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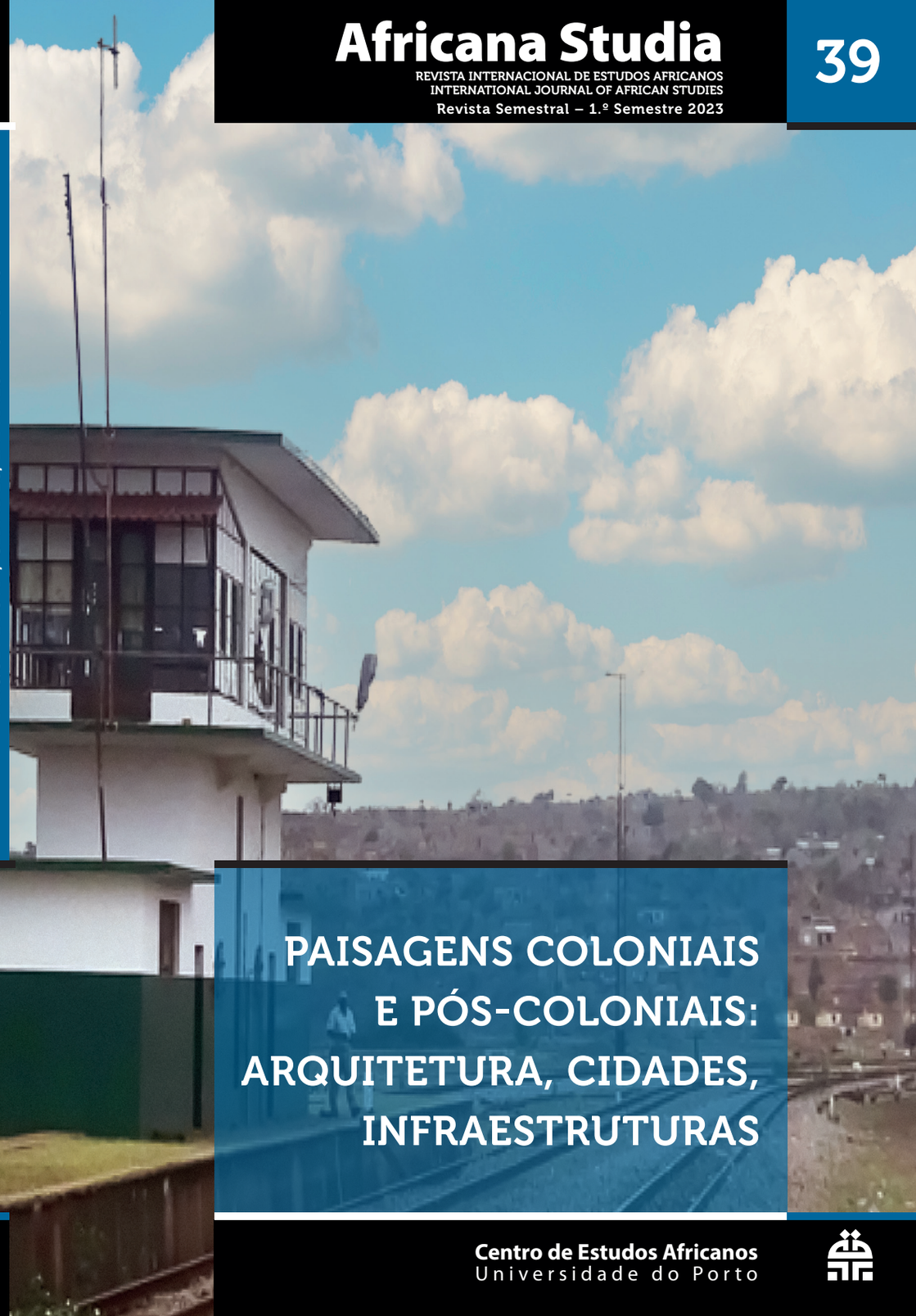

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Surveying essences, producing culture: virgin landscapes and the architectural reinvention of the late Portuguese empire[1]

