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Lina Bo Bardi in Dialogue with Frida Escobedo: A Spontaneous Entanglement

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ABSTRACT

In 2020, Mexican architect Frida Escobedo (1979–) designed the exhibition “Lina Bo Bardi: Habitat” at Museo Jumex in Mexico City. Lina Bo Bardi (1914–92) was an Italian émigré who became one of Brazil’s most important — and few female — modernist architects. Escobedo, too, is one of few Latin American women architects whose work is recognised internationally. Using the exhibition as touchpoint, this paper recontextualises the work and archives of Lina Bo Bardi through the lens of Frida Escobedo’s current practice, revealing the socially engaged and spontaneously playful artistry of each. Whereas Bo Bardi is prescient and forward-looking, Escobedo sensitively and inventively references her predecessor. By way of interview analysis, each architect’s praxis will be discussed as a transnational entanglement of objects, curation, persona, text, user, city, and building. Drawing on Olivia De Oliveira’s 1991 interview with Bo Bardi and the author’s 2021 interview with Escobedo, the former’s pioneering of adaptive reuse and urban revitalisation, as well as the latter’s continuation of these methods and preoccupation with ruins, will be addressed. Such topics are salient as Bo Bardi’s buildings today face material decline due to bureaucracy and neglect. A central aim of this paper is therefore to salvage and engage with the residues of Bo Bardi’s departed yet potent voice whilst simultaneously highlighting the contemporary importance of her legacy. The foregrounding of not only Bo Bardi and Escobedo’s voices but also, by default, the voices of their interviewers — Olivia De Oliveira and the author of this paper — is motivated by an enthusiasm to contribute to the collective transformation of the broader gendered communication terrain.

Introduction

Italian-Brazilian architect Lina Bo Bardi decried the “sterile carping eloquence” of intellectuals, who “criticize everything” in books that “only a few people read.”¹ In a bid to dial down this kind of esoterica and sterility that Bo

Bardi so maligned, the spontaneous and accessible interview format provides the footing for this paper's analysis. Spontaneity and verbal dialogue alike are not traditionally associated with architecture, which tends to be generalised as a stable, permanent affair. Yet, the interviewees of this study — two architects — are spontaneous in terms of persona as well as praxis; their musings and buildings merge into the fast-flowing passage of time.

The two interviewees of this study are Lina Bo Bardi and Frida Escobedo, and the two interviews in question were conducted precisely thirty years apart: Olivia De Oliveira's 1991 interview with Lina Bo Bardi precedes the author's 2021 interview with Frida Escobedo. Lina Bo Bardi (1914–1992) was an Italian émigré who became one of Brazil's most important — and few female — modernist architects. Frida Escobedo (1979–) too is one of the few women architects operating in Latin America, whose work is recognised internationally.² Although scholars have written on the work of Bo Bardi, there has been little literature which analyses her words, and ostensibly no writing that analyses her spoken words. The same subjectivity-thwarting discourse devices befall Escobedo.

A central aim of this paper's interview analysis is therefore to salvage and engage with the residues of Bo Bardi's departed yet potent voice whilst simultaneously highlighting her contemporary importance as an architect. The author hopes that other women students, academics and practitioners may perhaps see themselves reflected in Bo Bardi's narrated experience of agentically moving through a politically-charged and globalised world.³ By framing Bo Bardi's built work and persona through the words of Escobedo, a dialogue emerges and functions to paradoxically both make complex and decipher the architects' socio-poetic accomplishments, while synchronically reiterating their historically-present relatability. Crucially, the foregrounding of not only Bo Bardi and Escobedo's voices but also by default the voices of their interviewers — Olivia De Oliveira and the author of this paper — is motivated by an enthusiasm to contribute to a collective transformation of the broader gendered communication terrain.

Although separated geographically and temporally, Frida Escobedo and Lina Bo Bardi figuratively “meet” at an exhibition, titled *Lina Bo Bardi: Habitat* (2020). (Figures 1 and 2). This exhibition, which celebrated the archives of Bo Bardi, was designed by Escobedo and displayed initially at Museo Jumex in Mexico City, but also travelled to the Museu de Arte de São Paulo and Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago. Although there is little information available surrounding the inception of the exhibition, it is very likely that the Jumex artistic director (and curator for the *Habitat* exhibition) Julieta González engaged Escobedo for the exhibition design. Indeed, in this author's interview with Escobedo, the latter mentioned conversations with



Figure 1. Frida Escobedo, portrait, undated. *Source: FE Architects.*



Figure 2. Lina Bo Bardi, portrait, 1947. *Source: © Instituto Bardi/Casa de Vidro.*

curator González, twice.⁴ On the second occasion, Escobedo recounted González sharing with her a “very special” piece by Bo Bardi: the

lightbulb of nordeste.⁵ As this paper will later reveal, the lightbulb of nordeste — an electrical light bulb, which had been converted by Bo Bardi for use as an oil lamp — expressed the ability to adapt in the face of scarcity, and is symbolic of both Bo Bardi and Escobedo's built architectural praxis. By extension, the anecdote is perhaps representative of González's belief that Escobedo was the right person to pay tribute to Bo Bardi in an exhibition.

Despite the thick exhibition thread connecting Bo Bardi and Escobedo, there is no prior literature which examines their architectural relationship.⁶ Relatability has been examined as an affective relation that offers the feeling of sameness and female friendship amongst women.⁷ Relatability can occur across time, space and generations, by way of various interactions and media. Luisa Passerini writes that self-reflection by the historian would not be possible without her interrelationships with living and dead subjects — and inversely so.⁸ Consequently, in this paper, a transnational and temporal entanglement of objects, persona, text, place, building, and interview dialogue will be textually related. Through the analysis of the two interviews, as well as through the re-contextualisation of various buildings, artefacts, and archives, Bo Bardi's status as utterly prescient and Escobedo's ability to reference her predecessor with sensitivity and inventiveness are portrayed. Their relation and relatability as women architects practising in differing geo-political contexts to each other (and, to others) is henceforth explored.

Following critical contemplation of the interview analysis methodology as well as an introduction to Bo Bardi and Escobedo's respective personas, this paper is organised by comparing projects of the two architects that have similar functions: firstly, two domestic projects, then two cultural projects, and finally, two restaurants. Although interview texts provide primary data for analysis, discussion throughout is very much anchored in the effects and affects of tangible places. This partially documentative approach is necessary as Bo Bardi's buildings face material decline due to neglect, inappropriate conservation tactics, or even deliberate attacks, both historically and today.

