

The future of the Past: A look into the Kinaxixe Market and the Kuwait National Museum legacy

Abstract

It was after World War II that the desire for change began to grow. The CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) movement enabled different paths for the architecture of the second half of the 20th century, that spread across all latitudes. The need to build with an umbilical connection between the architectural piece and the place and culture was – after multiple experiences – evident and necessary, especially in the territories with less technical and technological resources. That was the belief of the architects Michel Écochard (1905–1985) and Vasco Vieira da Costa (1911–1982). Inspired by Le Corbusier's modern ideals, both authors surpassed the CIAM master's orthodoxy, aiming for architectural pieces that directly dialogued with their whereabouts. That was the case of Luanda's Kinaxixe Market (1950–58) from Vieira da Costa and the Kuwait's National Museum (1960–83) from Écochard. Both buildings were created as centres of urbanity. The first, connected the old and the new Luanda, while the second stood near the Persian Gulf shore, in the Kuwait City's Cultural and Arts District. Despite their architectural significance, both faced destruction during violent conflicts. Angola plunged into a civil war (1975–2002), causing the deterioration of the Kinaxixe Market, while Kuwait's National Museum was looted and partially destroyed, during Iraq's invasion (1990–91). In the beginning of the 21st century, the rehabilitation of the buildings was considered by their governments. However, their fate could not be more different: the Kinaxixe Market was demolished, while the Kuwait National Museum was modernized and rehabilitated. This paper aims to, not only study those buildings as pivotal pieces of the late modern architecture in their countries, but also to shed some light into the consequences of the destruction or preservation of a country's architectural heritage, comprehending how it can affect its cultural identity in the Future.

Keywords

Architectural heritage, Identity, Michel Écochard, Vasco Vieira da Costa

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[Cover] The demolition of the Kinaxixe Market and the Kuwait National Museum after the war. Collage by the autor, with images from *O sítio dos desenhos [online]* and Mohammed Al-Abbas, "Trans-Modern Narratives/Utopian Identities".

Past

The fall of CIAM and the rise of Team 10

The inaugural *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* [International Congresses of Modern Architecture] usually referred to as CIAM I, took place from June 28–30, 1928, at La Sarraz, Switzerland. The initiative to form an international group of modern architects that could create an “unified sense of what is now usually known as the Modern Movement in architecture”¹ came from the artist and art patron Hélène de Mandrot (1867–1948) who, in late 1927, contacted Le Corbusier (1887–1965) to organise and lead the event, becoming the *Congrès* driving force.

With attendees such as Ernst May (1886–1970), Gerrit Rietveld (1888–1964), Mart Stam (1899–1986), Pierre Chareau (1883–1950), Pierre Jeanneret (1896–1967) and Sigfried Giedion (1888–1968)² the CIAM I established an organised international modern architectural movement, with lasting influence on urban planning, social housing, standardisation and indirect political premisses for architecture.

The resulting *Déclaration du Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* [Declaration of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture], referred as *Déclaration de La Sarraz* [La Sarraz Declaration], signed by all 24 attendees, expressed the group “aspirations to be the elite vanguard of the new architecture”³ by articulating a functionalist agenda centred on rationality, mass production and social reform. These principles would dominate architecture for nearly three decades, until the CIAM’s dissolution.

In the beginning of 1954, a group of architects from the organisation’s younger generation accepted the task to coordinate the CIAM X, that would take place two years later, between August 3–13, in Dubrovnik. The CIAM X Committee, formed by Georges Candilis (1913–1995), Jacob ‘Jaap’ Bakema (1914–1981), Peter Smithson (1923–2003) and Rolf Gutmann (1926–2002) represented the countries with more preponderance to the movement at the time: France, Netherlands, United Kingdom and Switzerland, respectively. This group would then evolve into a dissident branch, during the Dubrovnik meeting, opposing CIAM’s strict rules and ways of viewing urban planning and architecture, in a time when the desire for a collective dimension of architecture gained traction and the connection

between buildings, clusters, urban blocks and cities specificities became essential, relegating function to a secondary aspect. The principles of the Athens Charter (1933), especially the lack of concern for social interactions, were profoundly criticised in the Smithson’s Doorn Manifest (1954), a key document for the younger generation of architects, who opposed the older generation’s functionalist approach.

