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## THE DECOLONIAL DEBATE: TERRITORIES O DEBATE DECOLONIAL: TERRITÓRIOS

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## Abstract

This article revisits some investigative experiences of the Brazilian Architect and Artist Flávio de Carvalho concerning man and the city in America, to recover his critical perspective on the canons of modern urbanism. By articulating anthropophagic assumptions within the field of urbanism, Flávio de Carvalho questioned the universalistic nature of technique in order to subvert notions of progress and civilization serving colonial and colonialist projects. The analysis of a trajectory of reflections, highlighted by the texts *A Cidade do Homem Nu* [The City of the Naked Man] (1930); *A Casa do Homem Americano* [The House of the American Man] (1947) and *Meditações na Cordilheira* [Meditations on the Cordillera], (1947), allows emphasizing the operation of displacing narratives and histories considered marginal to the forefront of the modern debate on cities. The reading of these urban proposals and political projects is supported by recent studies that link the decolonial debate to the disciplinary field of urbanism from a Latin American perspective. The argument is made about how the anthropophagic project for an urban-laboratory based on unconditional urban freedom developed by Flávio de Carvalho is grounded in studies of the history, social, and urban organization of pre-Columbian societies in the Andean Altiplano. Thus, the aim is to highlight other developments and legacies of modern urbanism and their potential to decentralize narratives of urban history.

**Keywords:** Flávio de Carvalho, Urbanisms, Americas, Professional Congresses

## 1 Introduction: the Americas between the old and the new worlds

Disputes over the identities in and of America constitute a theme almost as old as the history of invasions and colonization of the continent itself. From the voyages of Columbus and the paradigmatic year of 1492 onwards, the countless reports written by European chroniclers during the colonial period, to the decolonial debates that advanced into the twenty-first century contemplating and contesting the landmarks of origin, the cultural characteristics that would define American societies and the projects for the future created through these themes form a political exercise structuring the history of the American continent.

In the midst of these storylines, the cities and the urban areas take on a significant dimension. Whether in their geopolitical developments or through their cultural characteristics, the cities founded in America have become the articulators of different temporalities and nodes of tension in the disputes between the elites with regard to their transformations, reforms and architectural and urban projects. As Richard Morse (1990) postulated, cities may be envisaged as a synthesis of a dialectical process between the idea of a city in Europe and the conditions of life in this New World and have been intimately related to different interpretations of the modern and the civilization throughout the colonization process.

From the end of the fifteenth century, American territories were already being described by Europeans as a *tabula rasa*, a notion that navigates different temporalities and is configured as a fundamental modernist proposition in the twentieth century: a basic condition for implementing changes in the future and updating the colonial signs of conquest through urban transformations. This diagnosis brought support to the power of decision-making in terms of what to destroy, to tear down, and what to maintain and preserve, as well as what to introduce as *new* into a given territory. Accordingly, this implies a challenging condition of creative power in the face of history, reiterating the demiurgical attitude of the modern urban architect. The Athens Charter proposed by European architects at the IV International Congress of Modern Architecture (Athens, 1933) reinforced the notion of a *tabula rasa* as both a possibility and the conviction for building a new, supposedly universal and neutral, modern world.

What are the implications of this repeated image of a *tabula rasa* America? What are the temporalities evoked by this notion and who is served by this project of domination, perpetuated ever since the first colonial ventures into these territories? Would it be possible to identify *other* legacies of this modernity on the American continent translated into its urban dimensions? These are the questions that have guided the present investigation toward the trajectory and some specific projects of Flávio de Carvalho. Through several different means, this engineer-architect-urbanist-artist-archaeologist went on to formulate modern proposals that problematized the

characterization of absence, which had been imposed upon the continent<sup>1</sup>. Flávio de Carvalho outlined new imaginative possibilities for constructing another social and political order for American cities and societies based on their history. Rather than conferring some supposed pioneering characteristics onto his projects, the aim of this exercise is to identify how the problematizations and questions elaborated from within the field of architecture and urbanism at the beginning of the twentieth century related modernity to colonialism, and indicated the effects of this articulation in future projections for the cities and societies of the continent, as well as highlighting modern North-Atlantic models as instruments of domination.

