

Garden-district in the outskirts of São Paulo: Interlagos Satellite Spa-Town

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ABSTRACT

A series of new districts appeared in São Paulo between 1915 and 1940, all inspired in the garden-city concept created by Ebenezer Howard. The City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited established some of them in the southwest sector of the city, near downtown: Jardim América (1915), Butantã (1921), Alto da Lapa (1921), Pacaembu (1925), and Alto de Pinheiros (1931). Other developers carried out land subdivisions inspired in the same garden-districts concepts, but in more distant areas. The following garden-districts were built in the southern area of the city: Chácara Flora (1928), Interlagos (1938), and Granja Julieta (1956). Unlike central garden-districts, the history of the outlying garden-districts was seldom or only partly studied. Given this scenario, this study aims to fill a historiographical gap on Interlagos garden-district, which was born as "Interlagos Satellite Spa Town". Its form is such an important example of landscaping and cultural heritage that the district was listed as protected by the city heritage agency in Resolution nº 18, November 23, 2004, in view of the morphological and historical features of the original land subdivision. This study relies on an urban morphology cognitive study which, according to Rego and Meneguetti (2011), aims to expand the knowledge on the origins and explanations of that urban form. The study presents unpublished data on the district formation, taken mainly from a survey carried out in newspapers from the 1930s and 1940s.

Key-Words: Garden-District. Satellite City. Interlagos

1 Introduction

A series of new districts appeared in the city of São Paulo between 1915 and 1940, all inspired in the garden-city concept created by Ebenezer Howard. Some were established by the São Paulo City Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited in the southwest part of the city, near downtown: Jardim América (1915), Butantã (1921), Alto da Lapa (1921), Pacaembu (1925, and Alto de Pinheiros (1931). Other builders carried out developments inspired in the same garden-districts concepts, but in areas far from downtown. Chácara Flora (1928), Interlagos (1938), and Granja Julieta (1956) were garden-districts established towards the southern corner of the city. This study focuses on Interlagos District, which was born with the idea of being the "Cidade Satélite Balneária de Interlagos" (Interlagos Satellite Spa-Town).

Between 1984 and 1985, the City Department of Urban Planning (SEMPA) of São Paulo conducted an extensive study identifying and recording around 3,000 sites of significant vegetation in the city, from individual examples to larger groups of plants in squares, parks, graveyards, streets, schools, and neighborhoods. The collected data were screened, edited and published in 1988 by the Environment Department of São Paulo State, headed at the time by architect Jorge Wilhelm during Jânio Quadros' term as mayor. The book, called *Vegetações Significativas do Município de São Paulo* (Significant Vegetation of São Paulo City) (SECRETARIA...,1988), addresses around 500 out of 3,000 sites surveyed by the department research team, among which there were 22 garden-districts from all over the city.

As a result of the study, Decree nº 30,443 - 1989 was enacted by State Governor Orestes Quécia. The Decree forbade several tree specimens of the city from being cut down:

Article 1 – Tree specimens classified and described in the document "Significant Vegetation of São Paulo City", which is an integral part of this decree, are considered environmental heritage, and a copy of the study has been deposited and registered in the Documentation Section of the Environment Department (SÃO PAULO, Estado, 1989, s/p).

Of the 22 garden-districts of the city identified in the study, many of those closest to the city center prompted studies reporting their origins and development. For example, the history of the garden-districts of Lapa, Jardim América, Pacaembu, and Alto de Pinheiros was laid down in a series of books that took part in the monograph competition on História dos Bairros de São Paulo (History of São Paulo Districts), organized by the City Historical Archives, an office of the Department of Culture of the city. The competition started in 1968, was open to researchers, historians and the general public, and resulted in a collection of 33 volumes. These books are available at the city government website. Other publications are the book *Jardim América* (1985) by Silvia Ferreira Santos Wolff and the essay *Morfologia urbana de um bairro-jardim fechado: Chácara Flora em Santo Amaro (Urban Morphology of a gated Garden-district: Chácara Flora in Santo Amaro)* (OLIVEIRA; PRONIN, 2019).

