

Traduções/Translations

Un certo vescovo d'Ungheria e i suoi amici

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Nella seconda edizione delle *Vite*, Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) descrive gli affreschi di Andrea Mantegna (1430/1-1506) nella cappella Ovetari [Fig.1] ¹:

[Mantegna] vi ritrasse anco (...) un certo vescovo d'Ungheria, uomo sciocco affatto, il quale andava tutto giorno per Roma vagabondo e poi la notte si riduceva a dormire come le bestie per le stalle.²

Il vescovo d'Ungheria citato dal Vasari è di solito identificato come Janus Pannonius ³(1434-1472), poeta, futuro vescovo di Pécs ed amico del pittore.

La descrizione fatta dal Vasari non ha corrispondenza in quella del libraio fiorentino Vespasiano da Bisticci, da lui conosciuto di persona: “Era giovane di bellissima presenza e di maravigliosi costume, perchè, in fra l'altre sue inaudite virtù, istette in Ferrara in quello studio, in tanta ammirazione della sua vita e costumi, che non v'era ignuno che non se maravigliassi, perchè era aliena da ogni vizio, e ripieno d'ogni virtù; e non solo venne mai in Italia ignuno oltramontano, ma Italiano non se ne vide nella sua età, il simile di lui”⁴. Ed aggiunge che nel suo soggiorno fiorentino tutti sono affascinati da lui.

L'uomo sciocco affatto, citato dal Vasari, sarebbe forse l'unico personaggio sicuramente identificato, Marsilio Pazzo, quello del carnefice che taglia la testa a S. Iacopo [Fig. 2] ⁵. Di lui, non sappiamo niente, però il suo nome è suggestivo.

Alcuni sbagli nel testo sono dovuti alle fonti del Vasari. La vita del Mantegna è presentata con discordanze considerevole in ambedue edizioni delle vite. Nel 1550, nella *Torrentina*, Vasari incorre in errore quando parla del soggiorno padovano del Mantegna. Già, nella *Giuntina*, nel 1568, le prime opere del pittore sono da lui descritte in tutti i suoi dettagli e anche i rapporti così difficili fra Mantegna e Squarcione (1397-1468). Tra le due redazioni delle *Vite* Vasari è stato nell'Italia Settentrionale e rimase qualche giorno a Padova. In questa occasione, Vasari ha potuto leggere la lettera di Campagnola (c.1433/5-1522) scritta in latino sugli antichi pittori padovani. Il notaio Girolamo Campagnola, contemporaneo ed amico del Mantegna, è ricordato come letterato e poeta per Scardeone⁶ e Michiel⁷, che frequentava gli ambienti umanisti padovani. Secondo Vasari, Campagnola fu proprio un artista e studiò con Squarcione. Il figlio Giulio (c.1482-1514) si distaccò come incisore e lavorò col Mantegna. La lettera di Campagnola⁸, perduta, fu molto famosa all'epoca del Vasari e pure Marcantonio Michiel l'ha utilizzato.

Mantegna ha ritratto Janus Pannonius e Galeotto Marzio (c.1424-c.1497), ambedue in una stessa tavoletta. L'opera, perduta, fu dipinta nel 1455 circa, forse a Padova, dove vivevano i tre amici, ancora giovani. Pannonius aveva circa 24 anni, Marzio, 31 e Mantegna, 27.

L'origine del doppio ritratto che celebra l'amicizia tra Pannonius e Marzio fu il *De Amicitia* di Cicerone (106-43 a.C.), la più grande influenza del primo Umanesimo. D'accordo con Burckhardt ⁹, il ritratto dei due umanisti forse fu il primo esempio d'unione dello studio

e dell'amicizia invece di sangue o di funzione pubblica.

Il trattato sull'amicizia sta tra gli ultimi testi di Cicerone, scritto nel 43 a.C., pochi mesi prima della sua morte. Ha la forma di *heracleideion*, un dialogo tra personaggi del passato, genere ereditato dei greci e abbastanza comune all'epoca. Tra gli obiettivi di Cicerone, c'era la trasmissione del pensiero greco ai romani. L'amicizia era uno degli argomenti più frequenti. Il trattato ha avuto influenza considerevole nei secoli. Sono state fatte molte copie manoscritte e successive edizioni. I ragionamenti di Cicerone sono stati all'origine del pensiero cristiano sull'amicizia. Cicerone è diventato il modello degli oratori cristiani, soprattutto nel Rinascimento. Il ciceronismo nasce come una tendenza letteraria ed il suo stile fu considerato l'ideale per la prosa, che da questo punto diventa opera d'arte.

Il *De amicitia*, indirizzato a Catone Uticense (95-46 a.C.), testimonia la fiducia incondizionata nella virtù e nell'amicizia. Cicerone racconta il discorso dell'augure Quinto Mucio Scevola (m. 87 a.C.), da lui conosciuto quando ancora era molto giovane tramite suo padre. Scevola ricordava suo suocero, Gaio Lelio, detto *Sapiens*. Il colloquio si svolge tra Lelio ed i suoi due generi, Fannio e lo stesso Scevola, circa 129 a.C. L'argomento sull'amicizia si presentò perchè era morto da poco tempo Cornelio Scipione Emiliano, *L'Africano Minore* (185-129 a.C.), l'amico del cuore di Lelio. Lelio e Scipione, che presero parte alla distruzione di Cartagine e alla guerra di Spagna, sono una delle coppie di amici più conosciute della Storia. Nel dialogo, Lelio spiega ai suoi generi con quale animo lui riusciva a

sopportare con rassegnazione la morte dell'amico.

Ora se è vero che la morte segna soltanto la fine della vita terrena, non possiamo lamentarci per la morte di un amico. Faccio bene a non dolgermi della sua morte (...) perché a lui la morte non ha tolto niente. Soltanto a noi, qualcosa lei ha tolto. Per lui la morte ha appertto la strada fino alla vita eterna. Per questo io temerei che dolersi della sua morte sia di uno che lo invidi.

*(...) L'amicizia ha in sé tanti e grandi vantaggi. (...) perché chi guarda un vero amico, contempla, in un certo modo, l'immagine di se stesso. Ecco perché gli assenti sono presenti, i diseredati ricchi, i deboli forti e, cosa più ardua ad affermarsi, i morti rivivono: tanto è grande il tributo di stima, tanto sono vivi il ricordo e il rimpianto degli amici. Per questo noi giudichiamo felice la morte di uno, degna di lode la vita di un altro. (...)*¹⁰

Il *De Amicitia* ha affascinato gli umanisti. Nel Quattrocento, il culto dell'amicizia si manifestò tra il cambio di ritratti e del doppio ritratto. Non soltanto l'iconografia, ma la forma stessa dell'opera, quadro di piccole dimensioni, e l'impiego fatto da lui, sono derivati dalla cultura classica.

Il doppio ritratto possedeva anche un aspetto di equivalenza. C'era la tradizione romana delle doppie erme, bifrontale, ritratti di poeti e filosofi. Nell'Antichità, era pratica comune della retorica e dello stile il paragone tra qualità e caratteristiche di due persone. Ad esempio nelle *Vite parallele* di Plutarco (ca.46-ca.125), ci sono ventitré paia di vite. In ciascuna, c'è un paragone tra una personalità greca ed una latina.

Il doppio ritratto di Janus e Marzio è conosciuto soltanto tra la lode indirizzata dal Pannonius al Mantegna. Nella *Laus Andreae Mantegnae, Pictoris Patavini*, il poeta esalta la somiglianza dei ritratti e l'eccellenza del pittore. La descrizione dell'opera, il ritratto letterario, *ritratto del quadro*, nella definizione di Pommier¹¹, accompagna la tradizione di Petrarca

(1304-74), che descrive il ritratto di Laura dipinto da Simone Martini (c.1284-1344), anche quest'opera sparita. Nel suo poema, Janus riconosce nel ritratto fatto del Mantegna la facoltà di rendere presente l'assenza e di superare la morte nella celebrazione dell'amicizia. Lui riporta, oltre al trattato di Cicerone, il *De Pictura* di Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72): “[Il ritratto possiede la facoltà] non soltanto di rendere presenti gli assenti, come è detto dell'amicizia, ma anche di fare vedere dopo molti secoli i morti ai vivi, riconosciuti da chi gli guarda con grande gioia e meraviglia.”¹²

L'influsso di Alberti sul circolo umanista padovano è stato grande. Prima di partire per Bologna nel 1415, lui aveva studiato con il ciceroniano Gasparino Barsizza (m.1431), professore di retorica dell'Università di Padova, il più importante latinista dell'epoca. Il *De Pictura*, scritto nel 1435, è stato pubblicato nel 1440 nella versione in latino ed nel 1447 nell'italiana. Nel 1441, Alberti ha creato in Firenze il *Certame coronario* sul tema dell'amicizia. Più tardi, al principio del *Quattrocento*, anche Erasmo (1467-1536) ha sviluppato un culto dell'amicizia suscitato da Cicerone, realizzato nel doppio ritratto che Quentin Matsys (1465/6-1530) ha fatto di Erasmo insieme con Petrus Aegidius¹³ in 1517. Thomas Morus (c.1478-1535), amico di ambedue, era il destinatario dell'opera.

Prima dell'opera del Mantegna, Vasari cita nella *vita de Fra' Giovanni da Fiesole* (ca.1387-1455) un doppio ritratto della collezione del duca Cosimo. L'autore, Zanobi Strozzi (1412-1468), era allievo di Fra Angelico (ca.1387-1455). Era il ritratto di Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, padre di Cosimo, *il Vecchio*, e di Bartolomeo Valori, *in uno stesso quadro*. I curatori dell'edizione del Vasari consultata dal Burckhardt¹⁴ hanno identificato una parte di quest'opera nel ritratto a mezzo busto di Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, negli Uffizi, che Bellosi¹⁵ ha

considerato come lavoro del Masaccio (1401-c.1428). Burckhardt¹⁶ ricorda una pittura più antica, di origine veneziana, un ritratto di due condottieri.

Tra le opere attribuite al Mantegna, c'è un altro doppio ritratto, anch'esso perduto: il ritratto di Leonello d'Este, marchese di Ferrara, e del camerlengo e favorito Folco da Villafora. L'annotazione nel documento della corte estense di 24 Maggio 1449 dichiara: “un piccolo quadro con le effigie di Leonello d'Este da un verso e Folco da Villafora¹⁷ d'altro di mano di Andrea di Padova”. Nel Maggio di quell'anno, Mantegna era stato a Ferrara e la critica è d'accordo nell'identificare il suo nome come autore dell'opera¹⁸.

Nei ritratti dei condottieri e di Zanobi Strozzi la composizione delle opere è sconosciuta. Nel ritratto di Ferrara, la descrizione, *Leonello d'Este da un verso e Folco da Villafora d'altro*, sembra un pannello dipinto da entrambi i lati, fronte e verso. Il ritratto di Pannonius e Marzio è descritto nel poema: *talís cum Iano tabula Galeottus in una*. Non è sicuro che i due ritratti furono pitturati insieme nello stesso lato o in entrambi i lati del pannello.

Tra i ritratti attribuiti al Mantegna, c'è un profilo di uomo [Fig.3]¹⁹ che nel 1906 apparteneva ad una collezione privata in Gaál, in Ungheria. Fu venduto nel 1929 a Budapest. Dagli anni trenta, l'opera è stata presentata nelle mostre. Frankfurter (1939 e 1952)²⁰ ha proposto di identificarlo come il ritratto di Janus con base nel luogo di provenienza. La critica non è d'accordo, salvo Agosti (2005)²¹.

Christiansen²² giudica questo ritratto di Mantegna il più problematico perché il suo stato di conservazione è pessimo avendo sofferto due trasferimenti di supporto. Fu dipinto nel 1458 circa d'accordo con lo stile del Mantegna. Malgrado il fascino dell'ipotesi di un ritratto di Janus Pannonius, questo non è totalmente improbabile.

Nato nel 29 Agosto 1434²³, lui sarebbe ventiquattro anni e l'uomo di profilo dimostra essere più vecchio. Inoltre, in quel tempo Janus, chi sempre ha avuto la salute debole, possibilmente era già tubercoloso, cosa che non concorda con l'aspetto robusto del ritratto.

Il Getty Museum possiede un *Ritratto di giovane* [Fig. 4]²⁴ di autore sconosciuto di origine ferrarese della seconda metà del Quattrocento. La parte posteriore del pannello è dipinta come simulacro di porfiro in segno di essere un ditico. Il catalogo del museo suggerisce Janus come modello. È un profilo di giovane dai linee regolare, dalla pelle chiara, dagli occhi azzurri e dai capelli biondi, che è d'accordo con le descrizione del suo aspetto. Forse il ritratto fu dipinto durante il suo soggiorno ferrarese. Janus fu giunto a Ferrara con tredici anni nel fine della primavera di 1477 per studiare per alcuni anni con Guarino da Verona. Apparteneva a una famiglia nobile e ha perso il padre durante l'infanzia. Lo zio materno Vitéz²⁵, il poderoso arcivescovo di Strigonia, ha sostenuto l'educazione umanista che lui stesso non aveva potuto ricevere. Nella scuola di Guarino, che Vergerio²⁶, amico di Vitéz, aveva raccomandato, Janus ha ricevuto gli insegnamenti necessari per praticare i lavori di amministrazione a cui era destinato in Ungheria. Fu il discepolo prediletto del maestro, onorato con un panegirico. Nello stesso tempo, scherzava e criticava cose che altri non oserebbero²⁷. Janus diventò un caro amico di Battista, il figlio di Guarino, che l'ho ha descritto a imparare il latino in soltanto un'anno e poi a dedicarsi a imparare il greco. Nello *Studium* di Guarino in Ferrara, Janus è diventato poeta e si ha distaccato con le sue satire alla maniera di Marcial (38-41-ca.103). L'opera giovanile, versi erotici e pornografici e combattimenti con i compagni, fu posta in dubbio perché non era adatta alla dignità di vescovo²⁸. La carriera clericale fu la scelta chi ha reso possibile a Janus l'ascesa sociale. Questa

non impedì che lui si abbia mantenuto anticlericale, ateo ed incredulo nella vita dopo la morte. La sua principale preoccupazione era già l'immortalità del nome e non dell'anima.

Janus fu compagno di studi o a avuto contato con gli più importanti personaggi del suo tempo. Per esempio, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, futuro Pio II, un amico del zio arcivescovo, e l'umanista e condottiero Jacopo Antonio Marcello, a chi lui ha dedicato un elogio tra altre opere.

Galeoto Marzio da Narni²⁹, l'amico più vicino di Janus in Ferrara, e per tutta la vita, fu arrivato alla scuola di Guarino nell'anno di 1447. Lui era sette anni più vecchio che Janus e fu una sorta di suo protettore. Quando Janus è diventato vescovo della ricca diocesi di Pécs, questo è cambiato e lui ha potuto prestare aiuto e protezione a Galeotto, chi aveva sempre problemi di soldo. In 1449, Galeotto si è diventato docente della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia nell'Università di Padova mentre faceva il corso di medicina. La distanza non allontanò gli amici e quando Janus si è trasferito in Padova diventarono più prossimi.

Nel 1456, Janus cominciò la traduzione di Plutarco nella casa di Galeotto in Montagnana³⁰. Non ci sono conosciute le circostanze in cui Janus e Galeotto hanno trovato Andrea Mantegna. Loro condivisero interesse vivo per la cultura classica.

Negli anni 50, quando i due amici abitavano insieme in Padova, Mantegna lavorava nella decorazione della cappella Ovetari. È la seconda cappella a destra dell'altare maggiore della chiesa dominicana degli Eremitani, accanto all'Arena di Padova. Ci sono intorno a 11 m di profondità per quasi 9 m di larghezza. È dedicata ai santi martiri e pellegrini S. Giacomo e S. Cristoforo. Nel testamento di 5 Gennaio 1433, Antonio degli Ovetari ha legato 700 ducati d'oro per la decorazione della cappella dopo la sua morte con storie della vita dei suoi santi patroni. Lui era il protet-

tore della confraternita di Santa Maria dei Servi, che sosteneva un albergo, in onore di questi santi, per pellegrini che viaggiavano a Roma. Quando fu morto non è sicuro, però nel 16 maggio 1448, la vedova Madonna Imperatrice firmava il contratto del lavoro che doveva essere diviso tra Giovanni d'Alemagna (attivo 1441-1450) ed Antonio Vivarini (1440-76) e gli allievi di Squarcione, Nicolò Pizzolo (1421-53) e Andrea Mantegna. Giovanni d'Alemagna ed il cognato Antonio Vivarini rappresentavano la tradizione del Trecento mentre Mantegna e Pizzolo erano la modernità. Pizzolo fu assistente ai lavori di Donatello, citato in 1446 nell'opera dell'altare del Santo. In 1448, lui era valutato l'artista locale più importante, con grande dominio della prospettiva.

Il convivere dei due pittore, Pizzolo e Mantegna, ambedue dal carattere forte e difficoltoso, fu disastroso. Hanno avuto bisogno d'intervento giudiziale per lavorare nello stesso spazio: uno non poteva ostruire il lavoro d'altro e Pizzolo era costretto a togliere il lenzuolo che impediva l'illuminazione della parete che Mantegna affrescava.