Rui Aristides Lebre*

pp. 49-58

Introduction

Portuguese modern architecture is often studied, represented and discussed along two key narratives of global regionalism: tropical modern and regional modern. The first corresponds to architectural innovation during the late phase of Portugal's colonial empire, the second to architectural innovation as part of nation building. They are usually kept separate in the literature, reproducing the invisibility of colonial reality in modern nation building at which the Portuguese dictatorship excelled. This article proposes to question this separation and the knowledge that was produced from it by looking at how Portuguese architectural knowledge flowed between colonial and national realities throughout the 1950s and 1960s. We will not separate between empire and nation, but instead depart from the notion such a frontiers to the ideological result of colonialism itself. Bearing this in mind, we will examine the development of a modern ethnographic sensibility after WWII and how it grounded architectural rationalities, within the networks of Portugal's colonial empire. This analysis takes as its starting point the study of colonial surveys of Guinean dwelling (1948-1968) and the influential survey *Folk Architecture in Portugal* of 1961, from which it hope to argue how these made "primitive" landscapes inspire architects to craft the ideal of a "culturally committed" imperial modernism. This article is about asking: how much of our modern, functional, *critical* regionalism arises from the conditions of empire? And its main aim is to argue for the importance of bringing colonial history into our discussion of modern architectural knowledge, thus breaking away with the obfuscation of the colonial histories and subaltern realities that make our present.

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1 This article results from the early stages of a postdoctoral research conducted at the Centre for Social Studies, Coimbra, from 2018 to 2021, with the title "Architectures for a 'fifth' empire: luso-tropical spatialities and Portuguese imperial modernity, 1945-1974". It was first presented at the international congress *Colonial and Postcolonial Landscapes*, 17 January 2019, in Lisbon, in the panel "Globalized Regionalism: the inheritance of colonial infrastructure". I would like to thank my fellow panelists and the public for the insightful discussion that took place during our panel and from which this paper learned.

Ethnography and Architecture as imperial formations

Late nineteenth-century European projects of empire energized the development of several modern forms of expertise. This occurred in direct relation to the expansion of European colonial dominion, namely over Africa after 1895, and how colonial dominion propelled specific forms of knowledge (Beasley, 2005), as well as constituting itself a particular knowledge formation (Stoler, 2009). Anthropologists and architects, among other professionals, were two modern experts growing into professional "organizers of imperial culture," as Gramsci (Forgacs, 2000) might put it. The intimacy between empire, colonialism and the development of these disciplines in their modern iterations is thick to the point of making it difficult to appreciate their pre-modern foundation without the taint of colonial successes. This is clearly the case with anthropology, whose foundation is the direct result of concerns arising from the conditions of empire (Dirks, 1992). Sometimes critical, others apologetic of colonial endeavors, it seems today consensual anthropology developed its systems of veridiction, mission and methods from cultural conditions of domination (Talal, 1973 & Apter, 1999). To the point that later, post-Edward Said and Michel Foucault, members of this intellectual discipline could claim that 'Western' anthropology was responsible for power-laden things as the *idea of Africa* (Mudimbe, 1988). This is not the case with architecture. Its role as cultural organizer of empire, albeit more visible and visibly permanent than anthropology's, is curiously less clear to modern scholars and observers. Part of this has to do with how architectural history is commonly told from an European perspective, usually underreporting architecture's role in creating and maintaining violent colonial systems.

Within any history of architecture produced in Europe or North-America, one may easily find two constants: there are scarcely any architecture exemplars beyond the territories of Greece, Rome and Christianity; second, the profession – the practice is another issue – is at least 2000 years old, dating back to ancient Egypt at least (Benevolo, 1960, Mumford, 1961, Frampton, 1985).[2] This means that European colonial architecture is merely a sub-episode in a larger historical mission. According to historian James-Chakraborty (2014), however, this sub-episode is one of the most "*dynamic sub-disciplines*" of architectural history. In the wake of Said's *Orientalism* a plethora of critical studies on colonial and postcolonial discourses and their cultural impacts developed, architecture was not exempt. Multiple studies of the role of space in imperial definition opened the discipline to critical understandings of its historical role in organizing cultures of domination. Yet, despite the sub-discipline's dynamism it essentially remains a speck in architecture's grand history: a specialist's domain. This bears a particular effect in research and knowledge about colonial architecture: it emphatically narrates colonial building as a peculiar time-bound phenomenon – closed off in the past and its very particular "cultural context" – instead of narrating colonialism as a key historical period for the edification of modern ideas and innovation. Architects usually emerge as artistic and civic counter-cultural agents in this narrative. This is very much the case in Portuguese architectural historiography, where modern architects directly involved in building the dictatorship's colonial presence are systematically portrayed as victims caught between dictatorial constraint and libertarian modernism. The richness and violence of the colonial encounter is magically translated into an innocuous and heroic language of