However, several other garden-districts of the city have not yet been historically studied or have been only partially studied, as is the case with Interlagos, analyzed in Galhardo's (10) and Martins' (2012) master's dissertations. The arrangement of Interlagos garden-district is considered an extremely significant example. Due to the morphological and historical features of the original land subdivision, the district was registered¹ by the City Preservation Council (Conselho Municipal de Preservação do Patrimônio Histórico, Cultural e Ambiental da Cidade de São Paulo – CONPRESP) in Resolution nº 18, November 23, 2004. The rationale for listing Interlagos focused on the urban fabric, which is characterized by public commons and green areas with tree vegetation in public and private gardens, which assured the permeability of the place. Moreover, some preservation rules were established to guide building or remodeling projects, which had to respect a 10-meter maximum height, the established minimum setbacks, the minimum permeable soil area which was set at 30%. Also, the wall height and the percentage of non-see-through walls were limited on the lots' boundaries to ensure some transparency between the inside and outside of the plot of land.

In face of this scenario, this research aims to fill a gap in the historiography of Interlagos district. It is based on a cognitive study of urban morphology which, according to Rego and Meneguetti (2011), aims to expand the knowledge on urban form origins and explanations. The methodology comprises two approaches addressed by the English school on urban morphology: the reconstitution of historical context and the analysis of urban form.

Research procedures include description and analysis of the roadway system and occupation of the area on the basis of maps drawn in 1941 and 1944, as well as aerial and satellite photographs taken in 1958 and 2017. The historiographical narrative, supported by primary and secondary references, is developed simultaneously.

2 Historiographical Description and Analysis of Collected Data

Interlagos' residential land subdivision started in 1937 in line with a proposal made by British engineer Louis Romero Sanson, partner of S/A Auto-Estradas. The firm was founded in

¹ Listing or registering as heritage is an administrative act that aims to safeguard movable or immovable property of cultural or environmental interest from being destroyed or deformed.

1927 and acquired the area with the intent of creating a garden-district. The urban project was designed by French architect Alfred Agache (1875-1959), who had also designed urbanization proposals for other important Brazilian cities as Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Porto Alegre, and Curitiba.

Agache had already designed the plan to remodel, enlarge and beautify Rio de Janeiro between 1927 and 1930 during the government of President Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa (1926-1930). As Rio de Janeiro was still the country's capital at the time, the work was commissioned by Federal District mayor Antônio Prado Júnior (1926-1930), who had invited Agache to give a number of lectures on how to organize and build cities in July 1927. During his stay in Rio de Janeiro, Agache gave five lectures in which he introduced the new science of urbanism starting from the following subjects: what urbanism is; how to prepare a city plan; garden-cities and slums; aerial photography and city map; and urbanism training and propaganda in France (SOSA; SEGRE, 2013).

On his third lecture, called "Garden-cities and slums", Agache presented the following definition:

'Garden-cities' are small satellite settlements near large towns. They are totally autonomous, their expansion is restricted and they have a limited number of inhabitants. (AGACHE, 1930, p. 19).

This means the concept of satellite garden-city which was to be used in Interlagos project was already in Agache's lecture in 1930. However, unlike the urban design for Rio de Janeiro which had a global guideline plan for downtown, the project for Interlagos was developed for a completely empty site.

At the end of the 19th century, debates on urban issues escalated and the French Urban Design School played a leading role in proposing new esthetic-scientific actions for urban interventions. In the early 20th century, particularly after World War I, use of mechanisms for modernizing the city was increased in an attempt to meet social demands. The need to sanitize urban spaces led to the hygienist movement, which brought along debates on the importance of open public spaces, especially parks and gardens, for citizens' quality of life and leisure. Also, the period was marked by the arrival of individual transportation, which had an impact on the roadway system of towns since they had to accommodate the new flows. Among urbanism scholars, the names of Eugène Henard, Ebenezer Howard e Tony Garnier stood out.

