

# W!RUS

30

MULTILATERAL  
DIALOGUES  
PRAXIS  
INTERLOCUTIONS  
CONFRONTATIONS

ENGLISH | PORTUGUÊS-ESPAÑOL  
REVISTA . JOURNAL  
ISSN 2175-974X  
CC-BY-NC-AS

UNIVERSITY OF SAO PAULO  
INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM  
NOMADS.USP INTERACTIVE LIVING  
[HTTPS://REVISTAS.USP.BR/VIRUS](https://revistas.usp.br/virus)  
DECEMBER 2025

IAU USP

NOMADS  
USP

USP

# WU30

## **MULTILATERAL DIALOGUES: PRAXIS, INTERLOCUTIONS, AND CONFRONTATIONS** **DIÁLOGOS MULTILATERAIS: PRÁXIS, INTERLOCUÇÕES E CONFRONTAÇÕES** **DIÁLOGOS MULTILATERALES: PRAXIS, INTERLOCUCIONES Y CONFRONTACIONES**

### **EDITORIAL**

- 001 MULTILATERAL DIALOGUES: PRAXIS, INTERLOCUTIONS, AND CONFRONTATIONS  
DIÁLOGOS MULTILATERAIS: PRÁXIS, INTERLOCUÇÕES E CONFRONTAÇÕES  
DIÁLOGOS MULTILATERALES: PRAXIS, INTERLOCUCIONES Y CONFRONTACIONES  
**MARCELO TRAMONTANO, JULIANO PITA, PEDRO TEIXEIRA, LUCAS DE CHICO, ESTER GOMES, JOÃO PEREIRA, AMANDA SOARES**

### **INTERVIEW**

- 005 BLACK PEOPLE AND A FIVE-HUNDRED-YEAR SILENCED DIALOGUE  
O POVO NEGRO E UM DIÁLOGO SILENCIADO DE QUINHENTOS ANOS  
EL PUEBLO NEGRO Y UN DIÁLOGO SILENCIADO DE QUINIENTOS AÑOS  
**CASIMIRO LUMBUNDANGA, MARCELO TRAMONTANO**

### **AGORA**

- 014 SOVEREIGNTY AND TECHNODIVERSITY  
SOBERANIA E TECNODIVERSIDADE  
**SERGIO AMADEU DA SILVEIRA**
- 024 CITIES FOR WHOM? URBAN LIFE AND VULNERABLE BODIES  
CIDADES PARA QUEM? VIDA URBANA E CORPOS VULNERÁVEIS  
**ETHEL PINHEIRO, JACQUELINE KLOPP**
- 041 PORTO, BETWEEN TWO BRIDGES: IMAGES OF A SPACE IN TENSION  
PORTO, ENTRE DUAS PONTES: IMAGENS DE UM ESPAÇO EM TENSÃO  
**JORDAN FRASER EMERY**
- 062 AUTHOR UNKNOWN  
AUTORIA DESCONHECIDA  
**MARTA BOGÉA, MARIANA VETRONE**
- 081 CASE-EXPERIENCE: METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES IN THE CONTEMPORARY METROPOLIS  
CASO-EXPERIÊNCIA: DESAFIOS METODOLÓGICOS NA METRÓPOLE CONTEMPORÂNEA  
**YURI PAES DA COSTA, EDUARDO LIMA, CARLOS MAGALHÃES DE LIMA**
- 095 STATE-PRODUCED RISK: SOCIAL HOUSING AND DISASTER VULNERABILITY  
A PRODUÇÃO ESTATAL DO RISCO: HABITAÇÃO SOCIAL E VULNERABILIDADE A DESASTRES  
**CATHARINA SALVADOR, THAMINE AYOUB, MILENA KANASHIRO**

- 113 HOUSING FINANCIALIZATION IN SHARING ECONOMY CONTEXTS  
FINANCEIRIZAÇÃO DA HABITAÇÃO EM CONTEXTOS DE ECONOMIA COMPARTILHADA  
VINICIUS BARROS, ÉRICO MASIERO
- 127 INHABITING THE COMMON: URBAN POETICS IN LEFEBVRE AND IN THE THEORY OF THE COMMONS  
HABITAR O COMUM: A POÉTICA URBANA EM LEFEBVRE E NA TEORIA DO COMUM  
CAROLINA AKEMI NAKAHARA
- 141 URBAN PARKS PRIVATIZATION AND THE NEOLIBERAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE  
PRIVATIZAÇÃO DOS PARQUES URBANOS E A PRODUÇÃO NEOLIBERAL DO ESPAÇO  
ISABELLA SOARES, CLARICE DE OLIVEIRA
- 155 TOPOLOGIES OF CARE: FROM THE CLEARING TO THE PARK IN PETER SLOTERDIJK  
TOPOLOGIAS DO CUIDADO: DA CLAREIRA AO PARQUE EM PETER SLOTERDIJK  
BRÁULIO RODRIGUES
- 167 THE DIS-RE-INHABITING IN THE SOCIO-ENVIRONMENTAL DISASTER IN MACEIÓ-AL  
O DES-RE-HABITAR NO DESASTRE SOCIOAMBIENTAL EM MACEIÓ-AL  
WANDERSON BARBOSA, TAMYRES OLIVEIRA, ROSELINE OLIVEIRA
- 186 URBAN SOILS AND ORGANIC FARMING: CONSERVATION AND RESILIENCE  
SOLOS URBANOS E AGRICULTURA ORGÂNICA: CONSERVAÇÃO E RESILIÊNCIA  
LUCAS LENIN DE ASSIS
- 199 URBAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION  
EDUCAÇÃO URBANÍSTICA E AMBIENTAL COMO CONTRIBUIÇÃO SOCIAL  
LUIZA HELENA FERRARO, MARIANA PEREIRA, GISELLE ARTEIRO AZEVEDO
- 214 THE EPISTEMIC PLURALITY OF TERRITORY IN THE CRITIQUE OF URBAN-CENTRISM  
A PLURALIDADE EPISTÊMICA DO TERRITÓRIO NA CRÍTICA AO URBANOCENTRISMO  
ANGELA ELIAS DE SOUZA, CAIO GOMES DE AGUIAR
- 230 DATA, GOVERNANCE AND OPACITY: TOWARD AN INFORMATIONAL RIGHT TO THE CITY  
DADOS, GOVERNANÇA E OPACIDADE: POR UM DIREITO INFORMACIONAL À CIDADE  
MARINA BORGES
- 240 CHILDHOODS IN THE CITY: TENSIONS, RIGHTS, AND INCLUSION PRACTICES  
INFÂNCIAS NA CIDADE: TENSÕES, DIREITOS E PRÁTICAS DE INCLUSÃO  
SAMANTHA PEDROSA, ELIANE PEREIRA
- 253 FRAGMENTS OF 19TH-CENTURY RIO: MISERICÓRDIA AND ITS THOROUGHFARES  
FRAGMENTOS DO RIO NO XIX: A MISERICÓRDIA E SEUS LOGRADOUROS  
LETÍCIA CAMPANHA PIRES
- 264 FRANCIS ALÿS' GREEN LINE: IMPERIALISM AND THE LIMITS OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH  
A LINHA VERDE DE FRANCIS ALÿS: IMPERIALISMO E OS LIMITES DO SUL GLOBAL  
YURI TARACIUK
- 276 RACIONAIS MC'S: THE CONSTITUTION OF NEGRO DRAMA AS A SUBJECT OF RESISTANCE  
RACIONAIS MC'S: A CONSTITUIÇÃO DO NEGRO DRAMA COMO SUJEITO DE RESISTÊNCIA  
CEZAR PRADO
- 287 FEMALE GUARANI MBYA VERNACULAR TECHNOLOGY AND BIODIVERSE CULTURAL HERITAGE  
TECNOLOGIA VERNACULAR DAS MULHERES GUARANI MBYA E PATRIMÔNIO CULTURAL BIODIVERSO  
ANA LUIZA CARVALHO, DINAH DE GUIMARAENS

- 302 DANCING BODIES, AXÉ ARCHITECTURES: WASHING RITUALS IN PENEDO-AL  
CORPOS DANÇANTES, ARQUITETURAS DO AXÉ: RITUAIS DE LAVAGEM EM PENEDO-AL  
MARIA HEDUARDA VASCONCELOS, MARIA ANGÉLICA DA SILVA
- 316 THE PORTRAIT BEYOND THE EUROPEAN CANON: REINVENTIONS IN LATIN-CARIBBEAN ART  
O RETRATO ALÉM DO CÂNONE EUROPEU: REINVENÇÕES NA ARTE LATINO-CARIBENHA  
JOÃO PAULO DE FREITAS
- 326 THE REPASSOS EXHIBITION AND THE MODERN INTEREST IN THE POPULAR  
A EXPOSIÇÃO REPASSOS E O MODERNO INTERESSE PELO POPULAR  
ARIEL LAZZARIN, CARLOS MARTINS
- 350 DIGITAL CHALLENGES IN ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM: VIDEO GAMES AND PEDAGOGICAL PRAXIS  
DESAFIOS DIGITAIS EM ARQUITETURA E URBANISMO: VIDEOGAMES E PRAXIS PEDAGÓGICA  
THIAGO RANGEL, ALINE CALAZANS MARQUES
- 368 FROM COLONIAL GAZE TO DIGITAL VISUALITY: LANDSCAPE, POWER, AND COLLAPSE  
DO OLHAR COLONIAL À VISUALIDADE DIGITAL: PAISAGEM, PODER E COLAPSO  
JAQUELINE CUNHA
- 381 YESTERDAY, YOUR FUTURE: THE CITY WHERE I AM TODAY  
ONTEM, O SEU FUTURO: A CIDADE EM QUE HOJE ME ENCONTRO  
SAMIRA PROÉZA

## PROJECT

- 399 BETWEEN IMAGES AND COMMUNICABLE OBJECTS: EXHIBITION SPACE AS CULTURAL MEDIATION  
ENTRE IMAGENS E OBJETOS COMUNICÁVEIS: ESPAÇO EXPOSITIVO COMO MEDIAÇÃO CULTURAL  
ANA ELÍSIA DA COSTA, DANIELA CIDADE
- 415 TEACHING AND OUTREACH: HOUSING IMPROVEMENTS IN THE PEQUIS NEIGHBORHOOD  
ENSINO E EXTENSÃO: MELHORIAS HABITACIONAIS NO BAIRRO PEQUIS  
ROSSANA LIMA, NÁDIA LEITE, RITA DE CÁSSIA SARAMAGO, SIMONE VILLA

