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MODERN URBAN AND
ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE
CONSERVATION IN A
POSTCOLONIAL CONTEXT:
MAPUTO'S "CITY OF CEMENT"

108

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ABSTRACT

Forty years after the Independence of Mozambique from Portugal (June 25th 1975), the difficulties in assessing and rehabilitating the modern architectural heritage of colonial origin are evident. The structural adjustment programmes, a consequence of contrasting doctrinal changes and expressed in the adoption of specific economic reforms, together with a prolonged civil war (1974-1992), have contributed to the progressive degradation of the historic urban centres and their services. This essay focuses on the built heritage of Maputo, and aims to deepen the knowledge of 20th century architecture and urban ambiances and of the particularities involved in the conservation of architectural heritage associated with the postcolonial context. The difficulty of this task is related to the specificities of "modernity" itself: the recognition of this patrimony and its tutelage, its routine maintenance, the deterioration of materials and infrastructures, the loss of functionality and adaptation to new functions, the changes in the surrounding areas and the fact that these spatial and conceptual spaces were developed within a distinct social, economical and cultural framework, extraneous to their contemporary condition.

KEYWORDS

Modern heritage of Maputo. Heritage conservation. Cultural heritages of Portuguese influence. Mozambique.

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CONSERVAÇÃO DA
ARQUITETURA E DO AMBIENTE
URBANO MODERNOS EM
CONTEXTO PÓS-COLONIAL:
A BAIXA DE MAPUTO

RESUMO

Passados quarenta anos desde a Independência de Moçambique (25 de junho de 1975), as dificuldades na tutela e reabilitação do patrimônio edificado são evidentes. Os ajustamentos estruturais resultantes de mudanças doutrinárias contrastantes, expressas na adoção de reformas econômicas específicas, acrescidas de uma longa guerra civil (1976-1992), contribuíram para que se agravasse a degradação progressiva dos núcleos urbanos e dos serviços. Este texto foca-se no patrimônio edificado da cidade de Maputo, com o objetivo de aprofundar o conhecimento da arquitetura e dos ambientes urbanos do século XX e das particularidades inerentes à conservação do patrimônio moderno associado ao contexto colonial. A dificuldade deste exercício prende-se sobremaneira com questões relacionadas com especificidades da própria “modernidade”: o reconhecimento e a tutela, a perda de funcionalidade e a adaptação a novas funções, a deterioração dos materiais de construção e das infraestruturas, as alterações na envolvente, a manutenção corrente e, principalmente, pelo fato de essas estruturas espaciais e conceptuais terem sido desenvolvidas para um referencial cultural, social e econômico distinto, alheio à sua condição contemporânea.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Arquitetura moderna de Maputo. Conservação do patrimônio. Patrimônios de Influência Portuguesa. Moçambique.

INTRODUCTION

In the last quarter of the 19th century, Lourenço Marques (renamed Maputo in 1976), in Mozambique, began a new phase in its development that would lead to its transformation into an important port city. The small urban settlement had the Fortress as its primary and structuring element. The south flank of the Fortress was towards the river (Figure 1). The settlement developed towards the west, along the river, “structuring the direction of its tracings in relation with Picota Square”¹ (MORAIS, 2001, p. 67-68; translation by the author). With some minor alterations, this primitive urban organism accompanied the expansion of the city at the end of the eighteenth hundreds. It constituted the structuring core of the “new city” and its commercial and administrative area, tightly connected to the port and the railway, its motors of development (Figures 2 and 3).

The establishment of Lourenço Marques as a major city within the set of urban settlements along the vast Mozambican coast, at the end of the 19th century, may be explained by its proximity to South Africa, a locus of great technological and demographic growth due to the discovery of vast deposits of coal, gold and diamonds². These developments called for the construction of transportation infrastructures to and from the nearest ports: the geographic proximity of Lourenço Marques made it a natural point of transit for goods and people connected to ore extraction in South Africa.

Alongside the growth of the planned city, fomented by the colonial administration, the incoming migration of the rural population brought about a disordered and diffuse suburban settlement, which gradually formed an area of poorly made housing and densely built neighbourhoods known as “*caniço*” — the “informal city”. The colonial town, locally dubbed “city of cement” (Port. *cidade de cimento*), was surrounded by the “informal city”, giving rise to a dual system, typical in Sub-Saharan cities of colonial genesis. The “city of cement” is now only a small part of the city of Maputo, as the vast informal areas house up to 80% of the urban population (OUIS *et al.*, 2010, p. 15).

Since the end of the civil war (1976-1992) that opposed the National Resistance Movement of Mozambique (RENAMO) to the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO), no Mozambican urban structure has received more investment in the construction and maintenance of infrastructure, in the construction of new buildings and in various sectors of the economy than the city of Maputo (COSTA, 2007, p. 7; MUNICÍPIO DE MAPUTO — MP, 2008, v. I, p. 110 ss.). Like the colonial administration that preceded it, the Mozambican State opted for the formal and symbolic centralization of political and economic power in the capital city. Nevertheless, the urban structure of the “city of cement” shows little change, unlike that of the suburbs, where population growth and physical/urban expansion were more accelerated, especially in the 1990s (OPPENHEIMER; RAPOSO, 2008, p. 18-19).