When working on the Interlagos land subdivision, Agache got inspiration from Ebenezer Howard's concepts. Although he was neither an architect nor an urban designer, Howard proposed an ideal city scheme, which coupled the advantages of both country and city life while trying to minimize the disadvantages. Howard expressed his principles in diagrams expounding humanist ideals for autonomous new industrial towns: houses amidst generous green areas and with easy access to work, countryside and downtown; a complex of buildings whose environmental quality was assured by a green agricultural belt, and worker's low-cost housing. (HOWARD, 1996).

Based on Ebenezer Howard's concepts, two garden-cities were built in England: Letchworth, in 1902, designed by architects Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker; and Welwyn, by Louis de Soissons. The latter, located 15 kilometers away from Letchworth, had houses without fences between lots, sported abundant green areas, and paid special attention to topographic features and existing vegetation (OTTONI, 1996).

After these experiences, other developments came up in other countries in the first half of the 20th century, incorporating the garden-suburb idea, as was the case of Hampstead, next to London and also designed by Parker and Unwin. The main difference between the garden-city and the garden-suburb is the autonomy intended for the former against the latter's economic and social dependency on an urban center, even if not directly connected to its urban fabric.

The garden-suburb concept was largely adopted in North America and in some European cities, but unlike the British model – which adopted the townhouses pattern, forming long clusters of constructions with uniform facades – North-Americans preferred detached houses with differentiated typologies. This was the pattern adopted for the garden-districts and garden-suburbs in São Paulo.

2.1 The Selected Place to Build the Satellite-City

The first conversations between Alfred Agache and Louis Romero Sanson on the urban subdivision started in 1928 and 1929. At the time, Santo Amaro was still an independent town, but the actual development of the subdivision began in 1938, after Santo Amaro was joined to the city of São Paulo in 1935.

The difficult process of finding an ideal site for the project caused a delay in development. After the site was finally found, some years of negotiation were still necessary to conclude the purchase.

The site was called Haras Palmeiras (Horse Ranch Palmeiras) and belonged to Colonel Juliano Martins de Almeida, a businessman and horse breeder. The place was described in an article in 1925, reporting that a barbecue was held there and offered to friends in honor of the press representatives who covered horse racing competitions in São Paulo:

An atmosphere of well-being, cordiality and frankness enveloped the delightful Haras Palmeiras. Since early morning, a large number of friends and admirers of the aged horse breeder arrived. It is not risky to say that the number of horse breeders, horse owners, horse handlers, jockeys, and turf journalists who attended such a party may have never been so high (ESPORTES, 1925, p. 6).

On October 1st, 1937, the shareholders of S/A Auto Estradas got together in the headquarters of the company at 443 Libero Badaró Street. Engineer Francisco Teixeira da Silva Telles, Caio da Silva Prado, Donard Laird Derrom, Guilherme Prates, Victor Fasano, and Luiz Romero Sanson were there, among others. The last topic to be talked about was the shareholders' appreciation and agreeing on purchasing the land for the Interlagos development (S/A AUTO-ESTRADAS, 1937).

Francisco Teixeira da Silva Telles said the company board had already been undertaking negotiations for some years to purchase Colonel Juliano Martins de Almeida's land. Eventually, after favorable circumstances came about, the purchase was completed and the members were asked to confirm the act, in line with the documents and deeds presented.

Luiz Romero Sanson presented his argument to justify his vote in favor of the purchase. At the beginning of his presentation, he said the project of the satellite-city had already been developed some years before the actual purchase of the site:

Since 1934 the Sociedade has had a complete plan, designed in Paris by Professor Agache on the basis of the topography we provided, to create a satellite-city at the banks of the Santo Amaro dam. After considering all liabilities both of the old dam and the new dam, the site was chosen in a thorough study jointly carried out by Professor Agache and Dr. Sanson. Throughout many years, they carefully took note of all factors that might influence the success of the plan. As the new Santo Amaro Dam will have a higher water level, they sought a terrain at its banks with a suitable topography to create an extension of the city. (S/A AUTO-ESTRADAS, 1937, p. 64).