## **THE REPASSOS EXHIBITION AND THE MODERN INTEREST IN THE POPULAR** **A EXPOSIÇÃO REPASSOS E O MODERNO INTERESSE PELO POPULAR** **ARIEL LAZZARIN, CARLOS MARTINS**

**Ariel Luís Romani Lazzarin** is an Architect and a Ph.D candidate in the Postgraduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism at the Institute of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of São Paulo, Brazil. He researches urbanism, landscape architecture, design, architectural history, and modern architecture in Brazil and Latin America.  
allazzarin@usp.br

<http://lattes.cnpq.br/1077994854085483>

**Carlos Alberto Ferreira Martins** is a Senior Full Professor at the Institute of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, Brazil. He has research experience in the History of Architecture and Urbanism, especially in European avant-garde architecture and urbanism and modern architecture and urbanism in Brazil and Latin America.  
cmartins@sc.usp.br

<http://lattes.cnpq.br/7689101674915215>

ARTIGO SUBMETIDO EM 10 DE AGOSTO DE 2025

Lazzarin, A. L. R. & Martins, C. A. F. (2025). The Repassos Exhibition and the Modern Interest in the PopulaR. *V!RUS*, (30). Multilateral Dialogues: Praxis, Interlocutions, and Confrontations. 326-349 <https://doi.org/10.11606/2175-974x.virus.v30.239951>

## Abstract

The exhibition *Repassos – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* was the culmination of a body of work marked by an accumulation of content and dialogues that confronted diverse theoretical-methodological, technical, and technological positions, presenting a stark reality of poverty that continued to reverberate across the following decades. The project presented at MASP shaped an investigation into the modes of making craftsmanship associated with a practice rooted in the region’s seventeenth-century colonial processes and which endured, up to the latter half of the twentieth century, as an expression of cultural resistance. Drawing on authors such as Lina Bo Bardi and her understanding of phenomena like pre-craftsmanship, this study aims to examine the exhibition as an opportunity for understanding Brazilian underdevelopment and as an alternative to both capitalist logic and hegemonic forms of modernity. The methodology articulated historical research and documentary analysis, combining ethnography with a technical study of making. The results indicate that, through the cooperative work between the artist and the weavers, a decisive opportunity was created for the preservation of knowledge and for interpretations relevant to contemporary theoretical debates, offering perspectives for the production of forms of knowledge committed to revising the structural hierarchies of Brazilian culture.

**Keywords:** Hand Weaving, Triângulo Mineiro, Exhibition, Popular, Modern Movement.

## 1 Introduction

For decades, practices, records, and investigations surrounding hand weaving in the Triângulo Mineiro<sup>1</sup> region have been developed. Such a delimitation raises relevant questions: what are its origins? What are its characteristics? Does the practice still persist? Although the factors that contributed to the consolidation of this traditional knowledge exceed the scope of the present study, it is possible to state that the exhibition *Repassos – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro*, held from September 9 to 28, 1975 at the São Paulo Museum of Art (MASP), as shown in Figure 1, constituted the first cultural product to offer a regionalized interpretation of weaving practices whose reverberations, in various forms, have persisted over the last fifty years. The exhibition can be understood as a landmark of resistance, insofar making visible a know-how historically marginalized by the hegemonic narratives of modernity, an understanding constructed from a critical reflection on the historical, symbolic, technical, and material significance of the exhibition. Given the nature of the object, which involves technical, social, and symbolic practices, a methodology was adopted that combines historical research, documentary analysis, and ethnographic observation. This approach made it possible to understand hand weaving not only as a material practice, but as a field of meanings and relationships marked by modes of transmission, gestures, and collective memories. The analysis of the exhibition’s documentation, combined with the study of the practices and trajectories of those involved, allowed the unfolding of this work to be recognized.

The analysis proposed here begins with a descriptive and interpretative composition of the exhibition’s own title, taken as a key for reading the content presented. Along this path, the reader is introduced to the concept of *repasso*, the work of the artist Edmar de Almeida, and his interlocution with the region’s weavers—elements considered indispensable to the present investigation. Before moving to the proposed composition, it is important to offer a brief contextualization through a concise historical overview of hand weaving in the region under study. In Minas Gerais, throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods, an essentially female artisanal textile technology developed, marked by technical knowledge passed across generations and initially focused on domestic subsistence, in which women wove “for general use” — that is, for strictly utilitarian purposes — as well as for the making of trousseaus<sup>2</sup>. According to Cláudia Renata Duarte (2011), from the second half of the eighteenth century onward, manual textile production began to exceed the limits of household utilization, acquiring commercial weight in different localities of the then Captaincy of Minas Gerais. Such expansion provoked reactions from the

<sup>1</sup> Officially, the region is defined as the Triângulo Mineiro and Alto Paranaíba. It comprises the west part of the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil.

<sup>2</sup> Today it is still possible to find handcrafted wooden chests/boxes where pieces woven on handlooms were stored and given to young women when they got married.

Portuguese metropolis, which regarded with concern the autonomous growth of this economic practice. As a result, restrictive measures were decreed by the Portuguese Crown to limit local manufacture and prevent the weakening of the colony's economic dependence on the metropole. Some forms of production, however, were exempted from the prohibition, as documented at the time: “*dos ditos Teares, e Manufacturas, em que se técem, ou manufacturam Fazendas grossas de Algodão, que servem para o uso, e vestuario dos Negros, para enfadar, e empacotar Fazendas, e para outros Ministérios simlhantes*” (Duarte, 2011, pp. 1805–1806). Such restrictions reveal not only political control over the means of local production, but also the limits imposed on the technical and economic autonomy of the population, especially regarding women's work in textile production. Despite such control, looms and artifacts survived in the countryside, preserving traditional forms introduced into Brazilian daily life through Portuguese immigration — especially through the adoption of the treadle loom<sup>3</sup> — and merging with other practices in techniques of weaving, dyeing, and even patterning, influenced by Indigenous and African references<sup>4</sup>. Because they were portable and easily dismantled, looms accompanied processes of territorial occupation from the sixteenth century onward, disseminating thanks to knowledge transmitted within communities and to their artisanal reproduction by local carpenters and blacksmiths.

When considering textile production in Minas Gerais, one must also account for the establishment of the first textile industries beginning in 1868, which reached the Triângulo Mineiro in 1920. Although their presence in the region was brief, the impact on traditional forms of production was significant, especially through the introduction of new logics of consumption, labor organization, and productive relations (Duarte, 2011). This process contributed to the weakening of artisanal weaving by shifting the productive axis toward an industrial framework. In addition, agricultural expansion and the intense urbanization experienced in the region from the 1950s onward generated profound structural changes: many looms were abandoned, tools became obsolete, and access to raw materials, historically linked to rural life, were compromised (Duarte, 2011). Within this context, one of the main threats to the continuity of this practice, historically rooted in rural dynamics.

Lina Bo Bardi understood craftsmanship as “the expression of a time and a society,” carried out by “a worker who possesses even a modest capital that allows him to work the raw material and sell the finished product, with material profit and spiritual satisfaction, the object being both designed and executed by the worker himself” (L. B. Bardi, 2009a, p. 107, our translation). This conception emphasizes the creative autonomy of the craftsperson, in contrast to the fragmentation characteristic of industrial labor. In the Triângulo Mineiro, textile knowledge was predominantly transmitted among women in rural environments through family bonds and community networks. Yet there are also significant records of the continuity and reinvention of these practices in urban contexts. In such cases, there are notable strategies of adaptation employed by these women who, facing socioeconomic transformations, reformulated their methods of craft to accommodate the new spaces, rhythms, and conditions of urban life, while still preserving fundamental aspects of traditional knowledge. In this sense, hand weaving in the Triângulo Mineiro may be understood as a practice of resistance, fostering a fertile environment for an alternative modernity – or even a transmodernity<sup>5</sup> –, that rejects consumption as the ultimate purpose of creation.

---

<sup>3</sup> A type of hand loom where the warp opening is controlled by pedals connected to a heddle system.

<sup>4</sup> Other types of looms can be mentioned here, such as the table loom and the waist loom. This article is the result of ongoing PhD research developed by the author Ariel Luís Romani Lazzarin under the guidance of Professor Carlos Alberto Ferreira Martins, at the Institute of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo (IAU-USP), where a more in-depth discussion of this subject will be presented.

<sup>5</sup> The concept developed by Enrique Dussel can offer further development for the discussion in its transposition to the present time, as a continuation of the events investigated here. For the author, transmodernity surpasses modernity built from the knowledge that it itself disregarded. To Eurocentrism, transmodernity proposes an openness to multiple traditions and epistemologies, projecting a truly plural and multicultural historical horizon (Dussel, 2003).



329

**Fig. 1:** Poster for the Repassos Exhibition – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro (1975). Source: Edmar de Almeida's personal archive, 1975.

