaces, which are adapted or constructed according to their members' social status. Under these circumstances, a number of activities that were previously undertaken in an improvised manner, began to take place within these new spaces, in a more structured way. This article refers specifically to local clubs and aims to present and assess their uses, characteristics and architectural features, as well as to reveal their current circumstances, understanding that this is merely an introductory text, which will require more in-depth examination over time.

The architecture of the city's clubs is reclaimed through a recognition of intentional clues and unintentional traces.

Intentional clues are left in documents in a clear and repeated manner, with the intention of making lasting accounts of events, for indefinite repetition and with a tendency to recount the same stories. Architecture is presented as a type of document in itself, with a strong connection to intentional clues, because extensive resources are needed to carry it out and it is assumed to have a greater capacity to endure over time. This makes it an opportune environment for the transmission of contents concerning those who retain both the power and the means for its possible realization and consolidation.

Unintentional traces are those present in documents in a discreet and disperse manner, with no intention of enduring or shaping history. They are constantly ignored and a superficial reading may render them invisible. Although architecture is a different type of document, it may hold within itself the possibility of access to unintentional traces. The use of an attentive eye is required in order to reconstitute, from the recognition of such traces, those histories that tend to be forgotten.²

There remains another possibility: that of intentional clues turning into unintentional traces. This occurs when documents left with certain intentions begin to be read from the point of view of their contradistinctions, highlighting other elements that were not initially intended to appear or transmit information. These uncontrolled elements thus emerge, enabling the reader to trace other histories through the better-known ones, which are intended to be told.

From examining documents regarding the architecture of the clubs in Salvador, we intend to extract the clues and traces that enable us to access to multiple histories.

We used the following sources to address this architecture: periodicals, archive documents, interviews and the actual remnants of buildings within the city. We should note that most of these sources are partial and limited and will need to be expanded in due course. The clubs aimed at the elites are most

frequently mentioned in documents; some of these continue to exist and remain in use. Less information is available and fewer building remnants have endured for the clubs aimed at the masses, also known as popular clubs. It is therefore necessary to use available sources to access other histories, extracting the potential from their silenced elements, as suggested by the philosopher Walter Benjamin.³

We understand the present here as the time of writing, as well as a time that allows multiple connections to be made between historical times through specific relationships. The text does not therefore have a completely linear or chronological structure. We consider that this provides greater possibilities for extracting potentialities.

INTENTIONAL CLUES

In the documents that refer to the city's most elite clubs, repeated mention is made of their foundations, their acquisition of resources for construction, the actual construction of their premises and, most frequently, their inaugurations. The Salvador elite, including its politicians, gather at these times. Under these circumstances, certain features, with wide-ranging attributions, are consistently highlighted: user profile and social strata, and the clubs' architectural specificities and qualities.

We note the intention of demarcating a separate space for elite club members. These are somewhat dissonant from the claims of a club such as the Ypiranga Sports Club, which is referred to as *"the most desired, the most popular, the guild of the masses, taking the worker and the doctor into the countryside"* (MACHADO, 1956, n.p.).

The documents indicate that, alongside their separate use by distinct social classes, there is an intention to outline specific characteristics for each club. The idea of social congregation is always present, but the clubs assume different modalities.

The city clubs include those that form the **carnival blocks**⁴. More information exists about the use of such clubs by the highest classes. They have their own premises, so as to provide an appropriate space for their members. Fantoques, for example, *"receives Bahian society of all ages with a series of leisure, social and service activities, such as competitions, conferences, parties, film screenings, (...), etc."* (CLUBE, 1944, n.p.). During carnival, the operations of these clubs move into the city streets.

Some clubs are for **foreigners**.⁵ These are independent spaces within the city, aimed at bringing together those of the same nationality, such as the English, French, Italians, Spanish, Portuguese, etc. They gather in these locations in order to overcome the distance from their native land and the strangeness of the land in which they live. They also aim to create bonds between foreigners and Brazilians (LIONS, 1968, 103). They therefore establish locations in which members can meet to socialise, hold parties and official receptions, play, practice sport and read periodicals from their respective countries (SAMPAIO, 1928, p. 142-143).

Other clubs are primarily dedicated to **sport**.⁶ These appear between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century and are related to practices such as rowing, cricket, tennis, swimming, football etc. The most prominent sport is football. This is practiced in “friendly” games on informal pitches or through competitions between clubs in locations such as the Graça or Fonte Nova Stadiums. These clubs include spaces dedicated to both sport and social activities. Over time, the clubs compete to provide the best premises, facilities and athletes.

Certain other clubs focus on promoting **social meetings**.⁷ This is the case with the Commercial Club, which is the “best spot in the city”. It promotes its dance floor for “balls for the family” (CLUBE, 1954, n.p.).