Sanson went on and reported how difficult it was to find a totally appropriate area for the enterprise, since it had to be large enough and relatively flat. Moreover, the topographic configuration of the dam surroundings was more favorable to large leisure villas rather than to a satellite-city in the way he and Agache had imagined.

Sanson also highlighted that the public had at first shown interest in Santo Amaro old dam and that new villages had started to appear mainly on the northwest bank, but in a disorderly way:

[...] these villages developed without following an overall plan; the streets built for the land subdivision, in general, do not comply with critical technical issues; access to these villages is done by a road without a view to the dam, and it is impossible to build a waterside avenue except at an excruciating cost, due to the steepness of the bank, which is already partly occupied by constructions. Besides, this bank is directly exposed to the unpleasant south wind, and the view of the lower and less rugged opposite bank does not offer as much panoramic beauty as what one sees from the other side (S/A AUTO-ESTRADAS, 1937, p. 64).

On the other hand, Sanson praised the positive aspects that confirmed the right choice of the site the company had just acquired:

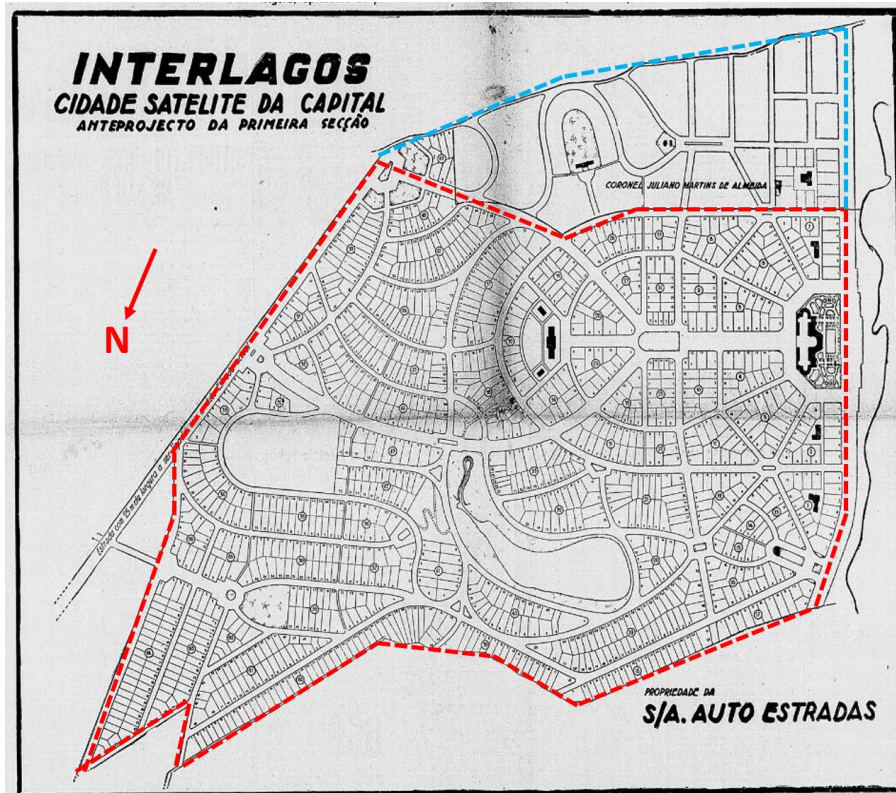
Fortunately, the most interesting part of the old dam, its southeast bank, did not develop as well as the opposite bank, because the access road was intensely used by ox carts, keeping it absolutely impassable for automobiles. And when we concluded that the site offered all the conditions required to build the satellite-city, professor Agache was able to design, unhindered, a striking comprehensive plan including an extensive area reserved for a park and spa for leisure, a zone for large villas, a satellite-city itself and the location of a veritable country club, with an extensive area, for the São Paulo elite. [...] This site is indisputably the most beautiful and interesting among those close to the Santo Amaro dams, due to both its configuration and its waterfront area (S/A AUTO-ESTRADAS, 1937, p. 64).

