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## ODERN FORMS IN PICTURESQUE GARDENS: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN BRATKE'S HOUSES AND THE (SUB) URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF PAINEIRAS DO MORUMBI NEIGHBORHOOD

### ABSTRACT

This article examines three correlated works of architect Oswaldo Bratke: the urban development plan for Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood, outlined in the late 1940s, and the designs of Morumbi (1951) and Oscar Americano (1952) residences. Both houses were built simultaneously to the formation of the neighborhood and were placed on delimited sites of the plan's delineated glebe. Applied to some regions of São Paulo since the 1910s, the garden suburbs model inspired by the picturesque landscape of the garden city theorized by Howard was a reference to the urban pattern proposed by Bratke. On the other hand, the Morumbi and Oscar Americano residences, exemplars of the architecture idealized to that zone, are recognized as important modern Brazilian architecture works: the first was featured in the catalogs of Hitchcock (1955) and Mindlin (1956), while the latter was highlighted in relevant journals of the period such as *Acrópole* (1957) and *Habitat* (1957). Although these publications underline the harmony between the houses' architecture and context, they do not examine the neighborhood's urban development plan, or mention the decisive and active participation of Bratke, who acted as architect-entrepreneur in the real estate business operation. This article initially demonstrates, through a sequential analysis of the neighborhood model and the houses' projects, certain common design principles, which sought a coherent relationship between architecture and landscape. On the urban scale, however, it was verified that Bratke had not predicted to apply sophisticated strategies of landscaping on the neighborhood's plan. Instead, the architect just followed some urban design strategies already disseminated in São Paulo, which essentially intended to convert the landscape into a capitalization instrument. Similarly, it is argued that such attitude also seems to have been reflected in the visual appeal evident in the two houses, which incorporated the immediate landscape, indicating, from the architecture itself, the elite families' traditional way of life to which they would still accommodate. Based on previous studies about Bratke's career, this paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of these projects, which are relevant designs of Bratke's work and, until now, have been treated separately by the history of modern architecture.

### KEYWORDS

Modern Architecture. Oswaldo Bratke. Single-family housing. Garden suburbs.

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FORMAS MODERNAS EM JARDINS  
PITORESCOS: CORRELAÇÕES ENTRE AS  
CASAS DE BRATKE E A  
(SUB)URBANIZAÇÃO DO BAIRRO  
PAINEIRAS DO MORUMBI

RESUMO

O artigo examina o projeto de urbanização idealizado por Oswaldo Bratke para o bairro Paineiras do Morumbi, em São Paulo, ao final dos anos 1940, e os projetos das residências Morumbi (1951) e Oscar Americano (1952), construídas concomitantemente à formação do bairro em terrenos pertencentes à gleba delineada. Sabe-se que o modelo dos bairros-jardins implantados em algumas regiões da cidade a partir da década de 1910, que era inspirado na paisagem pitoresca da cidade-jardim teorizada por Howard, foi uma referência para o padrão urbano proposto por Bratke. Por outro lado, as residências Morumbi e Oscar Americano, exemplares da arquitetura idealizada para o local, são reconhecidas como obras importantes da arquitetura moderna brasileira: a primeira integrou os catálogos de Hitchcock (1955) e Mindlin (1956), enquanto a última foi destacada em periódicos relevantes do período, tais como as revistas *Acrópole* (1957) e *Habitat* (1957). Apesar dessas publicações destacarem a sintonia entre a arquitetura das residências e o contexto de inserção, nenhuma delas examina o projeto urbano, tampouco menciona a participação decisiva e ativa de Bratke – que atuava enquanto arquiteto-empresário – no empreendimento imobiliário. Ao analisar sequencialmente os projetos do bairro e das casas, este artigo demonstra, inicialmente, certos princípios de concepção comuns, que buscavam uma relação coerente entre arquitetura e paisagem. Na escala urbana, porém, verifica-se que Bratke não previu intervir sobre o bairro com estratégias sofisticadas de paisagismo, tendo acompanhado estratégias de desenho urbano já difundidas no contexto paulista, que buscavam, essencialmente, converter a paisagem em instrumento de capitalização. De forma similar, argumenta-se que tal atitude parece ter se refletido até mesmo no apelo visual evidente nas duas casas, que incorporavam a paisagem imediata evidenciando, desde a própria arquitetura, o modo de vida tradicional de famílias de elite a que ainda dariam suporte. Partindo dos estudos já realizados acerca da trajetória de Bratke, o trabalho pretende contribuir para uma melhor compreensão desses projetos, concepções relevantes enquanto produção do arquiteto e, até agora, tratadas separadamente pela historiografia.

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PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Arquitetura moderna. Oswaldo Bratke. Habitação unifamiliar. Subúrbios ajardinados.

## INTRODUCTION

In the 1950s, the catalogs *Latin American Architecture since 1945* (1955), by Henry-Russel Hitchcock, and *Modern Architecture in Brazil* (1956), by Henrique Mindlin, feature the Morumbi Residence, designed by the architect Oswaldo Bratke (São Paulo, 1907- 1997), among the significant works of modern architecture in the Latin American and Brazilian contexts, respectively. Designed for his own family in 1951, the house is considered by historians and critics as a turning point in Bratke's professional career, which until then was defined by an expressive number of eclectic works (CAMARGO, 2000, p. 106 and SEGAWA; DOURADO, 2012, p. 110). In 1952, at the request of Oscar Americano, Bratke designed a second house in the same region, which was shortly after built in a large park located right next to his property. The Americano's home was internationally published in the Italian catalog of Aloï (1961, p. 298-304) and, nationally, it was featured in relevant local journals, as in the magazines *Acrópole* (n. 226, 1957, p. 358-362) and *Habitat* (n. 45, 1957, p. 30-31). Together, the two houses integrated an extensive portion of the current Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood, which at that time was still a suburban zone starting its occupation. Not by coincidence, the real estate enterprise, which simultaneously with the construction of the houses, concretized the urban development of that place, was created by the initiative of Oswaldo Bratke and Oscar Americano, and it was planned by the architect according to the model of the garden suburbs implemented in São Paulo from the decade of 1910 on.

At the urban scale, the implications of the guidelines and procedures adopted by Bratke on the urbanization plan of the neighborhood are still not enough studied. At the scale of the houses, in the same way, if there are reflections, affinities or transpositions of the principles that guided the urban design for the architecture, they are also not evidenced. In general, the first publications of the houses in both the canonical catalogs of modern architecture history and in the magazines coincide in maintaining a certain common narrative. They highlight a supposed correspondence between the architecture of the residences and their immediate context or, in another way, the direct relation that those houses would have established with the natural landscape around them. However, such publications do not analyze or even mention the decisive and active participation of Bratke – who acted as architect-entrepreneur – in the real estate operation. This article intends to question the relations between the projects of the houses and the urbanization plan elaborated by Bratke for Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood, by examining the way that these designs manipulated the natural landscape of their surroundings.

At the end of this paper, although coherent relations between the architecture of the houses and the large gardens surrounding them are recognized, we demonstrate, however, that Bratke did not predict in his urbanization project to develop the neighborhood with a specific or sophisticated landscaping, planned exclusively for the territorial scale where he intervened. In the context of São Paulo, Bratke's plans for Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood did not differ from the previous urban design strategies already employed in the first garden suburbs implemented in São Paulo, which although innovated by offering a picturesque urban design and differentiated placements for houses, essentially sought to convert a privileged natural scenario into a capitalization instrument. Such a

strategy seems to have been incorporated even into the visual appeal evident in both houses, which, at the same time as they oppose themselves to the surrounding landscape, they also incorporated it by showing, from the architecture itself, the elite families' traditional way of life to which they would still accommodate.

Before moving forward, however, it is important to precisely define the term "landscape" used in this text, considering the multiplicity and complexity of meanings encompassed by the multiple disciplines that it involves. In semantic terms, "landscape", for the purposes here intended, refers simply to nature, or to the relationship between natural elements and components not yet transformed by human action. Such a definition, among many, probably the simplest one, and usually taken as a common sense, was best explained by Ritter (1997, p. 63, apud BARTALINI, 2013, p. 39), who justifies this definition of landscape as a "specific organ" to refer essentially to visual aspects, that is, to give nature a certain "aesthetic presence".

<sup>1</sup> Popularly, Morumbi is also referred to as a neighborhood. However, to avoid ambiguous interpretations, this work adopts the current definition of São Paulo's City Hall, which refers to Morumbi as a district composed by seventeen neighborhoods (PONCIANO, 2001, p. 144).

The panorama of Bratke's works has already been recovered in Camargo's (1995, 2000) researches, as well as in the extensive publication of Segawa and Dourado (1997, 2012 2. ed.), which constitute the fundamental bibliographical scope produced so far about the architect. However, the projects he carried out in Morumbi still deserve more attention. Considering the significant studies already made, this article seeks to broaden the perceptions about these recognized projects of Oswaldo Bratke's career, which, until now, are still addressed separately by modern architecture history. To do so, the text is organized in three parts, which follow the chronological order of the projects. The first one deals with the urbanization plan of the Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood. The second one analyses the designs of the Morumbi and Oscar Americano residences. Finally, in the last part, the correlations between the neighborhood urbanization plan and the designs of the houses are discussed.

