

Building No Place

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Oscar Niemeyer and the Utopias of Brasília

On December 5, 2012, only a few days before his 105th birthday, a giant of modern architecture passed away in his hometown Rio de Janeiro. Oscar Niemeyer was much more than just another architect crucially involved in transforming architectural modernism into a global project from the late 1930s onwards. The highly decorated architect (winner of the 1988 Pritzker Prize, the 1998 RIBA Gold Medal, and the 2004 Praemium Imperiale, among other awards) was something of a Brazilian national saint, an undisputed (if not controversial) authority on built space both within his home country and abroad. Being the author and chief architect of Brazil's new capital city of Brasília, planned and executed in the late 1950s, Niemeyer indeed holds a special place in the country's national history. His suggestive architectural forms molded seemingly without effort in concrete became emblematic of a young democracy's self-conception and belief in a better future. While political history, with the military dictatorship installed shortly after Brasília's official foundation, and the ensuing anos de chumbo (leaden years) marred this utopian dream for several decades, the optimistic promise epitomized in Niemeyer's buildings seems finally to be redeemed in Brazil's recent upsurge to a global economic and cultural power. Once again, Brasília stands for a utopian spirit. If it symbolized the steadfast belief in a better future at the height of mid-twentieth century utopian urban planning, it has in the meantime become the proud architectural self-portrait of a modern nation. For Brazilians, Brasília is not simply an experimentation with technological progress and rationalist planning on an urban scale, it has become a cultural place of belonging.

A photograph taken by Marcel Gautherot in 1958 shows the steel-frame slabs of Oscar Niemeyer's Ministries buildings in Brasília rising towards the sky during construction (Figure 1). No other image taken of the building of Brazil's new capital better symbolizes the spirit of this singular undertaking. Against the long shadows of the past in the foreground, the skeletons of the future buildings loom in the distance in a hazy mist under a brilliantly lit sky, appearing like

a *fata morgana*, the promise of a bright and better future. The group of anonymous workers in the center of the photograph symbolically represent the thousands who worked ceaselessly until, after just over three years of construction, the city was officially inaugurated on April 21, 1960. Gautherot's image captures a moment in time when things are in the process of becoming, where everything seems possible and all the thoughts and aspirations are projected forward to a yet-to-be-defined future. Indeed, no other place—perhaps besides Chandigarh—better symbolizes modernity's optimistic belief in perpetual progress than Brasília. Looking back from a contemporary perspective and over fifty years after its completion, the city appears like a monument to an ideology we have lost our faith in long ago, an ossified museification of a utopian vision from a distant past.

From its inception, modern architecture has been under the spell of utopia.¹ Discontent with simply reconceptualizing architecture and space from within the tenets of the industrial revolution, modern architecture was strongly engaged in constructing a better society for the future. It was always intended as both a spatial and a social project, addressing both *urbs* and *civitas*. If individual buildings were conceived of as partial utopias, as nuclei from which larger developments were to germinate, it was urban planning and the concept of the *tabula rasa* that provided the essential base for architectural utopian thinking in the twentieth century. The Foucauldian critique of space as an apparatus of power has since challenged the belief in the superimposition of spatial and social concepts from above and has discredited modern architecture's paternalistic and even totalitarian impetus.² In the demise of utopian thought, Brasília was likely the last instance where an entire nation united behind the belief in the benignity and eventual success of such a large-scale operation. It was up to the architect Oscar Niemeyer (1907–2012) to give form and build a monument to these collective hopes and aspirations.

Read against its eminent place in Brazil's cultural history, the utopian character of Brasília may be

addressed from a number of different perspectives. Amounting to the outstanding significance of this undertaking in the history of modernity, these perspectives may be seen as the utopia of decolonization and territorial logic, the utopia of progress and infrastructural logic, and the utopia of equality and the logic of carnivalization.

The Utopia of Decolonization and Territorial Logic

When Thomas More introduced the concept of Utopia in 1516, it was first and foremost a rationalist thought experiment relating to a fictitious, remote territorial entity. It is not surprising that the then recently discovered Americas held for many the promise of a utopian parallel world.³ Conversely, the notion of utopia as a temporal projection into an indefinite future became a chief trope of modernity and of architectural modernism, with its belief in continuous progress through technological invention. More's neologism "utopia" literally meant "non-place," but should have correctly been deduced from Greek as "atopia." The English humanist's licentious twist was certainly no accident, as his utopia was homonymous with "eutopia," meaning the "good place."⁴ Thus, in More's conception, utopia designated an ideal society in a contemporary, but fictitious and remote world. It was confined to an island, both undisturbed and isolated from exterior influence. Brasília was likewise conceived as a territorial project, to be built in a remote location in the highlands of the state of Goiás in the sparsely populated interior of the country. Like More's utopia, its insular situation was deliberately chosen so as to keep the new city free from inherited social constrictions in Brazilian society. It was to be a *tabula rasa* in a double sense, both territorially and socially.