¹The *picota* (a propped up stick that served as pillory) and the pillory (stone pillar) were landmarks erected in a public place (a square or crossing), where the sentenced were exposed and punished, subject to popular scorn. This location became the public place of encounter and later the ‘plaza’ (CORVAJA, 2003: 55 footnote 11).

²Around 1870, diamonds were discovered in the area of present-day Kimberley, followed, a decade or so later, by gold lodes in the Transvaal (Witwatersrand) (CABAÇO, 2007: 76 footnote 20). The production and accumulation of mining wealth was the foundation of a process of industrialisation that is unique in the continent and constitutes the focus of a migratory flow (originating mainly in Europe) with great impact on the region.

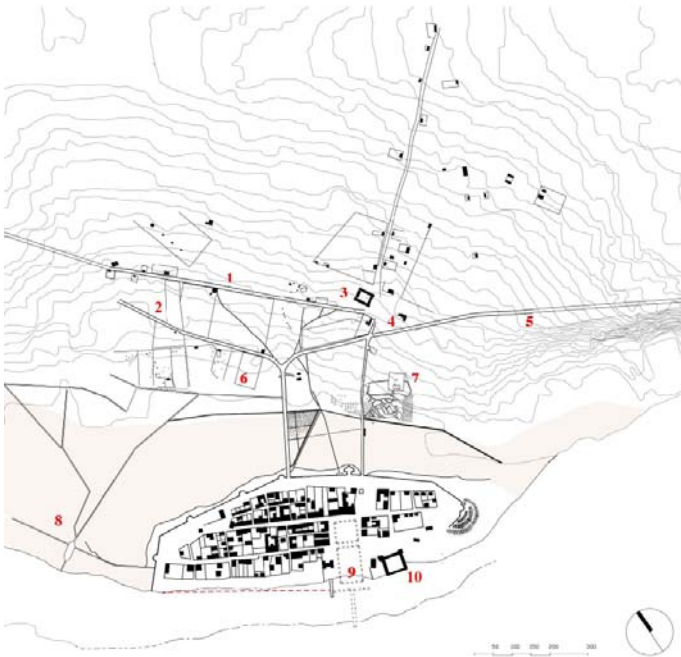


Figure 1: Plan of Lourenço Marques, ca. 1887. Source: Author, based on S.T. Hall's 1876 plan, AHM (D1.03/2021) and on the "Planta da Avenida António Augusto de Aguiar" of 1887, AHU (ACL_SEMU_DGU_Cx. 1389/1L_1886_1888). The numbers indicate: the new road to Lindemburgo (1); the former road to Lindemburgo (2); the new Hospital (3); the Parrish Church (4); the road to Ponta Vermelha (5); the cemetery of S. Timothy (6); the Garden of the Society of Arboriculture and Floriculture (7); the tracing of the sewer in the swamp of Maé (8); the project for the expansion of 7 de Março Square with a new bridge (9); and the Fortress (10). The settlement was surrounded by marshland (indicated by the hatched area), which separated it from solid ground.

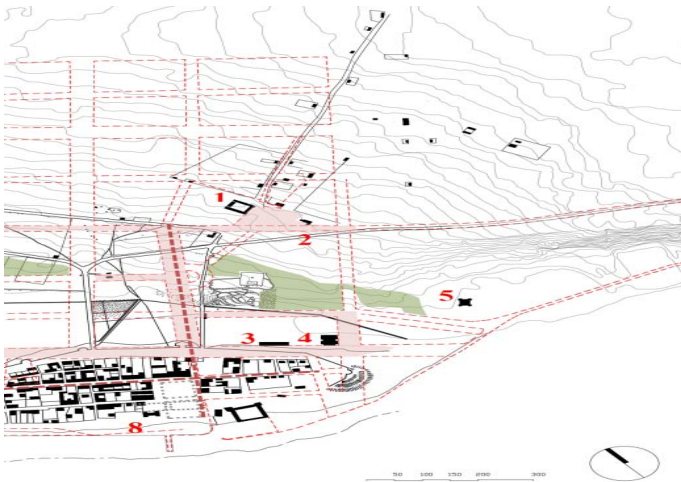


Figure 2: Plan of Lourenço Marques, ca. 1887-1888, with the outline of the expansion project of 1887 (indicated by the dashed lines), the first avenues (indicated by the shaded outlines), the plantation of eucalyptus trees for the sanitation of the area (indicated by the irregular shading north of the settlement) and the new buildings and plazas built by the Public Works Office from 1877 onwards. The numbers indicate: the Hospital (1); the Parrish Church (2); the Public Works Office (3); the jail and the Police Station (4); Magazine (5); Police Headquarters (6); Slaughterhouse (7); Customs (8); Praça da Estação (Station Plaza) (9). Source: Author, based on the "Plano do projectado esgoto e aterro do pantano de Lourenço Marques por S.T. Hall, Dezembro de 1876. Cópia de Augusto de Castilho", AHM (D1.03/2021), on the "Planta de Lourenço Marques levantada em 1886, Escala 1:5000", AHM (N.º 1711/D.29/2006) and on the "Planta da Cidade, Lourenço Marques, 1903, Escala 1: 5000", AHM (2014/D.37).