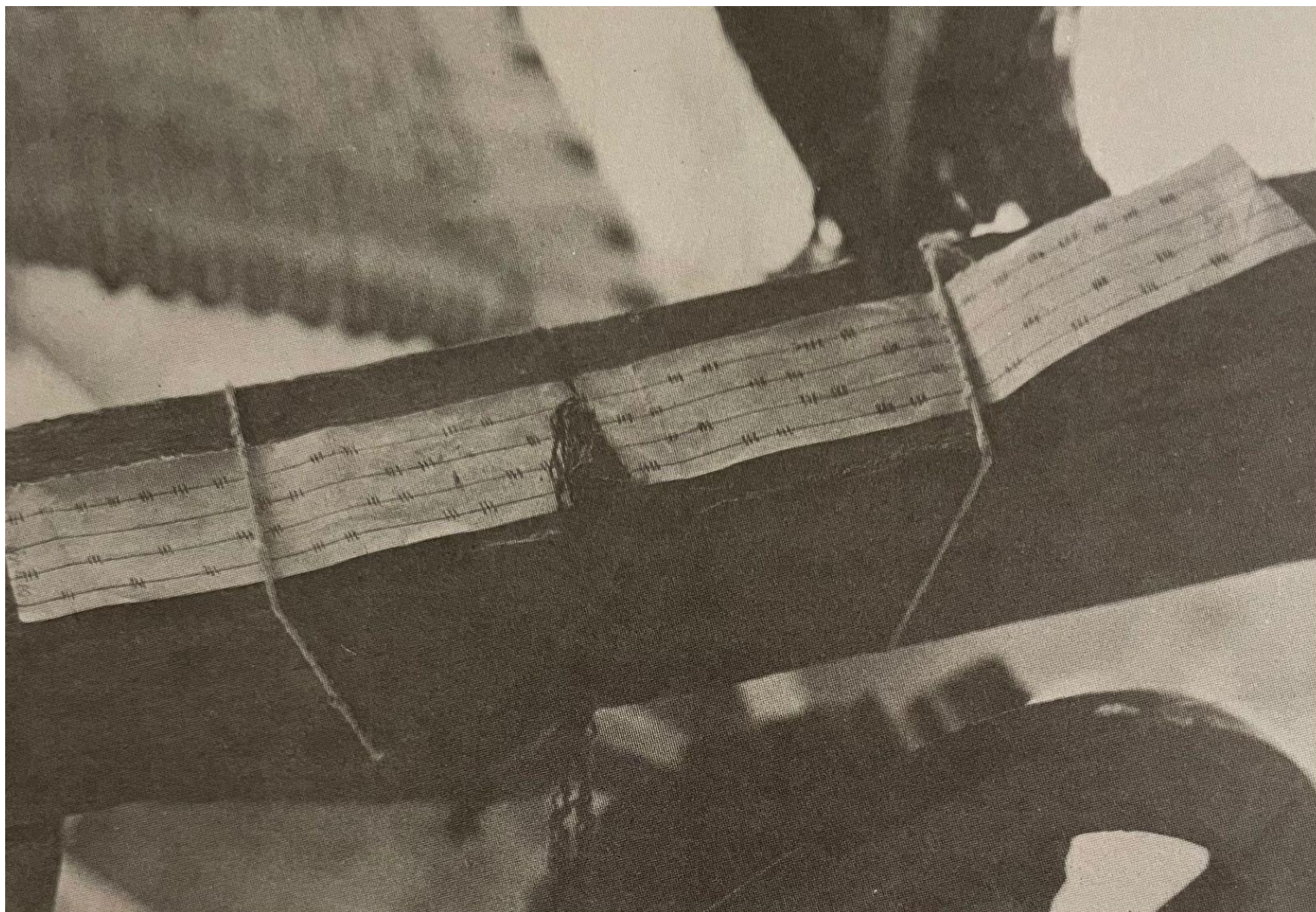
## 2 Fundamental Elements of the Work

Understanding the *repassos* requires not only attention to the technique itself, but also to the historical context of resistance, control, and adaptation within which weaving practices have survived. The *repassos* constitute the method through which knowledge of this technique is produced and preserved, relying on graphic records, codes, and verbal transmission. Drawn in notebooks, notes in the margins of pages, hand-made sketches, and schematic diagrams, as shown in Figure 2, they form an informal archive that serves as a repository of the weavers' technical memory and is indispensable to the processes of warping and weaving. These records not only guide the setup and organization of the loom but also document patterns, rhythms, and combinations of colors and textures specific to a particular artisan or community. According to Almeida (Revista Veja, 1975, pp. 106–108, our translation)<sup>6</sup>, “the ‘*repassos*’ (signs inscribed in a sort of rudimentary score used to indicate the order and position of threads of different colors, resulting in a given design) were jotted down on wrapping paper, roughly executed, and also passed from mother to daughter.” In other words, their mode of transmission surpasses the technical aspect, representing a form of cultural knowledge that connects memory, tradition, and practice, highlighting the central role of the weavers in preserving the textile heritage of the Triângulo Mineiro.

Technically, the *repasso* corresponds to the stage in which the warp threads are passed through the heddles and the reed of the loom, determining the interlacement and, consequently, the final design of the textile. However, more than just an operational step that requires knowledge, precision, and time in handling a large number of threads, the *repasso* represents a gesture laden with accumulated knowledge, visual calculation, and embodied experience, transmitted across generations through observation, practice, and communal exchange among women. A study initiated by the National Pró-Memória Foundation in the late 1970s identified more than 200 *repassos* in the Triângulo Mineiro, bearing names such as *Doce de Leite*, *Bagageiro de Dama*, *Pé de Gato*, *Cândida Maria da Paixão*, *Bico de Rosa*, *Borboleta*, among others. In contexts where access to formal instruction was limited, the *repasso* functioned as a social technology that articulated memory, improvisation, and method. Thus, to understand the *repasso* is also to understand the modes through which artisanal knowledge is coded and reinvented within contexts of continuous social transformation. It reveals the strength of this practice as a language of its own, deeply rooted in a collective process of creation. In this sense, the *repassos* are at the basis of the resistance against processes that attempt to render this knowledge invisible.

---

<sup>6</sup> Statement attributed to Edmar de Almeida in an article published by *Veja* magazine.



**Fig. 2:** Repasso code fixed on a loom. Source: Maureau et al., 1984, p. 57.

The region is decisive for this process, particularly in the consolidation of techniques for cultivating cotton, extracting kapok or animal wool, dyeing the threads, and establishing collective work. After presenting the *repassos*, it is important to document the set of artifacts used in the production of fabrics in hand weaving, based on the study published by the National Pró-Memória Foundation in 1984<sup>7</sup>, as previously cited. In preparing the threads, depending on the type of raw material, a cotton gin is used to remove the seeds, and the string to remove smaller impurities. The following process, carding, requires two cards, tools essential for untangling the fibers and performing an additional stage of cleaning. Next, the resulting mass is transformed into thread with the use of the spinning wheel, and the product is stored on a spool attached to the wheel. Dyeing requires a preliminary step of gathering the threads into skeins, ensuring uniform coloration; for this, another piece of equipment is needed, the *swift* (*dobadeira*) or a similar tool, the *sarilho*. The dyeing process employs stainless-steel or wooden rods, a barrel, pestle, stove, containers, copper and iron kettles, cloths, and sieves, in addition to water and soap. Furthermore, before weaving, warping constitutes the final operation performed on the threads, preparing them to receive the weft; for this, the *casal* — a piece of equipment used to “match” the warp threads wound onto bobbins, preparing them for the loom — and the sword are used. For weaving itself, the primary equipment is the loom, which may be vertical, horizontal, or inclined, and the development of the textile depends on the desired weave, with or without the use of *repassos*.

<sup>7</sup> Research project developed by the National Center for Cultural Reference since 1976.

Back to the Exhibition, the artist Edmar José de Almeida, from the city of Araxá, Minas Gerais, born in 1944, began his artistic training as a child in the city of Uberaba, located in the same state, where he took classes with Elizabeth Van der Winkel<sup>8</sup>, who introduced him to works by Henri Matisse and Georges Rouault. In 1960, he moved to São Paulo, where he studied with Wega Nery Gomes Pinto<sup>9</sup> and, two years later, enrolled in the Program in Brazilian Arts and Letters at the University of Brasília, where he was a student of the artists Maciej Babinski and Athos Bulcão. He returned to São Paulo in 1966, when he studied drawing and painting with Yolanda Mohalyi<sup>10</sup> and weaving techniques with Agnes Schumaker. During these years, his textile work became increasingly visible to critics, as recorded by Vilém Flusser in his article *Tapeçarias*, written in 1970 and published in the Literary Supplement of the Estado de São Paulo. The author began his text by questioning whether the cave is humankind's primitive habitat, and whether human beings are, in fact, creatures who dwell, or whether it was the need to hunt that compelled them to venture outward and build their own spaces, thus leading to the contemplation of Edmar's textile art. For Flusser, tapestry would relate to the culture of the tent just as architecture would relate to the culture of the house, and this possible co-existence or interdependence between tapestry and architecture would be grounded, in his view, in a historical retrospective that goes from Egypt to the then-recent art biennials. Just as Gothic tapestries announced "the storm of the Renaissance" (Flusser, 1970a, n.p., our translation), the author asks what contemporary tapestry might be announcing. For him,

rugs are the result of a weaving that seeks to deny and cause its own weft to disappear. (...) And today it is rugs that are the predestined vehicle for preserving and disseminating the tendencies that the Symbolists and Fantastic Art set in motion in the previous generation. Indeed, thanks to the rug, such tendencies may continue to challenge those other contemporary ones that can be summarized under the title "structuralist" (Flusser, 1970a, n.p., our translation).

Based on the author's reflections, it becomes evident that, for him, tapestry was not limited to its decorative function, but acted as an instrument of cultural and aesthetic transmission, in which the technique of an "invisible warp" reinforced its symbolic role in questioning contemporary artistic tendencies. In another article written in the same year, entitled *Tapêtes*, Flusser (1970b) continued his interpretation of Edmar's work as an anti-structural tendency. By conducting a syntactic and semantic analysis of one of the artist's pieces, he understood the woven butterfly as a figure that challenges the structuralist world surrounding it, precisely because it is embodied within a rug. Flusser used the work to explain "Edmar's engagement with rugs, an engagement whose roots are probably unconscious to him, yet revealed through disciplined analysis" (Flusser, 1970b, n.p., our translation). For Flusser, the path Edmar chose was difficult, for in his search for an alternative to anti-semantic tendencies, the artist risked falling into the danger of kitsch-ification (Flusser, 1970b).

Edmar clings to the tradition of tapestry because within it he discovers a channel perfectly suited to transmitting a symbolic message opposed to the syntactic messages that inundate us. By being a traditional weaver, Edmar may become a disturbing, and in this sense, highly informative, artist (Flusser, 1970b, n.p., our translation).

The philosopher offered an incisive interpretation of what the artist was investigating in his work as an act of resistance, an interpretation later supported by the impact and success of the 1975 exhibition, which would validate Edmar's artistic and social choices. By studying Edmar's works, Flusser reinforced his critique of technique, modern rationality, and the notion of linear progress, providing the foundations for a reflection on alternative modernities grounded in the valorization of the symbolic and the sensitive to overcome the dichotomy between tradition and modernity.

After a period of study in Europe, facilitated by Dom Evaristo Arns<sup>11</sup>, and due to the political repression in the 1970s, Edmar's safe haven became his family home in Uberlândia and the Santo Antônio Farm, located in the rural area of the same region.

---

<sup>8</sup> Born in Rotterdam, Netherlands. Studied at the Academy of Fine Arts and Technical Sciences in Rotterdam.

<sup>9</sup> Born in Corumbá, MS, Brazil. Artist, writer, and teacher, her work has been exhibited in dozens of exhibitions in Brazil and abroad.

<sup>10</sup> Born in Cluj Napoca, Romania. Studied drawing and painting at the Budapest Academy of Fine Arts. In Brazil, she was a member of Grupo 7.