Sanson also highlighted the combination of facts that reinforced the increasing importance of expanding company investments in Santo Amaro:

An impressive series of works in progress demonstrates that a new area of the Capital is already being formed from Paulista Avenue to the Santo Amaro lakes, an area that will transform the old city, merely dedicated to work, lacking prettiness and attractiveness, with its narrow and irregular streets, into a beautiful and imposing city. Simply listing these works will lead to this conclusion: 9 de Julho Avenue, Rebouças Avenue, Ibirapuera Park, the Jockey Club, the airport, the highway widening, the channeling of Pinheiros and Grande rivers with their riverside avenues, the paving of the old Santo Amaro Road, the waterside avenue along Santo Amaro Lake, and the country club (S/A AUTO-ESTRADAS, 1937, p. 64).

According to the documentation presented to the shareholders, the 1,399,095-square-meter property had an 800-meter waterfront to the Santo Amaro Dam, which Figure 1 shows as the area surrounded by a red line. The area surrounded by a blue line, in the South portion of the glebe, was part of Agache's preliminary design and published in an advertisement as Colonel Juliano Martins de Almeida's property in an issue of the *Correio Paulistano* newspaper in 1938. Agache drafted a road system for this ~280,000-square-meter area, which was not implemented. Today it shows a completely different road layout.

Figure 1. An advertisement in *Correio Paulistano*, 1938, showing the preliminary design developed by Alfred Agache for Interlagos. The red contour refers to the area as described in the site's deed of sale in 1937, and the blue line shows the area still belonging to Colonel Juliano Martins de Almeida.



Source: Prepared by the authors, from REALIZAÇÕES, *Correio Paulistano*, 1938.

2.3 The Previous Design

On Sunday, August 28, 1938, S/A Auto-Estradas offered a barbecue to officials, journalists and visitors, organizing a convoy with more than 300 vehicles. The convoy departed from the corner of Nove de Julho Avenue and João Adolfo Street, basically at the starting point of the said avenue, continued for 4.5 km, went through the tunnel under Paulista Avenue, turned southeast at Brasil Avenue, passing beside the future Ibirapuera Park as far as the area of today's Congonhas Airport where they stopped for a while, then went straight ahead to Socorro neighborhood and its final destination, Interlagos.

The visit to Interlagos counted over 1,500 people including Caio da Silva Prado, Guilherme Prates, Luís Romero Sanson, and Alfred Agache. After the barbecue, the latter used a loudspeaker to give a lecture outdoors, presenting the design he had developed for the place. The design foresaw a total of around 50,000 people, while the first phase was meant to be occupied by 10,000 people (UM PASSEIO..., 1938).

In his talk, Agache mentioned that between 1928 and 1929 he was summoned to Santo Amaro city hall by mayor Dr. Francisco Ferreira Lopes. At the time, Agache developed an overall project to facilitate a better use of the banks of the old dam (known today as the Guarapiranga dam). In view of the scarcity of municipal resources, the need to create a company to undertake the project became evident and the State government had to be willing to compromise in some aspects to enable the project, but the idea did not succeed and the proposal failed.

In his Sunday speech, Agache described the project for the surrounding area of the dam:

The urbanization of this area, at the banks of the old dam, was divided into four main parts:

A – A beach for the common people with a large amusement park, on the northern side of the lake in a zone already known by popular masses. During holidays, the beach should be able to accommodate 20 to 30,000 people.

B – A residential neighborhood set apart from the popular housing, with a land subdivision following the most modern rules of urban design, avoiding the rigid grid systems so commonly adopted in São Paulo. In this neighborhood, villas and private properties would have their own special place, as well as public squares, commercial areas, schools – in brief, everything that should constitute the social core of an urban settlement.

C – A district especially designed for a cassino and a hotel. Grouped around a green area, this complex should recall Monte Carlo's elegance.

D – A sporting district, absolutely modern according to American and German patterns, with clubs, restaurants, tea houses etc. ("INTERLAGOS"..., 1938, p.6).

According to this description, the four points presented in Agache's 1929 design were basically taken up again and employed in his new proposal for the Interlagos development project, designed in 1938, although in a smaller area.