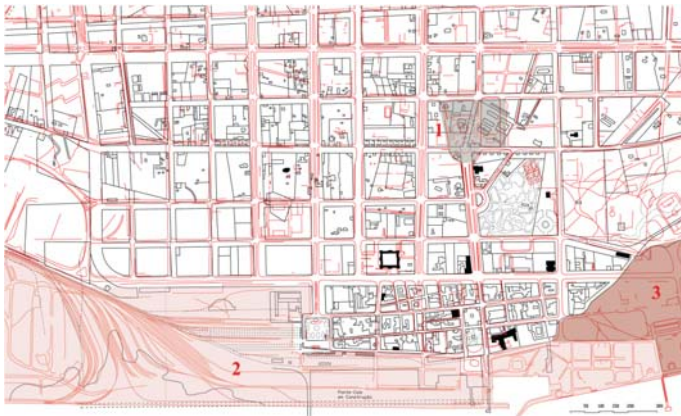


Figure 3: Plan of Lourenço Marques (central area of the city), ca. 1903, overlapping the current scheme of the road structure. Source: Author, based on the "Planta da Cidade, Lourenço Marques, 1903, Escala 1: 5000", AHM (2014/D.37) and the current scheme. In this part of the city, the most substantial alterations of the urban structure made during the 20th century were: the construction of the Mouzinho de Albuquerque/Independence Plaza, from the end of the 1930s to the mid 1940s (1); the successive expansions of the railway and port infrastructures (2); and the embankment of Maxaquene cove (3).

TRANSFORMATION OF MODERN URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF MAPUTO IN A POSTCOLONIAL CONTEXT: ANTECEDENTS

Since the Independence, the city of Maputo (and Mozambique) underwent contrasting economic and developmental processes that have left deep marks in its economic, social and urban structure. Internally, and during the first decade and a half after the Independence, the following factors stood out:

- The implementation of socialist development policies, with the centralisation of political, economic and administrative power in the capital city and the nationalisation of rental income buildings and homes that had been left empty due to the “*mass exodus of white settlers, skilled workers and black and Indian professionals*” (NEWITT, 2012, p. 473; translation by the author). Although the attack on private property is considered a crucial factor in fomenting the uneasiness felt by the former property owners, “forcing” them to leave, the swift change of regime and the establishment of the new socialist dictatorship have been mentioned by some academics as plausible causes of the erosion of the project nation/non-racial society initially upheld by FRELIMO³.
- Starting in 1976, the “war of destabilization” (NEWITT, 2012, p. 482-483) and the civil war (which peaked in 1982-1984 and ended in 1992) devastated the social and economic structure of the country;
- The “foreign aid”, financed by the International Monetary Fund — IMF, the World Bank and bilateral donor states, imposed consecutive economic reforms that had disastrous consequences on the economy and deteriorated the living conditions of city residents (COSTA, 2007, p. 10).

After 1976, most rental income residences and numerous buildings were nationalized. The nationalizations in Maputo’s “city of cement” hit mainly residential buildings that had been planned with a distinct economic and cultural referent in mind: the white settlers. These newly state-owned residences were occupied by tenants of the State Real Estate Administration (Port. *Administração do Parque Imobiliário do Estado* — APIE)⁴, but certain circumstances in the collection and management of funds, legal ambiguities and the lack of human resources did not allow this office to guarantee the ordinary maintenance of its real estate. The inadequate use of these residences by the tenant population, which only recently had come into contact with urban housing, accelerated their degradation.

Initially, the new tenants paid a symbolic rent (10-20% of their income), which in some cases became unaffordable in the medium term (REPÚBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE, 1999: vol. IV, 7-8). In a few years, and in different moments and contexts, many moved back to their former neighbourhoods, most of which were in the suburbs, outside the limits of the “city of cement” (OPPENHEIMER; RAPOSO, 2008, p. 53), due to difficulties in paying ordinary expenses, or, after the denationalisation of the real state⁵, to improve their income by renting out their flats or houses in the “city of cement”. Most of the built heritage is currently in poor condition. From a historical and political point of view, this situation can easily be explained if we consider that, shortly after the

³These claims are based on a series of interviews made by the author in Maputo, in November 2014, with the architects Júlio Carrilho, Luís Laje and João Tique and the historians António Sopa and Gerard Liesegang, scholars at Eduardo Mondlane University.

⁴The APIE, under the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (Port. *Ministério das Obras Públicas e Habitação*), was responsible for the management of nationalised real estate.

⁵The State began the process of denationalisation of its real estate assets in 1991, beginning with the Decree-Law 5/91, of January 9, 1991. The low prices offered by the State allowed about half of the tenants to buy these dwellings until 1998 (around 19,000 homes), especially in central residential areas (REPÚBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE, 1999, v. IV, p. 8).

Independence, Mozambique was deprived of technical staff and skilled workers, due to the departure of settlers and black and Indian qualified professionals.

The State's policy options (particularly its opposition to racial policies) led to the isolation of Mozambique and to the erosion of its external relations with the neighbouring countries, especially with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), the main clients of its structure of transportation services, with severe consequences for the Mozambican economy (COSTA, 2007, p. 75; MENDES, 1985, p. 65). Subsequently, the support lent by these countries, under racial segregation regimes, to the opposition and resistance to the established government in Mozambique— which led to the foundation of RENAMO in 1976 (MACAGNO, 2009) and to FRELIMO's support of opposition movements in these countries (respectively ANC and ZANU)— deepened the economic and social crisis in Mozambique, with the devastation of production infrastructures and the fleeing of the rural population to the major cities, more secure and distant from armed conflict (NEWITT, 2012, p. 478-480). Thus, in the urban centres, social infrastructures and public services, namely basic education and primary health care, were overwhelmed to the point of disruption⁶. In addition, unemployment soared and food supplies decreased dramatically, following the abandonment of rural properties by their owners, due to several reasons, and the consequent interruption of agricultural production. The Portuguese agricultural producers that supplied the cities with food had left the country in 1977 and production for export by local agricultural workers diminished. Moreover, between 1977 and 1982, Mozambique was hit by cyclic natural disasters – first by floods, then by years of drought – leading to generalized hunger and to the disintegration of the rural economy (FIRST, 1977, p. III.15-III.16; NEWITT, 2012, p. 473, p. 483-484).