Soggettività Irriflessa: Spontaneous Subjective Being

Interview analysis as a methodology for writing about architectural history has the potential to reify important and nuanced hidden narratives by way of multidimensional and rich data.⁹ This potential is particularly relevant to the female protagonists of this paper, who despite having vibrant and resonant voices, risk being reified and remembered by their built work alone, or at a deeper loss, forgotten altogether. Concerning such mechanisms of reduction and erasure, Italian cultural historian Luisa Passerini has,

since the 1970s, devised new approaches to conceptualising oral history. She asserts that oral sources refer to and derive from a sphere which she titles “subjectivity.”¹⁰ Passerini clarifies her application of this term:

Subjectivity has the advantage of being a term sufficiently elastic to include both the aspects of spontaneous subjective being (*soggettività irriflessa*) contained and represented by attitude, behaviour and language, as well as other forms of awareness (*consapevolezza*) such as the sense of identity, consciousness of oneself, and more considered forms of intellectual activity. The importance of this term, moreover, is that it embraces not only the epistemological dimension but also that concerned with the nature and significance of the political.¹¹

It must be stated that an uncomfortable and contradictory impediment to this paper wholly comprehending and interpreting the *soggettività irriflessa* and *consapevolezza* of its Latin America-situated protagonists, is a reliance on Anglo-centred literature and discourse, or at the very least, a reliance on translation. Whereas the author’s interview with Frida Escobedo was spoken and transcribed in English, Olivia De Oliveira’s interview with Lina Bo Bardi was spoken in Portuguese and translated to English via text. In her dissertation *Alterity in the Design Practices of Lina Bo Bardi and Alison and Peter Smithson*, which adopts archival research as methodology, Jane Hall mentions (in a footnote) a similar “considerable limitation in the thesis” for which she tried to account by “conversing frequently” with practitioners who engaged in alternative forms of practice when visiting Brazil.¹² Notably, in this scenario, Anglocentrism was countered partly by way of informal dialogue: an oral practice.

Issues of language and translation — facets of speech and discourse — inevitably invoke issues of identity. In “A Short History of Silence,” Janina Gosseye suggests that alterity and polyphony should be extended to encompass not only the subject but also the scholar.¹³ She proffers that to do so, the gender, ethnicity, and class of the architectural historian could be more overtly considered in their narration.¹⁴ In situations where the subject/author are neither minority nor other, perhaps identity trait acknowledgment and authorial motive could remain useful as a mode of critical self-reflection. As it so happens, this paper emerged from a simple yet ambitious task, set by the author for herself, as an editor of the Melbourne School of Design student-run journal, *Inflection*: to interview Frida Escobedo. As a white, female, graduate student of architecture and first-generation migrant to Australia, the author’s primary motivation for that early task was to provide a platform for feminist, multivocal content for a student audience. At the time of the interview, this author was oblivious to the implications of the conversation as possible primary data for a research paper grounded in the intersection of architecture and oral history (it was notably the Harriet Edquist *festschrift* call for papers that prompted this

scholarly development). Rather, to secure an interview with Frida Escobedo, who has almost 86,000 Instagram followers, a robust international media presence and no shortage of projects, it was essential to pitch an interview angle to Escobedo's media manager, Lorenza Sierra. Delving into the studio's archive of recent projects, an absence in recent online articles, interviews and reports presented itself: there was little-to-no conversation on Escobedo's design for the *Lina Bo Bardi: Habitat* exhibition.

Ceren Kürüm has written that in every oral history study, the identity of the interviewer may prevent or ease access to information, and that this mobility can depend on several aspects in addition to their gender: age, level of education, and ethnicity.¹⁵ Regarding ethnicity, as a third-generation migrant Italian, this author's first, middle and last names read as Italian, and so by way of non-verbal email communication, it is tenuously possible that a feminine, Italian name facilitated something closer to "insider" access given that the topic of discussion — Italian émigré Lina Bo Bardi — was of the same generation as the author's migrant *nonna* and *nonno*. An unuttered name alone, however, does not communicate the loss of language, culture and memory that occurred in the space of three generations of migration from Italy to South Africa, and then Australia, as the result of the author's anti-nostalgic family.¹⁶ Although there is some level of personal relatability driving the authorship of this text, apart from gender, the source of relatability springs from broader experiences of migration and mobility, more so than from a specific and shared kinship or ethnicity.

To add to Kürüm's list, one might also note proximity as a criterion for facilitating dialogue. Whereas Escobedo's interview was organised via email and conducted through the virtual space of Zoom, between Melbourne and Mexico City, Olivia de Oliveira's 1991 interview with Bo Bardi was conducted in Bo Bardi's three-dimensional self-designed Casa de Vidro, São Paulo, where she was living at the time. De Oliveira has described her impetus for the interview:

I was on the lookout for information about architects who'd studied in Italy between the wars and then emigrated to Brazil. At that time, I still hadn't decided on the subject of my doctoral thesis, but on terminating this conversation I'd already elected to devote my study to the oeuvre of Lina Bo Bardi.

Recuperating from a fall she'd suffered, she received me at home seated in a wheelchair. Notwithstanding that, all her enthusiasm and love for life poured forth from her words during the two hours she spent telling me stories about her life around that granite-topped round table in the centre of the dining room of the House of Glass.¹⁷

In more ways than one, De Oliveira was granted a deep and profound access to her interviewee's *soggettività irriflessa*. Not only was the female interviewer born in São Paulo — the location of Bo Bardi's then-residence —

together they spoke the language of that place (Portuguese) and together they inhabited the same deeply psycho-social and poetic space of Bo Bardi's self-designed residence. Perhaps a product of this intimate proximity, the resulting transcript is candid, contradictory, sometimes playful, occasionally dark, but nearly always spontaneous in its contents. It is these similarly related *soggettività irriflessa* reactions of delight, amusement and fascination, or even artistic-intellectual impulses of wonder and attraction that motivate the writing of this paper. Indeed, Passerini has said that "nothing can be transmitted without attraction."¹⁸ However, this attraction is inevitably underpinned by numerous *consapevolezza* and geopolitical imperatives. The synergies and surprises that emerge through the combining of Bo Bardi and Escobedo's voices are harmonious with this student-author's hope for a more equitable, sensitive and multivocal — but also radical and creative — architectural historiography, pedagogy and practice.

Subjective Slippage and Desire: Introducing Lina Bo Bardi and Frida Escobedo

The architectural historian's traditional yet problematic attempt to "prove" an architect's built or designed intention by way of interview analysis is not conducive to this paper's core purpose or ethos.¹⁹ What is perhaps more holistic is to interpret the interviews in question as multi-dimensional and slippery literary texts. They are layered, full of gaps and silences, and above all as Passerini would delight in acknowledging, subjective.

