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The Concrete Modernism of Oscar Niemeyer and the Paulistano Impulse Toward Cannibalized Urban Design and Performative Identity

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ABSTRACT

As introduced by the cultural elite of São Paulo, Brazil in 1922, the aesthetics of modernism drove Oscar Niemeyer and Roberto Burle Marx's designs of urban architectural projects in the mid-twentieth century. These architectural performances of a modern *paulistano* identity, evidenced in Parque Ibirapuera, provide insight into the challenges and ruptures of identity formation and memory for the residents of São Paulo. Using *antropofagia* as a lens of analysis, the call to cultural cannibalism complicates the processes of self-representation within the city. Historically, *paulistanos* believed themselves to be the socio-economic and cultural pioneers of the Brazilian nation but tracing the conflicting manifestations of modernism through various socio-political contexts demonstrates class tensions and local divergences from national programs of identity building.

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INTRODUCTION

The growth of São Paulo, Brazil from a modest industrial city to the largest and leading commercial, industrial and cultural center in Latin America is a testament to the successes and advances achieved by the citizens of the city. Even more indicative of how the unique development of São Paulo carried out is an examination of the city's charged and complicated relationship with adopting modernity and maintaining local identity. In São Paulo, the myth of São Paulo as a pioneering city serves as catalyst in the path of development. To the citizens of São Paulo, *paulistanos*, the cultivation of a myth of identity was essential to the physical modernization of the city and there was no greater moment to celebrate the feats of their city than with the 400th anniversary of the city's founding in 1954. The *IV Centenário* became the designated occasion to reveal the newly constructed "lungs of the city," Parque Ibirapuera. Conceived by city officials, architect Oscar Niemeyer and landscape architect Roberto Burle Marx, Parque Ibirapuera was to beautify the urban space and to draw global attention to the modern achievements of the city.

At the grand entrance of the park, sitting on an island amongst a network of roads and bike paths is a monumental sculpture by Brazilian modernist, Victor Brecheret. Well aware of the celebratory nature of the park and the event, Brecheret's *Monumento às Bandeiras* is a work that is an emblem of the city of São Paulo. (Figure 0.1) The enormous work, measuring over fifty meters in length and sixteen meters in height, was commissioned by the state government in

Figure 0.1 Victor Brecheret, Monumento às Bandeiras , 1953

1921 and finally completed in 1953. The sculpture depicts an abstracted parade of *bandeirantes*, seventeenth century expeditions that left to enslave indigenous peoples and find mineral wealth in the interior of the country. Largely responsible for the spread of Portuguese influence that ultimately led to the creation of the Brazilian nation, the *bandeirantes* are viewed as national heroes and mythologized in Brazilian history. The fact the troupes were led specifically by citizens of São Paulo alludes to the air of exceptionalism and progress within the city and explains why a monument cementing this history would have been desired.

Brecheret's colossal statue depicts a group of figures, Portuguese, Afro-Brazilians and indigenous caricatures working together to pull a boat. The multi-ethnicity represented by Brecheret speaks to the Brazilian people and the nation that has defined itself as multi-ethnic and multi-racial, most famously in sociologist Gilberto Freyre's theories of racial democracy.[1] The monument is a physical manifestation and reminder of São Paulo's past as a critical region in Brazilian history but also the site from which modernity is projected and implemented in identity formation. São Paulo and the *paulistanos* have deployed the character and the myth of the pioneer to create a sense of purposefulness within the national, regional and ultimately, global community. While the city's past is largely responsible for the creation of the Brazilian nation, their role in commerce, industry and culture is aimed to propel the city and subsequently the rest of the country into the future. Modernity in Brazil, as a cultural and aesthetic movement, was used as a means by which change and progress could be seen and praised by the people.

[1] Racial democracy, as developed by Freyre in his 1933 work, *Casa Grande e Senzala*, is the idea that Brazil has escaped racism and racial discrimination and that the citizens of the nation have reached a level of equality. Racial democracy has been an immense source of pride in the process of nation building in Brazil. For further reading, Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves = Casa-Grande & Senzala : a Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

As the economic forerunner in the country, the city of São Paulo played a central role in ushering in a Brazilian modernity. The idea of exceptionalism and propagation of a pioneer spirit found roots in the minds and hearts of the citizens of São Paulo and it is evident from the construction of urban landscapes to the pageantry surrounding *paulistano* culture. However, when considered in context of social and economic trends that dominated Latin American development of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, *paulistano* self-representations reflected their own crisis of identity and struggle of preserving regional power and national influence than an accurate reflection of their local history.

Urban design in São Paulo, similar to other artistic mediums, actively applied the processes and ideals of *antropofagia* and the specifically Brazilian process of cultural adaptation as suggested by the "Manifesto Antropófago." Authored in 1928 by Oswald de Andrade, the manifesto calls for Brazilian artists to devour the "enemy," or rather, influences from the outside, referring to European culture.[2] *Antropofagia* was a way to impose a Brazilian cultural identity that unites tropical creativity and technology, ultimately accepting the contradictions, paradoxes and hybridity that makes the nation. Consumption, digestion and regurgitation of aesthetics are at the root of the urban development of São Paulo and by analyzing the visual production and architectural landscape of Parque Ibirapuera with acknowledgement of this transcultural process, one can better understand the city as an essential product and producer of a Brazilian modernist sensibility. The impact of European modernism on the urban design of São Paulo is evident specifically in the works of Oscar Niemeyer who spearheaded major housing, commercial and recreation projects within the city in the 1930s through the 1960s. Particularly with Parque Ibirapuera, Niemeyer paid

[2] Oswald de Andrade, "Manifesto Antropófago," in Piratininga Ano 374 da Degluticão do Bisplo Sardinha," (*Revista de Anthropofia*, Ano 1, No. 1, May, 1928).

respect to the teachings and design aesthetics of Le Corbusier but also took risk in creating a uniquely Niemeyerien, and consequently, *paulistano* construction that demonstrates a sensibility forward-looking progress that drove the socio-political mood of the time. This performance of modernity continues the pattern of allowing the city to develop culturally under the direction of the social elite. The consistent process of imitation and flattery among the urban elite, which began in the colonial period through the Old Republic founded under positivist ideals, is ultimately challenged and parodied by the modernist intellectuals who see a necessary purpose for a purely Brazilian manifestation and understanding of modernity.

Like other Brazilian artists of the 1930s through 1950s, Niemeyer shared a desire to move away from academic traditions and to embrace the local environment as a backdrop for his work. The notion of embracing local identity manifests in architectural projects influenced by sociopolitical circumstance. São Paulo became the site boasting the greatest application of International modernist architecture, with its tenets of functionalism, purity of line, and absence of decorative elements.[3] Niemeyer was very conscious of how the identity crafted for São Paulo and the *paulistanos* would be adhering to an elite aesthetic program and that ultimately the urban landscape of the city, as executed per his vision, would be emblematic for the nation. As such, Niemeyer's designs for the park displayed a tendency of cultural appropriation, a feature that was also echoed by Roberto Burle Marx, who worked alongside Niemeyer with the landscape of the park. The collaborative effort of the two modernists resulted in a site that continues to serve as a site of contested understandings of modernism but still maintains cohesion based on the overarching goal of projecting and defining *paulistano* identity.

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[3] Aracy Amaral and Kim Mrazek Hastings, "Stages in the Formation of Brazil's Cultural Profile," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 21 (1995): 20.

This thesis addresses the pioneering of a *paulistano* identity by first examining the historical precedence that allowed for the surge of avant-garde modernism in the 1920s and the several reiterations of the modernist impulse in the decades following. Chapter One, "Urbanization and Growth: The Maturation of São Paulo" examines the social and economic history of São Paulo and Brazil from the colonial era through 1945 with the fall of the first dictatorship under Gétulio Vargas. In understanding the paradigms of a national/local dialectic that São Paulo embodies, the motivations of the social, urban elite of the city become clear. Modernism, in all its appearances and reincarnations under the guide of the elite, consistently reflects the need to emulate a model established by European powers, until the critical moment of the late 1920s when modernism was introduced with the Semana de Arte Moderna.

This period of independent exploration of modernist creativity is subject of Chapter Two, "*Modernismo* and the Semana de Arte Moderna," which discusses the origins and legacy of a distinctly Brazilian modernism. The initial introduction of a modernist sensibility to a Brazilian audience appeared in 1922 with the Semana de Arte Moderna, was a crucial event in São Paulo's development as well as its artistic history. From this site, not only was modernism in visual and performance art introduced, but the central figures to the movement drafted the efforts to pursue a uniquely Brazilian modernism. It is here that the tenets of *antropofagia* developed and implemented as an intellectual elite response to previous understandings of modernity.

With modernism established, Chapter Three, "Oscar Niemeyer's Cannibalist Gestures in Modern Architecture," speaks to how the famed architect personally applied *antropofagia* to his work and how São Paulo played a seminal role to the development of his career. Rarely

remembered for his *paulistano* works, Niemeyer has gained a reputation as a global Brazilian architect but this chapter attempts to ground his aesthetic choices and ideological decisions to the existing trends of modernism within the city of São Paulo. In doing so, Niemeyer's contributions to Parque Ibirapuera, in collaboration with Roberto Burle Marx, became increasingly charged with motives of cultural cannibalism and identity formation. Finally, the subject of Chapter Four:, "Urban Cannibalization: *Paulistano* Identity in Parque Ibirapuera," the construction, layout and purpose of the park are examined to reconcile the individual ambitions of the artists with the pressures of modernism and cultivation of a specific identity. The park reads as a symbol of the city but it projects much more in regards to how its designs negotiate with the Brazilian, *paulistano* and International understandings of modernity.

The scholarship presented in this thesis addresses an existing void in the historiography surrounding São Paulo. Locating modernists Oscar Niemeyer and Roberto Burle Marx, both of whom were critical to the aesthetic modernization of Brazil in the twentieth century, within the development of São Paulo allows Parque Ibirapuera to regain the significant performative role of *paulistano* modernism that was originally embedded into the site. Critics have neglected to understand the transformative process designing the park was to both Niemeyer's and Burle Marx's careers. While both men are remembered for their iconic manipulation of geometry and innovative use of modern, local material, little attention is paid to how Parque Ibirapuera advanced these key traits as well as serves as lived space which complicates the projection and embodiment of *paulistano* identity. The city's exceptionalist manner results from a history of cultural cannibalization and regional expressions of power, often reactionary to the contentious status of national politics impeding on local autonomy, as will be discussed in the chapter to follow.

CHAPTER ONE: URBANIZATION AND GROWTH: THE MATURATION OF SÃO PAULO

Urban cosmopolitanism proved an essential tool for global nation-building during this between the whole of the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. As cities became sites for performative monumental architecture, they became emblems for a nation and a people in the process of becoming far more complex than their roles as populated, lived spaces. Especially, the projection of modernity depended on the "civilization" of a city, identified by the historicist monumentalism of the City Beautiful Movement.[4] As architectural historicism looked to the European past for inspiration, urban planners from Moscow to Montevideo looked to post-Hausmann Paris as the epitome of the civilized city. Latin American planners invested time, money and labor in ridding their cities of the old, the dirty and the colonial in favor of new boulevards, monumental buildings and straightening of streets.[5] Patriotism and positivism drove the renovations and the final goal was to please the "Europhile elite."[6]

The polemic development of the city counteracted the very process of identity-formation that it seeks to achieve. Gilberto Freyre, a seminal figure in Brazilian history and sociology, complicates the process of "citification" in his text of 1936, *Sobrados e mucambos*. His acknowledgment of the positivist program demonstrate a continued and intuitive application and practice of these ideals that in reality, only superficially address the social demands of the nation.

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[4] For further reading on the idealization of Paris as the pinnacle of Positivist expression and reform, look to T.J. Clark's *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), Donald J. Olsen's *The City As a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986),and Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

[5] Jeffrey D. Needell, "Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires: Public Space and Public Consciousness in Fin-de-Siecle Latin America," in Comparative Studies of Society and History, 17:3, July 1995, 522.

[6] Needell, 535

> [The] Brazilian city is a vehicle rather than engine for change…human beings are actors not agents. A situation is personalized but change is depersonalized; the city square triumphs; plantation manors become city mansions; social barriers develop; a new distribution of power comes about; antagonisms arise; moments of fraternization emerge; social distance shrinks; patriarchalism moves from plantation to town house; house and street are almost enemies.[7]

In this passage, Freyre identifies the various layers of conflict and loss that occurred during the rapid development of urban spaces in Brazil, most importantly giving attention to the psychological and mental effects on the people who inhabit the spaces and are incapable of modernizing as quickly as their surroundings do.

This sentiment of instability and uncertainty dominated the modernizing environment of urban centers across Latin America. The attempt by elites of São Paulo or Buenos Aires to beautify and legitimize their cities with art, architecture and leisure spaces can be read as an attempt in trying to re-emplace themselves in a site that has become unfamiliar.[8] The elites of the city who were typically established in the city's social, economic and physical operations, faced new factors such as industrialization, infrastructure and technology and most critically, a surge in numbers of the working and middle classes. As the upper classes attempted to cement "reforms concentrated on the public space associated with the state, neocolonial commerce, tourism and Europhile high culture," the Brazilian city organically interfered with the "civilization" process as trends of rapid population growth and booming industry outperformed the elite's efforts.[9] Jeffrey Needell refers to the wealthy Brazilians as

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[7] Gilberto Freyre,*The Mansions and the shanties (Sobrados e mucambos); the making of modern Brazil*, (New York: Knopf, 1963).
[8] This term is associated with Edward Casey's *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
[9] Needell, 535

both "champions of national progress" and "agents of metropolitan cultural and economic penetration."[10] The violent terminology suggests an invasion and exploitation of the city.[11]

PARADIGMS OF LATIN AMERICAN URBANIZATION

Historian Richard Morse acknowledges that the Brazilian instance merits comparisons to various Latin American countries in a means to understand global pressures of development in the nineteenth century. He maintains notable comparisons exist between Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina. Brazil and Venezuela shares a history of an economy based on extractive activity as well as stalled chronology of development as major populous cites were gathered at the coast until the beginning of the early modern era.[12] When considering Argentina, Morse points to how Argentina, like Brazil, was originally rooted in an agro-pastoral economy. The subsequent benefits of natural resource extraction and industrial success have led to a history of contradictions between "city and country; civilization and barbarism; coast and backlands; modernity and archaism; order and anarchy."[13] These social tensions and prejudices in turn marked processes of identity formation. In Brazil, regional competition between the virtual city-states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and São Paulo dominated the Old Republic (1889-1930), just as the struggle between urban Buenos-Aires based cosmopolitanism and the rural *gaucho* myth defined Argentine cultural politics.[14]

The tensions between the visions of the elites with the realities of the city are symptomatic of cities such as Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo that fall under

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[10] Needell, 539.
[11] Castells, *City and the Grassroots,* Needell, 537.
[12] Richard Morse, "Cities and Society in Nineteenth Century Latin America: The Illustrative Case of Brazil," in Richard P. Schaedel, Jorge Enrique Hardoy, and Nora Kinzer Stewart. *Urbanization in the Americas from Its Beginnings to the Present.* The Hague (Noordeinde 41): Mouton, 1978, 284.
[13] Morse, "Cities and Society in the Nineteenth Century Latin America," 285.
[14] Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants; or, Civilization and Barbarism*, (New York: Hafner Pub. Co, 1960)

what James Scobie identifies as the "commercial-bureaucratic city." This model includes national and provincial state capitals of the turn of the century that held direct relationships of commercial and administrative centers to a export-oriented economy that can best be seen at national levels with rates of growth directly involved with production for export.[15] The ties between economics, exercise of political power and population growth became conflated under the artificial "civilization" of the city by the hands of the elite. In his classic account, Walter D. Harris, Jr. starkly identifies the main trends that unite the development of cities in Latin America during the twentieth century. Most simply, these occurrences are rapid population growth that often preceded industrialization, rising tensions between urban centers and rural areas, shifts in population and migration and finally, spontaneous settlement.[16] He cites Buenos Aires and Mexico City as being indicative of these characteristics crediting transportation as an integral component in the continued growth of these spaces. The paradigms set up by Harris offer a constructive model in understanding these patterns and reading the systems facilitating rapid urbanization. These cities as well as São Paulo all boasted impressive railroad, road and construction projects that facilitated the movement of economic goods and thus, wealth which was attractive to migrants and immigrants.

Harris continues his analysis of prominent Latin American cities by analyzing the pattern of growth and how São Paulo, like Buenos Aires, was greatly affected by the factor of spatial and social movement. Originally founded in 1554 by missionaries on a small hill near the meeting of the Tieté and Tamandautei Rivers, São Paulo remained a rather insignificant town until the expansion in the late nineteenth century that was caused by the boom in the

[15] Scobie, 248. For further eading, look to Richard Morse and Jorge Enrique Hardoy's *Rethinking the Latin American City*.
[16] Walter D. Harris, *The growth of Latin American cities*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1971), 32.

coffee industry. With economic opportunity and increased wealth, neighborhoods and pockets of communities organically developed around the region with little coherence. With the twentieth century, state and municipal powers redirected the wealth of the city into public projects of roads and railroads that united the fragmentary units. As such, transportation and industry condensed within the urban space and distribution of the urban body also became more cohesive.[17] The pattern of using transportation hubs and networks to unify a city would be a common archetype in the development of Latin American cities. Throughout the early twentieth century, rapid population growth also factored into the growth of the city and a unified network was existent by the 1940s.[18] In sum, there were certain similarities in the determinant elements of how a city was to develop that São Paulo shared with other sites in Latin America. These included an emphasis on the resources and potential of the physical land, technology, transport and the management of export goods from satellite towns.[19] The flourishing cities no longer relied on production to fuel their economies but rather found benefits from managing and expediting the transport and exchange of goods coming from areas of production in the outlying borders.

The Contentious Emergence of São Paulo in Brazil

Despite these similarities in general development, the city and state of São Paulo cultivated a distinguished role and identity within the nation of Brazil, most generally as the constant opponent to the central government. This unfaltering, mythologized pride and nationally contentious position for São Paulo finds its roots in the colonial history of Brazil that is dominated by the politics resulting from the economic prosperity in the Northeast from

[17] Harris, 240.
[18] Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958), 223.
[19] Harris, 244.

sugarcane. During the sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries, power and economic prosperity was concentrated in the northeastern Portuguese settlements like Pernambuco where sugar plantations, operating on slave labor, financed Portuguese Brazil. As the sugarcane economy prospered, the Portuguese also found gold in the interior state of Minas Gerais in 1693. Slave labor formed the basis of both these economies and though the system was extremely beneficial to the Brazilian economy, environmental and social factors soon interfered and shifted economic focus to other sectors.

Adding to these difficulties, the declaration of independence from Portugal in 1822 under Emperor Pedro I, son of Portuguese Emperor João VI, was largely motivated by the economic prosperity of the Brazilian colony. Production rates and exchange of goods from Brazil had far surpassed that of Portugal and there was a sense that more autonomy should be granted to the residents of Brazil. Upon the bloodless declaration of independence, power was concentrated to the wealth landowners and slave owners of the Northeast and mining barons in Minas Gerais.[20] However, the mines of Minas Gerais were depleted by the middle of the eighteenth century, leaving a void in the economy. In trying to compensate with the production of sugar, the Brazilian crown faced criticism and difficulty with global changes towards abolishing slavery and restoring agency for the enslaved peoples in colonies. Social unrest constantly threatened the Portuguese leaders in areas where gold and sugar powered the economy, such as in Ouro Preto, Minas Gerais under the mythic rebel Tiradentes or in Salvador, Bahia by mulatto soldiers and sharecroppers.[21] The difficulties of maintaining a gold and sugar based economy eventually resulted in the shifts to agricultural endeavors of

[20] Thomas E. Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 32.
[21] Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 33.

coffee and tobacco in states of the southeast such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul.[22]

By the early 1850s, São Paulo could claim to be one of the few Brazilian states with a growing industrial economy, boasting seven of fifty industrial establishments that the central government recognized as being critical to the national economy.[23] The possibility of growing industry in the state was directly linked to the success of the coffee economy that imported immense wealthy, labor and influence to São Paulo. Though coffee had been a major export crop since 1727, it was not until the nineteenth century that planters in São Paulo began to take advantage of the land in the northeast that was rich and unexploited. Urban residents of the city of São Paulo created a system of hinterland tributaries within the interior of the state, which fostered the rise of the newly wealthy coffee barons.[24] New immigrants to São Paulo, primarily from Italy, served as the main source of labor after the abolishment of slavery in 1888.[25] The coffee industry benefited from the efforts to construct railroads throughout the state to quicken the process of exportation and importation of goods into the city. In this context, the coffee barons of São Paulo established themselves in the urban center and took to managing the export business, reaping the wealth and in return, investing it. The first emphasized developing their city and secondly, the nation. The sociopolitical and economic dominance of *paulistanos* developed during this time

[22] Skidmore, 39.
[23] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 93.
[24] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 112.
[25] John Charles Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*, (New York: Norton, 2001),185., Thomas H. Holloway *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

strengthened a sense of superiority and local exceptionalism that was in the air of the city and influenced intense regional loyalty.[26]

Historian Joseph Love finds the identity of the *bandeirante* to be critical in understanding how São Paulo operates and suggests that "their collective psychology had been inherited from the *bandeirante*." He continues:

> most writers and speakers emphasized the positive aspects: the *bandierante* had pushed back the frontier; he had applied his energies to productive ends; he had perceived and seized his opportunities; and he had pointed the way to the future for the Brazilian nation. It had fallen to his modern descendants to accept their destiny in leading the country.[27]

Though the image of the *bandeirante* is one that the entire state of São Paulo can identify with, the city itself capitalized it especially during the coffee era. Just as the *bandeirante* had forced his way into the frontiers of the country in the seventeenth century, the urban elites forced their presence on the plantations and producers that occupied the surrounding area more suitable for growing, essentially expanding the industry and taking the majority of the profit. The urban center's successful management of the coffee industry was the foundation for the extreme industrialization and urbanization. This pattern contrasted with conventional theories of urban growth that say that a city with a head start in industrialization remains its primacy over time through the ability of its industries to achieve "scale economies."[28] São Paulo had played second city to Rio de Janeiro and was able to surpass it without taking a lead in industrializing in this moment. This ruthless attitude is prominent in not only the economic plays of the *paulistanos* but also how they view themselves as political actors and advocates of taste and culture. The calculated efforts to support the myths and ambition to

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[26] Joseph LeRoy Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889-1937*, (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1980), xvi-xvii

[27] Love, 69.