Union or **military** clubs are other club modalities that appear in the city.⁸

One important feature found in the documents is the role that the clubs intend to play in society. Particularly during the Vargas era, the notion that they contribute to the improvement of citizen conduct is widespread, thereby aiding the fulfilment of order and morality (CLUBE, 1954, n.p.). They also expect to provide patriotic bases, as is the case with the São Salvador, which is considered a school of civics and discipline (CLUB, 1939, n.p.); or the Yacht Club, which positions itself as a school of civics and sport (VELAS, 1935, p.7). The message is therefore propagated that the constant, methodical and rational practice of sport has a civilizing value (ESPORTE, 1940, n.p.), which provides “progress in our land” (MAIS, 1957, n.p.).

In terms of their architectural solutions, some clubs adapt to pre-existing structures. However, depending on their characteristics and income, premises and facilities are constructed on larger plots of land, with specific designs and increasingly complex programmes.

The clubs are consistently used as social spaces, with restaurants, bars, libraries, hairdressers, barbers, games rooms, cinemas and ballrooms linked to multi-purpose halls. Sports amenities include gymnasiums, courts, swimming pools with springboards and spectator stands. Under certain circumstances, the clubs have annex facilities in other parts of the city, such as football pitches or garages containing nautical equipment.

One of the **carnival clubs**, the Fantoche centre, is worth mentioning. This intends to offer its members comfort through “sheltered tables, abundant ventilation, easy access, close to the bar, and toilet facilities” (NOVA SEDE DO, 1941, n.p.).

As regards the **clubs for foreigners**, we note that the Portuguese has a “valuable social centre”, within its “ample and luxurious” facilities (CLUBE, 1957, p.27) its relationship to the sea is one of its main points, as well as its decorations “of fine taste and impeccable finish” (LIONS, 1968, p.103). The German Club is referred to as “the best equipped of all the clubs in Bahia” (PORTO FILHO, n.d., n.p.).

Regarding the **sports clubs**, on the other hand, the amenities of the Athletic Association are reported to be “the most complete” (VISTA, 1929, p.9); the Baiano Tennis Club has luxury and elegance (COUTINHO, in. SANTOS, 2012,

p.73); the Bahia Sports Club has the largest constructed area in Bahia (SEDE, 1965, p.12), situated in a location with a “private beach” (TÍTULOS, 1963, n.p.). The Yacht Club’s highlight is its “charming” swimming pool, (YACHT, 1940, n.p.), “like the Guanabara in Rio” (VELAS, 1935, p.7), while the existence of a marina and a boatyard are other points of distinction (MAIA, 1995, p.50).

The **architectural facets** of some clubs exalt certain elements and adopt inspirations from the eclectic to the brutalist.

The eclectic features found in Salvador architecture since the 19th century have endured in the **Cruz Vermelha Carnival Club** (Figure 1). No information appears regarding the building’s construction, but in February 1941, the club inaugurated its “multi-purpose hall, the work of engineer A. Mercês (...) in the Roman style and of magnificent architectural effect”. Its “extremely modern” features were also proclaimed (C. C. CRUZ, 1941, n.p.). The club no longer exists, although the building remains.

With the 20th century, new architectural trends begin to appear, which are incorporated into the clubs. These include the style known as bungalow. The **Baiano Tennis Club** (Figure 2) is founded in 1916. Initially it is established in a canvas tent, which then becomes a small wooden pavilion (LIMA, n.d., p.18). In 1923, this pavilion is replaced with an “elegant” and “luxurious bungalow” (NOSSAS, 1924, cover). The building easily accommodates the topography, which draws attention to the building’s volumetric composition, manifest in its balconies, porticos, dormers and verandas. The internal and external spaces have become more integrated. The structural dimension does not have great relevance, but the materials, such as stone and brick, are more intensely exposed. The bungalow also maintains a series of ornamental elements. This is a building that explores the potential of the style it utilizes, although it has since been demolished.

One of the styles most frequently adopted by the clubs is the neo-colonial, which appears in the **Bahia Athletics Association**, inaugurated on 25/01/1941.



Figure 1: Cruz Vermelha Carnival Club – n.d.;
Source: Arquivo Histórico do Município de Salvador/FGM



Figure 2: Baiano Tennis Club – n.d.;
Source: Fundação Gregório de Mattos/PMS

The new building in “Californian style” (LIONS, 1968, p.99) is designed by Diógenes Rebouças in partnership with Jaziel and undertaken by the Company Comercial de Construções. It is presented as a “*work, not vulgar of feature, equally allied to elegance and nobility*” (NOVA SEDE DA, 1941, n.p.). The building’s design is resolved around a patio, it has an externally annexed multi-purpose hall and its shape is disperse. Movement is provided by tiles in the front and rear facades, which confer dynamism. Its spaces are organized fluidly around a ballroom and the hall, although it maintains compartmentalization in certain rooms. It uses arcs in abundance, although the structure is not explicitly manifest. This is not an exceptional building, but is an important representation of neo-colonial architecture in the city, which no longer exists.