At the beginning of the 1980s, following the implementation (in 1981) of the administrative distribution of food with the New System of Provision (Port. *Novo Sistema de Abastecimento* — NSA), the population turned to the informal economy, which resulted in the enlargement of the clandestine food market, an activity that was initially subject to heavy penalties (MENDES, 1985, p. 63-64). However, even with the growing shortage of jobs in the formal economy, this informal economic market remained negligible in the “city of cement” up to the end of the 1980s, due to repression by the authorities. However, from the 1990s onwards, as a result of changes in the political and economic orientation of the State (NEWITT, 2012, p. 484-485), Mozambique unequivocally opened up to the “privatisation” of services and commercial activities. In the same period, urban occupation intensified, especially in the urban grid of Maputo's “city of cement” (CENTRO DE ESTUDOS E DESENVOLVIMENTO DO HABITAT — CEDH, 2006), resulting in the disruption of the city's habits and customs, or, in other words, in the “ruralisation” of the city.

According to data gathered by the CEDH (2016, p. 2-3), at the time of the Independence only 9% of Mozambican citizens lived in urban areas; three decades later that percentage had risen to about a third. In just two generations, a large percentage of the Mozambican population exchanged the traditionally based production and consumption habits of the rural world for a city based economy. The rapid transformation in the means of subsistence, with

⁶The generalization of access to public health care and education that followed the Independence had already put these services under higher levels of pressure, given the excessive and unadjusted use of the infrastructures needed to run them. In addition, the departure of qualified technical and professional staff led to severe difficulties in the functioning of these services. This situation was further aggravated with the rising numbers of “migrants” of war, triggered by the worsening of the war in the southern regions of the country, from the mid 1980s onwards.

⁷In accordance with the Decree-Law No. 10/88 of December 22nd, 1988, which determines the protection of the Cultural Patrimony of Mozambique (MOÇAMBIQUE, 1988).

the majority of the citizens resorting to production activities in the informal sector in order to survive (activities that are difficult to tax), and the inexperience of these new residents with life in urban centres led to economic problems that are difficult to tackle, namely the lack of resources (either public or private) for the rehabilitation of the urban space and the access to and/or maintenance of adequate housing conditions.

The concepts of “development” and “modernisation” of the Nation, advocated during the first decade of emancipated governance in Mozambique, changed abruptly from a paradigm of national (pro-socialist) ideology to the ideological support of globalised neoliberal capitalism. Bewilderingly, as noted by Mamadou Traoré, this operation adopted a very different import in Sub-Saharan Africa comparatively to the rich Western countries (subject to distinct temporalities and economic, social and historical contexts), as “*by proposing or imposing signifiers that are absent from the everyday life of the population, modernisation, from the outside world, ceaselessly multiplies the phenomena of nonsense or absurdity in societies pressured to reproduce an un-lived history*” (1991, p. 32 apud CABAÇO, 2007, p. 431; translation by the author). The author also points out that, while in the Western world “development” (as understood in the West) is a cultural product, in “developing countries” it is a cultural project (1991 apud CABAÇO, 2007, p. 431), alien to the living conditions and aims (with respect to life in urban centres and simple survival) of ordinary people.

The social revolution of the initial period of the Independence had to confront the *status quo* assimilated by generations of the “colonized”. The “liberation” process brought complex issues to the individual citizen. The open door to the “city of cement” required the adoption of a new role by the new resident in the new social conformation, within the same petrified urban structure conceived by the former colonial regime. This metamorphosis took time and adopted its own expression, which is worth questioning. Hence, the city of Maputo, in its post-colonial form, acquires a “historical value”, as it constitutes a material testimony of ways of thinking and doing that is of significance to the stimulation of the production of knowledge by future generations.

THE RE-EVALUATION AND (RE)FUNCTIONALIZATION OF COLONIAL HERITAGE

Post-colonial societies must confront spatial and conceptual heritages that were developed within a distinct cultural, social and economic framework that often constitutes a misunderstood or unwanted referent. The proximity of the “lived time” of that heritage hinders the historical and critical distancing necessary to the evaluation of its meaning by its “natural tutors”: firstly, the State, which must promote the inventory, designation and registry of the built heritage, as well as encourage policies and actions towards its conservation and informed fruition by the community⁷; secondly, the citizens.

“Recent” heritage is confronted with specific conservation problems that, erroneously, have been justified by appealing to the diversity of the materials

Figure 4: Abreu, Santos and Rocha Building, by the architect Amâncio de Alpoim de Miranda (Pancho) Guedes (1925-2015), mid 1950s, Av. Guerra Popular/ Praça dos Trabalhadores, *Baixa*, Maputo, 2014. This building is in the inventory of built heritage in Maputo made by the Ministry of Culture. Source: Author.