## THE (SUB) URBANIZATION OF PAINEIRAS DO MORUMBI NEIGHBORHOOD

The most significant (sub) urbanization process of the neighborhoods that today compose the Morumbi district began during the late 1940s<sup>1</sup>, when the fast urban growth of São Paulo pressured the occupation of peripheral areas then located on the banks of Tietê and Pinheiros rivers (CAMPOS, 2002, p. 294). Unlike the suburbanization led by railway and associated with low-income classes, the occupation of Morumbi neighborhoods is directly related to the city's road network expansion and the spread of car use. Starting in the 1930s, the execution of a series of road infrastructure works by the public authorities, such as the partial implementation of the "Avenues Plan" of Prestes Maia, and the adjustment of Pinheiros River channel, not only facilitated the mobility between the main urban center and Morumbi, but also created an expectation of future urban development for the region. This made possible several urbanization projects, among them, those designed by the architect Oswaldo Bratke.

According to Camargo (2000, p. 126), Bratke came across Morumbi in the 1930s, when the current district was still a rural area, occupied by farms and tea-growing

Figure 1: Aerial photograph of the city of São Paulo in 1958. The region which corresponds to the current neighborhoods of Paineiras do Morumbi, Jardim Leonor, Real Parque and Jardim Morumbi is highlighted in red on the left side of the image.

Source: Geoportall Memória Paulista Geoportall platform. Available at: <<http://www.geoportall.com.br/memoriapaulista>>. Access in: Oct. 10th, 2016.

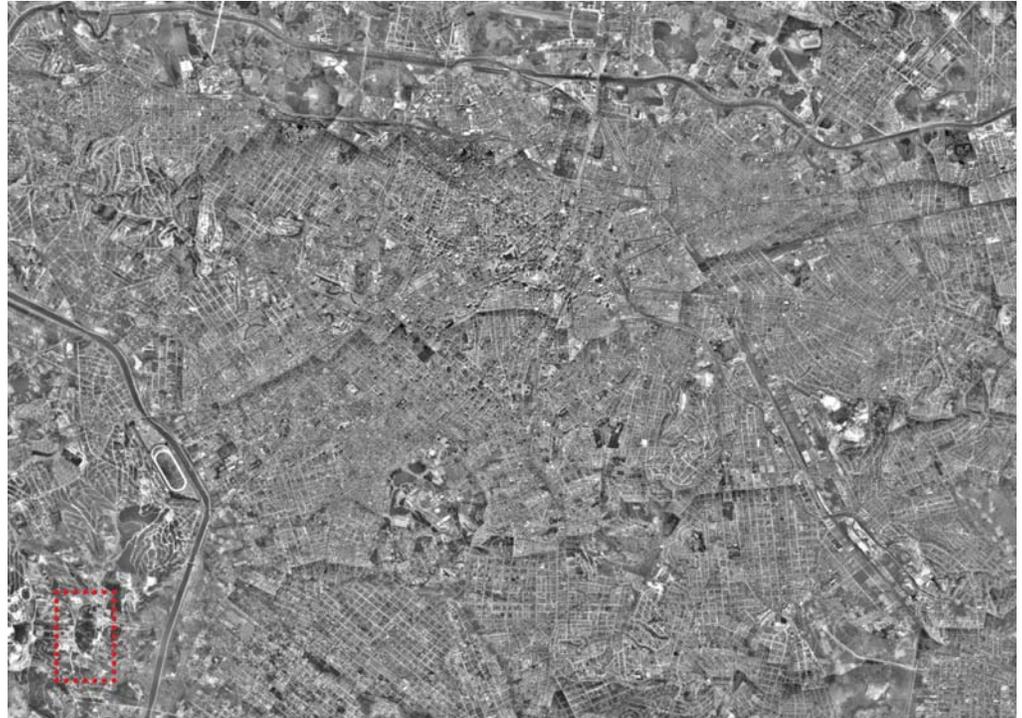
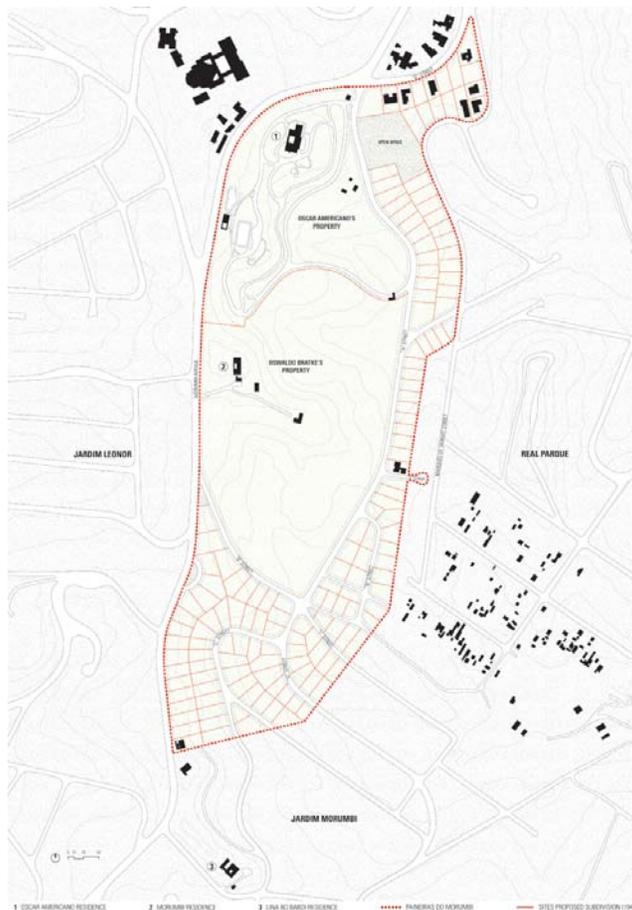


Figure 2: Design of Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood and its surroundings in the year 1954. Contour lines at 10 m intervals. Graphic scale and north indicated on the left side of the image.

Source: The plan was redesigned by the author based on the Vasp Cruzeiro map (1954), provided by the "Section of Production of Digital Bases for Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo (CESAD-USP)", on the processes 3704/52 and 288/55, consulted at the Municipal Archive of Processes of the City of São Paulo (CGPD-2), and also on the reproduction of the preliminary project in Camargo (2000, p. 124).



sites. At the end of the same decade, the architect acquired a large property in the area that today corresponds to the Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood. Then, he started to encourage friends and entrepreneurs to invest in the region (CAMARGO, 2000, p. 121). Besides attracting personalities such as the Matarazzo and the Mayor Fabio Prado, Bratke would also have convinced the Oscar Americano engineer to buy the “Chácara Clarice” farm, next to his property, at the end of the 1940s. According to Mariano (2005, p. 138), such farm was an extensive area with approximately 110,000 m<sup>2</sup>, acquired by Americano already with the intention of subdividing it to accelerate the occupation of the region. From then on, Bratke and Americano jointly conceived a real estate enterprise for the urbanization of a new neighborhood, whose denomination was “Paineiras do Morumbi”. The responsibility for conceiving the design, however, was borne by Bratke, who served as architect-entrepreneur throughout the full operation, and developed its first version in 1949<sup>2</sup>, then coinciding with the development of a series of new neighborhoods in the same region under the responsibility of other real estate companies (Figure 1).

The delineated area in Paineiras do Morumbi comprised the properties of Bratke and Americano and some contiguous blocks, which resulted from the subdivision of the two farms (Figure 2). To the east, it was limited by the “Morumbi Avenue”, in the border with the Jardim Leonor neighborhood, which was also planned by Bratke later. To the west, roughly, the boundary was the “Marquês de Taubaté St.” (current “Adalívia de Toledo St.”), near the Real Parque neighborhood, which was already partially occupied. The intersection between the “G St.” (current “Srg. Gilberto Marcondes Machado St.”) and “Marquês de Taubaté St.” defined the northern boundary, next to the building that would be the “Matarazzo University”, which was under construction in the 1940s, and it is now occupied by the Government Palace (SEGAWA, DOURADO, 2012, p. 49). The southern limit was located just above the “Morumbi Chapel”, on the border with the Jardim Morumbi neighborhood, which was also in the beginning of its occupation. Around the center of the outlined area, in the largest block defined by the project, there were the properties of Bratke and Americano, where the two of them built their residences. Americano constituted an extensive park of native forest, whose layout defined a kind of block with its own logic of use. Bratke probably expected a real estate appreciation of the region before subdividing his property, a hypothesis that is reinforced by the very location that he gave to his house.

The conceived urban design included roads layout, land parceling and the definition of some urban regulations for the sites occupation. Bratke, who already had some experience with urban design<sup>3</sup>, conceived the formation of a neighborhood according to the pattern of the garden suburbs model introduced in São Paulo by Companhia City, whose first enterprise was the Jardim América neighborhood, outlined in the 1910s (CAMARGO, 2000, p. 126). For Segawa and Dourado (2012, p. 50), it is also possible to establish a reference to the new American suburbs visited by Bratke in the late 1940s, when the architect traveled to the West Coast of the United States.