[2] These are just three examples of highly influential histories of architecture that perform these two points. I must clarify this argument sins by being too polemical, given that many strides have been made in the last 15 years to make architecture history adopt a global historiographic perspective, namely by including examples from other cultures than those found in the "Western" part of the globe. Many of these efforts come on the back of much older efforts of trying to open architecture's repertoire and exclusion of significant parts of living reality, such as Amos Rapoport's *House, Form, and Culture* (1969), to name just one example. Currently, there are many excellent historical studies and curricula engaging with global and inclusive approaches such as, for instance, Ching *et al.* (2017), Global History of Architecture, 3rd edition.

style. This paper explores the hypothesis that empire was not a speck in the long history of architecture, but a central, defining, experience for modern architecture's epistemology and agency.

Knowledge of the other, form over the other

To tackle this hypothesis let us address the concrete settings of late Portuguese colonialism and its architectural horizons in Africa, particularly in Guinea-Bissau. For Portuguese colonialism, African colonies after the war (WWII) where the place for intense architectural production, as is overwhelmingly argued by research (Fernandes, 2005, Milheiro, 2011, Tostões, 2013). International and local pressures after 1945 to make European nations renounce their colonies made the dictatorship intensify its colonial presence and, equally important, change its narrative. This assumed the form of developmental policies, in the wake of similar turns to colonial developmentalism by Belgium, France and Britain. As argued by Milheiro (2013), this phase of colonial architecture, specifically centered in housing and town-planning, constituted a new period of architectural creativity. According to her, a creativity spun from an attentive care to "native" habits and forms, grounded in surveys of indigenous spatial types and shapes. This coincided with Giberto Freyre's (1961) galvanization of *Luso-tropicalism* for broad Portuguese audiences and the newly appointed Minister of Overseas Provinces Adriano Moreira's "progressive" colonial agenda, laying out a culturalist-inspired developmental colonial policy. It also coincided with the publication of what was to become the influential architecture survey *Folk Architecture in Portugal* (1961). So, by the early 1960s, several ideological discourses, political strategies and creative materials converged on the idea of a multiracial, regionalist, imperial Portuguese culture, and architects had a part in shaping it. According to this timeline, the 1960s were the highpoint of a new regionalist and tropical modern architecture, and arms sales on the other hand. In the background, war was brewing in Angola.

Despite the aura of progress, one of the key elements for this period's architectural innovation – an ethnographic attention to indigenous spatial practices – had its foundation in long-established colonial practices. Not straying too far, since at least the mid-nineteenth century, in-depth knowledge of African cultures and communities was quite relevant for wartime imperial interests. After-all, colonial military officials had the acquired habit of studying the culture of the enemy. With the modern development of anthropology and geography, this somewhat informal practice became professionalized. The ethnographic work leading to the colonial exhibition of 1936 in Porto, for instance and coordinated by army captain Henrique Galvão, was a mature exemplar of this military-framed ethnographic attention, then produced as a celebration of imperial modernity and superiority. Ethnographic study of African and Asian populations continued to be developed, sharpening and diversifying, eventually gaining institutional solidity. Such is the case of the *Centre of Studies of Guinea-Bissau*, founded in late 1945 by the frigate captain and governor of the colony Manuel Sarmento Rodrigues and second-lieutenant António Teixeira da Mota. In 1946 they started regular publishing of the *Cultural Bulletin of Portuguese Guinea*, a then new and central medium for the propagation of an ethnographically attentive colonization.