The “imposing and grandiose” **Fantoches da Euterpe Club** is inaugurated on 06/11/1941 under the authorship of engineer Quintino Steimback and constructed by the Company Comercial de Construções (NOVA SEDE DO, 1941, n.p.). It follows a neo-colonial orientation “of Mexican style” and is built on uneven ground, delineated along similar lines to the previous design. Similarly, it does not have a clearly defined shape and includes a portico, dormers, arched verandas and a large turret, in which the building’s main staircase is situated, conferring “*on the construction a note of austerity and elegance*” (NOVA SEDE DO, 1941, n.p.). The internal spaces are somewhat integrated, but there is little relationship to the external ones. Similar to the previous building, the Fantoches also appropriates its style and is an architecturally representative building, still extant.

Art Deco is one of the most widespread architectural styles in Salvador in the first half of the 20th century. The **Salvador Yacht Club** (Figure 3) is situated on the location of the old shawl factory “Victoria”. Initially, it functions as a warehouse, with a striking covering and sheds “of great value” (VELAS, 1935, p.7). At the beginning of the 1940s, most of the factory structure has been maintained, but its façade is modernized, acquiring a parapet with decorative



Figure 3: Yacht Club – n.d;
Source: Arquivo Histórico do
Município de Salvador/FGM

elements and finished with a stepped form, characteristic of Art Deco. This is later demolished (MAIA, 1995, p. 93).

Following the 1950s, modernist architecture becomes more widespread in both the country and the city, as may be seen in the premises of some of the city's clubs.

The **Portuguese Club** inaugurates its centre in 1963 (EX-SÍMBOLO, 2008, n.p.), under the authorship of Enrique Alvarez (SANT'ANNA, 2011, p.4). It is said that the "bold" building follows the "functional modern style" (CLUBE, 1956, p.35). The building is constructed parallel to the sea, in a compact rectangular shape, with recesses that ensure large shaded areas, while the building is integrated with the surrounding space. One of the most significant features is a sinuous awning/ramp which integrates the street, the building and the swimming pool, while simultaneously turning into a ramp that enables access to the pool's springboard. The structure is noticeable partly for its construction and partly for the materials that cover it. It is a simple building, well resolved and appropriate to its context, but has since been demolished.

Following the demolition of its previous premises and the construction, in 1958, of a pier, the new **Yacht Club** (Figures 4 and 5) is inaugurated in 1973. The architects Silvio Robatto and Alberto Fiuza adopt a prismatic block which is connected to two decks, with a hollow lower part and an upper part that initially connects the hollow and sealed parts. This allows for a wide terrace in the lower part, thereby ensuring profound integration between the building and its surroundings. The element that enables this is the robust exposed concrete structure, which is used in a modulated and rhythmic fashion. According to the architects, these columns are "oversized in the open area below, so that the iron armature of the pillars remains well within the concrete and well-protected against corrosion. For aesthetic reasons, this was constructed in a triangular form (MAIA, 1995: p.131). It is a well-resolved design and one that adapts well to its surroundings; it exists to this day.



Figure 4: Yacht Club – 2015; Source: Ana Carolina Bierrenbach

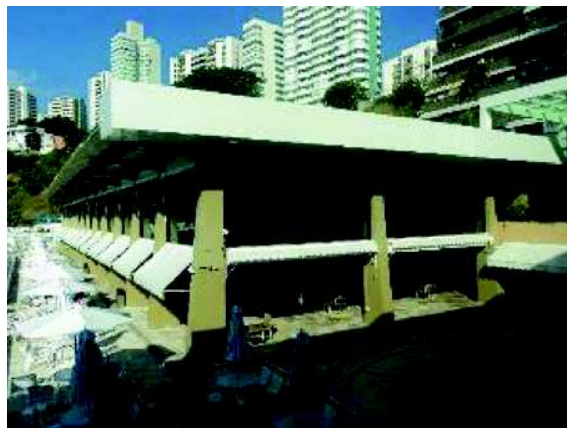


Figure 5: Yacht Club – 2015; Source: Ana Carolina Bierrenbach



Figure 6: Spanish Club – n.d;
Source: DOCOMOMO-BAHIA



Figure 7: Spanish Club – n,d;
Source: DOCOMOMO-BAHIA

The **Spanish Club** (Figures 6 and 7) is designed by the architects Jader Tavares, Fernando Frank and Oton Gomes and developed by the Company Comércio Imóveis & Construções (NOVAS, 1970, n.p.). The building is inaugurated in 1975 and includes areas for sports and socializing. Its design follows the topography of the terrain with a “sinuous linear” solution. Its internal and external spaces are connected and integrated to its context. The structural solution occurs through modules with girders whose ends curve gently upwards “aiming to follow the rising line of the terrain” (CLUBE, n.d., n.p.). The club’s premises aligns all these elements harmoniously, with bars and pools following the same sinuous movement, forming a powerful architectural solution, although it has since been demolished.