This resistance led the CIAM Council, composed of Alfred Roth (1903–1998), Cornelis van Eesteren (1897–1988), Josep Lluís Sert (1902–1983), Sigfried Giedion and Walter Gropius (1883–1969) to resign as a block, opening the door for a new CIAM Reorganization Committee (mainly constituted by Team 10 members) responsible for designing the future path of the international modern architecture. After Le Corbusier’s withdrawal of the CIAM Movement, in 1955, the organization’s fate was sealed and the 1959 Otterlo Congress (CIAM XI) officialised the death of the CIAM – the term “was no longer used after Otterlo”⁴ – and six members of Team 10 carried a black coffin in the gardens of the Kröller-Müller Museum with the sign “CIAM – 1928-1959 – RIP”.⁵

Team 10, a new way to perceive architecture

Although considered an informal group of architects, urbanists and engineers – with a core structure based in Aldo van Eyck (1918–1999), Alison Smithson (1928–1993), Giancarlo De Carlo (1919–2005), Georges Candilis, Peter Smithson and Shadrach Woods (1923–1973) – the Team 10 was a very dynamic association of professionals where “things as ‘membership’ or a ‘movement’ had no formal existence and the question of who was to be invited to each meeting invariably led to discussion and sometimes heated arguments”.⁶

They believed architecture should relate new and old forms, as well as building techniques, while bearing in mind not only the geographical and climatic conditions of the place but also its culture and history. In doing so, they intertwined the inflexibility of the functionalism CIAM preconised with a much-needed humanist approach in the destructive and complex post-World War II era, where daily connections and neighbourhood relations should be valued.

The group’s first official meeting was held in Bagnols-sur-Cèze, in 1960, where the members sought to comprehend each other’s work and different ways to approach architecture. Team 10 accommodated two main perspectives on the architectural *problématique*.

1. Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (MIT Press, 2000), 1.
2. According to Eric Mumford “A number of prominent architects whom they invited indicated that they could not attend, including Tony Garnier, Auguste Perret, Adolf Loos, Henry van de Velde, Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Erich Mendelsohn and Oud.” Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse*, 15.
3. Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse*, 19.

4. Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse*, 265.
5. Smithson Family Archive, SMA – OTTERLO 59/03.
6. “The Team 10 story,” Team 10 Online, accessed November 12, 2025, <http://www.team10online.org/index.html>.

On one hand were the English founding members, Alison and Peter Smithson, with their brutalist ideals – materials should be used raw, the form of the building must be connected to the site and the programme, and its structure should be easily comprehended. On the other were the Dutch architects Aldo van Eyck and ‘Jaap’ Bakema, who advanced Structuralism, in which architecture should be understood as a means of social renewal and buildings viewed as living structures that could change and adapt to their inhabitants’ needs, rather than adhering to a rigid functional programme.

Team 10 members continued to meet on various occasions until Bakema’s death in 1981. This event led most members to leave the group, which was finally disbanded in 1984.

The influence of CIAM and Team 10 on the work of Vasco Vieira da Costa and Michel Écochard

As previously described, both CIAM and Team 10 had an enormous impact on international architecture in the last century, inspiring architects all over the world with their ideas and concepts. That was the case of the architects on whom we will focus from now on, Vasco Vieira da Costa and Michel Écochard.

Although the two architects never met in person, both got in touch with Le Corbusier and attended CIAM congresses⁷. It was at these events that Vasco Vieira da Costa heard about Écochard’s work as director of the Morocco Department of Urban Planning (1946–1952) and met Bakema, Candilis and Woods (all former collaborators of Écochard).

Their colonial and post-colonial work was responsible not only for important urban planning projects but also for the development of buildings that responded to people’s needs and complex realities. By prioritising both local culture and climate-responsive technical solutions, they followed parallel paths in the second half of the 20th century.

Enjoying the Atlantic breeze: Vasco Vieira da Costa and the Kinaxixe Market

Despite being born in Aveiro, mainland Portugal, Vasco Vieira da Costa spent most of his childhood and early adult life in Angola, where he started working as a land surveyor. In 1938, he participated in the *Exposição-Feira de Angola* [Angola’s Exhibition–Fair] as responsible for its Technical Services. His “performance



Figure 1. The Kinaxixe Market and the Luanda’s Bay around 1970s. *Luanda, Imagens dos velhos tempos [online]*.