This institution promoted the first comprehensive study of indigenous dwelling in the Portuguese empire with the survey *Native housing in Portuguese Guinea* (Mota & Neves, 1948). Published thirteen years before *Folk Architecture in Portugal*, this survey collected reports from a variety of military and state personnel, former state employees and settlers, and harnessing various disciplinary approaches. Looking at the document today, it is a richly layered account of not only dwelling architecture, but of dwelling habits and traditions in

a broader sense. The surveyors' directives – to fully understand indigenous names, their relation to creed and use, and make abundant use of drawing – allowed a nuanced portrait of Guinea's social-material landscapes. This richness should not, however, distract us from the fact that it was about placing Guineans within a network of political, social and economical problems to be tackled by the colonial government, such as infectious disease, hygiene, agrarian economy and labor. Two elements powerfully inform both its interdisciplinary and colonial approach. First, the geographic surveys conducted by the *Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* coordinated by geographer and eminent colonial thinker Jacques Richard-Molard were a major inspiration. The latter advised the Portuguese survey, reviewing priorities and sharing materials – specifically the ethnographic maps the French developed for Guinea and based on which the Portuguese surveyors accomplish theirs. Secondly, the survey owed much to the travel impressions of colonial banker and administrator António Rubens Mano,[3] presented in May 16 of 1946 in Lisbon's Geographical Society, titled *A visit to Guinea*, and published a year later in the *Cultural Bulletin of Portuguese Guinea* (1947). Mano's impressions literally determine the survey's introduction and are sprinkled all throughout its more than 500 pages. Its presence is so ubiquitous that we must consider it shadows a wider frame of political and cultural reference.

Rubens Mano was a staunch believer of *Integralismo Lusitano*. This was a Portuguese intellectual movement from the early twentieth century that coalesced around the ideology of Portugal's divine calling to illuminate the world with Christian peace. It developed mostly in aristocratic intellectual circles during and after WWI and it was one of the Portuguese dictatorship's core ideological pools. From this intellectual movement, the dictatorship derived the notion that Portugal should not only keep colonies but fiercely hold on to them so as to fulfill its mission to civilize the world. For *Integralismo*, culture was an essential, immutable and fixed thing that magically moved Portuguese civilization into a bright future. So, it was something that needed to be reified and protected from nefarious contaminations, closely tied to race and an ecumenical notion of progress. A sort of spiritual functionalism that understood culture as a pre-modern whole. Applied to Guineans, it sounded something like this:

> "*The great institutions of negro life are similar in the whole continent, but each race realizes those institutions in a specific manner (...) What attracts, however, in the negro race is not its visible habits and customs that induce us in profound errors; it is the problem of the nature itself of the race, without the solution of which appearances are incomprehensible.*" (Mano, 1947: 491).

The survey's detailed description and drawings of walls, roofs, rooms, materials, are charged with this mission of unveiling an essence. Sometimes in a footnote, others in introductory remarks, the surveyors identify the "idle proclivity", the persistent "shortsightedness" and "uncleanliness", all of which read as natural, active in all Guinean forms of dwelling. The "*problem of the negro race*" already had a political answer for the majority of the surveyors, succinctly worded by Mano: "*The observation that affirms itself by the value of its consequences is that of the social immobility of this strange world. (...) The negro world, as a world specifically negro, one could say that, if not by nature, is socially crystalized*" (1947:

[3] Born in 1894 in central Portugal, Mano studies Law in Coimbra becoming a magistrate during the first years of the *First Portuguese Republic* (1910-1926). Disenchanted with the latter he departs to Guinea in the early 1910s to work in the Bank *Pinto & Sottomayer*. He becomes president of Guinea's commercial association, leading him into several administrative roles in the colony. After a short return to Lisbon, in 1936 he becomes President of the leading imperial political party in *Lourenço Marques*, Mozambique. That same year he participates in the *Economic Conference of the Empire* as a delegate. His knowledge of colonial matters apparently promotes him to lead the Moçambique's civil administration and, two years later in 1938, to be proclaimed Governor-General of Angola. So, his *impressions* of Guinea were not the result of an off-shoot trip abroad, but a certain distillation of imperial *savoir voire*.

492). This evidently forgot to bear in mind centuries of trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic cultural, economic and political history, a part of which occurring during the Atlantic trade in enslaved persons. Africans for Mano, simply didn't have the organic ability to transform themselves, stuck in an anachronistic evolutionary time, even though this went against the survey's own nuanced account of Guinea's dwelling cultures, whose lives were recognized to exist through long reaching networks that spanned several cultural, religious and economic landscapes (1948: 106). Nevertheless, as if all of this didn't matter, Guineans "*needed*" outside interference for their betterment. Like a military campaign, the survey had a specific instrumental end in view: "*As mentioned before, the populations in tribal dissociation are those in which it is easier to disseminate christianism and, in a general sense, proceed the policy of assimilation with success*" (idem: 106).