Given that De Oliveira's interview with Bo Bardi was held towards the end of her lifetime, the story that Bo Bardi tells about her younger self is inevitably retrospective and autobiographical.²⁰ It reflects the views and values of Bo Bardi at the precise moment of her interview. The resulting subjective slippage can be explored via comparison of historian Silvana Rubino's writing, with Bo Bardi's oration, in regard to the latter finding her place as one of few female modernist architects of the mid-to-late twentieth century. Rubino writes that it was Achillina (Lina) Bo's comfortable, bourgeois, Italian background, combined with her education and circles within which she moved, that facilitated her becoming an architect.²¹ Whereas Rubino draws on contextual cues to substantiate her perfectly reasonable explanation for Bo Bardi's professional career, Bo Bardi's telling of a corresponding tale is not quite as measured or objective, although it taps into a similar rationale. During the interview with De Oliveira, Lina Bo Bardi says of her younger self that she "wanted to leave Italy, but didn't want to get married," and cheekily goes on to imply that her marriage with Pietro Maria Bardi was a strategic but also amicable relocation manoeuvre.²² In this reading, one may note Bo Bardi's intentionality not as it is applied to a building or work of architecture, but for the way it is

retrospectively applied to the self. Rather than being framed as passive subject (a mere product of her comfortable environment), Bo Bardi, through her own words, is recast as a knowing agent who springboards deliberately and powerfully from facilitatory foundations. On the arm of one of Italy's most influential curators and as a European in "a poor country, poor people, but very rich, marvellous, somewhere you could do things," Lina's presence in Brazil as an affluent, ambitious and clever architect was indeed a recipe for her almost trickster-like disruption of socio-geographic boundaries and successful career trajectory.²³

Elaborating on this understanding of the interview as a retroactive source of primary data, Robert Proctor argues that interviewed architects who speak about themselves construct their histories through present desires, particularly the desire for esteem.²⁴ This seems less of a limitation when applied to Lina Bo Bardi and Frida Escobedo, who both reveal a curious impulse for being hidden. In response to De Oliveira's open query as to whether the Bardis suffered any kind of political persecution, Bo Bardi recounted placidly: "... I'm like an insect. When I want to I hide underground. I know how to disappear, I'm a past master at such things. I don't appear much. I generally don't let myself be seen ..."²⁵ Despite this expression of self-effacement, there are moments in Bo Bardi's interview where the tone takes on a more confident or even slightly grandiose aspect: for example, when she recounts of her youthful self "I was pretty, they ran after me, but it didn't interest me *niente*, work was all I wanted to do."²⁶ Escobedo, too, has been described as a "reluctant starchitect." She aims "not to be in the spotlight. Like, not on purpose?"²⁷ In this author's interview with Escobedo, the latter presents as curious and interested in nuance; it is evidently not her intention to impose any kind of grand narrative. Concerning her piecing together of archives for the *Lina Bo Bardi: Habitat* exhibition, Escobedo says that "In addition to the architect, you see the human being. And this is a reminder that we architects have more vulnerable and familiar facets than the ones that we project as professionalism."²⁸ Fundamentally, much of the dialogue between Bo Bardi and Escobedo is equally about building as an architect as it is about being as an architect, in a way that is possibly less about desire for esteem, and more about a candid subjectivity or creative expression, and its associated desire for a lucid, albeit fluid, (feminine) sense of self.

Casa de Vidro, Casa Negra

Despite being the first built project by each respective interviewee, neither Lina Bo Bardi's Casa de Vidro (Morumbi, São Paulo, 1951–52) nor Frida Escobedo's Casa Negra (Mexico City, 2004) are explicitly mentioned in their relevant interviews. However, the "glass house" and the "black house," as an

English translation would have it, nevertheless are implicated, and it is in this unuttered space that the most telling comparisons emerge. The two *casas* embody the entangled nature of Bo Bardi and Escobedo's socially-preoccupied quasi-modernisms.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to outline Casa de Vidro and Casa Negra's aesthetic and conditional similarities. (Figures 3 and 4). They both constitute a "box" resting on stilts that is cantilevered from a hillside and clad with expansive windows that observe and reflect a vast, flowing landscape. The two houses were also the first major built work of each architect,



Figure 3. Casa de Vidro, Lina Bo Bardi, built 1950–51. *Source:* © Instituto Bardi/Casa de Vidro.



Figure 4. Casa Negra, Frida Escobedo, built 2004. *Source:* FE Architects.

and were facilitated by male partners: Bo Bardi's *casa* arose from her migration to Brazil as enabled by her husband, Pietro Maria, and Escobedo's *casa* was designed in collaboration with her former partner, Alejandro Alarcón. Following the building's completion, Bo Bardi in particular distanced herself from working with the domestic realm. By the time of her interview in 1991, she bluntly told De Oliveira "If someone comes and asks me what colour the carpet or the curtains has to be, I say, 'No, señora, it's not worth the trouble.'"²⁹ For most of her career, she preferred to work with public authorities. Her mobility as a successful European émigré was leveraged mostly to empower the public through large-scale built interventions.

Casa de Vidro

Contemporary critic Rowan Moore illuminates a parallel between Lina Bo Bardi's Casa de Vidro (South America, 1951) and Mies van der Rohe's Farnsworth House (North America, 1951).³⁰ Both houses simultaneously pioneered an extreme modernist aesthetic, with slender, white-painted steel members and large panels of glass. However, beyond aesthetics, and towards the treatment of the landscape as well as their (female) client, these houses are disparate. Whereas the Farnsworth house was an exemplar of the *tabula rasa* nature of what came to be known as the International Style — and in Mies's case, the epitome of his search for *beinahe nicht* (almost nothing) — Lina Bo Bardi's Casa de Vidro became utterly entangled with its inhabitant and habitat.

This section of the paper does not entail a comparison of Mies and Bo Bardi. However, it is necessary to position Farnsworth as a comparatively rueful, albeit canonical, point of reference for both the richly-treated landscape and comfortable client of Casa de Vidro. Whereas a post-construction Farnsworth house has been flooded year after year, Casa de Vidro triumphs in its harmonious mingling of house with landscape, becoming more embedded and comfortable in its site as time passes. Furthermore, whereas the Farnsworth House was awkward and invasive in the treatment of its client — Dr Edith Farnsworth writes "I am always restless . . . because the house is transparent, like an X-ray"³¹ — Bo Bardi revelled in her own house: she lived there for most of her time in São Paulo. Elaborating on this point of client inhabitation, Alice T. Friedman's important book *Women and the Making of the Modern House* tells the story of Farnsworth detesting her Miesian abode.³² In it, Friedman writes that Mies' exposed, hard-edged glass house uncomfortably "foregrounded Farnsworth's single life and her middle aged woman's body."³³ On the other hand, while Bo Bardi's *casa* is exhibitionist at its living spaces, it also has a complex of more private enclosed spaces at its rear.³⁴ As a result, the focus shifts: Casa de Vidro is not

interpreted as a perverse, Miesian experiment in privacy, but rather as a space that celebrated its inhabitant's individuality and flourishing social life. Indeed, according to Moore, Casa de Vidro was conceived as a setting for the Bardis' "eclectic and changing collections of old masters, folk art and *objets trouvés*, and for a social life that included Roberto Rossellini, John Cage and Saul Steinberg among their guests."³⁵ Friedman's discussion of women clients such as Edith Farnsworth in *Women and the Making of the Modern House* by negation positions Bo Bardi as highly agentic in the making of her own modern house. At Casa de Vidro, Bo Bardi was both woman architect and highly-satisfied woman client. She built for herself.