[28] John D. Wirth and Robert L. Jones, *Manchester and São Paulo: problems of rapid urban growth*, (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1978),109.

keep pushing back the frontier and converting the land behind it into private property is what shaped São Paulo society."[29]

The pioneer spirit celebrated during the coffee boom made a physical impact on the city in the nineteenth century as elites now had the resources, power and models to modernize and craft a city that would serve their needs. Previously, *paulistanos* under imperial rule had followed the Portuguese model of conduct and behavior and as it were, the city was composed of traditional housing styles, primarily the structure of the Portuguese *sobrado*, along with civic architecture and public services were all directed to mimic a Portuguese past.[30] Though culturally Portuguese, political ties to the imperial power were minimal due to the strong involvement of the ruling monarch Dom Pedro I took great care in leading the Brazilian people. The autonomy that he felt during his reign prompted him to declare independence from Portugal, which is remembered as a romanticized, passionate call to action. In 1822, while in São Paulo addressing provincial disputes, Dom Pedro I received word from the Portuguese Cortes demanding more out of the colony before independence would be granted. He then historically cried, "The time is come! Independence or death! We are separated from Portugal!"[31] The nation's independence was then declared, significantly not in its Europe-conscious capital of Rio de Janeiro but in the *paulista* hinterland, symbolically alluding to the future power to be extended from the state. It is important to emphasize that Dom Pedro I made his famous proclamation in São Paulo during a necessary trip to calm local disputes and subordination towards his court-appointed officials. The conflicts in São Paulo reflected the disconnect between loyalists to the state and loyalists to

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[29] Love, 100.
[30] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis,* 35. The *sobrado* was the traditional housing unit used in Portugal that consisted of a two-story complex built around a central courtyard. Most *sobrados* featured a balcony on the second floor facing the street.
[31] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis,* 52.

the capital, whether Brazilian or Portuguese, a pattern that would continue in *paulistano* history.[32]

While São Paulo in this period appeased to the set social expectations with little resistance, the transfer of power from Brazilian monarch Dom Pedro I to his son, who would become officially King of Brazil in 1831, Dom Pedro II, resulted in many *paulistanos* feeling marginalized by the powers that were rooted in Rio de Janeiro. In 1841, with liberal leaders from Minas Gerais, another state that felt neglected by the crown's conservative rulings, regional leaders rebelled against the administration in a first act of local defiance. Though this early rebellion was calmed by the crown by 1844, the state of São Paulo and its urban elite continued to put on a façade of good feeling but were truly more invested in the development of a sophisticated, technologically advanced, cosmopolitan and above all, wealthy state that served an increasingly influential foreign market.[33]

Preceding this shift to cosmopolitanism marking the early twentieth century was the establishment of positivism under the government of the Old Republic. After a tumultuous Brazilian monarchy under Dom Pedro II that ended with a bloodless military coup, the Brazilian elite eagerly welcomed a new form of government that allowed for more local autonomy and the chance to revolutionize following European programs of progress.[34] Since the declaration of the Brazilian crown by Dom Pedro I in 1822 to the official end of monarchial rule in 1889, the shaping of the Brazilian nation faced struggles and conflicts with social hierarchies, lack of infrastructure and the debates surrounding a slavery-based

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[32] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 53.
[33] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil*, 84.
[34] Skidmore, 75.

economy.[35] These issues could seemingly all be addressed by the philosophy of positivism that promoted rational, scientific and humanist development.

Undoubtedly with the Old Republic and the increased autonomy of São Paulo, there was a construction of a cosmopolitan experience. Prompted by the governor of the state, Washington Luis, São Paulo began to pave streets, install electric lights, improve sewage and water lines and most importantly, expand the physical area of the city to accommodate the nouveau riche and new labor groups. Morse describes this period as one in which the "the structure of the new coffee empire and the emergence of the principal capital into an era marked by eclectic planning, cosmopolitanism and the practical-mindedness that could lift a problem out of any broad and traditional context."[36] The *paulistano* elite greatly trusted in their missions of progress and following in the positivist tradition, believed that environmental rejuvenation would lead to a better lived space and humanity. The problems brought on by the polemic colonial period, struggling monarchy and short-lived military coup that dismantled the Brazilian crown could be eradicated by positivist ambition. Coffee barons abandoned their old housing units in favor of mansions in neo-classical or Baroque styles, taking reference from Romanticism, high culture and spatial organization of Paris or Vienna. *Paulistanos* were not acting to project a new national identity to evoke a better Brazil but rather a regional and even individual one to showcase their local achievements. Quite clearly, the mission of "ordem e progresso" of the Old Republic was realized by the very privileged sectors of society. Uncontestable standards of taste, behavior and amenities ruled the city and the imitation of European trends carried São Paulo into a modernity of positivism.

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[35] Skidmore, 68.
[36] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil,* 114.

LOCAL AMBITION: THE *PAULISTANO* EXERCISE OF POSITIVISM

Originating under the fervor of the French Revolution, positivism intended to prevent social unrest and rebellions by convincing the proletariat to accept the domination of the bourgeoisie in exchange for material benefits, guidance and improvement. Scientific thought and observation were essential to finding and enacting order and as such, industrialization and reform shaped positivist advancement.[37] As such, the political and economic elite were drawn to these idyllic and strongly humanist beliefs as a way to preserve and enact their own powers. After the military coup in 1889, a constitutional committee drafted the new 1890 Constitution that officially confirmed and made official positivist ambitions for the new Republic. Moreover, the new Constitution called for radical decentralization and increased local autonomy, which benefited the already powerful states like São Paulo.[38]

The new government wanted to craft a new reputation and identity for Brazil, entirely abandoning the bonds of a colonial past. A new flag for the nation was designed as part of the program for national re-identification; demonstrating the national colors of blue, green and yellow and showing the new slogan of "ordem e progresso," Brazil as a nation manifested the ideas of positivism without looking back to the conflicts of the past. The new state attempted to erase traces of a Portuguese past from official history, making drastic moves to destroy embarrassing documents like slave records to entirely remodeling cities such as Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo to demonstrate order and modernism.[39] The aesthetics of positivism appealed to the social elite and their conscious efforts to replicate and embody a European sensibility of progress. The coffee elite began to move away from these old areas

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[37] Todd A. Diacon, *Stringing Together a Nation: Candido Mariano Da Silva Rondon and the Construction of a Modern Brazil, 1906-1930*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004) 80.
[38] Skidmore, 75.
[39] Skidmore, 76.

to higher and healthier environments, eventually settling on Avenida Paulista, finding the old city center to be too crowded, dirty and lacking in privacy.[40] (Figure 1.1) These nouveau-riche individuals constructed multi-storied mansions to express their income and prestige and promoted this sense of lavish wealth, ability and progress out of their own accord. The new homes showcased ornate décor and construction with grand foyers, marble balconies, tapestries and velvet upholstery. The expendable income of the *paulistanos* also created a local demand for imported consumer goods from Europe such as furniture and décor which also led to an expanded art market as will be discussed in Chapter Two.[41]

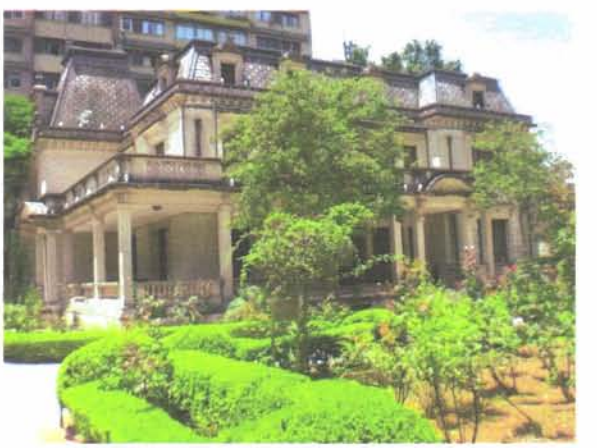

Figure 1.1 An example of positivist design is Francisco de Paula Ramos de Azevedo's Casa das Rosas, Avenida Paulista, São Paulo, constructed between 1928 and 1935.

For the elites of São Paulo who had enjoyed the structure of the Old Republic for decades, which in reality, operated as an oligarchy, World War I was a startling event that would challenge their Romanticist lives. Forced to rely more on internal production than the importation of foreign goods, Brazil began a process of industrialization in urban centers that was stimulated by trade limitations set by the war. Known as import-substitution-industrialization (ISI), this economic phenomenon filled the market voids caused by declining imports.[42] While most historians credit World War I as the catalyst for Brazil moving away from an agrarian economy, Thomas E. Skidmore argues that it in fact led to

[40] James Scobie, "The Growth of Latin American Cities, 1870-1930," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 4, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 257.
[41] Scobie, 252.
[42] Chasteen, 229.

high inflation for the nation that was managed by the coffee industry.[43] The continued weakening of the federal government allowed for São Paulo to act beyond the powers of the central government. Under the laws of the Old Republic, each sate was allowed to keep its own export revenues so São Paulo as a state had economic stability that translated into maintaining local autonomy and heavy national influence while marginalizing states to the north and west.[44]

The joy and celebratory nature of growing of the coffee boom was suddenly halted with the global depression of 1929 as the world market for coffee prices fell. However, prior to the sudden drop, the city of São Paulo began to undergo a modernist transformation in the early 1920s that indicated an already developing rupture of identity and displacement for locals. This period of the early 1920s was marked by this industrialization influenced by the war and resulted in typical imbalances that come with the process as a rapid growth in industry conflicted with the old agrarian society controlled by an oligarchy. In addition, the growth of a middle class and immigrant community in an urban population conflicted the standard divisions of society.[45] Waves of Italian, German and Syrian immigrants arrived in the city bringing with them ideas and opinions that would catalyze the intellectual and cultural move to modernize.

While new ideas regarding aesthetics, design, urban planning and societal structure circulated throughout major urban sites in Brazil, it was ultimately São Paulo that hosted modernism's introduction to the public sphere. *Paulistanos* actively welcomed the accelerated transformations that were consequences of what Nicolau Sevcenko calls the *triplo-nascimento*, or triple birth, of a "new world order, new phase of the capitalist system

[43] Skidmore, 96.
[44] Chasteen, 197.
[45] Wirth, 39.

and a new political context.[46] São Paulo in the 1920s represents s a city and a people ready to break from the bounds of imperialist tradition as determined by other powerful states like Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais. Dramatic changes in socio-politics and economics of the city resulted in a shift in attitudes and audiences in regards to cultural consumption and the rise of modernism was uniquely shaped and concretized into the physical spaces of the city. In addition, the memory of the mechanical horrors of the World War I shocked the elite who had for so long modeled themselves after the European powers engaged in conflict. Without a model to maintain a Positivist lifestyle, the elites had to turn elsewhere such as the avant-garde modernists and even more unthinkable to the Europhile elite, the local manifestations of cultures of Afro-Brazilians and indigenous peoples.[47]

The last few decades of the Old Republic, which ended in 1930 with the bloodless coup led by Getúlio Vargas, resulted in highly uneven development across the nation and little semblance of unification or nationalism. Industrialized states and cities could afford rich cultural programs and public projects towards a modern era but it was not until under the dictatorship of Vargas and his vision for the *Estado Novo* that Brazil as a unified force could modernize. As governor of the minor state of Rio Grande do Sul, Getúlio Vargas boldly fought for power after a fixed election of 1930 that again had supported the presidency of a candidate from São Paulo. With military support, Vargas embarked on a campaign of nationalism and conservative liberalism, focusing his energies on the urban, working classes and thus, gaining immense unpopularity among the elites of São Paulo. In his early years as leader, Vargas remained relatively neutral compared to the extreme Rightists and Leftists that competed for his power until his second term in 1937 in which he declared dictatorial power.

[46] Nicolau Sevcenko, "O Renascimento Modernista de São Paulo Na Década de 1920," in Eduardo Bueno, ed.,*Os nascimentos de São Paulo*, (Rio de Janeiro: Ediouro, 2004), 192.
[47] Skidmore, 102.

The *Estado Novo* of Brazil became an authoritarian government with no legislative bodies, parties and careful censorship of mass media and cultural production.[48]

Reform on a nation scale dominated the new period and under Vargas, the development and success of Brazil was priority over local interests. From nationalizing major industrial projects, such as the production of steel, to taking control of crafting a Brazilian culture based on local customs and folklore, the Vargas Era policed the development of a modern nation. Vargas' era in power is marked by his fierce authoritarian and nationalist policies. Vargas' regime was a period in which officials, intellectuals and citizens attempted to grasp an idea of *brasilidade* or national Brazilian identity, which historian Daryle Williams refers to as "an intangible but highly coveted sense of Brazilianness."[49] Vargas' cultural and political politics relied on the expressions of modernism, which have come to be celebrated as the quintessential markers of a new Brazil.

Despite his dictatorial style, Vargas is controversially remembered today as a popular leader and a welcomed change for Brazil but on the local level, areas that had been independently prospering resented his leadership. São Paulo, more than any other state during the Old Republic, benefited from the local autonomy available to state leaders and disapproved of Vargas' overtake of their economic endeavors. Already in a tense political environment caused by the overtaking of the elected candidate from São Paulo during the 1930 presidency, animosity grew when Vargas appointed a non-*paulista*, João Alberto Lins de Barros as interventor of the state.[50] Barros was the federal presence within the state who

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[48] Chasteen, 233.
[49] Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 19.
[50] An interventor was appointed by the federal government to manage the states and serve as an intermediary between local and national powers.

monitored the government and had power over all local officials.[51] With this appointment, there was no resisting the recentralization efforts. In July of 1932, the *paulistas* of the army, supported by the upper and middle classes, led a revolt against Vargas in resistance to Barros' newly gained power that conflicted with local ambitions. Though allied with Vargas-opponents of Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul who felt marginalized under Vargas' policies, the *paulistanos* were the only ones to militarize and act against the federal army, which resulted in their surrendering in October 1932.[52] This failed revolt against Vargas proved the uncontestable power of the federal government that now existed and a challenge to *paulista* influence and independence they had so long enjoyed. Though politically discredited, the elites of São Paulo found modernism in culture and intellectual production as a proper venue through which to gain authority and maintain superiority, especially in regards to commemorating and remembering a glorified past.

The reliance on cultural programs as exercises of local power and influence appears repeatedly during challenging times for *paulistanos*. As a means to contain agency, controlling the production, exchange and propagation of intellectual ideas meant managing identity, which as established in the sociopolitical history of São Paulo, was very important to *paulistanos*. The new class of coffee elites believed it to be their duty and right to build a city to reflect their new wealth and showcase historicist achievement. The wealthy residents of the city fostered a progressive and avant-garde atmosphere that was visualized in the arts. The unique social conditions of São Paulo enabled the seminal event of Brazilian modernism, the Semana de Arte Moderna in 1922 (Week of Modern Art), also known as the Semana de 22, which marked the city as the site of modernist thought in Brazil.

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[51] Skidmore, 109.
[52] Skidmore, 110.

CHAPTER TWO: *MODERNISMO* AND THE SEMANA DE ARTE MODERNA

With excess wealth in São Paulo and an awareness of contemporary cultural advancements, the *paulistano* artists' proactive decision to organize the Semana reflects how the city was uniquely appropriate to host such a seminal event for modern Brazil. São Paulo was a site in which the old and new met with a tension that resonated with the public and artists eagerly made homes in the city and used urban space as inspiration in their creative work. As poet, critic and key organizer of the event, Mario de Andrade published an editorial addressing the natural connection of the arts to the site demonstrates this:

> A hegemonia artística da corte não existe mais. No comercio como no futebol, na riqueza como nas artes São Paulo caminha na frente. Quem primeiro manifestou a idéia moderna e brasileira na arquitetura? São Paulo com o estilo colonial. Quem manifestou primeiro o desejo de construir sobre novas bases a pintura? São Paulo com Anita Malfatti. Quem apresenta ao mundo o maior e moderno escultor da America do Sul? São Paulo com Brecheret. Onde primeiro a poesia se tornou o veiculo da sensibilidade moderna livre da guisalhada da rima e das correias de métrica? Em São Paulo.[53]
>
> The artistic hegemony of the court no longer exists. In trade such as football, in the richness of the arts, São Paulo leads the way. Who first expressed the ideas of modernism and Brazilianess in architecture? São Paulo with the colonial style. Who first expressed the desire to construct new foundations in painting? São Paulo with Anita Malfatti. Who presented to the world Latin America's most famous and most modern sculptor? São Paulo with Brecheret. Where did poetry first became a vehicle of modern sensibility free from the rhymes of bell ringing and rubber belts? In São Paulo.

In this quote, M. de Andrade passionately identifies São Paulo as the site of origin and inspiration for great artistic and commercial feats that will later be celebrated and recognized on a national level. Using decisive figures of modernism to counteract the legacy of the

[53] Mario de Andrade, "Notas de Arte," "Pró," *A Gazeta*, São Paulo, 13 de fevereiro de 1922 in Aracy A. Amaral, *Artes plásticas na Semana de 22: subsídios para uma história da renovação das artes no Brasil; 5° Ed,*, (São Paulo: Editôra Perspectiva, 1998), 131.

colonial Portuguese and imperial Brazilian past, São Paulo is represented as the host and pioneer of a modernist aesthetic but its rise to power also distinctly calls for the abandonment and the death of the rigid standards of courtly, imperial art. Portuguese imperialism no longer dictated the operations of the city and the Brazilian monarchy had fallen thus, São Paulo, packed with republican and positivist spirit, was to lead Brazil into a new era.

This chapter aims to trace the various manifestations and understandings of modernism that fueled the physical and cultural development of São Paulo in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by the political and economic elite. As the cultural arbitrators of the city, the elite constantly involved themselves with mirroring models of European culture and progress in order to behold a sense of identity. In 1922, the shock of modernism challenged cultural identity and aesthetic expression to be more conscious of local history and pride. This impulse to reconcile national Brazilian identity with modernity stems from São Paulo and the creative elite based there, as will be demonstrated by the events and legacy of the Semana de Arte Moderna. This impulse anticipates later celebrations of *paulistano* identity, particularly in how the city is remembered as a pioneer in urban growth and design.

To set the development of modernist manifestation within a socio-political context, the chapter begins by addressing parallels between the complications of positivist urbanization with new avant-garde modern impulses. Continuing with the growing relevance of modernism, the next section explores the motivations behind why this city specifically was an appropriate host for not only the Semana de Arte Moderna but also foreshadows future exercises in modern identity formation. With context established, the details and motivations behind the seminal event subject in the following section. Historically, the Semana de 22

marked the beginning of European and Brazilian modernism and it became legendary in its importance for the twentieth century art just as the 1913 Armory Show in New York, greatly impacting, patrons, collectors and producers of Brazilian modern art.[54] Hosted in the Theatro Municipal in São Paulo, the Semana was a three-day interdisciplinary festival from February 13th to February 17th featuring exhibitions of modern art, concerts, and readings of literature. This celebration carries a long legacy as is addressed next with attention to how the original aesthetics of modernism are appropriated and localized, ultimately becoming a tool for identity-formulation as will be explored in the exploration of urban identity on physical spaces in the final section discussing the impact of *antropofagia* on architecture.

Positivism Under Threat: The Strengthening of a Modernist Impulse

As previously discussed, the glory of the coffee industry in São Paulo induced an air of romanticism as the urban elite had disposable income for the patronage of art and cultural pursuit. Academies and law institutions were founded in the state, where men educated in the United States or Europe theorized on society, economics and the politics. The richness of culture and intellectualism in São Paulo created a sense of elitism compared to the rest of the country and thus began the development of a very classed system of cultural consumption, again challenging the idealized vision of "ordem e progresso." As addressed in the previous chapter, the positivist outlook of "ordem e progresso" found roots in humanist sentiment that was used by the political elites of Brazil to craft a governmental system that would preserve their autonomy and economic freedom. To those with wealth and status, "order and progress" was an attainable goal through the mimicking of European social behavior and reform yet still remained extremely separated from the realities lived by most urbanites in Brazil.

[54] The modern art event of 1922 is referred to as the Semana de 22 due to the fact that São Paulo, as many other cosmopolitan sites, hold annual art exhibitions displaying modern and contemporary art, also called Semana de Arte Moderna. To distinguish the seminal event, the Semana de 22 is used by scholars, critics and artists alike.

To establish "ordem e progresso" onto operational, lived spaces, the major architectural projects of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries demonstrate the intentional transformation of a modest town into a cosmopolitan site as a deliberate act to elevate São Paulo onto the international scene. Most notably for the history of development, the Theatro Municipal de São Paulo, began construction in 1903 and was built to emulate the great opera houses in Paris or Milan, mimicking the neo-classical style. (Figure 2.1) The theatre boasts columns and arcades and a simple façade that is structured around the principles of symmetry and balance. The neo-classical design of the theatre evoked the historicist and positivist attitudes possessed by the city's leaders. The design marked the intentional choice of importing "high" culture into the city and though this was a public display of grandeur, the elite coffee barons also took to investing their wealth into private estates and mansions constructed along the major street in the city, Avenida Paulista. The concentration of the wealth that the city gained quickly made its mark on the urban landscape and there was a surge in pride and identity expression for the new elite.

Figure 2.1 Construction of Theatro Municipal de São Paulo

Paulistano romantic, Ricardo Gumbleton Daunt, described the city in 1856 as a "tabula rasa where everything is about to commence." He further notes that, "many wish to see São Paulo grown in wealthy and make outstanding progress…they see the Province as a productive machine and a possible means for increasing the budgetary income."[55] The anonymous *paulistano* Daunt refers to acts as a synecdoche for the city and its essentializing

[55] Richard M.Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958) 118-119.

project towards modernism. This progressive attitude held by many *paulistas* comes with a warning, as Daunt believes that it is necessary not to lose the "traits of the *paulista* character" and to be wary of the consequences that occur:

> as soon as *paulista* history is in any of its branches disesteemed, as soon as one wishes to assume nothing essentially distinguishes São Paulo from semi-foreign Rio de Janeiro, as soon as one wishes to maintain that São Paulo never had an old, robust and fertile civilization—neither will the government be able to rule us to our satisfaction, nor will the opposition be able to indicate the remedy.[56]

Daunt's inflated description of São Paulo alludes to a unique trait of progressiveness that remains unarticulated but still critical in how the city's residents view themselves. It is distinguished from the rest of the nation and the loss of local historicism poses a threat to how regional identity forms and is in contestation with national goals and power, as demonstrated by the constant resistance to federal attempts to unify the nation.

The same fears of the negative effects of modernization are echoed by Nicolau Sevcenko, who writes of the process of "auto-devorador," self-devouring, that results in a loss of identity that is characteristic of the *paulistano* experience which results in a construction of community that is complex and volatile.[57] Demonstrating an essential trend of *antropofagia* that dominated the production of Brazilian modern art starting in the 1920s, the concept of self-devouring will later provide a source towards cultivating a performative identity that *paulistanos* had so long desired to be realized in their comportment and the spaces of the city. Residents were in a constant struggle of locating themselves in a physical space that eagerly underwent the process of renewal with disregard to the past. Despite the two centuries between when Daunt and Sevcenko authored their respective works, this

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[56] Ricardo Gumbleton Daunt Neto, *O Dr. Ricardo Gumbleton Daunt.* (RIHGSP, XLI, 1942), 65-104 in Morse, 119.

[57] Nicolau Sevcenko, "O Renascimento Modernista de São Paulo Na Década de 1920," in Eduardo Bueno, ed.,*Os nascimentos de São Paulo*, (Rio de Janeiro: Ediouro, 2004) 191.

denied loss of identity of the *paulista* fueled several monumental acts of pageantry to celebrate a history and an attitude of pioneerism and progressiveness that has become the adopted trademark, as seen in both the Semana de Arte Moderna and the IV Centenário and inauguration of Parque Ibirapuera.

During the Semana de 22, one of the *megaeventos* or theatre performances, at the Theatro Municipal de São Paulo staged was the enactment of the play, *O Caçador de Diamantes*, a fictional saga of the *bandeirantes*.