The critical interpretations that problematize the places of America in international geopolitics have constituted a current political and intellectual concern, even if endowed with historicity. Since the 1990s, at least, with the founding of the Modernity/Coloniality Group (M/C), decolonial perspectives associated with subaltern studies have highlighted the epistemic, theoretical and political effects of the coloniality of power, knowledge and being, which continue to violate the continent's former colonies. This group is made up of Latin American intellectuals located in various universities across the Americas, particularly in the United States, and is responsible for introducing an epistemological movement for a critical, utopian renewal of social sciences in Latin America. Its proposals have radicalized the post-colonial argument to denounce, understand and act in a world marked by the permanence of global coloniality at different levels of personal and collective life. Among others, the most notable members are Aníbal Quijano, Ramón Grosfoguel, Walter D. Mignolo, Zulma Palermo, Catherine Walsh, Arturo Escobar, Enrique Dussel, Santiago Castro-Gómez, María Lugones and Nelson Maldonado-Torres. However, based on the objectives and historical analysis of this text, we cannot fail to notice the absence of historians and architect-urbanists affiliated with the M/C group. The so-called “decolonial turn in Latin America” (Ballestrin, 2013) gave rise to a series of initiatives both inside and outside academia that reexamined the effects of the colonization process and of naturally assimilating the hierarchical positions among American countries and their “others”, such as the United States and Europe.

The naturalizing effect of these hierarchies, in turn, shaped a Eurocentric canon taken as the basis for structuring a series of disciplines and of ways to interpret the world. More than a selection of celebrated works and authors, the canon represented a system of power and valorization relations that determine which authors and works deserve to be recognized and which do not, as defined by Fernando Lara, Fernando Martínez Nespral and Indrig Quintana-Guerrero (2023). In the editorial of a special edition of the journal *Dearq* covering the decolonial debate, the authors denounced how, in the field of architecture and urbanism, the Eurocentric canon dictated the way in which history has been narrated in this game of power relations and exclusions and that there was a need to expand research in order to link the narrative categories specific to the history of modern architecture and urbanism with broader processes, such as the colonial system and the British empire. Thus, projects and work come to be understood as products of a complex transregional and global network of connections, causes and consequences that exceed and indicate the limits of the European framework.

However, as Martínez Nespral (2019) stated, attempts to overcome the canon by adding specific names that act as exceptions and continue to affirm that the system and its hierarchies are insufficient. Instead of reaffirming the logic of “others” through exceptions that confirm the rule, it is necessary to seek alternatives and other legacies on which we may rely, in the exercise of indicating the limits and epistemological violence practiced through historical narratives. Hence, this is where we situate Flávio de Carvalho in his anthropophagic provocations during the first decades of the twentieth century when he became involved in the debate on “awareness for the singularity of the American continent and the formation of the imagery of *Americanness*”. (Topalov, Bresciani, Coudroy de Lille & Rivière D'Arc, 2014, p. 14-15, our translation). By examining some of the urban proposals by Flávio de Carvalho it is possible to expand the panorama of meanings attributed to cities on the continent through its history. The ensemble of reflections and projects formed by *A Cidade do Homem Nu* [The City of the Naked Man], from 1930, *A Casa do Homem Americano* [The House of the American Man], from 1938 and *Meditações na Cordilheira* [Meditations on the Cordillera], from 1947, indicates how Flávio de Carvalho decentralized the Eurocentric matrices of the colonizing modern project and established another destiny for the American continent based on pre-Columbian traditions. His experience in the Altiplano has been revisited based on the critical potential of denouncing the modern

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<sup>1</sup> The hyphenated presentation of the different professions and disciplinary fields associated with Flávio de Carvalho is an option entirely decided upon by the authors. He had defined himself as a civil engineer for “calculations and projects of metallic structures and reinforced concrete structures – modern architecture – topography for railway – internal decoration of modern gardens – furniture projects – decorative panels – design and execution of theater and cinema sets – advertisements”, as written on his business card deposited in the Flávio de Carvalho Fund of the Alexandre Eulálio Cultural Documentation Center (CEDAE-UNICAMP).

canons of architecture and urbanism in order to subvert their universalist pretensions. This path of reflections, experiments and provocations was based on a dialogue established between anthropophagy and the field of architecture and urbanism.