The Casa de Vidro's effortless relationship between inhabitant (client) as well as habitat (landscape) is marked by an ironic absence in Olivia de Oliveira's interview with Lina Bo Bardi: although the conversation was conducted within the Casa de Vidro's interior — "around that granite-topped round table in the centre of the dining room" — apart from appearing in Oliveira's post-rationalised introduction, the house was not spoken of during their dialogue.³⁶ One reason for this absence of the Casa could be that the female interviewee was so at ease in inhabiting their setting that it was rendered invisible, in much the same way that one often does not notice the temperature of a room when one is comfortable. Another reason for this lack of acknowledgement could be that the glass house itself had disappeared into its habitat, receding to become part of that which surrounds and immerses: the Brazilian landscape, whose flora, over time, has grown to engulf the house. Casa de Vidro's blending with its landscape is analogous to the way in which Bo Bardi and her architecture became increasingly entangled with its various Brazilian contexts. As an émigré architect, she was reflexive to her change in location from Italy to Brazil, and her long-time São Paulo abode metaphorically reflected but also literally facilitated this responsive transformation over time.

In 1953, two years after being naturalised as a Brazilian citizen, Bo Bardi wrote of her "House in Morumbi" in a *Habitat* 10 article:

The problem was to create an environment that was "physically" sheltered . . . but at the same time remained **open** to everything that is poetic and ethical, even the wildest of storms. (emphasis by the author).³⁷

The pivotal word of this prose is "open." To be "open" as a building, architect or author within a place is to be absorbing, rather than imposing. Just as this primly-modern glass house was recast by Bo Bardi as an open receptacle for "even the wildest of storms," it has been argued that the *Habitat* magazine itself, which was conceived by Bo Bardi and P.M. Bardi, brazenly infiltrated the hermetically sealed interior world of Brazil's social and cultural elite.³⁸ As a broader objective, *Habitat* promoted Brazilian design through a celebration and dissemination of architecture, art,

fashion, design, photography, and craft, whether indigenous, colonial, or migrated. In *Habitat* Bo Bardi catalogued the *sertão* (the Brazilian back-country), rejected European notions of good taste and beauty, satirised colonial structures, and tried to make sense of the Brazilian milieu. By reifying alternative modern narratives, namely that of a Brazilian modernism, *Habitat* decentred the hegemony of Eurocentric modern theories.³⁹ In alignment with Göran Therborn's coining of the term "entangled," *Habitat* instead promulgated the possibility of multiple entangled modernisms which unfolded over time independently from, yet also intertwined with, the more dominant modernist narrative.⁴⁰ Admittedly, it was Bo Bardi's position of power as a wealthy, strategically-married European in Brazil — promoting her observations of Brazil to audiences abroad — which lent her this dual point of reference. It was arguably also Bo Bardi's marginal status as a female in a male-dominated architectural world, amidst awkward, gender-codified spaces such as Mies' house "for" Edith Farnsworth, which provided Bo Bardi with the critical distance necessary to subvert the *tabula rasa*, unifying, and aestheticising tendencies of the International Style, via the embrace of both *habitat* and (feminine) inhabitant.

Casa Negra

Almost sixty years after Casa de Vidro's female architect/female client radicalism — which challenges Friedman's male architect/female client paradigm as per *Women in the Making of the Modern House* — Frida Escobedo's Casa Negra (2007) fully inverts this binary via a female architect/male client dynamic. Although this latter dynamic is less radical in contemporary architecture practice, it nevertheless remains a novelty. Indeed, Frida Escobedo has been described as part of "the first generation of influential women in (Latin American) architecture" via her inclusion in *Space Through Gender*, an exhibition shown at the Mission Cultural Center for Latino Arts in San Francisco in 2012.⁴¹ Other Latin American women architects featured in the exhibition included practitioners such as Nora Enriquez (the curator), Tatiana Bilbao, Fernanda Canales, Rozana Montiel, Galia Solomonoff, Rocio Romero, Catalina Patiño, Viviana Peña, Ana Elvira Velez, Carla Juaçaba and Sandra Vivanco.⁴² Despite femininity being an inseparable and crucial component of both Lina Bo Bardi and Frida Escobedo's identity, gender aside, they are both important and accomplished architects in their own right. Consequently, in this section (as well as in later sections of this paper) gender is not always foregrounded. Much like Casa de Vidro's entwinement of *habitat* and inhabitant, Casa Negra's entanglement with its geographical context and occupant's identity is hereby explored.

In an interview with Ronna Gardner, Escobedo explained that “Mexican Modernism . . . was handcrafted and incorporated ornament more than we see in the canonical Modernist narrative. I have continuously been interested in these differences.”⁴³ She went on to talk about the way in which houses in Mexico built by engineers or owners themselves — not architects — tended to express a “more playful” kind of Modernism.⁴⁴ Frida Escobedo’s own architectural approach, however, is characterised by its slipperiness, sensitive ambiguity, and an unwillingness to be categorised. Despite her interest in Mexican Modernism, she does not identify as a Mexican Modernist. Rather, she willingly evades categorisation and chooses to remain open. In the interview with this author, Escobedo explained:

Everyone who has worked or is working on the creative field, they have to portray their reality. So maybe this is my way of portraying what I see and experience in the city. I am not intentionally saying, “let’s represent this particular thing.” Instead, it is about asking questions and making little experiments to see how things react, and then drawing stories and narrative from those experiments. It is more like an **open** question, rather than trying to depict a specific situation (emphasis by the author).⁴⁵

Much like Bo Bardi’s “open” Casa de Vidro, Escobedo also reveals an “open” approach to her design. Importantly, this method of looking, and then experimenting, is manifest in Casa Negra, which is, according to Escobedo, analogous to a large, low-cost, camera obscura looking out into a landscape that embraces its owner (who just so happens to be a photographer by profession). Whereas a camera obscura is a device that translates landscape views into images, Casa Negra’s big, single-plane window is a conspicuous absorption and translation of Escobedo’s interest in Modernist Mexican facades: they share a designed similarity. And crucially, as described earlier in this section, Casa Negra also has a designed similarity to Lina Bo Bardi’s Casa de Vidro, albeit on a tighter budget and at a more modest scale. This brings one to the crux of the discussion, that is, Frida looking at Lina. When Escobedo was asked whether she shares an affinity with Bo Bardi, she said:

Of course. She has been a great influence, I think, for many of us. And the exhibition design was a really interesting project, because we were able to access a huge number of archives and materials. Looking at her drawings, some of them were technical and very precise, but many of them were depicting life. One can see how a major integration of vegetation, people and objects was really important to her. And, how this priority worked to evolve her body of work from being about big gestures to something that was more about the richness of space or the experience.⁴⁶

Ultimately, both Escobedo and Bo Bardi observe not only close historical influences, but also their contemporary surroundings, to provide a rich experience to those who use their buildings. They observe

habitats, in order to build for inhabitants. As conveyed through dialogue, this process of translating that which has been absorbed both architecturally and ideologically is manifest in Casa de Vidro and Casa Negra: two houses which look through glass towards, and simultaneously meld into, the milieus of São Paulo, and Mexico City.