The dream of a national capital free of any symbolic associations with the Portuguese colonial regime had haunted Brazil since the end of the eighteenth century.⁵ In 1822, the year of the country's independence, a Brazilian delegate coined the name of the prospective capital that was to be situated in

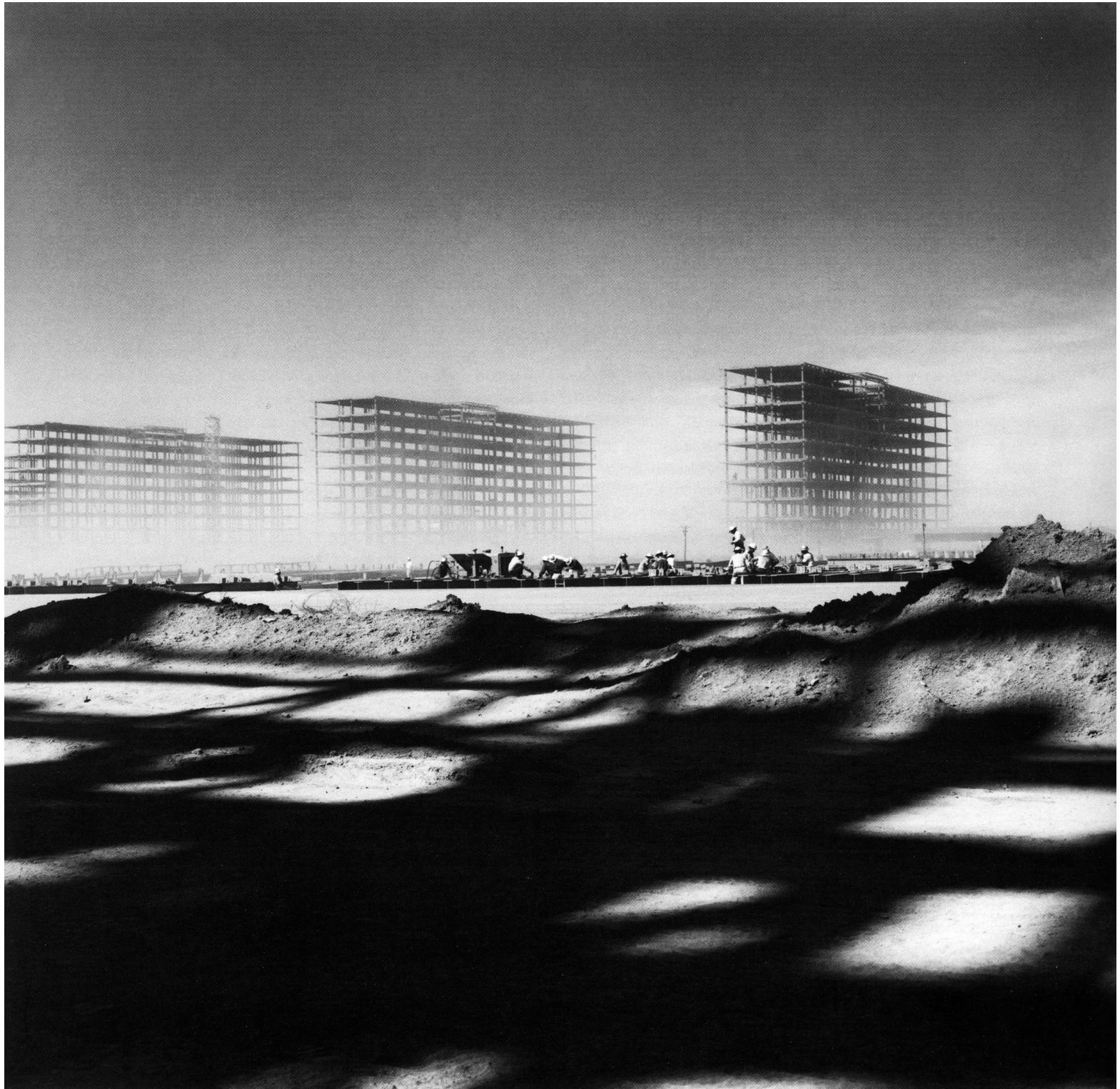


Figure 1. Marcel Gautherot, Steel-frame ministry slabs under construction, Brasília, 1958. © Marcel Gautherot, Instituto Moreira Salles, Rio de Janeiro.