<sup>11</sup> According to a statement published by the Uberlândia Virtual Museum on September 8, 2016.

His training, combined with his interest in the popular means of production of his homeland and his close relationship with the cerrado landscape, reshaped his connection to place, leading him to research and study the techniques involved in weaving, as well as the artifacts and *repassos* identified in the region. During his time in Uberlândia, during persecution from the military dictatorship, he took the opportunity to carry out activities with local weavers and produced the piece *Crucifixo* — shown in Figure 3 — in 1973, as a tribute to Dom Pedro Casaldáliga<sup>12</sup>. This work was presented to Lina Bo Bardi through mutual friends and became<sup>13</sup> the initial link between the architect and the artist.

Edmar was not the only one intrigued by these common methods of production in the region; he was often accompanied by his friend Flávio Império who, according to Marcelina Gorni (2004), also held a deep interest in Brazilian artisanal production. According to the author, the architect's work revealed "his interest and curiosity about the subsistence manufactures that persisted despite the advances of industrial progress" (Gorni, 2004, p. 49). Together with Edmar, Flávio produced three Super-8 video works — *Colhe, corda, fia, tece; As tecedeiras de Uberlândia – MG*; and *Tecidos artesanais de Edmar de Almeida* — which were also exhibited in 1975. These works convey images of landscapes, popular spinning and weaving techniques, and religious manifestations expressed through folk art, all captured during their journeys throughout the Triângulo Mineiro region. For Flávio, "the act of doing, or quite literally 'getting one's hands dirty,' will always represent a distinctive form of knowledge, one that confers a unique repertoire upon the one who performs and practices it" (Gorni, 2004, p. 50). Closely aligned with Edmar's perspective, the architect understood this technology as transcending mere technical execution, instead constituting a form of knowledge deeply rooted in both body and region. By recording this production, he not only documented cultural heritage and the work of an artist, but also recognized the transformative aspect of manual work, which articulates memory, technique, and creativity.

### 3 The people at the museum once again

The *Crucifixo* was the connection between Edmar and Lina, a work that at that moment represented the convergences between the interests of the Minas Gerais artist and the Italian-Brazilian architect. She had found in the northeast region of Brazil, the *Nordeste*, the content for new critical formulations concerning popular art, Brazilian pre-craft production, and industrial art that should be situated within the museum, where, in her view, there should also be a school of industrial art. In this sense, "(art in the sense of craft, beyond art itself) that would allow contact between technicians, designers, and executors" (L. B. Bardi, 2009a, p. 109, our translation). Her proposal pointed toward the need for collective awareness of the characteristics of an abrupt, imported industrialization and its serious consequences, such as the distancing from the country's rich cultural reality. One of her calls was for artists to acknowledge the fact that there was no craftsmanship in the country, in the sense that the term itself was historically constituted and tied to craft guilds, but rather a form of domestic pre-craft production that might have been identified in time to influence the choices made by industry, for greater coherence with its people (L. B. Bardi, 1994). Part of her research resulted in the *Nordeste* Exhibition, held in the city of Salvador in 1963, where, according to the architect herself, what was presented was:

a poetics of human things that are not gratuitous, not created by mere fantasy. (...) Forms of artisanal and industrial design. (...) technical production tied to the reality of materials and not to folkloric-choreographic formal abstraction. (...) a necessary path for finding, within technical humanism, a poetics (L. B. Bardi, 2009b, pp. 117–118, our translation).

In other words, this exhibition was significant not only for advancing propositions and discussions concerning the exhibition space, but also for marking a turning point in the valorization of popular production as both a component and creator of the present, breaking with the folklorizing logic and the hierarchy that subordinated the popular to the erudite. For Lina, in fact, repudiating folklore was necessary, as its capacity to exterminate cultural roots had to be confronted with an opposing and rational investigative platform in order to understand the meaning of Popular Art for this country (L. B. Bardi, 2009b). The

<sup>12</sup> Dom Pedro Casaldáliga was born in Balsareny, Barcelona, lived in Brazil from 1968 onwards, and was in São Felix do Araguaia, Mato Grosso, during the dictatorship.

<sup>13</sup> The play was presented to Lina Bo Bardi by her friends Flávio Império and Alan Meyer, in São Paulo.

*Nordeste* Exhibition, which the architect also referred to as *Civilização Nordeste*<sup>14</sup>, it caused such a stir that its installation in Rome was suspended, generating wide international repercussions and leading architect Bruno Zevi to write the article *L'arte dei poveri fa paura ai generali*<sup>15</sup> (Zevi, 1965), denouncing the silencing and presenting Lina's trajectory and project in Brazil. This recognition of artifacts as living expressions of creativity, technique, and identity, engaging in dialogue with contemporary art and design, gained national scale with "The Hand of the Brazilian People" in 1969. This other exhibition, the first temporary exhibition at the newly inaugurated MASP building, continued the same political gesture, discussing another vision of Brazilian modernity. With the participation of Pietro Maria Bardi, Glauber Rocha, and Martim Gonçalves, the exhibition presented approximately one thousand objects from all over Brazil, from a country unknown to a large part of the Brazilian population. Once again, the people's production entered the museum, this time in the most important museum in the country, fulfilling the crucial role of valuing popular cultural production, inventive, creative, and utilitarian, constructing a Brazilian cultural identity, questioning dominant discourses of modernity, and bringing the people into the museum as a way of legitimizing marginal knowledge and practices<sup>16</sup>.

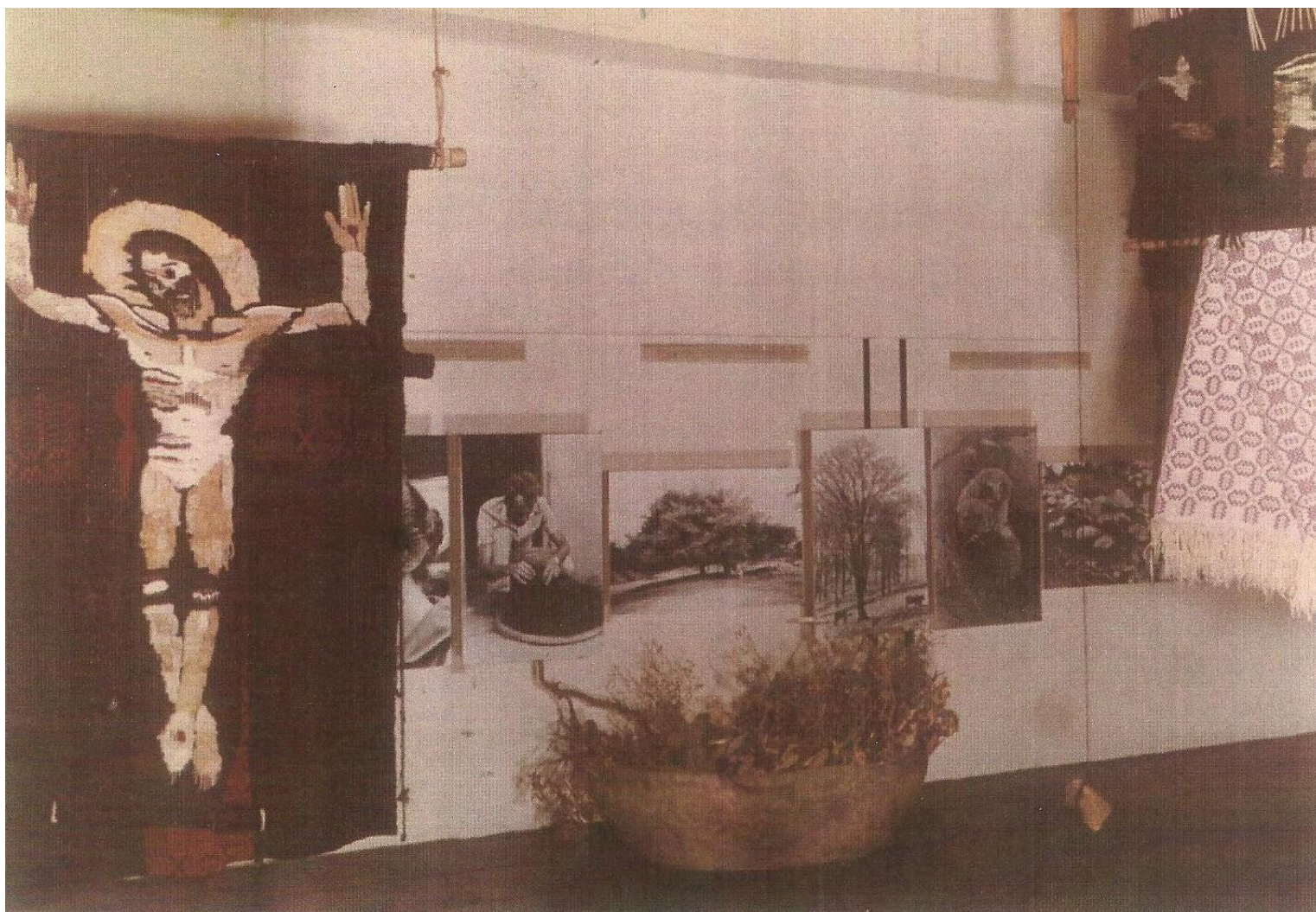
Not by coincidence, the productive bond between Edmar and Lina, later transformed into a friendship, endured. The works mentioned above appear as samples of the architect's earlier projects in the field of exhibition design and, when placed alongside what Edmar was investigating at that time, make evident the convergence of their interests. In the early years of the decade following the *Nordeste* and *A Mão do Povo Brasileiro* exhibitions, Lina began a series of trips to the inland region of Minas Gerais to visit her friend at Sítio Santo Antônio, to learn about the work he was developing with local weavers, to explore the Cerrado biome, and to formulate what would become their first joint project. The exhibition *Repassos – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* was conceived as an act of cultural resistance and was understood as such from its inception. In a letter dated July 28, 1975, Pietro Maria Bardi informed Edmar that he had received and understood the project proposal, emphasized the importance of the future exhibition, and expressed his support, as well as that of Lina and the Museum, for the initiative, which he described as a "(one day) archaeological document" (P. M. Bardi, 1975, n.p., our translation). Faced with the collective responsibility toward History, he affirmed that the artist's work posed questions concerning the survival of humankind in the face of an arrogant technological progress (P. M. Bardi, 1975, n.p.).