Less Is More . . . When It Comes to Resource Scarcity

“Adaptation in the face of scarcity” across objects, materiality, time, and buildings came to be a recurring motif of this author’s interview with Frida Escobedo. Her adaptation approach simply but cleverly involves doing “more with very little” and draws influence from not only Bo Bardi’s buildings but also her archives.⁴⁷ Indeed, when posed the question “Which of Bo Bardi’s archives [from the *Habitat* exhibition] speak to you?.” Escobedo’s unpredictable answer was the (informally dubbed) “light bulb of nordeste.”⁴⁸ (Figure 5). On the lightbulb and adaptation, she reflected on Bo Bardi’s lighting design:

This piece was a tiny lamp made out of tin, with a bare light bulb (but just the glass piece). It is as though the electrical system was taken out and then filled with just a cord. So, it could be used as an oil lamp, which was quite a contradiction, and expressed the need to adapt in the face of scarcity. To me this is a very special piece.⁴⁹



Figure 5. Lightbulb of Nordeste, Lina Bo Bardi, undated. Source: © Instituto Bardi/Casa de Vidro.

La Tallera, Escobedo's adaptive re-use project situated in Cuernavaca, Mexico, is an example of applied built practice of this frugal "light bulb" strategy of incision. Originally constructed in the mid-1960s, La Tallera was the home and studio of mural artist and political activist David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896–1974). Since Escobedo's winning of an invited competition (2010) to reactivate the studio, it is now a public art gallery, with café, artist's residence and workshop spaces. Escobedo's intervention adopted slight manoeuvres in concrete blockwork and light-handed additions, rather than drastic renovation or demolition. As a result, much of La Tallera's original building fabric has been retained. In the interview, Escobedo elaborated on two key devices employed in the precinct's revitalisation which critically do "more with less." The first device is programmatic, and works to "dilute the museum's property line"; Siqueiros' two inward-facing, private murals were swung out to formulate and embrace a public plaza at the gallery's entrance.⁵⁰ (Figure 6). Escobedo relayed that this was a risk because the client's initial reaction was "I'm losing my ground within the complex!" Nevertheless, she went on to say that people eventually understood that they were gaining an entire public plaza.⁵¹ The second device which achieved "more with less" was Escobedo's adoption of *Celosia*, or breezeblocks, which wrap the fragmented, "coral reef" complex into a porous, breathable envelope.⁵² (Figure 7). *Celosia* are a raw, relatively cheap, and frequently-used material used throughout warm-weathered Mexico, their substrate being essentially comprised of concrete block and air. Through the use of this permeable material, Escobedo added to, rather than erased, the precinct's existing layered effect.⁵³ These two gestures at La Tallera — one programmatic and one material — not only work to economise space, but also enhance user experience and delight, in much the same way as Bo Bardi's adapted oil lamp.



Figure 6. La Tallera, public plaza, Cuernavaca, Frida Escobar, built 2012. Source: FE Architects.

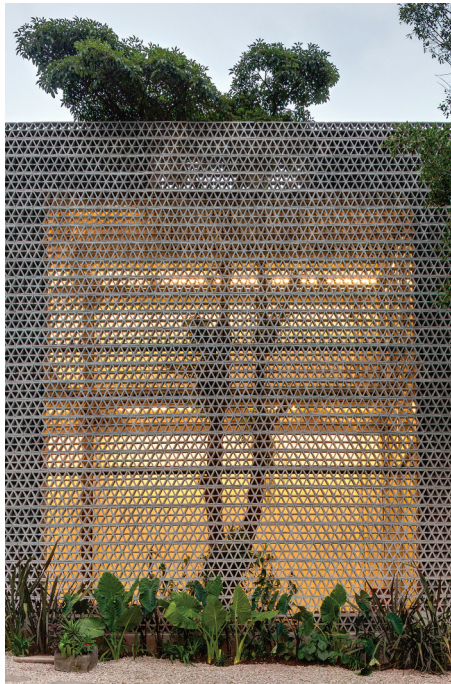


Figure 7. Celosia, La Tallera, Frida Escobar, built 2012. Source: FE Architects.

Adaptive re-use is socially and environmentally sustainable. It preserves the collective memory and identity of a place, as well as drastically minimises the embodied energy and amount of resources otherwise required to “re-do” a building.⁵⁴ During Lina Bo Bardi’s active years, adaptive re-use was not a tenet of *tabula rasa* modernism. Bo Bardi pioneered this now popular practice.⁵⁵ It is not unreasonable to attribute her prescient frugality, in part, to her upbringing in economically-stagnant, post-war Italy. To De Oliveira, Bo Bardi reflected upon what might have been amongst her first recycling innovations: an impromptu, guerrilla kind of furniture borne by a poor 1940s Milan:

Olivia De Oliveira: Did you get to build any architecture in Italy?

Lina Bo Bardi: No. There was nothing, nobody was doing anything. I ran *Grazia*, on which I had four pages. Everybody was up in arms against me and reproached me with “You write for a woman’s paper!” *Grazia* was important. One time I received a letter which said [Lina imitates a poor woman’s voice] “What can I do? I’ve got a baby, but I don’t have money for a cot, or anything to make one with.” I told her to take a small fruit crate. I did the obviously home-made design that way, with a quilt inside, a bedspread of remnants; something simple because she had nothing. Then I told her to put a little ruffle around it and to paint it. What enthusiasm there was! I received piles of letters; I mean, that was something social.⁵⁶

Recycled fruit crate became recycled building most famously at the Serviço Social do Comércio (SESC) Pompéia, in São Paulo, a former glass factory (built c.1900), which was transformed by Bo Bardi to a sports, leisure, art, library, theatre and community centre (1978–86). The concept for this project is best explained by the architect’s whimsical sketch for the SESC logo: a factory with flowers billowing out instead of smoke. This sketch invokes revitalisation, growth, libido and play as springing from the grimy ruins of an industrial milieu. Adaptive re-use is not only socially and environmentally sustainable, but also works to expand conservative definitions of heritage. Sol Camacho, who is an architect and Director of *Instituto Bardi*, but also lauded by Frida Escobedo in her interview — “she really is an expert” — has written on Bo Bardi’s important role of pioneering adaptive re-use. Camacho explains: “In (Lina’s) eyes, heritage was not limited to Classical Italian churches or centuries-old Palladian buildings. She identified the factory as something worth preserving for its functional beauty.”⁵⁷ Camacho goes on to write that when Bo Bardi first walked through the SESC factory site in 1978, she declared “what we want is precisely to maintain and amplify what we’ve found here, nothing more.”⁵⁸ According to Camacho, this progressive and sustainable vision of preserving rather than demolishing the site belonged primarily to its architect, Lina Bo Bardi.