Intentional clues are repeated in an effort to produce references that Salvador’s citizens will always recall. They refer to: the status of their users, considered superior to those of other clubs; aspects concerning the comfort and functionality of their facilities; their monuments; their imposing and unusual architectural solutions; and their varied architectural styles, all of which are considered appropriate, modern and capable of enduring over time.

UNINTENDED TRACES

There is evidence of other clubs in the city. Some rare reports exist of their construction, inaugurations and use, especially in the case of the clubs aimed at the masses. The premises and facilities of some of the most elite clubs are currently dilapidated or have been demolished, while the most popular clubs have almost all disappeared, hindering the collection of information. The former had specific buildings, designed by architects who were well known in the city and with appropriate facilities, sometimes of considerable size. As regards the latter, however, one may perceive that in many cases, these were established within existing buildings and their facilities were improvised.

As mentioned above, it is well known that documents exist that address the profile of the users of the more elitist clubs. This is not the case with the popular clubs for the masses, which mention such profiles, but do not create labels in order to distinguish their users or signal a specific characteristic. As an example, the members of the Corinthians Sports Club are referred to as “*for the most part workers (...) and their families*” (CORINTHIANS, 1945, n.p.). Moreover, the São João Football Club is cited as “*a club of the masses from the Plataforma neighbourhood, the most popular*” (WALMONT, 1994, n.p.).

Involuntary traces reveal the existence of social and racial segregation in the clubs. It is clearly stated that certain clubs are exclusively destined for specific members of “high” society. As Santos asserts, many elite clubs prevent the public and specifically black people from entering (SANTOS, 2012).

When meetings between distinct social classes occur, the news is only reported under extreme circumstances, such as in a report that comments on an argument that ends “with a knife to the throat” between two bricklayers at the Baiano Tennis Club. In this situation, a resident of the Plataforma neighbourhood, the black and impoverished José Domingos, is associated with a report from an elite club (FACA, 1923, p.2).

Involuntary traces appear regarding the architecture of other clubs in the city. By occasionally undertaking wider research, this situation may be reversed and other voluntary clues may emerge. However, what exists at the moment are traces that do not indicate a great many architectural specificities or the features of certain clubs. This may demonstrate a lack of recognition of their relevance by those able to produce and disseminate information.

This is the case with the **Commercial Club**, located in the city centre, which has Art Deco features, with a staggered cornice and geometric decorative elements in relief. In its interior, it is said that “*by going up the stairs with their golden handrails, surmounted by a stained-glass dome, one discovers a lost pearl in the city centre*” (FERNANDES, 2008, p.29); it remains in the same location today.

Little information is available regarding the premises of the **Ypiranga Sports Club**. Its initial structure, built at an unknown date, is a simple building, with wide verandas and architecture that maintains the stepped elements characteristic of Art Deco, but vastly simplified and tending towards modernism (FERRETTI, 2015). It is known that the foundation stone of the Ypiranga Club stadium was laid in 1974.

Despite being classified as “monumental”, little information is available about the beach premises of the **Bahia Sports Club**. Situated in Boca do Rio, it is inaugurated in 1965. There is merely a note that the design is from the office of “Ilo Architecture” (TÍTULOS, 1963, n.p.) and the construction undertaken by Norberto Odebrecht (SEDE, 1965, p.12). Apparently, the building was never entirely finished, but the completed project is demolished in 2013.

Although the **Baiano Tennis Club** is constantly cited, the buildings constructed in its location over the years are not often referenced. This occurs with the building that replaced the old bungalow in 1968, probably under the authorship of Enrique Alvarez (FIGUEIREDO, 2015). The new building does not have a clear stylistic reference and is composed of two superimposed



Figure 8: Banco do Brasil Athletics Association – n.d.
Source: AABB



Figure 9: BANEBA Athletics Association – 1986.
Source: DOCOMOMO-BAHIA

blocks of different sizes and materials. The upper block facades are composed of rhythmic openings, which do not allow for a very pronounced integration between the interior and exterior. This is not a very brilliant architectural solution and is eventually removed.

Little is known about the first premises of the **Banco do Brasil Athletics Association** (*Associação Atlética Banco do Brasil: AABB*) (Figure 8). This is built in 1968 by Norberto Odebrecht Constructors. It is constructed around a swimming pool in an L shape, with extensive integration between the external and internal spaces and openings demarcated by delicate rhythmic frames, which explore, in a plastic and somewhat simple manner, the presence of the apparent structure, thus connecting it to the brutalist aspects in vogue at the time (TUDO, 2013, n.p.). The premises are knocked down in the 1980s.