---

<sup>14</sup> Lina begins the text about the *Nordeste* exhibition by saying that the exhibition could have been called *Civilização Nordeste* (Northeast Civilization), as it dealt with practical aspects of human life. In fact, in *Tempos de Grossura: o design no impasse* (Times of Roughness: Design at an Impasse), the text is presented with the title *Civilização Nordeste*.

<sup>15</sup> Translated from the original Italian: "The art of the poor frightens the generals".

<sup>16</sup> A new staging of the Exhibition took place at MASP in 2016, following the concept, but with adaptations.

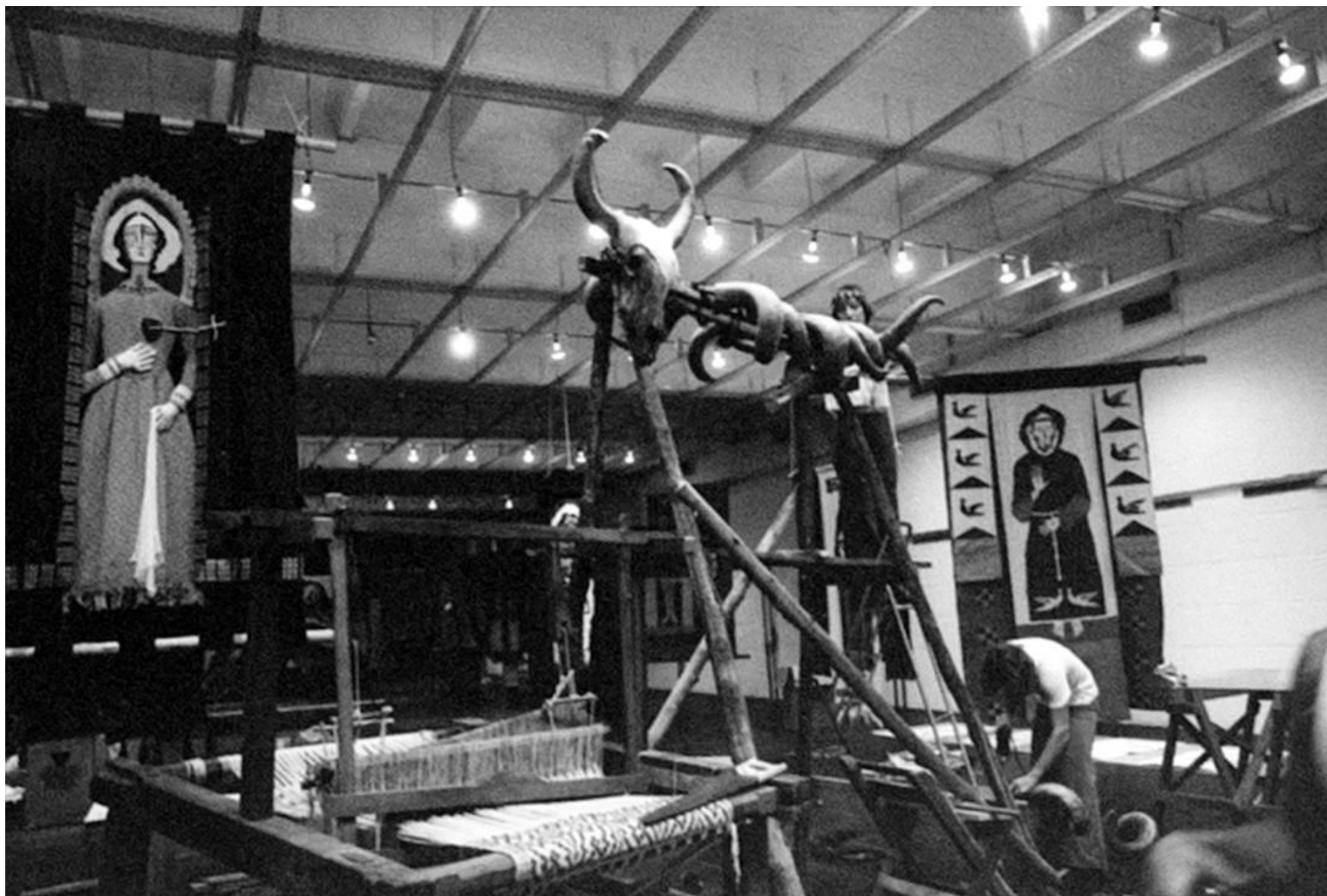


**Fig. 3:** *Crucifixo* as part of the *Repassos Exhibition – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* (1975). Source: Personal Collection of Edmar de Almeida, 1975.



336

**Fig. 4:** Installation of the *Repassos Exhibition – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* (1975). Photographer: Luiz Sodaki Ossaka. Source: MASP Collection, 1975.



**Fig. 5:** Installation of the *Repassos Exhibition – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* (1975). Photographer: Luiz Sodaki Ossaka. Source: MASP Collection, 1975.



338

**Fig. 6:** Installation of the *Repassos Exhibition – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* (1975). Photographer: Luiz Sodaki Ossaka. Source: MASP Collection.

Luiz Sodaki Ossaka, Flávio Império, Alan Meyer, and Maria Cecília Cerrotti worked alongside them. In addition to the *Crucifixo*, tapestries were produced based on Edmar's designs and with the work of weavers from Martinésia (a district of Uberlândia), Abadia dos Dourados, and Araguari. The pieces<sup>17</sup> were exhibited in the museum's main hall along with videos, photographs, plants from Cerrado biome, artifacts, work tools, and research on dyes. Based on the exhibition's ethnographic nature, an expansive environment was created, as shown in Figures 3 to 7, which presented the process through which those works were produced in Minas Gerais. Resistance was explicit, as a continuation of what had been initiated with the 1963 exhibition and as an expression of the anguish experienced during the years of dictatorship, in which the tapestries, such as the one dedicated to Friar, spoke on behalf of the people as both an affirmation of identity and a denunciation of a difficult historical moment. For Pietro<sup>18</sup>, the work presented itself as an "essentially Brazilian" masterpiece (P. M. Bardi, 1975, p. 106, our translation). *Deposição*, for example, a piece weighing approximately 200 kilograms, measuring five by four

<sup>17</sup> According to the exhibition booklet, the works on display were: 01 – *Cordeiro* (Lamb), 02 – *Divino* (Holy Spirit), 03 – *Antônio Conselheiro*, 04 – *Nossa Senhora Menina* (Child Virgin Mary), 05 – *Anjo 1* (Angel 1), 06 – *São Francisco de Assis* (Saint Francis of Assisi), 07 – *Crucifixo* (Crucifix), 08 – *Nossa Senhora e o Menino* (Virgin Mary and the Child), 09 – *Estrela* (Star), 10 – *Espírito Santo* (Holy Spirit), 11 – *Menino Jesus* (Infant Jesus), 12 – *Nossa Senhora* (Virgin Mary), 13 – *São José* (Saint Joseph), 14 – *Nossa Senhora do Vale* (Our Lady of the Valley), 15 – *Santa Teresa de Ávila* (Saint Teresa of Ávila), 16 – *Cristo da Loucura* (Christ of Madness), 17 – *Arcanjo* (Archangel), 18 – *Nossa Senhora das Dores* (Our Lady of Sorrows), 19 – *Descida da Cruz* (Descent from the Cross), 20 – *Rei Gaspar* (King Gaspar), 21 – *Rei Belchior* (King Melchior), 22 – *Rei Baltazar* (King Balthazar), 23 – *Cristo na Cruz* (Christ on the Cross), 24 – *Anja* (Female Angel), 25 – *Cristo Ressurgido* (Risen Christ), and 26 – *Paramento Festa Pentecostes* (Pentecost Feast Vestment, for liturgical use).

<sup>18</sup> Statement attributed to Pietro Maria Bardi in an article published by *Veja* magazine.

meters, and woven with horsehair, was among the works displayed, as shown in Figure 8, and was entirely related to the moment of persecution and torture. As an example of the work developed, as described below, each piece utilized a set of knowledge and synthesized the collective work that persisted in that daily life in the rural environment.

According to MASP's archival records, the piece *Nossa Senhora das Dores* was conceived with reference to the Spanish tradition — *La Amargura, La Soledad, La del Valle, La Macarena*<sup>19</sup>. The materials used for its creation would involve the use of dyed twine, industrialized wool, silk thread, silver thread, raw cotton, raw wool, horsehair, crystal stones, and tin. The fabrics would be produced on a four-pedal loom using *repassos* (background – *bagageiro* and *bagageiro de dados* [a traditional patterned ground weave and its checked variation]; clothing – *rosinha* and *quadro* [a small floral-patterned weave and a modular framed motif]; cape – *lua miúda* [a small crescent-shaped motif]; border – detail in *lua miúda* [small crescent-shaped motif]) and the face would be woven on a two-pedal loom, in addition to cutting and sewing. The assembly required sheet-metal framing and soldering, as well as bamboo and eucalyptus. Its production would demand the work of four weavers, two assemblers<sup>20</sup> (a seamstress and an assistant), one crochet maker<sup>21</sup>, a sheet-metal artisan, an embroiderer, a weaver (face), a carpenter, and an assistant. Archival documents also record another piece, *Irmã Pobreza*, which would rely on the work of two spinners, one loom operator, one weaver, two finishers<sup>22</sup>, one carpenter, and would use exposed warp threads — a technique more closely associated with weaving itself. Its theme would refer to Saint Francis of Assisi and was described as

an “allegory” of the elderly women of the Brazilian inland region, of their hard life, their work, their struggle. She is an old woman, typical of the inland region, with her cotton dress and calloused hands. They possess nothing, which is why her hands are open and empty: in their continual giving, they keep nothing for themselves, not even the minimum necessary. She wears an apron because they work from childhood until old age. They only stop to die. The face was based on the thousands of faces of these elderly women of the Minas Gerais inland region — from my grandmother and my mother to the oldest of the weavers, Dona Maria, wife of José Isídio. Her daughter Nêga, a 38-year-old weaver, executed the design, keeping in mind the figure of her mother, Dona Maria, the most dedicated and the one with the most creativity and capacity for work among all those who wove as part of this group work (*Exposição Repassos – Edmar e as Tecedeiras do Triângulo Mineiro, 1975, s.p.*, our translation).