> A mitificação do bandeirante foi precisamente criada nesse período, por um político que se tornaria líder do Partido Republicano Paulista: Washington Luís. Portanto , a idealização fantasiosa do bandeirante tem data, autoria e, é claro diretamente relacionada a esse novo contexto em que a burguesia paulista tenta compensar de modo simbólica o que ela esta perdendo concretamente em termos de controle econômico, social e político. [58]
>
> The myth of the *bandeirante* was precisely created in this period by a politician who became a leader in the Republican Paulista Party: Washington Luis. For this reason, the idealized fantasy of the *bandeirante* has a time, authority and of course, directly relates to the new context in which the *paulista* bourgeosie tried to symbolically compensate for what was concretely lost in terms of economic, social and political control.

Sevcenko argues that this grasp onto a glorified, mythical past was an attempt to maintain the pride of being a coffee baron and of being part of a legacy that was integral to the development of a regional economy and society. Using the metaphor of the *bandeirante* inspired audiences newly exposed to modernism to understand the *paulistano* spirit of leadership. At the same time, the cultural elite found pleasure in the demonstration and articulation of modernist aesthetics using entirely *paulistano* mythology and artistic lexicon to cement the lasting impact of a localized modernism. The myth of the pioneer and

[58] Sevcenko, 202.

consequently, the elite *paulistanos*, attempted to reinforce an extemporal identity for themselves as patrons of modernism.

Sectors of elite *paulistanos*, such as Paulo Prado, the coffee baron and main sponsor, believed their role as pioneers to be a continuing legacy that simply shifted to a new frontier: the promotion of a modernist cultural aesthetic. Rather than resist modernizing forces in politics, industry and culture that infiltrated the city, the elite of São Paulo could take the lead in ushering in a new era of modernism that would set them apart from the rest of the nation and give them in an advantage as their competitors in Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais were only beginning to feel the impact of European modernism.

Prado, like other proponents of modernism intended for this pioneerism to quell any threats or doubts to their social standing and more broadly, to preserve the power of São Paulo. Noting the special circumstances of a significant middle class, the elites then saw a new group that easily take to their influence, much as the indigenous peoples and slaves who could not resist the commands of the original *bandeirantes*. Thus, modernism adopts a near neo-colonial tendency, as a vision of progress and civilization again originating from European sources faced no opposition and would overtake the outdated Colonial and Romanticist patterns of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

From colonial times to the turn of the twentieth century, when society composed of the elite and the working class, there existed few public spaces for the masses to convene, exchange ideas and advance; the middle class of São Paulo was eager to define themselves and use the urban space to improve their lives. Morse notes this development as ushering in a modern age as the existence of the bourgeoisie indicates "new modes of understanding:"

Sometimes this is reflected in the act of vision achieved by poet, musician or

> painter. Sometimes it is concretized on paper or in materials by an architect or city planner, sometimes it is asserted more broadly and anonymously in the attitude or policy of a certain group, bureaucracy or enterprise.[59]

Up until the mid-eighteenth century, academia housed authority on knowledge and progress but the development of a bourgeoisie class resulted in the popularization of knowledge production and consumption. A reliance on the classics and historical precedence gave way to freer forms of creativity and space for challenging tradition. The presence of a class of urban consumers who were open to being exposed to the circulating ideas of the avant-garde intellectuals under the guise of enjoyment was a critical component to the lasting impact of the Semana de 22. Without the "childlike exuberance, naïve conceptions of happiness and cultural refinement" of the bourgeoisie, the Semana de 22 and the introduction of modernism by a select few would not have been nearly as critical in the rebuilding of the *paulistano* pioneer identity.[60]

Modernism, as an aesthetic movement, manifested as a movement of distracting art, departing from historicism and academicism, that would insert itself into everyday life. The materialism of the bourgeoisie allowed for easy convincing by the avant-garde of the importance of modernism, so much so that Mario de Andrade, a writer who was a critical figure in the modernist movement of Brazil, dedicated a scathing ode to bourgeoisie society:

> I insult the bourgeois! the nickel-plated bourgeois,
>
> The Bourgeois-Bourgeois!
>
> The well-made digestion of São Paulo!

[59] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis,* 201.
[60] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis* 203.

The man-ham! the man-buttocks![61]

The bourgeois are victims of their environment, manipulated by the culture of consumption that rules the city and ridicules the predisposition of the middle class to consume blindly. As Morse explains, the middle class was "living with no margin of culture, confidence or humor and cannot risk being a loser and thus becomes the ideal, inevitable target of the revolutionary."[62] The middle class lived to consume and did not possess the same innovative drive as did the elites. As M. de Andrade expresses, the bourgeois of São Paulo are simply presenting a façade of high culture: their "nickel-plates" may appear to be of the same refinement as the elites but ultimately, they are only apt in appreciating what is presented to them by the authoritative elites. Taste is subjective and under the control of the wealthy patrons.

The new societal structure of the city of São Paulo encouraged the public display of modernist pageantry that was very much under the controls and tastes of the elite and avant-garde. The influx of wealth created a group of individuals eager to indulge the intellectual elite in their efforts to disseminate modern culture to the public, creating yet another rupture from the *paulistano* identity. Wealthy *paulistanos* grew accustomed to circulating high taste and culture under secluded circumstances with others of comparable status and the wide popularization and replication of modern avant-garde productions threatened the traditional perception of culture. The experiences of the coffee elite, who had more foundation in the history of São Paulo and a firmer understanding of their roles in society, were still affected by this crisis of identity.

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[61] Mario de Andrade, "Ode ao burguês," in *Paulicéa desvairada*, (Sao Paulo, 1922).
[62] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis*, 26

Though shaken by new economic circumstances resulting from World War I and the rapidly changing face of their city, the rich managed to maintain their positions of power and claimed critical roles towards the successes of the Semana de 22. The elites opened their homes, social circles and finances to promote the dissemination of modernism in the country. The sponsorship of modernism reveals a disparity found in elite circles between fighting the modernist impulse and using it to their social advantage in maintaining a cultural hierarchy. Sevcenko cites this as a grand motivator behind the interests of modernist arts.

> Como reage então a decadente elite paulista? Através de um grande processo de investimento, numa compensação simbólica,n a forma de grandes superproduções no Theatro Municipal, envolvendo as principais famílias como patronos e ate como artistas que participavam das encenações.[63]
>
> How do you react then, to the decaying Paulista elite? Through a process of great investment in symbolic compenstation in the forms of grand super-productions at the Theatro Municipal, involving the main families as patrons and even as the artists that participated in the performances.

Sevcenko presents the elite's interests in the arts as a hobby to cure boredom and to find another revenue through which their influence and role as the social elite can be concretized. He explains this search, or literally purchasing of identity, as an arbitrator of modernism, in specific relation to the myth of the pioneer.

São Paulo as a stage for modernism

The social circumstances of São Paulo created a charged environment for Semana de 22 and demonstrates that it developed under great intention and planning as there had already been individual modern artists, writers and musicians who had made São Paulo their homes. The city's reputed "undisciplined energy" attracted the minds and offered inspiration to produce works with new subject matter such as a new middle class and the implementation

[63] Sevcenko, 202.

of technology on a daily basis. Journalist Alceu Amoroso Lima describes the modernism manifesting in São Paulo as "aesthetics of noise, color, light, movement, raucous impression, protest, scandal, rupture with the obsolete and established" that ultimately reintegrates art into modern life. He identifies São Paulo as the Brazilian city in which artist were most fully dominated by components of urban, modern life:

> motor, asphalt, radio, tumult, rumor, open-air life, great masses, big effects, the cinema carried into the other realms of art and stamping them with its esthetics of splintered reality, imagistic illusion, superposition and distortion of forms, primacy of technique over nature and of rational or irrational effect over nostalgic and lyrical inclination.[64]

Lima's reflections on São Paulo in the transition period of the 1920s indicate an energy and ambition that encouraged a perception of unstoppable growth. The "distortion of forms" that Lima speaks of foreshadows the new juxtapositions between industry and cold mechanization with organic, tropical curves that are a distinctive quality of Brazilian modernism as seen in art and architecture.

Historian Aracy A. Amaral addresses in her history of the Semana de 22 how it was expected that the show be held in São Paulo rather than another Brazilian city. São Paulo's rise as the main producer in Brazil of modern and contemporary culture is based in the city's economic prosperity and the new upper middle class that developed the market for modern productions. From coffee to industrial goods to finance, the consistent upwards trend of wealth in São Paulo allowed for an environment in which private patronage, collecting and progressive exploration could occur. According to Amaral, Rio do Janeiro was far too tied down to tradition and the associations with urban renewal under the paradigms of

[64] Bezerra de Freitas, *Formas e Expressão No Romance Brasileiro*, (Pongetti: Rio de Janeiro, 1947), 321.

positivism.[65] São Paulo was liberated from the bonds of tradition and as such, was pioneering space for the avant-garde, both producers and consumers.

However, even more essential to the propagation of modernism, the coffee elite's financial and societal credibility supported the artists in commissioning work and renting exhibition space. Mario de Andrade spearheaded the modernist movement and was able to publish several magazines importing the arts, theories and literatures of European modernism that had already developed during the early twentieth century. He, along with painters Anita Malfatti, Laser Segall and Tarsila do Amaral, appeared among the few modernists in São Paulo, let alone Brazil at the time, who held close relationships with coffee barons including the aforementioned Paulo Prado. Fellow participant and poet Oswald de Andrade, published an article in the *Correio Paulistano*, a local newspaper, in 1921 that describes the independent quality of São Paulo:

> São Paulo neste instante em que o eixo da vida de pensamento e de ação parece deslocar-se num milagre lento e seguro para os países descobertos pela suplica das velas européias, partidas como num pressentimento de fim, para a busca de Canãas futuras, São Paulo e a continuada promessa dos primeiros escolhos verdes em que bateram, numa festa, as antigas proas cansadas.[66]
>
> São Paulo in this moment sits at the axis of life or thought and action that seems to dislocate a slow and safe miracle to the countries discovered by the pleads of European candles, departures like a premonition of the end to search for canes (sugarcanes) of the future, São Paulo and the continued promise of the first green pitfalls when hit at a party, the old, tired bows.

O. de Andrade expresses a sentiment that in his time, São Paulo is just beginning to explore its potential. As other cities cling onto the old glory of their imperial past, São Paulo is looking for a new future and new expression. São Paulo is on the threshold of a new era that

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[65] Aracy A. Amaral, *Artes plásticas na Semana de 22: subsídios para uma história da renovação das artes no Brasil*, (São Paulo: Editôra Perspectiva, 1970).
[66] Oswald de Andrade, "editorial," in *Correio Paulistano*, 1921 in Arquivo Anita Malfatti, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo

will propel the city and its people to a better time that is self-determined and self-powered. Sensing the rupture of positivsm that O. de Andrarde alluded to, Sevcenko explains the movement as one that is trying to escape the present and create a time for itself:

> esse redirecionamento da atividade criativa tinha escapando da historia presente, na busca de um télos fora do tempo e do espaço, no qual se realizassem, de forma simbólica e substitutiva, os desejos de harmonia, coesão e liberdade, exatamente aqueles negados pela ordem conservadora sufocante imposta pela atmosfera repressiva do período entre-guerras.[67]
>
> This redirection of creative activity was escaping present history in a search for canvases outside of time and space in which they realized, in symbolic form and subject, the desires of harmony, cohesion and freedom, just those denied by the conservative and suffocating order imposed by the repressive atmosphere in the interwar period.

The suffocating atmosphere of the 1920s expressed by the artistic and social elites resulted in the attraction to the new and foreign as local culture and societal structure transformed to be favoring of the middle class *paulistanos*. National pressures to abandon local authonomy and local changes in industry and demographic limited the elite's otherwise unrestricted influence and powers.

The notion of escapism from everyday societal conflicts through the arts and modernism became a great motivator for participants of the Semana de 22. These artists and intellectuals, who had spent time abroad and were familiar with the various revolutionary movements of modernism in other nations, viewed the artistic manifestations of their political and social beliefs to be the "synthetic solution" and "cosmopolitan" take on nationalism in a period of contestation between local and local as well as region and nation. Just as urbanization had taken on a mission of "cosmopolitanism" and being on-trend with European and North American cities, the arts also developed subjective hierarchies. The early twentieth century was a moment of quiet murmurings of an aesthetic revolution.

[67] Sevcenko, 203.

SEMANA DE ARTE MODERNA

While the liberal, progressive elites of São Paulo were eager to sponsor the *Semana de Arte Moderna* and bring an exhibition of modernist expression to the public, the majority of the audiences was based in the middle class. The popular *paulistanos*, migrants from the interior of the state or immigrant professionals, hesitated to embrace an European modernist aesthetic as first introduced by the Semana de 22 but within a decade, were the pioneers in welcoming, investing and disseminating modern trends and styles throughout both public and private spaces, feeding off of the pioneer responsibilities the elites had cemented into local identity. Led by writers Oswald de Andrade and Mario de Andrade as well as cohorts like painters Tarsila do Amaral and Anita Malfatti, this festival of the arts was the first public introduction of modernism to Brazil by way of São Paulo. The leaders regarded the objective of the event the promotion of fine art, literature and music needed to undergo a renewal and rejuvenation to match a world that was rapidly modernizing. This idea was influenced by changes in the academies of fine arts in Europe, which were unraveled by the movements of fauvism, expressionism and cubism.

These movements rose from the industrialization and urbanization in Europe as well as the effects of World War I which introduced new technologies, power systems and a new group of elites who were involved themselves in more socially intellectual ideals rather than that of bourgeois ideals. The horrors of war inspired artists and writers to commit to new projects both critiquing and celebrating the terrors and possibilities of modern technology and stifling political regimes. Artistically, these new views were expressed by a rupture of the schools of classical, academic art. Due to its conflicting nature, Western modernism proved opportune for artists and thinkers to develop rich ideas independently of each other

and the past. The various branches of modernism were more ubiquitous in Europe but rapidly circulated among audiences in the United States and South America. For example, art historian Aracy A. Amaral notes how Oswald de Andrade encountered Italian poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's Futurist Manifesto and was inspired to write in favor of an art that would showcase Brazilian realities rather than rely heavily on a foreign school.[68]

Taking cues from analogous showings of modern art such as the Armory show of 1913 in New York City, the Semana de 22 created a space for new artists to display their works and served as the first taste of modernism to a public audience who was curious and intrigued by the new developments. With financial support from elite coffee barons such as Prado, a program was designed to introduce a new visual culture that did was not bound by a defined aesthetic. As for as the organizers and patrons were concerned, whatever art, literature or music was seen and experienced was irrelevant, so long as a new history and vision for Brazil and its creative class could thrive and continue to reject the conservatism in academic arts. There was a call to break from academic art and romantic genres of literature or music and the organizers held no expectations or demands for the works shown.

Figure 2.2 Participants of the Semana de Arte Moderna

The creative leaders of the Semana de 22, rememberd as the *Grupo dos Cinco* (Group of Five), with the support of sponsors who had made their wealth in coffee, organized the

[68] Amaral, *Artes plásticas na Semana de 22,* 39.;Authored in 1909 by Italian poet Fillippo Tommaso Marinetti, the "Futurist Manifesto" called for Italian modernist artists to incorporate images of progress, industry and speed into their work. They were to not only acknowledge it but apply it, thus producing pro-technology and pro-machinery images.

event to be a celebration of visual and theatrical arts, literature and music.[69] (Figure 2.2) The Theatro Municipal de São Paulo was rented out for three days and the organizers invited artists from São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and those abroad to submit their works for public viewing. The takeover of the theatre space represents the very real transition of São Paulo into a modern era that is blatantly rejecting, but not forgetting, the academic romanticist past. By utilizing the theatre for the display and performance of a new stage of elitism via the aesthetics of modernism, artists and the wealthy were successful in conveying a message of continuity in power but a breaking shift in identity and cultural program for the city. With over one hundred visual works, the final selection was ultimately not defined by a single criterion but rather, an aesthetic and a generation of artists who had completely ruptured from the past, as intended by all of the head organizers. Painter Emiliano Di Cavalcanti took the lead in designing an exhibition catalog that was graphic and clean in execution, with blocks of red and black abstracted figures but also evoked the marking of a new time for the arts. The promotional print is now an iconic image of a female nude, linear and abstract in black and white, surrounded by vegetation noting the natural flora of Brazil. (Figure 2.3) The print takes on after the expressionist movement as the cuts of line evoke feeling and are cohesive enough to read the image but holds no presence of realism. It is important to note that the works featured in the show, as varied as they were in medium, dimension, material and subject, were left undivided and uncategorized by the organizers in an effort to challenge the bounds of traditional art appreciation and definition.

[69] The Grupo dos Cinco consisted of Oswald de Andrade, Mario de Andrade, Anita Malfatti, Menotti del Picchia and Tarsila do Amaral.

The goal of the Semana de 22 was to create a new language of creativity and intellectualism that could express a Brazilian identity with more longevity than the ties to the imperial Portuguese past. The remnants of the Portuguese and colonial past, as seen in places like Rio de Janeiro or Belo Horizonte make irrelevant and antiquated to a country, led by a state, in a campaign to modernize and make an impact on a global scale. There was the essential element of renovation, rebellion and revolution that came with the labeling of the event the week of modern art, rather than the week of future art, as was debated by the organizers.[70] Ties to the past needed to be broken.

Figure 2.3 Catalogue of the Semana de Arte Moderna as designed by Emiliano Di Cavalcanti

The artists, patrons and residents of São Paulo were more conscious than others of the changing world abroad in a post-war, rapidly socializing context and assigned themselves the role of pushing the country into the contemporary. To the elite *paulistanos*, making an impact in the realm of modernism meant securing a role for their beloved city, one that would be able to compete with the cosmopolitan sites of Europe and the United States. To the organizers, the city had more potential to expand and "open up" to the public of the city but also the world. A retrospective of the Semana de 22 demonstrates the transformation of the city before and after the show:

> A de 1922 era ainda a paulicéia pacata, provinciana, gozando plácidamente a prosperidade dos cafezais. Era uma sociedade fechada, assentadada como que para a eternidade sobre as sacas de cafés que se vendiam a oitenta mil reis a proporcionavam

[70] *Correio Paulistano*, June, 26th, 1959 in Arquivo Anita Malfatti, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo.

> aos fazendeiros o luxo discretamente velado das cocotes que a França ainda exportava como sua melhor fonte de renda invisível.[71]
>
> 1922 for São Paulo was still an era that was quiet, provincial and placidly enjoying the prosperity of coffee. It was a closed society grounded for eternity on the coffee bags that were sold for 80,000 *Reais* to farmers, which provided the luxury of thinly veiled *cocotes* that France has exported as their best source of invisible income.

The city that previously had been described to be "provincial" and "closed" heavily relied on the economic demand of foreign powers but the introduction of modernism thus gained credibility and agency for the city in its own right. The artists and organizers of the Semana de 22 wanted the city to identify with the most current reincarnation of modernism. Though the wealth of the coffee barons was a critical component to the event, it was also necessary to rethink and cause a rupture between the elites of yesterday and those of tomorrow. The revolutionary and innovative sentiment of the Semana de 22 acted as a motivating factor for the organizers but such strong emotion shocked the public who remained content with life under the model of the Old Republic. Oswald de Andrade criticizes academicism in his article of 1922 in the *Jornal do Commercio* as "imitação servil, a copia sem coragem e sem talento que forma os nossos destinos, faz as nossas reputações, cria as nossa glorias da praça publica."[72] He continues:

> E sobretudo que se saiba que somos reacionários, porque nos domina e exalta uma grande aspiração de classicismo construtor. Queremos mal ao academismo porque ele é o sufocador de todas as aspirações joviais e de todas as iniciativas possantes. Para vencê-lo destruímos. Dai o nosso galhardo salto de sarcasmo, de violência e de force. Somos "boxers" na área. Não podemos refletir ainda atitudes de serenidade. Essa virá quando vier a vitoria e o futurismo de hoje alcançar o seu ideal clássico.[73]

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[71] Editorial, *Jordão*, 1952, in Arquivo Anita Malfatti, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo.
[72] Editorial, 144.
[73] Oswald de Andrande, "Semana de Arte Moderna," *Jornal do Commercio*, (Ed. de São Paulo, 11 de fevereiro de 1922 em Aracy A. Amaral, *Artes plásticas na Semana de 22: subsídios para uma história da renovação das artes no Brasil; 5º edição*, (São Paulo: Editôra Perspectiva, 1998), 197.

> And above all, it is known that we are reactionary because we are dominated exalted by a great aspiration to construct classicism. We want bad things for scholarship because it smothers all youthful aspirations and possible initiatives. To beat it, we must destroy it. Give it our gallant leap of sarcasm, violence and force. We are "boxers" in the area. We ca not yet reflect attitudes of serenity. This victory will come when it comes to today's futurism passes the ideal classic.

In this quote, O. de Andrade stresses how necessary it is to break from academicism and traditional points of view towards the arts. Academicism's suffocating standards are to be replaced with the "sarcasm" of modernism and he fully acknowledges the struggle for the advocates. Though the works presented were largely uncontroversial compared in terms of formal qualities and new subject matters to those being produced in Europe or the United States, the unfamiliarity and rejection of academicism and romanticism provoked the audience. This was entirely intentional, as Mario de Andrade reflected in a speech given in 1942, at the twentieth anniversary of the first Semana:

> a estética do modernismo resultou indefinível...essa é justamente, a melhor razão de ser do modernismo, uma vez que não era uma estética, nem na Europa nem aqui, era um estado de animo revolto e revolucionário que nos atualizaria, sistematizando como constante da Inteligência nacional o direito anti-acadêmico da investigação estética, e preparando o campo revolucionário das outras manifestações sociais do pais.[74]

> the aesthetics of modernism proved elusive ...this is just the best reason to be modernist since it was not an aesthetic, either in Europe nor here, it was a state of turbulent and revolutionary courage we actualize, systematize a constant national Intelligence , right to the anti-academic aesthetics, and prepare the revolutionary field of other social manifestations of the country.

This blatant rejection of tradition and academicism proved too radical for the bourgeois *paulistano* audience who had grown accustomed to leisurely consumption of the arts that were aesthetically pleasing and legible. As much, strong responses, some violent, were caused. Morse describes a scene in which:

> painters and writers elicited furor. Scandalous gossip about them was invented

[74] O. de Andrade in Amaral, 28.

> and circulated, canvases by Malfatti and Segall were attacked with canes. Readings by poets and novelists were rendered inaudible by hoots and catcalls. One newspaper suggested that the modernists had planted claques to aggravate the uproar.[75]

The public had difficultly engaging with a new visual language and subject matter but the response that they gave to the artists and performers still achieved the intellectual elite's goals of impacting society with modernism. Though the initial reactions were negative, it made no matter to the organizers and participants. Mario de Andrade took the lead in defending the Semana de 22 and wrote:

> We finally achieved what we wanted, Really, friend, there was no other means to acquire celebrity...we had only one resource, to fabricate the Modern Art Carnaval and let the parrots talk. They tumbled like parrots"[76]

Even writing twenty years after the event, M. de Andrade's view of the bourgeoisie was critical. He and his peers had envisioned an event challenging the limitations of academic positivism and the society it had created. He had little doubt that the middle class would benefit from the performance of modernism but was confident that a change had been elicited, at least for himself and his elite collaborators. The superficiality of participation in a modern identity for the city of São Paulo continues to be characteristic of the city through the twentieth century as industrialization and urbanization as well as the arts continued on their path of forming a recognizable identity. Mario de Andrade expresses the quality in *paulistanos* that makes them accepting modernism desirable: "Now in malicious Rio, an exhibition like that of Anita Malfatti might have caused a public stir but no one would have been carried away. In ingenuous São Paulo, it created a religion."[77] The religion would soon bear even more extravagantly experiments of *modernismo* paralleling the physical and cultural growth of São Paulo.