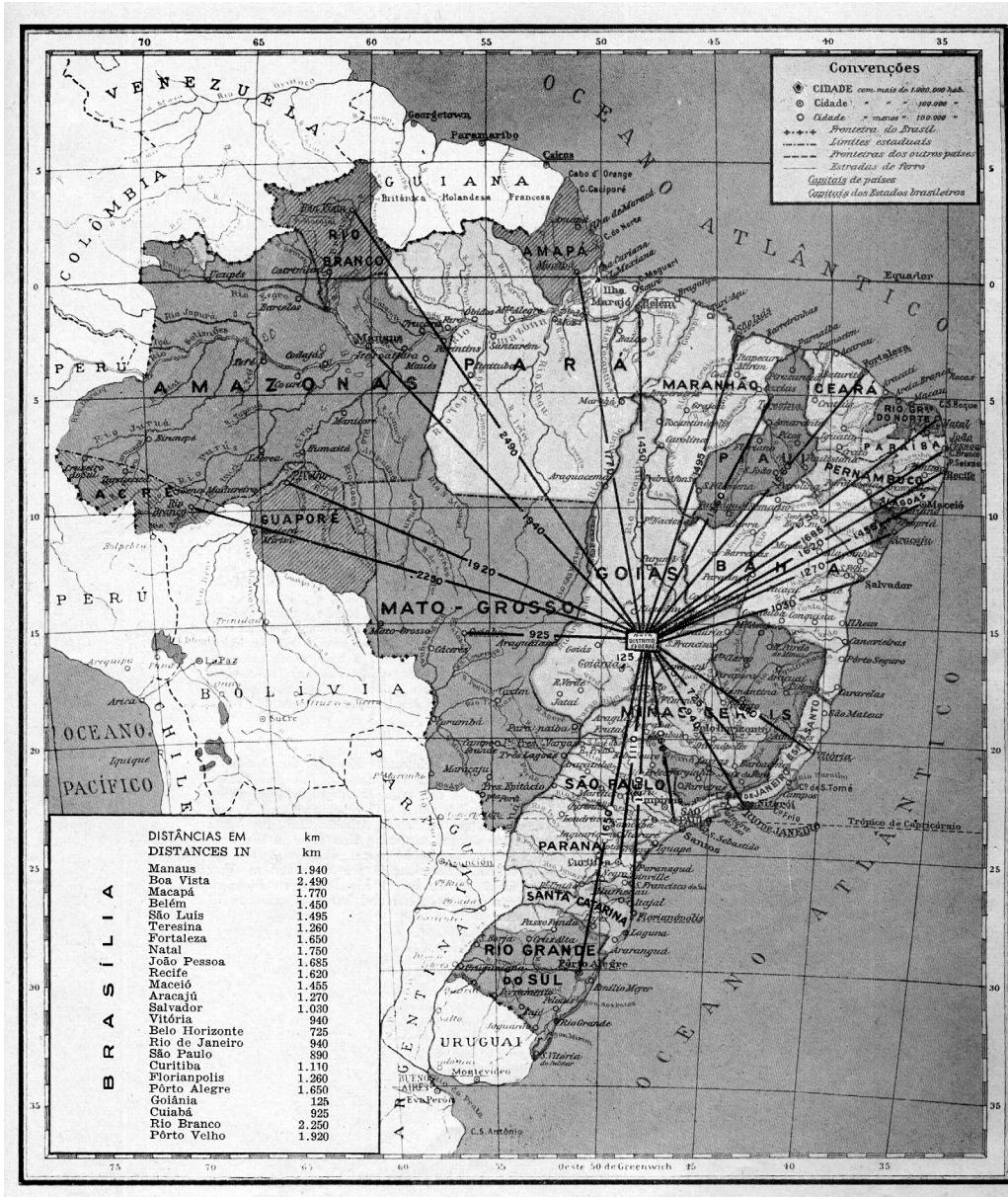


Figure 2. Map showing the distances between Brasília and other major Brazilian cities. © *Atlas Geográfico Melhoramentos*, Edições Melhoramentos.

the largely unexplored interior of the vast national territory. In 1891 the newly approved constitution of the republic explicitly called for the creation of a federal district on the central plateau, but it was not until April 1955 that the specific location of the future capital was finally chosen. Jucelino Kubitschek, the newly elected president of the republic, made Brasília his prime political project, and he invested all his power and energy to create irreversible

facts during his five-year term of office. He turned to Niemeyer, whom he had known and esteemed since his time as mayor of Belo Horizonte in the early 1940s, where the architect had made himself a name with his first masterpieces, such as the Church of St Francis of Assisi (1940) in the district of Pampulha. While Niemeyer himself was charged with designing the majority of the representative government buildings of the new capital, the selection of a master

plan was determined through an open competition. In March 1957 Lúcio Costa, the doyen of modern Brazilian architecture and Niemeyer's former teacher and mentor, emerged as the winner. Brasília was the result of their close collaboration, but it was Niemeyer who designed the capital's iconic buildings.