As Paola Jacques emphasized, Flávio, from this modernist repertoire, established the milestones for an anti-colonialist political project in which “Amerindians would be the future and not the past, advancement and not backwardness, nomadism and not nationalism” (Jacques, 2021, p. 371, our translation). Jacques recollects the interpretations consolidated by historiography and criticism throughout the second half of the twentieth century (Dahler, 1982; Sangirardi Junior, 1985; Toledo, 1994) to highlight the dialogue between Flávio de Carvalho and the modernists of São Paulo, with particular interest and attention regarding his relationship with Oswald de Andrade and his *Manifesto Antropófago* [Anthropophagic Manifesto]. In addition to Jacques, Rui Moreira Leite (2008) also indicated the importance of Flávio de Carvalho's inclusion in this modernist milieu for understanding his propositions from the time of his emblematic project for the Government Palace – called *Eficácia* – at the end of the 1920s, interpreted as one of the first material manifestations of modernism. The positive reception that the project was given by intellectuals and artists from this strand, such as Mário de Andrade, helped to consolidate Flávio de Carvalho as a “total artist”, as described in the words of Leite (2008, p. 14), going on to be invited to participate in a series of salons, exhibitions, events and congresses over the following decades. This is to say, the prominent position he assumed in relation to those of the avant-garde of the period enabled him to formulate a scathing critique not only of Eurocentric perspectives and canons, but of the very idea of center and its derivatives – periphery, frontier, fixed territorialities, etc

## 2 Eros and Ananke in the New World

The ocean liner SS *George Washington*, the third largest steamship in the world when it was built, made its maiden voyage in January 1909 sailing from Bremen (Germany) to New York via Southampton (United Kingdom) and Cherbourg-en-Cotentin (France). Initially intended for passenger service, it took on board a chimpanzee called Consul, billed as “his Darwinian Highness” and the “Almost Monkey-Man”, who was leaving for North America as an attraction for the *William Morris Vaudeville* circuit (*The New York Times*, June 21, 1909, p. 7). Months later, in August, the neurologist and founder of psychoanalysis Sigmund Freud boarded the liner bound for the New World in the company of his then collaborators Sándor Ferenczi and Carl Gustav Jung. Some reports, confirmed decades later by Jacques Lacan, attest that, upon seeing the Statue of Liberty in New York, Freud said: “They don't realize we're bringing them the plague!” The phrase would become famous when associated with the subversive spirit of psychoanalysis, but it was taken up by Lacan to highlight a misunderstanding: “he had believed that psychoanalysis would be a revolution for [North] America, and, in reality, [the] America[s] had devoured his doctrine” (Chinalli, 2010, p. 3, our translation).

The notion of progress was linked to the technological development brought about by the advancement of the emerging industry, the evolution of techniques and by changes in the construction methods. With this, it not only became possible, but desirable for urban professionals – public health professionals, engineers, urban planners – to intervene in the development and transformation of rapidly growing cities. The new man thus emerged as a concern for many of the thinkers and intellectuals of the time. A common unrest regarding the subjectivity of modern man and the human unconscious was an equally modern question that was raised in the experience of civilization in modernity. Questions such as “should man submit to the forces of nature, or should he research new problems, create new environments?” and “should the city be fed into collectively or not?” (Carvalho, 1929, p. 2, our translation) became forceful at that moment. The machine, time, social organizations, the human soul of modern man and how modern cities are transformed were themes that gained prominence within the reflections of the period.

*Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics* was written by Freud between 1912 and 1913 based on a comparison between neurotic thought and that of the so-called primitives in order to narrate the modern myth in a dialogue with the ethnography of their time. In this work, the myth is reenacted through a totem meal: a group gathers, eats, ingests (and therefore identifies itself) and incorporates itself into an element that is part of the symbolic and determines them as subject to the same law (or, to the father *Urvater*). This gesture established the rule of prohibiting incest and exogamy. That is to say, the representation of castration, of the limitation of our possible kinships that establishes the notion of family, identity ties and, above all, identification with primary social rules inserted into a system of circulation and prohibitions related to taboo.

Reviewing his own work in *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930), Freud, starting from the primordial crime of parricide and the totem meal, characterized the cultural process that unfolds in humanity based on the modifications that peoples, tribes, clans or groups experience under the influence of a “task set (...) by Eros and stimulated by Ananke, (...) uniting single human beings into a larger unity with libidinal attachments between them” (Freud, 1930, p. 133). Both figures come from Greek mythology, Ananke, mother of fate and circumstance, was the personification of the inevitable, of necessity, of destiny, while Eros, of passion, love and eroticism. This process was related to the very act of becoming civilized, understood as an operation of suppression, the repression of habits and behaviors, control of the body and mediation with objects, norms, rules, restraints, interdiction, i.e., repressions that cause discontentment.