According to Wolff (2001, p. 24), the urban pattern of the garden suburbs was based, despite the distance, on the concept for the garden city theorized by Ebenezer Howard in the book *Tomorrow, a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898), which was republished, in 1903, under the title of *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. In

<sup>2</sup> According to the process 142855/49, which was consulted in the Municipal Archive of Processes (CGDP-2) of the City of São Paulo.

<sup>3</sup> In the 1940s, also on a site of his own, Bratke had planned the subdivision of the Jardim do Embaixador neighborhood in Campos do Jordão. In the same period, Bratke collaborated in the urbanization of the Porchat Island, located in the city of Santos, on the coast of São Paulo (SEGAWA, DOURADO, 2012, p. 49).

addition to responding to social issues, as it is well known, Howard's theoretical conception intended to provide a decongested urban model that could value community life and combine the benefits of the city with the advantages of the countryside. Thus, it would be possible to enjoy a country nature and, at the same time, the technologies and activities provided by urban functionality. Years later, such a model would be applied by the English architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin in the town of Letchworth, founded in 1903, which was recognized as the first English garden-city experience. In the same year, Parker and Unwin also designed the Hampstead suburb located on the outskirts of London, which was promoted at the time as a successful urban model. At the end of the 1940s, the landscape pattern of the garden suburbs would be widespread supported by the popularization of automobile use in the post-World War II context, especially in the United States, in face of urban issues generated by increased industrial activity and by the cities growth, which began to face problems with pollution, traffic and increased crime in their central areas (CASAGRANDE DE PAULA, 2005, p. 35).

It is important to recall, however, certain significant differences between the concepts of garden city and garden suburb. Unlike the garden city model theorized by Howard, which included broad social purposes in its thinking, the garden suburb model was largely appropriated throughout the twentieth century as a pattern for urban expansion projects in order to make real estate gains and, therefore, stripped of utopian ideals (WOLFF, 2001, p. 53). Differently of Howard's garden city model, which would group housing, commerce, leisure, services and production activities, thus satisfying the city's basic functions and avoiding constant mobility, the garden suburb suppressed the "work" function since its idealized conception. Therefore, in spite of the similarities in terms of urban landscape, this model set itself up only as a residential extension of a pre-existing city, to which it was intrinsically dependent in functional terms. That was the case for the neighborhoods implemented by Companhia City in São Paulo, such as Jardim América (1913), Alto da Lapa (1921) and Pacaembu (1925), originally designed by Barry Parker himself, as well as Paineiras do Morumbi, planned by Bratke, and most part of the contiguous neighborhoods urbanized by other real estate companies.

As Wolff (2001, p. 33) describes well, the search for a harmonious relationship between architecture and nature or even an emphasis on "*architecture seen as a part of the landscape and the natural environment [...] (own translation)*" was the main foundation from the urbanistic ideology of the garden suburbs, whose origins are articulated in the romantic tradition of 19<sup>th</sup> century English landscaping. In its conception of landscape, nature is regarded as an element of composition, on which intervention must be controlled, to take advantage of its aesthetic potential and create different views and to highlight picturesque aspects. In terms of urban design, such ideals were at the time translated on the design of sinuous and tree-lined streets – drawn in accordance with the terrain original topography – on the integration between buildings and landscaped areas by large spacing, on low densities and on a predominance of green areas over the built-up areas.

Bratke's plan for Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood followed some design and urban ordering principles that were common to the paulista garden suburbs

that preceded it, referencing the model disseminated in São Paulo by Companhia City. Considering the original topography, the design of the streets tried to follow the less accentuated slopes between the contour lines and to avoid abrupt changes in the natural relief (MARIANO, 2005, p. 138). In a similar way to Jardim América promoted by Companhia City<sup>4</sup>, the blocks were parceled into large lots, with about 20 m width and areas ranging from at least 510 m<sup>2</sup> to nearly 1000 m<sup>2</sup>, which allowed for large buildings in the middle of generous green areas<sup>5</sup>. The land use was restricted exclusively to the construction of houses, establishing limits on the rate occupancy of sites and significant spacing in all alignments<sup>6</sup> – the frontal one of at least 5 m and the back one with at least 8 m. In the resolution of the roadway system, some solutions derived from the recurrent design of garden cities can also be noted, such as *cul-de-sac* streets, small alleys and a notorious hierarchy between fast transit roads (Morumbi Avenue) and local transit streets with a narrower width.

Since the planning of the neighborhood, the adopted design procedures have restricted its occupation to middle and upper income families. Despite the downgrade in square meter value, due to the distance from the city center, the provided large areas raised the properties' value. In addition, the restrictions of land use exclusively for residential constructions in an area where no trade and services were found, made necessary the use of cars, which was a consumer good still imported at the time, thus affordable only to the higher purchasing power classes. It is also interesting to point out how the neighborhood's own layout, which was designed in large blocks, favored mobility by car, although the width of the typical streets (6 m) imposed a local circulation, more close to the idea of "*community life*" which is intrinsic to the stereotype of suburban life.

Considering the differences in scale of intervention, in terms of real estate operation, the Bratke's plan for the Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood is similar to the task assumed by Luis Barragán in the urbanization of the *Jardines del Pedregal de San Angel*, which was situated in the middle of the wild nature of a suburban parcel of the Mexico City. Between 1945 and 1953, besides planning the urban operation on an extensive site of his own, Barragán also supervised the marketing of the enterprise, which possessed the exotic natural characteristics to promote it as "*the ideal place to live*" (EGGENER, 2001, p.19). Through an urban plan conceived according to picturesque design procedures also derived from the Howardian garden city, the elaborate project meant to take advantage of the natural topography and the peculiar rocky scenario to offer extensive grounds, exclusive to the construction of houses, allowing several views and occupations (Figure 3). In his plans, Barragán intended to preserve the original nature but, at the same time, intervene on it with specific projects for gardens, squares and public spaces<sup>7</sup>, establishing, in addition, an architectural code for the interventions in the sites (Figure 4).

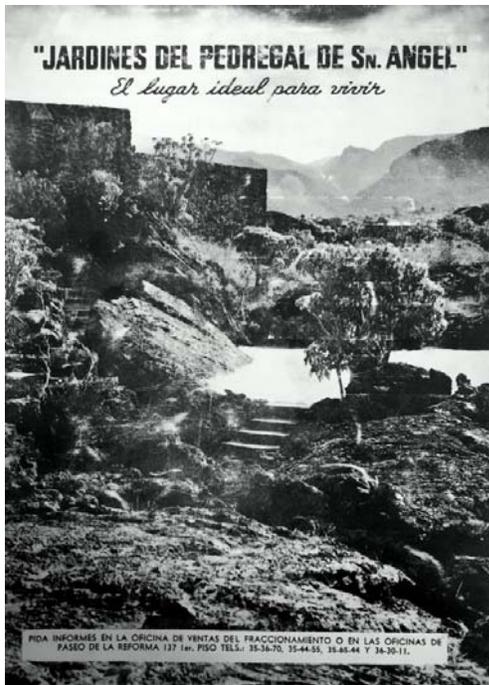
In the Brazilian context, the exceptionality of the Mexican enterprise attracted the attention of specialized magazines. In 1955, a special edition in honor of Mexico of the magazine *Brasil Arquitetura Contemporânea* (n. 6, p. 30-43) dedicated fourteen pages to comment on the urban operation and to portray the "*wild scenario, the sculptural forms of volcanic rocks and the exceptional contrast between the green areas and the wild and primitive aspects of the natural landscape* (own translation)". Besides the (sub) urban situation similar to the

<sup>4</sup> As a comparison, the most frequent plots of Jardim América had around 900 m<sup>2</sup> (WOLFF, 2001, p. 140). These areas are very similar to those provided in the Paineiras do Morumbi sites.

<sup>5</sup> This data is based on the processes 3704/52 and 288/55 of the Municipal Archive of Processes (CGDP-2) of the City of São Paulo.

<sup>6</sup> Segawa and Dourado (2012, p. 50) point out that the pre-established frontal spacing would be at least 10 m. However, according to the process 288/55, consulted in the Municipal Archive (CGDP-2), the spacing indicated in the very design of the neighborhood were at least 5 m from the front and 8 m from the back.

<sup>7</sup> When Barragán planned the *Jardines del Pedregal*, he had already practiced landscaping strategies in several private gardens, such as the Ortega Gardens, which he executed between 1941 and 1943 (EGGENER, 2001, p. 12-13).



Figures 3 and 4: Advertising piece promoting the *Jardines del Pedregal de San Angel* (left) and photograph of public gardens designed by Luís Barragán in the neighborhood.  
Source: EGGENER, Keith. *Luis Barragan's gardens of El Pedregal*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001, p. 6; 38.