Figure 2. Luanda’s downtown, the Bay and the Kinaxixe Market (c.1960s). *Luanda, Imagens dos velhos tempos [online]*.

at the exhibition was so well-received that he ends up being awarded in the form of a scholarship to enrol at the ESAP architectural course, that he started in 1940”⁸. After completing his studies, he travelled to England, enrolling at University College, to study urban planning. However, the constant bombing of the British territory during World War II compelled him to leave the country and settle in France. It was around 1945 that Vasco Vieira da Costa started an internship at Le Corbusier’s office. This chance to work with one of the greatest architects of the time shaped his entire career and his approach to urbanism and architecture.

When Vieira da Costa concluded his urban planning degree in 1948, he advocated the Athens Charter principles in a thesis entitled *La Ville du Coton: avant-*

7. Vasco Vieira da Costa participated in the 1951 CIAM VIII Congress, held in Hoddesdon, England, as a young observer, and in CIAM X in Dubrovnik in 1956 as Portugal’s official CIAM delegate. Michel Écochard, meanwhile, presented his Casablanca 8x8 grid at the 1953 CIAM IX Congress in Aix-en-Provence.

8. Diogo Alexandre Pedrosa Amaral da Cruz. “Memórias de um Mercado Tropical – O Mercado do Kinaxixe e Vasco Vieira da Costa” (Master diss., University of Coimbra, 2012), 68. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

project d'une ville satellite pour Luanda [The Cotton City: preliminary design of a satellite town for Luanda]. "The same dissertation was used [...] upon his return to ESBAP, that same year, to present the Competition for Obtaining the Architect's Diploma (CODA) [...]"⁹. After finishing his studies, in February 1949, Vieira da Costa returned to Luanda, Angola, where he worked on public and private commissions. One of his first projects was the Kinaxixe Market, developed between 1950 and 1952.

For this public equipment, the architect combined his Corbusian functional influences with a clear design and careful study of the geography, solar exposure and wind dominance of the site, creating a piece adapted to the programme and the population's needs of efficiency and comfort.

Located on the north side of Lusíadas' Square, in Luanda's uptown, with an east-west orientation, the market was described as a long, linear concrete building with a grided structure, its main body supported by stilts or *pilotis*.¹⁰ By liberating the ground floor, the architect was able to create a commercial gallery and distribution paths that could be perceived as a continuity of the public space, helping to solve the topographic unevenness of the terrain that presented a lower elevation on the northwest side and a higher elevation at east. This specificity allowed Vieira da Costa to organise the market in two cloister-like units, each with its garth at a different elevation. To seamlessly articulate both units, the architect recurred to a double-height and an intermediate floor, that allowed a view over Luanda's Bay at the west façade.

The building had two main entrances – at the south and north elevations – that gave direct access to the vertical distributions and various ramps of the building. The vertical accesses were concentrated in a central volume that physically separated the two cloisters, allowing the connection between the warehouses (in the basement), the upper floor, which carried the market programme per se, and the rooftop, hierarchising the private and public, vertical and horizontal distributions of the ensemble.

One of the most interesting aspects of the building was the design of its *brises soleil* that, inspired by the Brazilian modern architecture movement,¹¹ allowed both sun and temperature control, two very important



Figure 3. Aerial view of the Kinaxixe Market with Cuca building in 1971. Luanda, *Imagens dos velhos tempos* [online].



Figure 4. Detail of the market's main façade in the 1960s. Luanda, *Imagens dos velhos tempos* [online].



Figure 5. *Cobogós* at the façades facing the cloister (c.1960s). Luanda, *Imagens dos velhos tempos* [online].

parameters when it comes to building in tropical environments. Vasco Vieira da Costa decided to create slender vertical concrete brises that gave rhythm and visual reverberation to the market's long façades¹² – breaking the perception of a monolithic piece – in order

9. Cruz, *Memórias de um Mercado Tropical*, 74.

10. Three of the four building elevations presented stilts.

11. One of the most influential movements for the 50's and 60's Portuguese architecture at the Overseas Territories was the Brazilian modern architecture, highly publicized in the New York's MOMA 1943 exhibition *Brazil Builds*.

12. The Kinaxixe Market's main façades were approximately 100 metres long, while the laterals measured around 60 metres.

to neutralize both strong solar direct incidence and heat inside the building. At the same time, the vertical brises enabled the natural ventilation of the spaces. Concerning the market's façades facing the cloister, instead of a blade-shape *brise*, the architect designed a hexagonal concrete structure that occupied all the upper half (3m) of the market's main floor, based in the Brazilian *cobogós*.¹³ This design created a completely open building, allowing the natural circulation of the air.