2.2 The Physical-Territorial Characteristics of the Site

The development was laid out in a strategic and privileged geographical position, between two reservoirs built at the beginning of the 20th century: the Guarapiranga Dam (1907) and the Billings Dam (1925), a situation that determined the name of the enterprise located between the lakes – “Inter-lagos” (inter-lakes) (Figure 2).

From the time the dams were built, the area –then a part of the municipality of Santo Amaro– drew interest as a possible leisure and recreation site, becoming a point of attraction for summer houses, villas, nautical clubs, leisure and sports items trade, and new residential developments, such as Riviera Paulista, Mar Paulista, and Interlagos itself.

Today, Interlagos has an area of around 1.69 square kilometers and is limited by Rio Bonito and Interlagos Avenues to the East; Nicolau Alayon Street to the South; Atlântica Avenue to the West, bordering Guarapiranga Dam; and São Fortunato and Trasíbulo Pinheiro de Albuquerque Streets to the North.

Figure 2. Detail from the 1944 map picturing São Paulo and its surroundings, showing the district of Interlagos between the Guarapiranga lake to the West and the Rio Grande lake or Jurubatuba to the East, today called Billings Dam.



Source: Clipped by the authors from the 1944 original map picturing São Paulo and its surroundings.

Interlagos District is located in an area of direct contribution to the diffuse flow of the Pedras/Guarapiranga watershed (drainage-basin) in the Guarapiranga Hydrographical Basin. Interlagos Avenue, which corresponds to the eastern boundary of the district, lies on the ridge between the Pinheiros River Hydrographical Basin and the Guarapiranga Dam Basin. The district occupies the slope between Interlagos Avenue ridge, at between 780 m and 785 m above sea

level, which decreases to 740 m on Atlantica Avenue at the shoreline of the dam, corresponding to an average declivity of 3%.

2.3 Occupying the Site and its Constructions

The process of occupying the land and building the first houses only took place after some infrastructure services were implemented between 1939 and 1941.

On May 18, 1939, a new avenue was commissioned to connect Auto Estrada (Washington Luís Avenue) directly to Interlagos district. The totally paved 7.5-km-long and 25-meter-wide avenue shortened the way in 4 kilometers, and today it is called Interlagos Avenue. The work was expected to involve paving 60,000 square meters of roads, putting up 16,000 meters of curbstones, installing 6,000 meters of water plumbing, 8,000 meters of sewerage, and 10,000 meters of electrical power line (INTERLAGOS..., 1939).

In addition to facilitating the access to the development by individual transportation, S/A Auto-Estrada also invested in mass transport. In 1939, the company asked for permission to start a bus line between downtown São Paulo and Santo Amaro. In its request, the company assumed it already owned the necessary vehicles – with a capacity of 26 passengers each – to cover the route in 25-minute intervals. The line was called São Paulo–Santo Amaro, would pass by Congonhas Airport, and foresaw intervals to match planes departure or arrival. Two different tariffs were charged, one until the airport and another one, 50% larger, up to the terminal in Interlagos (A COMUNICAÇÃO..., 1939). The proposal was ratified by Mayor Prestes Maia and the line premiered on April 15 of the same year. The first bus left the downtown terminal at noon, in front of Hotel Esplanada on Ramos de Azevedo Square, next to the Municipal Theater. (CONVITE, 1939).

On September 3, 1939, another barbecue was offered to the São Paulo “elite”. Alfred Agache was also there, a year after his last visit to the site. The event was held in the construction site of the motor racing circuit, where a few drivers gave a demonstration on the racing track, then in its final phase. After the performance, the public was allowed to walk along the racing track, and at 11h30 a.m. the cornerstone of Interlagos’ first house was placed. A barbecue was served right after the ceremony. (EM INTERLAGOS..., 1939).