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[75] Morse, *From Community to Metropolis,* 262.
[76] Brito Broca, "A aventura modernista," *A Gazeta Magazine*, February 15, 1942.
[77] Sevcenko, 28.

CANNIBALIZING MODERNISM: *ANTROPOFAGIA AND SELF-STRENGTHENING*

The cult of modernism after the Semana de 22 was unable to survive the internal conflicts of the artists and participants who all came together under various schools of thought and modernist expression. Despite no longer being an united group of artists and intellectuals operating under the label of "modernism", the impact on the city of São Paulo and consequently, the rest of the nation, was hardly lost as the participants went on to create separate schools of modernism throughout the 1920s that would last through the Estado Novo, to which a new generation of intellectuals would come to create a neo-modernist movement. Among these modernist cliques were the Pau-Brasilistas, like painter Tarsila do Amaral, and the Verdeamarelos. However, the stand-out sect of modernism was the Movimento Antropófago. [78]

Penned in 1928 by Oswald de Andrade, the Manifesto Antropófago (Appendix 1) structured the Movimento Antropófago and called for Brazilian artists to devour the "enemy," or rather, what comes from the outside, referring to European culture, as a way to impose a Brazilian cultural identity that unites tropical creativity and technology, ultimately accepting the contradictions, paradoxes and hybridity that makes the nation. Benedit Nunes explains the complexities of using cultural cannibalism as a metaphor as it links ritual cannibalism of Brazilian natives with the modernist quest for intellectual and cultural autonomy as well as a diagnostic of a society traumatized by colonialism and a humoristic,

[78] Pau-Brasilistas were a group of Brazilian modernists who, similar to those of the Movimento Antropófago, wanted to create art that was uniquely Brazilian in aesthetic and could be exported to Europe and other international markets. Pau-Brasil refers to the Brazil wood that was a major export product during the colonial and early modern period. The Verdeamarelos, translated to mean the green-yellows, which are the colors of the national flag, were also Brazilian nationalist artists, who were determined to create a unique Brazilian aesthetics for a Brazilian audience by Brazilian producers.

sarcastic therapeutic process to counteract the legacy of colonialism.[79] The Manifesto states, "I am only interested in what's not mine. The law of men. The law of the cannibal…We had the right codification of vengeance. The codified science of Magic. Cannibalism. For the permanent transformation of taboo into totem."[80] O. de Andrade expresses the uncontainable desire to take and transform, to exercise agency, to build an attitude and a vision that could act as "totem," or sacred from something previously thought of as unmentionable. Consumption, digestion and regurgitation of aesthetics are at the root of the aesthetic development of São Paulo and by analyzing the artistic production and architectural landscape of São Paulo with an understanding of this transcultural process, one can better understand the city as an essential product and producer of a Brazilian modernist aesthetic that was catalyzed by the *Semana de Arte Moderna*. For many *paulistanos,* modernism equated with *antropofagia* and the "recovery of folklore, study of Brazil's social, economic and political institutions' ethnology and philology or literary criticisms."[81]

As previously discussed, the late 1920s signaled the end of the Old Republic which would ultimately fall to Vargas' dictatorship in 1930 and along with it, new programs to unify and empower the Brazilian nation and its peoples. Understanding the impact of modernism on the reformulation of the *paulistano* identity as analyzed by the process of *antropofagia* complicates the motive and design of São Paulo's urban landscape. Evidence of *antropofagia* has been studied in scholarship as well as in the production of Brazilian modern art. As art historian Flavia M. C. Bastos states " the history and impact of the Movimento Antropófago in four distinctly Brazilian productions of candomblé, tropicalismo, modern

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[79] Benedito Nunes, "Antropofagia ao alcance de todos," in Oswald de Andrade, *A utopia antrofágica*, (São Paulo, Editora Globo; Secretária de Estada da Cultura, 1990) 15-16.

[80] Oswald de Andrade, "Anthropophagite Manifesto" in Patrick Frank, ed., *Readings in Latin American Modern Art*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 24-27

[81] Morse, 264.

interpretations of cartography and historical paintings. Bastos analyzes each of these cases for instances of transculturation, hybridity and identity formation which establishes the patterns and intentional actions of the blending of European modernism with Brazilian subjects, colors and techniques. The idea of *antropofagia* serves as a "framework with the potential to transcend traditional nation-state boundaries, and amore fitting approach to inquiry into contemporary artworks."[82] Bastos' article, though addressing a later period of Brazilian modern art, still is emblematic of how *antropofagia* can be used as a lens of analysis rather than solely a trend or socio-artistic movement.

The seminal artist of *antropofagia* is Tarsila do Amaral, wife of Oswald de Andrade, whose images define the interjection of *paulistano* identity on European modernism. Born to a wealthy *paulista* planter family, Amaral traveled through the Europe in her youth, eventually studying modern painting in Paris in 1920 at the Académie Julian during which she crossed paths with French Cubist Fernand Leger.[83] Upon her return to Brazil in the following year, Amaral began experimenting her learned lessons with inspiration found in the beauty and richness of Brazil but remained in contact and exchange with French and Spanish modernists and

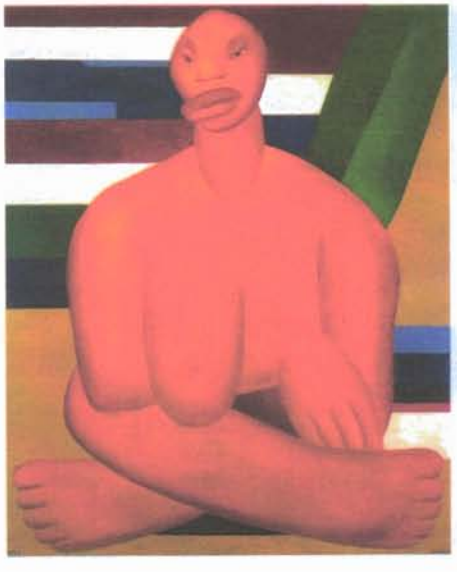

Figure 2.4 Tarsila do Amaral, A Negra, 1923

[82] Flavia M. C. Bastos, "Tupy or Not Tupy?"; Examining Hybridity in Contemporary Brazilian Art". *Studies in Art Education: A Journal of Issues and Research in Art Education.* 47, no. 2: 2007, 115.

[83] Carol Damian,"Tarsila Do Amaral: Art and Environmental Concerns of a Brazilian Modernist" in *Woman's Art Journal.* 20, no. 1, 1999, 3.

surrealists, continuing to expand the realms of modernism, such as Pablo Picasso or Blaise Cendrars.[84] However, it was her work of 1923, *A Negra*, that showcased the intentional and carefully executed break from the impositions of European modernism that was no longer relevant to the artistic needs of *paulistano* artists. (Figure 2.4) Though indebted to the primitivism she had been studying in France, Amaral borrows formal qualities but strips away the exotification and otherization that dominates the European attraction to the primitive. Rather, Amaral progressively uses this portrait to celebrate national aesthetic and identity.

A Negra depicts an abstracted, seated nude female figure with an extremely voluptuous form and exaggerated facial features juxtaposed against a geometric, flat background of color planes. The background has an ordered composition, with bands of color that create a flatness common in European Cubist works, especially those of Leger. Amaral also begins to experiment with brighter colors, considering the light of her tropical environment when rendering images with bright blues and yellows. Most striking and memorable in the painting is the figure, from the curves of its body to the richness of its skin color. Without a doubt, the amorphic female figure dominates the picture plane and it is clear that Amaral is painting an homage to Afro-Brazilians and their history within the nation, indicating that they are not only essential to the national cultural identity but also a foundational presence as the painted figure evokes a sense of Mother Earth.[85] Amaral's early work demonstrates a preemptive impulse to create something that is unique and specific to

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[84] Blaise Cendrars was a seminal figure in French modernist poetry who traveled extensively throughout Brazil, in the company of *modernistas* such as Tarsila do Amaral, Oswald de Andrade and Mario de Andrade. For an account of their travels, look to Nicolau Sevcenko's "São Paulo: The Quintessential, Uninhibited Megalopolis as seen by Blaise Cendrars in the 1920s," in Teo Baker and Anthony Sutcliffe, Megalopolis: The Giant City in History, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

[85] Damian, 4.

Brazilian history and referential to the land and its people. The juxtaposition and conflict instigated between the straight, geometry of the piece with organic curves is a visual game that repeats in Amaral's work but demonstrates a larger trend of rupturing the constraints of European influence.


Figure 2.5 Tarsila do Amaral, Abaporu, 1928

Mutually influencing and influenced by the Manifesto Antropófago authored in 1928 by her husband O. de Andrade, Amaral painted her iconic work, *Antropofagia* in 1929. Referencing forms from *A Negra* and her 1928 piece *Abaporu*,[86] (Figure 2.5) Amaral demonstrates a dual process of cannibalism. First, she practices self-devouring as she recycles figures rendered previously to create a final product that is more complex and significant to her identity as an artist and her relationship with modernism. Second, Amaral has now completely committed herself to a Brazilian, tropical aesthetic of modernism; the only remnants of European influence and control exist in the preference for abstraction of people and nature as well as the bold use of color. Amaral composed *Antropofagia* with vibrant blues, yellows and greens, intentionally appropriating the colors of the national flag and depicts natural flora. (Figure 2.6) The two intertwined nude figures, one male and one female, evoke the land, both in their color and softness of the form. The female refers to the Afro-Brazilian


Figure 2.6 Tarsila do Amaral, Antropofagia, 1928

[86] *Abaporu*, of 1928, meaning "man who eats" in the Tupi-Guarani language, depicts a distorted male figure with enormous feet and a tiny head resting on a bright green piece of land. The symbol is rooted with metaphor and symbolism, from the native flora to the figure who is a representation of an imaginary descendant of cannibalist mythical creatures that became part of colonial and *bandierante* folklore during the period of expansion.

while the male suggests the Tupi-Guarani natives of Brazil. When created by the hands of a European-descended artist, the final result is everything the Manifesto Antropófago called for: to revolt against those elements of European aesthetics in favor of eating and digesting European, African and Native culture to form their own. The organic quality of the painting, honoring the land and the people lie at the root of anthropophagic process of cultural production due to the priority given to specific land and people as well as how their representations are composite creations of various elements and influences.


Figure 2.7 Victor Brecheret, Pieta, 1910s

The idea of a standard aesthetic program for Brazilian visual culture is crucial as it refers back to the inherently unique anthropophagy of cultural production that is seen in the works of *Semana de 22* artists like Victor Brecheret who, as mentioned earlier, was the sculptor of the *Monumento as Bandeiras* that sits at the opening of Parque Ibirapuera. The careful consideration of inspiration, source material and execution unites to create a product that is identifiably Brazilian, formally and symbolically. Prior to his monumental work that visualizes the aspiring identity of São Paulo, Brecheret who was an Italian immigrant to the city of São Paulo spent several of his early years studying sculpture in Europe, but his career would become a leading modernist. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Brecheret chose to depict traditional Biblical scenes but entirely revolutionized in execution. His sculpture of the 1910s that showed in the Semana exposition, *Pieta* references only the essentials from the traditional scene of the Virgin Mary cradling the body of a dead Christ. (Figure 2.7) Brecheret carved the piece out of a solid block of wood but abstracted and minimalized the bodies. There is no attention to naturalism or molding of the body, nor is there any to

proportion or expression. Little detail is applied to the face and body of Christ and if not for an allusion to the classical pose, the figures could have been abstractions of any subject. The striking quality of the piece rests in the way the bodies of the Virgin and Christ melt into one another and are connected in forms that mimic how roots of a tree may grow. The sculpture is soft, smooth and delicate despite its solidity. The piece overall looks primitive and simple from the cuts into the rock and the basic attempt at pattern making but ultimately, serves as an interesting example in which cultural anthropopagy occurred. Brecheret's style and preferred subject matter changes as his career takes him to more nationalist-oriented projects but his monument for Parque Ibirapuera encapsulates the same elements of modernism and *antropofogia* that presents itself in the monumental celebratory works as designed by Oscar Niemeyer to continue the strengthening of the *paulistano* identity.

A PLATFORM FOR *ANTROPOFAGIA* IN ARCHITECTURE

This notion of São Paulo being the leader in modern cultural production is important in understanding the transformations the city underwent to become a modern, globalized city boasting Le Corbusien and Niemeyerien standards of construction and urban architectural design.[87] Aracy A. Amaral's article "Stages in the Formation of Brazil's Cultural Profile" of 1995 addresses the qualities that make São Paulo unique in the adaptation and dissemination of Brazilian modernism. In her history of the transformation of Brazilian culture to one that relied heavily on romanticism to modernism and functionalism, Amaral notes that the aesthetic formations were very much present in architectural projects and that socio-political circumstance, São Paulo became the site of which the greatest surge of modernist architecture, with its tenets of functionalism, purity of line and absence of decorative

[87] Amaral, 19.

elements, came to be.[88] Mauro F. Guillén also addresses the question of modernist architecture in his 2004 text, "Modernism Without Modernity: The Rise of Modernist Architecture in Mexico, Brazil and Argentina, 1890-1940." Like Amaral, Guillén acknowledges the importance of the social factors that led to the seemingly unpredictable development along a modernist aesthetic that did occur in São Paulo and suggests that the social history of the city is a critical component in the architecture that arises. That is, the manners in which aesthetic urban design programs were carried out were responses to the social problems that existed in the city. He points to the cultural revolution "at the hands of Getúlio Vargas, the creator of the Italian-inspired, corporatist *Estado Novo*...the new regime promoted industrialization and the rationalization of work...links developed between industrialists and modernist designers." [89] The alignment of artists and architects with Estado Novo objectives was fundamental for the political recognition of modernism and for its eventual adoption as the official style of the nation. He, like Luiz Carlos Daher in his 1979 dissertation, "Arquitetura e Expressionismo, Dissertacão de Mestrado," point to how the aesthetic values of simplicity and functionality were essential to the modernization of São Paulo and how architects such as Oscar Niemeyer adapted the ideas of functionality to fit the tropical environment and adapted local motifs of décor to create a distinctly Brazilian city. Quite similar to how São Paulo was the ideal setting for the *Semana* in terms of the wealth that was located there, the financial and industrial power the city greatly impacted the demand for modernization. With the surge in economic progress, the circulation of wealth allowed for a public market for the aesthetics of modernism to develop; in addition, the rise

[88] Amaral, Aracy Amaral and Kim Mrazek Hastings, "Stages in the Formation of Brazil's Cultural Profile", *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts.* 21: 8-25, 1995, 20.
[89] Guillén, Mauro F, "Modernism Without Modernity: The Rise of Modernist Architecture in Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, 1890-1940", *Latin American Research Review.* 39, no. 2, 2004, 15.

in the demand for labor and subsequently, the growth of the urban population called for new housing solutions that were met by design changes in modern architecture.

As the most public and permanent performance of modernity, architecture was the main visual vehicle through which modernization could occur on a national level. Of course, the goal was to showcase a Brazilian modernism, one that was unique to the nation and its peoples thus cannibalization was critical to architectural development. Oscar Niemeyer, more so than any other individual in the field, transformed Brazilian modern architecture with his original and reactionary use of curves in his designs. As will be discussed in the following chapter, Oscar Niemeyer possesses the contradictions and complications of a forced Brazilian modernism as he is a figure honored for elevating the entire country with his imagination but he self-admits to be influenced by the landscape of Rio de Janeiro while simultaneously enacting the *paulistano* drive to cannibalize.

CHAPTER THREE: OSCAR NIEMEYER'S CANNIBALIST GESTURES IN ARCHITECTURE

The works of Oscar Niemeyer in São Paulo are representative of an anthropophagic Brazilian modernism. Having been a student of Le Corbusier, Niemeyer was educated in the tenets of modernist architecture that form the basis of the International Style but adapted and reinterpreted seemingly strict guidelines to fit a Brazilian aesthetic and context. His signature design element, curvilinear forms, is reminiscent of artistic works of his contemporaries and is his own homage to the organic life that exists in Brazil. Similarly, those ideas that he adapted from Le Corbusier, such as *pilotis* and *brise soleils*, were refashioned to meet the physical demands of the tropical climate of São Paulo. Oscar Niemeyer was conscious of the environs in which he was working but more so of the cultural attitudes and expectations that were being exhibited by *paulistano* officials and inhabitants.

As noted previously, since the early twentieth century, São Paulo had been extremely charged with modernist tendencies. The popular appeal and curiosity that surrounded these aesthetic changes allowed for a unique environment in which Niemeyer could explore the relationship between his design aesthetic, identity and traditional schooling. While much of his influences from the arts lies in the works of *paulistano* artists, such as painter Tarsila do Amaral and sculptor Victor Brecheret, locating Niemeyer in São Paulo has been limited in scholarship. Instead, scholars have closely studied Niemeyer's manifestations of Brazilian modernist architecture in Rio de Janeiro and the state of Minas Gerais. Moreover, critics have nearly exclusively emphasized his style rather than his work's proclamations of identity.

This chapter next addresses the socio-political mood of the 1930s through 1940s to better contextualize the environment in which Niemeyer developed his unique architectural

lexicon. The following section establishes the background for the implementation and popularization of the International Style. This particular modernist architectural expression is subject of the next section, which leads to a discussion of the critical cultural exchange between European modernist Le Corbusier, and young Brazilian modern architects in the 1930s. Cultural exchange becomes active anthropophagite exercises of aesthetic development under Niemeyer and the two following sections exemplify how the cannibalistic process is rooted in São Paulo by identifying examples of projects and inspirational sources. To conclude, this chapter closes by elaborating on how the distinctly *paulistano* impulse becomes nationalized only to find itself again applied under local commemoration and remembrances in São Paulo.

CONSTRUCTING *BRASILIDADE*

Art and architectural historian Fernando Luiz Lara is key in providing a framework to understand how the aesthetics of European modernism have been applied to a Brazilian landscape. Lara's article, "One Step Back, Two Steps Forward: The Maneuvering of Brazilian Avant-Garde," of 2002 examines the modern architecture movement of Brazil and teases out the tensions between modernists and academics as both schools of thought were promoting different ideas of "brazilianess." Citing examples in Minas Gerais such as Niemeyer's Capela da Pampulha , Lara makes the argument that there was a conscious decision made by the architect to combine the traditional barroco-mineiro style with modernist trends such as combining parabolic shapes with vaulted ceilings.[90] This unlikely combination, Lara states, is a consequence of a unique Brazilian understanding of "historical

[90] Developed between the eighteenth through nineteenth century, barroco mineiro was an adaptation of the baroque style of arts popularized in Minas Gerais, particularly Ouro Preto, that felt the immense wealth from the gold mines. Most commonly used for architecture of the period but also in sculpture and painting, barroco mineiro is highly ornate, often using gold.

memory in the construction of identity" and that Niemeyer's visual programs are " carefully designed and chosen myth of origin."[91]

This sentiment is echoed in several other works of Lara, such as his 2006 article, "Dissemination of Design Knowledge: Evidence from 1950s" which analyzes the popularization of Brazilian modernist aesthetics in private housing projects in the state of Minas Gerais. Lara cites reinterpreted aesthetic choices such as sloping rooflines, the use of concrete slabs, metal columns and *brise soleils* ventilation as the ultimate manifestation of Brazilian modernism to become the program for national identity.[92] Though Lara's contributions are significant, his work is limited to the state of Minas Gerais and little is done in regards to the question of commercialized Brazilian modern architecture and mass housing projects, as those issues are very much evident in the case of São Paulo. In the same way that Lara explains that cultural heritage and the past is a critical component in the modernist design of Minas Gerais, it can be said that a globalized look towards the future and progress came to dominate the development of São Paulo, a different attitude that was very much realized by Niemeyer in his São Paulo works.

Oscar Niemeyer's lyrical curves in his buildings advance both the creative and technical aspects of Brazilian modernism. The curve is the hallmark of Niemeyer's aesthetic and he says in his memoir "curves make up the entire Universe." His attraction falls away from straight lines and angles in favor of free-flowing curves found in "the mountains of the country, in the sinuousness of its rivers, in the waves of the ocean, and on the body of the

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[91] Fernando Luiz Lara,"One Step Back, Two Steps Forward: The Maneuvering of Brazilian Avant-Garde". *Journal of Architectural Education.* 55, no. 4: 2002, 218.

[92] Fernando Luiz Lara. 2006. "Dissemination of Design Knowledge: Evidence from 1950s' Brazil". *The Journal of Architecture.* 11, no. 2:2006, 241.

beloved woman."[93] Taking cues from topography like coastlines and rivers, especially the famous contours of his hometown Rio de Janeiro, Niemeyer's buildings break from the rigid, massiveness of constructions typical of the modern International Style popular in Europe or the United States. Rather, they are plastic, sinuous and playful but by no means fragile or fleeting. Technically, Niemeyer mastered the application of reinforced concrete by finding new ways to manipulate the material, balancing engineering durability with creative integrity. His buildings, if examined in isolation as an objects in their own right, already exemplify *antropofagia* by not only using modern, industrial materials in new ways more relevant to the land but also in conveying the sentiment of an aesthetic that is identifiably Brazilian.

However, when read in the context of their environments, Niemeyer's constructions strengthen *antropofagia* as they become active challenges to the European influences on urban renewal and organization due to their interruptive imprint on the urban grid. The call to challenge European influences into a dialogue with Brazilian manifestation of modernism and progress is a reactionary act that occurred exclusively in São Paulo. The projection of a nationalist identity no longer fulfilled the Estado Novo's expectations of *brasilidade* but now a reactive resistance was needed to balance external influences towards successfully self-strengthen as a nation.