---

<sup>19</sup> Theme of *Nossa Senhora das Dores* (Our Lady of Sorrows). Of Spanish tradition, more particularly from Seville, where she is called *La Amargura, La Soledad, La del Valle, and La Macarena*. Andalusians distinguish three stages of the Sorrows — *La Amargura*, on the verge of weeping but shedding no tears. She is pure silence. Hence her being called *Silenciosa* (Quiet) and *La Soledad*. *La del Valle* bears her face in tears, while *La Macarena* weeps and smiles at the same time. In her, extreme sorrow and joy coexist without contradiction. In Brazil, she is the most widespread and well-known representation of Mary, from the period of colonization to the present day, where she is used in the Procession of the Encounter on the 5<sup>ª</sup> *feira da Semana Santa* (Holy Week's Thursday). In processions she usually wears a purple mantle and a blue dress. Throughout the year, when placed on an altar, the mantle is deep blue and the dress is white or light blue. She holds in her hands a delicate handkerchief and a sword piercing her heart. Her crown forms a circle of stars. Most of the images are life-size replicas of distaff. Protector of Juazeiro, the Mother of Father Cícero. In Mexico she is confused with Guadalupe; still in Spain, *La Soledad* is the protector of contemplative and cenobitic orders. The Virgin of Silence par excellence (Exhibition Archive, n.d., n.p.).

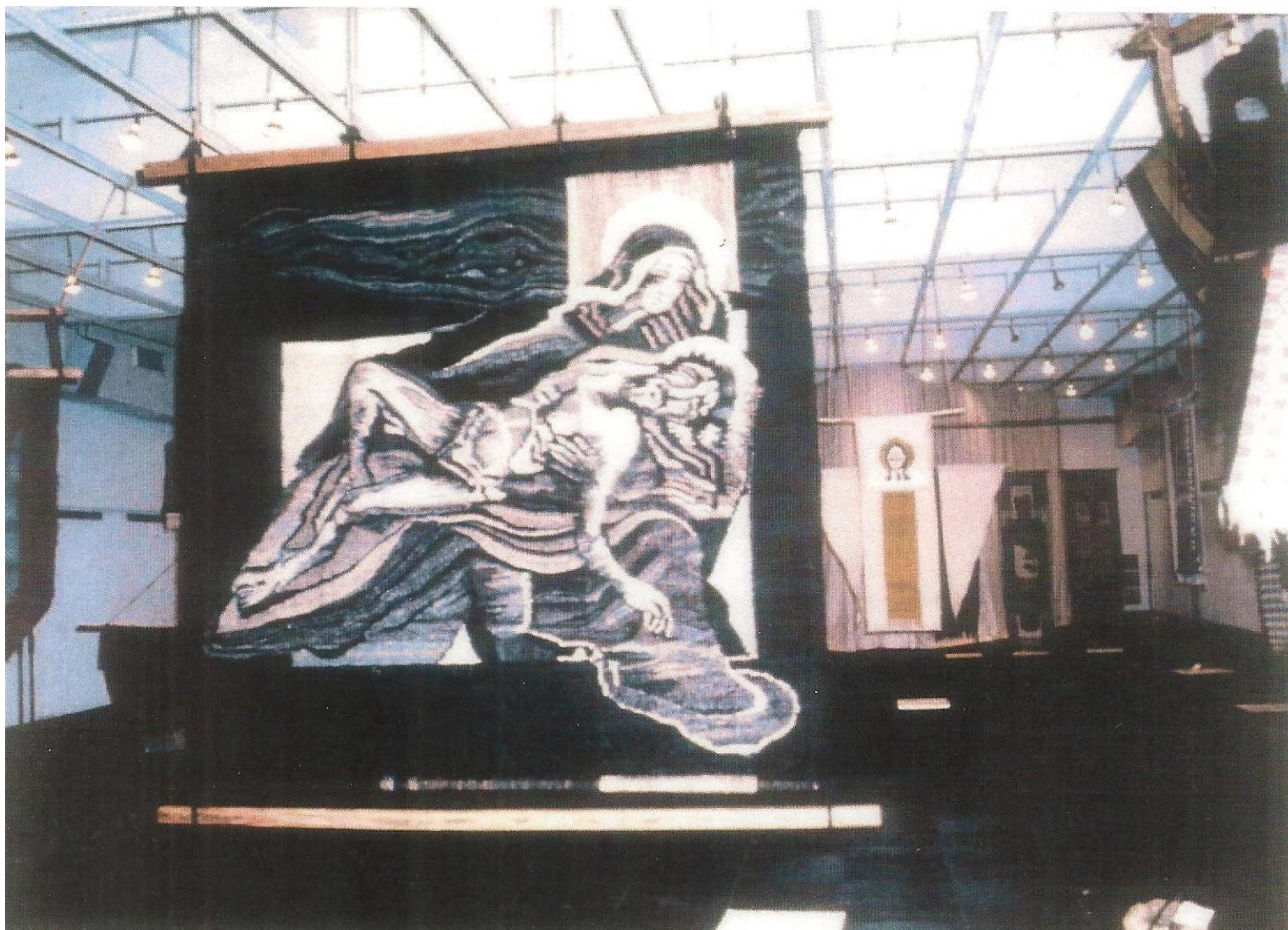
<sup>20</sup> Assembly workers.

<sup>21</sup> Crochet maker.

<sup>22</sup> Finishers.



**Fig. 7:** *Repassos Exhibition – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* (1975). Author: Luiz Sodaki Ossaka. Source: MASP Collection, 1975.



341

**Fig. 8:** Deposition forming part of the *Repastos Exhibition – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* (1975). Source: Edmar de Almeida's Personal Archive, 1975.

The details presented above reveal the lengthy and collective nature of the production process, as well as its anthropological dimension. It was an exhibition that left a mark on the cultural scene for everything it presented, for bringing the rural world onto Paulista Avenue and for the impact of elements such as the distribution of manure to those present at the opening, the sound of the horn calling people into the museum, and the religious themes of the pieces. In a way, this exhibition distances Edmar from the risk of slipping into kitsch, as framed by Flusser (1970b), once the work is interpreted through Lina's perspective that what is truly popular can never be kitsch, since for her the concept does not belong to Popular Art but to the bourgeoisie, and is irreversible. According to her,

the true meaning of kitsch is fear, fear of death, the refusal to face death by housewives who pile up, against a ghost they do not wish to face, the deluge of small family tenderesses, the hypocrisy of little lace trimmings and Easter bunnies, embroidered curtains and ornaments, and mementos of every kind (L. B. Bardi, 1994, p. 31, our translation).

The exhibition presented a country that many preferred not to see; it denounced inequality and poverty, acknowledging the nation's condition while simultaneously offering an alternative, not by glorifying misery, but through the knowledge and resilience of a people who endured scarcity. It is impossible not to return to Lina's critical perspective when interpreting Edmar's work with the weavers, because, like Vilém Flusser, she recognized its unsettling nature when she stated that this was not an exhibition of religious art; for her, "in difficult periods in a country's history, when structures collapse, mysticism is the last resort that pulls man out of passivity" (L. B. Bardi, 1975, n.p., our translation). Lina was responsible for writing the

exhibition's introductory text, in which the excerpt cited above is followed by the full transcription below, given its incisive and synthetic power as a reading of Edmar's artistic choices, which draw upon a regional repertoire to communicate.

Thus – the misery up to the point of madness of Mariazinha the weaver, Waldir the blacksmith, and Arlindo the fixer of ox carts, inhabitants of Martinésia in the Triângulo Mineiro. The desire “to make,” to place creativity at the service of someone, the search for a path toward a more dignified human condition, find in mysticism a temporary solution. This is the only meaning of this exhibition, which lies far from any religious “poetics,” from tapestry as the “art” of personalistic artistic exhibitionism. The spinning, weaving, and dyeing techniques, the materials connected to nature rather than their substitutes, indicate only the possibility of a civilization seeking solutions other than those of “consumption.” It is not an exhibition against the achievements of Western civilization, against industrialization or ‘comfort’. It is not an exhibition that presents art as consolation for misery, as a sedative for the consciences of those who do not “need” it. Edmar merely recorded things, events, possibilities, in the Cerrado region of the Triângulo Mineiro. A small contribution to the great collective awakening that transcends national borders to join the international debate exposing the perversity of a system that once believed in ‘industrial design’ as a purifying force and knows it cannot return to the apologetics of Ruskin and Morris. An artistic search at the anthropological level, a self-criticism at the collective level. The fact that the work is “figurative” or “religious” changes nothing in this presentation, a harsh testimony of hands that weave, interlace, cut, and dye. A statement without sentimentality and false populism. A counter-craft fully aware of all possible transformations, marked by human effort (L. B. Bardi, 1975, n.p., our translation).

With significant public impact, the exhibition drew attention, for example, from Vladimir Herzog, who, while working at TV Cultura, began producing a program about it; however, the project was interrupted by the journalist's tragic death in October 1975. According to the exhibition's records, for Pietro, “the exhibition of Edmar's tapestries was the demonstration that in Brazil one can work in this art with seriousness and originality” (P. M. Bardi, n.d., n.p., our translation)<sup>23</sup>. The press<sup>24</sup> reported on the exhibition and on the screening of the film made by Flávio about Edmar's work and the weavers, always highlighting the originality of the production, with a discourse that could not have been more inviting or stimulating, given the inevitable popular tone proposed by the exhibition. For example, an unidentified newspaper clipping, along with the MASP exhibition archive, records the artist himself asserting that it was a work that rejected both traditional tapestry and conventional handicraft. O Estado de São Paulo newspaper, in a text by Telmo Martino (1975), reported that the show represented a new type of culture, that of the serialized booklet, as well as Edmar's desire to preserve his freedom. Days later, the same newspaper published a text by Jacob Klintowitz, in which the author recognized the importance, audacity, and vitality of a production marginalized by the cultural elite and, drawing connections to *A Mão do Povo Brasileiro* and other initiatives, emphasized the importance of paying close attention to works that deviated from what was typically offered by the art world and that presented a profound social reality (Klintowitz, 1975).

Clearly, the press dedicated itself to disseminating information as the exhibition gained resonance<sup>25</sup>. On September 24 of the same year, *Veja* magazine published an article about the exhibition, opening with Pietro's statement that it had been the most important exhibition of the year, in which he emphasized the fundamental role of the work in the construction of Brazilian art and its exceptional status within it (P. M. Bardi, 1975). The magazine highlighted the didactic nature of the exhibition and Edmar's persistence; he recounted the beginnings of his weaving practice and pointed out the presence of weaving even in situations of extreme poverty. The text also clarified the range of knowledge involved in the production of these works, noting the roles of spinners, dyers, and weavers. The exhibition's impact demonstrates how the work extended beyond the exhibition circuit, generating critical and journalistic interest and positioning weaving within the cultural debates of the period. The various reactions – from specialized critics to the mainstream press – indicate that the exhibition not only attracted attention

---

<sup>23</sup> Typewritten text signed by P.M.B.