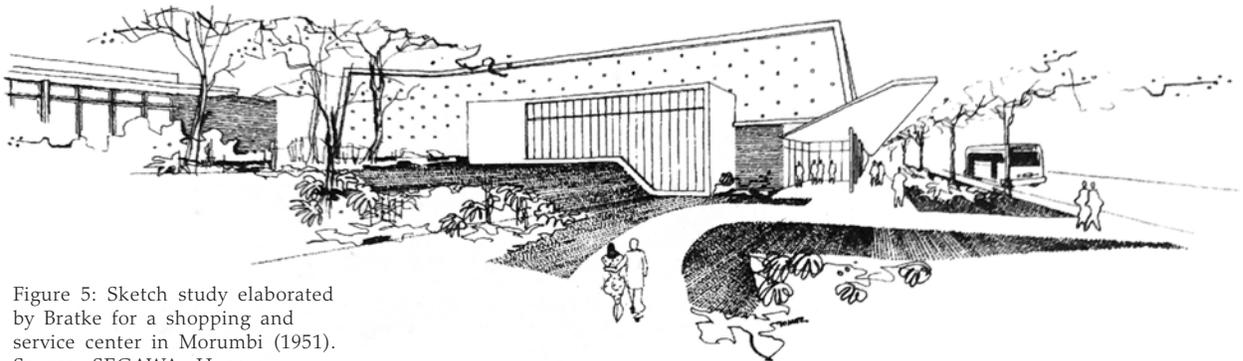
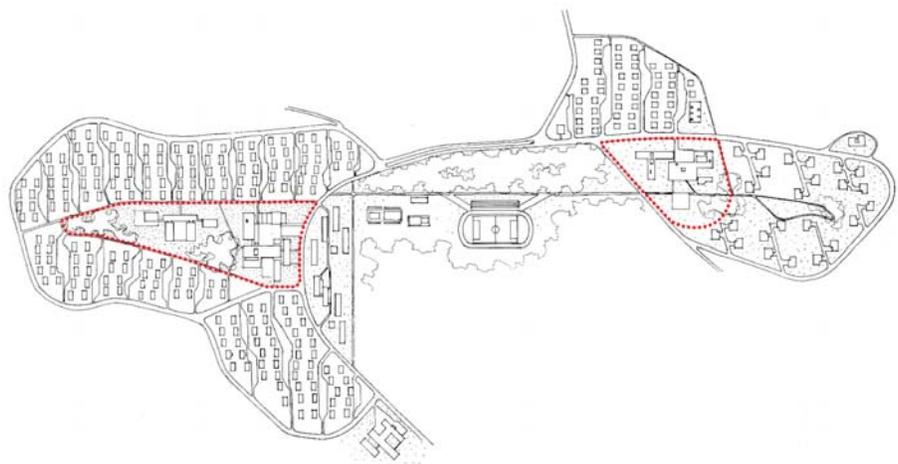


Figure 5: Sketch study elaborated by Bratke for a shopping and service center in Morumbi (1951).  
Source: SEGAWA, Hugo; DOURADO, Guilherme Mazza. *Oswaldo Arthur Bratke*. 2. ed. São Paulo: PW Editores, 2012, p. 50.

Figure 6: Vila Serra do Navio plan (1955). The cores are marked in red, such as school, public square, commerce and services. The sports sector is at the center. The hospital is in the bottom part of the image. The residential blocks are in the periphery of the two major cores.  
Source: author's elaboration on a drawing obtained in the archive of projects of FAUUSP, on the section corresponding to Oswaldo Bratke.



neighborhoods of Morumbi, which implied in a direct dependence on the automobile, the affinities between the São Paulo and Mexican enterprises were reflected in the valorization of nature to create private spaces destined essentially to traditional elite nuclear families. However, in the case of São Paulo, just as the other real estate companies involved in the urbanization of the district, Bratke did not envisage in his plans for Paineiras do Morumbi to enrich its natural vegetation with sophisticated landscaping strategies or even to plan squares for community use, such as the large open space located to the north of the area outlined in the neighborhood. Despite having preserved its original dense arborization, it did not had a specific landscape planned for public use.

<sup>8</sup> According to Camargo (2000, p. 126), the architect was one of the main responsible for the urbanization of the district of Morumbi, having outlined the neighborhoods of Vila Andrade, Vila Susana, Jardim Leonor and Paineiras do Morumbi.

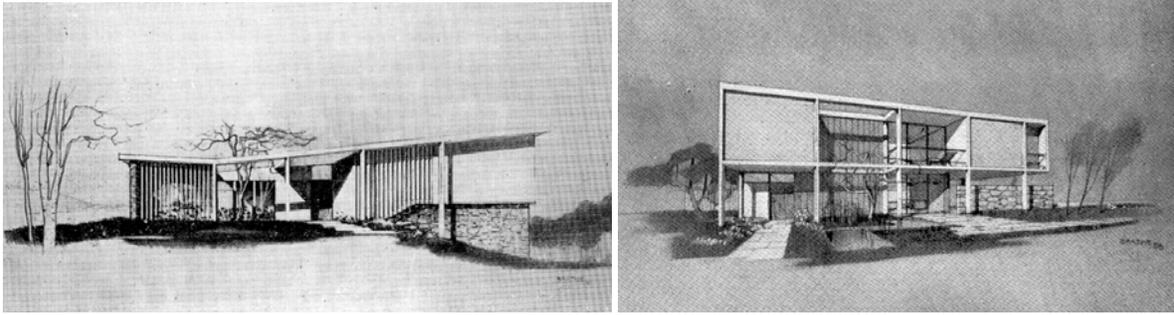
<sup>9</sup> According to the original formulation of the twentieth century, a neighborhood unity is “a residential area that has relative autonomy in relation to the daily needs of consumption of urban goods and services” (BARCELLOS, 2001, p. 01).

<sup>10</sup> In fact, Bratke’s urbanization plan for Paineiras do Morumbi was partially implemented. Camargo (2000, p. 127) points out that Bratke’s projects were developed in an isolate way, without the necessary engagement with the public power. She also argues that Mayor Prestes Maia, in the 1940s, had only partially executed the road infrastructure projects anticipated in the “Avenues Plan”, which would be important for the success of Bratke’s project. At the beginning of the execution of the urbanization works, some of the entrepreneurs most committed to the occupation of the place did not respect the pre-established urban guidelines, which compromised the unity of the whole set. As there was no strict control over the urban planning norms foreseen in the project, they diluted the initial plan among the various participants.

In fact, what Bratke truly planned for the region and not exclusively for the neighborhood was to locate three large public squares distributed in the surroundings of Paineiras do Morumbi, Jardim Leonor and other areas that he later delineated in the district<sup>8</sup>. According to Camargo (2000, p. 126), the first one would be placed where the Cícero Pompeu de Toledo Stadium was built, the second one where nowadays the Darcy Vargas Children’s Hospital is situated and the third one near Vila Sônia. Adjacent to these squares, commercial, leisure and service equipments would be installed, inspired by the North American shopping mall model. Except for a study sketch (Figure 5), however, there is no more documentation about these projects, which did not materialize as anything other than the architect’s initial idealizations. It is worth mentioning, however, that Bratke’s probable intention would be to set up the region in neighborhood units<sup>9</sup>. According to this model, squares and equipments would act as provider centers for their peripheral residential areas, in the same way that he planned the towns of Vila Serra do Navio and Vila Amazonas in 1955, which were organized around two major commercial and service cores<sup>10</sup> (Figure 6).

In the context of the 1950s, in face of the unbridled urban growth of São Paulo, which had already consolidated as a metropolis, the Morumbi became an attractive scenario to privileged families, identified with the traditional way of life of the nuclear family. With industry consolidation, accelerated verticalization and traffic congestion increasing, the landscape and living conditions in the city rapidly transformed. In a kind of reaction to the scenery and the frenetic rhythm of life that prevailed in the central regions, the families attracted by the suburbs wanted a “simple” living in a picturesque environment, which could offer tranquility and security, closer to nature, but without losing the facilities provided by urban life. Such aspirations were aligned with the principles that guided the urban planning of Paineiras do Morumbi and many of the neighborhoods that today are part of the district. The large properties available and the urban regulations that would rule the urban pattern of the region were consonant to the ideal of living in large and decompressed areas surrounded by a bucolic landscape and located within a few kilometers from the city center.

By providing an impressive natural panorama, Morumbi became a site where significant modern Brazilian architecture works were built. Besides the Morumbi and Oscar Americano residences, Bratke studied several other houses in the region (Figures 7 and 8). Although they were not built, the projects’ perspectives



Figures 7 and 8: Oswaldo Bratke's studies of residences in Morumbi in the early 1950s.  
Source: *Acrópole* magazine, n. 171, 1952, p. 109 (left). *Acrópole* magazine, n. 184, 1953, p. 184 (right).

attest to the urban pattern that the architect imagined when he planned the neighborhood: isolated houses amidst an abundant green area, with nature composing the visuals in direct relation to the architecture. A broad front spacing and the suppression of fences or high walls would ensure open views and establish a continuity between the street, the house and the front garden.

In 1949, according to Lima (2013, p. 55), Morumbi also caused the interest of Lina Bo and Pietro Maria Bardi, who acquired two plots in Jardim Morumbi, where they built a house designed by the architect two years later. It was a new neighborhood located on the border with Paineiras do Morumbi, which was parceled out and urbanized in the same model by Companhia Imobiliária Morumbi at the end of the 1940s (INVAMOTO, 2012, p. 309).