Frank, Tavares and Gomes are also responsible for the design of the **BANEBA Athletics Association** (Figure 9), constructed by PROMOV between 1980 and 1981. This has an irregular shape that utilizes connected geometric forms. It is said to demonstrate equilibrium between compartmentalization, internal spatial fluidity and integration with the external space. The structure is concrete and the cover is made of aluminium spatial latticework (ALBAN; ROMERO, 1986, n.p.). The building manages to coordinate mixed volumes, spaces and structures in an interesting way, but is now abandoned.

The **Baiano Tennis Club** is worth mentioning again (Figure 10). Few references were found about the existing gymnasium from Fernando Frank and Eduardo Brandão (GINÁSIO, n.d., n.p.). The same spatial lattice is the building's most impressive characteristic - this is exposed partially from the inside and partially from the outside, creating a powerful pyramid shaped cover. The lateral seals are of opaque fibreglass panels which, as well as providing light control, create a striking aesthetic effect.

In 1984, the **Banco do Brasil Athletic Association** (Figure 11) transferred to Piatã where it may be found today. The premises, a low concrete building, create an extension to the natural slope, providing a large shaded area fenced by lattices below and with swimming pools above. The design is from the architect Antônio Luiz Lamberti. At an unknown date, a gymnasium is constructed which also utilizes spatial structures (OCKE; MOURA, 2015).



Figure 10: Baiano Tennis Club Gymnasium – 2015;
Source: Ana Carolina Bierrenbach



Figure 11: Banco do Brasil Athletic Association Centre – 2015.
Source: Ana Carolina Bierrenbach



Figura 12: Corinthians de Plataforma Club – 2015. Source: Ana Carolina Bierrenbach



Figura 13: Recreativo Plataformense Club – 2015. Source: Ana Carolina Bierrenbach

It is much more difficult to obtain information about the most popular clubs, since data regarding their architectural features is almost inexistent. Nevertheless, it is known that the city contains carnival and sports clubs. Regarding the former, remnants remain of the **Filhos da Liberdade Carnival Club**, **Democrata** and **Rosa do Adro** (CADENA, 2013, p.102). In terms of the latter, the first buildings of **Corinthians de Plataforma**, **São João de Deus** and **Palestra** appear, but their premises are demolished on unknown dates. The second building of the **Corinthians** (figure 12) is completely ruined (SANTOS, 2014). The only club which remains and which has some modernist references, but is in a very unstable condition, is that of the **Recreativo Plataformense** (Figure 13) (PORTELA, 2015).

Initially, some of the clubs occupy small plots of land, but these get bigger over time, particularly in the case of the sports clubs. In the process of occupying plots of land, few traces of their natural features remain as these are gradually replaced with artificial elements. The topography is modified, and the presence of streams, plants and fruit trees are eliminated, turning most of the clubs into arid spaces (SENA, in LIMA, n.d., p.52).

Figura 12: Corinthians de Plataforma Club – 2015.
Source: Ana Carolina Bierrenbach
Figura 13: Recreativo Plataformense Club – 2015.
Source: Ana Carolina Bierrenbach

Intended traces therefore reveal the existence of several clubs in Salvador, intensively used by a range of social classes. They demonstrate how the changes to recreation that take place during the 20th century affect the city's population as a whole.

While intended clues determine the exceptional qualities of the architects of certain clubs, unintended traces reveal other, much more discreet and banal, qualities. However, this is not why they became less important in the daily lives of the population who lived in either the central or more peripheral areas of Salvador. Although they do not attract preliminary recognition, they may still have architectural qualities that merit attention.

FROM INTENDED CLUES TO UNINTENDED TRACES

The clues that attract the most attention include reports about the clubs for the Salvador elite. These are unsparing in their appreciation of the buildings, considered monumental and luxurious, combining such features with aspects of comfort and functionality, in order for their brands to remain fixed in citizens' memories.

But there is a paradox that transforms these clues into traces: what is notable today in several clubs is the change in their user profile, the decadence and deterioration of their establishments and the transformation of their architecture, demonstrating the lack of stability of clues left at specific times and their inability to retain their content over time, or truly hold onto their memories.

Some clubs simply disappear from the urban scene. Not even a visit from the queen of England (MENDONÇA JR, 2014: n.p.) prevents the demolition of the British Club, which is replaced with a residential building. The Portuguese Club is abandoned and begins to accommodate street-dwelling families in its "once sumptuous facilities" (EX-SÍMBOLO, 2008, n.p.). In 2007, following the removal of these families, the buildings are demolished (CAMPOS, 2008, n.p.). Despite its architectural qualities, the space is destroyed so that a recreational area with no personality can be built in its place.