Gli affreschi dovrebbero essere finiti nel dicembre 1450, però con la successione di infortunio sul lavoro continuarono per lungo tempo. Giovanni d'Alemagna è morto in 1450 e Vivarini lasciò la cappella nell'anno successivo. Nel fine di quest'anno mancarono mezzi. Pizzolo fu stato morto in 1453, quando tornava a casa dal lavoro. Come disse Vasari: "si fusse diletto della pittura quanto fece dell'arme, sarebbe stato eccellente e forse molto più vivuto che non fece".

Anche Ansuino da Forlì (ca.1438-1494) Bono da Ferrara (attivo 1450-52) e Giovanni da Camerino (attivo 1449-73) lavorarono negli affreschi, però Mantegna fu colui che fu stato alla testa del programma di decorazione. La pittura fu ricominciata in novembre 1453 e è probabile che sia stata finita in gennaio 1457.

Gli affreschi della cappella Ovetari sono stati quasi interamente distrutti l'11 marzo 1944 durante un bombardamento americano. Questo complica di più la questione dell'attribuzione dell'autore e della cronologie delle opere perchè ci sono soltanto fotografie prima della seconda guerra mondiale. Restano soltanto due scene della "Storia di S. Cristoforo" [Fig.1], staccate per restaurazione in 1865, e l'Assunzione della Vergine nella nicchia dell'abside.

Nel "Trasporto del corpo di san Cristoforo", Fiocco³¹ identificò il vescovo d'Ungheria di chi parla il Vasari come il giovane che porta la gamba del santo [Fig.5]³². D'accordo con Birnbaum³³, Janus sarebbe tra coloro chi guardavano la scena dalla finestra [Fig.6]³⁴. Però, lei è in dubbio se il "vescovo d'Ungheria" è Janus stesso. Birnbaum dice che al tempo che abitava in Padova, Janus non era ancora vescovo e che quando fu andato a Roma in 1465, comandava un' elegante delegazione alla corte di Paolo II. Secondo Birnbaum³⁵, si Janus sarebbe stato rappresentato nell'affresco, certamente scriverebbe sul questo o almeno nel poema che celebra i ritratti di Mantegna.

Vasari dice che i ritratti della cappella Ovetari erano tutti di "suoi amicissimi". Forse Janus sia tra loro, però no Galeotto, perchè il suo viso è conosciuto. Può darsi che non era così prossimo di Mantegna come Janus. Di Marzio, c'è il ritratto in un codice unghese dipinto circa il 1489 [Figs. 7 e 8]³⁶. Lui è presso il vescovo ed umanista Janus Vitéz, di Zedrna, durante la consacrazione del futuro arcivescovo di Strigonia. Marzio è visto di fronte, guardando la sinistra. La mano destra che tocca il cuore significa devozione

e lealtà. Janus Vitéz, il Giovane, era il cugino di Janus Pannonius e protettore di Galeotto. Quando perse lo zio e cadde in rovina presso il re, fu Galeotto chi riuscì a farlo tornare a Buda³⁷. E quando Marzio fu accusato di eresia, fu Vitéz chi lo aiutò a ricuperare i beni e l'assoluzione del papa³⁸.

Galeotto Marzio fu anche ritratto in due medaglie unghese [Figs. 9 e 10]³⁹, fatte circa 1494. È rappresentato di profilo tornato alla sinistra, con una corona d'alloro nel rovescio d'una delle medaglie [Fig.10]. Nel recto di ambedue, c'è una scansia con libri, allusiva alla sua attività di bibliotecario della Biblioteca Corviniana⁴⁰. D'accordo con Huszár⁴¹, le medaglie possano essere l'opera d'ogni artefice unghese del fine del Quattrocento. La qualità differisce, però non l'origine perchè l'iscrizione è la stessa. La maggiore [Fig.9] è molto superiore, tanto il ritratto quanto la caratterizzazione della biblioteca. È probabile che sia il modello dell'altra [Fig.10], nonostante l'addizione della corona d'alloro.

D'accordo con la tradizione locale, nel fine del secolo XIX, era ancora possibile vedere il ritratto di Galeotto in un affresco molto guasto nella stanza conciliare della comuna di Narni, che non esiste più.

Sopra il suo aspetto fisico, le medaglie unghese e la miniatura lo presentano molto grasso, la fronte ampia con pappagorgia. Nel 1477, quando fu portato per l'inquisizione alla berlina in piazza San Marco in Venezia per la ritrattazione pubblica delle eresie della sua opera "De incognita Vulgo", il pubblico gridava: "Che bel porco grasso!" E lui, con l'umore caratteristico, rispon-

deva: "Meglio un porco grasso che una capra mingherlina".

L'argomento del ritratto era importante per Janus, che fu uno dei primi poeta a descriversi nei propri testi. Il poema in omaggio a Mantegna fu composto dopo il ritorno in Ungheria nel 1458⁴². Probabilmente il doppio ritratto è stato dipinto in Padova, prima la sua partenza. Non si sa con chi la tavola è restata. Forse Janus perchè lui fu quello che era andato via, oltre a essere l'autore della lode. Anche la ragione della scomparsa del pannello è sconosciuta. La perdita di opere di piccole dimensione come un ritratto avviene spesso. Oltre a che, i gravi problemi politici affrontati fra poco tanto per Pannonius come per Marzio giustificerebbero nascondere il doppio ritratto. Dopo 1465, anno della ambasciata a Roma, i rapporti tra il re e Vitéz sono degenerati, cosa che ha pregiudicato Janus. Subito le ostilità sono cominciate⁴³.

Janus è morto nel Venerdì Santo, 27 Marzo 1472, in Medvedgrad. Fuggiva per Venezia, dove aspettava ottenere rinforzi per affrontare Matia Corvino. Il suo corpo fu sepolto in un monastero prossimo a Zagreb e dopo portato al duomo di Pécs. Non ci sono indizi del sepolcro probabilmente rovinato nel terremoto di 1880. Marzio è morto circa 1497, forse in Bohemia Mantova o Lione e fu sepolto a Padova⁴⁴.

Malgrado i versi di Janus dicono: " grazie a te, per molti secoli, i nostri visi rimarranno vivi, nonostante la terra che coprirà i nostri due corpi", fu il suo testo che ha mantenuto viva la memoria della pittura⁴⁵.

Traduzione: Nancy Ridel Kaplan

¹ Andrea Mantegna, *Il Martirio e il Trasporto del corpo di san Cristoforo*, ca. 1454-55, affresco, base: 330 cm, cappella Ovetari, chiesa degli Eremitani, Padova.

² VASARI, Giorgio & BAROCCHI, Paola. *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti, vita*

di Andrea Mantegna. Firenze: Sansoni, 1966-1969, p. 550.

³ Giovanni, Gian o Giano Pannonio, Johann von Cisinge, vescovo d'Ungheria, vescovo di Cinque chiese o vescovo di Pécs sono tutti nomi dello stesso Janus Pannonius.

⁴ DA BISTICI, Vespasiano & FRATI, Ludovico. *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*. Bologna: Romagnoli-Dall'Acqua, 1893, vol. secondo, p. 244. Vespasiano da Bistici narra che prima di tornare in Ungheria, Pannonius stette in Firenze e andò per lui per andare a trovare

gli eruditi della città. L'incontro fu caloroso e Vespasiano lo introdusse a Giovanni Argiropoli Cosimo de' Medici Poggio Bracciolini e Donato Acciaiuoli. Pannonius fece bella vista in Cosimo. Durante il soggiorno fiorentino, assistette alle lezioni di Giovanni Argiropoli e convisse con i suoi discepoli.

⁵ Fig. 2. Andrea Mantegna, *Il Martirio San Giacomo*, ca. 1453-57, affresco, base: 330 cm, cappella Ovetari, chiesa degli Eremitani, Padova.

⁶ Il fratefranciscano Bernardino Scardeone (1478-1574) è autore di una storia di Padova, *De antiquitate urbis Patavii et claris civibus patavinis*, 1559.

⁷ Il patrizio veneziano Marcantonio Michiel descrisse le prime collezioni veneziane in una opera tra gli anni di 1525 e 1543.

⁸ Il destinatario della lettera Niccolò Leonico Tomeo, veneziano di origine albanese, antico discepolo di Domenico Calcondila in Firenze, fu traduttore di opere scientifiche e docente di letteratura greca nell'Università di Padova.

⁹ BURCKHARDT, Jacob. *Il ritratto nella pittura italiana del Rinascimento*. Roma: Bulzoni, 1993, p. 108.

¹⁰ Tradotto dall'italiano e dal francese: CICERO. *De Amicitia*. PACCHINI, Guerino (trad.). Milano: Mondadori, 1965. CICERO. *De Amicitia*. TOULIA, Christiane (trad.), Parigi: Arléa, 1995.

¹¹ POMMIER, Edouard. *Théories du portrait*. Parigi: Gallimard, 1998, p. 38.

¹² Ibidem, pp. 40-1.

¹³ Il doppio ritratto fu diviso in due: Quentin Matsys, *Erasmus*, 1517, osp. trasferito in tela, 59x46,5, Galleria Borghese, Roma. Quentin Matsys, *Petrus Aegidius*, 1517, osp. trasferito in tela, Longford Castle

¹⁴ BURCKHARDT, Jacob, Op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁵ BELLOSI, Luciano. Gli Uffizi. Firenze: *Catalogo Generale*. Firenze: Centro Di, 1980, I, p. 373.

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 77-8.

¹⁷ Andrea Mantegna. *Ritratto di Leonello d'Este*, c.1449, tsp, opera scomparsa.

¹⁸ BELLONCI, Maria & GARAVAGLIA, Niny. *L'opera completa del Mantegna*, Classici dell'arte. Milano: Rizzoli, 1967, p. 86.

¹⁹ Fig. 3. Andrea Mantegna, *Ritratto d'uomo di profilo*, c. 1455-70(?), tempera sopra legno trasferito in tela e dopo in legno, 24,2 x 19,1 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

²⁰ LUCCO, Mauro. "Ritratto d'uomo di profilo". In: LUCCO, Mauro (org.) *Mantegna a Mantova 1460-1506*. Milano: Skira, 2006, p. 64: Frankfurter, 1939, p.114 e Frankfurter, 1952, pp. 88, 91-2.

²¹ LUCCO, Mauro. Op. cit. Agosti 2005, pp. 15, 131.

²² CHRISTIANSEN, Keith. "Portrait of a man". In: MARTINEAU, Jane (org.) *Mantegna*. Milano: Electa, 1992, p. 331.

²³ Il posto di nascita di Janus non è sicuro: prossimo alla confluenza dei fiumi Danubio e Drava in Eslavonia. Adottò il nome Pannonius, un'allusione all'Impero romano. La "natio Hungaria" significava la classe a che Janus apparteneva, ossia, la piccola nobiltà che assunse gli uffici pubblici.

²⁴ Fig. 4. Autore sconosciuto, *Ritratto di giovane*, Ferrara, 1450-1500, olio e tempera sopra legno, 20,32 x 15, 24 cm, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

²⁵ Janus Vitéz, arcivescovo di Strigonia, ha avuto grande influsso su Matia Corvino, re di Ungheria a causa di lui. In Buda, l'arcivescovo aveva uno studio che riuniva letterati professori pittori e scultori italiani. Possedeva una grande biblioteca, con quasi tutti i libri scritti in latino, volumi comprati o copiati in Firenze.

²⁶ L'umanista Pier Paolo Vergerio abitò nella corte ungherese.

²⁷ Ad esempio, in uno dei suoi epigrammi, Janus censura Guarino che permetteva ai suoi figli mantenere rapporti sessuali con le serve della casa e avverte che lui doveva aspettare delle figlie la stessa condotta.

²⁸ C'è una edizione di 1933 degli *Epigrammi Lascivi* di Janus con introduzione di Péter Sárközy; traduzione di Gianni Toti, ediz. nifahrenheit451.

²⁹ Galeotto Marzio nacque in Narni. Il nome della famiglia appare per la prima volta nel 1400 nel documento di matrimonio di Francesca Martius, figlia di Paolo, con un Rodolfini. La famiglia apparteneva alla nobiltà locale e gli uomini si dedicarono alle armi.

³⁰ Fra 1462 e 77, Galeotto Marzio insegnò retorica e poesia nelle Università di Bologna e Padova e in Ungheria. Non ci sono trascrizioni delle lezioni di Marzio in Padova o Bologna. Ci sono soltanto dieci lettere autografe. In Padova, Marzio abitò in Montagnana, dove abitavano i cittadini di Narni e vivera Gattamelata. Nel Duomo di Montagnana, in una cappella laterale, fino al secolo XIX, c'era un affresco rappresentando una serpente ed animali fantastici, attribuito a Marzio.

³¹ FIOCCO, Giuseppe. *Mantegna, la cappella Ovetari nella Chiesa degli Eremitani*. Milano: Silvana Editoriale D'arte, 1947, p.32.

³² Fig. 5. Andrea Mantegna, *Il Martirio ed il Trasporto del corpo di san Cristoforo*, ca.1454-55, affresco, base: 330 cm, cappella Ovetari, Chiesa degli Eremitani, Padova. Particolare: Janus Pannonius?

³³ BIRNBAUM, Marianna. *Janus Pannunius poet and politician*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1981, n. 43, p.16.

³⁴ Fig. 6. Andrea Mantegna. *Il Martirio ed il Trasporto del corpo di san Cristoforo*, ca.1454-55, affresco, base: 330 cm, cappella Ovetari, chiesa degli Eremitani, Padova. Particolare: finestra.

³⁵ BIRNBAUM, Marianna. Op. cit., p. 77.

³⁶ Fig. 7. Giovanni Pietro da Birago, pagina del codice di Janus Vitéz, il Giovane: *la consacrazione dell' episcopato*, ca. 1489. Fig. 8. Giovanni Pietro da Birago, pagina del codice di Janus Vitéz, il Giovane: *la consacrazione dell' episcopato*, ca. 1489. Particolare: ritratto di Galeotto Marzio.

³⁷ Janus Vitéz, il Giovane, era nipote di Janus Vitéz, l'arcivescovo di Strigonia.

³⁸ Nel 1477, l'Inquisizione accusò Marzio d'eresia a causa della sua opera *De Incognita Vulgo*. Fu costretto a fare una ritrattazione pubblica in Venezia. Il tribunale dell'Inquisizione segnalò dodici sbagli nel testo. Marzio rifiutava la necessità dell'Incarnazione di Cristo per la salvezza dell'umanità. Dopo, lui si preoccuperebbe con il problema della salvezza degli uomini virtuosi dell'Antichità. Marzio difendeva concetti polemicamente, come l'equivalenza e verità dei miracoli romani e cristiani, la possibilità di raggiungere a Dio e alla salvezza tra ogni fede, inclusi pagani turchi ed ebrei, prescindendo del battesimo per la salvezza. Matia Corvino, re dell'Ungheria, nutriva simpatia per alcune forme di religiosità eretiche e accolse i domenicani nelle scuole ungherese. Marzio frequentò la corte di Matia Corvino fra 1461 e 86, più tempo che altri umanisti italiani. Malgrado essere stato l'amico Janus Pannonius chi lo introdusse al re, Marzio non soffrì persecuzione quando Pannonius e lo zio, l'arcivescovo di Strigonia, caddero in rovina. Quando fu accusato di eresia, gli unici che lo difesero pubblicamente furono Janus Vitéz, il Giovane, Matia Corvino e Lorenzo de' Medici, a chi Marzio dedicò nel 1489 il *De Doctrina Promiscua*, un tentativo fallito di fare contatto con l'ambiente umanista fiorentino.

³⁹ Fig. 9. Autore sconosciuto, medaglia commemorativa di Galeotto Marzio, ca.1494, bronzo. Rovescio: profilo tornato alla sinistra. Reverso: una scansia con libri. Fig. 10. Autore sconosciuto, medaglia commemorativa di Galeotto Marzio, ca.1494, bronzo. Rovescio: profilo tornato alla sinistra. Recto: una scansia con libri. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

⁴⁰ La biblioteca di Matia Corvino fu un simbolo del Rinascimento ungherese e esprimeva lo spirito umanista della corte. Fu la seconda maggiore raccolta di codici ed incunabili dell'Europa nel secolo XV, minore soltanto della Biblioteca Vaticana.

⁴¹ VAYER, Lajos. "Ritratto sconosciuto di Galeotto Marzio. Contributo all'iconografia ritrattistica dell'umanesimo italo-ungherese". In: BIGOTTI, Mario (Org.). *Galeotto Marzio e l'umanesimo italiano ed europeo*. Atti del III convegno di studio. Narni: Centro di Studi Storici, 1975, pp.199-211.

⁴² Tornato in Ungheria, Pannonius trovò difficoltà di adattarsi ai costumi del paese. Vitéz, consigliere e confidente del re, condusse la

carriera ecclesiastica del nipote, che ricevè l'importante e ricca diocesi di Pécs e diventò signore feudale. Presto Janus giunse il zio nella corte in Buda. Tornò in Italia soltanto una volta, in 1464, come rappresentante del re all'incoronazione di Paolo II, capo di una grande comitiva. In quest'occasione, acquistò molti volumi greci e latini in Roma. Pannonius passò per Firenze Ferrara e Venezia, dove comprò libri e incaricò molte copie. Costituì una considerevole biblioteca nella sua diocesi, che voleva trasformare in centro culturale.