### 3 The city-laboratory: The city of the naked man

The American continent, due to its privileged historical situation, is more capable than any other to contemplate the problem of the naked man. The American continent did not inherit the tragic suppression of scholastic philosophy from the past; it has its own elements to create a naked civilization, a new mechanism stripped of the taboos of old Europe, a scientific and aesthetic renewal that will place it at the forefront of human organization. I invite the representatives of America to remove their civilized masks and expose their anthropophagous tendencies, which were repressed by the colonial conquest, but which today would be our pride as sincere men, of walking without god towards a logical solution for the problem of city life, the problem of life efficiency (Carvalho, 1930, p. 6, our translation).

Throughout his trajectory, Flávio de Carvalho developed several psychic schemata based on the relationship between totem and taboo, totemism and fetishism. In a kind of fetishistic theory of life, he proposed an anthropophagic reading of Freud's ideas to develop his erotic psycho-ethnography, in which the field of the unconscious became part of the aesthetic problem formulated through his studies on the city. Man is, thus, understood based on the path along which, like God, he loses his animal dimensions and leaves the virgin forest (Carvalho, [1933] 1939) to become civilized among neurotics (Freud, [1930] 2010) and become constituted as a subject in the relationship with others through language, desire and erotica. The inversion proposed by anthropophagy, the transformation of the taboo into a totem, for him, became a motto for the proposal to incorporate a multiplicity of differences, of the various “others”, of a devouring, and, therefore, of information/identification, impure of the most different cultures without seeking unification or integration.

The implications of these assumptions necessarily led to a series of disarticulations and denaturalization, among which we highlight that which was operated between the urban and the nationalist matrices that shaped the debate on cities in the period. *A cidade do homem nu* was the manifesto-thesis project presented by Flávio de Carvalho at the IV Pan-American Congress of Architects (CPA) held in Rio de Janeiro in 1930. It was an anthropophagic manifesto-city project for unconditional urban freedom developed from the theme of “regionalism and internationalism in contemporary architecture — the spiritual orientation of architecture in America” and which mixed modern Corbusian concepts with the ideas of the anthropophagic movement to create a general plan for a modern, tropical and American city. Flávio de Carvalho, in order to confront the technical elite attending the congress, proposed the stripping away of urbanism itself as a functionalist practical discipline, repressing or disciplining human desires.

Our cities today have become veritable pandemonia and exist within a constant imbalance. The man of today spends his energy uselessly due to the city's sickly organism. The city tires man, destroying his vital energy. The man of today's city takes no advantage of his capacity to produce, he cannot take advantage of it, because the disorganized bourgeois organism does everything to annihilate man's taste for life, the enthusiasm for producing things, the desire to change. The city of the naked man will be the metropolis of opportunity, a center for the natural sublimation of man's desires, a center to reanimate exhausted desires; a huge center for the production of organic life, for the selection and distribution of this life in forms of energy useful to man (Carvalho, 1930, p. 6, our translation).

The “viscerally anthropophagic” opinion (*Relatório dos sucessos...* [The success report...], 1930, p. 36), as termed by other delegates attending the IV CPA, caused discomfort and outrage among those who heard the engineer speak about the city of the naked man. One of the narratives was prepared by engineer Jayme Cunha da Gama e Abreu, a representative from the state of Bahia at the IV CPA and author of a report in which he commented in detail on aspects considered most relevant to the event. Gama e Abreu



commented that, during the congress, José Marianno Filho and Flávio de Carvalho were the protagonists of controversies and disputes over defining what architecture and urbanism would be in America. Flávio de Carvalho's project critically took up some ideas from Le Corbusier, the French-Swiss architect, to create a manifesto for urban freedom in the Americas and for alterity in the tropical city of the future. "The American city is no longer the fortress city of conquest. It will be the geographical and climacteric city, the city of the naked man, of the man with free reasoning and eminently anthropophagous" (Carvalho, 1930, p. 6, our translation). As such, it required a completely resized urban mechanism: a gigantic moving engine capable of transforming "the energy of ideas into needs for the individual, fulfilling collective desire, producing happiness, i.e., the understanding of life and movement" (Carvalho, 1930, p. 6, our translation).