ESTADO NOVO SELF-STRENGTHENING: THE PROMOTION OF *BRASILIDADE*

After the decline of the coffee industry with the global depression in 1929, São Paulo and the rest of the Brazilian nation felt the rise of the first reorganization of the Vargas government that concentrated federal power and reshaped the economy to rely on trade and

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[93] Oscar Niemeyer, *The Curves of Time: The Memoirs of Oscar Niemeyer*, (London: Phaidon, 2007), 11.

manufacturing. Vargas' Brazil fell into the economic trend of import-substitution-industrialization that occurred in Latin America as manufacturers filled the market niches left void by decreasing imports by consequence of the First World War.[94] São Paulo became a major industrial city and the push to industrialization meant controlling their own growth and economy. The shift in interest towards technology is evidenced in the number of technical schools that opened between 1930 and 1945, one of the most notable being the Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie.[95] A new trade for middle class *paulistanos* resulted in a continued importation of foreign influence, manifesting as German or Italian immigrants, trained as technicians entered the country. There was a learning opportunity and a chance to increase wealth that made foreign teachers and laborers attractive, to the extent that places like the Center of Industries opposed dictator Vargas' degree of 1930 which called to limit one-third of the work force the number of foreigners a company might hire.[96]

Vargas' era in power was marked by his fierce authoritarian and nationalist policies. Vargas' regime was a period in which officials, intellectuals and citizens attempted to grasp an idea of *brasilidade* or national Brazilian identity, which can be defined as "an intangible but highly coveted sense of Brazilianness."[97] Vargas' official efforts to cultivate a tangible national identity reflect a sensibility of independence and self-determinism echoing the *Movimento Antropófago*.In order to release political and economic dependency on world powers such as the United States or European nations, the *Estado Novo* appropriated and applied technologies and socio-economic models to better centralize and internalize

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[94] John Charles Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire*, 229.
[95] The Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie is a private universityi n São Paulo, Brazil funded in 1870 by American Presbyterian missionaries. They are noted today for their School of Engineering, but through the early twentieth century, notable figures of modernism such as painter Anita Malfatti and surrealist André Breton formulated from the university.
[96] Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880-1945*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 177.
[97] Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil*, 19.

development. Tying together culture and socio-political and economic progress, Vargas called for a reliance on the idealized expressions of modernism, in effect appropriating and pacifying the cannibalist gesture.

As previously mentioned, the public marketplace and display of consumable modernism developed in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in the 1930s. Modern painting became common in art galleries and private collections and literary journals and magazines printed innovative visual and literary works that continued to showcase local manifestations of modernism. Despite Vargas' attempts to generate *brasilidade*, the urban middle and upper classes were eager to be consumers of trendy styles developed in the United States or Europe such as art deco and Bauhaus, as evidenced in product design, interior décor and the decorative arts.[98] The popular attraction to modernist designs on a private scale were tested by officials of the Vargas regime who identified as traditionalists and believed that drawing on the colonial cultural past of Brazil was key to crafting an attainable identity. The neo-colonial style that had dominated the construction of São Paulo under the rule of the coffee elites again appeared in public buildings but faced contestation from officials who either thought government had no business in dictating culture or intended to push the nation forward following the international standards of modernist architecture and urban design. For example, Avenida Paulista underwent a process of eradicating the mansions of the old coffee elite in favor of skyscrapers housing industrial and financial businesses.[99]

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[98] Williams, 48.

[99] Marta Vieira Bogéa,*Two-Way Street: The Paulista Avenue, Flux and Counter-Flux of Modernity*, (San Diego, California: San Diego State University Press, 1995).

IMPORTING THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE: LE CORBUSIER'S LESSONS

As the debates surrounding *brasilidade* and the future of the nation continued within the ministries of the central government, a form of modernity began to develop organically in urban spaces that answered the very questions that were being considered by officials. In São Paulo, modern architecture of the International Style gained popularity for its functionality and soon, office buildings and residential apartments dominated the urbanscape. The International Style stimulated a new approach to architecture and construction that emphasized material, functionality and modernity. The International Style turned attention to volume over mass, balance over symmetry and the expulsion of ornament. The style is stark and geometric and takes advantage of modern materials such as steel or concrete. The International Style served as a blank model for any place or purpose that aimed to project modernity; the lack of site-specificity, as suggested by its name, to the style fueled its popularity and it quickly became the template by which major urban areas modernized.[100]

The International Style, as conceived by modernists like Le Corbusier or Walter Gropius, originally sufficed as a vehicle to project modernity but its anonymity catalyzed the development of an uniquely Brazilian version of the style. Oscar Niemeyer, invested his career and constructions in forming an architecture that would perform *brasilidade* despite his roots in the International Style. Though his masterpiece would be the construction of the new capital Brasília under the presidency of Juscelino Kubitschek (r.1956-1961), Niemeyer's career continues traces the philosophical and political debates behind cultivating a Brazilian culture. Though he is derivative of European masters of modernism, Niemeyer highly regarded his environment, his audience and his modernist peers in his work that allows for a

[100] Dennis P. Doordan,*Twentieth-Century Architecture*, (New York: H.N. Abrams, 2002).

sense of ease and fluidity, rather than ultimate control of space, behavior and interactions as seen in his influences, most notable being Le Corbusier.

The young generation of Brazilian architects, including Oscar Niemeyer, looked to Le Corbusier as a model by which they could develop their own styles. Swiss-born Le Corbusier spent the majority of his early career in Europe, committed to revitalizing urban projects throughout France and Switzerland. His inspiration from modernist artists of movements such as Cubism, resulted in a highly mechanized, functional and minimalist aesthetic that are best captured in his famous piece, "Five Points Towards A New Architecture," first published in 1922. Le Corbusier believed that new design features needed to be adapted universally to project a practical and ideologically pure modernity.

First, Le Corbusier addressed the mass of a structure but proposed that changes in support would elevate the physicality of the building and provide a quality of lightness. By using the new innovation of reinforced concrete stilts, called *pilotis*, structural support that avoids "dampness of soil" was achieved and the final product incorporates more "light and air." (Figure 3.1) The second point is derivate of the presence of *pilotis*, and calls for a free design of the ground plan, meaning that the interior of the space was liberated from the exterior support structures and could be designed at the will of the architect. Similarly, the third point of a free façade also takes advantage of the unrestricted structure and the architect has the ability to design the façade without limitations. The fourth tenet of Le Corbusier calls for the incorporation of horizontal windows to maximize light and add a design element to the desired effect of verticality. Horizontal

Figure 3.1 An example of pilotis as used on the Ministry of Education and Health, Rio de Janeiro, 1936

windows were intended to be used in conjunction with *brise soleils*, which were sun-blocking mechanisms that Le Corbusier implemented as concrete projections on the façade of a building to allow light without heat to enter the structure. (Figure 3.2) The final point of modern architecture was the inclusion of a rooftop garden, which would serve as an escape in an urban environment and would be a space in which natural geometry and shape could be explored. Le Corbusier fondly referred to the rooftop garden as the "most favored place in the building."[101]

Figure 3.2 An example of brise soleils as seen on the Edifico Copan, 1957

In addition, Le Corbusier promoted the active need to break with the past. He argues in *The City of Tomorrow* that "decorative art is dead. Modern town planning comes to birth with a new architecture. By this immense step in evolution, so brutal and so overwhelming, we burn our bridges and break with the past."[102] He propagates that pure geometry is the way to order space and work and that when used properly, can unite human order and nature in architectural manifestations that would be read as "marks of great civilization" and "dazzling landmarks."[103] His visions for grandeur were also to be implemented on an individual level as indicated by his redefinition of the idea and aesthetic of the home. Le Corbusier preferred to conceive of the home as a "housemachine" -- both practically and emotionally satisfying, in which, "the idea of the 'old home' disappears, and with it local architecture, etc., for labour will shift about as needed, and must be ready to move, bag and baggage."[104] Le Corbusier believed the function of the home and the family to

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[101] Le Corbusier, "Five points towards a new architecture," in Ulrich Conrads, ed., *Programs and manifestos on 20th century architecture*," (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1970), 99-100.
[102] Le Corbusier, and Frederick Etchells, *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning*. (London: Architectural Press, 1971), 5.
[103] Le Corbusier and Etchells, 30.
[104] Le Corbusier and Etchells, 231.

operate on a universal pattern and that the housing structure ought to reflect the organic process of home rather than the environmental elements. Efficiency and production rooted the family and the house needed to function in a way to ease the operations.

Le Corbusier insisted that architecture had reached a post-design phase and that thinkers and builders should be considering the operations of a building and how to maximize the most out of space and human. Le Corbusier believed his design philosophy to be especially relevant for countries that were about to cross the threshold of industrialization. Historian Stamo Papadaki cites Le Corbusier's use of "mechanical equipment of a country" to be at the basis of his architecture.[105] His ideas were transformative and revolutionary and especially in the Brazilian context, the emphasis on ability, efficiency and progress with a break from the past resonated with the *Estado Novo*'s vision for a new era. Brazil as a nation was to be modernized and architecture was visual evidence of change soon to appear in São Paulo.

MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN BRAZIL

Le Corbusier's modernism had already been present in Brazil by way of Russian-Brazilian architect Gregori Warchavchik who famously said that this new phase of architecture cannot be labeled as modern but rather as new because modern refers to conveniences of plumbing and electricity but new marks a revolution. In 1931, the first public showing of modernist architecture was realized with Warchavchick's "Casa Modernista," which was a Bauhaus-style private home built in an upper class neighborhood of São Paulo.[106] (Figure 3.3) The house, which was opened for public tours, sparked curiosity and shock among visitors as it was a startling rejection of the past. The house caused a

[105] Stamo Papadaki, *Oscar Niemeyer*, (New York: G. Braziller, 1960), 10.
[106] Valerie Fraser, *Building the New World: Studies in the Modern Architecture of Latin America, 1930-1960*, (London: Verso, 2000) 166.

scandal as people had not seen a severe reorganization of space, modern technologies, reduction of décor and increase in geometry within the home.

The bourgeoise *paulistano* audience reacted much in the way they had to the Semana de 22. The lack of ornamentation and display of material wealth shocked the audience who had grown accustom to the grand displays of wealth leftover from nineteenth century romanticist trends as well as the popularized ornamentation of art noueveau or art deco. Again, the trend of a radical modernist expression under the promotion of intellectual elites appears. While the public addressed their initial shock, the break from tradition was welcomed by Vargas and his policies of cultural transformation as the International Style became the model by which Brazil would develop in the following decades. The direct application of International Style design aesthetics by Warchavchick in 1931 demonstrates the instinct to simply imitate European trends as means to progress, an already familiar impulse among the political and culture elite of São Paulo. The early example of modernist architecture in Brazil bears the placelessness and anonymity of International modernism and constructions from the latter end of the decade come to challenge and refract the original model with local circumstance, particularly that of landscape.

Figure 3.3 Gregori Warchavchik, Casa Modernista, 1931

While Le Corbusier's ideas and writings had been circulated internationally, the famed architect finally made contact with his Brazilian followers in his South American tours of 1929 and 1936. These tours, in which he was invited to lecture and eventually design, brought Le Corbusier to a group of young Brazilian architects based in Rio de Janeiro,

including Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer. While giving a series of lectures in Rio de Janeiro in 1936 during his second tour, Le Corbusier was also commissioned by the government to supervise the design of the new building for the Ministry of National Education and Public Health, which was the first of several architectural interventions under Vargas' modernizing ideals that would ultimately culminate in his plans to urbanize the country under *Estado Novo* missions. (Figure 3.4) The building reflected modernity and functionality and Le Corbusier's high-rise of intersecting volumes on *pilotis* with extensive *brise soleils* and integration with landscaping surpassed all expectations by the innovative design of local, tropical flora by Roberto Burle Marx who will later be a seminal figure in collaborating with Niemeyer in São Paulo. [107] Le Corbusier's modern designs considered the health and the biological needs of humans such as air and sunshine and as such, height was a critical component of the building. Papadaki explains "height as an aerial quality, a condition of the imagination in action within the realm of the four substances—fire, air, water and earth."[108] Papadaki's projection onto Corbusien design reveals heightened priority given to the environmental surroundings of a building, alluding to a sensibility embodied by the Arts and Crafts Movement of the late nineteenth century that heavily emphasized the implementation of local labor and material. Though referencing more basic and elemental determinants, the attention to locality during the design process concretized in the progression of modernist architecture.

[107] Vicente del Rio and William J. Siembieda. *Contemporary Urbanism in Brazil: Beyond Brasília*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 4.
[108] Papadaki, 15.

The building employed all "Five Points" but interestingly, commentators, especially those from the United States, first saw and identified aspects of the design considered distinctively Brazilian, particularly those conditioned to the local environment. [109] The focus turned to local elements from foreign eyes is a symptom of the neocolonial gaze but does support the claim that increased intentionality in respecting local histories and aesthetics existed. For example, the building incorporated a revolutionary system of movable louvres across the entire sunny north-facing façade in order to alleviate the heat and the full force of the sun, which was a functional improvement on the previously stationary model of brise soleils.[110]

Figure 3.4 Ministry of Health and Education, Rio de Janeiro 1936

The garden in particular, as designed by Roberto Burle Marx, was integral to the overall design; in addition to the rooftop garden, which remained private to only the minister, the ground level also featured concrete trunks of greenery so that people from within could also enjoy the lush environment from inside.[111] Burle Marx developed an aesthetic towards urban gardens, highlighting native flora of the country in a controlled "free-form modernism" that actively practiced *antropofagia* and resisted the strict demands of European modernism.[112] Quite frequently, Burle Marx would juxtapose concrete paths with plants in curved patterns, alluding to water and a natural flow of movement.[113] His designs were undoubtedly conscious of locality and would later grow to engage Niemeyer's application of

[109] Fraser, 156.
[110] Fraser, 159.
[111] Fraser, 164.
[112] Fraser, 187.
[113] Fraser, 176.

curves into his own work as a way to negotiate industrial architectural forms with broader landscape settings. (Figure 3.5) The attention to environment and landscape was already a feature of Corbusien design and especially in the Arts and Crafts Movement that embraced meaningful local crafts and traditions to embed lived spaces with proper social mores. Whereas Le Corbusier envisioned a clutter-free, blank, clean space for people to occupy, Niemeyer reverted to reinterpret national and traditional culture to morally embed his designs with constructions and references to identity and to make a statement that Brazilian modernism is separate and equally as prominent as International modernism. His abandonment of formal International architecture is described to be a "crusade of the demands of economic determinism" that Le Corbusier had promoted favoring the experience of the space but the direct incorporation and referencing of natural landscape is a quality that uniquely identifies Brazilian architectural design.[114]

Figure 3.5 Aerial view of the garden of the Ministry of Health and Education, Roberto Burle Marx

The process of designing the Ministry of Education and Health involved several modern architectural figures in Brazil, including Oscar Niemeyer, Lúcio Costa, Affonso Reidy, Carlos Leão, Jorge Machado Moreira and Ernâni Vasconcelos, all of whom were engaged through state sponsorship. By working closely with Le Corbusier, Niemeyer and his contemporaries became known in Brazil, specifically by officials under the Vargas dictatorship, as the minds and design masters of the future. They all shared the same desire to radically break from tradition and designed in defiance to the classical, beaux-arts aesthetic of the past. This project, under Le Corbusier's direction, was a period in which each architect could explore his own relationship with modernism and innovation. Ultimately, it was a plan

[114]Papadaki, 25.

drafted by Le Corbusier and altered by Niemeyer that was erected in downtown Rio de Janeiro. For Niemeyer, the opportunity to work on the Ministry was an anthropophagic moment for him to employ Le Corbusier's teachings but his time to explore with the plasticity of material and building was to come.

OSCAR NIEMEYER AND *PAULISTANO* IMPULSE OF CANNIBALISM

Oscar Niemeyer's explorations and complicated relationship with modernism shaped his extensive career but like most modernists, he actively forged a break from the academic traditions imposed through formal education. (Figure 3.6) Born in 1907 in Rio de Janeiro, he grew up in a comfortable middle class family and lived the quintessential bohemian lifestyle stereotyped to *cariocas*.[115] He developed an interest in the arts and attended the Escola das Belas Artes from which he graduated as an engineer and architect in 1934. His education and early career unexpectedly hit an obstacle when he was forced into exile to Europe due to his loyal and heavy involvement with the Brazilian Communist Party. While in Europe, Niemeyer received firsthand experience with the design mandates of the International Style.


Figure 3.6 Oscar Niemeyer

Niemeyer's career escalated upon his return to Brazil, first with the success of the Ministry of Education and Health Building in Rio de Janeiro. As he gained notoriety, Niemeyer's designs began to manifest the struggles he felt between balancing his education and an academic past with his own creative impulse, as was especially evidenced in his plans for a 1938 work that was radically different from his contributions in the MES in 1936. His

[115] Cariocas: the demonym that is used to refer to the native inhabitants of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

works are often marked by the selective process of borrowing or referencing architectural traditions from various sources to ultimately create a site that is indicative of its own time and place. Undoubtedly grounded in Corbusien discourse, Niemeyer shifted reliance on the nature of Brazil for more expressive and individual forms that addressed his interests in "creative impulse and natural environment."[116]

There exists a distinction between the shapes and forms he mimicked versus the impulse to perform architectural *antropofagia*, which is uniquely *paulistano* in origin. Indeed, Niemeyer's experimentation with *antropofagia* defines his oeuvre. Two years after the construction of the Ministry of Education and Health in Rio de Janeiro, Niemeyer broke from the team of young architects based in Rio to pursue a private commission in São Paulo. In 1938, Niemeyer, a young architect still tied to his formal education, opened up his own practice in Rio de Janeiro with modest commissions but the call from modernist painter Tarsila do Amaral and her husband Oswald de Andrade to design a home inspired a change in his design philosophy. Well aware of the infamy of his clients, Niemeyer consciously incorporated the anthropophagic aesthetics evidenced in their artistic productions into his plans for the house. Designed in 1938, the home for two was intended to be in São Paulo, Brazil but unfortunately, due to the end of their personal relationship, was never constructed. However, plans for the project still exist and demonstrate an anthropophagic version of classic Le Corbusien aesthetics. While O. de Andrade led forward the intellectual project, Tarsila do Amaral's transformation of Brazilian modernist painting proved particularly inspirational.

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[116] David Kendrick Underwood, *Oscar Niemeyer and Brazilian Free-Form Modernism*, (New York: G. Braziller, 1994), 35.

As previously discussed, Amaral studied painting in Paris but returned in the early 1920s with an intent to develop a form of modernism suitable for Brazil. A *paulistano* by birth, Amaral sourced material from the history of her city and the rapidly changing cityscape during the 1920s through 1950s.[117] Industrialization and urbanization then became her preferred subjects for several of her works. Among her industrial scenes includes the 1924 work *São Paulo*, which is an early manifestation of *antropofagia* that inspired the movement in 1928 but also Niemeyer in his early design. (Figure 3.7) The oil painting depicts an abstract urban scene of International Style buildings, railways and electric lines; a scene such as this would have been common subject matter for modernist artists across the world from New York to Paris. The industrial, man-made elements are extremely geometric and representational; she uses muted beiges and greys with pops of red detail to show the dense urban space. The plane of the painting is flat with broad applications of color that are interrupted by shadowed and rounded pockets of greenery. However, Amaral challenges the tropes of urban modernity by breaking the uniformity ubiquitous to the International Style with references to the unique tropicality of São Paulo. For example, the work is washed with a yellow-white light resulting in a bright, clear scene which references the strong tropical sun in Brazil.[118] The buildings, railways and other urban infrastructure are set in a lush green and curvy landscape. Amaral uses rich shades of green and bright blues to depict the land with sinuous, curved shapes.

Figure 3.7 Tarsila do Amaral, São Paulo, 1924

[117] Carol Damian,"Tarsila Do Amaral: Art and Environmental Concerns of a Brazilian Modernist" in *Woman's Art Journal.* 20, no. 1, 1999, 3.
[118] Damian, 5.

These curves will be fully developed in her later works during the *antropfagia* period of her career but there is no doubt that in this early work, Amaral is aware of using tropical, native elements to her advantage in creating works that evoke a unique *paulistano* identity.

Figure 3.8 Tarsila do Amaral, Antropofagia, 1929

This work juxtaposes the flat, geometric and grid-like elements of a generic modern city with uncontainable tropic elements such as the curves of the landscape and the sun. Amaral has thus cannibalized formal techniques and qualities developed in European modernism to create a final product that is site-specific and acts as a statement to how local *paulistano* identity can be identified. Her depiction of São Paulo distinguishes the city from not only other Brazilian cities but all those that underwent similar process of growth and urbanization in the early twentieth century.

Figure 3.9 Tarsila do Amaral, Abaporu, 1928

With this work as well as those like *Antropofagia* (1929) or *Abaporu* (1928), in his consciousness, Niemeyer designed a home for Amaral that would honor the tropical curves and natural environment. (Figures 3.8 and 3.9) He went so far as to include a sketch of a mural in the blueprint of the house that depicts anthropophagic humanoid figures nearly identical to the forms in the two aforementioned paintings. The lessons that he learned from drafting this project had a permanent effect on his design aesthetic as the iconic curves and plasticity seen in this house became the foundational vocabulary by which Niemeyer designed. The Amaral-Andrade home preceded the major commissions Niemeyer would be remembered for such as the complex in Pampulha in Minas Gerais in 1943 or Parque Ibirapuera in São Paulo in 1954.

Nevertheless, it acts as the seminal anthropophagic project in which he began challenging the confines of European modernism with a tropical sensibility to ultimately create an architectural language that embodies *brasilidade*.

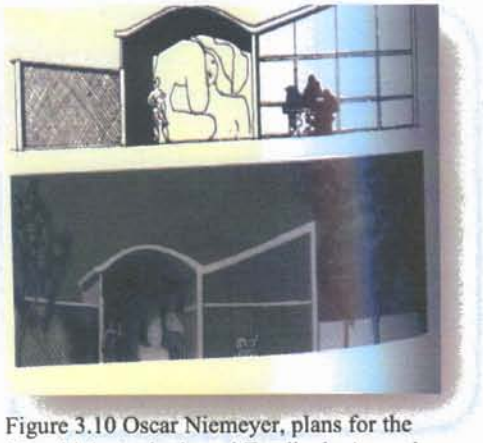

Figure 3.10 Oscar Niemeyer, plans for the Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral house, 1938

Niemeyer, undoubtedly being very well studied in these "Five Points" as well as iconic works of Le Corbusier, adapted the aesthetics in a proposed design for the private home of O. de Andrade and Amaral. (Figure 3.10) The home, rather small and conservative compared to Niemeyer's later work, was based around the concept of the line, both as a rigid and curved shape. The entire structure took form on a continuous line with concrete and glass being the main materials that emphasize the linear design as well as allude to a pure functionality. The use of plate glass as an integral support system of the overall structure speaks to the industrial innovations as glass upholds notions of aesthetic cleanliness, clarity and progress that dominate the missions of modernism. While the floor plan of the home was highly simplified, the vertical construction applied very crisp geometric shapes, particularly those of trapezoids and curves. The concrete roof is consistent in thickness and traces the flow of line and angle that gives the house a distinct "Brazilianess" indicated by tropical curves juxtaposed with linear geometry. (Figure 3.11) This consciousness of linear curves is Niemeyer's homage to

Figure 3.11 Oscar Niemeyer, plans for the Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral house, 1938

Tarsila, whose anthropophagic modernist paintings characterized the abstraction of natural, organic curves, such as in her 1929 painting, *Sol Poente*, a tropical landscape of Brazil. The painting is a departure from her previous works like *São Paulo* or *Antropofagia* in that she is now fully excercising the curve as the key form in her aesthetic. (Figure 3.12) Though an abstract rendition of her natural environment, the impact of the sinuous waves of shapes and vibrant color evokes a tropical sensibility that is celebratory.