⁴³ Non ci sono evidente le ragione che condussero Matia Corvino a allontanare e osteggiare l'antico elettore e supporto del suo regno. La nomina del arcivescovo come cardinale era sicura, però un vescovo tedesco fu lo scelto. Da questo momento, Vitéz si mise d'accordo con il re di Polonia, che invase l'Ungheria e esigé la corona per il suo nipote Casimir. Quando l'esercito polacco uscì dell'Ungheria, Matia Corvino, che aveva simulato una riconciliazione, compì una vendetta. Prese l'arcivescovo in Buda e lo restituì alla libertà soltanto in cambio di un castello fortificato. Vitéz sopravvisse poco tempo e, quando morì, tutto il suo patrimonio, inclusa la biblioteca, fu confiscato per il re.

⁴⁴ Galeotto visse in Ungheria fra 1477 e 80 e fra 1481 o 82 e 1485. La rovina di Janus e Vitéz non danneggiò il suo rapporto con Matia Corvino. L'iscrizione sopra la tomba di Galeotto fu annotata per Scardeone:

*Hanc galeam, hinc posuit Galeottus Martius ense
Mar[s] tibi, et banc citharam docto cum pectine Musis,
Militia functus, decantataque poesi.*

Propria Belgarum laus: Domenicus Lampsonius and the Pictorum Aliquot Celebrium Germaniae Inferioris Effigies*

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According to a contemporary reading, the *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris Effigies*¹ established the first Nordic historical-artistic canon². The book, published in 1572 in Antwerp by

[SCARDEONE, Bernardino. *De antiquitate urbis Patavii et claris civibus patavinis*. Basel: Nicolaum Episcopium, 1560. Supplemento: *De sepulchri insignibus exterorum Patavii juvenum*, p. 437.]

⁴⁵ Tradotto del francese in MARGOLIN, Jean-Claude. "Le poète Janus Pannonius et le peintre Mantegna". *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományok Akadémia, Tomo 14, 3-4, 1972.

**Ode a Andrea Mantegna, pittore padovano
Anno 1458
Elegia II**

Uguale presso il re di Macedonia la meravigliosa grazia della mano d'Apele dipinse il suo leale compagno uguale, in una stessa tavola, Galeotto e Janus respirano insieme legati ambedue d'una amicizia senza mancanza. Per un così grande regalo, Mantegna, con che rendimenti di grazie con che discorsi di lode nostra Talia ti celebrerà? Grazie a te, per molti secoli, vivi nostri volti rimarranno nonostante la terra che i nostre due corpi ricoprirà. Grazie a te, allorché l'immenso Universo ci separa uno di noi nel cuore dell'altro può riposare. A dir la verità, dei suoi veri tratti quanto questi visi differiscono? Che dire, se non altro, che a questi visi la parola lui ha donato? Così la luce dello specchio rimanda i nostri tratti meno somiglianti o il riflesso dell'acqua che con il puro cristallo rivaleggia. Ammirabile corrispondenza delle parte uguale dei corpi E per ciascuno dei tratti,

che la veracità del tono fa brillare.
Fu Mercurio che ti creò di celeste natura?
Fu Minerva che, malgrado vergine, a te fece il dono del suo latte?
Pel suo genio l'Antichità è nobile
Nobile lei è, pella su' arte
Però il tuo proprio genio e la tua arte trionfano sugli antichi.
Della bocca, tu potessi fare scaturire e spargere la schiuma,
Della Venere di Cos la figura raffinare.
La natura non ha il potere di produrre una sola creatura
che i tuoi diti non possano imitare.
Finalmente, della pittura la tua gloria va davanti, come in una storia del tuo glorioso Tito Livio.
In questo modo, dopo riempire con le tue opere tutte le regione della Terra,
tu puoi lasciare questo mondo, all'appello del Signore tu salirai in abitazione del cielo
dove, nel cammino punteggiato dagli astri,
comincia la Via Lattea;
Perché tu dipinga i palazzi del vasto cielo, affinché loro siano pitturati dai colori che fiammeggiano delle stelle.
A decorare il cielo,
nel cielo stesso il tuo premio troverai
e dei pittore, sotto il gran Giove,
il simbolo divino tu sarai.
E tuttavia i poeti, i tuoi fratelli,
In pietà non cederanno il passo,
Però, poi dalle Muse, per te compiranno i primi sacrifici.
Noi due, più che chiunque'altri; noi, che la tua mano destra farà nostri tratti conosciuti da tutta posterità.
In aspetta che questi versi la nostra riconoscenza testimonino,
di questi versi che le nuvole d'incenso arabo non raggiungono la ricompensa.

the widow of the Flemish editor Hieronymus Cock, contains 23 engravings representing portraits of Flemish and Dutch painters from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These bear Latin verses praising their personal and/or artistic qualities. The author of the poems is the humanist, collector, diplomat, painter, and poet Domenicus Lampsonius (Bruges, 1532 – Liege, 1599), whom Vasari mentions as being a *uomo di bellissime lettere e molto giudizio in tutte le cose*³.

Lampsonius studied in the Arts Faculty of Louvain, and, in 1554, he went to England as Reginald Pole's private secretary. Pole was on his way back to England, as he had been summoned by Mary I Tudor after an Italian exile of twenty-two years. In 1558,

after the cardinal's death, Lampsonius returned home, entering directly into the service of the recently nominated Bishop of Liege, Robert of Berghes (and, afterwards, of his successors, Gerard van Groesbeeck and Ernst of Bavaria). During this period, the humanist established intense relationships with outstanding intellectuals all over Europe – among whom are the Portuguese Pedro Ximenes, Justus Lipsius and Abraham Ortelius. At the same time, he visited the academy recently founded by Lambert Lombard after his return from Italy, where he got in touch with several of the artists represented in the *Effigies*. In 1569, he married Beelken Schelen, from whom he would have two children, Marie and Gerard⁴.

Lampsonius' biography and his texts irradiate the meridional clarity that is regularly associated to humanism. Although he had lived, from a political and religious point of view, during a tense, unstable, and growingly intolerant period, the Flemish intellectual mastered, with elegance and firmness, the main attributes of Renaissance's *homo eruditus*: philology and rhetoric, theology and classical languages, diplomacy, literature, philosophy, art criticism and music – they all were fields in which, strongly supported by the soundness of his own intelligence, Lampsonius explored with secureness, independence and lively curiosity.

His writings include, besides the *Effigies*, a *Lamberti Lombardi vita* (1565), several poems – in their majority dedicated to artists⁵ – and a vast and erudite epistolary, which included letters delivered to Titian, Clovio and Vasari. The latter had written him, in his turn, requesting information on Flemish painters, which would serve as sources for the chapter of the Giuntine edition of the *Vite* titled - *a posteriori* - *De diversi artefici fiammingi*⁶.

The architecture of the *Effigies* goes back to the classical tradition of the illustrious *exempla*⁷, recovered during the Renaissance and solidly linked to portraiture and to history by Giovo⁸. By the other side, the collection of images of renowned men (whose common denominator is, generally, a similar profession or workmanship) experiments a huge fortune in the middle of the fifteenth century, both to the north as to the south of the Alps. Though the poetic genre of the *Encomium* of the arts and artists – also of classical derivation – had already flourished notably in the fourteenth century, Lampsonius is the first to create, in northern Europe, an illustrated poetic collection of famous painters in the framework of the *uomini illustri* tradition. This elevates them, consequently, to the same intellectual category as prelates, jurists, theologians or philosophers.

Just as Van Mander, Lampsonius gets closer to Vasari by constructing a national history of art intimately linked to genealogy and determined by a historical progression. However, at the same time that he emulates Vasari's historical and historical-artistic schemes, the humanist seeks to revalue the Flemish artistic tradition by exalting the national languages of portraiture and landscape and by creating autonomous and self-referent artistic lineages. Albeit he makes explicit his intense admiration for Italian contemporary art and its paradigms – in his verses to Scorel, he affirms that only those who had consumed a thousand brushes in Rome can call themselves true painters –, Lampsonius insists on the importance of the observation and imitation of nature, which he considers fundamental to the artist's upbringing process. His excellence, according to the writer, is connected to the right equilibrium between *ars* and *natura*⁹.

What are the criteria used by Lampsonius when he selected the artists that were sung in the *Effigies*? Portraiture, and, especially, landscape painting, are, as said before, highly praised by the humanist, who deals with them as being native Dutch idioms; of the 23 artists listed, six are landscape painters, and others – like Bouts – keep a clear *Wahlverwandschaft* with the representation of landscapes. Lampsonius favors yet intimate dialogues, like those of Bosch and Brueghel – which could indicate the creation of an independent artistic lineage – as well as the invention of shapes and techniques in Flemish lands – for instance, oil painting, legendarily discovered by Van Eyck. A smaller amount of painters – among whom Pieter Cock, Scorel and Frans Floris – belong to the group that the twentieth-century criticism would call, pejoratively, *Romanists*, and which evidently establishes a strong connection with contemporary Italian production. Though some artists were certainly included in the book for

personal or circumstantial reasons, even they seem somehow linked to the currents evinced by Lampsonius; through the landscapes painted by his dear master Gassel, for instance, the humanist declares to have been awakened his own love for art. The organization of the *Effigies*, likewise Vasari's *Vite*, is primordially chronological, which stresses the organic character of the development of Flemish art according to Lampsonius; analogously to Vasari, contemporary art is seen by the humanist as the acme of an evolutive path which origin, in the Low Countries, is Van Eyck.

The Lampsonian anthology, determinant at one time of an identity and a canon, has exerted profound influence as much in the Low Countries as in Italy¹⁰. Karel van Mander – who translates the majority of the verses of the *Effigies* in the second edition of his *Schilderboeck* – assimilates not only the Lampsonian choice, but also some general principles of the book, especially its division between native and “Italianizing” currents and its high esteem for portraiture and landscape painting¹¹.

Cornelis Cort (Hoorn, *circa* 1533 – Rome, 1578) and Jan Wierix (Antwerp, 1549 – Brussels, *circa* 1618) engraved the majority of the plates included in the *Effigies*; some of them were done from Dürer's drawings or from the artists' self-portraits. It is possible that Cock himself could have produced the remaining engravings. The second edition of the *Effigies* was also published in 1572, and the two successive ones, with the types of Theodoor Galle (Philip's son), were issued during the next eight years. In 1694, the first English edition of the work was published. There are only two complete modern translations of the *Effigies*: to the French, in the critical edition of Puraye, and, more recently, to the Italian, by Maria Teresa Sciolla¹². Miedema translates some of the poems in the notes of his edition of Van Mander's *Lives* – subsequently translated, by its turn, to English¹³.

The present translation was made from an exemplar of the second edition of the work (*Antuerpiae: sub intersignio Quatuor Ventorum*), nowadays preserved in the Library of the Leiden University, Netherlands. In this copy, both the dedication, as well as the twentieth-third portrait – with its corresponding poem – was suppressed, eliminating therefore any mention to Cock. Due to limitations of space, we omitted here the dedication to Hieronymus, but we included the final poem, an integral part of the *editio princeps*¹⁴.

1. HUBERT VAN EYCK (? - d. Ghent (?), 1426)

Hubert van Eyck, Johannes' brother; painter

Hubert, thy brother and thou received recently deserved praises from our Thalia (1). Being those praises not enough, add this: thanks to thee, thy brother and pupil was greater than thou was. This is what this work from Ghent (2) shows, that to such a point had enamored the King Philip, that he commissioned a reproduction to Coxcie (3), in order to send it to Spain, his homeland.

(1) Reference to the ode written in honor to the van Eyck brothers by Luke of Heere in his work *Den Hofen Boomgaert der Poësie*¹⁵. Van Mander in the *Schilderboeck* transcribed the poem.

(2) The *Ghent Politych*, also known as the *Mystical Lamb*, is still kept in the Ghent Cathedral.

(3) The Flemish painter Michiel Coxcie (or Coxie; Mechlin (?), 1499-1592). The poem by Luke of Heere ends up with a mention to this version.

There is no consensus about the possible kinship between Hubert and Jan, and, to the limit, even about the existence of the former. This last question arouse in the first half of the nineteenth century, at the occasion of the discovery of the famous quatrain in leonine verses (that is, dactyl hexameters with

internal rhymes) painted on the frame of the lower external panels (left side) of the Ghent Politych:

[*Pictor?*] *Hubertus... Eyck. Maior quo nemo
repertus
incepit. pondus. Q Johannes arte secundus
[Frater perf] ecit. Judoci Vijd prece fretus
VersV SeXta MaI Vos CoLLocat aCta
tUerI [1432]*

Approximately (several letters have effaced), the quatrain can be translated in the following way: “*The painter Hubert van Eyck, considered superior to all, started [this altarpiece]. Jan, second in art, has finished it under the commission of Josse Vyd. In the sixth of May he (Vyd) plead to thee through this verse to take care of what was brought to existence*” (the date is suggested by the chronogram of the last verse). At a particular moment and by unknown reasons, the quatrain was painted over, which came to be discovered at the occasion of a cleansing done by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Berlin) in 1822/23. Its authenticity, however, was later disputed, especially after a micro chemical exam (1951) had confirmed that the inscription was done over a silver leaf that replaced the golden leaf found on the other parts of the frame of the altarpiece. Particularly contentious are the initial words of the third verse, erased and known only from transcriptions done before the 1823 cleansing. A second controversial point is the hyperbolic eulogy made to Hubert, considered by many to be unlikely. In 1933, E. Renders came to affirm that the quatrain is entirely false, and that Hubert has never existed¹⁶. In the records from the city of Ghent and from some churches, however, the name of a painter called Hubert (the orthography of the name may vary: Luberecht, Ubrechts, Hubrecht, Lubrecht) van Eyck may be found several times. The date of his death (1426) was indicated in an epitaph that, although destroyed in 1578, came to be copied twice. Afterwards, the authentic-

ity of the inscription – and therefore of Hubert’s existence – was reinstated by art historians like Elisabeth Dhanens¹⁷, in a volume exclusively dedicated to the politych. The scholar argues that the calligraphic style of the inscription corresponds to the period in which the work was produced; also, that the last verse is directed to the clergy of the Saint John parish, which should guarantee the appropriate conservation of the painting; and that the words *arte secundus* associated to Jan make reference to the fact that he is younger, and not artistically inferior, to Hubert. According to Brand Philip¹⁸, the initial word in the quatrain should read *factor*, not *pictor*, and Hubert would be therefore the sculptor who would have created the tabernacle painted later (“secondly”) by Jan. Panofsky, in his famous book about Flemish primitive painting¹⁹, has sought in his turn to associate the text of the quatrain to what he considered a markedly stylistic and iconographic heterogeneity of the politych: according to the German, Jan had inherited several panels initiated by Hubert made for different purposes, using them for the new politych commissioned by Jodocus Vijd.

The debate around Hubert’s existence, his supposed kinship with Jan, and the attribution of some works to both – above all the Ghent politych – would become lively throughout the twentieth century; see recently the comprehensive book by V. Herzner²⁰, which considers the quatrain a sixteenth century forgery and denies entirely the participation of Hubert in the Belgian altarpiece.

Particularly noteworthy, in these initial verses of the *Effigies*, is the centrality of the *topos* of the artistic *overcoming*, one of the most widely used in Vasari’s architecture. Jan Van Eyck, whose pioneering role, in the book, is analogous to Giotto in the *Vite*, has, like the Italian, a precursor that is overcome by him: his brother, paralleled in his turn to Cimabue. Throughout the *Vite*, Vasari

had build other celebrated foundational binomials - historical structures in which a brilliant artist emerges from the confrontation with his master and propels towards a new *maniera* the art of his whole generation: the Bellinis, Verrocchio/Leonardo, and, naturally, Ghirlandaio/Michelangelo²¹, among other less famous examples. Hubert's figure, by the other side, enables Lampsonius to mention the Ghent altarpiece, a work that, in the coetaneous imaginary, was the cornerstone of modern Flemish art.

2. JAN VAN EYCK

Jan Van Eyck, painter

I, that for the first time showed, with my brother Hubert, how the brilliant colors are blended to the linen oil, marveled the rich and flourishing Bruges with the discovery that was ignored, perhaps, by Apelles (1) himself, and which our bravery did not lingered to diffuse to the whole world.

(1) Van Eyck is directly compared to Apelles in a Latin quatrain composed at the end of the sixteenth or at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Maximilian of Vriendt that exhorts, precisely, the *Mystical Lamb* from Ghent²². In a 1589 letter to the French humanist Ludovicus Demontiosus (Louis de Montjosieu; cf. Puraye, *op.cit.*, p. 101 and subseq.), Lampsonius debates at length the famous Plinian anecdote opposing Apelles to Protogenes (Hist. Nat., XXXV, 81-82), which was very diffused in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The comparison between the Athenian and Van Eyck, under that light, specifically emphasizes the thinness and delicacy of the Eyckian line. The importance of the linear control as an indispensable prerequisite for the accomplishment of great works of art can be found in an anecdote written by Camerarius that directly paraphrases the Plinian passage, in the preface to his Latin translation of Dürer's *Vier Büchern*²³; at the above-mentioned letter to Demontiosus, Lampsonius parallels both the anecdotes.