In a similar fashion to Frida Escobedo’s La Tallera, SESC Pompéia can be discussed as devised through methods both programmatic and material. At the programmatic level, in the words of Escobedo:

She [Lina Bo Bardi] decided to stack things that usually would have been distributed, like the volleyball and basketball courts. This stacking freed up space to allow for social areas to be at the most accessible (ground) level of the building, which has become like a large living room for everyone in the community.⁵⁹

When observing a plan of the SESC, one can see a small footprint of the stacked sports-courts tower, and then the horizontal expanse of communal space spread out on the ground floor that Escobedo identified above. (Figure 8). Like La Tallera, the SESC’s materiality is largely comprised of raw, in-situ, reinforced concrete due to the original building’s fabric, which is cast using the pioneering Hennebique system.⁶⁰ (Figure 9). This exposed, bone-like, messily-flecked surface was embraced by Bo Bardi. Splashes of colour by her hand accentuate and frame the existing fabric, rather than compete with, cover, or demolish it in an otherwise more resource-intensive approach. The detailing is deliberately rugged and blunt. Through the use of basic materials and generous programming, Bo Bardi expressly sought *architettura povera* (poor architecture), which she defined as “achieving the maximum communication and dignity with minimal, humble means.”⁶¹ In other, more concise words — voiced by Escobedo — this approach is about doing “more with very little.”⁶²



Figure 8. SESC Pompéia ground floor, Lina Bo Bardi, built 1977–86. © *Instituto Bardi/Casa de Vidro.*



Figure 9. SESC Pompéia, São Paulo, Lina Bo Bardi, Built 1977–1986. © *Instituto Bardi/Casa de Vidro.*

Steffen Lehmann has described, how, in Bo Bardi's SESC Pompéia the new sits at ease alongside the old, without ever risking imitation.⁶³ The same could be said of Escobedo's La Tallera sitting (metaphorically) alongside Bo Bardi's SESC Pompéia, the former of which draws influence from the latter, whilst also re-innovating in a way that is unique to its own time and place. Fundamentally, these two large-scale adaptive re-use projects manifest Bo Bardi and Escobedo's design responses to unconventional urban heritage fabrics within a Latin-American context, and in a manner that prioritises both budget and the community.

Fine Dining Amongst Ruins: Coatí Restaurant and Niddo Café

Coatí Restaurant was a part of Lina Bo Bardi's Ladeira da Misericórdia ("Misery Slope") project, a larger urban revitalisation pilot scheme initiated in 1987 to restore Salvador de Bahia's crumbling historic centre. The Slope was chosen as a pilot location because it was uninhabited and contained a range of three "ruined" scenarios: "semi-derelict houses threatened with collapse," "complete ruins," and "empty lots."⁶⁴ Programmatically, Bo Bardi's modern intervention involved the introduction of a bar and a restaurant, as well as the restoration of seven apartments on the slope. The apartments were intended to have a small shop selling produce on the ground floor, to further enliven and economically activate the streetscape.⁶⁵

In response to a post-lecture question (held in 1990), Bo Bardi valiantly proclaimed that "once it has been restored, the Ladeira da Misericórdia in Bahia will continue to house the same people as before. It won't be turned into weekend apartments, bachelor pads or the like — isn't that right Mr Mayor?"⁶⁶ According to the lecture Q&A transcript, it seems that this question posed by Bo Bardi "to" the Mayor — the latter's actual presence in the room remains unconfirmed by the text — was rhetorical, as the subsequent speaker is an audience member, who shifts the topic by posing another question. This lack of verbal bureaucratic affirmation in response to Bo Bardi's question is prolonged well beyond the lecture itself, in light of the unfortunate irony that the Ladeira da Misericórdia scheme was not supported by the subsequent "Mr Mayor" of the city. As a result, the project was abandoned and the area returned to a state of uninhabited ruin.⁶⁷ Presently, access to the site is restricted, no one lives there and it is guarded by the Brazilian military police.⁶⁸ (Figure 10).

In their interview, De Oliveira speculates on Bo Bardi's frequent undertaking of rehabilitation projects as an Italian legacy, given that in Brazil, the "old gets destroyed, even if it's worth keeping, in order to put up something new in its place."⁶⁹ Like Bo Bardi, post-war Italian architects Carlo Scarpa (1906–78), and later Francesco Venezia (1944–), explored a new and experimental approach to restoration, by modifying ancient buildings through the implementation of a modernist aesthetic.⁷⁰ However, Bo Bardi differs from these male Italian architects not only due to her gender and Brazilian-migrated context, but also via her intent to adopt this shared, new approach to restoration, for the sake of *architettura povera* (poor architecture) with an ideological motive rather than for aesthetic purposes. Bo Bardi's Teatro Gregório de Mattos (1986), Benin House (1987), Olodum House (1988), and Teatro Oficina (1980–91) — all socially-minded revitalised ruins, much like Coatí — have contrasting agendas to, say, Scarpa's precious Castelvecchio museum (renovated 1959–1973), or Venezia's expansive



Figure 10. Coati Restaurant, Lina Bo Bardi, built 1987. Source: © Instituto Bardi/Casa de Vidro.

Museum of Gibellina (1986). The effects of time on Ladeira da Misericórdia compared to the Italian museums as product of varied typologies, budgets and extent of preservation are unequal: the former is, today, more visibly timeworn and crumbling despite having been reconstructed later. It seems, then, that Bo Bardi's buildings are frequently in precarious condition, in contrast to her more robust Italian counterparts.

Where Lina Bo Bardi's Ladeira da Misericórdia suffers neglect, over time her other buildings have been subject to far more violent attacks. In her interview with Olivia de Oliveira, the two reminisced on Bo Bardi's mystical Chame-Chame house, which prior to the interview, had been demolished. In conversation, the pair also relayed an assault on the construction of Bo Bardi's Museum of Art São Paulo (MASP), built in 1947:

Lina Bo Bardi: There was some sabotage ... the rebars had been left sticking out a meter above the ground, ready for being extended upwards. On morning everything appeared sawn-off and flush with the ground!

Olivia de Oliveira: The inset rebars?

Lina Bo Bardi: Ferraz [José Carlos de Figueiredo Ferraz, the engineer] went crazy, like a wild animal!⁷¹

This interview fragment is salient for two reasons. Firstly, because it reveals the kind of tough and volatile obstacles faced by Bo Bardi during the creation of her legacy. Secondly, it provides a small insight

into Bo Bardi's directorial involvement when it came to the construction of her designs, as well as her interactions with collaborators throughout this process. Another man by the name of Ferraz who was close to Bo Bardi — her student, Marcelo Carvalho Ferraz — writes that in 1991, when working on the design for the Brazilian Pavilion in Seville, Bo Bardi dictated her team's every step “without once picking up a pencil or sheet of paper.”⁷² If, in this way, a building can be created purely through words, then perhaps the residual memory of a demolished or decrepit building can be sustained, also by words.