Away from the burning sun: Michel Écochard and the Kuwait National Museum

With a degree from the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts de Paris [Paris National School of Fine Arts] in 1932, Michel Écochard was not only an urban planner and architect, but also an archaeologist. After graduating, he moved to Syria, at the time under French administration, working for the *Service des Antiquités Syrien* [Syrian Department of Antiquities] where he helped rehabilitating various religious and civil monuments.

His first major urban plan was developed in 1943 for Lebanon's capital, Beirut. Three years later, he became director of the Urban Planning Department in Morocco, working on the Casablanca plan, which was approved in 1952. His team's objective was to eradicate the vast city slums by creating housing unities based on an 8x8m grid, incorporating a two-room volume – that could adapt to the family's needs and be expanded with a first storey – carrying the housing programme and a small enclosed patio where the family, especially the female members, could enjoy the outside weather and perform daily tasks in a concept that aimed “housing for the greatest number”.¹⁴ This grid-like plan also included collective gathering spaces and several equipments, such as schools and health centres, responding to the population's needs and giving a cultural dimension to the entire plan. This urban proposal was presented by Michel Écochard and Georges Candilis in CIAM IX Congress (1953) as part of the work developed by *ATBAT-Afrique*.¹⁵



Figure 6. Urban insertion plan of the Kuwait National Museum (c.1960s). “Kuwait National Museum,” *Archnet* [online].

In the middle of the 1950's he opened his own office in Paris and continued his international career, being responsible for numerous buildings and urban plans specially in North Africa and the Middle East. In 1960, the Kuwait government launched a competition for designing a Kuwait National Museum, located in Qibla Cultural District, Kuwait City.¹⁶ The selected proposal was the one developed by Écochard.

For the Museum, the architect designed a complex comprising five volumes – four rectangular and one domed – industrial in appearance and connected by elevated *promenades*. At the centre stood a main square with a garden, framing the most striking element of the composition: a large-scale *brise-soleil* that rose 28m – higher than the multiple gambrel-arched rooftops of the building complex – supported by four expressive paw-shaped concrete structures, allowing the public to enjoy shade and protection from the blazing Kuwaiti sun.

Écochard separated the volumes according to their programme, with Building I carrying the “Administration and Cultural Section”, while the other four focused in different aspects of “the Arabian Peninsula, its geography, its history and its civilization” such as “Land of Kuwait” [Building II]; “Man of Kuwait” [Building III]; “Kuwait of Today and Tomorrow” [Building IV] and the “Planetarium [Building V]” (that occupied the dome-shaped volume).¹⁷ All of them worked as independent displays, allowing the visitors to access them individually through the central garden or visit all spaces by circulating through the elevated galleries.

13. The *cobogós*, a very popular shading element in the Brazilian modern architecture, were inspired by the Portuguese colonial shading structures left in Brazil. They were generally in wood and derived from the Arabic *mashrabiya* structures.

14. “Écochard: Urban Planning in Morocco,” ARCHNET, accessed November 12, 2025.

15. LATBAT, *Atelier de Bâisseurs*, was a workshop of builders created by André Wogenscky (1916–2004), Jacques-Louis Lefebvre (n.d.–n.d.), Le Corbusier and Vladimir Bodiansky (1894–1966), with the objective of taking “[...] care of all the engineering and calculus to build the housing unit in Marseille.” “Le Corbusier_ Biographie”, Fondation Le Corbusier.

16. Kuwait became independent from the United Kingdom on June 19, 1961.

17. Michel, Écochard, “The National Museum of Kuwait,” in *Places of Public Gathering in Islam*, ed. Linda Safran (Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1980), 100.



Figure 7. Aerial view of the Kuwait National Museum around 1983. “Kuwait National Museum,” *Ms. Moore Travels*, [online].

As usual in Écochard projects, the architect had in mind the site, environment and culture for whom he was building the museum. Therefore, he chose as main materials precast concrete, that allowed fast assembly under harsh weather conditions; orange bricks, that reminded the surrounding landscape; local stone, that Écochard incorporated in the main façades of the volumes and metal, that he used for the grandiose brise-soleil structure and panels. Due to the desert’s climate, Écochard resorted, just like Vasco Vieira da Costa, to the use of concrete *mashrabiya* pieces that allowed the entrance of diffuse light, much needed for a display space. However, contrary to the passive climate system of the Kinaxixe Market, the Kuwait Museum had a complex HVAC system. The four main buildings of the Kuwait’s National Museum opened on February 23, 1983, while the planetarium began its displays on February 16, 1986.