The early designs for this house represent the start of Niemeyer's consciousness towards blending soft and hard lines and maintaining balance with a natural environment. Though the house is a concrete construction, Niemeyer includes walls and exterior structures of glass that maximize the flow of light and that will create the illusion of an open space even when contained. In doing this, Niemeyer plays with Le Corbusier's proposed attention on the mass of a building and its untainted physicality and elevates the idea of providing a sense of weightlessness by using glass as a primary material but counteracts the strictness of design with his curved references to Amaral's work. The style employed for the house demonstrates free-formed architecture which rose as a protest against "rational architecture, the rectilinear, mechanized forms of the International Style."[119] Though never constructed, the plans for the house evidence Niemeyer's early development of a visual aesthetic that will continue to challenge the strict, rectilinear geometries of the International Style. His early experimentation with cultural cannibalism of grids, curves, industrial material and natural elements presage later projects of his.

Figure 3.12 Tarsila do Amaral, Sol Poente, 1929

[119] Underwood, 35.

NIEMEYER'S DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURVE

Following the drafted plans for the Amaral-Andrade house, Niemeyer gained more notoriety among elite planners in the country and received many invitations to design projects that all continued to experiment with *brasilidade* and the curve as originated in São Paulo. This earlier design gains little attention and in his memoir, Niemeyer himself minimizes this experimentation of curves in the house in favor of his grand proclamation of the iconic curve in his complex of Pampulha, Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais of 1943. (Figure 3.13) Invited in the 1940s by then-mayor Juscelino Kubitschek, who would become president in the 1950s and later commission the new capital of Brasilia, Niemeyer designed a chapel, casino, club and restaurant with full liberty to exercise his creative freedom. What resulted was a sinuous, surreal complex composed of varied curves that Niemeyer even describes as "baroque."[120] The complex at Pampulha undoubtedly showcases Brazilian and tropical sensibilities and even acknowledges the historical past by being fully decorated with *azulejos*, blue and white ceramic tiles traditional in Portugal that was popular during the colonial era for the façade of homes. (Figure 3.14) The tiles reference to the Ministry of Health and Education in Rio, as they also decorated the façade of the building, but are purposed differently at Pampulha to reflect the water and coastline onto the building, again allowing the tropical landscape to shape modernist design. Niemeyer remembers Pampulha as "the starting point of his career…the project was an opportunity to challenge the monotony of contemporary

Figure 3.13 Oscar Niemeyer, the complex at Pampulha, Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, 1943

[120]Niemeyer, 63.

architecture, the way of misinterpreted functionalism that hindered it" and found pleasure in the "liberated, sensual curve suggested by the possibilities of new technology yet so often recalled in venerable old baroque churches."[121] The combination of new industrial material with old design schemes is a progression of the cannibalistic impulse Niemeyer had demonstrated with his 1938 Amaral-Andrade home.


Figure 3.14 Oscar Niemeyer, Igreja de São Francisco de Assis, Pampulha, 1943

Following the success and eager reception of Pampulha, Niemeye's notoriety and demand jumped internationally and he began to create a career out of designing civic projects per request of officials and leaders. While he is recognized for other works such as the United Nations Headquarters in New York or the construction of the new capital of Brazil, Brasilia, he also shaped the modernist cityscape of São Paulo during this period. He is especially noted for the Edifício Copan of 1957, which remains one of the largest residential high-rise apartment buildings in South America. The building, composed of thirty floors with over one thousand apartments and seventy commercial spaces, epitomizes the surge of modernism, industry and wealth that São Paulo underwent in the 1950s as well as Niemeyer's jump into developing a unique design program. (Figure 3.15)

Figure 3.15 Oscar Niemeyer, Edificio Copan, 1957

Designed in 1957, Niemeyer noted the desires of *paulistanos* to transform their city. Global capitalism and verticalization was well on its way in the commercial areas of the city such as Avenida Paulista. With the

[121] Niemeyer, 62.

construction of Edifício Copan, the general public would be ushered into the idea of a lived modernity. Located in the old historic center of São Paulo, the construction of the building part of an effort to eradicate and modernize the old Portuguese colonial center and initiate an urban landscape represented indicative of the new power of Brazil and its people. (Figure 3.16) Critical to this process was incorporating and manipulating elements of European modernism with Brazilian flair. The Copan thus interrupted the urban plan of São Paulo, with its order Haussmanization and linear International Style complexes. (Figure 3.17) The Copan, by contrast, deployed sinuous, wild curves that literally realized Amaral's *São Paulo* painting and evoked Niemeyer's earlier aesthetic chosen for her home. The Edificio Copan's most striking quality is the play of curves and plasticity of concrete. The building is a classic example of Niemeyer's affinity towards an industrialized organic aesthetic and the Copan features long rectangular slabs that have been bended by a series of arcs to create the final shape. (Figure 3.18) The walls of the building are used to reach a sense of verticality but they are also curved to follow the initial rectangular slab. The plasticity curvature is an indulgence for Niemeyer's creative license as architectural historian Justin Read explains:

Figure 3.16 Oscar Niemeyer, Edificio Copan, 1957

Figure 3.17 Oscar Niemeyer, Edificio Copan aerial view, 1957

> curvature serves as an expressive element of design that is both functional and anti-functionalist: reinforced concrete does function to support stable structures, yet this is

> not to say that Niemeyer's use of reinforced concrete to support hyperboloid or paraboloid figures serves any function beyond its own being.[122]

Structurally, the tropical curve added little to the building but it held great impact in the changes to urban identity and space. The curves of the building capture light and shadow which, despite its starkness in ornamentation, still creates a decorative scheme that ultimately results in the building as being read as both an homage to industrial and urban power but also reflective of a natural, organic ideal. The construction of mass as a malleable medium is undoubtedly inspired by the teachings of Le Corbusier but the incorporation of organic form and light is uniquely Niemeyer. The

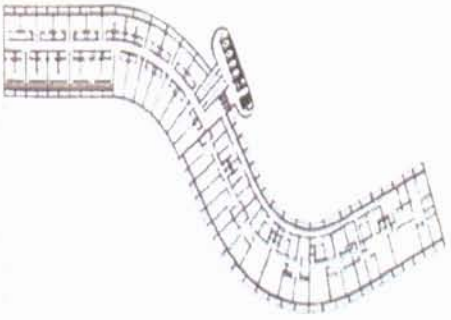

Figure 3.18 Oscar Niemeyer, Edificio Copan, 1957

Figure 3.19 Oscar Niemeyer, Edificio Copan, 1957

layering of the slabs works effectively as *brise soleils* and as has been noted, the Copan especially is reminiscent of Le Corbusien housing viaducts.[123] (Figure 3.19) The thin, horizontal *brise soleils* follow the contours of the slabs and protect the interior from excessive heat without obstructing sunlight. Again, he incorporates glass and horizontal windows as a critical element to maximize the interaction between the interior and the exterior.

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[122] Justin Read, "Alternative Functions: Oscar Niemeyer and the Poetics of Modernity" in *Modernism/Modernity.* 12, no. 2, 2005, 265.

[123] Le Corbusier's vision for the housing viaduct was intended to be a new rendition of an urban space. Moving away from the centralized model, the housing viaduct would be a linear progression of structures, such as shops, walkways and houses, promoting orderly movement and organization. Eduardo Pizzato, Curves at the Work of Oscar Niemeyer," *ARQTexto*, 10-11: 2007, 46.

Niemeyer's expression of *antropofagia* of Le Corbusier strengthened the Brazilian city's aspiration to realize its own potential and raw inspiration towards modernizing and urbanizing while maintaining identity and honoring tradition. His projects in São Paulo especially exhibit his period of experimentation and development of the curve, revealing his heavy reliance on *paulistano* art to his own vision. Though this period in São Paulo was short-lived as he gained national and international popularity and notoriety, it continues to be a seminal process towards his development as a modern Brazilian cannibalist architect. His major commission to design commemorative exhibition spaces in Parque Ibirapuera for the 400th anniversary of the city in 1954 maintains this *paulistano* anthropophagite impulse thus preserving the promotion of the city's identity but also demonstrates the maturation of his aesthetic.

CHAPTER FOUR: URBAN CANNIBALIZATION: *PAULISTANO* IDENTITY IN PARQUE IBIRAPUERA

While Brazilian modernist artists and professionals initiated the cannibalization of modernism to reflect and respect local histories, their missions were eased by the support of civic leaders. The state assumed responsibility as a developer of public projects that would be functional and didactic to the public, promoting ideas of progress and a modern reputation for the nation that could stand within a global, industrial context. While the idea of *brasilidade* fueled the federal government in their cultural policies, São Paulo maintained a stance on prioritizing local identities and histories. Often times, this perception of exceptionalism meant cannibalization of not only modernism aesthetics from North America or Europe but also that of the developing Brazilian national aesthetic.

Parque Ibirapuera, like no other site in São Paulo, embodies these contradictions and projections of a unique identity, despite the fact that it ultimately cannibalized and regurgitated patterns and trends found in other powerful cities like Rio de Janeiro or Belo Horizonte. The park's construction in the 1950s in preparation for the IV Centenário (400th anniversary) of the founding of São Paulo culminated in a collaboration between icons of Brazilian architecture and urban design: Oscar Niemeyer and landscaper Roberto Burle Marx. The two men, who previously had worked together on the Ministry of National Education and Public Health in Rio de Janeiro, consciously composed their projects to follow the trends of Brazilian modernity with the key quality of plasticity that allowed for specifically *paulistano* identity formation.

Parque Ibirapuera is located in the wealthy southeastern portion of São Paulo. It is composed of over 1.5 million square meters, making it the largest urban park in Brazil. The

details of the park are laden with details, for example, as visitors approach the main intersection of Avenida Brasil and Avenida Brigadeiro Luis Antonio that leads to the various entrance gates of the park, they are greeted with Victor Brecheret's monumental sculpture, *Monumento as Bandeiras*. (Figure 4.1) As previously discussed, the sculpture was commissioned as part of the celebrations of the IV Centenário, with the clear purpose of declaring the pioneer spirit that São Paulo embodies. The experiences and points of leisure within the park present a promise to perpetuate this myth to residents and visitors alike. The land on which the park originally developed, known as the Várzea do Ibirapuera (Lowlands of Ibirapuera) functioned as grazing land for pastoral animals for the Corporação da Companhia de Bombeiros (Fire Department) before the 1920s during which a municipal official, Manoel Lopes de Oliveira Filho, began intentionally planting trees and ornamental plants.[124] In a sense, the land of Ibirapuera was considered a frontier that the city of São Paulo could overtake and "civilize" with modernity. The elite *paulistano* citizens and officials had come to perceive a major urban park as an essential quality in any urban locale; this bias and desire for a space of leisure and "urban lungs" stemmed from using cities such as Paris, London or New York as pedestals of modernity. For that reason, in 1951, the committee of organizing the IV Centenário envisioned the inauguration of Parque Ibirapuera as a critical event in their festivities that were to celebrate the history and future of São Paulo.

Figure 4.1 Victor Brecheret, Monumento as Bandeiras, 1953

[124] Instituto Cultural Itaú, *Parque Ibirapuera*, (São Paulo: Módulo Fotografia, Setor Memória Fotográfica da Cidade de São Paulo, Banco de Dados Culturais/Informatizado, Instituto Cultural Itaú, 1997) 9.

With public funds and private support from companies such as the São Paulo Light and Power Co., construction of the park began following the landscape designs of Roberto Burle Marx.[125] An aerial view of the park shows Burle Marx's iconic abstract curves and amoebic shapes formed by plants, water and land that serves as a mark of local identity. Valerie Fraser describes Burle Marx's landscapes as interventions on urban spaces with "massed planting, "dramatic grouping of large tropical shrubs" and "flowering trees chosen to provide a changing sequence of colors throughout the year."[126] The emphasis on locality and elements unique to São Paulo are utilized to literally showcase the components of *paulistano* identity. Time and space formed Burle Marx's design concepts and he demonstrate the same *antropofagia* impulse to articulate a local identity under modern aesthetics.[127]

CANNIBALISM AND MODERNISM: ROBERTO BURLE MARX'S LANDSCAPE DESIGN

By the 1950s, Burle Marx held the reputation of being a modernist Brazilian landscape architect who possessed the talent and vision of creating scenery that projected a specific time and place. For *paulistano* officials, he naturally fit their agenda of performing a local, modern identity. His design for the park demonstrated a tropical plasticity to the landscape created by the use of curves and emphasized with the plants that he meticulously chose. Burle Marx, though identifiable by the shapes he favors, never repeated the same design for a park or a garden and took care in customizing his selection of flora to the area of commission.

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[125] Instituto Cultural Itaú, 15.

[126] Valerie. Fraser, "Cannibalizing Le Corbusier: The MES Gardens of Roberto Burle Marx" in *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.* 59, no. 2: 2000, 180.

[127] Fraser, 180.

Born in 1909 to a middle class family in São Paulo, Burle Marx received a formal education in Europe during his youth after his family emigrated and like Niemeyer, studied at the Escola das Belas Artes, focusing on painting. Despite his academic training and familiarity for nineteenth century romanticism, Burle Marx, who somewhat accidentally fell into the discipline of landscaping, committed himself to exploring the constructions of *brasilidade* in the land. When studying in Berlin, Burle Marx found stimulation in the exotic, tropical flora he saw in horticultural labs only to learn that they originated in Brazil.[128] His experiences in Europe paralleled those of other Brazilian modernists such as Tarsila do Amaral whose travels in Europe catalyzed her development of a modernist aesthetic that respected her identity as a Brazilian. Like Amaral, Burle Marx too was exposed to the experimental modernism of Surrealists in France and Spain who explored form and technique through organic, curved shapes, as evidenced in the works of Joan Miró and Antonio Gaudí. Burle Marx's time in Europe also exposed him to Le Corbusier's lessons on the role of landscape as a complementary architectural feature.[129]

Brazilians, both romanticists and the later modernists found Le Corbusier's plans to be inapplicable in Brazilian conditions. Traditionalists took pride in having flowery, and decorative gardens to color their estates and modernists found the stark aesthetic alien and uninspired. Fraser calls this tension caused by Le Corbusier typical as he favored straight lines over curves and clear, new thinking over old confusion.[130] His travels in South America exposed him to the curves of the coasts and rivers, which he thought needed human interference to tame. He described the land to be "meandering" and stated that "only a

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[128] Fraser, 182.
[129] Like his philosophy for architecture, Le Corbusier believed that landscape should be functional, technical and minimal. Greenery was necessary as trees and vegetation added verticality and dimension to the flat surfaces of the buildings but that did not call for any sense of artfulness.
[130] Fraser, 187.

remaking of morality can break the incoherent loops of the meanders of an outworn civilization and the new means of the machine age can undo the terrible rings of the meander."[131] The irrationality that Le Corbusier saw became the same sources of inspiration for not only Burle Marx but his fellow modernist Oscar Niemeyer. In practice, Burle Marx resisted against the tropes but forth by European modernists like Le Corbusier, even so far as to embrace the stereotypes as critical elements of his work.

Having grown up in culturally elite circumstances, Burle Marx's perception of gardens and landscapes took after European models that considered local plants to be "weeds" and "jungle."[132] In 1943, he founded his prosperous firm of Burle Marx and Company. Working primarily with private gardens, Burle Marx followed the patterns of European-influenced gardens but in his spare time, collected and studied the flora of Brazil. His first public project was the Casa Forte Garden, commissioned by the mayor of Recife, Brazil in 1934. (Figure 4.2) Burle Marx notes his influences in the aquatic gardens at Kew Gardens in England with minimal insertions of exotic, native plants.[133] Burle Marx's early career exhibits a creative process reminiscent of the Arts and Crafts Movement of the late nineteenth century, that, as previously noted, emphasized local material and design. Unlike the Arts and Crafts Movement, Burle Marx gave priority to the aesthetics of his design over the effects they would have on social mores, which was a

Figure 4.2 Roberto Burle Marx, Casa Forte Garden, Recife, 1934

[131] Le Corbusier, *Precisions on the Present State of Architecture and City Planning*, trans. Edith Schreiber Aujame, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 17, 154.
[132] Fraser, 188.
[133] Conrad Hamerman and Roberto Burle Marx, "Roberto Burle Marx: The Last Interview" in *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts,* 21, 1995, 167.

shared goal of the modernists as well. Burle Marx wanted to explore the possibilities of native nature in articulating a modern design aesthetic for his national audience. Though positively received, he acknowledges the fact that some elites felt threatened by the inclusion of native plants as an attempt to "uncivilized" their city.

Burle Marx's growing break from classical layouts of public gardens was in fact first realized in the Ministry of Education and Public Health in Rio de Janeiro as discussed in the previous chapter. (Figure 4.3) In the past, he used curves and textures as accents to his traditional gardens, but the greenery of the Ministry articulates the aesthetic that he would be known for. In trying to keep inline with his fellow modernists, Burle Marx used his landscaping to reference modern artistic developments, like the surrealist paintings of Joan Miró that would have been circulating amongst the urban cultural elite. While his modernist peers found his designs to be enlightened, there were reactions from the elites similar to those in Recife. The elites of urban centers in Brazil, including São Paulo, held onto a fear of the wild and uncultivated land that Portuguese colonizers had faced and they had fought so hard to hide with the Hausmannization of their cities.[134]

Figure 4.3 Roberto Burle Marx, garden at Ministry of Health and Education, Rio de Janeiro, 1936

The influx of modernism urged artists and intellectuals to face those fears of a native past by viewing those tropical elements as outsiders with European conceptions of the "exotic" that was local. The paradoxical relationship between nature and civilization as manifestations of modernism influenced Burle

[134] Hamerman and Burle Marx, 163.

Marx's designs for Ibirapuera. Though he exclusively used native flora to form his textured curved masses and abstract pools of nature, he nonetheless tamed the landscape to make it consumable and enjoyable to an urban elite who continued to fear the danger of the wild. The amoebic shapes mimicking natural landscape combined with the conscious choice to employ native flora references the charged paintings of Tarsila do Amaral, who also found inspiration in the natural beauty of Brazil. In the same way that Amaral repurposed modernist painting by focusing on uniquely Brazilian topics, Burle Marx demonstrates the anthropophagite impulse to reclaiming local identity in his work but remains in dialogue with his contemporary modernists, specifically Spanish painters Miró and Gaudí who both took their curvilinear, representational modernism to landscape and public spaces.[135] The desire to reclaim the tropical flora for a Brazilian audience dominates much of Burle Marx's works, especially in that of Parque Ibirapuera. The gestures of reintroducing essential elements of local identity through land to the public of São Paulo meant correlated with the ideological missions behind the construction of the park by officials and that of the architectural designs of Niemeyer.

SECURING *PAULISTANO* POWER WITH COMMEMORATION[136]

The celebratory mood centered around remembering and rediscovering a rich cultural past sets up São Paulo's 400th anniversary in 1954 as a moment meant to showcase the city as

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[135] For further understanding on the cultural exchange between Brazilian modernists with those in Europe, a formal analysis of Miró and Gaudí's respective gardens in Barcelona can be conducted. The shared attention to curvilinear forms is evident but it is the intentional use of local flora and sinuous shapes that locates Burle Marx in a specifically Brazilian context.

[136] The importance of commemoration and memory to urban development is increasingly present in scholarship. For further reading on similar trends, look to Christine M. Boyer,*The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainment,* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994), Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, 1996. "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario" in *Journal of Latin American Studies.* 28, no. 1: 1996, 75-104, and Ernesto Capello, *City at the Center of the World: Space, History, and Modernity in Quito*, (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011).

a leader within the nation and consequently, the nation as an upcoming power in the world. In the national context, Brazil was suffering through a tumultuous political and economic period. The fall of Vargas' Estado Novo dictatorship in 1945 from growing liberal, anti-fascist attitudes leftover from World War II and the eventual suicide of the leader would spiral the country into disorder and the federal government struggled with managing the economy and development of the nation. The weakness of the national government created a void for the elite and government of São Paulo to once again project themselves to the forefront as leaders of the nation.

Conveniently, the 400th Anniversary occurred in the same year, allowing *paulistanos* to demonstrate to a global audience their immunity from national tensions and to reassure their citizens of a continued strength and modern progression. Considering the socio-politcal context, it is unsurprising that there existed such reminiscent work and homage paid to the introduction of modernism that first occurred in 1922 with the Semana de 22. Not only were the 1920s a moment of immense glory and wealth for São Paulo, the state secured its position as arbitrators of high culture for the rest of the nation. Commemorating these accomplishments with spectacular gestures of design, innovation and technology was deemed appropriate for the anniversary.

Already operating within a celebratory and reminiscent environment, *paulistanos* furthered their commemorative efforts by revisiting and reliving the pomp and glory of modernism induced by the Semana de 22. Occurring nearly in concurrence with the preparations for the IV Centenário, the press and the public viewed the events of the Semana de 22 with fresh eyes and came to remember the exhibition positively, a drastic change from the initial reactions of the public. While artists consistently interjected on the modernist

discourse with their own contributions of cannibalized modernism, it was some time before devouring and regurgitating expressions of modernism became a public practice.

The artists mentioned along with Mario de Andrade and Oswald de Andrade were few in remembering and reflecting on the Semana fondly. However, within twenty years of the event occurring, the Semana de 22 was celebrated and the press of São Paulo took to writing retrospectives of the show, republishing seminal speeches and essays and reviewed exhibits that restaged the original galleries. The dramatic socio-political changes that occurred in the 1930s and 1940s under Vargas and his programs to project a strong Brazilian presence undoubtedly relied on moments of public pride and achievement to strengthen the image of Brazil. Thus, the Semana de 22 lost its specific temporality and became an event that could continue to inspire and push a society forward. By retroactively remembering and honoring the works exhibited at the show, critics of the 1940s and beyond had the advantage of seeing the effects of the Semana de 22 on the artistic development within the city and how Brazilian modernists better refined their ideas of a national modernism. With a more concrete understanding of national and local identity, the Semana de 22 could now be appreciated as the catalyst in modernizing a peoples and their city.

Unabashedly, the *paulistano* press was eager to write of the progressive environment of the 1920s that was flourishing with wealth and culture that allowed for such an event to occur. An article from a 1946 edition of the *Correio Paulistano*, dedicates a page of a three-page retrospective to the ability of the city of São Paulo. Titled, "Condições Favoraveis a Realização da Semana," the writer notes many of the same factors of elite coffee baron patrons and the early surge of industrialization in the city. The *Correio Paulistano* had many ties to the group of *modernistas* and quickly after the Semana became the primary venue of

publicity. Considering this, it is unsurprising that the Semana continued to be greatly celebrated as the positive sentiments generated around the event were very much a product of collaboration between the participants and the press. A testimony of Oswald de Andrade states:

> Antes da Semana, e por ocasião das tres historicas noitadas do Municipal, o volho orão exerceu um papel de primeira plana na divulgação das nossas idéias e dos objectivos que pretendiamos: o *Correio Paulistano*, pós-se a disposiçao dos modernistas, não os hostilizando, como faziam outros jornais, e dando noticias das atividades e opiniões de nosso grupo, principamente por meio das cronicas de Helios, isto é, do sr. Menotti del Picchia.[137]
>
> Before the Week, for the occasion of the three historical nights in the Municipal Theatre, the Week, *o volho orão* exercised the first role in the popularization of our ideas and of the objectives that we intended; the *Correio Paulistano*, exposed the modernists' disposition, not harassing them, like other newspapers did and gave news of the activites and opinions of our group, primarily in the chronicles of Helios, that is, of Mr. Menotti del Picchia.