In between the pages of *Habitat* magazine in the 1950s, Morumbi was published in two articles that were enthusiastic about the nature of the region and the landscape that was outlined. In 1951 (n. 5, 66) the magazine mentioned the progress in road infrastructure works and praised the "*beautiful green landscape*" of the "*most beautiful neighborhood of São Paulo* [it refers, in fact, to the current district] (own translation)". In the same issue, the Bardi demanded that Bratke and Warchavchik intervene with the real estate companies to try to establish a convention for architecture in order to prevent the new houses from falling into the bad taste that then prevailed in Jardim América and Jardim Europa, where, according to them, bad taste buildings "*were barely hidden by an exuberant nature*". For the Bardi, in Morumbi the architecture should follow "*strictly contemporary patterns*".

In addition, in 1953 the article "Jardim Morumbi: Architecture-Nature" (n. 10, 26-30) devoted five pages to highlight the neighborhood and district's virtues. Instead of the skyscraper and the representation of the city as a metropolis, two images of the issue bring the automobile associated with a bucolic landscape, made up of large masses of vegetation (Figures 9 and 10). Throughout the text, while defining "*architecture and landscape*" as the two factors that conform a "*harmonious city*", the Bardis lamented the lack of concern with the "*landscape factor*" in hasty urbanizations made by some real estate companies, where nature had been in general "*completely vanished*". According to them, Jardim

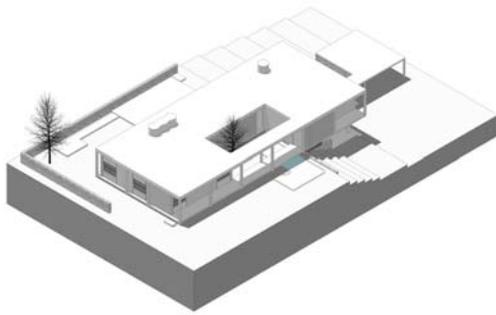


Figures 9 and 10: Morumbi in the early 1950s. Photograph taken from the Morumbi Chapel, near the area planned by Bratke in the Paineiras do Morumbi neighborhood. Source: *Habitat* magazine, n. 10, 1953, p. 27-28.

Morumbi would be the “best example of the Paulista love for nature”, which in residential neighborhoods was “the rest of the eyes and the spirit”. Following the text, they reported the paving of the streets by modern machines, investments in an advanced sanitation infrastructure and the successful sale of the plots to “the highest expression figures in São Paulo society”. Finally, they concluded that “in Morumbi, the progress was palpable”, an area that was destined to be “the natural extension of residential São Paulo”. Enthusiastically, they praised the respect for nature and believed that soon “architecture, or rather, landscape-architecture” would emerge. Following the article, the Casa de Vidro house designed by Lina was published, followed by the Morumbi Residence, designed by Bratke. Although tacitly, the architecture “pattern” which was considered ideal for the new neighborhoods was being insinuated.

## MORUMBI AND OSCAR AMERICANO RESIDENCES

In 1951, with Paineiras do Morumbi urbanization works still in progress, Bratke designed for his family the first residence to integrate in the neighborhood, which was built two years later on the upper part of the extensive property reserved by him in the area he planned. In the 1950s, the house was published in the catalogs of Hitchcock (1955, p. 174-175), Mindlin (1956, p. 58-61), Winkler (1955, p. 200-203) and in national and international journals, such as the magazines *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, (n. 49, 1953, p. 50-51), *WERK Architektur Kunst Kunstlerisches Gewerbe* (n. 8, 1953, p. 254-255), *Módulo* (n. 1, 1955, p. 35) and *Habitat* (n. 10, 1953, p. 41-44). The design is pointed out both by Camargo (2000, p. 106) and Segawa and Dourado (2012, p. 110) as an inflexion point in Bratke's career, which would have designated the beginning of his practice properly recognized as modern. In the 1960s, after Bratke sold the property, the house underwent changes and was subsequently demolished. Thus, for the purposes of recomposing the project that interests the analysis here developed, we worked with an overlap between the approval version accessed in the Municipal Archive (CGPD-2) and the drawings published in Mindlin (n. 1956, p. 58) and Winkler (n. 1955, p. 201) catalogs.



Figures 11 and 12: Morumbi Residence. Isometric perspectives of front, back and sides. Source: Drawings elaborated by the author.

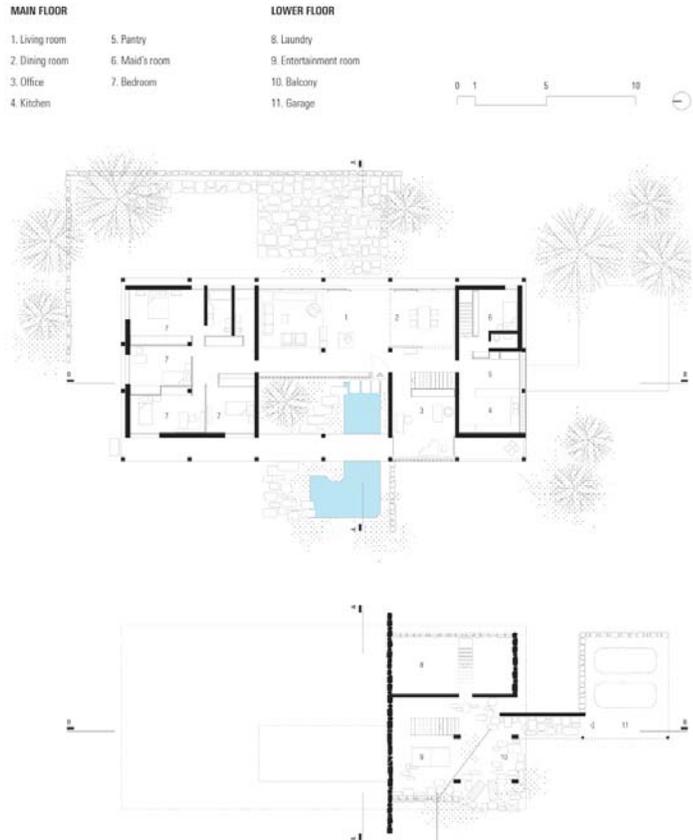
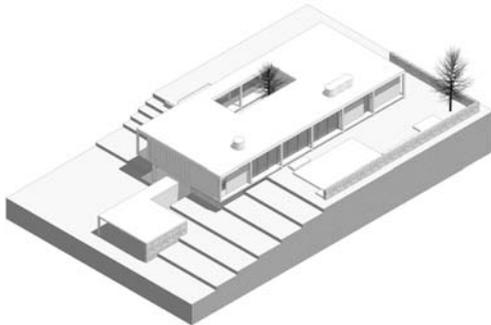
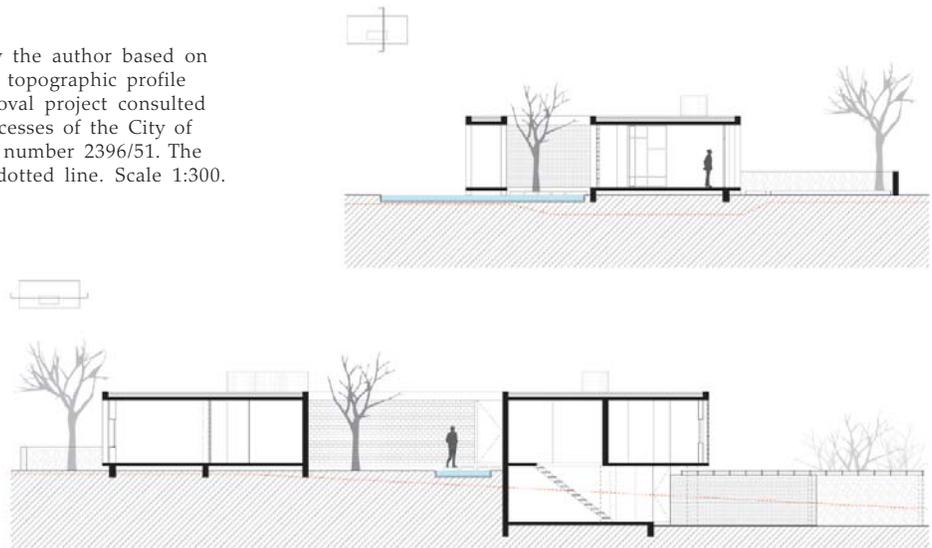


Figure 13: Morumbi Residence. Main floor and lower floor plans. Source: Drawings redesigned by the author based on the project publications in Mindlin's (1956, p. 58) and Winkler's (1955, p. 120) catalogs, and on the residence approval project consulted at the Municipal Archive of Processes of the City of São Paulo (CGDP-2) under the number 2396/51. Scale 1:300.

Figure 14: Sections AA and BB. Source: Drawings redesigned by the author based on the proportions and on the site topographic profile indicated in the residence approval project consulted at the Municipal Archive of Processes of the City of São Paulo (CGDP-2) under the number 2396/51. The site natural profile is in a red dotted line. Scale 1:300.