The building of Brasília was a major step in fulfilling the mythological national destiny of accessing the country's vast hinterland, a project of both economic and cultural dimensions: economic for the possibility of exploiting the unexplored natural riches, and cultural for the unification of the urban, Eurocentric coastal Brazil with that of the country's autochthonous interior. The new capital was not an end in itself; as the author of Brasília's master plan Costa stated in his "Report," the new capital would be "not the result of regional planning, but the cause,"⁶ thus underlining President Kubitschek's vision of a new capital as the trigger for interior colonization. Shifting the political center of the country symbolized the end of the century-old dominion of the coastal cities and in particular of the old capital, Rio de Janeiro, and of the political, cultural, and economic system for which it stood. On the one hand, Rio de Janeiro in the postwar years was increasingly faced with population pressure, a shortage of housing, and limited possibilities for future expansion due to its topography.⁷ On the other hand, Rio, having been, from 1808 to 1821, the capital of the Portuguese empire, epitomized the country's colonial past and its historical orientation towards the old world. Since the early nineteenth century, the settling of the interior had been cultivated as a national myth and mission to overcome the predominance of the coast established by the Portuguese maritime empire—what the Franciscan Frei Vicente do Salvador, the first historian of Brazil, already in 1627 had described as the "clinging to the coast like crabs."⁸ The—literally—utopian project of appropriating the interior "non-place" thus became an act of national emancipation. Paradoxically, the country's interior colonization symbolized the last step in the decolonization and mental liberation from Portuguese

rule. Niemeyer's monumental buildings for Brasília are built symbols of Brazil's national utopia of fulfilling its own destiny, and his idiosyncratic interpretation of architectural modernism bespeaks his quest for an architectural representation of the country's self-confident aspirations towards the future.

The Utopia of Progress and Infrastructural Logic

The phrase *Ordem e progresso*, order and progress, is inscribed in Brazil's flag, prophecy and commitment alike. No one perhaps took this national motto as seriously as Kubitschek, the political mastermind behind Brasília's realization. During his presidential campaign, he boldly promised "fifty years of progress in five"; the new capital was to be the impressive proof of his conviction. Serving the ultimate aim of interior colonization, progress was brought about by the establishment of traffic infrastructure; Niemeyer's architecture for Brasília formally expressed the ideology of progress through modern means of transportation and communication. When in 1928 President Washington Luís completed the highway between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo as the major achievement of his term in office, he coined the slogan "to govern is to construct roads."⁹ This commitment to an efficient roadway system was taken up, updated, and radicalized during Kubitschek's administration. A popular map widely circulated in Brazil for the promotion of the new capital showed the city as the new traffic hub in the center of the country, including distances to the major cities and state capitals (Figure 2). However, the roads to Brasília did not yet exist, and the construction materials needed for the city's foundation had to be flown in on Air Force planes. Brasília thus stands not so much for the age of the automobile as for the techno-utopia of a city of the airplane. According to Israel Pinheiro, Brasília's first administrator, it was to be the "first airport in the world specifically designed for the age of jets," built for "the first city planned from the air."¹⁰

This urban vision is epitomized in Costa's master plan, aptly named the "Plano Piloto," or Pilot Plan (Figure 3). Its main feature consists in two monumental axes intersecting at right angles, one for the representative government buildings and institutions, the other for the so-called "superquadras," accommodating the residential slabs. While this cross plan can alternatively be seen—from an airplane passenger's perspective—as a reference to Christian iconography, to the fundamental elements of the *cardo* and the *decumanus* of ancient Greek and Roman city planning, or to an Amazonian Indian's drawn bow about to shoot an arrow,¹¹ the curve of the horizontal (residential) axis gives it the characteristic appearance of an airplane, a powerful symbol of progress. Brasília's transport euphoria is further symbolized in the intersection of the two axes, the ultimate "heart" of the city, which is taken up by a multi-level bus station. The same ideology extends to the architectural imagery of Niemeyer's iconic buildings. They represent progress through the use of modern materials such as concrete and glass, but also through formal innovations. The audacious cantilevers as well as the thin, white abstracted curving walls of these buildings produce a notion of lightness and detachedness, very much in line with the utopia of a city in and for the airplane age.