Despite the bias apparent in this publication, other notable *paulistano* figures took to praising the Semana in a commemorative manner. Noted modern architect Flavio de Carvalho published an essay for the thirtieth anniversary of the event in 1953, a year before the IV Centenário, and referred to the Semana de 22 as not only "transforming visual part but also national thinking."[138] He believed that this was the moment in which São Paulo and consequently Brazil, was able to develop an independent aesthetic. He writes,

> Observamos que todas as diretrizes surgidas da Semana são dotadas de um cunho nitidamente brasilero e sem ligação alguma aparente com as diversas correntes européias. Sem duvida, a força telurica orientava todas essas correntes recem nascidas da Semana. [139]

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[137] Ramos, "editorial," *Correio Paulistano*, June, 29th, 1949 in Arquivo Anita Malfatti, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo.
[138] Flavio de Caravalho, "editorial," *Correio Paulistano*, January, 1952 in Arquivo Anita Malfatti, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo.
[139] Caravalho.

> We observed that all of the guidelines of the Week were endowed with a Brazilian mark and without any apparent connection with several European currents. Without a doubt, the forces guiding these currents were newly born in the Week.

The pride that Caravalho finds in the growth of an independent showing of Brazilian artistic productions and the foundations of an unique aesthetic is critical in considering how the modernist movement changed after the closing of the show, especially in regards to how a *paulistano* and Brazilian aesthetic grew.

In spite of the obstacles organizers faced with the planning of the IV Centenário, the celebration starting with Parque Ibirapuera's inauguration succeeded in honoring the city's history, power and future. The *Folha de São Paulo*, another daily journal, published reviews of the park and the celebration that were overwhelmingly positive. The expository piece published in August 21, 1954, the day of the inauguration, is dotted with expectant language such as "ambiente de expectativa" (air of expectation) and refers to the park as "o mais moderno logradouro público do mundo e o único de caráter permanente, no gênero."[140] The article continues to praise the use of iron gates and concrete constructions to shape the landscape, suggesting that perhaps the critics of Niemeyer were correct in assuming the overlooking of greenery. Motivation towards the praise of the industrial constructions reveals a desire for permanency. As expressed in the newspaper:

> cabe destacar aqui que as construções do Parque Ibirapuera são de caráter permanente, construcões que após o término da Exposiçã serão cedidads para serviços públicos. Isso representa, sem dúvida, algo de inedito em matéria de Feiras Internacionais, algo que consagra o Parque Ibirapuera não só como o mais moderno, mas também como o único logradouro público permanente.[141]

> It is worth nothing that the buildings of Parque Ibirapuera are a permanent building that after the exposition ends, they will be repurposed for public use. This represents, without a doubt, something unheard of in the field of International Fairs, something

[140] "Assuntos Especializados," *Folha da Manhã*, São Paulo, August 21, 1954. 7
[141] "Assuntos Especializados," August 21, 1954, 7.

that enshrines Parque Ibirapuera, not only as the most modern but also as the only permanent public space.

The park's permanency and potential to serve as a site of civic power brought great pride to the *paulistanos* and added to the cementing identity of pioneering with the *first* and *only* public space of its kind. Unlike the Semana, which lasted only three days, the park acts as permanent reminder to the creative innovation and technological ability of the city and its people. The ability to withstand time through the performance of modernity appeared again in the next day's editorial:

> O que neste parque se armou não foi a plastica teatral de um cenario para os efeitos vistosos de um momento; mas a resolvida, intencional establidade de uma arquitectura de pratica permanencia, um jogo definitivo de bem edificadas utilidades.[142]
>
> What this park beholds is not the plastic theatricality of a scene for the purpose of reflecting a moment but rather, it demonstrates a resolved, intentional stable architecture of permanency and practicality, a definitive game of well-built permanent utilities.

The article makes reference to previous performances of the modernity exhibited by *paulistanos*, specifically that of the Semana de 22 with the term of "plastica teatral," the theatricality and demonstration of modern aesthetics nearly thirty years ago when the concept was unknown to the public. Rather than follow a trend determined by foreigners, São Paulo and its park did not exist or serve foreign eyes or audiences, but rather acted as testament to the durability and ability of the people. The article closes with a celebratory exclamation:

> E porque assim absorvente e irresistivel, e porque assim nivelador e sincero, e porque assim permanente e util—isto é São Paulo; São Paulo de todo o mundo, com todo o mundo, para todo o mundo. Amgios, entrai e testemunha![143]
>
> It is because it is so engrossing and irresistible, so leveling and sincere, so permanent and useful—this is São Paulo; São Paulo throughout the world, with everybody, for everybody. Friends, come and witness!

[142] "Assuntos Especializados," *Folha da Manhã*, São Paulo, August 22, 1954.
[143] "Assuntos Especializados," August 21, 1954, 7.

Parque Ibirapuera, regardless of its various influences from Swiss Le Corbusier or Carioca Oscar Niemeyer, remains a testimony to *paulistano* ambition and modernity. The project to physically implant an identity on the city succeeded and São Paulo created for itself a public space that was symbolic and inspiring for its people and didactic for its visitors. Of course, the park remains with its contradictions of modernism and cannibalism that continue to disrupt the desired identity of the pioneering *paulistano*.

ACHIEVING PERMANENT ANTROPOFAGIA FOR SÃO PAULO

Spearheading the iconic designs for the park were Roberto Burle Marx and Oscar Niemyer who in their respective mediums, transformed the land into a monument of lived modernity. *Antropofagia* allowed Burle Marx to apply modern concepts of land and space to his designs for the park but it was the inverted process of viewing the land and audience in which he was working for through foreign eyes that initiated the cannibalism. As writer José Lins do Rêgo states, Burle Marx's gardens rescued Brazilian architecture from Le Corbusier's formalism and celebration what he saw as their explicitly uncivilized format.[144] Cannibalizing the ideal of the park provided an intellectual framework that both developed a local identity and resisted against being overtaken by a foreign power. In using flora and shapes native to the land, the park challenged previous attempts to project a sense of modernity that was based on superficial imitations of European ideals and rejection of native

Figure 4.4 Parque Ibirapuera, Aerial view, 1954

[144] José Lins do Rêgo, "L'homme et le paysage," in *L'Architecture d'Aujour-d'hui*, August 1952, 12.

potential. The impulse to consume and refract preserved power and agency for modernists and ultimately, did reinforce the goal of pioneering a peoples and a nation to modernity using their own visual language and source material.

Parque Ibirapuera as a symbol of modernity for São Paulo is further complicated upon considering the extent of European design influence. The park under Burle Marx and Niemeyer's direction manifests an anthropophagic sensibility to react against the neocolonial effects of European modernism. (Figure 4.4) When Le Corbusier toured Brazil, he only saw potential in the cities and its people rather than a place that had modernized and developed following its own chronology and needs, referring back to the theories of double modernity of Jonathan Hay.[145] Le Corbusier viewed rivers and local vegetation to be obstacles but to Burle Marx, "the rainforest, the exuberant vegetation of the meanders, are the molds of our earth."[146] Not only does the natural landscape define the nation but the conditions also shape how development, activity and behavior conduct. The curves of the land are an innate component of Brazil and while in the past, the land has been controlled and manipulated to project something foreign, Burle Marx's efforts return agency and celebrate local identity. The impulse to embrace location and custom setting demonstrates the desire to find identity and purpose that can be equated with already existent powers.

[145] Jonathan Hay, "Double Modernity, Para-Modernity," in *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity,* 2008, 115.
[146] Le Corbusier, *Precisions*, 6.

Burle Marx exhibited a controlled impulse in his gardens by containing the native plants in sensible, abstract patterns. Lúcio Costa described Burle Marx as having a "plastic sensibility for disposing of mass and color, like a painter," particularly one that experimenting with avant-garde modernist forms.[147] The sinuous shapes and masses he saw influenced the abstract curvilinear aesthetic that is complementary to and cohesive with the curves of Oscar Niemeyer's buildings. (Figure 4.5) As previously discussed, Niemeyer's development of the curve inspired by the landscape of Rio de Janeiro brought a modern Brazilian aesthetic to the park. Niemeyer's designs for Parque Ibirapuera and the IV Centenário intended to project the city into modernity highlighting local pride and to draw attention to *paulistano* progress. The IV Centenário celebrations in the park were divided into several pavilions designed by Oscar Niemeyer to serve as exhibition spaces following different themes such as industry, agriculture or art. The modern buildings within the park challenged traditional practices of leisure and their presence directed how visitors used the park space. The original purpose of the park was to serve as the lungs of the city, to act as a space to escape the industry, pollution and crowding found in most urban spaces. Leisure and relaxation were key to the idealized park but the inclusion of the exposition spaces, which were to be permanent, caused controversy among the city officials and residents as it was considered contradictory to the park's purpose.

Figure 4. 5 Map of Parque Ibirapuera from program of IV Centenário,1954

[147] Michael Parfit, "A Brazilian master who finds the art in nature's bounty. (landscape architect Robert Burle Marx)" in *Smithsonian.* 21, no. 4, 1990, 98. .

OPPOSITION TO NIEMEYER: SAVING OR IMPEDING ON MODERNISM?

The scholarship surrounding the controversies of Parque Ibirapuera's construction of the palaces is limited but historian Ana Claudia Castilho Barone addresses the conflict with regard to the function of the park and the effects on the projected identity of *paulistanos*. During the processes of planning, from when the park was proposed to be part of the celebration in 1951, several groups voiced opposition to Niemeyer's plans but were silenced by different social agents. Barone's research was possible due to the fact that one of the most vocal opponents was *O Estado de São Paulo*, a daily newspaper of the city that was associated with the *Sociedade Amigos de Cidade* (Society of Friends of the City).[148] Without the open criticisms of the pavilions published and circulated publicly, the process of constructing the park and the commemorative events would have been viewed as an uncontestable success.

The silence imposed on the issue reflects the self-curating and crafting image of the city as the traces opposing a commemorative memory were extinguished. Opposition against the Niemeyer pavilions originated as a financial issue; public figures expressed their views through *O Estado de São Paulo* that were two-fold. The first issue manifested as a dispute about proper spending of public funds on buildings that the critics wanted to be destroyed after the celebrations The second issue rose out of the first as disapproval to how the green space was being used; opponents wanted to preserve the park as a traditional park without imposing buildings that would disrupt the landscape. Members of the *Sociedade* began letter-writing campaigns to city officials, such as Cristiano Stockler das Neves, the prefect of the city. Many of these letters were published with five editorials that ran throughout 1951. The

[148] Ana Cláudia Castilho Barone, "A oposição aos pavilhões do parque Ibirapuera (1950-1954)" in *Anais Do Museu Paulista: História E Cultura Material,* 17, no. 2: 2009, 297.

SAC asked to "not distort the purposes for which the lands are intended to Ibirapuera" and threatened to pursue legal action against the *paulistano* officials for not having the right to control, distribute and repurpose free areas of public forested land.[149] Fears of overpopulation, pollution and the end of "zones of breath" dominated the criticisms coming from the SAC. Interestingly, the alternative proposed was to preserve the "free area of an English garden city" where "urban parks were not simply a decorative motif of the city, but a condition of welfare that is especially important for public health."[150] The pavilions, referred to as "barracks" by critics in the SAC would destroy the last hope for vegetation and a fresh environment in a rapidly expanding urbanscape and the large concrete masses would "clutter" the park. The inclusion of the Niemeyer pavilions ignites an interesting conflict in regards to the role of modern architecture and how could be used as a tool to promote healthy, orderly living and cleanliness. Both Le Corbusier and Niemeyer believed in this role of modern architecture and ironically, by including these constructions in a carefully cultivated green space, the buildings were believed to be doing exactly what they had intended to alleviate. Unsurprisingly, once the city officials decided that Niemeyer's pavilions were cultural objects worth constructing and representing São Paulo, there was no hope in stopping them.

The IV Centenário was more than a cultural celebration but a program by which the future would carry out and Niemeyer, as the key architect of modern Brazil, idealized the visions of the future. By setting the standards of progress and publicly showing potential for growth, industrialization and wealth within the city, the architectural space established an environment that held authority and promise for the future of São Paulo. Interestingly, the

[149] Barone, A oposição aos pavilhões do parque Ibirapuera (1950-1954)," 308
[150] Barone, 303.

opposition to the pavilions added another level of contradictions to the construction surrounding Ibirapuera and the presentation of São Paulo. The advocates for the buildings considered themselves pioneers for progress and the city. To have modern, Corbusien-inspired buildings meant a new era of modernity. When combined with the site-specific landscape crafted by Burle Marx, the park as a whole demonstrated a *paulistano* sensibility of having it all: urban, industrial success and wealth as well as natural, albeit tamed, beauty. The opposition to the pavilions also wanted to promote the pioneerism of the state and believed that the erection of the Niemeyer pavilions would overshadow Brecheret's *Monumento* by consuming the majority of the park's land and becoming the main attraction of the park. Again, the interpretation and application of modernism resulted in a difference in goals and interests of city powers that complicates the overarching goal of cultivating an identity to unite and empower a people.

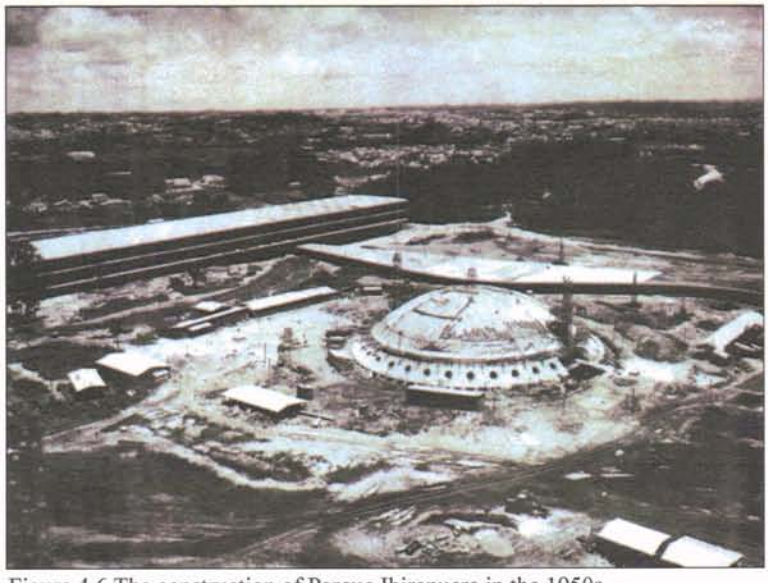

Figure 4.6 The construction of Parque Ibirapuera in the 1950s

Palaces of Modernity and *Paulistano Identity*

Despite the controversies surrounding Niemeyer's contributions to the park, construction of his pavilions began in 1951 and was completed by the inauguration of August 21, 1954. Niemeyer received a commission to design five buildings to be exposition spaces

within the park.[151] Included in these plans were the Palácio das Artes, Palácio das Exposições, Palácio da Agricultura, Palácio da Indústria and the Palácio das Nações.[152] (Figure 4.6) The pavilions spanned the space of the park and were connected by a grand marquise designed by Niemeyer. The immense installation of reinforced concrete supported by stilts took on an amorphous, surrealist shape that traced the curves and amoebic areas of green space. The marquise appears to be an industrial extension of the sculpted land and reinforces the union between industrial materials with tropical naturalism that is unique to Brazilian cities. Connecting each of the five grand palaces, the marquise completes the complex and the final unit served as the main exhibition space. Under the direction of Niemeyer, this unit hosted the grand expositions of São Paulo's greatness in the various themes presented and the project received city and state sponsorship. However, it is important to note that in addition to the strong civic support for this complex, the park also contained several other exhibition spaces throughout its space that were constructed using funds from private corporations, such as the Pavilhão Coca-Cola or Pavilhão Ford.[153] Among the privately sponsored buildings, the Niemeyer unit plays a unique and even more important role in projecting a *paulistano* identity and effectively honoring and performing modernism.

[151] Lauro Cavalcanti, *When Brazil Was Modern: Guide to Architecture 1928-1960*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2003), 241.
[152] Palace of the Arts, Palace of Expositions, Palace of Agriculture, Palace of Industry and Palace of Nations.
[153] Reference Map of IV Centenário

To connect the various exhibition spaces and practical sites such as eateries and police stations, the park features a winding sidewalk with several divergences caused by the curved, amoebic landscaping. (Figure 4.7) The walkway determines a set path for the visitor of how to experience the surroundings and what features of the park are most important. Again, like the building, the walkway evokes a lived sense of the curvature of the land, forcing the visitor to participate and face the cannibalized modernism of their surroundings by being the single functional path. Quite clearly, the construction of the park and the buildings that would come to shape the spaces of leisure and cultural consumption, meant to be a reflection of a modern *paulistano* identity that promoted achievements in production, agriculture, art and diplomacy.

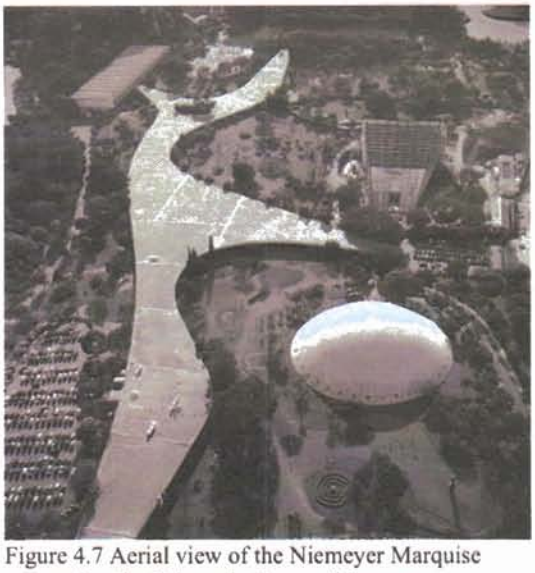

Figure 4.7 Aerial view of the Niemeyer Marquise connecting the Palaces in Parque Ibirapuera

Niemeyer's Palaces in Parque Ibirapuera

Niemeyer's five exhibition spaces housed the grand exhibits of progress and success present and ubiquitous to São Paulo. Intended for large audiences, the buildings, each promoting modernist tenets, are imposing masses of concrete and glass. The Palácio das Nações is composed as a large hall that is five meters in height with nearly twelve thousand square feet in space between two

Figure 4.8 Oscar Niemeyer, Palácio das Nações, Parque Ibirapuera, 1954

floors.[154] (Figure 4.8) The structure is supported on pilotis and the open space that surrounds the building has been used for additional space for exhibitions, gatherings and restaurants. The pilotis are constructed by a concrete column extending from the ground to the glass wall of the second floor, forming a v-shape, which allows the weight of the building to be divided between the reinforced concrete columns. The façade of the building, continuing in this trend of Corbusien design, is composed of glass, concrete and vertical brise-soleil of steel that redirects heat but preserves sunlight. Functionality is highlighted in this construction and Niemeyer is trying to utilize the building in ways that will allow the most traffic and logical ordering of events to occur.

A building like the Palácio das Nações reads as a symbol of the park and the city and to have a modern space that is emblematic of avant-garde European styles elevates the contexts of its surrounding to be a contemporary of sites that had already embraced such modernism, such as Paris or New York. However, the state of the building without the context of its surroundings is explicitly placeless. Le Corbusier's replicable functionality that Niemeyer mimicked does not speak to *paulistano* identity but when considered with the surrounding Burle Marx landscape, the building is afforded a location and an identity. In this instance, José Lins do Rêgo's words on Burle Marx hold great truth as the environment furthers Niemeyer's designs to an original and identifiable aesthetic.


Figure 4.9 Oscar Niemeyer, Palácio das Artes, Parque Ibirapuera, 1954

[154] Cavalcanti, 241.

Where Niemeyer remained truthful to the modern designs of Le Corbusier in the Palácio das Nações and the similar Palácio da Indústria, he explored his own design aesthetics of the Palácio das Artes, which is constructed as a single dome that engulfs four floors of exhibition space. (Figure 4.9) Each floor, conforming to the dome exterior, is constructed of different concrete slabs, with support systems reaching from one to the next. The Palácio das Artes was built with slabs of curved outer edges that appear as mezzanines and the interior of the space maintains the curvilinear form by incorporating helicoid ramps and stairs to make efficient use of the space and to offer an experience of roundness that is unique to the structure. (Figure 4.10) Support in this structure lies in the incorporation of concrete columns that maintains the different circular sections that create the fluidity of space and weightlessness. The Palácio das Artes is entirely unique in its design and acts as a departure from the functional, rectilinear modernist designs that had been dominant in Niemeyer's works; the building, which was intended to serve as a space to showcase modern and contemporary art, is in it of itself a piece that borrows heavily from sculptural elements and allows for new ways in engaging, seeing and living amongst art, other people and the city itself.

Figure 4.10 Oscar Niemeyer, Palácio das Artes interior, Parque Ibirapuera, 1954

Mass and the tangibility of buildings are questioned as well as what the needs for functionality are; incorporating organic and seemingly unstable shapes with just the essentials of support is highly derivative of Le Corbusien teachings but ultimately, the manners in which they were manifested were specific to Niemeyer. (Figure 4.11) The radical nature of this design was a feat of Niemeyer who had the privileges of taking such liberty in his construction by working in São Paulo and juxtaposing his buildings with Burle Marx's land. Again, the building reflects more about the character of the architect than the intended mission to promote a sense of *paulistano* identity but the building does demonstrate the cannibalistic impulse that originated from São Paulo. The collection of pavilions in Ibirapuera embodies the contradictions of Brazilian modernism and its negotiations with foreign influence. Without question, the works add to a modernist dialogue but that too was susceptible to conflict and debate regarding questions of functionality.

Figure 4.11 Oscar Niemeyer, Palácio das Artes, Parque Ibirapuera, 1954

NIEMEYER'S LEGACY: SÃO PAULO AND BEYOND

Oscar Niemeyer's projects and experience working in the São Paulo context instrumented his development into the iconic Brazilian architect. His projects within the city, both private and public, can be read as transition pieces from his early career in Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais in which he was bound by the beaux-arts and neocolonial traditions of Brazilian architecture as well as the teachings and styles of Le Corbusier. The freedom and

encouragement he felt in São Paulo is manifested in his revolutionary designs that reflected the greater artistic goals and visions of his contemporaries but also how he could relate modernism to the Brazilian landscape and purpose. It was during this period of his career in which his iconic curvilinear industrial forms are realized as well as juxtapositions of light and mass. His projects in São Paulo function as the predecessors of his most ambitious and grand project: the construction of the new Brazilian capital city, Brasília.

The crafting of identity, of both an individual architect as well as a city and by extension a nation, is essential in reading the urban landscape of São Paulo as transformed by Niemeyer. Buildings and the image of modernity was intentionally omnipresent but it was important to preserve a uniquely *paulistano* sentiment. As such, the transformations that São Paulo went through in urban design in the 1930s through 1950s under Oscar Niemeyer was another manifestation in which the city would exhibit growth in becoming a globally influential force in economics, politics and culture. The architecture of Niemeyer, both in its final product and stages of design, highlight how Brazilian agency was exercised and a regional visual program was established.