The naked man will select his forms of erotica himself; no restrictions will require this or that sacrifice from him; his brain energy will be enough to control and select his desires. The erotic zone is truly an immense laboratory where the most diverse desires are stirred, where the naked man may find his ancient soul, may project his free desire, his energy released in any direction, without repression; (...) he imposes on himself a rigorous and efficient selection, forms his new "ego", guides his libido and destroys the illogical, thus approaching the symbol god, the sublime anguish of the unknown, of mutating the non-metric (Carvalho, 1930, p. 6, our translation).

A city zoned and divided into laboratories located in concentric circles grouped by investigations into the most varied desires for the knowledge and eroticism of man, who would then be a naked man, free from god, devoid of prejudices. The city of the naked man was the project of a city, "where [man] would find his ancient soul, where he would project his loose energy into any direction, without repression; where he would fulfill his desires, discover new desires" (Carvalho, 1930, p. 6, our translation) to research and progress in a way that used his greatest revenue to increase the efficiency of life and the community. The "anthropophagous delegate", as characterized by Antonio Crispim in the article published in the newspaper *Diário de Minas* (Crispim, 1930, p. 11), defended erotica as a way of acting and thinking anthropophagically in the American city, a libertarian urban production, stripped of the constraints imposed by the Western rationalism of the European colonial regime. The free man, "stripped of vanquished taboos, will produce wonderful things, (...) primitive man, free from Western taboos (...), man as he appears in nature, with all his desires, all his curiosity intact and unrepressed" (Carvalho, 1930, p. 6, our translation). In short, the naked man, based on this libidinal investment, will design his laboratory city: free, desirous, erotic, and American.

#### 4 "Diving into a sea of clouds ...": Experience on the Altiplano

In another edition of the Pan-American Congresses of Architects, this time held in Peru in 1947, Flávio de Carvalho seemed to have advanced in his ethnographic endeavors and in his analysis of the American man and his way of inhabiting and living in the city, with special interest in pre-Columbian traditions. The organization of this congress itself highlighted the importance of this tradition by choosing not just one, but two Peruvian cities to host the event: the capital, Lima, and Cuzco, where delegates visited the ruins of Machu-Picchu and Sacsayhuaman. This was the motivation for Flávio de Carvalho's trip to the Andean Altiplano, in the central-west region of South America. On that occasion, he presented the work *A casa do homem americano* as part of the theme "American architecture in its diverse and successive artistic expressions and their projections in guiding the current architecture on the continent" (Actas, 1953, p. 52, our translation).<sup>2</sup>

The work, in some sense, continued the provocations made in 1930 based on the city of the naked man and also resumed another conference that he gave on Rádio Cultura in São Paulo in 1938 on the house of the twentieth-century man.<sup>3</sup> This set, formed of the three reflections, traversed by different times and motivations, indicated the engineer's journey based on the question regarding human nature: who would this man be? How does he live? What does he eat? Where is he going? A pathway, in the sense of being a route

<sup>2</sup> The minutes of this edition of the Pan-American Congress of Architects were only published six years after the event took place, in 1953.

<sup>3</sup> We will not delve into the content of this 1938 lecture due to the formal limits of the article. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that Flávio de Carvalho argued about the split between the nineteenth century house, built as a fortress to protect man and separate him from the city, and the modern house, an accessory to help man's life and integrate into public and community life. According to him, the relationship between home and city had radically transformed in the twentieth century, from the point of view that "the city is entirely man's home" (Carvalho, [1938] 2003, p. 54, our translation).

or research path, but also a displacement. His trip to the Altiplano played an important role in deepening these issues and in articulating the anthropophagic and urban dimensions of his thought.

His interest in *A casa do homem americano* was to understand the effects of landscape on man and his social structure. To do this, he analyzed the telluric expression involved in the housing of different peoples and their temporalities and established the Incas and Lake Titicaca as the origins and, at the same time, the ends to be pursued by evolution. The contraposition of “us”, American people born outside the traditions of scholastic philosophy, to the “other”, European civilization and the place of repetition for the old movements taught by the Christian cycle, sought to convince his peers of the potential to be explored in forming a new type of man and city. Non-canonical and even marginalized histories, therefore, became the plot for this intellectual project of formulating other chronologies, seeking other inheritances to compose the idea of a modernity formulated from America. The American man, naked and free, in contrast to the European man, civilized and no longer understood as a final destination, but as an antithesis.