Moreover, Brasília is also about representing order. Being planned as an ideal city of the twentieth century, it was envisioned to be a place without favelas, that is, without the informal slums omnipresent in modern South American cities. Paradoxically, however, the construction of the city itself already contained the nucleus of its first favela. The prospect for work attracted a great number of immigrants from the impoverished north of the country, who flocked to the temporary settlements built for the *candangos*, the thousands of workers who turned a national dream into manifest reality. This movement resulted in Brasília's first favela in 1958, which became known as Sara Kubitschek Town, named after the republic's first lady.¹² As a matter of fact, one of the most critical aspects of the transformation

of an abstract urbanistic concept into a real city was Brasília's failure to accommodate for the traditional Brazilian ways of life as well as for the less affluent and the poor.¹³ Thus, Costa's initial plan did not provide guidelines for further expansion of the city. This flaw soon resulted in the unplanned construction of satellite towns outside the Pilot Plan area for the working class, whose everyday commute in turn led to dramatic traffic problems.¹⁴ The number of inhabitants of the central area was dwarfed by the surrounding fringe settlements not long after the foundation of the city, a process that continues to the present day and that is symptomatic of an unbroken global trend toward urbanization and the growth of megalopolises particularly in developing and emerging nations. Messy reality has caught up with the utopia of order long ago, and Brasília has in many ways become a mirror of a global urban situation in which total planning has been replaced by informal intervention.

Conversely, the notion of order is strongly present in Niemeyer's representative government buildings along the monumental axis. Rather than a space to be lived in, the city's central district feels like a symbolic representation of government and its powers by means of architecture. The individual buildings, impressive in their abstract detachedness, are further monumentalized by the vast distances in between. What Niemeyer had envisaged as the central square turned out to be too expansive to work as a true democratic meeting point, serving more as a space of surveillance and control. As Richard Williams has pointed out: "The Eixo Monumental is in no way a popular space, but designed to represent and uphold authority. Progress is represented in these buildings in a general sense . . . but the monuments of the Eixo Monumental are much more strongly representative of a call to order."¹⁵ This impression is confirmed by the fact that the military dictators completed Brasília with full force after their coup in 1964, continuing to use Niemeyer's abstract monumentalism as their ceremonial stage. Norma Evenson