Unlike the currently ruined and inaccessible Coatí Restaurant, Frida Escobedo's Niddo Café in Mexico City, with its “opened up” design, currently works to activate and enliven the local streetscape. (Figure 11). Whereas the thick cream wall of the original (unrenovated) café is punctuated with only a couple of small doors, Escobedo's renovation carves out an enormous fenestration, some six metres tall, to allow the street to spill into the café, and the café to spill into the street. When open, the interface between café and footpath is immediate. A counter laden with cakes, pastries and flowers butts up against the roller door track. Circulation from the street flows in and around the activated counter edge, which is where monetary and social exchanges occur; from this datum, café tables and chairs also spill out onto the street. Prior to Niddo Café's construction, Claudia Suller Cornejo wrote at length on the way in which Escobedo's architecture encompasses a phenomenological sensory experience⁷³; and indeed



Figure 11. Niddo Café, Frida Escobedo, built 2020. Source: FE Architects.

Niddo, too, is intensely overwhelming to the senses, by way of materiality — its lush green glazed terracotta tiles are immersive — as well as by the scents, sounds and tactilities of the life within. This conceptualisation of a vibrant, sensory-attuned café that literally “opens up” recalls Escobedo’s interview comments on her local streetscapes:

If you walk towards Zócalo, there are many neighbourhoods where everything spills out into the streets. Here, there are so-called informal markets . . . The built environment works as storage space, with stores “folding in”, during the evening, and then “pouring out” onto the street when it is daytime. This rhythm expresses a breathing effect of the city.⁷⁴

Escobedo’s verbal description of the street markets near Zócalo reveals her architectural eye and poetic pulse for the way that diurnal time delineates movement through urban spaces. One can imagine the same kind of “breathing effect” that characterises the street markets, as billowing in and out of Niddo Café.

In addition to the rhythms of people who move through urban spaces, Escobedo also investigates the flux of building fabric itself, as it moves — literally — and transitions over time. She realises that a building is “not static but rather completely changing”; more specifically, she is preoccupied with ruins.⁷⁵ Observing Niddo Café’s surrounds, it is plain to see what Escobedo means when she says ruins are “a big part” of Mexico City’s landscape. She elaborates:

There are ruins that have been preserved, namely, the monuments. But there is also another type of ruin, an unfinished thing, that could be in the process of being built or in the process of decay. And sometimes you find buildings that do both: there are houses that have not finished being built, but are falling into disrepair.⁷⁶

Unlike her close precursors, the English multi-national architect David Chipperfield and Swiss architect Peter Zumthor, who respond to monumental, well-preserved, big budget kind of ruins in projects like Berlin’s Neue Museum (initially built 1841, renovation 2009), and St. Kolumba, Cologne (built 1853, renovation 2007), Escobedo operates on a humble human-scale, working with a ruined-streetscape typology that is more ubiquitous: the street café. Of a similar sentiment, São Paulo-based architect Carla Juaçaba’s describes her “dream project,” by way of the small but highly-frequented Modulo Prep Library, situated in a Tijuana *favela* (CRO Studio, 2012–13).⁷⁷ Juaçaba explains in an interview “to make an impact a project doesn’t have to be an expensive building.”⁷⁸ Likewise, Mexican architects Tatiana Bilbao and Fernanda Canales joined Escobedo in developing prototypes for social housing at the Apan Housing Laboratory, coordinated by New York-based practice MOS, in 2019. It seems, then, that this social response to urban landscapes is not exclusive to Escobedo

and Bo Bardi, but rather encompasses the values of a number of women architects practising in Latin America today. Fundamentally, both Bo Bardi and Escobedo's architecture oscillates between decay, construction and reconstruction, albeit across social scales.

Conclusion

Exhibitions such as the Frida Escobedo-designed *Lina Bo Bardi: Habitat* work to promote and immortalise the built oeuvre of Lina Bo Bardi. Moreover, it is to Escobedo's credit that Bo Bardi's legacy and influence is not merely represented as glass-boxed and static, but rather that it has been taken up and applied anew to built architecture, so that Bo Bardi and her ideas are rendered contemporary. Just as their architecture may "speak volumes" over time, so too have Lina Bo Bardi and Escobedo spoken for themselves, from their specific temporal, socio-political and geographical contexts. By bringing together two of their interviews, the voice of Bo Bardi is sustained via its prescient contemporary relevance, and the voice of Escobedo is amplified for its innovative historical reference. In this way it is productive for scholars to prioritise — or at the very least acknowledge — the first person voice of women architects when analysing their oeuvres, rather than deploying post-rationalised interpretations that say more about the critic than they do about history. For indeed, the semi-automatic Barthesian "death of the author" in literary-architectural critique is rendered problematic terrain when identity politics are at stake. An architect's presence and persona is most potently manifest in her spoken words, and by omitting the author's subjectivity and instead speaking on her behalf, one's appreciation and understanding of an architect, her buildings and her writing is left architecturally and socially poorer for opting not to engage with this kind of source material. In this paper the narrative begins at a pair of glass houses, and tracks from states of rough heritage fabric, to ruin and demolition (crumbling towards a lacuna). However, women's voices here are never nebulous, or ghostly. Instead of whispering amongst ruins and wreckage the voices reverberate within, re-frame and replenish a tired fabric. Two voices are louder than one; the most salient nodes of this spontaneous, entangled dialogue between Bo Bardi and Escobedo are fundamentally revealed by the echoed feminine voice, as informed by a feminine eye. Escobedo thus verbally concludes, both this author's interview and this paper:

[Bo Bardi's] approach has to do with, what I would say is a more "feminine eye," where it is not just about the milestone that we need to achieve, but also the connections that we make in the process. I think this is very valuable from Lina. It's a big lesson.⁷⁹