Different wars, similar destiny

Unfortunately, war arrived in both Angola and Kuwait. First in Angola, with the Colonial War (1961–1974) – which opposed the Portuguese Armed Forces against the Angolan Liberation Movements (MPLA, UPA [later FNLA] and UNITA) – and, after independence, the Angolan Civil War (1975–2002), that contributed to the deterioration of the population’s living conditions and the destruction of the country’s infrastructures. The Kinaxixe was no exception, and the most important market of the city fall into a spiral of negligence and abandonment.

Afterward, in Kuwait, in the early hours of August 2, 1990, when the Iraqi Guard divisions crossed Kuwait’s border and proclaimed the annexation of the territory, an act formalised six days later. During the seven-month occupation, the Kuwait’s National Museum was looted, with almost 90% of its artifacts stolen and Buildings IV and V extensively destroyed and vandalised.

Shattered to dust and risen from the dust

The Kinaxixe Market continued his path into destruction. Although considered one of the most important pieces of African modern architecture, there was no concern by local or governmental entities to maintain, repair or modernise the architectural piece after the Angolan independence, adjusting the building to contemporary needs. After the end of the

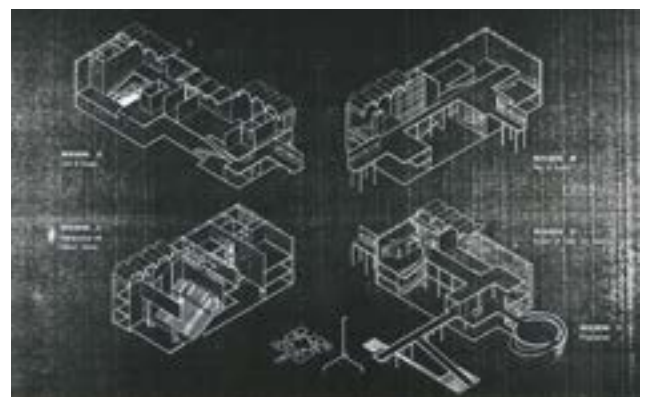


Figure 8. Diagram of the Kuwait National Museum volumes (c.1960s). “Kuwait National Museum,” *Archnet* [online].



Figure 9. Kuwait National Museum main square and garden around 1983. “Kuwait National Museum,” *Archnet [online]*.

Civil War, in 2002, the market underwent three decades of neglect that inflicted severe damage on its body, leading to its permanent closure in 2003. The following year, the land was concessioned to a private group (Macon), which initially considered maintaining the building while adding a new volume to the complex that would become a shopping, housing and office centre.¹⁸ However, a second proposal – that implied the destruction of the modern building – was accepted by the Angolan authorities, and the Kinaxixe Market was demolished in August 2008.

Kuwait’s National Museum, had fortunately, a different story. After the ceasefire, on February 28, 1991, the National Museum was cleaned, the debris from the war removed and the complex secured. Between 1993 and 1996, several looted artifacts were recovered and returned to the museum. Building I was reopened on February 24, 1996, almost five years after the war ending. Building II was reopened in the mid 1990’s, and the rest of the complex remained closed until the 21st century, when new plans were drawn for the complex.

Present

The unfinished complex

Despite numerous national and international attempts by various groups to persuade the Angolan Government to reverse its decision – or at least to declare the building national heritage or seek UNESCO World

18. The information from this section and the next one was obtained from consulting numerous newspaper articles such as the series in Público, Alexandra Prado Coelho, “Arquitectos chocados com a destruição do mercado do Kinaxixi, em Luanda”, *Jornal Público online*, 2008; Alexandra Prado Coelho, “Kinaxixe: O mercado que era um símbolo de Luanda já não existe”, *Jornal Público online*, 2008.

Heritage status – by the beginning of September 2008, only a landfill remained where once the Kinaxixe Market had stood.

The plan of the Macon Group was to

build a multipurpose shopping mall with six floors and two commercial towers located on the north and south sides, with 20 floors each [and] also a five-storey basement for parking. The Kinaxixe Shopping Centre will have 200 stores, seven cinemas and an entire floor dedicated to a food court. As for the two towers, they are intended for offices and will include basements with two thousand parking space.¹⁹

Seventeen years later, the plan remains unfinished, with only approximately half of the project built to date. Various economic factors – both internal and external – along with changes in the construction companies and the need for additional funding, have contributed to these delays, with none of the complex’s volumes yet completed.