From the avenue, on foot or by car, one could reach the residence by an extensive route through a road arranged at an oblique angle in relation to the front garden. The beginning of the route, located at the level 800, was located in a portion of the ground 10 m lower than the level where the house was. Seen from afar, the residence's volume seemed to float over the landscape. Gradually, along the way, it revealed its south and west façades elevated in relation to the road level, which ended up coinciding with the garage's entry. Sheltered and private in relation to Morumbi Avenue, with which it did not interact visually, the house was as suburban as the neighborhood where it was, and its entrance was clearly thought to the automobile.

Preserving considerably the original topography, Bratke chose to situate the house with its front facing the Morumbi Avenue, to the west, and with a wide front spacing of 50 m from the sidewalk, from where it was not possible to see it. The volumetry is simple: a rectangular prism, horizontally developed, that was elevated at least 40 cm from ground level and gently laid over to the highest part of the lot, on the top of a slight hill encircled by natural vegetation. In the typology adopted, Bratke chose to develop the house practically on a single paving, positioning it so as to take advantage of the unevenness of the site to naturally configure a small inferior occupation (Figures 11 and 12).

At the upper level are the main parts: four bedrooms, bathrooms, living, dining, office, kitchen, and maid's bedroom (Figures 13 and 14). The support spaces, more precisely the service area and the entertainment room, are located in the lower part, where there is also a small attached space, delineated by a thin slab and stone support planes, which discreetly enters the main part sheltering a two-car garage.

The simplicity of the main volume, defined by two horizontal planes associated with a series of vertical elements – basically the union between two slabs and pillars – is reflected in simple geometries that impose the house apparent form. An irregular grid of approximately 4.5 m in the longitudinal direction and 4.75 m and 2.75 m in the transverse coordinates both the placement of the structure and the arrangement of the internal spaces.

At the upper level, the plan was organized in areas of daytime and nighttime activities, according to Camargo (2000, p. 107), with possible references to Breuer's binuclear principle<sup>11</sup>. Bedrooms and work areas were concentrated at opposite sides, separated by a large social room. At the center of the composition, symmetrically arranged, there is a large open patio generated by subtraction in the volume, which incorporates the nature next to the building establishing a gradual transition between the gardens and the inside. At the back of the house, the social spaces open onto the Pinheiros River valley through wide glass planes that extend from the floor to the slab and occupy three modules of the plan. The transparency and visual continuity dilute the boundaries between inside and outside, seeking to interweave immediate landscaping and nature. This search for a direct relationship with landscape is even more remarkable from the living room, arranged to the center of the plan and immediately articulated to the gardens adjoining the front and back façades. Despite the picturesque composition, involving elements of organic forms – water, vegetation and rough stone – the area defines an extensive strip

<sup>11</sup>Term defined by the American architect Marcel Breuer to refer to houses where the zones of bedrooms and living-services are farther from each other.

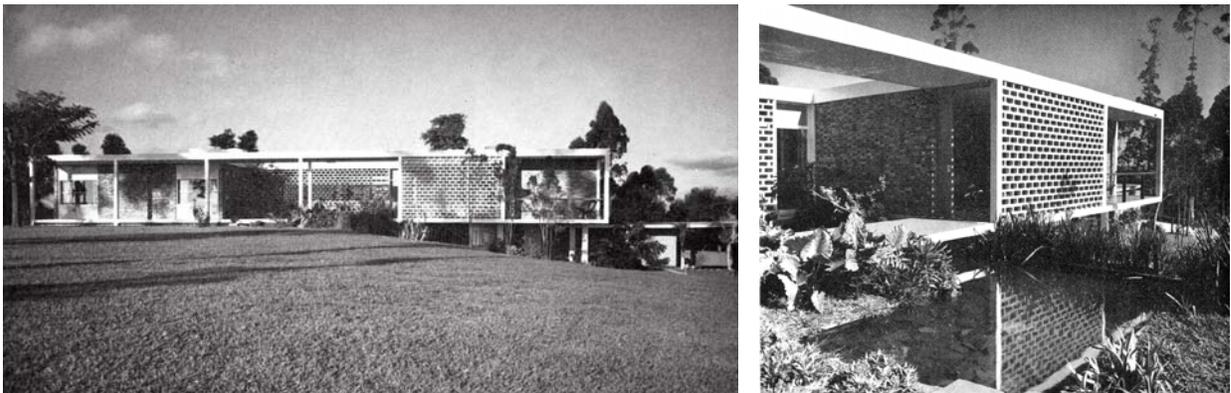
<sup>12</sup> Mendes is also author of the project of the Ibirapuera Park, whose first elaboration had been entrusted to Roberto Burle Marx (MARIANO, 2005, p. 111-121).

of a rectangular geometry that transversely crosses the plan insinuating fluidity through the building. Interestingly, this strip has an extension very similar to the largest dimension of the volume properly constructed: if the architectural composition is a linear bar in volumetric terms, the complete composition alludes to a cross when considering the interlacing of the landscaping to the plan.

In the façades concept solution, the exposed concrete frame manifests with prominence and coordinates surfaces treatment (Figures 15 and 16). The continuity between vertical and horizontal lines composes rectangular porches that follow, in their forms, the horizontality of the volume. From them, Bratke breaks the structural symmetry of the front and bottom façades by exploring alternations between filled and not filled frames. Visually, the counterpoint between textures and variations of treatment in these frames dissolves the stiffness and the staticity of the box suggesting movement and porosity. The front porches establish distinct relations between inside and outside, closed, open or semi-open, and eventually, when opened, they work as a frame to the landscape and the surrounding gardens.

This self-commissioned model served as a prototype for the design of Oscar Americana (1952) Residence built in 1954 in the midst of a vast private park planned by the landscape artist Otavio Augusto Teixeira Mendes<sup>12</sup>. According to Mariano (2005, p. 147), the relationship between Bratke and Mendes is not fully understood, although the consistent articulation of the whole set indicates a probable joint work between them. In his plans for the park, Mendes divided the gardens into ten landscaped zones, arranged in an asymmetrical composition that took advantage of visual axes to create autonomous space units. Throughout these sectors, more than 25 thousand of several species were planted, mainly native types, characteristic of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest, as a means of conferring identity and ambience of the surrounding environment.

In the study developed here, the redesign was adopted as a method, and it was elaborated based on the legal project consulted in the Municipal Archive (CGDP-2) and the plans published in Aloi's catalog (1961, p. 300) and *Acrópole* (n. 226, 1957, p. 359) magazine. In the 1970s, the house was transformed into



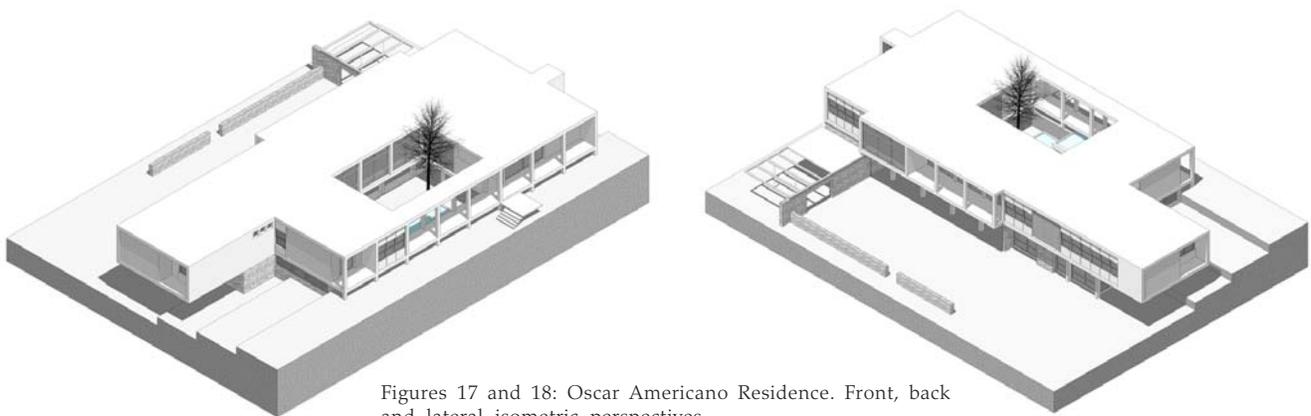
Figures 15 and 16: Overview from the front garden (left). Details of the residence and gardens from the entrance (right). Source: *WERK Architektur Kunst Künstlerisches Gewerbe*, Brasilien, iss 8, 1953, p. 255.

the Maria Luiza and Oscar Americano Foundation and underwent some changes to adapt to the new program. Nowadays, with the large park that surrounds it, the old residence functions as an art museum open to public visitation.

On locating the residence, Bratke took advantage of the natural topography repeating procedures taken in his first design and implanting the house in the level 795, one of the highest points of the site. The front was also positioned to face Morumbi Avenue, with a 60 m spacing that provided some privacy. The volume adopted, however, although developed horizontally, is not as primary as the previous one, and it is defined by the union between two rectangles of remarkably different proportions (Figures 17 and 18). Elevated about 90 cm from ground level, the main part of the residence was also accommodated to the natural topography, which set up by itself two floors of practically the same areas that solve the extensive program of the house. Visually, however, the effect resembles a single pavement, since the porous, open and spaced treatment given at the lower level distinguish it notably as a support base to the main part of the building.