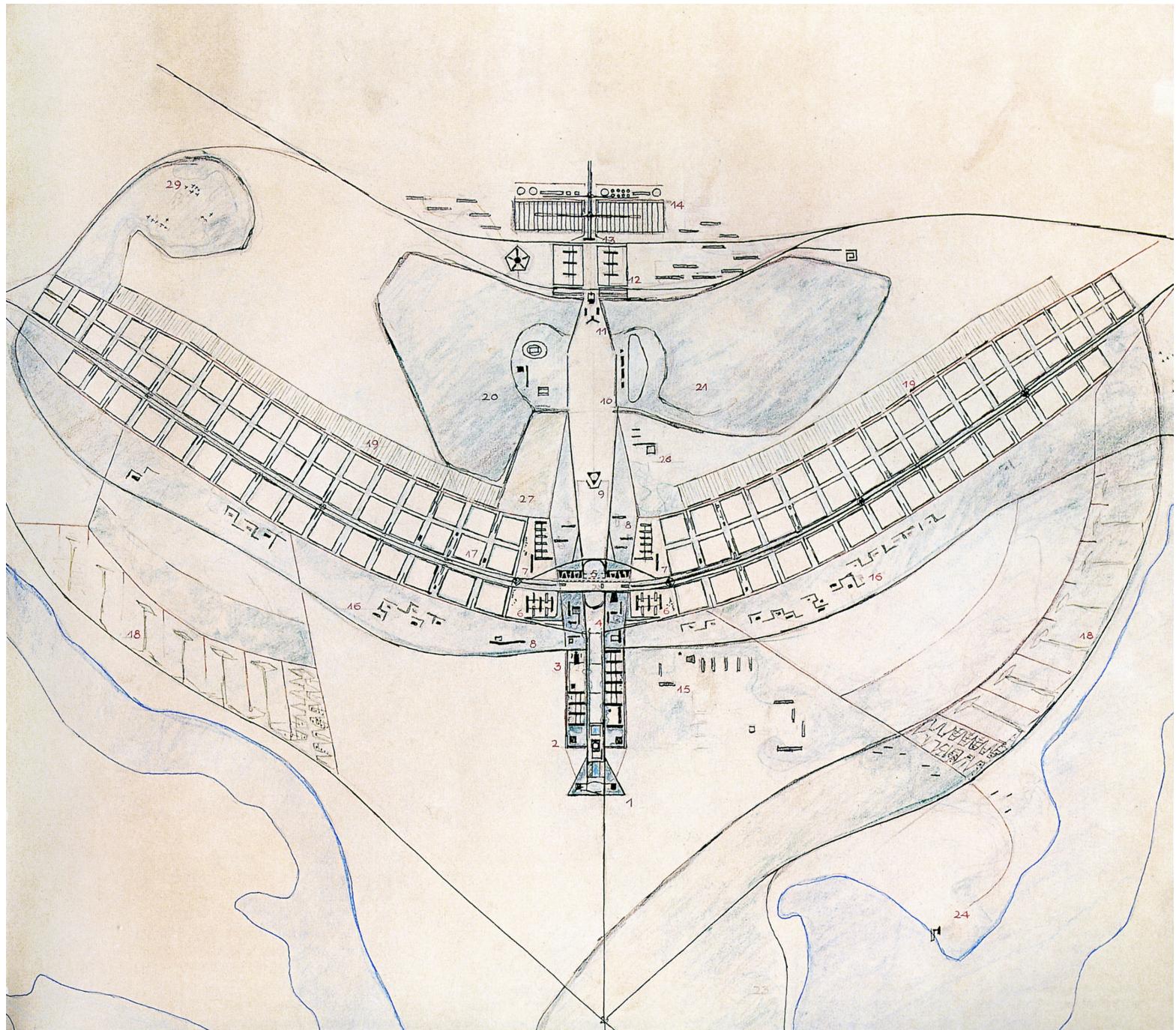


Figure 3. Lúcio Costa, Plano Piloto (Pilot Plan), winning entry to the competition for the master plan of Brasília, 1957. Source: Sophie Wolfrum and Winfried Nerdinger (eds.), *Multiple City: Stadtkonzepte 1908/2008* (Berlin: Jovis, 2008), 284.



Figure 4. Oscar Niemeyer, Metropolitan Cathedral of Nossa Senhora Aparecida with statuary of the evangelists by Alfredo Ceschiatti. Source: Photo collection, Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture (gta), ETH Zurich.

has argued convincingly that Brasília's strong monumental emphasis "accorded well with the military fondness for ceremony and nationalist symbols."¹⁶ To some degree at least, the commitment to order, an idea taken up from rationalist city planning and put into full effect in Brasília, turned against the utopia of social progress and democratic equality. That Brasília in more recent times succeeded to successfully represent again the image of a democratic nation is Niemeyer's eventual triumph.

The Utopia of Equality and the Logic of Carnivalization

Finally, Niemeyer's architecture for Brasília can only be understood against the background of the country's genuine modernist movement, in which Brazil's intellectuals sought to define their own, tropical interpretation of modernity from the 1920s onwards. Among the most influential thinkers of Brazilian modernity was the poet Oswald de Andrade, who in 1928 published his influential *Anthropofagist Manifesto*, a foundational text in Brazil's modern cultural self-

definition.¹⁷ The Anthropofagist Movement took up the colonialist's notion of cannibalism and redefined it as a positive cultural force of rejuvenation and emancipation. If cannibalism had served the Europeans to define a primitive Other in order to subjugate and oppress it, Antropofagia suggested devouring and digesting it in order to absorb it. Antropofagia was omnivorous. It meant both the reinterpretation of the colonial past and a revalorization of Brazil's indigenous, African, and popular cultures and their blending into a new national unity. Cannibalization—



Figure 5. Oscar Niemeyer, Alvorada Palace, presidential residence, Brasília, 1956–58. Source: Elisabetta Andreoli and Adrian Forty, *Brazil's Modern Architecture* (London: Phaidon, 2004), 34.

and, by extension, carnivalization—became methods of cultural national emancipation and of hybridizing the various cultural traditions. Antropofagia was an eminent cultural force in modern Brazilian architecture as well. Although Niemeyer never explicitly referred to the movement, his architecture can be seen, in Oswald de Andrade's terms, as a carnivalization of the European avant-gardes, a double gesture of both tribute and irreverence towards hegemonic discourse.¹⁸