Several fifteenth century writers, like Filarete, highlight Van Eyck's ability in the use of oil painting – especially the

linen oil, whose main characteristic is to dry quickly; not one of them, however, refers to the Flemish as the inventor of the technique. The legend according to which Van Eyck “discovered” the technique of oil painting had its origin, with all probability, in Vasari's *Vite* (Antonello da Messina, Domenico Veneziano/Andrea del Castagno, and, in the 1568 edition, *De diversi artificii fiamminghi*), according to which Van Eyck's *nuovo segreto* had been brought to Italy by Antonello da Messina (cf. the strophe of Lucas de Heere's above-mentioned poem: *Een Schilder uut Italien* [i.e., Vasari] *selfs confesseert / Dat Heycus daer d'Olverve broght em heeft vonden: / Em van dry sine waercken hi mentioneert / Die te Napels, Florencen em Turbino (sic) stonden*). Guicciardini, in 1567, would date the invention precisely in 1410.

During the very fifteenth century, several Italian sources associate to the oil painting technique²⁴ what seemed to them to be the most notable qualities of Flemish art – that is to say, the richness and brightness of the colors and its extraordinary capacity for *retrarre del naturale*. By pointing out precisely the supposed invention of the technique in his verses about Jan, Lampsonius proudly situates the Flemish master at the origin of what was considered an artistic revolution of Pan-European dimensions. Simultaneously, the humanist emphasizes the importance of the individual contribution of the great artists, to whom are associated punctual discoveries of an inaugural quality. By the other side, Lampsonius equally suggests a clear counterpoint to Italian art generally – and Florentine in particular –, which are traditionally associated with fresco painting. In a famous episode from the *Vita* of Sebastiano del Piombo, a vociferous Michelangelo would have said that “il colorire a olio era arte da donna e da persone agiate et infingarde”. Van Mander would recall the episode in the chapter 12 (11-13) of the *Grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, where, without directly

contradicting Buonarroti, he argues that fresco painting is not appropriate to Holland's humid, windy, and cold whether, where moreover they do not have the adequate lime for the execution of frescoes²⁵.

Oil painting, more than just a technique, is to Lampsonius a sign of identity, bestowing to the dawn of Flemish painting a dignity of its own.

The idea that Van Eyck might have invented the technique of oil painting persists until today; it invariably appears in Brugge's touristic guides and in manuals about the painter.

Van Eyck's portrait is a direct quote from one of the “righteous judges”, in the Ghent polyptych (the panel, stolen in 1934, is presently known through a twentieth century copy).

3. HIERONYMUS BOSCH (circa 1450-1516)

Hieronymus Bosch, painter

For what reason, Hieronymus Bosch, hast thou shocked eyes? (1) Why such paleness in the face? It is as if thou hast seen flicker before thee the Lemurs, specters from the Erebus (2). For thee were opened, doubtless, the alcoves of the miserly Dis (3) and his dwelling at Tartarus, since thy hand could have painted so well all the arcanes of the Avernus (4).

(1) As pointed out by Rogier van Son (*op. cit.*, p.189), Lomazzo clearly reveals his knowledge of Lampsonius in his writing about Bosch: “l'Attonito, Girolamo Boschi fiamengo, che nel rappresentare strane apparenze e spaventevoli et orridi sogni fu singolare e veramente divino”.

(2) Erebus is the darkness of the underworld. According to Hesiod's *Theogony*, Erebus and his sister Nyx (Night) were born from Chaos. Frequently, his name is used as a synonym for Hades, or underworld, as Lampsonius does here. The lemurs are the specters of the death, which dwell at the Hades.

(3) Dis, one of the names for Hades, is the contraction of *dives*, rich.

(4) According to the *Theogony*, the Tartarus is as below the earth as the sky is above it. It was

underworld's most horrible region. Avernus is a lake near Naples, which, according to the ancient legend, was one of the entrances to Hades – by extension the name is equally used as a synonym for Hades. Possibly, Lampsonius had in mind the famous passage of the *Aeneid* in which the sibyl warns Aeneas (VI.126-9): “*Sate sanguine dinom, Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Averno: noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis; sed reuocare gradum superasque enadere ad auras, hoc opus, hic labor est*”.

In a clear contrast to the placid humanism irradiating from the effigies of the Van Eyck brothers, Bosch's face is shown tense and crispy, in consonance with Lampsonius verses. Famous for his disturbing canvases of fantastic themes, mainly diabolic and with an obscure iconography, Bosch is shown indeed as an archaizing counterpoint to the luminous novelties of the Van Eyck brothers. His homeland Her-togenbosch, distant from great cosmopolitan centers like Bruges, Ghent and Louvain, has surely contributed to the formation of the highly idiosyncratic art that immediately identifies and characterizes Bosch, whom prominent twentieth-century scholars considered to be “a solitary and inaccessible island” rising up unshakeable in the middle of the fifteenth century Flemish mainstream (Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 357, but also Friedländer, among others). If, at one side, Bosch's canvases are evidently related to the tradition of bestiaries, illuminated manuscripts, grotesques, and gargoyles sculpted in the Gothic churches, at the other side, they subvert the rules of these forms of representation in giving them an absolute leading role. In his works, hybrid creatures, fantastic architectures, demonic flowers and animals dominate the hell, the paradise, biblical episodes, and the scenes from the Passion and from the life of saints.

Although taking part in a current that is distinct from that of the Van Eyck brothers, Bosch – whose foundational role becomes completely clear in the poem that Lampsonius dedicates

to Brueghel – equally creates an art of markedly Flemish personality. Similarly, the painter acquires a striking international success – which is particularly interesting to the patriotic pride of Lampsonius – already in the first half of the sixteenth century, when the famous collection that Philip II would place at the El Escorial in 1574 began to take shape. In this period, yet, paintings by Bosch were acquired by Isabela of Portugal; Margaret of Austria; Philip the Good, and, in Italy, Domenico and Marino Grimani, among other famous collectors. At the seventeenth century – with the exception of Spain – Bosch's fame decreases considerably, receiving renewed attention only in the twentieth century.

Bosch's effigy keeps remarkable similarities with his portrait published in the Arras Codex (fol. 275). Both of them go back, securely, to the same original.

4. ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN (Tournai, *circa* 1399, Brussels, 1464)

Roger, painter from Brussels

That be not enough to thee, Oh Roger, the praise of having painted many and beautiful works, characteristic of thy times; thy works are worthy of being always before all painter's eyes – if they are wise. This is shown by the paintings that restrain the court of Brussels of deviation from the pathway of Themis (1). Eternal is thy last will of legating the product of thy art, offering cure to the poor and to the hungry. Those [paintings] thou leaved on earth, and they shall perish quickly; however this [i.e., thy attitude, thy deeds] is a memorial that shall shine forever in the firmament (2).

(1) The work which Lampsonius mentions was, unfortunately, destroyed during the bombardment of Brussels by the marshal of Villeroy, during the siege of Louis XIV, in 1695: they were four panels representing examples

of Justice taken from the history of Trajan and Herkenbald (or Archambault, one of the earls of Bourbon; the histories comes from the *Dialogus Miraculorum* by Caesarius van Heisterbach), in one of each there is a self-portrait of Van der Weyden (the work is known through a copy, in tapestry, presently at Berne's Historical Museum). The panels represent, side-by-side, episodes from the life of the Emperor and of the Duke, in which both demonstrate to be benevolent and fair rulers²⁶. The goddess Themis is associated to Justice.

(2) This last passage was wrongly translated by Sciolla and Hymans, who probably relied on the translation made by Van Mander, who changed it slightly in his version: “*Ghy liet u goeders doch hier d'aerde voor haer deel / Die blijven metter tijd verdorven al gheheel / Maer die schoon stucken daer, waer by ny u ghedencken / Die sullen onghescheynt in Hemel eenwigh blinken*” (207 r20). As was observed by Miedema, what Lampsonius seeks to emphasize is that the paintings - material objects - are perishable, while the artist's fame – particularly when sung by a poet – is immortal²⁷.

With Van der Weyden, Lampsonius returns to the lineage of Van Eyck, whose death, in 1441, raises Rogier to the position of main painter at Flanders. Although the historiography of art, at least since the first half of the twentieth century, has the tendency to perceive more differences than similarities between Van Eyck and Van der Weyden²⁸, several sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw them frequently as part of a continuum. Like Van Eyck, Van der Weyden knew, in his lifetime, international fame, and both are surely the first Nordic artists to become celebrities comparable to their Italian counterparts. Not by chance, then, Lampsonius mentions precisely the panels of Justice, which glorify, in a patriotic key, Nordic good government; likewise several of their Latin colleagues, Van der Weyden seems to claim equally here the right of Flemish heredity to the Roman civic *virtus*.

Van der Weyden's effigy, similarly to that of Bosch, seems to have a common prototype in relation to the drawing in the Arras Codex representing the painter.

**5. DIERIC (or Dirk) BOUTS
(Haarlem, *circa* 1415 – 1475)**

Theodore from Haarlem, painter

Also thou, Oh Theodore, thou deserves to be here; also thy hand Belgium (1) will always rise to the stars with deserved lauds. Nature herself, mother of the things that thou reproduce, fears to find in thee whom, by art, could equal her.

(1) In this passage and in others, Lampsonius uses the terms *Belgian* and *Belgium* in the original Latin, which here are translated literally despite the fact that, evidently, what is nowadays Belgium has nothing to do with the region referred by the humanist. As a matter of fact, no translation could be totally appropriate: as Claire Billen observed in her introductory article to the catalog *Fiamminghi a Roma*, Flanders is a region that does not exist, and even in the sixteenth century writers like Guicciardini had pains at giving a precise name to the territory that today comprehends the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and part of the north of France²⁹. In spite of its political, linguistic, and cultural heterogeneity, however, during the Renaissance this territory was usually referred to as being a country and its name – Flanders, Belgium – was given by the recourse of a metonymy.

Bouts has frequently been considered by the critics as a kind of link between the first generation of Van Eyck and Van der Weyden and that of the second *Quattrocento*. With him Lampsonius gives therefore a perfect continuity to his history, introducing at the same time the fundamental issue of landscape painting: although not a landscape painter in the strict sense, Bouts was frequently considered, since the sixteenth century, a precursor of the genre that would become one of the most salient marks of Flemish art (Molanus, for instance, refers to him as *inventor in describendo rure*). On many of his works, indeed, a delicate and complex landscape, full of highly refined colors, seems to attract more immediately the attention of the observer than the figures at the first level. Lampsonius duly emphasizes the mimetic quality of Bouts' canvases, evoking the ancient *topos* of the rivalry between the painter and nature.

**6. BERNARD VAN ORLEY
(Brussels, *circa* 1488 – 1541)**

Bernard of Brussels, painter

That Brussels, Royal city, so skilled in painting tapestries (1), be honored by adopting Bernard, this is not due, I believe, to his ability in painting – although to that much is due – but to the fact that he is dear to thee, Oh Margaret, ruler of Belgium (2), for whom nothing is more pleasant than the art of Apelles (3). Thou gave him golden handlebars to his brushes, and he received many times golden philips, a recently minted coin (4).

(1) In the original Latin text *Attalicas vestes*, in allusion to the proverbial sophistication of the royal dynasty from Pergamum.

(2) Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), duchess of Savoy, ruler of Holland between 1507 and 1518, could be considered a kind of Nordic Isabella d'Este³⁰. During her reign, Margaret congregated in her court at Hof van Kamerrijk musicians, literates, and artists; there she kept her extraordinary collection of works of art, which included masterpieces like the *Arnolfini Marriage*, by Van Eyck, and the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duke of Berry (Limbourg brothers). Orley was an official painter of the court of Margaret between 1518 and 1530, and by stressing precisely this link Lampsonius emphasizes the figure, common in the Italian soil, of the court painter at the service of an enlightened monarch.

(3) That is, painting.

(4) The philips were golden florins; the term, naturally, makes reference to Philip IV of France.

Orley is the first completely sixteenth century artist treated by Lampsonius, and also the first member of the so called *Romanism*, that is to say, a stream of Flemish painting – and also Spanish – clearly oriented towards Italian and classical art. The term, above all from the middle of the nineteenth to the third fourth of the twentieth century, could assume a clear pejorative connotation when used by some Nordic historians (for instance, Van den Branden), who considered the *Romanists* little less than betrayers of the authentically Flemish

tradition. Especially since the 1980's and 90's, it has been decreasingly used by the critics in connection both to the reevaluation of the artistic accomplishments of the *Romanists* and to a bigger appreciation of the diversity of their individual response to Italian art³¹.

Bernard was both a painter and drawer of tapestries, whose industry, as is signaled by Lampsonius, was flourishing in Brussels, where were arriving several Italian commissions. In prioritizing the *disegno* to the detriment of the material execution of the work of art, Orley could be equaled to the great Italian masters – above all Raphael, whose *cartoni* of the papal tapestries the Flemish securely might have studied in Brussels³². He fully assumes, thus, the typically Renaissance's intellectual dignity of the artist.

**7. JEAN GOSSAERT (or Gossart),
called MABUSE
(Wijk-bij-Deurstede/Maubeuge,
circa 1472 – Middelbourg, 1536)**

Johannes Mabuse, painter

Also about thee, Oh Mabuse, my verses will tell that thou have taught thy century to paint. What other, indeed, could have applied with greater suavity rich pigments in paintings worth of Apelles? For the rest, let thy successors surpass thee; an ability as thy in the use of the brush, however, will be rare.

Friedländer puts Mabuse and Orley side by side in his monumental *Altniederländische Malerei* with the intention, as is informed directly by the great scholar, to confront and to differentiate them. Mabuse and Orley had been confused, indeed, several times, and, during their lifetime, they were rivals. As Orley, Mabuse can also be considered a *Romanist*; in contrast to the former, however, Gossaert, having traveled to Rome in 1508/9, was perhaps the first Flemish painter to study the classical sculptures

and the deeds of the great contemporary Italian masters *in loco* (from the pilgrimage travel that van der Weyden did to Rome in the jubilee year of 1450 no traces remain).

Lampsonius, however, inserts here for the first time a discreet element of negative judgment: Though being skillful in handling the brush – he says – Mabuse is inferior, in all other aspects, to his successors. Years later, Van Mander would censure in Mabuse – as in Van Scorel, Van Heemskerck and Frans Floris – the passive imitation of the Italian models. Dealing specifically with Mabuse, the writer, in a similar way as Lampsonius, praises the painter’s “hand”, but not his *gheest*, that is to say, his capacity to conceive and create images – the same that should appropriately mediate his assimilation of the Italian art³³. Symptomatically, Lampsonius does not point out the pioneering role of Mabuse in relation to the Italian *grand tour* neither does any references to his relationship with Italy, highlighting, instead, qualities that could be considered characteristically Flemish – the ability to handle the brush, the bright of colors, the meticulousness – in his art.

**8. JOACHIM PATINIR
(or Patinier, or Patenier;
Dinant or Bouvignes, circa 1480
– Antwerp, before 1524)**

Joachim of Dinant, painter

If among all these images, Oh Joachim, no one shines more vividly than thy, this is not only for the reason that the hand of Cort (1), who is not afraid of rivals, engraved it on the copper, but also because Dürer (2), admiring thy hand when thou was painting fields and houses, hast drawn yore with the burin, over parchment, thy image (3). Cort, rivaling with this drawing, surpassed himself – and, therefore, all the others.

(1) Cornelis Cort, as was said above, did several of the engravings in the *Effigies*. In his letters to Vasari, Titian and Clovio, Lampsonius recom-

mended him to make engravings after the works of the Italians.

(2) Dürer, at the occasion of his trip to the Low Countries in 1520/1521, did a portrait, now lost, of Patinir. In his Diary, the German artist refers to him as a *Landschaftsmaler* – a professional designation that, as Friedländer observed, is probably employed for the first time here³⁴.

(3) In the original, *exaravit in palimpsesto tuos vultus abena cuspidi*. The support in which the image was made is ambiguous, for if the palimpsest suggests a drawing (it is a parchment from where the original writing is erased, in order to be reused), *exaro* is a verb used in connection with wax tablets, where one could write with the *stiletto* or the burin.

Lampsonius starts, here, the lineage of the landscape painters properly said. First Flemish artist to treat landscape in a completely independent fashion, Patinir is considered, still, the inventor of the *Weltlandschaft*, a panoramic representation of landscape. Lampsonius, curiously, do not praise particularly his activity as a landscape painter, but the portrait that the great Dürer did of him, introducing therefore simultaneously the subject of portraiture – the second great attribute of Nordic art. Another fundamental concept that arises in the verses to Patinir is that of the *paragone*, the comparison, in this case, between two contemporary artists – Dürer and Cort – who created works with the same subject through different means – the engraving and the drawing.

**9. QUENTIN METSYS (or Massys;
Louvain, 1466 – Antwerp, 1530)**

Quentin Messius, Antwerpian painter

Previously, I worked as artisan for the Cyclops (1). However, a painter started to flatter my beauty at the same time that I did. She, cunningly, told me that she preferred the silent brush than the hammers’ clash: love turned me a painter. To this story gives faith the little hammer that is as the authentic signature of my paintings. As Venus asked Volcano for weapons to her son, thou, Love, supreme

poet, shall transform the hammer-smith into a painter.

(1) The original word is *faber*, smith, or, generically, worker, artisan. According to some mythological versions, the Cyclops were assistants to Hephaestus, a god linked to the metallic foundry and, therefore, to the smiths.