In functional terms, this formal distinction between base and principal volume follows a clear program sectorization (Figures 19 and 20). At the upper level are the main parts: five bedrooms – all suites – pantry, kitchen, breakfast room, specific reception areas and large social sector with living and dining rooms. At the lower level are the support areas: garage, laundry, services, several employee bedrooms, entertainment and study rooms and the intimate family area. Whether through the vast private gardens surrounding it, which accentuate the volume as an isolated architectural piece in the midst of landscaped areas, or through the functional structure with a series of support areas intended for employees – with generous social and private spaces – the house maintains a certain character of classical palace reinvented in modern times and forms.

The layout of the structure, with variable and irregular interspaces, partially accompanies a virtual grid with nine pillars in the longitudinal direction by five in the transversal, which define a larger rectangle in plan. Adjacent to this, a



Figures 17 and 18: Oscar Americano Residence. Front, back and lateral isometric perspectives.  
Source: Drawings elaborated by the author.

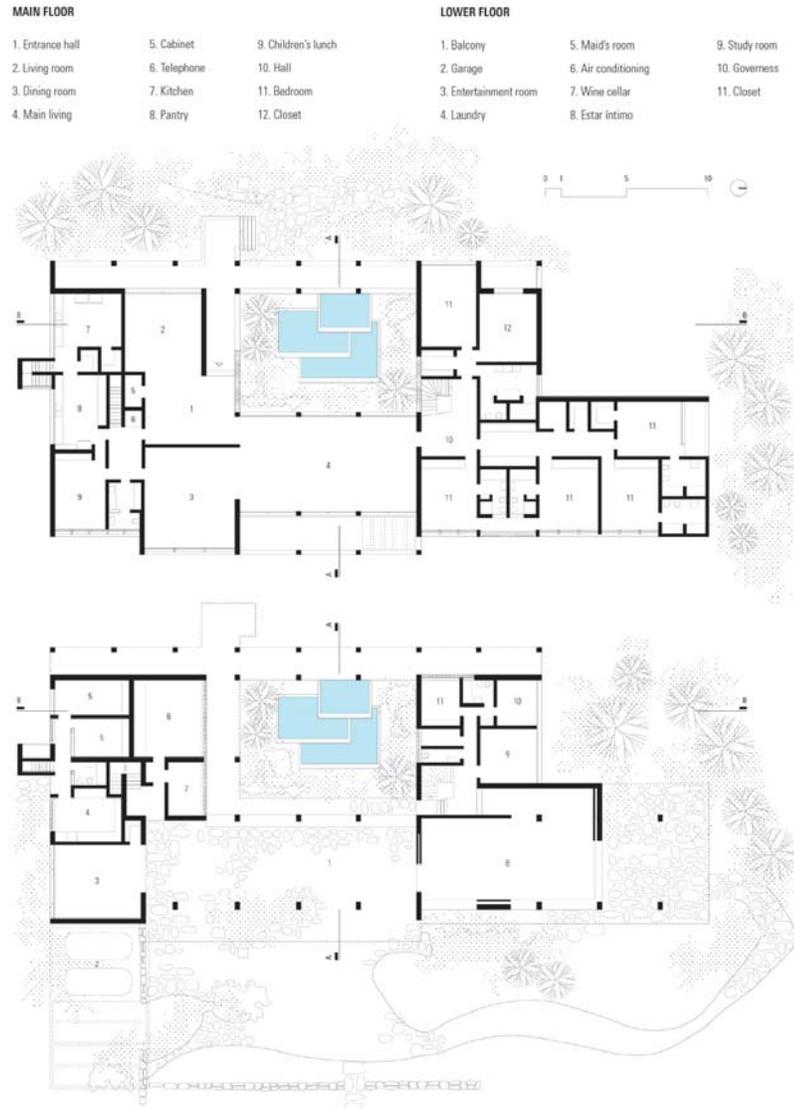


Figure 19: Oscar Americano Residence. Main floor and lower floor plans. Source: Drawings redesigned by the author based on the project publications in Aloí's (1961, p. 300) catalog, on the *Acrópole* (n. 226, 1957, p. 359) magazine, and on the residence approval project consulted at the Municipal Archive of Processes of the City of São Paulo (CGDP-2) under the number 1197/52. Scale 1:300.

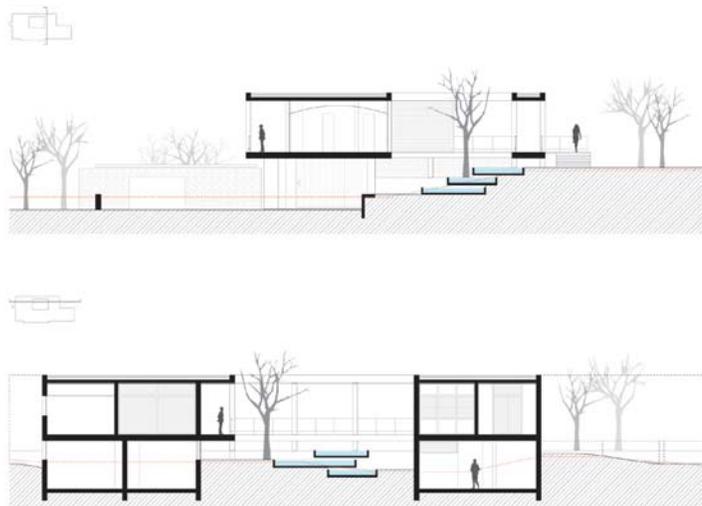


Figure 20: Sections AA and BB. Source: Drawings redesigned by the author based on the proportions and on the site topographic profile indicated in the residence approval project consulted at the Municipal Archive of Processes of the City of São Paulo (CGDP-2) under the number 1197/52. The site natural profile is in a red dotted line. Scale 1:300.

smaller rectangle is formed by the addition of two longitudinal interspaces plus one in cantilever advancing in the north façade. In the longitudinal direction, the interspaces that follow the grid are 3.80 m. In the transversal, of 5,50 m to the back, 3,60 m to the center, and 5,20 m to the front, where there is 1.75 m of the colonnade that composes the west façade.

The entrance to the park was positioned almost at the intersection between Morumbi Avenue and "A Street". Its location corresponds to the level 785, at a point of the site 10 m lower than the level in which the house is situated. From the entrance gate, the residence seems elevated, insinuating a certain magnificence that debates, by contrast, with the generous gardens surrounding it. Gradually, the building unfolds along the path that ascends leading to the main entrance. The eastern and northern façades, with a more reserved treatment, are the first to be exposed. The open and predominantly translucent west façade reveals the social entrance along a large patio subtracted from the volume of the building, a strategy similar to that employed at the Morumbi Residence. In this case, however, Bratke reverses the positioning making an indirect entrance. This opposition between the entrances of the residence and the park creates a scenographic pathway, which suggests, in a certain sense, that just like the landscape of the gardens, the architecture is also to be appreciated gradually. The sinuous paths around the house create distinct points of interest, with neatly picturesque effects, with dynamic visuals and increasing spatialities, which cause interest in the architectural object before inviting to enter.

The variation in material textures, the altering between filled and not filled frames and the exploration of transparency gradations in the façades are repeated compositional strategies (Figure 21). The zoning of the plans into activities cores also follows the same principles of the previous design. In the living room, large glass windows integrate inside and outside, opening views to the patio incorporated to the volume to the west, and to the gardens of the park

and the horizon to the east. Descending to the lower floor, the continuity between building and garden surroundings remains. Bratke explores the uneven topography of the site establishing spaces that are sometimes contiguous, and sometimes autonomous, and occasionally ambivalent in relation to the gardens of the park. From the covered balconies, the floor design fits the open parts of the intimate living and entertainment room extending the inside ambiance to the gardens. The curved forms predefined by Bratke were implemented in Portuguese stone mosaics by Lívio Abramo, a plastic artist who collaborated in several works with the architect (CAMARGO, 1995, p. 61). At the center of the plan, the visual and spatial continuity reinforces itself



Figure 21: General view of the west façade, with the main entrance at the center.

Source: *Acrópole* magazine, n. 226, 1957, p. 56.

through the patio integrated to the building, which descends from the main level following the site profile and extending itself as a landscaped scenario to the lower covered balcony. Just as in the Morumbi Residence, the relation is a contrast between the orthogonal forms of the building and the picturesque design of the landscaped gardens, which adapt in accordance with the sinuous curves of the natural topography establishing a gradual transition between the house and the park.