Instances of such carnivalizations can be found frequently in Niemeyer's architecture (Figure 4). For example, Brasília's Metropolitan Cathedral of Nossa Senhora Aparecida (1958–71) references the country's Baroque heritage: Alfredo Ceschiatti's sculpture both in the entrance pathway and in the interior allude to Brazil's celebrated Baroque artist Aleijadinho's sculpture program in several churches in the state of Minas Gerais, which hold a defining place in Brazil's national history.¹⁹ Already in the seminal Ministry of Education and Public Health in Rio de Janeiro (1936–44), Niemeyer and his colleagues had made use of *azulejo* tile decorations, thus cannibalizing the Portuguese heritage while hybridizing it with a modernist, Corbusian iconography of *pilotis*, *brise-soleils*, and glass, as well as allusions to the curving Brazilian landscape. Moreover, in several of the representative government buildings of the new capital such as the so-called Alvorada Palace (1956–58), the president's residence, or the Planalto Palace (1958–60), the president's workplace, Niemeyer conspicuously used column-like curving elements on the exterior (Figure 5). While these may be read as a reinterpretation of the classical columns of the Greek temple, they appear upside down. Such a nonconformist appropriation of a traditional element of architectural language may be considered as a carnivalization, at the same time paying tribute to the historical model and marking distance from it. These are artistic strategies well known from Dadaist and Surrealist defamiliarization, but in this context they are obviously charged with political meaning.

Read against this background, Niemeyer's frequent allusions to both the female body and

the Brazilian landscape as sources for his sensuous architectural forms appear as loaded with cultural significance in a (post-)colonial situation, and as a statement for an emancipated cultural identity. Styliane Philippou has pointed out the strong gendered undercurrents in this thinking:

If the Loosian figure of the English gentleman embodies “the truly modern style” of Apollonian Europe, Niemeyer found in the eroticized figure of the Brazilian woman of African descent, the *mulata*, the incarnation of the Dionysian *espírito de brasiliade*. Embracing all things revalorized and radicalized by the Brazilian Antropofagists enabled Niemeyer to extend to the world of architecture their strategies of empowerment and creative resistance against domination, and construct an Afrodisiac vocabulary of Brazilian architecture that does not exclude the Other and demands a rethinking of its representation.²⁰

Niemeyer's anthropofagous architecture not only relies on the appropriation of the Other; it also entails a utopia of cultural and racial equality and democracy. It was mainly the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre who had first developed this myth into a post-colonial self-conception of the country. In his major work *Casa Grande e Senzala (The Masters and the Slaves)* published in 1933, Freyre argued that, unlike the United States, Brazilian society was founded on a much more fluid interpretation of race.²¹ Contrary to the situation elsewhere, Brazilian slaves played an important part in their masters' sexual life, lending slaves access to the intimate domain of the colonialists. According to Freyre's romanticizing but highly influential account, the Brazilian *ur-society* was exploitative, but fundamentally colorblind. From this, he concluded optimistically, sprung the notion of a democracy in which the racial background allegedly played a minor role. As Richard J. Williams has pointed out, Freyre's account had the status of a “religious belief” for Niemeyer and others.²² Consequently, the myth of racial equality and democracy manifests itself

in the architect's buildings for Brasília as well, prominently for example in the lack of living quarters for servants in the apartments of the residential slabs.²³ The new capital was intended as a representation of an ideal Brazilian society and thus as a place of political and economic equality, where all the social classes, from the worker to the government representative, were to be housed in similar buildings along the residential axis in Costa's plan. Niemeyer stated in this regard that the city was to be one of “free men” who would have access to the best living conditions, regardless of social or racial origins.²⁴ Needless to say, Brasília never lived up to this utopia, but it was fundamental in the Brazilian people's self-conception of their new capital.

A Utopia to Be Lived In

Brasília was built according to an image of the city and of the society of the future, and Niemeyer's iconic architecture presented such a vision in convincing and seductive forms. However, the city has turned out to be not merely an ossified museification of an initial grand utopia, but, despite its persistent problems and flaws, a fairly successful example of living with modernity. In the decades since its foundation, the new capital has in many ways become a normal Brazilian city in which everyday life has settled in more or less comfortably. This is suggested by a more recent documentary campaign by architectural photographer Iwan Baan.²⁵ His pictures affirm that Brasília has been appropriated by the people. Many of Baan's photographs show Niemeyer's buildings not as autonomous architectural monuments, but almost as natural backdrops of everyday life, inhabited (urban) spaces that have been adapted to the needs of their dwellers.

To erect an entire city on a *tabula rasa* as proposed by Brasília would hardly be possible within the cultural climate of the post-industrialized democratic Western nations of today. However, the situation is much less clear with regard to the contemporary urban hotspots in the Middle and Far East. While the United Arab Emirates have commissioned Norman Foster to lay out a city of the future according to

standards of sustainability, ecology, and renewable energy in a post-oil era in Masdar City near Abu Dhabi, the more conventional urbanistic developments in China over the past decade have been unparalleled with regard to their phenomenal scale and speed. Although the belief in progress through technology seems unbroken, it remains to be seen whether Masdar City will at some point reach the cultural significance that Brasília acquired for both Brazil as a nation and the twilight of the modern age. The ongoing urban power play in China should probably be regarded even more critically, even if it, too, has partially succeeded in lending an image to the country's claim to a modern and affluent future. Nevertheless, it remains doubtful whether the rapidly planned and executed Chinese urbanization projects will provide a space for living as successfully as Brasília fifty years into the future.