Lampsonius dedicates the verses to Metsys entirely to a legend about the artist’s biography, according to which he was originally a smith who started to dedicate himself to painting in order to separate his sweetheart from a painter to whom she was meant for as a wife by her father, also a painter. We do not know if Lampsonius is himself the author of the anecdote, which Van Mander resumes, mentioning however a second explanation – according to him more plausible – for Quentin’s transformation from a smith into a painter: Metsys would have been an ill men that, incapable to provide a living for his mother through physically extenuating works, started to paint for a living. On both versions, if the legend has some kind of “moral”, that would be related to the social and intellectual uprising of the artisan – *faber Cyclopeus* – and his transformation onto an artist. Besides this, the anecdote still evokes the myth, so diffused during the Renaissance and after, of the artistic vocation’s spontaneity and of the great masters’ self-didactic qualities (Van Mander would sustain that Metsys has never had a teacher or a tutor. His initial phrases in Quentin’s life, moreover, bring to memory unequivocally the overture of Vasari’s life of Michelangelo: both the Flemish and the Aretine insist on the innate predetermination of the artist, injected in him during his gestation or birth, which no contrarieties imposed by destiny can make a stand).

Throughout the *Effigies*, Lampsonius frequently associates artists to specific cities (Van Eyck / Bruges, Orley / Brussels, etc), creating a national tissue at the same time dense and detailed,

sustained by a sentiment of local identity; the artist's eulogy, in this sense, is confused by many times with the eulogy of the city in question. Metsys is linked to Antwerp, which during the *Quattrocento* had supplanted Bruges commercially, economically and culturally in order to become, in the *Cinquecento*, a kind of capital *de facto* of the Low Countries.

10. LUCAS VAN LEYDEN (Leiden, *circa* 1494 – 1533)

Lucas van Leiden, painter

If thou art not equal to Dürer, Oh Lucas, thou come close to him, either by painting canvases or by engraving upon metal admirable figures that thou print on thin paper. If there is in this some glory, accept, with thy Leiden of birth, a non-small part of my chants.

Once more, Lampsonius blends the ode to the artist to that of the city; once more, he cites Dürer and highlights the fundamental question of the *paragone*. Above all, until the mid-1520's, the painter, drawer, and engraver Lucas van Leiden did search to rival the German; afterwards, however, he seems to have turned his attention to the Italian works transmitted by the engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi.

11. JAN VAN AMSTEL (or Jan Hollander; Amsterdam (?), *circa* 1500 – Antwerp, *circa* 1542)

Jan of Holland, painter

The proper glory of the Belgians is to paint well the fields; that of the Italians, men and gods; it is for this that one says, with reason, that the Italian has the brain in his head, and the Belgian, in his skillful hands. Jan, thou hast preferred therefore that thy hand should paint well the landscapes, than thy head should paint poorly men and gods.

We know little about the biography of Jan van Amstel; Bénézit mentions him briefly as a Flemish painter of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and there is no work that can be attributed, with certainty, to him – despite the effort of some critics that have tried to identify him with the so-called Monogramist of Brunswick³⁵. The verses dedicated to him by Lampsonius, however, are among the most cited of the *Effigies*, above all when, since the years 1980 and 1990, a renewed debate about an ancient question is deflagrated: the controversy on the manual and cerebral painting associated, respectively, to Flanders and Italy. The *paragone* between the binomial landscape/Flanders and history/Italy was an authentic *topos* in the sixteenth-century: in Francesco Lancillotti's *Trattato di pittura* (Roma, 1509), for instance, the author says that “*A paesi dappresso e a lontani / bisogna un certo ingegno a descretion / che me' l'hanno e fiandreschi che italiani*”, that is to say, “in order to [paint] near and distant landscapes, some skill and descriptive ability are necessary, which are more natural to the Flemish than to the Italians”³⁶. Especially since the years 1520 and 1530, this duality – that until then had acquired a predominantly conciliatory character, being founded on the mutual admiration and on the conscience of the specificity of the abilities that are characteristic of the Flemish and to the Italians – is transformed more and more into an open strife, with the landscape being linked to the “manual” arts and the figure to the “mental” arts. While commenting the frescoes from the Paoline Chapel, Vasari says that “Michelangelo sought nothing but perfection, for neither landscapes, neither trees, neither houses, nor the several seductions of art are admitted in this painting, because he never gave much attention to them, perhaps because he was conscious that he did not need to lower his skill to similar things”³⁷. In the *Dialogues in Rome*, Francisco de Hollanda would put in Buonarroti's

mouth a lengthy discourse in which the antagonism between the Flemish and the Italian painting appears in clear and lapidary form: “They paint in Flanders specifically to mislead the exterior view (...) Their painting is rags, freemasonries, vegetables from the fields, shadows from the trees, and rivers and bridges, that they call landscapes, and many figures here and there. And all this, even if it looks well to certain eyes, in reality is done without reason and art, without symmetry or proportion, without a notice to the choice or the decanted, and finally without no substance or nerve (...) Only the works that are done in Italy we can call almost true painting, and for that reason the good one we call Italian (...) no nation nor people (I let in one or two Spaniards) can be perfectly plenty, nor imitate the Italian way of painting, which is the ancient Greek, that soon does not become recognized by others, however much in that he strives and work”³⁸. Francisco synthesizes in this way an extreme antagonism between the two “ways of painting”, which seems to become more and more diffused in the field of the Italian artistic theory: the Flemish painting is manual, and the Italian, cerebral; the first one is distracted by the description of the natural world, while the second one concentrates itself in the representation of the essential; the first one is directed to the eyes, the second, to the intellect; the first one is mundane, the second, divine. In his verses, Lampsonius participates in the debate seeking to reestablish a sense of equality between the Flemish painting of landscapes and the Italian painting of figures: both have their *laus*, which are comparable and natural, and it is a prove of the wise discernment of Jan to have clearly perceived his particular vocation and talent, in spite of having tried to emulate without success an art that is strange to him. In the *Schilderboeck*, Van Mander would return several times to the defense of landscape painting in relation to historical painting, establishing comparisons

between them and suggesting analogies that anatomize the landscape³⁹; as Lampsonius, the writer seeks to balance landscape and history, giving to the first the dignity of a specific and autonomous pictorial genre.

The verses of Lampsonius are frequently cited by contemporary critics as being a kind of *pendant* to the famous Buonarrotian phrase: “One paints with the brain and not with the hands”⁴⁰. Some authors even came to falsely affirm that Michelangelo would have formulated it in reference to Flemish art⁴¹. Although the phrase is evidently related to the question of intellectual *versus* manual art, the context in which it was written has nothing to do with the opposition between Italy/Low Countries or history/landscape. It is still highly unlikely that Lampsonius would have read the letter in which Michelangelo inserted it, since the master’s letters – likewise the *Dialogues* of Hollanda – were not published until the nineteenth-century. By the other side, this image seems to have become very common since the middle of the *Cinquecento*; we could recall for instance the passage of Doni’s *Disegno*: “*Perche in queste cose di leggier disegno gl’oltramontani ci aplicano piu l’ingegno & la pratica, che gl’Italiani non fanno; onde si dice in proverbio, che gl’hanno il cervello nelle mani*”⁴².

12. JOOS VAN CLEVE (Cleves (?), circa 1480 - Antwerp, 1540-41)

Iustus of Cleves, Antwerpian painter

Among the Belgian artists, our muse will not forget thee, Oh Iustus, great jewel of the art of painting. Both in thy own art as in thy son’s thou would have been fortunate, if only the brain of the unlucky had not become ill (1).

(1) The son of Joos, Cornelis van Cleve (1520 – circa 1567), was also a painter; reportedly, he suffered from a serious mental disease during his stay in England, around 1558. In several sources, he is referred to as “*sotte Cleve*”, that is to say, the mad Cleve.

The biography of Joos was considered during many years as being controversial, as well as the attribution of his works; in the present, we tend to identify him with the so-called Master of the Death of the Virgin.

Lampsonius does not offer any specific commentaries about Cleves’s artistic production; also, Van Mander seems to be poorly informed in relation to the life and the works of the master. Cleves, notwithstanding, was praised by Vasari and Guicciardini as a “*gran coloritore e raro in far ritratti di naturale*”⁴³. The painter absorbs both the Italian influences – above all the Leonardians, but also Raphaelites – as well as the Flemish heritage of Van Eyck and Van der Weyden, which he incorporates in an almost archaizing fashion; since 1515, he adopts the pictorial language of Patinir – without abandoning, however, the construction of Italianizing architectonic and decorative forms.

Sciolla and Puraye translate the last verse of the poem erroneously, assuming that the *cerebrum* in question is the one of Joos, introducing a personal pronoun that is nonexistent in the original and concluding, therefore, that the humanist had been mistaken in attributing to the father the mental illness of the son⁴⁴; we believe that this mistake, as well as others in their translation (cf. above the poem dedicated to Van der Weyden, note 2), are due to their dependence of Van Mander, who in his translation of the Lampsonian verses had linked explicitly to Joos the ill brain: “*Hadt ghy ellendigh Man ghesondt van herssens bleven*”.

13. MATTHIJS COCK (Antwerp, circa 1510 – before 1548)

Mathias Cock, Antwerpian painter, brother of Hieronymus

Thou also, Mathias, knew how to paint landscapes that had no equivalent in our times. That thou be among the artists

that honor Belgium with immortal fame is not due only to fraternal love, but also to thy art, praised righteously.

Lampsonius shows immediately the main reason to include Matthijs in the *Effigies*: the painter is the brother of Hieronymus, first publisher and addressee of the book. Matthijs was, notwithstanding, a great painter and drawer of landscapes, above all in relation to the acquisition of a complex and sophisticated perspective. Like his brother, he traveled to Italy, from where he brings, according to Van Mander, the Italian *nuova maniera* to landscape painting (the similarity with the landscapes of Titian engraved by Campagnola is particularly noteworthy).

The humanist emphasizes one more time the link of the artists with the city of Antwerp, a biographical element similarly highlighted by Van Mander, who, in his biography (together with the one of Hieronymus) compares the Flemish city directly to “what was once Florence” (232r).

14. HERRI MET DE BLES (Il Civetta; Bouvines (?), circa 1510 - ?)

Henry Bles, painter of Bouvines

Dinant, near Liege, saw the birth of an artist (1) that the poet-painter (2) sung in his verses. The excellent placement of his homeland made him an artist; no master taught him. The small Bouvines envied the glory of its neighbor and created Henry, skillful in landscape paintings. Nevertheless, as small Bouvines is surpassed by Dinant, Oh Joaquin, thou surpassed Henry.

(1) Patinir.

(2) Lampsonius himself.

Little is known about the landscape painter’s biography. Lampsonius, as Van Mander, indicates Bouvines as his native city; Guicciardini, perhaps

confusing him with Patinir, suggests Dinant (he and Vasari refer to Joaquin Patinir, however, as being from Bouvines). He enjoyed extreme popularity in Italy, where he was known by the name Civetta because of the owl that almost invariably is represented in his works, and which is equally present in the engraving of the *Effigies*. Lampsonius, predictably, confronts Bles to Patinir, linking the dispute between cities to the *paragone* and granting to the latter an unquestionable supremacy.

The negative opinion of Lampsonius – despite Bles’ evident popularity throughout the *Cinquecento* as much in Italy as in the Low Countries – has prevailed until recently, being the artist almost always mentioned in relation to Patinir – invariably considered superior to him (cf. for instance Friedländer). Since the 1990’s, new studies (above all Serck’s PhD Thesis), a great exhibition (Namur) and a conference (Princeton), sought to separate Bles from Patinir, highlighting the quality of the former’s artistic production and recording his contribution to landscape painting⁴⁵.

Lampsonius returns here to the *topos* of the spontaneity of the artistic genius (cf. the verses dedicated to Metsys), later equally emphasized by Van Mander, and the lack of teachers; here the humanist adds however the idea that it is nature itself that teaches him his art, linking, intrinsically, one’s homeland to one’s artistic production. The place of birth of a determined painter, thus, becomes something essential, above all when it is about a landscape painter – from what one can derive the supporting role, or at least co-protagonist, of the Italian paradigms. Even though, in the Life of Scorel, Lampsonius has proclaimed the importance of the Roman school, here the humanist records the almost self-sufficiency of nature in the artist’s formation; in the Lampsonian architecture, the nobility of landscape painting is associated both to an artistic principle and to patriotic pride.

15. JAN CORNELISZ VERMEYEN (or Juan de Mayo; Beverwijk, circa 1500 – Brussels, circa 1559)

Ian Maius, painter

Which men, places, and cities, what in the whole world that is worth to be seen, Maius has not painted? While I followed thee by lands and seas, Oh Emperor Charles (1), he painted the great deeds by thy hand accomplished, which soon shined in the gold of athalic tapestries (2). The hand of the artist, however, surpasses the preciousness of the material (3). Not least than through his art, he offered thee a pleasant spectacle when, on an elevated place, he exhibited openly, wherever he was called upon, the undulating volutes of his beard, tall to his feet (4).

(1) Charles V.

(2) Cf. the life of Orley. Vermeyen has drawn the *cartoni* to the *arazzi* celebrating the imperial victory in Tunisia (presently in Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum).

(3) As pointed out by Miedema, the argument goes back, at least, to Rome: “*Materiam superabat opus*” (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 5).

(4) This capillary characteristic seems to have granted to the artist at least as much fame as his works; in Spain, Vermeyen was referred to as Juan de la Barbalunga⁴⁶.

We might consider that Vermeyden belongs to the second generation – posterior to Mabuse and Orley – of the *Romanists*, or Flemish painters of markedly Italianizing ascendancy. Lampsonius emphasizes the international career of the artist and his relationship with Charles V, of whose court he was able to become an official painter and to whom he followed in his trip to Tunisia in 1535⁴⁷. Among all the twenty-three portraits of artists in the *Effigies*, that of Vermeyen, signed by Wierix, is the only one that has a background view. In order to do it Wierix seems to have been inspired directly by the self-portrait that Vermeyen includes in the *cartone* corresponding to the tenth scene of the *Conquering of Tunis*, alluding

both the palm and the fight scene to the work at issue.

16. PIETER COECKE (or Coeck; Aalst, 1502 – Brussels, 1550)

Petrus Coeck of Aelst, painter

Thou was painter; but thou was not only, Oh Petrus, painter. Thou made Aelst famous in the whole world with thy art; but much art, fruit of a great strain, is needed to the construction of beautiful dwellings. Serlio has taught it to the Italians, and thou, bilingual translator of Serlio, to the Belgians and the French.

Besides painter and architect, Coecke was an erudite linguist, having translated not only Serlio’s treatise mentioned by Lampsonius, but also, Vitruvius’s *De architectura* (Dutch). Likewise his predecessor in the *Effigies*, he belonged to the second generation of Flemish *Romanists*, having probably done a long trip to Italy between 1524 and 1525. According to Van Mander, it was Coecke who introduced the “correct way of construction” (*de rechte wijze van bouwen*) in the Low Countries (218v).

Once more, Lampsonius projects the artist’s glory upon his native city.

17. JAN VAN SCOREL (or Schoorel; Schoorl, 1495 – Utrecht, 1562)

Jan Scorel Batavian, painter

About me it will be said, through the centuries, that I was the first to teach the good Belgian artists – by means of my own example – to travel to Rome. Who in that school did not consume, actually, a thousand pencils and colors painting canvases cannot consider himself to be worthy of the artist’s name.

Lampsonius’ Latin poem opens with the Latin words *primus ego*, which

gives it a marked inaugural character. In addition, Van Mander affirms that it was thanks to Scorel that Flemish artists definitively surpassed mediæval art, and until the present days, critics frequently consider his Italian *soggiorno* as a landmark in the history of Flemish painting.

Scorel was in life internationally famous, having reached positions as outstanding as that of official curator of the Vatican collections during the short pontificate of Adrian VI. Great traveler, he went shortly before 1520 to the Holy Land, having passed through Nuremberg (where he knew Dürer), Carinthia, Venice, Malta, Rhodes, Cyprus and Jerusalem before establishing himself in Rome at the service of the Pope. According to Van Mander, in this period Scorel studies vigorously ancient statuary, as well as the works of Raphael and Michelangelo. Van Mander says that Scorel, like Coecke, was highly talented in the learning of idioms, and that he had dedicated himself to the writing of epigrams and chants.

As observed by Friedländer, there is a strong element of optimism in the life and works of Jan van Scorel. Deeply embedded by the humanist culture, immune to the turbulences of religion that marked his epoch, diplomatic and erudite, intelligent and serene, cosmopolitan, polyglot and highly sophisticated, Scorel was in fact a perfect conductor in the transit of artistic languages between Italy and the Low Countries.

Lampsonius' hyperbolic praise – before Scorel, Mabuse had already traveled to Italy, and contemporary artists, such as Vermeyen, were equally diffusing through the Low Countries Italianizing elements – emphasizes the importance both of the Italian *exemplum* and of the persevering artistic practice.

18. LAMBERT LOMBARD (Liege, 1505/1506 – 1566)

Lambert Lombard of Liege, painter and architect

I do not want to spin here, in few verses, the deserved eulogium to thy merits, Oh Lombard; this is shown in the text – if it deserves to be read – that Lampsonius' pen (1) has written about thee (2).

(1) In Greek, in the original (Λαμψονιοτε γράφεις).

(2) Refers naturally to *Lamberti Lombardi vita*, published in 1565 (Bruges, Hubert Goltzius).