In September 1938, the same S/A Auto Estrada started to build a motor car circuit, simultaneously to the beginning of the residential land subdivision. It was designed as an 8-kilometer racing track with a capacity for 200,000 spectators. The aim of the company was to transform it into São Paulo’s greatest tourist attraction (AUTÓDROMO, 1939). Interlagos motor car circuit was opened on May 12, 1940 with two events: a 12 laps motorcycle race and the São Paulo Grande Prêmio (Grand Prix) for cars, with 25 laps (INTERLAGOS: Grande..., 1940).

At the same time, the ads for the development were already broadcasting the success of the Interlagos sand beach that attracted a large number of people to enjoy a few moments of leisure and contemplation (CIDADE..., 1941).

On August 03, 1941, an advertisement in Correio Paulistano informed that 473 parcels of land (350,332 square meters) had already been sold. A list of buyers was released and several names were there: engineer and politician Armando de Arruda Pereira; journalist and writer Victorino Prata Castelo Branco; and the provost of the Federal University of São Paulo, Dr.

Marcos Lindenberg. Most of them acquired a single parcel, but some bought between 2 and 8 units.

Despite the apparent success in selling the parcels, a 1954 orthophoto showed that less than 30 houses had been built in the neighborhood. Also, it showed that the roadway system in the southern part of the development was different from Alfred Agache's original proposal (Figure 3).

Figure 3. A 1954 orthophoto showed few houses built within the perimeter in red, which corresponds to Interlagos District.



Source: Prepared from GEOSAMPA, 2021.

Today, the district is almost entirely occupied, but still keeps its characteristics and original configuration, maintaining the conservation of green areas. (Figure 4).

Figure 4. A 2017 photo of the area shows the layout within the perimeter in red, which corresponds to Interlagos district.



Source: Prepared from GEOSAMPA, 2021.

3 Conclusion

The 22 garden-districts identified by the city of São Paulo Planning Department in the 1980s constitute an important complex of specific urban landscapes that at times are seen as exceptions in a general context of expansion of the city, because they present environmental and landscape features which result from the predominance of free, permeable green areas.

Besides their environmental quality, some São Paulo garden-districts' road systems, block configurations, parcels subdivisions, and building typologies were designed and planned according to certain philosophical stylistic patterns. Those patterns hailed from particular groups representing specific historical moments, as can be observed in Jardim América, Alto da Lapa, Alto de Pinheiros, and Interlagos districts.

For the latter, French architect Alfred Agache drew inspiration from the principles of the French School of Urbanism to propose the road system, and adopted garden-city concepts, as advocated by Ebenezer Howard, to create green public spaces and open areas among land parcels planned for detached houses.

This research's historiographic investigation allowed the authors to collect data from newspapers from the 1930s and the 1940s. These data were critical to draw a historical profile that goes from the first attempt to select and acquire a site up to the implementation of the urban project itself.

The initiative idealized by Louis Romero Sanson, partner of the S/A Auto Estrada, to build a "satellite spa-town" to function as a leisure and recreation area for the São Paulo elite can be considered advanced for its time. After all, the first conversations with architect Agache took place between 1928 and 1929, when Santo Amaro was still an independent town 20 km

away from downtown São Paulo. Yet, the collected data demonstrated that the strategy of using advertising to inform on the money invested and the progress of the infrastructure works may have been critical for the success in selling the development parcels between 1939 and 1941.

The advertisements also evinced the efforts of S/A Auto Estrada to enable the connection between the new-born district and downtown São Paulo: the construction of current Interlagos Avenue and the installation of a bus line between downtown and Interlagos, passing by Congonhas Airport, which was also built by the same company.

After the sale of the land parcels, there was a time lapse until the actual occupation of the district, as few houses were built between 1941 and 1954. This fact completely changed the initial idealized image of a São Paulo satellite town and spa-district, as the houses were built as family homes rather than summerhouses. Besides, some of the main non-residential pieces of equipment were closed and abandoned, as the Santa Paula Yatch Club, whose terrible state of conservation has compromised the entire landscape of the region.

Today, one can see that even after the belated listing of the district by CONPRESP in 2004, Interlagos has maintained its morphological characteristics in terms of preserving its urban fabric, the size of the buildings, and the environmental quality represented by private and public green areas.

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