Contrary to its most outspoken critics, Brasília has not become an all-dominating, intimidating architecture of stately power or suppression, but a backdrop upon which the theater of everyday life is continuously being re-enacted. The technological and bureaucratic sublime has been cannibalized long ago by urban life. Utopia has been consumed by reality, and the paternalizing aspects of total planning have been subverted by the people's taking possession of their city. This is where utopia has shifted, to the micro-events of impromptu performances of everyday life and acts of collective and individual self-assertion.

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to Styliane Philippou, from whose insightful interpretation of the architecture of Oscar Niemeyer as well as its socio-cultural significance in the context of twentieth-century Brazil this essay has greatly profited. Thanks also to Christina Contandriopoulos, who gave me the opportunity to elaborate some thoughts on the utopian implications of Niemeyer's architecture, and to Lars Müller, who first encouraged me to reflect upon Brasília's contemporary significance.

Notes

1. See Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976); see also Felicity T. Scott, *Architecture or Techno-Utopia: Politics after Modernism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007).
2. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1977).
3. For the history and meaning of utopia in the cities of Latin America, see Jean-François Lejeune, ed., *Cruelty and Utopia: Cities and Landscapes of Latin America* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005).
4. See Thomas Schölderle, *Geschichte der Utopie: Eine Einführung* (Cologne: Bohlau, 2012), 10–11.
5. For a detailed account of the prehistory as well as the construction of Brasília, see Norma Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals: Architecture and Urbanism in Rio de Janeiro and Brasília* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); see also Paul Claval et al., *Brasília: L'Épanouissement d'une Capitale* (Paris: Picard, 2006).
6. Lúcio Costa, "Report" (1966), quoted in Styliane Philippou, *Oscar Niemeyer: Curves of Irreverence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 226.
7. See Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals* (note 5), 115.
8. Quoted in Philippou, *Niemeyer* (note 6), 214.
9. Ibid., 213.
10. Israel Pinheiro, quoted in Philippou, *Niemeyer* (note 6), 215.
11. This latter interpretation was stipulated by Costa himself; see Philippou, *Niemeyer* (note 6), 220.
12. Ibid., 216.
13. For a thorough critical appraisal of Brasília from a sociological-anthropological point of view, see James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
14. Commenting on the city's problematic social topography, Alan Colquhoun remarked, "Chandigarh and Brasília are both middle-class cities from which lower-paid workers, necessary for the cities' economies, are excluded. In Chandigarh . . . such workers are allowed to squat in the interstices of the city; in Brasília, they are banished to unplanned satellite towns from which they commute daily to work." Alan Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 216–17.
15. See Richard J. Williams, *Brazil: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion, 2009), 97–98.
16. See Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals* (note 5), 165.
17. Oswald de Andrade, "Cannibalist Manifesto," introd. and trans. Leslie Bary, *Latin American Literary Review* 19, no. 38 (1991): 35–47. For an excellent survey of "Antropofagia" as a major cultural force in the different arts in mid-twentieth-century Brazil, as well as a collection of fundamental texts including translations into English, see *Brasil: De la Antropofagia a Brasília, 1920–1950*, exh. Cat. IVAM Centre Julio González (Valencia: IVAM, 2000). See also Philippou, *Niemeyer* (note 6), ch. 1.
18. See de Andrade, "Manifesto" (note 17), 40. For the notion of the "carnivalesque" as a subversion of a hegemonic discourse, see the classic Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968). With regard to cannibalization in modern Brazilian architecture and the work of landscape architect Robert Burle Marx, see Valerie Fraser, "Cannibalizing Le Corbusier: The MES Gardens of Roberto Burle Marx," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 2 (2000): 180–93.
19. See Philippou, *Niemeyer* (note 6), 242.
20. Ibid., 12–13.
21. See Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, trans. Samuel Putnam (New York: Knopf, 1946).
22. See Williams, *Brazil: Modern Architectures* (note 15), 27–28.
23. See Holston, *Modernist City* (note 13), 177–78.
24. See Williams, *Brazil: Modern Architectures* (note 15), 28.
25. See Iwan Baan, *Brasília-Chandigarh: Living with Modernity* (Baden: Lars Müller Publishers, 2010).