Niemeyer's projects ranging from private homes to housing complexes to public sites, all share similar design qualities that were derived from modern European design schools that were adapted and reinterpreted to fit the climate and distinct culture of São Paulo. Niemeyer's use of curves is characteristic to his style and his works all share a quality of plasticity. His development into this aesthetic can be seen in his projects in São Paulo and the spaces in which he could experiment and be influenced by different facets of the arts community. As expressed earlier in the chapter, *paulistano* artists shared a desire to move

forward and disavow from academic traditions and the avant-garde industrialist attitude was the appropriate backdrop for Niemeyer to play with his design and *antropofogia*.[155]

When the architect and his projects are thought of as an extension of the modernist sensibilities of the 1920s in São Paulo, one better understands the works as reactionary and even satirical. Niemeyer was part of a generation of Brazilian intellectuals who were fueled by an intense desire to craft *brasilidade*; though dictatorial pressures from Vargas pushed for a strong national identity and cultural program, the artists who were executing the work recognized their potential to participate in an anthropophagic play that would transform the urbanscape. While this anonymity of modernism disseminated globally, Niemeyer was careful to cannibalize and rethink a form of modernist design that would speak to a Brazilian modernism. Niemeyer's reactionary visions were boundless from history and the past as was allowed by the careful selection of design elements that would sprinkle his work. Architectural historian David Underwood writes:

> Niemeyer has been the champion of liberty in design—of the unbridled freedom to express oneself against the limitations imposed by history, of the cultural freedom to speak out against the injustices of a persisting colonial reality and the banalities of European academic tradition; of the instinctual freedom to take one's cues from Brazil's topography and to design in accordance with her curves.[156]

As Underwood notes, what ties Niemeyer's works together with not only each other but other Brazilian modernists is the respect and acknowledgement of the land itself, the most basic element of the Brazilian nation. Whereas previous movements to define Brazil ranging from the colonial monarchy of Rio do Janeiro to the academic realists of São Paulo imported and applied external histories, Niemeyer and his peers operated by refusing to be derivative of

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[155] Icleia Maria Borsa Cattani, "Places of Modernism in Brazil," in Edward J Sullivan, *Brazil: Body & Soul*, (New York, N.Y.: Guggenheim Museum, 2001), 382.
[156] Underwood, 14.

another land or people. His stance on design and modernity will be especially important when he is invited to design a series of grand commemorative structures in Parque Ibirapuera in collaboration with landscape designer Roberto Burle Marx for the city of São Paulo in 1954. His career and design philosophies had progressed rapidly by the 1950s, but he still maintained the impulses cultured in São Paulo to cannibalize influences and environment.

CONCLUSION

The recognition of Parque Ibirapuera as a proclamation of *paulistano* modernity remained strong after the inauguration of the site in 1954 but with time and continued urban growth, the city and its citizens lost sight of its initial intent. The Niemeyer palaces in Parque Ibirapuera today have been converted to museums of modern art and Afro-Brazilin art as well as temporary exhibition spaces. The park fulfills the prophecy of 1954 that declared it the only functional and green public space in the city. However, despite the continued use of the space for educational and leisure purposes, the original intent of the park to celebrate *paulistano* exceptionalism and history is buried by the operations of everyday life. As the city continues to grow economically, the physical spaces of the city reflect the disparities in wealth and development. The urban sprawl of São Paulo is uncontainable and with changing demographics and a constant process of creation vis-à-vis destruction, the park has lost its notoriety and initial symbolic importance. The myth of the *bandeirante*, the pioneering spirit of the city becomes normalized and even mundane and the modernist anthropophagite impulse loses intention though it continues to be lived. The atmosphere of projecting a calculated *paulistano* identity in the public sphere becomes less apparent but the notion of exceptionalism exists in considering how the major components of the park are remembered in scholarship and publicly.

Scholarship surrounding manifestations of modernism in São Paulo addresses the park peripherally, considering it a part of a greater pattern of cannibalist development towards a *paulistano* identity. *Paulistano* pride sources this overlook, as the continued competition with Rio de Janeiro may bias the priorities of scholarship; the fact that a public display of *paulistano* history and progress was under the direction of *carioca* architect Oscar

Niemeyer may have sparked indifference. Though true, the park deserves particular attention as a collaborative work of two of Brazil's greatest modernist designers, Oscar Niemeyer and Roberto Burle Marx, and how their design visions manifest the intention behind cultivating a specifically Brazilian aesthetic by reinterpreting external influences to respect their history and place. This thesis, in sum, has demonstrated that the creative inclination of *antropofagia* towards cultural enrichment and identity strengthening originated under uniquely *paulistano* circumstances but has been expanded and applied nationally to attain *brasilidade* that serves to unite the nation.

The feats of Niemeyer and his modernist cohorts is complicated when the influences and motivations towards a modern city is examined. While the myth of progress and pioneerism is uniquely *paulistano*, many of the physical urban developments of the city, such as the construction of highways and skyscrapers, to the idea of the "urban park" is rooted in conceptions of modernism as found in major metropolitan sites in the United States or Europe. Even the heavy influence of Corbusien design on Niemeyer can be questioned as a neo-colonialist process. It has often cited by critics and the architect himself that Le Corbusier was essential to his designs and growth as an artist and as evidenced by projects throughout Brazil and Parque Ibirapuera that Corbusien design aesthetics was key to how Niemeyer envisioned projection of modernity by the city. Though Niemeyer did ultimately come to develop his own design philosophy that drew inspiration from the natural environment of Brazil, he still remains a seminal figure in crafting modernism that not only borrowed from but was compared to standards set in the United States, Europe or the Soviet Union. Parque Ibirapuera as a contained site manifests these conflicts as most of the Niemeyer pavilions were constructed strictly following the Corbusien Five Tenets of Design

with the exception of one building that showed Niemeyer's risk in playing with curves and domes. Thus, the park can be seen as an example of the complexities of how São Paulo, and consequently Brazil, developed in a path that critic Jonathan Hay has termed as "double modernity."[157]

The complexities the *paulistano* identity and urban landscape, if thought about as a product of double modernity can be understood as a dual-process that both meets and aspires to meet the standards of the West but is also independent of external influences. São Paulo, since its founding by Portuguese settlers, developed primarily due to the proximity to the port city of Santos but grew immensely with the coffee industry of the nineteenth century. Since then, the city has been a site of industrial manufacturing and at center of finance that actively engages with powers from the West, politically, economically and culturally. However, happening concurrently is the development of a specifically Brazilian modernism, as evidenced by the previously mentioned *antropófago* movement that encourages the idea of a uniquely Brazilian identity and cultural lexicon. As such, the works of Oscar Niemeyer and the construction of Parque Ibirapuera are physical manifestations of this phenomenon and to understand the conflicts and struggles of the city of São Paulo, it is critical to look at this site and its creators to understand the implications of generating identity with public spaces.

To *paulistanos*, the construction of Parque Ibirapuera under the visions of Oscar Niemeyer and Roberto Burle Marx validate São Paulo's claim as being the promoter of modernism within Brazil and subsequently, Latin America. With the *bandeirante* myth literally concretized and experiences of living modernity embedded in the land, Parque Ibirapuera delivers an official statement proclaiming *paulistano* achievement and

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157 Jonathan Hay, "Double Modernity, Para-Modernity," in *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity,* 2008, 113-132.

exceptionalism. However, deeply ingrained in the history of the park is a complex and contestable understanding of modernism. São Paulo's development from a modest missionary town to the economic and political center of Brazil reflects the nuances of modernism. Until the revolutionary, self-strengthening developments of the late 1920s, the standards of taste and culture existed under the discretion of the social, urban elite who consistently relied on imitating European models of modernity, from positivism to the avant-garde visual culture of the early twentieth century.

The imitation of European modernism guided Brazil as a nation on a limited path due to the power imbalances that existed between states; whereas São Paulo had great resources in holding influence and enacting cultural exchange with the European powers at hand, the majority of the nation was neglected. As such, the adoption of modernism by *paulistanos* was limited and superficial but nonetheless allowed for the local egos and pride to grow. Critical to challenging the elitist interpretation of modernism was the propagation of *antropofagia* by the intellectual elites based in São Paulo. It was at this moment in 1920s in which the trendsetters and policy makers realized the need for a specifically Brazilian relationship to modernism that could be popularized nationally as a means to reject the neocolonial bonds of Europe. The call to cannibalize and regurgitate culture to create something new and invaluable to Brazil gained a following that influenced all artistic media but it must be maintained that this impulse originated within *paulistano* circumstances. In some ways, the cannibalist movement was so successful with its impact that it overshadowed its origins, seemingly consuming them for the greater purpose of projecting a nationalist ideal and creating an alternative modernity.

A reexamination of the anthropophagite impulse results in a deeper understanding of how the movement can simultaneously promote a nationalist vision as well as celebrate local ambition and history. Oscar Niemeyer, as well as Roberto Burle Marx, both serve to exemplify this contradiction well. Both artists have had careers that brought international fame and glory but both maintain a *paulistano* understanding of how to apply *antropofagia*. As such, their collaborative masterpiece of Parque Ibirapuera demonstrates that conflicting relationship as a site in which the past and the future are conflated to evoke a self-determined pioneer identity. The creation of an identity that relies so heavily on site specificity demonstrates an alternative route to modernism, indicative of regional histories and priorities. In thinking of the modernism consumed and regurgitated by Brazilians of the twentieth century under a cannibalist impulse, the conceptual and physical manifestations of the movement become far more complex and global.

APPENDIX ONE

"MANIFESTO ANTROPÓFAGO"
BY OSWALD DE ANDRADE, 1928

Only Cannibalism unites us. Socially. Economically. Philosophically.
The unique law of the world. The disguised expression of all individualisms, all collectivisms. Of all religions. Of all peace treaties.
Tupi or not tupi that is the question.
Against all catechisms. And against the mother of the Gracos.
I am only interested in what's not mine. The law of men. The law of the cannibal.
We are tired of all those suspicious Catholic husbands in plays. Freud finished off the enigma of woman and the other recent psychological seers.
What dominated over truth was clothing, an impermeable layer between the interior world and the exterior world. Reaction against people in clothes. The American cinema will tell us about this.
Sons of the sun, mother of living creatures. Fiercely met and loved, with all the hypocrisy of longing: importation, exchange, and tourists. In the country of the big snake.
It's because we never had grammatical structures or collections of old vegetables. And we never knew urban from suburban, frontier country from continental. Lazy on the world map of Brazil.
One participating consciousness, one religious rhythm.
Against all the importers of canned conscience. For the palpable existence of life. And let Levy-Bruhl go study prelogical mentality.
We want the Cariba Revolution. Bigger than the French Revolution. For the unification of all the efficient revolutions for the sake of human beings. Without us, Europe would not even have had its paltry declaration of the rights of men.
The golden age proclaimed by America. The golden age. And all the girls.
Filiation. The contact with the Brazilian Cariba Indians. Ou Villegaignon print terre. Montaigne. Natural man. Rousseau. From the French Revolution to Romanticism, to the Bolshevik Revolution, to the Surrealist Revolution and the technological barbarity of Keyserling. We're moving right along.
We were never baptized. We live with the right to be asleep. We had Christ born in Bahia. Or in Belem do Pata.
But for ourselves, we never admitted the birth of logic.
Against Father Vieira, the Priest. Who made our first loan, to get a commission. The illiterate king told him: put this on paper but without too much talk. So the loan was made. Brazilian sugar was accounted for. Father Vieira left the money in Portugal and just brought us the talk.
The spirit refuses to conceive spirit without body. Anthropomorphism. Necessity of cannibalistic vaccine. For proper balance against the religions of the meridian. And exterior inquisitions.
We can only be present to the hearing world.
We had the right codification of vengeance. The codified science of Magic. Cannibalism. For the permanent transformation of taboo into totem.

Against the reversible world and objectified ideas. Made into cadavers. The halt of dynamic thinking. The individual a victim of the system. Source of classic injustices. Of romantic injustices. And the forgetfulness of interior conquests.
Screenplays. Screenplays. Screenplays. Screenplays. Screenplays. Screenplays. Screenplays. Cariba instinct.
Death and life of hypotheses. From the equation I coming from the Cosmos to the axiom Cosmos coming from the I. Subsistence. Knowledge. Cannibalism.
Against the vegetable elites. In communication with solitude.
We were never baptized. We had the Carnival. The Indian dressed as a Senator of the Empire. Acting the part of Pitt. Or playing in the operas of Alencar with many good Portuguese feelings.
We already had communism. We already had a surrealist language. The golden age.

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Magic and life. We had relations and distribution of fiscal property, moral property, and honorific property. And we knew how to transport mystery and death with the help of a few grammatical forms.
I asked a man what was Right. He answered me that it was the assurance of the full exercise of possibilities. That man was called Galli Mathias. I ate him.
The only place there is no determinism is where there is mystery. But what has that to do with us?
Against the stories of men that begin in Cape Finisterre. The world without dates. Without rubrics. Without Napoleon. Without Caesar.
The fixation of progress by means of catalogues and television sets. Only with machinery. And blood transfusions.
Against antagonistic sublimations brought over in sailing ships.
Against the truth of the poor missionaries, defined through the wisdom of a cannibal, the Viscount of Cairo – It is a lie repeated many times.
But no crusaders came to us. They were fugitives from a civilization that we are eating up, because we are strong and as vindictive as the land turtles.
Only God is the conscience of the Uncreated Universe, Guaraci is the mother of all living creatures. Jaci is the mother of vegetables.
We never had any speculation. But we believed in divination. We had Politics, that is, the science of distribution. And a socio-planetary system.
Migrations. The flight from tedious states. Against urban scleroses. Against Conservatives and speculative boredom.
From William James and Voronoff. Transfiguration of taboo into totem. Cannibalism.
The pater familias is the creation of the stork fable: a real ignorance of things, a tale of imagination and a feeling of authority in front of curious crowds.
We have to start from a profound atheism in order to reach the idea of God. But the Cariba did not have to make anything precise. Because they had Guaraci.
The created object reacts like the Fallen Angel. Ever since, Moses has been wandering about. What is that to us?
Before two Portuguese discovered Brazil, Brazil discovered happiness.

Against the Indian de tocheiro. The Indian son of Mary, the godson of Catherine of Médicis and the son-in-law of Don Antonio de Mariz.
Happiness is the real proof.
No Pindorama matriarchy.
Against Memory the source of habit. Renewed for personal experience.
We are concrete. We take account of ideas, we react, we burn people in the public squares. We suppress ideas and other kinds of paralysis. Through screenplays. To believe in our signs, to believe in our instruments and our stars.
Against Goethe, against the mother of the Gracos, and the Court of Don Juan VI.
Happiness is the real proof.
The struggle between what we might call the Uncreated and the Created – illustrated by the permanent contradiction of man and his taboo. Daily love and the capitalist modus vivendi. Cannibalism. Absorption of the sacred enemy. To transform him into a totem. The human adventure. Earthly finality. However, only the pure elite manage to realize carnal cannibalism within, some sense of life, avoiding all the evils Freud identified, those religious evils. What yields nothing is a sublimation of the sexual instinct. It is a thermometric scale of cannibalist instinct. Once carnal, it turns elective and creates friendship. Affectivity, or love. Speculative, science. It deviates and transfers. We arrive at utter vilification. In base cannibalism, our baptized sins agglomerate – envy, usury, calumny, or murder. A plague from the so-called cultured and Christianized, it's what we are acting against. Cannibals.
Against Anchieta singing the eleven thousand virgins in the land of Iracema – the patriarch João Ramalho the founder of São Paulo.
Our independence was never proclaimed. A typical phrase of Don João VI – My son, put this crown on your head, before some adventurer does it! We expel the dynasty. We have to get rid of the Braganza spirit, the ordinations and snuff of Maria da Fonte.
Against social reality, dressed and oppressive, defined by Freud – in reality we are complex, we are crazy, we are prostitutes and without prisons of the Pindorama matriarchy.

Só a Antropofagia nos une. Socialmente. Economicamente. Filosoficamente.
Única lei do mundo. Expressão mascarada de todos os individualismos, de todos os coletivismos. De todas as religiões. De todos os tratados de paz.
Tupi, or not tupi that is the question.
Contra todas as catequeses. E contra a mãe dos Gracos.
Só me interessa o que não é meu. Lei do homem. Lei do antropófago.
Estamos fatigados de todos os maridos católicos suspeitosos postos em drama. Freud acabou com o enigma mulher e com outros sustos da psicologia impressa.
O que atropelava a verdade era a roupa, o impermeável entre o mundo interior e o mundo exterior. A reação contra o homem vestido. O cinema americano informará.
Filhos do sol, mãe dos viventes. Encontrados e amados ferozmente, com toda a hipocrisia da saudade, pelos imigrados, pelos traficados e pelos touristes. No país da cobra grande.
Foi porque nunca tivemos gramáticas, nem coleções de velhos vegetais. E nunca soubemos o que era urbano, suburbano, fronteiriço e continental. Preguiçosos no mapa-múndi do Brasil.
Uma consciência participante, uma rítmica religiosa.
Contra todos os importadores de consciência enlatada. A existência palpável da vida. E a mentalidade pré-lógica para o Sr. Lévy-Bruhl estudar.

Queremos a Revolução Caraiba. Maior que a Revolução Francesa. A unificação de todas as revoltas eficazes na direção do homem. Sem n6s a Europa não teria sequer a sua pobre declaração dos direitos do homem.
A idade de ouro anunciada pela América. A idade de ouro. E todas as girls.
Filiação. O contato com o Brasil Caraíba. *Ori Villegaignon print terre.* Montaig-ne. O homem natural. Rousseau. Da Revolução Francesa ao Romantismo, à Revolução Bolchevista, à Revolução Surrealista e ao bárbaro tecnizado de Keyserling. Caminhamos..
Nunca fomos catequizados. Vivemos através de um direito sonâmbulo. Fizemos Cristo nascer na Bahia. Ou em Belém do Pará.
Mas nunca admitimos o nascimento da lógica entre nós.
Contra o Padre Vieira. Autor do nosso primeiro empréstimo, para ganhar comissão. O rei-analfabeto dissera-lhe : ponha isso no papel mas sem muita lábia. Fez-se o empréstimo. Gravou-se o açúcar brasileiro. Vieira deixou o dinheiro em Portugal e nos trouxe a lábia.
O espírito recusa-se a conceber o espírito sem o corpo. O antropomorfismo. Necessidade da vacina antropofágica. Para o equilíbrio contra as religiões de meridiano. E as inquisições exteriores.
Só podemos atender ao mundo orecular.
Tínhamos a justiça codificação da vingança. A ciência codificação da Magia. Antropofagia. A transformação permanente do Tabu em totem.
Contra o mundo reversível e as idéias objetivadas. Cadaverizadas. O stop do pensamento que é dinâmico. O indivíduo vitima do sistema. Fonte das injustiças clássicas. Das injustiças românticas. E o esquecimento das conquistas interiores.
Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros.
O instinto Caraíba.
Morte e vida das hipóteses. Da equação *eu* parte do *Cosmos* ao axioma *Cosmos* parte do *eu.* Subsistência. Conhecimento. Antropofagia.
Contra as elites vegetais. Em comunicação com o solo.
Nunca fomos catequizados. Fizemos foi Carnaval. O índio vestido de senador do Império. Fingindo de Pitt. Ou figurando nas óperas de Alencar cheio de bons sentimentos portugueses. Já tínhamos o comunismo. Já tínhamos a língua surrealista. A idade de ouro.

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A magia e a vida. Tínhamos a relação e a distribuição dos bens físicos, dos bens morais, dos bens dignários. E sabíamos transpor o mistério e a morte com o auxílio de algumas formas gramaticais.
Perguntei a um homem o que era o Direito. Ele me respondeu que era a garantia do exercício da possibilidade. Esse homem chamava-se Galli Mathias. Comia.
Só não há determinismo onde há mistério. Mas que temos nós com isso?
Contra as histórias do homem que começam no Cabo Finisterra. O mundo não datado. Não rubricado. Sem Napoleão. Sem César.
A fixação do progresso por meio de catálogos e aparelhos de televisão. Só a maquinaria. E os transfusores de sangue.
Contra as sublimações antagônicas. Trazidas nas caravelas.

Contra a verdade dos povos missionários, definida pela sagacidade de um antropófago, o Visconde de Cairu: – É mentira muitas vezes repetida.
Mas não foram cruzados que vieram. Foram fugitivos de uma civilização que estamos comendo, porque somos fortes e vingativos como o Jabuti.
Se Deus é a consciênda do Universo Incriado, Guaraci é a mãe dos viventes. Jaci é a mãe dos vegetais.
Não tivemos especulação. Mas tínhamos adivinhação. Tínhamos Política que é a ciência da distribuição. E um sistema social-planetário.
As migrações. A fuga dos estados tediosos. Contra as escleroses urbanas. Contra os Conservatórios e o tédio especulativo.
De William James e Voronoff. A transfiguração do Tabu em totem. Antropofagia.
O pater famílias e a criação da Moral da Cegonha: Ignorância real das coisas+ fala de imaginação + sentimento de autoridade ante a prole curiosa.
É preciso partir de um profundo ateísmo para se chegar à idéia de Deus. Mas a caraíba não precisava. Porque tinha Guaraci.
O objetivo criado reage com os Anjos da Queda. Depois Moisés divaga. Que temos nós com isso?
Antes dos portugueses descobrirem o Brasil, o Brasil tinha descoberto a felicidade.
Contra o índio de tocheiro. O índio filho de Maria, afilhado de Catarina de Médicis e genro de D. Antônio de Mariz.
A alegria é a prova dos nove.
No matriarcado de Pindorama.
Contra a Memória fonte do costume. A experiência pessoal renovada.
Somos concretistas. As idéias tomam conta, reagem, queimam gente nas praças públicas.
Suprimarnos as idéias e as outras paralisias. Pelos roteiros. Acreditar nos sinais, acreditar nos instrumentos e nas estrelas.
Contra Goethe, a mãe dos Gracos, e a Corte de D. João VI.
A alegria é a prova dos nove.
A luta entre o que se chamaria Incriado e a Criatura – ilustrada pela contradição permanente do homem e o seu Tabu. O amor cotidiano e o modusvivendi capitalista. Antropofagia. Absorção do inimigo sacro. Para transformá-lo em totem. A humana aventura. A terrena finalidade. Porém, só as puras elites conseguiram realizar a antropofagia carnal, que traz em si o mais alto sentido da vida e evita todos os males identificados por Freud, males catequistas. O que se dá não é uma sublimação do instinto sexual. É a escala termométrica do instinto antropofágico. De carnal, ele se torna eletivo e cria a amizade. Afetivo, o amor. Especulativo, a ciência. Desvia-se e transfere-se. Chegamos ao aviltamento. A baixa antropofagia aglomerada nos pecados de catecismo – a inveja, a usura, a calúnia, o assassinato. Peste dos chamados povos cultos e cristianizados, é contra ela que estamos agindo. Antropófagos.
Contra Anchieta cantando as onze mil virgens do céu, na terra de Iracema, – o patriarca João Ramalho fundador de São Paulo.
A nossa independência ainda não foi proclamada. Frape típica de D. João VI: – Meu filho, põe essa coroa na tua cabeça, antes que algum aventureiro o faça! Expulsamos a dinastia. É preciso expulsar o espírito bragantino, as ordenações e o rapé de Maria da Fonte.

Contra a realidade social, vestida e opressora, cadastrada por Freud – a realidade sem complexos, sem loucura, sem prostituições e sem penitenciárias do matriarcado de Pindorama.

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