Notes

1. Lina Bo Bardi, "Culture and Non-culture (1958)," in *Stones Against Diamonds: Lina Bo Bardi*, ed. Brett Steele (Belgium: Die Keure, 2013), 43.
2. In 2018, Escobedo became one of two sole women practitioners to have ever designed a prestigious Serpentine Pavilion, the other being Zaha Hadid.
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4. Frida Escobedo, interview by Michaela Prunotto, "Entangling Fire, Bones and Fragments," *Inflection* 8, ed. Michaela Prunotto, Kate Donaldson and Manning McBride (Melbourne: Melbourne Books, 2021), 16.
5. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 16.
6. Although, their similarities have been verbally mentioned by Mohsen Mostafavi. Serpentine Galleries, "Serpentine Architecture: Frida Escobedo in conversation," 2018, video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoytqQy9rJ0>.
7. Akane Kanai, *Gender and Relatability in Digital Culture: Managing Affect, Intimacy and Value* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 3–4.
8. Luisa Passerini, "Response on Borders, Conflict Zones, and Memory," *Women's History Review* 25, no. 3, (2016): 454–455.
9. Janina Gosseye, Naomi Stead and Deborah van der Plaats, *Speaking of Buildings: Oral History in Architectural Research* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2019), 26.
10. Luisa Passerini, "Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism," *History Workshop* 8 (1979): 85.
11. Passerini, "Work Ideology," 85.
12. See footnote no. 34 in Jane Hall, "Spaces of Transcultural Resistance: alterity in the design practices of Lina Bo Bardi and Alison and Peter Smithson," (PhD diss., Royal College of Art, 2018), 23.
13. Janina Gosseye, "A Short History of Silence: the epistemological politics of architectural historiography," in *Speaking of Buildings: Oral History in Architectural Research*, ed. Janina Gosseye, Naomi Stead and Deborah van der Plaats (Belgium: Die Keure, 2013), 19.
14. Gosseye, "A Short History," 19.
15. Ceren Kürüm, "At the Threshold of Moral Doors: crossing into rural Turkish Cypriot women's spaces," in *Speaking of Buildings: Oral History in Architectural Research*, ed. Janina Gosseye, Naomi Stead and Deborah van der Plaats (Belgium: Die Keure, 2013), 203.
16. Alessandra Prunotto, "The Things We Leave Behind," *The Nillumbik Prize for Contemporary Writing Anthology* (Melbourne: Nillumbik Shire Council, 2020), 16.
17. Lina Bo Bardi, interview by Olivia De Oliveira, "Interview with Lina Bo Bardi," in *Lina Bo Bardi: Obra Construída*, ed. Olivia De Oliveira (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2002), 230.
18. Luisa Passerini, Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, "Bodies Across Borders. Oral And Visual Memory in Europe and Beyond (BABE): a conversation with Luisa Passerini, Donna Gabaccia, and Franca Iacovetta," *Women's History Review* 25, no. 3 (2016): 461.
19. See Robert Proctor, "The Architect's Intention: Interpreting Post-War Modernism through the Architect Interview," *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 4, (2006): 295–296.
20. See Proctor, "The Architect's Intention," 296.

21. Silvana Rubino, "Introduction," in *Stones Against Diamonds: Lina Bo Bardi*, ed. Brett Steele (Belgium: Die Keure, 2013), 4.
22. Bo Bardi, interview by De Oliveira, 241.
23. Bo Bardi, interview by De Oliveira, 241.
24. Proctor, "The Architect's Intention," 296.
25. Bo Bardi, interview by De Oliveira, 239.
26. Bo Bardi, interview by De Oliveira, 231–233.
27. Frida Escobedo, interview by Su Wu, "Frida Escobedo," *Apiece Apart Woman*, published 2018, <https://www.apieceapart.com/frida-escobedo-apiece-apart-woman>.
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29. Bo Bardi, interview by De Oliveira, 253.
30. Rowan Moore, "Lina Bo Bardi (1914–1992)," *The Architectural Review*, published July 2012, <https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/reputations/lina-bo-bardi-1914-1992>.
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32. Alice T. Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern House* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1998).
33. Friedman, *Women and the Making*, 142.
34. In addition to a series of enclosed *segretto* spaces for the housemaids, beyond. See Silvana Rubino, "Maid Rooms and Laundry Sinks Matter: Modern Houses in a Non-modern Context," *La Casa: Espacios Domésticos Modos De Habitar* (Spain: Universidad De Granada, 2019), 1676.
35. Moore, "Lina Bo Bardi."
36. Bo Bardi, interview by De Oliveira, 230.
37. Lina Bo Bardi, "House in Morumbi (1953)," in *Stones Against Diamonds: Lina Bo Bardi*, ed. Brett Steele (Belgium: Die Keure, 2013), 43.
38. Jane Hall, "Spaces of Transcultural Resistance: alterity in the design practices of Lina Bo Bardi and Alison and Peter Smithson" (PhD diss., Royal College of Art, 2018), 140–141.
39. Hall, "Spaces of Transcultural Resistance," 141.
40. Göran Therborn, "Entangled Modernities," *European Journal of Social Theory* 6, no. 3 (2003): 293.
41. Nora Enriquez quoted in Sandra Vivanco, "Latin America: A New Generation of Women Architects," *Places Journal*, September 2012. Accessed 19 December 2021. <https://doi.org/10.22269/120914>.
42. It is important to note that although these women are perhaps representative of the first generation of influential women architects in Latin America, they certainly do not constitute the only women of this ilk.
43. Frida Escobedo, interview by Ronna Gardner, "Architecture is forever unfinished," *Journal of Visual Culture* 20, no. 1 (2021): 48–49.
44. Escobedo, interview by Gardner, 49.
45. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 22.
46. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 15.
47. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 15.
48. Termed the "lightbulb of Nordeste" as per the Instituto Bardi archives.
49. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 16.
50. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 16.
51. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 16.
52. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 16, 19.

53. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 19.
54. Steffan Lehmann, “An environmental and social approach in the modern architecture of Brazil: The work of Lina Bo Bardi,” *City, Culture and Society* 7 (2016): 183–184.
55. Lehmann, “An environmental and social approach,” 184.
56. Bo Bardi, interview by De Oliveira, 240.
57. Sol Camacho, “Retrospective: Lina Bo Bardi,” *The Architectural Review*, published January 2020, <https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/retrospective/retrospective-lina-bo-bardi>.
58. Camacho, “Retrospective.”
59. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 16.
60. Lina Bo Bardi, “An Architectural Lesson (1990),” in *Stones Against Diamonds: Lina Bo Bardi*, ed. Brett Steele (Belgium: Die Keure, 2013), 117.
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62. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 15.
63. Lehmann, “An environmental and social approach,” 183.
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65. De Oliveira, “Ladeira da Misericórdia,” 151.
66. Bo Bardi, “An Architectural Lesson (1990),” 116.
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68. Nick Compton, “Screen idol: Artist Isaac Julien bends time and space to celebrate Brazilian architect Lina Bo Bardi on film,” *Wallpaper Magazine*, June 2019, <https://www.wallpaper.com/art/isaac-julien-lina-bo-bardi-on-film-victoria-miro-london>.
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71. Bo Bardi, interview by De Oliveira, 251.
72. Marcelo Carvalho Ferraz, “Afterword,” in *Stones Against Diamonds: Lina Bo Bardi*, ed. Brett Steele (Belgium: Die Keure, 2013), 129.
73. Claudia Suller Cornejo, “La Arquitectura Sensorial de Frida Escobedo,” (Trabajo Final de Grado, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura De Valencia, 2018–19), 3.
74. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 15.
75. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 19.
76. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 19.
77. Carla Juaçaba, interview by Karen Wong, “Interview with Carla Juaçaba, Brazilian Architect and Former Pianist,” *PIN-UP*, 2015 <https://pinupmagazine.org/articles/interview-brazilian-architect-carla-juacaba-rio-de-janeiro>.
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79. Escobedo, interview by Prunotto, 25.

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