So, what were some of the implications of this *integral* ethnography? Teixeira da Mota was just to flustered not to celebrate governor and commander-in-chief Sarmento Rodrigues' "*greatest accomplishment*" of promoting the indigenous neighborhood of *Santa Luzia* in Bissau. Placed in the "*periphery of civilized populations*," to have the Portuguese whites transpire their "*positive influence*", the neighborhood's architecture could be understood as a translation of the survey's approach. The house plan loosely replicated the typology of *Manjaco* and *Mandinga* houses found in the north of Guinea, simplifying its elaborate social habits to an essentially two room house, a sleeping and a living room, behind which were a small kitchen and bathroom. Around this functional layout developed a wide verandah, in tune with the idea that Guineans spent almost all day outside. The houses were arranged in a modern suburban layout and accomplished in cement and zinc roofing. Indeed, in architectural grammar and form they served a *mimic* (Bhabha, 1994) of the colonial Portuguese: families of "*proper*" dimension, knowledge of Portuguese language, moral and professional merit, obliged to care for the garden, not allowed domestic animals or agricultural activities, proper use of western furniture, no sleeping on the floor, obliged to use spoon and fork, no subletting or accommodating people beyond the family, no more than one wife and, lastly, obligatory yearly lime-painting or *caiação* (1948: 107-109).

A modern Portuguese house indeed. In this case, a house charged with profound race, gender and class inequalities: the rectilinear plan was considered more "*civilized*" than the suggestively effeminate but much more common curved plans; women were given a working space, the kitchen, no larger than the so-called bathroom; farming/horticulture, the economic infrastructure of the great majority of Guineans, was blocked by the lovely array of roses supposed to embellish the white façade. The actual feeding of the colony happened somewhere else. Nevertheless, the survey and its ethnographic gaze brought this "somewhere else" to the core of colonial policy, not as a living landscape of needs and desires, but as a reported culture, "*crystalized*." This was not an *impromptu* gathering of like-minded military and colonial personnel with a particular taste for ethnography that, by chance, got the opportunity to build a modern neighborhood directed at "*assimilated*" Guineans. It was a long-forming empirical attitude of colonial power. The endangering of the colonial empire, with the rise of anti-colonial movements and Pan-Africanism, just made this attitude more enduring, professional and wide-ranging.

Enter the modern architect

The tense yet pliable frontier of colonial encounter has, of course, a long history of architectural contamination, adaptation and creativity. From the emergence of new typologies (King, 1984) to the development of intercultural dialogues, albeit unbalanced (Scriver & Prakash, 2007), to the outright foundation of new forms and utopias (Gutshow, 2009, LeRoux,

2004). Research on Portuguese colonial architecture innovation overwhelmingly points to post-WWII as being the richest period in architectural contamination and innovation. In part this was the result of the creation of a centralized metropolitan apparatus for colonial architecture and urban planning production, the *Colonial Planning Office* (Milheiro, 2013) which articulated a new strategic use of the urban master plan, the urban survey and modern housing for the success of colonial policy (Borges, 2004). The fact of the matter is that anxiety over losing its grip on the colonies, made the dictatorship ship a considerable number of young and enterprising professionals to the colonies. Among these were newly formed architects, emboldened by their modernist-inspired educations in Lisbon, Porto, London and Cape Town architecture schools (Castela, 2018). Of those active in Guinea-Bissau after WWII, two stand out in the literature: Fernando Schiappa de Campos (1926-2018) and Mário Gonçalves de Oliveira (1914-2013).