Although certain clubs remain in the city, the same cannot be said for their previously acclaimed premises and facilities, which disappear, leaving little trace of their existence, and are replaced with buildings which do not always retain architectural quality. The Athletics Association, the Baiano Tennis Club and the Spanish Club, for example, sell some of their land in order to secure their existence on smaller plots. In 2008, the Athletics Association demolishes its premises in order for the Antônio Caramelo office to construct another, which is completed in 2010 (PORTO FILHO, 2012, P.132). The Baiano Tennis Club is knocked down in 2006 in order to construct the Perini delicatessen. Some of its land is given over to the construction of a residential tower block, while the remainder of the club acquires new buildings designed by André Sá (ADMIN, 2015, n.p.). It appears that its sports gymnasiums will remain. In 2010, the Spanish Club premises are demolished for the construction of a

residential building. The new building has been erected on the remaining land, under the authorship of Enrique Alvarez; this is completed in 2014 (LEIRO, 2015).

However, there are also signs of the restoration of certain memories. The Fantoches and Cruz Vermelha carnival clubs maintain their fundamental architectural features. The former no longer functions as a club, although the building remains. Externally, it maintains its principal features, despite having lost the lateral multi-purpose hall and gained an annex of little architectural quality. The latter has maintained its function and its principal features have been preserved, despite certain injudicious interventions. It still plays an important role in the city and is currently a space for more plural social use. Recent modifications to the Yacht Club, carried out by the Álvaro Camiña office, do not substantially interfere with Silvio Robatto and Alberto Fiuza's excellent design.

One can see that even intended clues, which aim to suggest and shape history, have difficulty enduring. Changes to the population's means of recreation reduce their interest in using clubs, directing them to other forms of recreation undertaken in the city's public and private spaces, contributing to a decline in activities and changes to their member profile. On the other hand, contrary to its initial assertion, over time, the architecture itself is found to be unsatisfactory. It does not appear sufficient or attractive to new members, who prefer to erase its remnants and erect new, more modern, buildings, better able to represent them.

CONCLUSIONS

When the clubs appear in Salvador they adopt the most widespread architectural styles of their time, all considered to be "modern". Under certain circumstances, their previous premises are demolished so they can construct others, even more current, with the intention of remaining in architectural fashion. In others, the clubs undergo modifications, which aim not only to adapt and improve their facilities, but also to adapt to the architectural trends in vogue, often with input from the city's best known architects.

However, many clubs no longer exist. This is the case with the Bahia Sports Club. Although little is known about the architectural quality of its beach premises, it has sizeable sports facilities. However, all trace of its existence has been eliminated, meaning that the opportunity to reuse these facilities has been lost (OLIVEIRA, 2013, n.p). The same occurs with the Banco do Brasil Athletics Association building in Barra, which, despite having an exquisite architectural solution, is demolished to make way for a banal supermarket, like so many others in the city.

There are traces of other clubs at risk of imminent disappearance. In the BANEBA Athletics Association "*a scene that once was luxurious, is today covered in litter*" (DOURADO, 2014, n.p). The Periperi Sports Club and the Recreativo Plataformense Club maintain few elements that refer back to their premises' initial features.



Figure 14: Locations of Salvador clubs. **Area 1 – Plataforma** – Corinthians de Plataforma Club, Palestra de Plataforma Club, Recreativo Plataformense Club, São João Football Club; **Area 2 – Ribeira** – Guaraní Sporting Association, Itapagipe’s Regattas Club, Humaitá Sport Club. **Area 3 – Monte Serrat e Boa Viagem** – Itapagipe’s Yacht Club, Corinthians Sport Club, Military Police Officers Club, Império Athletics Club, Rosa do Adro Carnival Club. **Area 4 – Mares** – Recreativo Palmeira Athletics, Vera Cruz’s Regattas, Santa Cruz Sport Club. **Area 5 – Liberdade/ Caixa d’água** – Filhos da Liberdade Carnival Club, Nego Athletic Club. **Area 6 – Nazaré /Dique** – Democrata Club; Innocentes em Progresso Club (2nd and 3rd premises). **Area 7 – Piedade/2 de julho** – Innocentes em Progresso Club (1st premise), Portuguese Club (1st premise), Commercial Club, Botafogo Sport Club, Fantoche da Euterpe Club, Bahia Sports Club (2nd premise). **Area 8 – Campo Grande** – British Club, Spanish Club (1st premise), Cruz Vermelha Carnival Club, Germânia. **Area 9 – Graça/Barra** – Amazonas Foot-ball Club, Banco do Brasil Athletic Association (1st premise), Bahia Athletics Association, Baiano Tennis Club, Bahia Sports Club (1st centre), Vitória Sports Club (1st premise), Sport Club Palmeira, Yacht Club. **Area 10 – Barra/Ondina** – Spanish Club, Lido Club. **Area 11 – Brotas e Campinas de Brotas** – Coumbia Sport Club, Unidos de Brotas Sport Club. **Area 12 – Armação** – BANEB Athletic Association. **Area 13 – Boca do Rio** – Bahia Sports Club (Beach Premise). **Area 14– Piatã** – Banco do Brasil Athletic Association (2nd Premise). **Area 15 – Vila Canária** – Ypiranga Sports Club (2nd Premise).
Source: Google Maps manipulated by Ana Carolina Bierrenbach