⁸This should be stressed, given that, in Mozambique, the attitude towards the remaining cultural heritage differs. This is the case, for instance, of archaeological sites with cave paintings and of archaeological ruins of the Zimbabwe type in Manica province, which traditionally have been under the management and custody of the local rural communities (JOPELA, 2006, 2014).

⁹Architectural restoration constitutes a particular notion of restoration as commonly understood and differs from it not in its theoretical principles but in its practical operability — in the consistency, dimension and “spatiality” of the objects it concerns (BRANDI, 2000, p. 77; CARBONARA, 1997, p. 11), which are inseparably linked to a “historical site” and to their own environment (cf. CABRAL; ANDRADE, 2012, p. 106; ZEVI, 2004, p. 57-64). For the analysis of the changes in the concept of restoration over time and for the contextualisation of the current debate in Europe, and for complementary bibliographical references, see CARBONARA, 1996, 1997, 2011; CASIELLO, 1996, 2008; CESCHI, 1970; CHOAY, 2000; DEZZI BARDESCHI, 2006; JOKILEHTO, 1999, 2003, 2007; NETO, 2001, p. 25-61.

and construction technologies it employs (Figure 4), which are quite distinct from those of former periods (KUHL; SALVO, 2006, p. 198-210; SALVO, 2007, p. 265-335). The question of conservation, however, begins with the issue of “recognition”, which is related to specific conditions in each area, affecting all geographies. This is especially complex in realities with recent colonial heritages. Apart from the nature of the local traditions, the poor organisation of the tutelage and management of heritage, and the lack of skilled staff in government bodies and adequate funding, technicians are faced with the fact that a great part of the population does not identify with colonial models (BERTI, 2003, p. 66) and/or ignores the relevance of a great part of the cultural heritage of their cities — I refer specifically to the built heritage of the “cities of cement”⁸ — as well as the need for its protection. Consequently, many citizens acknowledge neither the value (historical/documental or artistic) of the built heritage nor their own role as tutors.

CONSERVATION OF THE MATERIAL HERITAGE OF MOZAMBIQUE: ISSUES, PRACTICES AND CHALLENGES

The attribution of value to certain vestiges of the past, in Western Europe, was directly related to the notion of authenticity. It progressively leaned towards the study of the object and later on to the conservation of its matter, understood as a material testimony in perpetual transformation and the only guarantee of any other possibility of interpretation and conservative intent. In Europe, the conservation of built heritage is directly related to the theory of restoration⁹. It is due to reasons of culture and memory (at the core of this discipline) that the study of heritage should be extended to other geographies, which deal with recent colonial memories, taking into account that, outside Europe, the interpretations of heritage and its conservation have adopted very different forms.

Recent scholarship has evidenced the lack of comprehensiveness of the thinking on “authenticity” and “identity”, which in the European tradition are associated with the cult of matter, in “other” cultural environments. In sub-Saharan Africa, some academics discuss ways of dealing with problems peculiar to local heritage, unfamiliar to the European tradition: the “places of memory” are approached according to symbolic categories, regardless of their formal and material characteristics (JONG; ROWLANDS, 2007; JOPELA, 2006; TOMSZEWSKI, 2004). Thus, the use of conservation models and of international charters on heritage, clearly identified with a Eurocentric matrix, often becomes incongruous, as it overlooks the conditions for implementation and/or values associated with the cultural heritage of local communities¹⁰. The issue takes on new aspects when we analyse the extensive modern and modernist production inherited by post-colonial societies, whose maintenance in efficient conditions is glaringly unsuited to the living conditions of most of their tenants. Even more complex are the issues associated with heritage management and the development of clearly dysfunctional urban environments in modern cities planned for racial segregation (JAPHA, 2003, p. 97-98).

¹⁰ On this subject and particularly on the Mozambican context, see CARRILHO, 2005, p. 15-17, p. 56-61, p. 107-108; DIERNA, 2005; FORJAZ, 1997, 2005, p. 73-78.

Modern and modernist heritage raises complex questions of evaluation and conservation in all geographies, assuming particular specificities in post-colonial realities. This complexity is heightened in several sub-Saharan African contexts, where pre-colonial heritage consists mainly of archaeological sites and elements invested with precise symbology and living culture. Unlike other regions of Africa subjected to modern colonialism, which possess perennial pre-colonial urban settlements (JENKINS, 2013, p. 61-62), modern heritage in Mozambique, due to its quantitative (and qualitative) dimension, acquires an inescapable significance, inextricably linked to the socio-political history of the country. It incorporates the (not always evident) products of the dissemination of forms and technologies, of the Indian and Arab Worlds, of the Anglo-Saxon World (due to the laborious proximity to South Africa), and of the paradigmatic shift in the ways of designing and building (and of generating wealth, heightening racial inequality) that real estate and industrial endeavour underwent at the end of the colonial period. Although Mozambican legislation on heritage is far-reaching and aims to establish the protection of all its categories, including that of the colonial period, it is undisputable that the association of most modern buildings and urban ensembles (Figures 4 and 5) with the worsening of colonialism continues to play a significant role on the appreciation of its value as cultural heritage.

Ultimately, conservation is motivated by the values that society recognises in or projects onto the object, and should primarily be understood as an “act of culture” rooted in necessities “of memory” (CARBONARA, 1997). This process is closely related to the changeable relationship that a given culture and historical context establishes with its past.