In addition to presenting this thesis at the VI CPA, the trip to Peru and, later, to Bolivia, also yielded a set of articles entitled “*Meditações na Cordilheira*”, published months later in the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo*, and were important vestiges of the impact of these landscapes on the thought of Flávio de Carvalho.<sup>4</sup> The Andean landscape introduced him to a “fairytale world” occupied by sorceresses and flesh-and-blood dolls who lived in “dream cities, impossible castles” (Carvalho, 1947a, para. 1, our translation). The “faerie palaces”, sumptuous and suspended in the clouds of the mountain range, “set in the tone of the landscape”, made him ask: “What would have induced these eminently practical men to settle on the solitude of the Continent?” (Carvalho, 1947a, para. 9, our translation). He sought explanations in history to understand the social organization of these societies and to operate their displacement from the margins to the center of a modern, utopian and revolutionary project. Only through its “Bolshevik” organization would the Inca empire have been able to resist the aggressiveness of the landscape and the forces of the Altiplano nature, causing the Amerindian to become a part of the land and landscape. This would be the objective of the city of the naked man and his urban projects developed from that time: to go against the evolutionary direction traditionally assumed by progress and the Eurocentric civilization and to redefine the dualism between nature and culture.

This study on the social organization of the Incas and the formation of the American man located in the Altiplano was the content of this series of articles through which Flávio de Carvalho mobilized his theoretical references, especially Freud and psychoanalysis. The resistant nature of these populations from the Altiplano, to be persecuted by all American civilizations, came precisely from the eroticism of their habits, an expression of a political will to resist the oppression of the colonizers. In one of the articles, the engineer explores the eating habits of Altiplano men, seen as a consequence of their state of mind:

The stomach becomes the end point of passive resistance. Men, women, children, old people... they don't eat. By not eating, they will not have to hand over to the white man the little they earn from their labor as beasts of burden exerted from dawn to dusk. 'Buy nothing from white people' is the slogan of the ancestral hatred of the defeated race. By chewing coca, they anesthetize the sensation of hunger across the entire surface of the hunger organ. Dispelling the eroticism of hunger in the fumes of hatred, anything bulky, ingested at a distance, serves to deceive the digestive organs (...). By anesthetizing the eroticism of hunger, it makes it possible to continue passive resistance (...) (Carvalho, 1947b, para. 4, our translation).

This investigative process on the man from the Altiplano broadens some of the reflections already questioned in *A cidade do homem nu* regarding the American continent. America was understood as being free from the legacies of the European scholastic past and possessed its own elements to create a naked civilization, “a new mechanism stripped of the taboos of old Europe, a scientific, aesthetic renewal that will place it at the forefront of human organization” (Carvalho, 1930, p. 6, our translation). If in 1930 he invited South American architects to remove the masks of civilization and expose their anthropophagic tendencies, in 1947 the move to the Cordillera gave him concrete elements to resist the continuous colonial conquest perpetuated by technical urban practices.

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<sup>4</sup> This article used the typed originals of this set of texts that are safeguarded by CEDAE-UNICAMP and, therefore, there is no indication of page numbers.

## 5 Final considerations

Revisiting Flávio de Carvalho's provocations and exploring his investigative path into the man, landscape and cities of the Altiplano enables us to highlight his engagement in a counter-colonial political project. A number of authors have argued how the occupation and conquest of the American continent played a central role in the general development of Western culture (Dussel, Krauel & Tuma, 2000). In this process, cities, their growth, their transformations and, above all, the projects, plans and predictions for their future were placed at the center of the debate and thus became articulating phenomena of these colonial statements. Fernando Lara proposes an inversion in terms of this logic by arguing that the encounter and conquest were the cause – and not the consequence – of European modernization (Lara, 2020). In other words, it was in the Americas that the triggers for this modernity could be tested and explored in their possibilities of violence, resistance and reinvention. Even though Flávio de Carvalho distances himself temporally from the epistemological bases formulated in recent decades on the decolonial, these experiences and reflections certainly seek other legacies to formulate a modern city project based on the experience of pre-Columbian societies displaced from the margins to the center of the debate. It is our belief that it will thus be possible, as Flávio de Carvalho already realized, to continue in the pursuit of other ways to exist and inhabit the modern world on a continent, whose history did not begin with conquest and colonization.

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