Among all the artists shown in the *Effigies*, Lombard is the only one to whom Lampsonius dedicated an independent literary work. Critics usually refer to this as the first historical-artistic commentary published in the Low Countries. The initial number of copies of the text was small, which suggests that it has been destined to a selected public; years later, Van Mander would start his biography of Lombard lamenting not having found a single copy of the text.

In the historical-artistic architecture ideated by Lampsonius, Lombard occupies, *mutatis mutandis*, a position similar to that of Michelangelo in Vasari's *Vite*: both can be found in the climax of an evolutive trajectory whose roots are vigorously breed in the homeland soil (Lampsonius opens his biography, in fact, saying that Lombard was born in Liege, and that he supplanted all the Flemish artists that have preceded him). In the text of the humanist, Lombard stands elegantly between the imitation of the ancients and the Italians, on one side, and the plain appreciation of the Flemish heritage, on the other. In addition, likewise his Italian colleagues, the painter bases his artistic production on the *diseño*. Throughout his biography, Lampsonius insists recurrently on the vast erudition of Lombard, which encompassed the sciences and the classical

letters. Painting, says the humanist, is a liberal art, not a mechanical one – meaning that those who practice it must be in possession of a vast culture.

19. PIETER BRUEGHEL (Breda?, circa 1525/30 – Brussels, 1569)

Petrus Brueghel, painter

Who is this Hieronymus Bosch, reborn in the world? Who, so skillful in the art of imitating the master's fantastic dreams with the brush and the pencil, is capable even to overcome him? Be praised, Oh Petrus, praised by thy art. In thy genre of painting (and in thy master's one), plain of humor and skill, thou deserve from everyone, in everyplace, the laudatory award, inferior to that of no other artist.

As in the verses dedicated to Bosch, Lampsonius initiates his poem to Pieter with a rhetorical question, accentuating the mysterious and enigmatic aspect of the work of both Nordic artists. In 1568, Vasari refers to Brueghel as being a “second Bosch”; the link of continuity between the two artists is repeated by Lampsonius, Guicciardini and Van Mander, surviving for centuries. If Hieronymus, however, has been nourished vigorously by the medieval demoniac-mystical universe, the works of Pieter, although frequently fantastic and with a thematic that is allusive to the popular Flemish tradition, breathed the rationality of Renaissance humanism: contrarily to Bosch, in fact, the effigy of Brueghel represents the artist in classical profile, with restful hands, the serene look and the long beard of the wises. Alongside the solution of continuity created, these differences do not escape Lampsonius, in whose verses the infernal phantasmagoria of Bosch is reborn in Brueghel as inventions full of humor and skill. Besides Bosch, Brueghel participates equally in the landscape current of Patinir, Messys and, especially, Jan van Amstel. In spite of the clarity of the

link with his predecessors, however, Pieter infuses, as was well observed by Lampsonius, a new vigour to traditional subjects and forms.

The humanist returns here to the *topoi* – akin to the *Effigies* and to Vasari – of the imitation and overcoming of a master by his successor, reinforcing the drawing of a lineage of purely autochthonal roots. By electing his models not among the Latin classics, but among the Flemish themselves, Lampsonius generates a self-referring tradition and creates a transalpine memory of his own⁴⁸.

20. WILLEM KEY (Breda, circa 1515/16 – Antwerp, circa 1568/69)

Gilherme Caius, painter of Breda

The faces of man portrayed by Caius's skillful hand as thou might see them are not afraid to be overcome by the art of other Belgians (excepting a single one, in my opinion: Mor).

With Key, Lampsonius exalts the second of the great Flemish genres considered native: portraiture. The humanist call upon the ancient *topos* of the confusion between the real and the represented, so perfect being the imitation – which goes back, at least, to the famous Plinian anecdote of the fruits painted by Zeuxis; simultaneously, he returns to the *paragone* between the artists, attributing to Key's contemporary, the portrayer Antonis Mor, more ability in the expression of the human face. Lampsonius was a friend of Mor, whom he knew during his stay in England and to whom he dedicated several dithyrambic epigrams⁴⁹.

21. LUCAS GASSEL (Helmond, circa 1595/1500 – Brussels, circa 1570)

Lucas Gassel, painter of Helmond

Alas, Oh Lucas, to me more dear than any one, and whom I honor not least than

my own father. In thee, I have found the principle of my love for painting, when thou painted, with skillful hands, fields and dwellings. As thy art, also are thy probity, thy righteousness, and all that which can conduct the minds to the love of what is good. That thou shall live forever, therefore, the fame of thy virtue and thy art, thou venerable old man that I love for these two reasons (1).

(1) That is to say, both for his artistic and his moral greatness. The artists, elevated to the category of *uomini illustri*, become universal paradigms.

The poem that Lampsonius dedicates to his esteemed teacher is, doubtless, the most personal of the *Effigies*; the landscape painter, successor of Patinir and Henri met de Bles, is praised both for his artistic qualities and for the superiority of his character.

Gassel is not mentioned neither by Vasari nor by Guicciardini, and Van Mander's biography is succinct and little informative. Until the present, few are the works attributed to the Brabantine master, and scanty are the historical-artistic studies dedicated to him. His known landscapes, however, reveal a great inventive and prospecting capacity.

22. FRANS FLORIS (Antwerp, circa 1519/20 – 1570)

Franciscus Floris, Antwerpian painter

If as a painter, Oh Floris, thou hath added so much ability to thy art as much as nature has granted thee – since thou prefer paint much instead of paint well (1), and thou does not find delight to linger on the appropriate final touch and on the endeavor – I would claim: retreat, painters of the whole world, whether thou had lived in the times of our fathers or our grandfathers.

(1) Lampsonius probably had in mind the Latin precept *non multa, sed multum*.

Characteristically, in his portrait Floris is represented drawing a human figure. Vasari and Guicciardini place him at the head of the living Flemish artists; the latter highlights his excellence in the *inventione* and the *disegno*.

One of the great exponents of the *Romanism*, Floris introduced in the Low Countries the atelier in Italian fashion, which had a huge number of highly specialized assistants (one hundred and twenty, according to Van Mander) and produced at an industrial scale. Lampsonius alludes pejoratively to that conception of massive production; for him the *Apellea manus*, without doubt, is a personal and inalienable characteristic of the (great) artist. The rapidity in the execution attributed to Floris is equally highlighted by Van Mander, according to whom the Flemish painted, to the Arch of the Genovese in Antwerp, seven figures in real size by day, during five weeks. The writer reprehends, however, the dissolute life of the painter, saying that, according to his contemporaries, he was considered as much a great artist as he was a great drinker. Floris was, in life, very famous, and his intense artistic activity has granted him a vast fortune.

It was surely in Liege that the painter established contact with Lampsonius, since he was a pupil of Lambert Lombard.

23. HIERONYMUS COCK (Antwerp, circa 1510 – 1570)

Hieronymus Cock of Antwerp, painter

Am I mistaken? The painter, Oh Hieronymus, had not portrayed thee here after thy death? In thy effigy, it is seen, to the unwarned eyes, some kind of torpor and debility. Oh, it is said more clearly by the skull that thy left hand points: the artists here indicated preceded Cock; he, closing the march, calls them to himself.

Lampsonius opens and closes the *Effgies* with Cock. Besides directing the famous publishing house *Quatuor Ventorum* (*In de vier winden*, To the Four Winds), Hieronymus was one of the most distinguished characters of the engraving market; he himself was dedicated to the graphical activity. The engravings were, naturally, the main means of diffusion of the Italian production at the north of the Alps, and not by chance, Lampsonius dedicate to them so much attention. Conversely, Flemish and German artists were di-

vulged in Italy through them. Cock's success raised criticisms from some of his contemporaries and, later, from Van Mander, for whom the editor had embraced the commercial activity to the disadvantage of culture and art.

Lampsonius concluded the *Effgies* with a kind of subtle transformation in the traditional sense of the *memento mori*: the skull pointed by Cock – the editor and, probably, initial architect of the book – seems to represent less an admonition for the living to meditate

about death than a victory of art over death; less a recollection of the transitoriness of human life than the acknowledgement and homage to the immortality of the works that it can create. Lampsonius' verses, going along with the effgies of the painters that the edition of Cock crystallizes, eternalize the fame that was granted to them by their own dignity and greatness. On that tradition, the humanist seeks to trace the history of the Flemish art.

Translation: Marcelo Hülsdorf Marotta

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Luiz Marques (UNICAMP) for having pointed out to me the capital importance of Lampsonius' writings, unpublished until now both in Portuguese editions as well as in Spanish ones, and Prof. Dr. Karl Enekel (Leiden University, Holland), for the valuable explanations regarding my precise understanding of some passages of the Latin text.

² Hereafter, *Effgies*.

³ MELION, W.S., *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991, p.143.

⁴ The G. Milanesi edition (Florence: Sansoni, 1878-1882, 9 vols.), VII, p. 590.

⁵ For more informations on Lampsonius' biography, cf. PURAYE, J., *Dominique Lampson, Humaniste*. Liège: Desclée de Brouwer, 1950.

⁶ Regarding Lampsonius' poetical activity, cf. PURAYE, J., *op.cit.*, chapter III.

⁷ This title was originally created by Milanesi in his famous edition of the *Vite* (*op.cit.*, VII, p. 579 and ff).

⁸ For the tradition of literary representations of the *uomini famosi* cf. JOOST-GAUGIER, C. L., "The early beginnings of the notion of "uomini famosi" and the "de viris illustribus" in Graeco-Roman literary tradition". *Artibus et Historiae*: III, 6, 1982, p. 97-115.

⁹ For the *Musaeum Jovianum* cf. MÜNTZ, M. E., "Le Musée de portraits de Paul Jove". *Mémoires de L'Institut National de France*. Paris, XXXVI, 2, 1901, p. 249-343; RAVE, P. O., "Paolo Giovio und die Bildnisvitenbücher des Humanismus". *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*. Berlin, I, 1959, p. 119-154; and the R. Meregazzi edition of the *Elogia* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1972).

¹⁰ In this respect, cf. BECKER, J., "Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Domenicus Lampsonius?". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 24, 1973, p. 147 and ff.

¹¹ In a recent paper, Rogier van Son ("Lomazzo, Lampsonius en de noordelijke kunst". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 44, 1993, p. 185-196) argues that Lomazzo's knowledge about Flemish artists derived not from his personal contact with Nordic art, but from Vasari, Guicciardini and, above all, Lampsonius: all the painters mentioned in the *Effgies* are mentioned in Lomazzo's writings, and, conversely, the only Nordic artists mentioned by Lomazzo and not by Lampsonius are those that have established themselves in northern Italy (Giambologna, Stradano), or whose work was known in Italy through engravings (Dürer, Aldegrever, Schongauer, etc). The scholar concludes that the *Effgies* were fundamental to Italians' knowledge of Nordic art – or, at least, to the selection of Nordic artists to whom Italy has dedicated some attention (Lomazzo is probably the exception that confirms the rule according to which Italian Cinquecento writers assumed the intrinsic superiority of Italian over Nordic art).

¹² Cf. MELION, *op.cit.*, chapter 11.

¹³ In SCIOLLA, G. C., and VOLPI, C., *Da van Eyck a Brueghel. Scritti sulle arti di Domenico Lampsonio*. Turin: UTET, 2001. For the French edition cf. PURAYE, J., *Les Effgies des Peintres célèbres des Pays-Bas*. Liège: Desclée de Brouwer, 1956. The majority of the poems in the latter comes from Henri Heymans' edition of the *Schilderboek* (*Le Livre des Peintres de Carel van Mander* (2 vols.). Paris: Rouen, 1884-1885), translated after Van Mander's edition; the remaining ones were translated by Marie Delcourt.

¹⁴ Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994 (6 volumes).

¹⁵ Translated from Sciolla and Puraye's reproduction. In Leiden's volume, the engravings bring the name of Galle, and biographical notes are added to each effigy (according to Miedema (*op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 176), Van Mander may have used some of these notes). In the 1600 edition, with the types of Galle, the por-

trait of Cock is also suppressed. For the several editions of the *Effgies* cf. VAN SOMEREN, J. F., *Beschrijvende Catalogus van gegraveerde Portretten van Nederlanders*. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1888-1891, vol. I, no. 210 and 211, p. 196-199, who mentions a second complete edition of the book – i.e. with twenty three portraits. It is possible that the Leiden volume may have gathered the front page of the second edition to the engravings published in 1600 with the types of Galle.

¹⁶ Ghent: G. Manilius, 1565; cf. the edition of W. Waterschoot, Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1969, p. 29-32

¹⁷ *Hubert van Eyck, personnage de légende*. Paris/Brussels: Van Oest, 1933

¹⁸ *Van Eyck: The Ghent Altarpiece*. London: Penguin Books (Allen Lane), 1973.

¹⁹ *The Ghent Altarpiece and the Art of Jan van Eyck* (particularly chapter 2: "The Quatrain"). Princeton University Press, 1971

²⁰ *Early Netherlandish Painting* (2 vols.). Harvard University Press, 1953.

²¹ *Jan Van Eyck und der Genter Altar*; Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995. Cf. still DHANENS, E., and DUVERGER, J., "Het Graftschrift van Hubert van Eyck en het Quatrain van het Gentsche LamGods-Retabel", in *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten van België*. Antwerp-Utrecht: Standaard/De Haan: 1945.

²² Cf. VASARI, G., *La Vita di Michelangelo nelle redazioni del 1550 e del 1568*, ed. of BAROCCHI, P., Milan: Ricciardi, 1962, II, p.76 (note 63).

²³ Cf. TOURNEUR, V., "Un second quatrain sur l'Agneau Mystique", in *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, ser. 5, XXIX, 1943, p.57 and ff.

²⁴ Cf. SMITH, A., "Dürer and Bellini, Apelles and Protogenes?", *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV, 830, 1972, p. 326-329

- ²⁴ To the references, cf. BORCHERT, T.H., and HUVENNE, P., “Die Erfindung der Ölmalerei – Van Eyck im Spiegel italienischer Kunstliteratur”, in BORCHERT, T.-H. (org), *Jan van Eyck und seine Zeit. Flämische Meister und der Süden – 1430 – 1530*. Stuttgart: Belser, 2002. Cf. still BRINKMAN, P., and CUYPERS, D., *Jan van Eyck en de uitvinding van de olieverf*. Hague: Openbaar Kunstbezit, number 3, 1996 and DHANENS, E., *Hubert en Jan Van Eyck* (multilingual edition). Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1998 (particularly p. 68 and ff. of the Dutch version).
- ²⁵ Cf. the edition of MIEDEMA, H., Utrecht, Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1973, vol. I, p. 254-257.
- ²⁶ Cf. MAQUET-TOMBU, J., “Les tableaux de justice de Roger van der Weyden à l’Hotel de Ville de Bruxelles?”. Phoebus, vol. II, 1948/49, p. 178-181.
- ²⁷ *Op cit.*, II, p. 283.
- ²⁸ Cf. for instance Friedländer, *Altniederländische Malerei* (we used here the English edition *Early Netherlandish Painting*. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, II, 1967, p. 28 and ff.).
- ²⁹ “Vlaanderen. Geschiedenis en geografie van een land dat niet bestaat”. In *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508 – 1608*, catalog of the exhibition held in the Paleis voor Schone Kunsten of Brussels and in the Palazzo delle Esposizioni of Rome in 1995 (Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon), p. 48 – 52.
- ³⁰ Cf. DUVERGER, J., “Margareta van Oostenrijk (1480-1530) en de italiaanse Renaissance”, in *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l’Italie à la Renaissance: Etudes dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger*. Brussels/Rome: Institut historique belge de Rome: 1980, p. 127-142.
- ³¹ Cf. DACOS, N., “Les peintres romanistes. Histoire du terme, perspectives de recherche et exemple de Lambert van Noort”, in *Bulletin de L’Institut historique Belge de Rome*, L, 1980, p.161-186, which suggests the term *Italianizing* as an alternative, according to her more precise and free of misjudgements than *Romanist*.
- ³² Cf. still DACOS, N., “Cartons et dessins raphaëlesques à Bruxelles: L’action de Rome aux Pays-Bas”, in *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608, op.cit.*, supplement to the number 100, 1997, p. 1-22.
- ³³ Cf. MELION, *op. cit.*, p. 118 and ff.
- ³⁴ In RUPPRICH, H. (ed.), *Dürer Schriftlicher Nachlass*, Berlin, 1956-69, I, p. 169.
- ³⁵ Cf. FAGGIN, G. T., “Jan van Amstel”. *Paragone* (arte), XV, n. 175, 1964, p. 43-51, GENAILLE, R., “Jan van Amstel, le monogramme de Brunswick”. *Revue belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art*, XIX, 1950, p. 147-153, and WESCHER, P., “Jan van Hemessen and Jan van Amstel”. *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XII, 1970, p. 34-60
- ³⁶ Edition of RAFFAELLI, R., Recanati, 1885, p.4.
- ³⁷ Original translation by Luiz Marques.
- ³⁸ Cf. the edition of MENDES, M., *Diálogos de Roma de Francisco de Holanda*; Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1955, p. 19-21.
- ³⁹ Cf. MELION, *op. cit.*, p. 97 and ff.
- ⁴⁰ *Il CARTEGGIO di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, ed. of P. Barocchi and R. Ristori, from the posthumous edition of G. Poggi; Florence: SPES, 1979 (vol. IV), p. 150.
- ⁴¹ Cf. for instance Elena Parma and Margaret Koster, both in BORCHERT, *op. cit.*, respectively p. 96 and p. 79.
- ⁴² Cf. facsimile of the 1549 edition with introduction and notes by Mario Pepe; Milan: Electa, 1970, p. 16 v.
- ⁴³ To the references cf. MIEDEMA, *op. cit.*, III, p. 158, note 1.
- ⁴⁴ The last verses, in the original, are “*Quam propria, nati tam felix arte fuisses / Mansisset sanum si misero cerebrum*” – where *miser*, in the dactive, naturally refers to the son (*nati*) of Joos, and not to himself.
- ⁴⁵ MARROW, H., MULLER, N. E., and ROSASCO, B. J. (org), *Herri met de Bles. Studies and Explorations of the World Landscape Tradition*. Symposium: Princeton University, 1995. Princeton University Press, 1995; SERCK, L., *Henri Bles et la peinture de paysage dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux avant Bruegel*. PhD Dissertation, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1990; TOUSSANT, J. (org.), *Autour de Henri Bles* (catalog of the exhibition). Namur, 2000.
- ⁴⁶ To references, cf. MIEDEMA, *op. cit.*, III, p. 132 and ff.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. HORN, H.J., *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen. Painter of Charles V and his conquest of Tunis* (vols). Davaco: Doornspijk, 1989.
- ⁴⁸ Cf. MEADOW, M., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s Netherlandish Proverbs and the practice of Rhetoric*. Zwolle: Waande, 2002, p. 104 and ff.
- ⁴⁹ Cf. PURAYE, J., “Antonio Moro et Dominique Lampson”. *Oud Holland*: 64, 1949, p. 175-183. Mor included a poem by Lampsonius in his self-portrait kept at the Uffizi (1558).