In the concept of the two houses, the design strategies and procedures adopted by Bratke seem to establish a dialogue of autonomy and complementarity between architecture and nature. At the same time as they incorporate the gardens, the houses also seem to oppose them by contrasting shapes. In this sense, the relationship between the parts is not one of mimetic integration, but a typical debate of the classical order. If the precision of the forms adopted and the locations in high levels imply magnificence, on the other hand, the lightness and the formal simplicity of the compositions harmonize the presence of the architecture in the landscape. The horizontality of the volumes conforms peacefully to the horizon line and to the panoramic views of a scenario whose features were still bucolic. Just as a tension amidst imposition and discretion is established, it is worth noticing that the relationship between houses and gardens is also notable by a duality between autonomy and dependence. Despite taking advantage of the natural site profiles, the slight elevation of the buildings from the ground level imposes the architecture insubordination, which does not formally give in to the preexisting topography. On the contrary, the strategy allows to distinguish clearly the intervention performed on the landscape through architecture. On the other hand, the predominance of open façades, in direct relation to the outside, the search for strategic views and the landscaping itself, implying continuity between houses and gardens, render the

residences dependent on their context. Such bonding is further strengthened through the open patios incorporated into the volumes, which appear as a natural setting architecturally controlled to compose internal and external visuals (Figure 22). Instead of a response to habitability demands, this procedure seems a clear intention to face the landscape as part of the architectural program. The relation with the immediate gardens, after all, happens to be an opposition of forms, in which the existing tensions only reinforces a complementary exchange between the parts.



Figure 22: View of the patio associated to the entrance from the living room.  
Source: SEGAWA, Hugo; DOURADO, Guilherme Mazza. *Oswaldo Arthur Bratke*. 2. ed. São Paulo: PW Editores, 2012, p. 128.

## MODERN FORMS IN PICTURESQUE GARDENS

The manifested relations between the urbanization plan of Paineiras do Morumbi and the designs of Morumbi and Oscar Americano residences are in certain common design principles. On the urban scale, both the design procedures adopted and the planning regulations that would rule the sites occupancy, which implied isolated houses amid generous green areas, intended to enhance the presence of nature in the sights. These principles were reflected in the designs of the houses, always related to the gardens that surround them, exploiting perspectives and strategically planned visuals, through conceptions that incorporated the landscape as an element of architectural composition.

In terms of design, however, it is worth noting a certain distinction of procedures. In consonance with the neighborhood urbanization plan, the immediate landscaping of the houses incorporates picturesque, irregular and scenographic effects, through recurring compositions involving water, vegetation and rough stone. The architecture of the houses, on the other hand, favored clear, regular and precise geometries, according to visually formal characteristics identified as modern.

Among the several study sketches, the Morumbi and Oscar Americano residences are examples of a possible scenario that Bratke envisaged for the region. However, in his plan for Paineiras do Morumbi, Bratke had never established style norms for the remaining residences yet to be built, as the Bardi claimed in the pages of *Habitat* magazine. It seems that Bratke understood the urbanization of Morumbi as an economic opportunity to take advantage of a natural appealing scenario to reproduce the successful model of residential neighborhood then introduced in São Paulo by Companhia City, offering large sites that, when occupied, would be treated architecturally and landscaped according to the desire of each owner. When analyzed in relation to the designs of the neighborhood and houses, Bratke's understanding of landscape seems to be restricted to an immediate bond between architectural object and surrounding gardens.

Different to his view, the Bardi seemed interested in facing the urbanization of Morumbi as a possibility of relating architecture to landscape while maintaining a "modern" style to the buildings. In their statements, on defining "*architecture and landscape*" as the factors that structure a harmonic city, the Bardi observed an intrinsic relationship between the architectural and urban scale, which is possibly closer to a broader view going beyond the scale of a single site. Enthusiastic about the "*exuberant nature*" offered by the Morumbi's scenarios, they recognized the landscape virtues of the first garden suburbs of São Paulo, with which the new district's neighborhoods would resemble. They condemned, however, the eclectic architecture built in those places, demanding for Morumbi the need to establish a pattern of architecture that followed "*strictly contemporary models*", in temporal harmony with immediate nature, which probably defines the term "*landscape architecture*" used by them.

Bratke, on the other hand, built the two residences as an example, but not as a regulation for the sites occupation. If he pursued an architectural coherence in

the landscape of the neighborhood he outlined, as there were between the two residences he designed, such an intention was never made explicit. Except for the urban regulations that he planned, no architectonic code was defined for the buildings, as Barragán did in the urbanization of *Jardines del Pedregal de San Angel*, where he restricted the occupation of the sites exclusively to single-family houses designed in accordance to a modern “language” (EGGENER, 2001, p. 130). In his plan for Paineiras do Morumbi, Bratke incorporated curvilinear design procedures, in agreement with the natural topography, already adopted in the Paulista enterprises of single-family housing since the diffusion of the previous Companhia City’s garden suburbs. It is worth noting that he had already used such strategies even in the urbanization of the Jardim do Embaixador neighborhood in Campos do Jordão (1940)<sup>13</sup>.

It is important to consider that, although the plan for Paineiras do Morumbi provided, through the drawing instruments used, a controlled preservation of the natural landscape and the appeal to picturesque effects, it did not include elaborate territorial interventions. On the adopted procedures, Bratke’s plan did not offer sophisticated design strategies for gardens and public spaces aiming to enrich the neighborhood with a specific or exclusive landscaping. Thus, it did not innovate in São Paulo as the operation promoted by Barragan did in Mexico City. In this sense, Bratke and Americano’s enterprise does not stand out as a special urban operation, falling into the category of real estate enterprises conceived mainly for the capitalization of natural landscape.

It is necessary to consider that the intention to highlight the neighborhood nature, in the projects concretely realized by Bratke, probably do not have only visual or scenographic purposes. In their appearances, the houses emphasize the surrounding environment from the architecture itself, which on one hand incorporates the immediate gardens, and on the other hand opposes them by contrasting shapes. When analyzed together, the repetition of elements and procedures manifested in both projects allows one to recognize them through a common language, which, in a way, determines a particular way of designing characteristic to Bratke’s conceptions. In addition to these strictly architectural aspects, such an identity shared by the houses would possibly also contribute to promote the real estate enterprise, which undeniably had lucrative purposes, as well as to the promotion of the way of life to which the houses would still accommodate.

In modern times, the program and the urban situation of the houses perpetuated, after all, the traditional way of life of the elite nuclear families, which was still supported by patriarchal bases, where the man of the family works and his domesticated wife, supported by several servants, raises two or three children under surveillance amidst extensive gardens. In the context of the 1950s, the maintenance of this way of life was partly reflected in the new garden suburbs, encouraged by the dissemination of car use – which is also the key to understanding the houses – and conceived in the midst of nature as the reverse of an industrialized metropolis (CABRAL, 2014, p. 265).

In São Paulo, more specifically, the Paineiras do Morumbi and most of the other contiguous neighborhoods ended up constituting continuities of a process that

<sup>13</sup> In order to find more about Bratke’s urbanization plan for the Jardim do Embaixador neighborhood, see: SERAPIÃO, Fernando. Outra montanha mágica. *Projeto Design*, São Paulo, n. 340, p. 60-65, June 2008.

<sup>14</sup> According to Roberto Bratke’s testimony to the author.

begun in the decade of 1910 with the first garden suburbs implemented by Companhia City. Perpetuating itself in the 1950s, between the city growth and the aggravation of urban “problems”, the escape of the dense and highly populated city has kept on moving to the green, picturesque and socially homogeneous garden suburbs, where the house had large sites, generous private domestic gardens and close relation with the surrounding landscape.

In the ideal of modern life of a part of the privileged classes, the house was the object and the garden suburb was the scenario that would still allow a living around the family, away from the crowds, noise and dangers that follow the frenetic pace of the great city. In support of the elite demands, the garden suburbs offered an urban model that would allow families to escape urban conditions considered “adverse”, but to remain linked to the city from which it was intrinsically dependent. To live in the “suburb” meant to live in a kind of “half city” – devoid of social differences, work, industry and commerce – but which, besides maintaining civility and urbanity attributes, would allow, through the automobile, the connection and the access to the urban core whenever necessary. As Janjulio (2011, p. 54) points out, in opposition to the turmoil of life on the streets, refuges were created, “*where a simple but comfortable and modern life would still be possible* (own translation)”. Although open to gardens, such strongholds became, over time, closed to the city, and did not transpose, however, the utopia of constituting a pleasant and safe oasis in the metropolis.

In the late 1960s, Bratke sold his house and large property to Francisco Pignatari<sup>14</sup>, who despite having completely transformed the residence, occupied the place until the 1980s. Over time, as no architecture “pattern” was established, most of the built houses were defined by mixing or even by the absence of any style. In the 1990s, Bratke’s old property gave place to the “Jardim Pignatari”, a horizontal condominium closed and disconnected from the existing road network. In ways that were far less profitable for the city and for what Bratke had planned in the 1950s – predicting the accessibility and visual continuity between the street and the houses – the subdivision of the large site was finally materialized. This way of occupation reflects the contemporary condition of the evolution of space privatization which ended up being implemented in many experiences with the garden suburbs in São Paulo, and which still currently persists. As it can be seen not only in Bratke’s plan, but also in many well-known cases that go without mention, the urbanization pattern imported from English or North American references has turned to other directions in face of distinct cultural and urban traditions. Therefore, in its original versions, it proved to be incompatible with the way of living and socializing accepted by the local population.

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