With the approval of the Decree-Law No. 10/88 of December 22nd — specific regulations for the protection of archaeological heritage, Decree No. 27/94 of July 20th (MOÇAMBIQUE, 1994), and for the heritage of the National Liberation Struggle, Decree-Law No. 13/2009 of February 25th (MOÇAMBIQUE, 2009), have been approved since then —, “[...] *all monuments and archaeological*

Figure 5: Partial view of *Baixa*, Maputo, 2013, with the Municipal Council (centre), the Cathedral and Independence Plaza with its monument to Samora Machel.
Source: Author.



Figure 6: Plan of Lourenço Marques (central area), ca. 1903, with the tracings of the expansion of the port and of the northern city limits. Some buildings from that period that persist to today (although with some changes) are indicated: the Dona Amélia Institute, now Iron House (Port. *Casa de Ferro*), which was moved, in the early 1970s, from the Office of Surveying (Port. *Repartição de Agrimensura*) to the area neighbouring the Vasco da Gama/Tundurú Garden (1); the British Consulate (2); Hotel Clube, currently the French-Mozambican Cultural Centre (Port. *Centro Cultural Franco-Moçambicano*) (3); Vila Jónia, currently the Supreme Court (4); the Central Market (5); the Pott building (6); the Civilian Jail, currently an annex of the National Press (7); the Mayor's Hall, currently the Administrative Court (8); the Mosque (9); the Yellow House (Port. *Casa Amarela*) (10); the House of Tiles (Port. *Casa dos Azulejos*) (11); and the Fortress (12).
Source: Author, based on the "Plano do projectado esgoto e aterro do pantano de Lourenço Marques por S.T. Hall, Dezembro de 1876. Cópia de Augusto de Castilho", AHM (D1.03/2021), the "Planta de Lourenço Marques levantada em 1886, Escala 1:5000", AHM (N.º 1711/D.29/2006) and the "Planta da Cidade Lourenço Marques 1903, Escala 1: 5000", AHM (2014/D.37). The dotted line indicates the area of historical and architectural protection of *Baixa*, proposed by the SEC in 1984.

¹¹This delimitation was the result of a 1984 study — the "Study on the Urban Valuation of Maputo's Baixa" (Port. *Estudo da Valorização Urbanística da Baixa de Maputo*) (SEC, 1984) — that encompassed a part of the Bairro Central and the *Baixa* areas of Maputo. This study was furthered by the Service of Built Heritage (Port. *Serviço do Património Edificado*), at the Department of Monuments (Port. *Departamento de Monumentos*), at the National Directorate of Cultural Heritage (Port. *Direção Nacional do Património Cultural*) at the State Secretariat of Culture (Port. *Secretaria de Estado da Cultura* — SEC) (FRANCO DEMENDONÇA, 2016, p. 260-261).

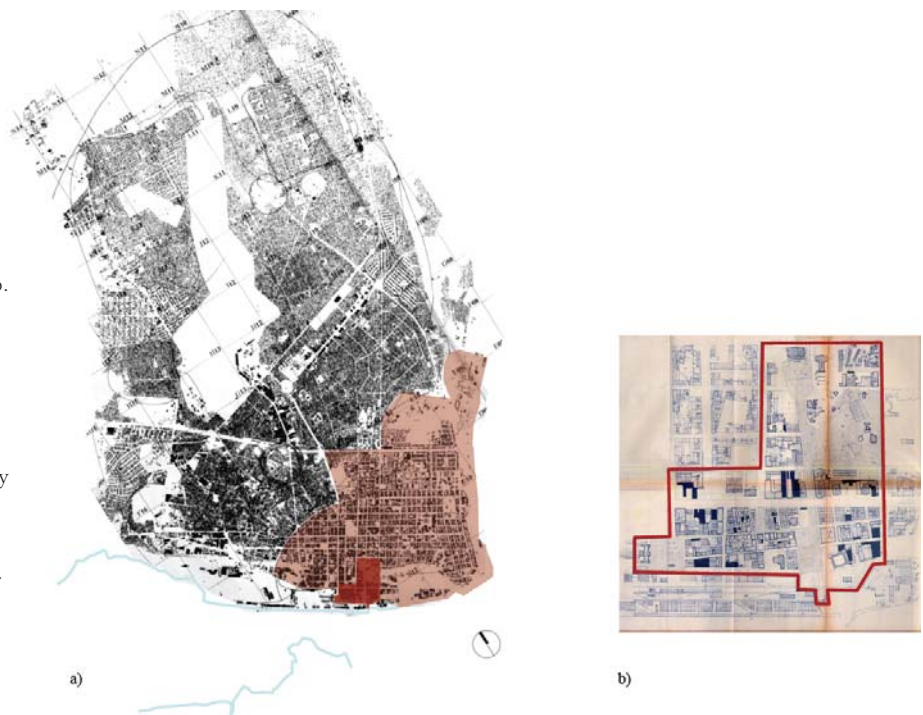
elements", "all buildings erected on a date prior to the year 1920" (MOÇAMBIQUE, 1988, Chapter IV, Art. 7) and the historic centres of the major cities immediately became legally protected. The latter comprehends what remains of the early Portuguese colonial settlement in the old downtown (Port. *Baixa*). However, neither the proposal for the delimitation of the area under historical and architectural protection in Maputo's *Baixa* (which dates back to 1984)¹¹ nor the subsequent legislation for the protection of national cultural heritage (Decree-Law no. 10/88, of December 22nd) has ensured the protection of the designated ensemble or of particular buildings. If we take into account that only a relatively small set of material testimonies dating back to the initial period of the city persisted to the present day (Figure 6), comparatively to the extensive architectural repertoire built between the 1940s and the end of the colonial period, then this policy excludes most of the city, leaving it to the will of individual citizens.