Un episodio nella storia dei modelli plastici ausiliari – il Parere sopra la pittura di Bernardino Campi

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Riassunto

Con fondamento sui tratti trovati nella letteratura artistica è possibile affermare che i modelli plastici ausiliari furono abbondantemente utilizzati dai pittori italiani del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento. Queste piccole sculture,

fatte di creta oppure di cera, avevano la funzione di ausiliare il pittore nei momenti intermediari fra gli schizzi e l’esecuzione dell’opera. Perciò questo apparato, più comodo al pittore, sostituiva i modelli naturali. Accade che nell’ultimo quarto del Cinquecento questa pratica fu colpita da un processo di svalutazione che arrivò al disprezzo per gli artisti che se ne servivano. Nel 1584 il pittore Bernardino Campi fece pubblicare il suo ‘Parere sopra la pittura’, un piccolo testo che tratta la fattura e l’utilizzazione di tali modelli e che, grazie a un ritardo in relazione all’ambito dell’Italia centrale, può aiutare a comprendere meglio questa pratica artistica.

Proponiamo quindi una presentazione del Parere, il quale sarà riprodotto in seguito.

L’utilizzazione di piccoli modelli di creta oppure di cera come apparato accessorio per la pittura era un’usanza abbastanza comune fra gli artisti italiani del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento.¹ Si tratta di una pratica non molto divulgata, ma che ciò nonostante, oppure proprio per questo, può rivelare nuovi aspetti su quel mondo. Da una parte non è possibile dire che l’utilizzazione di questi modelli plastici ausiliari sia stata troppo descritta nella letteratura artistica dell’epoca. D’altra parte si può affermare

che si tratta di un metodo di lavoro che è documentato almeno il sufficiente² per far comprendere sia una semplice pratica artistica sia le corrispondenze fra questa pratica e le mutazioni del pensiero avvenute in quel periodo.

È in un piccolo e non molto esplorato³ testo del 1584 che si trova una delle più notevoli descrizioni intorno all'impiego dei modelli plastici ausiliari. Il 'Parere sopra la pittura', scritto dal pittore Bernardino Campi (1522-1591), è un'esposizione pratica che insegna come debbono procedere i pittori per formare, in cera, i suoi modellini. Nonostante le allusioni trovate in Paolo Pino,⁴ Giorgio Vasari⁵ (1550 e 1568), Christoforo Sorte⁶ e Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo⁷ (1584 e 1590) – per citare soltanto i contemporanei di Bernardino –, mai le descrizioni di questi autori raggiunsero un carattere così esplicito come quello che si verifica nel testo del pittore cremonese. In questo senso, l'opera di Bernardino può essere pareggiata soltanto al capitolo che Giovanni Battista Armenini (1530-1609) dedicò ai modelli nel suo trattato del 1586.⁸ Vediamo dunque le condizioni in cui si è potuto pubblicare questo raro libretto.

Le considerazioni di Bernardino accompagnavano la sua biografia, la quale era stata scritta da Alessandro Lamo (1555-1616), probabilmente fra il 1577⁹ ed il 1584.¹⁰ Si tratta del 'Discorso intorno alla scoltura et pittura dove ragiona della vita e opere... fatte da Bernardino Campo', opera che ebbe due edizioni nel 1584 – entrambi a carico dell'editore Christoforo Draconi.¹¹ Nonostante le somiglianze, in solo una di esse fu pubblicato il 'Parere' di Bernardino.¹² Il Lamo, dalla sua parte, non lavorò direttamente all'edizione dell'opera; incaricò invece il pittore Giovan Battista Trotti, il Malosso, della pubblicazione del 'Discorso', poiché egli – come informa il Malosso nella prefazione all'opera – era partito per la Spagna. Secondo Antonio Campi,¹³ fratello dei pittori Giulio e Vincenzo e pure amico

del Lamo, questi era in Spagna, servendo come segretario Lodovico Taverna – vescovo di Lodi e nunzio apostolico di Gregorio XIII (1502[1572]-1585).

Il Lamo aveva un interesse particolare quando scrisse il suo 'Discorso': affermare la qualità della pittura lombarda e l'autonomia di questa rispetto alla pittura fiorentina. Si tratta, in effetto, di una dichiarata reazione alle 'Vite', di Vasari. Egli sostiene che Vasari 'non celebra de cremonesi se non pochi'. Dice ancora che ha l'intenzione di correggere le storie dell'Areino.¹⁴ Il Vasari è persino considerato 'nemico dei pittori lombardi'.¹⁵ Quindi, per riparare lo 'sbaglio' del Vasari, il Lamo decise di scrivere la 'vita' di Bernardino Campi come modo di rappresentare e celebrare la qualità della pittura lombarda. Questa scelta, sebbene paia inusitata, si giustifica perché, al Lamo, Bernardino è un'artista che lavora con competenza tanto in quel che si riferisce al disegno quanto al colorito.¹⁶ Egli riunisce, perciò, il disegno fiorentino ed il colore veneziano.¹⁷ Inoltre, Bernardino aveva conquistato la fama e la reputazione fra i più illustri cittadini di Cremona, Milano, Lodi e Piacenza – dove aveva svolto una vittoriosa carriera, soprattutto come ritrattista e pittore di soggetti religiosi. Allo scopo di esplicitare il suo giudizio, il Lamo ricorre a una sorta di aneddoto, il quale sembra, tuttavia, di esser veridico. Hippolita Gonzaga aveva chiesto a Bernardino ed al pittore fiorentino Cristofano dell'Altissimo (15?-1605) – allievo del Bronzino (1503-1572) – la riproduzione di qualche ritratto del museo di Paolo Giovio. In seguito, ella sollecitò che gli stessi artisti la ritrassero. Naturalmente che il ritratto fatto da Bernardino fu giudicato dalla stessa ritrattata come da 'molti giudiziosi cavaglieri' come il migliore.¹⁸ In questo modo, affermando la qualità della pittura lombarda, il Lamo offriva la sua modesta risposta alla teoria della supremazia fiorentina predicata dal Vasari. La sua opera si trova, se-

condo pare, fra le prime in cui si cercò di esaltare le caratteristiche artistiche di una regione specifica, discosta dall'asse Roma-Firenze. Dopo il Lamo, questa sorta d'opera sarà consolidata nel Seicento e raggiungerà un'ampia fortuna fino al XX secolo.

Secondo il Lomazzo, Bernardino avrebbe ancora scritto altri due testi – una possibile biografia di Camillo Boccaccino (1501-1546) e, più probabilmente, un trattato sul colorito.¹⁹ Contuttoché siano perdute – resta il dubbio –, queste opere meritano di essere ricordate affinché si comprenda che Bernardino progettava diffondere le sue idee sulla pittura oltre al circolo dei suoi allievi, i quali non sono stati pochi. Perciò Bernardino, fra il 1584 ed il 1590 – allora con più di sessant'anni –, cercò di svolgere le sue attività senza limitarsi soltanto alla pratica della pittura, ma dedicandosi anche alla teoria di quest'arte.

Già all'inizio del suo 'Parere sopra la pittura' Bernardino afferma che si mise a scrivere dovuto all'insistenza di alcuni amici suoi – i pittori Antonio da Udine, Vincenzio da Caravaggio e Brandimarte dalla Torre.²⁰ Questo è stato il modo trovato da lui per rilevare, come fece qualche anno più tardi l'Armenini, la volontà collettiva che c'era in quel momento di conoscere il metodo esposto nel 'Parere'. Il testo intendeva riempire, pertanto, una lacuna della letteratura artistica. Tuttavia, al contrario dell'Armenini – che espone le ragioni per cui è raccomandato l'uso dei modelli plastici ausiliari –, Bernardino va diritto all'applicazioni pratica della tecnica. Così come normalmente si accennava nei trattati d'arte,²¹ egli suggerisce che prima il pittore copi disegni – e qui si debbono includere anche le pitture –, dopo rilievi – facendo allusione tanto ai rilievi classici quanto a quelli fatti dai grandi artisti moderni – e, finalmente, che studi a partire dai modelli vivi. Compiuta questa fase, il pittore, per realizzare l'opera,

dovrebbe allora utilizzare i modellini. Bernardino raccomanda che le figure siano fatte di cera, poiché, oltre a poter assumere nuove attitudini quando riscaldate, esse potrebbero anche essere modellate facilmente secondo una forma di gesso. In questo modo, il pittore avrebbe tante figure quante ne avesse bisogno. Bernardino suggerisce allora che il pittore fissi le figure sopra un'asse, componendo così una sorta di teatro in miniatura e, acciocché possa trasferire quel che viene rappresentato nella messinscena ai cartoni, egli raccomanda l'uso della graticola.²² Infine, il 'Parere' orienta ancora sulle sorte di tessuti che il pittore deve utilizzare per abbigliare i modelli e sul modo di lavorare col gesso e con la cera.

Come si è detto sopra, l'Armenini offre nei suoi 'preceppi' una notevole descrizione quanto all'uso dei modelli plastici ausiliari.²³ Egli afferma che questi possono essere fatti di creta o cera ed insegna, senza trattarsi ai dettagli, il modo di fabbricarli. Così come Bernardino, egli considera che ne siano sufficienti alcuni pochi modellini per realizzare qualsiasi opera,²⁴ poiché essi potrebbero assumere le più diverse forme; a tal fine, basterebbe che l'artista li ammorbidisse in acqua fredda o calda, secondo si trattasse di modelli di creta o cera. Secondo l'Armenini, Michelangelo avrebbe lavorato in questo modo quando eseguì il 'Giudizio Universale' nella Cappella Sistina; egli avrebbe fatto poche figurine di cera e le avrebbe torte, con l'ausilio di un po' d'acqua calda, secondo la necessità.²⁵ Tuttavia, le somiglianze fra questi due teorici non si limitano a queste constatazioni. L'approccio fra Bernardino e l'Armenini deve esser accentuato non solo dovuto alle affinità rispetto al contenuto degli scritti d'entrambi, ma anche perché si sa che l'Armenini, dopo essere partito da Roma, rimase per qualche mese a casa di Bernardino a Milano.²⁶ L'incontro fra i due sarebbe accaduto, con gran probabilità, fra il 1557 – quando l'Ar-

menini se ne andò da Roma e iniziò un periodo di viaggi per l'Italia²⁷ – ed il 1564 – anno nel quale divenne prete e lasciò definitivamente la vita artistica.²⁸ Di fatto l'Armenini, nato a Faenza e assai influenzato dalla scuola bolognese, è come un intermediario fra il pensiero vigente a Roma – città dove egli visse dai 15 ai 22 anni – e l'ambiente settentrionale. In diverse situazioni egli lascia trasparire interferenze neoplatoniche, certamente provenute dai circoli fiorentini e romani.²⁹ Nondimeno allo stesso tempo egli non si abbandona esclusivamente a quel che è stato "concetto nell'animo e nella mente",³⁰ come molti fecero dopo Michelangelo. L'Armenini aveva una totale consapevolezza di che gran parte dei pittori sconosceva le regole e le tecniche tradizionali e ubbidiva soltanto a quel che aveva prescritto il 'divino' Michelangelo, cioè "che bisognava aver li sestì ne gli occhi e non in mano, perché la mano opera e l'occhio giudica".³¹ Pertanto nei suoi 'Veri preceppi della pittura' egli non lascia d'accentuare l'importanza della pratica, e afferma:

(...) nessuno di voi mai si presumi possedere a bastanza le cose dette con l'ingegno solo, ma è ben che si vegga sempre o col proprio natural di quello, o il suo rilievo, ne mai si confidi in se stesso, se ben quelle cose dissegnate e studiate da lui mille volte state fossero, perché state pur certi che con la sola maniera non si può supplire al tutto (...).³² 'E ancora': Poiché dunque è bene a contendere a i principii con le fatiche, non si facciano disegni over pitture senza porsi innanzi alcuno essemplio vero, o almeno tolto dal vero, over formato nel miglior modo che sia possibile (...).³³

Inquietudini in questo senso sono ancora sentite quando l'Armenini dice che "infiniti si veggono i giovani a questi tempi, i quali si avvezano in questi errori per confidarsi troppo nell'idea e pratica loro, poiché senza porsi innanzi alcuno essemplio da imitare, o almeno da chiarirsi e esserne certi, si pongono a far figure e tall'ora istorie abbondevoli".³⁴ Orbene, questo metodo propo-

sto dall'Armenini è lo stesso utilizzato da Bernardino. Quest'artista allea lo studio dei grandi maestri – e bisogna ricordare che Bernardino realizzò viaggi a Piacenza, Parma, Modena e Genova per vedere le opere di Pordenone (1483c.-1539), Raffaello (1483-1520), Correggio (1489-1534), Perin del Vaga (1501-1547) e Parmigianino (1503-1540)³⁵ – alle tradizionali tecniche d'atelier – le quali, fra il Quattrocento ed il Cinquecento, hanno come caratteristica dei suoi momenti di maggiore intensità l'utilizzazione dei modelli plastici ausiliari. Per entrambi, Bernardino e l'Armenini, queste piccole sculture sostituivano il modello naturale – che non ha pazienza con l'artista, nei termini dell'Alberti e del Vasari³⁶ – e dovrebbero essere utilizzate in una fase intermedia fra gli schizzi iniziali e l'esecuzione dell'opera. Il metodo diviene esplicito nelle parole dell'Armenini: "perciocché il far di molti schizzi è utilissimo, perché più l'ingegno si sveglia tuttavia e s'abbelliscono le cose, di modo che poi con più fermi termini si proviene a i disegni finiti, da i quali si formano i modelli e con maggior certezza si fanno i disegni di quelli e indi i cartoni, sopra i quali è costume veder gli effetti delle cose del naturale (...)."³⁷

Avendo ciò in mente, occorre anche considerare un'altra questione. Come ha potuto un autore – e qui si fa ancora allusione a Alessandro Lamo –, per reclamare la qualità della pittura della sua regione, includere nel suo 'Discorso' un testo – e un testo dell'artista scelto da lui per rappresentare l'eccellenza dell'arte di quella regione – di natura così meccanica come il 'Parere' di Bernardino? A Roma, in quel momento, un tale procedimento avrebbe causato stupore e sarebbe stato appunto incompreso. Romano Alberti, pure prima della società con Federico Zuccaro (1543-1609),³⁸ dimostrava nel suo 'Trattato della nobiltà della pittura' (1585) che, in quell'ambiente, il 'perfetto pittore'³⁹ dovrebbe esser 'theoricamente

dotto senza l'operare⁴⁰ – sebbene egli ancora nutrisse la convinzione di che la pratica, nel momento adeguato, non svalutava la nobiltà della pittura. Romano raccomanda che il pittore abbia “i sensi acuti e molto buona imaginativa, con la quale apprenda le cose poste dinanzi alli occhi e acciò quelle astratte dipoi dalla presentia e transformate in fantasmati perfettamente riduca all'intelletto”.⁴¹ Inoltre è assai sintomatico che Romano consideri che la tecnica della prospettiva possa sostituire l'esperienza.⁴² In effetto, era già stabilita e abbastanza consolidata una distinzione fra due partiti fondamentali: da una parte l'idea esistente nella mente dell'artista – costituita a priori o formata dalla diversità del mondo sensibile –, d'altra parte l'abilità conquistata – la tecnica, se si preferisce.