However, although the Ypiranga premises do not maintain their original features, their buildings are undergoing a process of reconstruction, aimed at restoring the club's role in the city and enabling its re-appropriation by the population of one of the city's most deprived neighbourhoods.

The memories of most of Salvador's clubs are extremely fragile. Although they persist in the minds of certain citizens, they have a tendency to become increasingly tenuous, and then forgotten. With a few exceptions, there is not much material evidence to support the preservation of their memories. This loss of the clubs' memories is encouraged by a process of continuous replacements, triggered in modernity and enduring in contemporary times, which directly affects their architectural features.

Under these circumstances, we must seek to maintain the few existing physical structures of these clubs, so that their memories may be preserved. Maintenance of this architecture has become even more necessary, as the memories of its users are almost always destined to disappear.

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NOTES

¹ For methodological aspects, see (BIERRENBACH, 2013).

² Carlo Ginzburg and Jeanne M. Gagnebin refer to the use of apparently irrelevant traces for the reconstitution of a number of circumstances. Ginzburg suggests the formation of the "conjectural" historical method (GINZBURG, 2012, p.152). Gagnebin also mentions the potential of the trace: "*it is the result of chance, of negligence, sometimes of violence; left by an animal that is running or in flight, it reports an absent presence. (...) Strictly speaking, traces are not created (...) but are left and forgotten*" (GAGNEBIN, 2006, p.113).

³ See: (BENJAMIN, 1993, p.225).

⁴ **Fantoches da Euterpe Club** – Foundation: 1884. Premises: Sete de Setembro Av., Democratas St., 10, inaugurated in 1941 (NOVA SEDE DO, 1941, n.p.). **Cruz Vermelha Club** – Foundation: 1884. Premises: Barroquinha (CADENA, 2013); 2 de julho Sq., 8 (OLIVEIRA, 1996, p. 56). **Innocentes em Progresso Club** – Foundation: 1889. Premises: Castro Alves Sq., 2; Joana Angélica Av., 51 (CLUBE, 18/11/1940, n.p.) and Jogo do Carneiro St., 37 (OLIVEIRA, 1996, p.56). **Democrata Carnival Club** – Foundation: 1946 (CLUBE, 1953, s/p). Premise: Bomfim Av., 94 (current Barão de Cotegipe Av.). **Filhos da Liberdade Carnival Club** – Premise: Lima e Silva St. **Rosa do Adro Carnival Club** – Premise – Tiradentes Av., 236 (Current Caminho de Areia Av.).

⁵ **British Bahia Club** – Foundation: 1884. Premise: 2 de julho Sq. (SAMPAIO, 1928, p. 142), demolished; **Spanish Club** – Foundation: 1929. Premises: Piedade Sq.; Sete de Setembro Av., inaugurated in 1948 (SANTOS, 2012, p. 65); Oceânica Av. inaugurated in 25/07/1975, demolished (HISTÓRICO, n.d., n.p.). **French Club** – Premises: Duque de Caxias Sq. (SAMPAIO, 1928, p. 143); 2 de julho Sq. (FUTURO, 13/05/1944, p.2), demolished; **German Club** – Foundation: 1873. Premise: Sete de Setembro Av., demolished (PORTO FILHO, n.d.); **Portuguese Club** – Foundation: 1946. Premises: Piedade Sq. and Octávio Mangabeira Av., 1113, inaugurated in 1964, demolished (EX-SÍMBOLO, 2008, n.p.).