The Decree-Law No. 10/88, of December 22nd, did not lead to a “National Inventory of Monuments, Ensembles and Sites”, and neither did it lead to a registry of designated immovable cultural properties (in the “Archive of Cultural Patrimony”, Port. *Tombo do Património Cultural*) identifying legally protected buildings that could contribute towards their contextualization in the process of urban planning and foster adequate protection measures. The lack of a systematic and up-to-date inventory and, until recently, of a specific regulation on designated heritage (which was approved towards the end of 2016¹²) has skewed the evaluation of the (more and more frequent) construction licensing processes by the technical staff of City Executive Councils (Port. *Conselhos Executivos de Cidade*), the institution that oversees the area of Culture and the National Council on Cultural Patrimony (Port. *Conselho Nacional do Património Cultural*). It has also skewed any unified strategy for the conservation and sustainable management of built heritage.

¹²The “Regulation on the Management of Immovable Cultural Heritage” (Port. *Regulamento sobre a Gestão de Bens Culturais Imóveis*) was approved with the Decree-Law No. 55/2016 of November 28th, 2016, and published in the *Bulletin of the Republic* (Port. *Boletim da República*), Series I, no. 142, November 28th, 2016, p.1257-1268.

If this modern built heritage remained, until very recently, “intact” (although deteriorated), it was due mainly to the absence of “dynamism” in the urban land speculation market. This situation, however, has changed drastically over the last decade, as construction and real estate multinationals have established themselves in Maputo. In this neoliberal context, the processes of production of urban space have promoted socio-spatial disparities and hampered the outline of a strategy for the safeguard of built heritage. The accelerated replacement/ renewing of the urban fabric threatens the balanced survival of the *Baixa* ensemble and, more importantly, menaces the social and environmental sustainability of the urban system itself. This is reflected in the exacerbation of the differences between the “city of cement”, where investment in real estate is concentrated, with a focus on the upper classes, and the areas outside the “city of cement” (Figure 7), which lack infrastructures and habitability conditions.

Figure 7: a) Partial plan of Maputo. The “city of cement” and the protected area of *Baixa* are highlighted. Source: Author, based on mappings from FAPF-UEM, 2014; b) plan of the “Area Under Historical and Architectural Protection in the Centre of the City of Maputo” (Port. *Zona de Proteção Histórico-Arquitetónica no Centro da Cidade de Maputo*), SEC/Cabinet of Conservation and Restoration (Port. *Gabinete de Conservação e Restauro*), 1984. Source: SEC, 1984.



The deterioration and the gradual disappearance of the architectural repertoire of the “city of cement” is partly due to the legal vacuum that precluded an adequate framework for the conservation of buildings and urban ensembles that potentially constitute a patrimony of the city and the country — I say “potentially” because they are not seen as such — and partly due to the consistently insufficient training of technical staff on built heritage in the National Directorate of Cultural Heritage, the body of the Ministry of Culture that coordinates policies on monuments, ensembles and sites¹³. Without meeting these legal and training conditions and without the dissemination of suitable codes of practice, effective oversight and sufficient funds, the implementation of an actual “Policy on Monuments” and “on Museums”¹⁴, like the one that has been passed into law by the Council of Ministers in 2010, faces great difficulties.

There is, however, growing interest and understanding of the value and importance of immovable heritage for Mozambique’s culture, history and identity (OUIS *et al.*, 2010, p. 19). In 2009, the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning at Eduardo Mondlane University (Port. *Faculdade de Arquitetura e Planeamento Físico da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* — FAPF-UEM), with the support of the Italy-Mozambique Cooperation (Port. *Cooperação Itália-Moçambique*), conducted a project on the valuation of Maputo’s built heritage that systematized documentation “on about 200 buildings of historical, environmental or architectural value” (LAGE, 2010, p. 3; translation by the author) and aimed to inventory and designate this heritage (Figures 8 and 9). This project also outlined a methodology for the designation of built heritage, formalized and submitted a proposal for the designation of 30 buildings and one urban ensemble to the Municipal Council of Maputo and proposed ‘the approval of a “Regulation of the Protection of Built Heritage” (Port. *Regulamento de Proteção do Património Cultural Edificado*) to the competent bodies of the State’ (LAGE, 2010, p. 3; translation by the author).

¹³This is currently being improved at the level of higher education (bachelor’s degree) at the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences at Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique’s architecture colleges do not yet offer post-graduate education in this area.

¹⁴The “Policy on Monuments” and the “Policy on Museums” were approved on April 27th, 2010, with the Resolution no. 12/2010 and the Resolution no. 11/2010, respectively, and constitute documents of reference for government practice in these areas.



Figures 8 and 9: Inventory of the built heritage of the city of Maputo. Map of the 200 inventoried buildings and the protected area of *Baixa* proposed by the SEC, 2010. Source: FAPF-UEM.