<sup>24</sup> Edition of September 8, 1975, of the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo.

<sup>25</sup> An excerpt from Jacob Klintowitz's text was used for a new promotion of the exhibition on September 19, 1975.

but also broadened the understanding of the aesthetic and social significance of this practice within the Brazilian artistic context.

#### 4 Sociocultural Developments

The year 1976 began with the repercussion of the award received by Edmar from the Associação Paulista de Críticos de Arte (APCA) for the exhibition held the previous year. On January 18, Folha de São Paulo newspaper announced the winners of the important prize, highlighting the monumental exhibition *Repassos – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* and, in the same edition, published the text *Tapestries: The Art of the Twentieth Century*. The article contributed to the recognition of the exhibition by situating the work within a national context of tapestry development. In addition to justifying the title, it presented a retrospective of productions by artists in the country, especially in the previous year, bringing together a significant number of exhibitions in Brazil and abroad, as well as artists and awards associated with Brazilian tapestry. The high level of the exhibition was highlighted, and Edmar was positioned among the leading figures, his work acknowledged as original and distinct from everything produced by the artists mentioned at the time, such as Regina Graz, Norberto Nicola, Genaro de Carvalho, Jacques Douchez, Burtle Marx, among others. The text also provided a brief historical overview of the technique, describing it as one of humanity's oldest manufacturing activities and highlighting its continued presence and capacity for adaptation across centuries and different continents.

Among those who visited the exhibition was Xavier Maureau, a Frenchman who expressed great admiration for the work and realized that the exhibition could guide further research. Based on his interest, dedication, and ability to mobilize institutions, the Centro Nacional de Referência Cultural (CNRC), under the direction of Aloísio Magalhães and through the Fundação Nacional Pró-Memória, undertook in 1976 one of its most significant initiatives: a research project on weaving in the Triângulo Mineiro<sup>26</sup>, aligned with the institution's objective of "establishing a reference framework for Brazilian cultural dynamics so as to foster the adoption of socioeconomically viable development models suited to our reality" (Maureau, 1984, p. 5, our translation). The project mapped and identified craftswomen in the region, many of whom had been distanced from their activities. This survey, combined with the recent repercussion of the exhibition at MASP, brought Edmar in as a consultant for a process aimed at reconnecting artisans in weaving practices, improving quality of life and income, and training young people and adults in the craft. Approximately 200 *repassos* were identified and catalogued, and techniques, artifacts, products, and working environments were documented, as shown in Figure 9. As a contribution back to society, a documentary and a printed publication entitled *Tecelagem Manual no Triângulo Mineiro: uma abordagem tecnológica* (Manual Weaving in the Triângulo Mineiro: a technological approach, our translation) were produced. The publication presents the records of years of research and continues to serve as a reference material for weavers, based on the graphic records that, at the time, was codified by the Computing Center of the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), as shown in Figure 10.

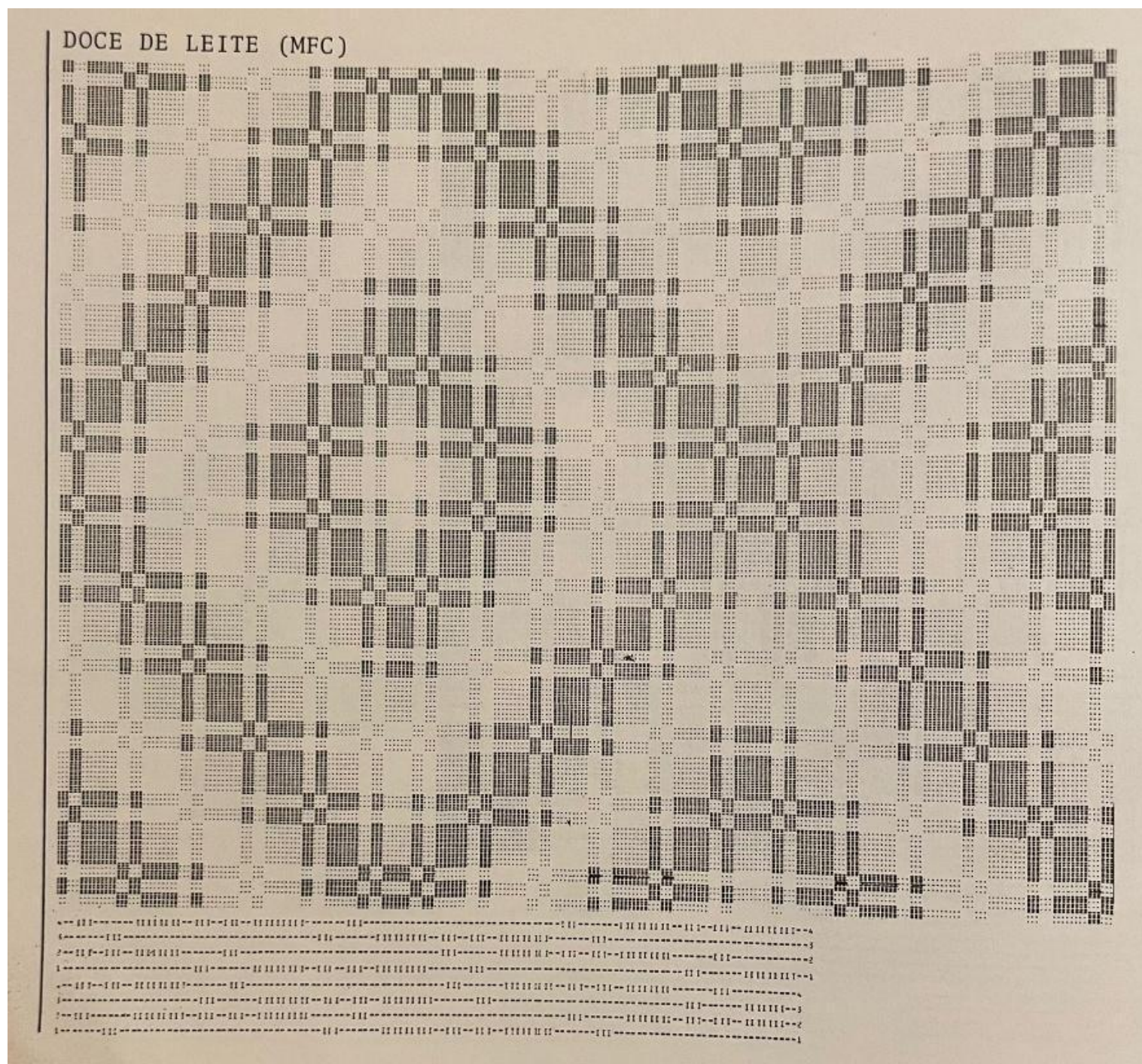
---

<sup>26</sup> The study of this project is part of an ongoing PhD research and, due to the extensive scope of the material, which exceeds the objectives of this article, it will be presented in detail at a later stage.



344

**Fig. 9:** Environment. Source: Maureau, Fonseca, & Altafin, 1984.



**Fig. 10:** Repasso Doce de Leite encoded. Source: Maureau, Fonseca & Altafin, 1984.

The project stimulated debates and, consequently, the creation of the Spinning and Weaving Center, designed by Márcia Cristina de Freitas, Maria Eliza Guerra and Roberto Andrade and inaugurated in 1992 in Uberlândia, which remains active to this day as a social and cultural project. In a certain way, this narrative invites us to revisit the Bauhaus experience in Germany, where one of the alternatives proposed by Walter Gropius, for example, was the cooperation between artist and artisan. It is also noteworthy that the weaving workshops at the school resisted gender prejudice and survived from the beginning to the end of the school (Weltge, 1993 apud Gradim, 2015). Like the other workshops of the school, the Weaving Workshop combined educational activity with commercial productivity, working on demand and participating in exhibitions and fairs, through which participants obtained additional income. The lack of materials and labor hindered the regularity of production in the textile workshop, which faced challenges similar to those of the ceramics workshop, despite collaborations and the production of iconic Bauhaus pieces. Documentation and record of production were meticulous; the most significant

works were photographed, and many pieces were acquired by the school itself (Droste, 2011 apud Gradim, 2015). Following a similar approach, the Spinning and Weaving Center supported significant research and educational initiatives, integrating design into the lives of adults who found the opportunity to reconnect with forgotten practices and exercise their craft under adequate working conditions, as well as young people who were able to experience weaving as technical and professional training outside of school hours.

Lina's work in the Triângulo Mineiro continued with the design and construction of the Church of the Holy Spirit of the Cerrado (*Igreja Divino Espírito Santo do Cerrado*), completed in 1982, where the architect found "conditions to formulate a new proposal for the Brazilian condition of underdevelopment. Even without a direct relationship to the reality of the northeast and its limitations, she saw in the Cerrado of Minas Gerais the possibility of continuing her research" (Lazzarin, 2015, p. 147, our translation)<sup>27</sup>. The project was carried out voluntarily at the invitation of Edmar, Friar Egídio Parisi<sup>28</sup>, and Dona Aurora, Edmar's mother, for the community of the Jaraguá neighborhood in Uberlândia. The architect's experience with textile production played an important role in the development of the project, which embeds in its conception, materiality, and construction process an alternative to what Flávio Império, for example, described as "an industrialization that had not been consolidated and could not meet the needs of the vast majority of the population at that moment" (Gorni, 2004, p. 48, our translation). Edmar continued producing in various ways and engaging local weavers in the region to create works integrated into architecture. As a result of the ongoing collaboration with Lina, such as the acoustic panels for SESC Pompéia, his work was included as an integral part of projects such as Praça das Artes in São Paulo (shown in Figure 11), the Oscar Niemeyer Museum in Curitiba, the Museu do Pão in Ilópolis, the Museum of the Pantanal Man in Corumbá, the Engenho Central Theater in Piracicaba<sup>29</sup>, and the Auditorium of Block 3Q at the Santa Mônica Campus of the Federal University of Uberlândia<sup>30</sup>, in addition to tapestries for the interior of the *Igreja Divino Espírito Santo do Cerrado* in Uberlândia and other works currently in development.