Only the Kinaxixi Square²⁰ project – which is also part of the complex – has been completed at immense cost to Luanda’s architectural heritage. Inadequate soil stabilisation and retention during nearby construction works contributed to ground instability, placing the iconic Cuca building,²¹ another notable piece of 1970s Luanda’s architecture (that was at that time suffering from issues due to lack of maintenance and infiltrations from damaged piping), in severe structural distress. The only solution was to demolish the fourteen-story building, resulting in another great loss for the city’s

19. Coelho, “Kinaxixe,” 2008.

20. Formerly Lusíadas Square.

21. This building was designed during the 1950s by the architect Luís Taquelim da Silva and finished in 1974.



Figure 10. Demolition of the Kinaxixe Market in 2008. “Mercado Kinaxixe, foi,” *Pensar e Falar Angola [online]*.



Figure 11. The Kinaxixe Square in 2025 with the unfinished building were once the market stood. REAT, *Rádio Estudantil Angolana de Transmissões* [online].

architecture.²²

The New Kuwait's National Museum

In Kuwait, a new life was prepared for the National Museum in order to update the complex for today's programme needs, security standards and formal languages. The orange bricks of the façades have been covered with beige stone tiles, matching the apparent concrete structure; windows have been altered, to allow more diffuse natural light²³ to enter the building, and new vertical accesses and ramps have been created to meet fire protocols and conditioned mobility. New exhibition circuits are being designed in Buildings III and IV, and the Building V (the Planetarium), has been object of a major renovation and it is expected to open soon.

Although the Kuwait's National Museum complex is still a work in progress, one thing seems certain: the deep desire to preserve this important piece of Michel Écochard's architecture for Kuwait's future generations.

Future

Creating a piece of architecture requires much more than imagining a skeleton and its cover.

The site, solar incidence, climate, programme, availability of building materials in the region, history and local culture, daily needs, desires of those who will inhabit the building and how it will age – all should be considered by the architect.

Both the Kinaxixe Market and the Kuwait National Museum were created according to most of these

22. The account of the situation can be found in the article "Um Prédio da Cuca. Adeus a um pedaço de história da cidade", *Biblioteca da Terra* (2010) (online).

23. Recurring to frosted glass.



Figure 12. Cuca building, in the background, with the Kinaxixe Market and the World War I Memorial, around 1970. "Mercado Kinaxixe e o Edifício Cuca," *Reddit* [online].

aspects, but their destiny could not have been more different. Some circumstances, thankfully, cannot be anticipated by the architect.

Fortunately, one of the most important aspects of architecture resides on its intangible essence that sometimes surpasses the building's material existence – and this characteristic can be particularly observed in the Kinaxixe Market legacy.

The project was more than a random equipment for Vasco Vieira da Costa, it was a "scream of liberty and opposition to the Portuguese colonial regime"²⁴ by a man that defied it "by imposing a new posture in architecture".²⁵ Vieira da Costa wanted a new architecture for the country he envisioned as independent and chose as his, actively participating in its development until his death.

In a cruel irony of fate, his Kinaxixe project revealed to be more important to the anonymous citizens of Luanda and to the various architects and historians that worldwide mobilized themselves and tried to save the building, than to the Angolan decision-makers that condemned it to debris, opening a profound scar in the urban fabric of Luanda that stills unhealed, while paradoxically preserving other buildings from the colonial era, that followed the architectural canons of the *Estado Novo* regime. That is the case of the Angola National Bank building, designed by Vasco de Moraes Palmeiro (1897–1968) in 1956.

The Kinaxixe Market and the extensive work of the architect Vasco Vieira da Costa will remain as one of the most important in the Angolan 20th century architecture history.

24. Coelho, "Kinaxixe," 2008.

25. *Idem.*, 2008.

As of Kuwait's National Museum, although much work has still to be done, it was not only a symbol of progress, cultural and technical affirmation of the country when created by Michel Écochard but, today, also a symbol of resistance and national identity.



Figure 13. The Kuwait National Museum around 2022. "Sneak Peek: Kuwait national Museum," 2:48AM [online].



Figure 14 - The Angola National Bank and the Kinaxixi Market in the background (top centre of the picture), around 1960s. *Luanda, Imagens dos velhos tempos* [online].