¹⁵ Some of the buildings designated during the colonial period are the Museum of Military History/Fortress (Port. *Museu de História Militar/Fortaleza de Nossa Senhora da Conceição*), the Currency Museum (Port. *Museu da Moeda/Casa Amarela*), the Iron House (Port. *Casa de Ferro*), the Supreme Court (Port. *Tribunal Supremo/Vila Jóia*), the Franco-Mozambican Cultural Centre (Port. *Centro Cultural Franco-Moçambicano/Hotel Clube*) and the Palace of Ponta Vermelha (Port. *Palácio da Ponta Vermelha*).

The project was coordinated by a group of scholars at FAPF-UEM, in collaboration with the Municipal Council of Maputo, the Ministries of Culture, Tourism and Public Works and several external consultants (LAGE, 2010, p. 3). Several meetings and seminars were held to discuss “(i) methodologies and legislative challenges, (ii) issues of identity and cultural appropriation; and (iii) issues relating to the designation of modern heritage” (LAGE, 2010, p. 3; translation by the author). The designation of an initial set of buildings and memorials led to the expectation that the authorities would expand the process of inventory and designation to other elements, but neither the proposal of designation nor the regulation of protection of built heritage were approved.

The proposal of designation includes several buildings designated during the colonial period¹⁵, three memorials erected in the post-independence period — to Samora Machel (1933-1986), Eduardo Mondlane (1920-1969) and the Mozambican Heroes — and a vast urban ensemble that includes the historic quarters of Mafalala, Chamanculo and Xipamanine, located outside the “city of cement”.

By the end of 2014, owing to the “Partial Urbanization Plan of the Downtown of Maputo” (Port. *Plano Parcial de Urbanização da Baixa de Maputo* — PPUBaixa), fostered by the Municipal Council of Maputo, the inventory of urban heritage exceeded three hundred buildings. The PPUBaixa partially recovered information contained in the “Urban Structural Plan of the Municipality of Maputo” (Port. *Plano de Estrutura Urbana do Município de Maputo* — PEUMM), approved in 2008 and currently in force, and in the proposed list of designated sites submitted for approval in 2010, which had resulted from the project mentioned above, namely in the proposal for the designation of certain buildings located in the “designated” ensemble of *Baixa*. This overlap of tutelage criteria, however, confounds the goals for the protected area of *Baixa*, given that it does not preclude the demolition and alteration of certain buildings perceived as being of lesser historical and architectural significance. Indeed, this dubious situation becomes even more harmful for the conservation of the urban ensemble, since the buildings perceived as having “less” historical and architectural interest (which are not designated and are not in the process of becoming designated) may be more easily and gradually eliminated or radically transformed, depending on the demands of the market, leaving only a few scattered and decontextualized old buildings with “more” historical and architectural interest (which are designated or in the process of becoming designated).

It must be acknowledged that only a minority in the local academic context recognizes the relevance of the study and conservation of “recent” built heritage (associated with the colonial context). Moreover, there is a long way to go to achieve an effective conservation, both in terms of legal protection — with the inventory and the designation of buildings and urban areas and their subsequent conservation —, and in the adequate training of technical staff for this field of study and for the practice of conservation — the promotion of critical awareness and technical expertise. This is because, as well put by Françoise Choay (1992 apud NETO, 2001, p. 40 “[...] *vouloir et savoir “classer” des monuments est une chose, savoir ensuite les conserver physiquement et les restaurer est une autre affaire qui repose sur d’autres connaissances*”).

CONCLUSION

There are many difficulties involved in the (consecutively postponed) survey, recognition and designation of the built heritage in the city of Maputo. These difficulties, as mentioned above, stem not only from structural difficulties, but also from the understanding of “development” conveyed by the national elites, “overtaken by the “modernising” vertigo of globalisation” (CABAÇO, 2007, p. 431; translation by the author).

The approach to the complex urban reality of Maputo and the evaluation of its built heritage cannot rely uniquely on the referents of the colonial built heritage (and an anachronistic artistic aspiration in architecture and urbanism), or, on the other hand, the urban models propagated by the West. As Paul Jenkins (2013, p. 240) points out, “[...] *what exists in the[se] urban areas [...] is a form of urbanity in its own right, which needs to be understood as such, and not seen as abnormal, deficient, exotic, chaotic, and so on, as it is often perceived and portrayed*”. Neither the State nor the formal private sector have been able to respond to the growing demand for infrastructures, services, jobs and security. In this context, citizens are creating their urbanity “from below”: “[...] *the physical aspects of the city reflect the social and cultural agency of homemaking and urbanity of its residents*” (HONWANA, 2013, p. xiii).

A possible strategy for the study and conservation of heritage should focus on the population and the development of infrastructural and cultural conditions for better living standards (KING, 2007, p. 23), leading to the participation of the population and genuine interest in this issue. The motivations for heritage conservation are found in the cultural context where “recognition” takes place, not in the material nature of the object. This operation is primarily a problem of ethics and interpretation, which regards “subjects”, and secondly a technical problem that regards “objects”.

List of Acronyms

AHU: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archive), Lisbon

AHM: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (Mozambican Historical Archive), Maputo

ANC: African National Congress

APIE: Administração do Parque Imobiliário do Estado (State Real Estate Administration)

FAPF: Faculdade de Arquitetura e Planeamento Físico (Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning)

SEC: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura (State Secretariat of Culture)

UEM: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Eduardo Mondlane University)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

ZANU: Zimbabwe African National Union

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