Campos stands out in the literature as a modernizer, an avant-garde thinker and practitioner, specifically credited with being able to articulate a tropical modern regionalism (Milheiro, 2010). Oliveira, on the other hand, was considered a man "*apart*" (Lôbo, 1995), someone appearing conservative in the 1940s, but later, in the colony, modern and progressive (Diniz, 2013). Despite the age difference, both were part of a generation of Portuguese architects that negotiated their careers between modernism and a call for tradition-performing modernization by the dictatorship. In planning, both were brought up with the practical lessons of seasoned French colonial planners such as Alfred Agache and Etiénne de Gröer.[4] Both French planners were part of a generation of urban professionals educated and inspired by the French human geography of the Paris school of Paul Vidal de la Blache and Albert Demangeon. This human geography made its way into Portugal through the works of geographers such as Orlando Ribeiro, and anthropologists such as Jorge Dias. Portuguese modern architects were taught to look at culture and place through these influences, such as Campos' and Oliveira, whose identities as architects, modernizers and colonial citizens, owed much to how the French experience of empire seeped into Portuguese expert networks. The centrality of both architects to late colonial architecture, however, is more related with their *"innovative"* role in producing a modern regionalism.

Campos' architectural designs are noticed for constituting exemplars of tropical modernism but also, and crucially, for arising from his survey of Guinean dwelling (Milheiro, 2013). Together with the architect António Saragga Seabra and the sociologist Amadeu de Castilho Soares, he conducted the *Study Commission of native habitat in Guinea*. It lasted between 1959 and 1960 and was promoted by the Overseas Research Office of the Overseas Ministry. The survey's results were close to Mota's survey fifteen years prior, albeit relying more on photography and investing a greater attention to design and construction processes. More importantly, Campos clearly spelled out the idea that planning should depart from the study of the "*native habitat,"* and he did so to an international audience, specifically to a UN conference in Geneva, 1962 (Campos, 1962). Similarly, Oliveira, is known for his defense of a similar idea: a colonial *"native"* modernization. He argued this by extensively drawing indigenous dwellings as a way of understanding, according to him, the *"native's essential dispositions towards space*", and then articulating these in master plans such as one for Bissau from 1961. Like Campos' survey, also this work was published with the intent to reach a wide audience, namely a national audience and specifically Overseas and Public Works Ministries' bureaucrats, with a suggestive title: *Overseas Urban planning, essential problems: urban structures of integration and conviviality* (1961).

[4] These were particularly active in various master plans in Portugal from the 1930s to the 1950s, as well as in the development of the political technology of the master plan itself, and lastly in the country's architecture schools (Lebre, 2017).

On the one hand, both architects' surveying of indigenous dwelling was still, as in 1948, reporting on a static, pre-modern, world. On the other hand, they articulated a cultural awareness of the empire's peoples in a new way. Both architects seem to relive the thrill of the discovery of "virgin" land in their surveys and resulting works. This, I believe, was both a personal and collective process of national rediscovery in a modernizing period. Brought the notion and experience of discovery to fuel a powerful idea: Portuguese modernity was, by nature, rooted in tradition and culture. An *integral* modernization. Theirs was the moment of the *luso-tropical* utopia (Castela, 2018). Their drawings and architectures a desire for a multi-racial imperial modernity. The fact that both publications are contemporary is not serendipity, but highlights the end of a period and beginning of a new one. Their surveys and planning works were no longer the situated result of Guinea's colonial government, such as the survey of 1948, instead they resulted from a centralized attempt to grip the colonies as war was starting in Angola, in 1961.

Campos and Oliveira, however, proceeded to reproduce the colonial rationalities of the 1948 survey. Campos, for instance, ends up overvaluing the straight lines of the *Manjaco* and *Mandinga* dwellings, over the abundant curved ones, for his architectural designs. This is no small detail, since his survey was highly influential, grounding urban planning surveys such as that for Bissau of 1968 by Martim Chichorro. Oliveira, is perhaps clearest in showing us the use of their representation of the *""pre-modern africans"*. Colonial Housing, according to him, needed to be developed with a *luso-tropical* horizon in mind was "*the fundamental base for a beneficial policy of development and conviviality of multiracial communities, already by us long practiced, by nature and sentiment.*" These "multiracial communities would "*automatically convert in perfect national communities*", and thus constitute "*extraordinary examples of our human solidarity*" he claimed (Oliveira, 1962: 10).

As the Angolan war was unfolding, and, Guinea-Bissau's was about to start (1963) Oliveira's faith allowed him to claim: "*The congenital modification of the psychobiological personality of the less evolved natives may be pursued (...) by the organization of well-developed neighborhood units*" (idem.: 12).