In addition to the developments mentioned above, it is important to highlight Lina's contemporary critical formulations, expressed in her writings, which clearly reflected her experience in the Triângulo Mineiro. Her definitions of craft, as something nonexistent in Brazil, her concept of pre-craft, which, for the reasons explained in her studies of the Brazilian Northeast, may encompass the handweaving of the Triângulo Mineiro, and finally, the notion of counter-craft, which appears in the introductory text of the exhibition under study, constitute significant contributions resulting from her experience in the interior of Brazil. For example, according to her, we should not label as craft the work of lacemakers in Ceará or ceramists in Pernambuco merely because they are organized into groups, since the work produced by these individuals would tend to disappear once better and necessary economic conditions were achieved in rural areas. Their production was intimately tied to the social structures of those communities (L. B. Bardi, 1994), and therefore distinct from what she understood as craft. In other words, her concept may be applied to the work of the weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro, allowing us to understand the project that developed in the aftermath of the exhibition, mainly due to Edmar's work. Her perspective was that, by identifying this genuinely popular production, one could contribute to preserving original creative possibilities which, as the deep structure of the popular, would be preserved in the face of the inevitable transformations caused by modern materials and means of production (L. B. Bardi, 1994).

Just like Lina, Aloísio Magalhães also discussed the concept of craft and understood that it did not, in fact, exist in Brazil. For him, even if craft was absent, there existed in the country "a certain inventiveness or availability for making, which he calls pre-design" (Anastassakis, 2011, p. 293, our translation). The author engaged in dialogue with Lina, asserting that her idea was perhaps "closer to reality and its dynamics than that of pre-craft. The latter would imply an evolution toward craft,

---

<sup>27</sup> Ariel Luís Romani Lazzarin is the author of the Master's thesis entitled *The Divino Espírito Santo do Cerrado Church and its alternatives to Brazilian architecture*, defended in 2015 and developed under the supervision of Professor Renato Luiz Sobral Anelli within the PPGAU at IAU-USP.

<sup>28</sup> Friar Egídio Parisi (1909 – 1981) was born in Montesano, Salerno, Italy. He was ordained a priest in 1932 and arrived in Brazil as Provincial Delegate of the Franciscan Foundation.

<sup>29</sup> Works developed from architectural projects by the Brasil Arquitetura office.

<sup>30</sup> Architectural project by Maria Eliza Guerra.

which does not seem to be the case” (Magalhães, 1977 apud Anastassakis, 2011, p. 293). Aligned with Lina’s perspective, and observing the products of Brazilian pre-design, Aloísio identified, according to Anastassakis (2011), both the potential of popular culture and the imminent risks of losing its authenticity when confronted with external, disruptive factors. Notably, from 1973 onward, Lina became increasingly connected to the Triângulo Mineiro, a process that culminated in the 1975 exhibition which subsequently led to the extensive documentation of weaving in the region carried out by the CNRC under Aloísio’s direction. The exhibition’s forceful critical stance, as well as the interest in transmitting knowledge through the research conducted by the Center, did not oppose industrialization. Rather, these contributions are fundamental to theoretical developments that discuss modernity, such as the notion of transmodernity proposed by Dussel (2003), which, instead of denying modernity, seeks to overcoming it through dialogue with subalternized knowledge systems. Since the 1960s, Lina had already held a position concerning conditions of poverty and warned of the urgent need for collective consciousness in the face of the country’s transformations, a call made explicit in the exhibition under study. For her, if the craft traditions of old guilds had ceased to be a “living part of a social structure” because the social conditions that sustained them no longer existed, and if they survived only as a “legacy of the trade” (L. B. Bardi, 1994, p. 17), then in the interior of Minas Gerais, where similar social or even environmental exhaustion could be observed, such pre-craft should become the object of study regarding the meaning of both its work and its product.



347

**Figura 11:** Panels designed by Edmar de Almeida for the Praça das Artes – Architectural Project by Brasil Arquitetura (Francisco Fanucci, Marcelo Ferraz, Fábio Oyamada, Luciana Dornellas, Marcos Cartum, Cícero Ferraz Cruz, Fabiana Fernandes Paiva, Anselmo Turazzi, Carol Silva Moreira, Anne Dieterich, Beatriz Marques, Felipe Zene, Fred Meyer, Gabriel Grinspum, Gabriel Mendonça, Victor Gurgel, Pedro Del Guerra, Thomas Kelley, Vinícius Spira, André Carvalho, Julio Tarragó, and Laura Ferraz). Source: Nelson Kon, n.d. <https://brasilarquitetura.com/project/praca-das-artes>

## 5 Final considerations

The geographical delimitation that had already defined the Triângulo Mineiro since the 1850s, together with the initial mapping carried out by Edmar de Almeida and later investigated by the CNRC, was fundamental in establishing and

recognizing this practice that survived the social and economic pressures of the country's history. In the 1970s, the popular, tradition, and modernity became central themes, with Lina Bo Bardi's discussions on pre-craft and Aloísio Magalhães's reflections on pre-design constituting contemporary debates that offered possibilities for addressing Brazilian underdevelopment, debates clearly illustrated in the exhibition under study. In *Tempos de Grossura: o Design no Impasse*, for example, published only in the 1990s based on the architect's earlier writings, one finds the record of a coherent trajectory in the construction of an idea of the country. Although not included among the works presented in that volume, the exhibition *Repassos – Edmar and the Weavers of the Triângulo Mineiro* played a significant role within this context and in the valorization of local knowledge and traditional practices. It cannot be seen merely as an ethnographic record or curatorial selection, but rather as an act of political and cultural affirmation.

Certainly, the women weavers are the main force behind this case of resistance, yet their history is interwoven with the research and projects developed by artists and architects who, from the 1970s onward, and with the increasing circulation of ideas and people throughout this region of the country, put into practice the theoretical foundations of that period. For Lina, for example, the experience proved fundamental to the development of her written reflections on craft and pre-craft. The relationship established among artists, weavers, and institutions revealed the critical power of manual craft, capable of challenging hierarchies and repositioning traditional practices within broader debates on culture and modernity in Brazil. Beyond the theoretical understanding of concepts under discussion at the time, the exhibition challenged the boundaries between art, erudition, popular culture, center and periphery, and can be understood as a cultural product that anticipated discussions now articulated around southern epistemologies and the study of other modernities, in line with the thematic orientation of the journal to which this work contributes. Given the breadth and complexity of the subject, which cannot be exhausted in a single article, numerous possibilities for further investigation and dialogue remain open, both through other scholarly works and within the scope of the ongoing doctoral research to which the present text belongs.

## References

- Anastassakis, Z. (2011). *Triunfos e impasses: Lina Bo Bardi, Aloísio Magalhães e a institucionalização do design no Brasil* [Tese de doutorado, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro]. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.
- Bardi, L. B. (1975). *Exposição Repassos – Edmar José de Almeida e as tecedeiras do Triângulo Mineiro*. Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand.
- Bardi, L. B. (2009a). Arte industrial. In S. Rubino & M. Grinover (Eds.), *Lina por escrito* (pp. 107–110). Cosac Naify. (Texto original publicado em 1958)
- Bardi, L. B. (2009b). Nordeste. In S. Rubino & M. Grinover (Eds.), *Lina por escrito* (pp. 116–118). Cosac Naify. (Texto original publicado em 1963)
- Bardi, L. B. (1994). Um balanço dezesseis anos depois [1980]. In M. Suzuki (Ed.), *Tempos de grossura: O design no impasse*. Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi & Fundação Vilanova Artigas.
- Bardi, P. M. (1975, 28 de Julho). *Carta a Edmar de Almeida* [Carta]. Arquivo da exposição Repassos – Edmar e as Tecedeiras do Triângulo Mineiro, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand (MASP), São Paulo, SP, Brasil.
- Bardi, P. M. (n.d.). *Comentário datilografado sobre a exposição das Tapeçarias de Edmar* [Documento de arquivo não publicado]. *Exposição Repassos – Edmar e as Tecedeiras do Triângulo Mineiro*, Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand (MASP), São Paulo, Brasil.
- De volta ao tear. (1975, 24 de setembro). *Revista Veja*. 106–108.
- Duarte, C. R. (2011). A transdução do passado: dos panos funcionais aos tecidos simbólicos. In *I Seminário Internacional História do Tempo Presente* (pp. 1804–1818). UDESC.
- Dussel, E. (2003). Transmodernidad e interculturalidad (Interpretación desde la Filosofía de la Liberación). *Erasmus: Revista para el diálogo intercultural*, 5(1-2).

Exposição Repassos – Edmar e as Tecedeiras do Triângulo Mineiro. (1975). *Descrição das peças da exposição* [Documento de arquivo não publicado]. Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand (MASP), São Paulo, Brasil.

Flusser, V. (1970a, 10 de outubro). Tapeçarias. *Suplemento Literário – O Estado de São Paulo*.

Flusser, V. (1970b, 17 de outubro). Tapetes. *Suplemento Literário – O Estado de São Paulo*.

Gorni, M. (2004). *Flávio Império: arquiteto e professor* [Dissertação de mestrado, Universidade de São Paulo]. Biblioteca Digital de Teses e Dissertações da USP. <https://doi.org/10.11606/D.18.2004.tde-04022009-105939>

Gradim, M. I. S. (2015). Mulheres e a oficina de tecelagem da Bauhaus. In *XXVIII Simpósio Nacional de História*. ANPUH.

Klintowitz, J. (1975, 12 de setembro). Edmar e suas criativas tecedeiras – Do Triângulo Mineiro para o MASP, uma vitalidade difícil de encontrar na arte dita “erudita” do país. *O Estado de São Paulo*.

Lazzarin, A. L. (2015). *Igreja Divino Espírito Santo do Cerrado e suas alternativas à arquitetura brasileira* [Dissertação de mestrado, Universidade de São Paulo]. Biblioteca Digital de Teses e Dissertações da USP. <https://doi.org/10.11606/D.102.2015.tde-31072015-101029>

Martino, T. (1975, 8 de setembro). Sete dias esfuziantes. De quinquilharias, como num bazar. *O Estado de São Paulo*.

Maureau, X., Fonseca, C. L., & Altafin, G. (1984). *Tecelagem manual no Triângulo Mineiro: Uma abordagem tecnológica*. Fundação Nacional Pró-Memória.

Museu Virtual de Uberlândia. (2016, 8 de setembro). Edmar Almeida e a exposição Repassos. *Museu Virtual de Uberlândia*. <https://www.museuvirtualdeuberlandia.com.br/edmar-almeida-e-a-exposicao-repassos/>

Zevi, B. (1965, 14 de março). L'arte dei poveri fa paura ai generali. *L'Espresso*.