- ⁶**Amazonas Foot-Ball Clube** – Foundation: 12/08/1918. Premise: Quinta da Barra, 15 (AMAZONAS, 14/08/1941, n.p.). **Bahia Athletic Association** – Foundation: 04/10/1914. Premise: Barão de Itapuã St., 27 (MAGARÃO, 1976, n.p.). **Guarani Sporting Association** – Foundation: 1930. Premise: Beira Mar Av., 177 (ASSOCIAÇÃO, 4/04/1950, n.p.). **Recreativo Palmeira Athletics** – Premise: Barão de Cotegipe St, 98 (ATLÉTICO, 22/02/1954, n.p.). **Botafogo Sport Club** – Foundation: 1914. Premise: Sete de Setembro Av., 122 (BOTAFOGO, 27/05/1942, n.p.). **Nego Athletic Club** – Foundation: 29/09/1936. Premise: Caixa D'Água, 116 (CLUB, 1937, n.p.). **Baiano Tennis Club** – Foundation: 28/07/1916. Premise: 8 de dezembro St., 525. Bungalow inaugurated in 02/07/1923; new premise concluded in 1968, demolished (LIMA, 1994, s/p). **Corinthians de Plataforma Club** – Premise: Úrsula Catharino St., the first demolished, the second ruined (PORTELA, 2015). **Itapagipe Yacht Club** – Foundation: 1947. Premise: Santa Rita Durão St., 34 (Current Monte Serrat St.) (CLUBE, 6/04/1952, n.p.). **São Salvador Regattas and Swimming Club** – Foundation: 1902. Premise: Pedreiras's St., 1 (São Joaquim Beach) (SILVA, 2003: p.29); **Itapagipe Regattas Club** – Foundation: 1902. Premise: da Penha St., 115 (Current number 5) (CLUBE, 25/04/1932, n.p.). **Vera Cruz Regattas Club** – Foundation: 1927. Premise: Vasco da Gama St., 300 (CLUB, 16/04/1935, n.p.). **Palestra Club** – Premise: Úrsula Catharino St., demolished (PORTELA, 2015). **Recreativo Plataforma Club**. Foundation: 1955. Premise: São Braz Sq. (SANTOS, 2015). **Columbia Sport Club** – Foundation: 1935. Premise: Teixeira de Barros St., 68 (COLUMBIA, 10/05/1939, n.p.). **Corinthians Sport Club** – Foundation: 1935. Premise: Luis Tarquínio Av., 64 (CORINTHIANS, 15/11/1935, n.p.). **Bahia Sport Club** – Foundation: 1/1/1931. Premises: Princesa Izabel Av., 141, inaugurated in 1945 (SPORT, 20/06/1945, n.p.); Carlos Gomes St., 83, inaugurated in 1960's (ESPORTE, 1 and 2/01/1963, n.p.); Boca do Rio, inaugurated in 12/1965 (SEDE, 06/07/1965, n.p.). Current premise in "Fazendão". **Ypiranga Sport Club** – Foundation: 7/09/1906. Premises: Euricles de Mattos St., 100 (ESPORTE, 21/05/1946, n.p.); Direta do Ypiranga St., 125 (SANTOS; PINHO; MORAES; FISCHER, 2010, p.252). **Periperi Sport Club** – Foundation: 1950's. Premise: Frederico Costa St., s/n (GANTOIS, 2010, n.p.). **Santa Cruz Sport Club** – Foundation: 1904. Premise: Barão de Cotegipe St., 172 (ESPORTE, 18/09/1954, n.p.). **Esporte Clube Vitória** – Foundation: 13/05/1899. Premises: Sete de Setembro Av., 528 (SPORT, 20/02/1941, n.p.); Oceânica Av. in 1948 (E. C. VITÓRIA, 14/01/1948, n.p.) and premise in the beach area inaugurated in 1957 (MAIS, 1957: n.p.). **Humaytá Sport Club** – Foundation: 1935. Premise: Antonio Euzebio St., 9 (current Porto do Bonfim St.) (HUMAITÁ, 1943, n.p.). **Império Athletic Club**. Foundation: 1944. Premise: Imperatriz St., 64 (IMPÉRIO, 13/08/1945, n.p.). **São João Sport Club** – Premise: Úrsula Catharino St. (PORTELA, 2015). **Sport Club Palmeira** – Premise: Marquez de Caravelas St., 1 (SPORT, 14/02/1950, n.p.). **Unidos de Brotas Sport Club** – Foundation: 01/03/1943. Premise: Acupe's Slope, 32 (UNIDOS, 15/05/1953, n.p.). **Yacht Club** – Foundation: 23/05/1935 (VELAS, 19/11/1935, p.7). Premise: Sete de Setembro Av.
- ⁷**Commercial Club** – Foundation: 05/1878 (FERNANDES, 2008, p. 28-33). Premise: Sete de Setembro Av., 710. **Lido Club** – Premise: Oceânica Av. Demolished (PORTO FILHO, 2012, p.55).
- ⁸**Banco do Brasil Athletic Association**. Foundation: 28/03/1940. Premises: city centre; Sete de Setembro Av. in 1953; Barra in 1968; current located in Dep. Paulo Jackson St., 869 (TUDO, 2/11/2013, n.p.). **BANEB Athletic Association** – Foundation: 1966. Premise: Arthur Azevedo Machado St. (GUERREIRO, 23/09/2014, n.p.). **Military Police Officers Club**. Foundation: 1951. Premise: Dendezeiros Av., 8. Built in 1958. (ALCOFORADO e 2/01/1965, s/p).

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