There were, nevertheless, relevant changes between Oliveira's vision for Bissau and the early *Santa Luzia* neighborhood, presented by Mota in 1948. The issue then was not so much about bordering the *"native"* in the periphery, but of finding ways of controlling the virgin "*psychobiological personality*" via "*education*" by the "*civilized*" Portuguese. Oliveira's and Campos' architectural visions, on the other hand, put the emphasis on preserving Africans from the negative influences of Portuguese colonization, that is, keeping the perceived *"civilizational"* differences in place. In this respect, they were echoing a similar cry for the protection of traditional dwelling in Portugal (Porto *et al.*, 1999) namely sparked by the contemporary *Folk Architecture in Portugal*. The concrete results of this, however, were the same: to create *mimics* of the white settler, straight lines instead of curved, white walls instead of mud, roses instead of food and above all else, to decide from the top how people are supposed to live, based on scientific colonial knowledge. After everything, it seems their ethnographic sensibility and cause brought them to a beaten path, a common principle of domination, a sort of proposition of colonial government that we may find best summarized in the following directives for colonial physicians:

> "*The health service physician will never forget his civilizing mission, of imminently educational tone, and will try to energetically fight, yet without violence, the superstitious and sorcery practices that conspire against the health and robustness of natives or contribute to the wasting of their races.*" (1947: 536).

Back in the imperial capital

Architects such as Campos and Oliveira ushered a new life to colonial architecture in the late 1950s and 1960s, namely in state sponsored architecture. Together with many other architects, they articulated a lively modern regionalism, projecting cultural symbolism and civic ideals into colonial norms and forms. The key influence for this cultural turn, as eminently argued by others (Milheiro, 2013, Castela, 2018), is discussed to be the survey *Folk Architecture in Portugal*, produced by architects of Campos' and Oliveira's education between 1956 and 1961. At about the same time as Campos was on his travails in Guinea, a dozen architects travelled Portugal's hinterland, producing a similar portrait of the dwelling traditions of its indigenous people. They were moved by similar notions of geography and culture, a similar stake in producing a rooted modernization and the same emphasis on dwelling as the crux of Portuguese modernization. And also in the midst of this survey *integralismo* found a place, namely by inspiration of Fernando Távora, one of the survey's coordinators. Like Campos and Oliveira, also these architect surveyors produced a crystalized pre-modern country that, like *Manjaco* and *Mandinga* cultures, needed to be protected from nefarious modern influences. One of its main proponents portrayed Portuguese indigenous cultures as "*close, static societies*" assaulted by the "*savage culture*" of individualistic "*europhoric*" progress (Pereira, 1988: 267). In fairness, and as later argued, this survey tried to seize a world "*about to disappear*," and articulated a professional elite's "*civic and cultural responsibilities*" (idem.).

This narrative was later used and is still in use to ground the *"innovation"* of Campos, Oliveira and many other colonial architects' tropical regionalism. Agreeing with Porto (2001: 28) that colonial processes need to be studied in the "*spaces of intersection between metropolis and colony,*" this article hopes to have been able to show how the narrative of *"innovation"* in question, needs to be framed within the problems and stakes of late Portuguese colonialism in Africa. If, as I tried to show, ethnographic attention to dwelling was not something *"from"* the metropolis, but an empirical form of government transversing the imperial formation, then it is more likely that colonial history had a greater role to play in colonial architectural innovation, than intellectual exchange in select metropolitan channels. The fact of the matter seems to be that a *"culturally committed"* form of architectural modernism and modernization dating back to the period we have been addressing, owes much to the colonial experiences that marked the period. In this respect, we would do well to remember Eggener's (2002) critique of *Critical Regionalism*. Talking about Frampton's (1985) use of Paul Ricoeur's binary opposition between being modern and returning to one's roots, he claimed: "*Insufficiently recognized is the fact that critical regionalism is, at heart, a postcolonialist concept*" (2002: 234). He was referring to the fact it is often a reading superimposed by a *"universal"* speaker on an indigenous *locale* after the event. In fact, the cases discussed in this article show that this practice of superimposition runs deeper and goes further back to colonialism. No nedd for the prefix "post". We should, perhaps, make a larger effort towards understanding critical regionalism's tropical or otherwise, entanglements with recent modern history, of which a relevant part is colonial history.

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