Brevemente, per quel che riguarda l'idea, è possibile ammettere come punto di partenza un'opposizione fra concetti platonici suscitata da Gregorio Comanini (1548c-1608), uno di questi tipici autori impregnati del pensiero settentrionale. Egli interpreta due forme d'imitazione, l'icastica e la fantastica,⁴³ in un modo perfettamente d'accordo con la cultura del Nord d'Italia. Secondo lui, l'arte imitativa “overo che rappresenta cosa reale e fuori dell'intelletto di quello artefice che lo forma, overo che rassomiglia cosa imaginaria e che ha l'essere solamente nella fantasia dell'huomo imitante”.⁴⁴ Tuttavia, nonostante questa consapevolezza, fra la realtà e la fantasia egli non esita in considerare quella più adatta al pittore: “percioché più dilettevole è la sua imitazione icastica di quello che la fantastica sia, (...) percioché molto più d'arte et d'ingegno esso [il pittore] mostra nell'imitazione icastica che non iscopre nella fantastica, essendo più difficile l'imitare una cosa vera, come sarebbe fare un ritratto d'un huom vivo, che dipingerne una falsa, come sarebbe l'effigiare un huomo senza l'obbligo del naturale”.⁴⁵ Come si nota, sebbene

il Comanini sia a favore di una delle parti, due vie sono ammesse: l'imitazione dopo il reale e l'imitazione dopo la fantasia, la natura e l'idea, la tecnica ed l'ingegno.⁴⁶ In Lombardia la lealtà alla pratica è grande oltre misura per poter posporre addirittura il primo termine. A Roma, d'altra parte, il secondo termine ha un campo d'attività assai avanzato nella pittura e l'ambiente è già preparato per accogliere lo Zuccaro e gli svolgimenti che il suo concetto di ‘disegno interno’ raggiungerà.

Quanto alla tecnica, questa potrà esser raggiunta secondo due metodi: o secondo una via teorica e scientifica, o secondo una via pratica e empirica. Il primo caso – che di certo modo era già presente dai primi umanisti che aspiravano ad una sorta di alleanza fra scienza e pratica –, si vede rafforzato in questo momento. In questo senso è significativo la crescita del numero di pubblicazioni circa la prospettiva e la proiezione geometrica – Daniele Barbaro (1569), Jean Cousin (1560, 1571), Martino Bassi (1572), Vignola commentato da Egnazio Danti (1583), Lorenzo Sirigatti (1596). L'intellettualismo dell'attività artistica raggiunse livelli mai immaginati, e artisti che ricorrevano a conoscimenti empirici ed a modellini di creta oppure di cera – la seconda via – venivano considerati come artisti minori.⁴⁷ Giulio Romano (1499-1546), per citare soltanto un esempio, conosceva ambedue le possibilità. Almeno è questo che si può concludere dalla descrizione di uno dei suoi seguaci. Nel 1580 il veronese Christoforo Sorte pubblicò le ‘Osservazioni nella pittura’,⁴⁸ opera in cui si può leggere:

Et praticando io all'hora con M. Giulio Romano, il quale fu ricco di molte bellissime invenzioni così nelle cose della pittura come dell'architettura et intorno alle prospettive de' piani e de' scurzi, egli mi mostrò a condur la [loggia con colonne torte, balaustre e soffitto]⁴⁹ con ragione in due modi: l'uno con due ponti, uno de' quali ponessimo nel mezzo del sfondro, il quale è la distanza che porta in su, et l'altro

si pose a l'orizzonte abasso,⁵⁰ in quel medesimo modo che si è osservato nella prospettiva del piano sopra dimostrato,⁵¹ così in quella parte che ascende in su, come in quella che è a basso a l'orizzonte. L'altro modo fu con un specchio, sopra il quale si tira con un telarolo una graticula alla misura di esso specchio, e si graticula con refe o seta nera, e si divide in quanti quadretti si vuole, e poi mettesi detta graticula sopra ad esso specchio benissimo affermata; e volendo fingere dette colonne, figure o altro in scurzo in esso volto, si fa prima la cosa che si vuole dipingere di rilievo, cioè in modello, e si pone alta alla misura come nella distanza ci pare di fingere, però ai suoi lumi, acciò che si possano vedere i sbattimenti delle ombre et i rilievi a suo luogo, e ponesi detto specchio a basso con detta graticula sopra, al mezzo di detta stanza o luogo; e presupponendo che lo specchio sia l'orizzonte delle due distanzie, cioè di quella che porta in su e di quella da basso, che è l'orizzonte, ma che sia accommodato esso specchio talmente che si possa vedere dentro tutto quello che si ha da fingere, sia qual si voglia cosa. Et accommodato esso specchio, bisogna accommodarsi sopra con l'occhio fisso, et star sempre ad un segno con la sua tavoletta in mano con la carta sopra graticulata, fino che si averà contornato quello che si vederà nello specchio, battendoli le sue ombre, le mezze tinte et i lumi con i suoi riflessi a' suoi luoghi. E facendo le cose dette, si vederanno senza alcuna opposizione le cose molto riuscibili, come nella seguente forma.⁵²

Tuttavia, l'equilibrio fra i due metodi è tipico degli artisti attivi fino agli anni di 1550. Alla generazione del Sorte fu necessario scegliere fra le due possibilità, ed in questa scelta un giudizio di valore sulla capacità dell'artista era coinvolto.

Quindi, così esplicite che fossero le intenzioni del Lamo, l'inclusione del ‘Parere’ di Bernardino non avrebbe prodotto senso alcuno ad un lettore dell'Italia centrale. Anzi, ciò avrebbe causato un effetto contrario e avrebbe meramente confermato il giudizio del Vasari riguardo gli artisti lombardi. Quel che può aiutare a comprendere meglio il procedimento del Lamo è il fatto d'egli essere un autore difatti in-

scritto nella cultura settentrionale. I suoi attacchi contro il Vasari non produssero effetti a Roma neppure a Firenze, ma forse l'accoglienza fosse diversa fra gli autori del Nord come il Lomazzo⁵³ e, soprattutto, l'Armenini.

Bernardino è laconico e lontano da poter esser lodato per la chiarezza della sua esposizione. Nonostante ciò, la sua piccola opera può esser considerata la più completa descrizione sull'uso dei modelli plastici ausiliari. In essa viene sintetizzata una pratica di studio allo stesso tempo in cui si compie un capitolo sull'applicazione di tale pratica.⁵⁴ In poco tempo, l'utilizzazione di modelli plastici ausiliari perderà forza. All'inizio questo succederà a Roma ed a Firenze, e soltanto con un considerevole ritardo rispetto a quest'ambiente tale pratica di studio sarà abbandonata nel nord. Ma così come era successo ai seguaci di Michelangelo criticati dall'Armenini – che avevano come modello soltanto quel che concepivano nelle loro menti –, gli artisti della fine del secolo progressivamente cominciarono a disprezzare i modelli plastici ausiliari. Giovan Battista Trotti, che, come si è detto, presentò il libro del Lamo, fu uno dei molti discepoli di Bernardino. Ancora più, il Malosso si sposò con una nipote di Bernardino, e questi – secondo pare con l'intenzione di assicurarsi che il suo metodo sarebbe andato avanti – donò al giovane apprendista, nel 1574, diversi modelli di cera e gesso.⁵⁵ Tuttavia il Malosso, tipico pittore della generazione seguente, di natura ribelle e contrario alle regole,⁵⁶ certamente si identificava più ai metodi che cominciavano a essere predicati dalle rigogliose accademie d'arte che non agli avvertimenti del suo maestro. D'allora in poi i modelli plastici furono raccomandati soltanto nei momenti d'apprendimento e studio. Per la realizzazione dell'opera, o si osservava quel che comandava la fantasia, l'immaginazione oppure l'idea, come si voglia, o si rispondeva alle esigenze della ragione.⁵⁷ Scrivendo la vita di Ber-

nardino con tutte le minuzie possibili, il Lamo, come si è detto, intendeva di correggere la 'dimenticanza' del Vasari. Includendo il 'Parere' di Bernardino egli consolidava una tendenza tipica dell'Italia settentrionale, la quale legittimava l'uso di modelli plastici ausiliari mentre ancora non si mostrava preparata a sottomettersi totalmente né al modello mentale né ad un partito prevalentemente scientifico.

PARER SOPRA LA PITTURA DI M. BERNARDINO CAMPI PITTORE CREMONESE⁵⁸

Essendo io con istanza e lungamente pregato da alcuni miei amici pittori, e specialmente da Antonio da Udine, Vincenzio da Caravaggio e Brandimarte dalla Torre cremonese,⁵⁹ ch'io volessi far loro un discorso sopra l'arte della pittura, e conoscendomi inesperto a tal cosa, più giorni ho fatto resistenza al loro disio; ma al fine, vinto dai loro prieghi, et accioché non paia che sotto fizione di non essere sufficiente io voglia fuggire la fatica, mi son posto a scrivere queste poche e mal composte parole.

Io dico adunque che, secondo il mio parere, a qualunque elevato ingegno vuole imparare l'arte della pittura, prima fa bisogno imparare a contrafare ogni sorte di disegni, facendo però sempre scielta dei più eccellenti e più buoni; poscia dee imparare ritrare il rilievo, togliendo il lume alto e che batti nel mezo del rilievo, et avendo sempre la mente a tutto ciò che 'l fa; come se 'l fingesse una colonna, la quale, avendo il lume nel mezo, fosse ombrata dalle altre parti. Dopo questo gli bisogna imparare ritrare dal naturale, come sarebbe far un ritratto in ogni modo che intravenga nella pittura, e farlo bene.⁶⁰ E venendogli occasione di pingere un'istoria, gli bisogna schizzare l'invenzione al miglior modo che sa, avendo però sempre la memoria ai disegni già ritratti.

Poscia faccia una figura di rilievo di

cera, lunga un mezo palmo, o più o meno secondo il suo parere, in piedi, con le gambe alquanto aperte e con le braccia distese, tal che facilmente si possa formare col gesso e⁶¹ gittarne di cera tante quante ne sarà bisogno nell'istoria; e mentre che saranno tenere, le potrà acconciare nei suoi atti, e se elle diventassero troppo dure le potrà tenere alquanto nell'acqua tepida, e si faranno molle. Come il pittore avrà fatte tante figure quante gli basteranno, le potrà accomodare secondo l'invenzion sua, poscia attaccarle sopra un'asse con un ferro caldo, e commodarvele secondo il suo disegno.⁶²

Dopo questo dee pigliare un telaro che sia al squadro, cioè che abbia tutti quattro gli angoli retti, e signar sul telaro col compasso attorno attorno una misura che sia lunga come la testa della figura di cera, e per ogni punto di compasso nel telaro piantar un chiodetto, e dall'un chiodetto all'altro per tutto il telaro tirare fili sottili; e questo s'ha da fare al longo et al traverso del telaro, talché si faccia una graticola di quadretti uguali fra loro;⁶³ e medesimamente disegnerà detta graticola su la carta sopra la quale vuol disegnare. Piglierà poi la graticola del telaro e la porrà dritta in piede appresso alle figure di cera, e tirerà una linea al longo su l'asse dove posano le dette figure, che si riscontri con uno dei fili della graticola, et un'altra al traverso, che si riscontri con un altro filo. E questo s'ha da fare, perché nel ritrare l'uomo non può star saldo da sé con la vista, se non è guidato da queste due linee, e poi le ritrarrà sopra la carta signata, e tutto ciò che 'l vederà entro la graticola posta appresso alle figure di cera, disignerà su la medesima carta graticolata; avendo però considerazione che, se l'opera s'averà da vedere da alto, il modello s'avrà da poner il alto e il pittore stia al basso. E se il modello si porrà ad alto et il pittore stia al basso col vedere, ci perderà il piano dove posano le figure e dove sono signate quelle due linee che

li tenevano saldo il vedere; e però in questo caso gli bisognerà mettere un asse dietro alle figure, nel qual asse sian signate quelle due linee che si riscontrino con li fili della graticola, accioché il veder stia saldo.⁶⁴ Ma se l'opera s'avrà da vedere al basso, egli porrà il modello al basso, stando lui alto a ritrarre; e se l'opera s'avrà da vedere uguale alla vista, s'ha da mettere il modello uguale alla vista; et in qualunque modo che s'abbia da vedere la pittura, o uguale alla vista, o alto, o basso, e che abbia da aver distanza, s'ha da ponere il modello distante a ritrarlo. E se l'opera s'ha da vedere d'appresso, s'ha da ponere il modello appresso, accomodatamente però, tanto che si possa vedere; e con queste fatiche, benigni lettori, vi troverete avere le figure istoriate, et i lumi, e i battimenti delle ombre, et il risminuire delle figure in prospettiva.⁶⁵

Intervenendovi figure vestite, bisogna far un'altra figura di cera che sia ben svelta, grande un palmo e mezzo, perché se tu non la facessi così, la figura vestita resterebbe bozza; la qual figura s'ha da gittare al modo detto di sopra. Da poi s'ha d'acconciare nell'atto della figura vestita, e per vestirla pigliar due sorti di tela, cioè di sottile e di grossa, e bagnandola con l'acqua⁶⁶ accommodarvela attorno secondo il tuo giudizio. E volendo fare un panno grosso, piglierai la tela grossa, e volendolo far sottile, piglierai tela sottile; se tu la vorai vestire di seta, piglierai della medesima seta. Chi avesse un modello di legno picciolo, sarebbe buono, ma a me piacerebbe più se 'l fosse grande come il naturale, perché s'attrovarebbono più cose che s'accommodarebbono a quello. E se tu lo volessi far star in piede, ch'egli avesse un anello in testa per attaccarlo al solaio, e ritrarla con la graticola detta di sopra, ma bisognerebbe farla della misura della testa del detto modello; e da questo cavaresti ogni sorte di panni secondo il tuo parere.

Se tu vorrai fare il disegno grande dell'opera, falli sopra la graticola, e fa'

che ciascuno dei quadretti sia grande come le teste delle figure che hanno da essere nell'opera, che facilmente si riporteranno dal picciolo al grande. Et intervenendo nell'opera figure nude, o teste o braccia o mani o piedi, bisogna ritrarle dal naturale; e volendo far le cose più perfette, riguarda alle cose di rilievo antiche e buone, ovvero dai scultori moderni eccellenti, perché li si vede una differenza che l'uomo da sé così facilmente non la conosce.

Avendo io detto di sopra che bisogna fare una figura di cera, e farle la forma di gesso per gittare le figure di cera; e perché so che saranno molti che non sapranno far questo; io dico che s'ha da fare a questo modo. Avendo fatta la figura di cera e volendola formare, piglia della terra creta e pistala et impastala con l'acqua, talché ella sia pastosa, e della detta pasta fa un suolo sotto la figura, e calca la figura tanto, che ella si asconda meza nella detta pasta, e fa' che la terra le venga attorno attorno diritta, intendendo però il corpo ovvero la schiena; dappoi falle un argine della medesima terra attorno e piglia dell'oglio d'oliva et unghela con un pennello.⁶⁷ Dopo questo avrai gesso scaiolo o marmorio, il quale sia preparato a questo modo: piglia il sopradetto gesso e rompelò in pezzi della grossezza d'un uovo, e mettelo nel forno la sera, dappoi che è tolto fuori il pane, et ivi lascialo stare fino alla mattina; dappoi levalo fuori, ovvero accendi un buon fuoco di carbone e ponvi dentro il detto gesso, e lascialo stare fin a tanto che 'l sia ben rosso; poscia levalo fuori, ma puotendolo cuocere nel forno è molto meglio. Essendo cotto il gesso, tu dèi pestarlo e macinarlo tanto che passi per il sedazzo; dappoi piglia acqua, la quale sii solamente tanto calda che si le possa sofferire entro la mano, et in quella distempera il gesso sedazzato, tal che non sia né liquido né duro, e gittalo⁶⁸ sopra la figura di cera, posta, come è detto, in quell'argine di terra, e lascialo star così fin a tanto che abbia

fatto presa; poscia levale via la terra che v'è d'attorno e di sotto, e volta il gesso che è di sotto di sopra, e fagli col coltello dietro alla riva un poco d'un taglio in due o in tre luoghi, per poter riscontrar l'una forma con l'altra, però con la figura entro. Dopo falle di novo un argine di terra attorno attorno, e col sevo dileguato onge bene il gesso, e con l'oglio di oliva unge la figura e buttale addosso il gesso molle, come è detto di sopra, e lascialo stare tanto che abbia fatto presa: e la forma della figura sarà perfettamente fatta, e potrai tirarle fuori la figura, e dalla banda de i piedi, ovvero della testa, le potrai fare una via tra l'un pezzo e l'altro della forma per potervi infondere entro la cera liquida.

Se tu vorrai gittare le figure di cera, piglia della cera nuova, e se 'l sarà di estate, per ogni libra di cera mettelte un'oncia di trementina, e se 'l sarà d'inverno, metteglie due oncie per libra. E ponela al fuoco in una cazza, e falla scaldare pianamente, tanto che si le possa sofferire entro un dito, e come sarà dileguata, vuotala nella forma; ma prima fa' star la forma nell'acqua tepida, tanto che ella sia ben bagnata, dappoi cavala fuor dell'acqua et asciugala con una sponga, e legala insieme, e se vi fussero alcune fessure, stoppale con la creta, dappoi gittale entro la cera, com'è detto di sopra; poscia metti la forma con entro la cera nell'acqua fredda, et ivi lasciala stare fin a tanto che la cera si faccia ben dura: dappoi apri la forma e troverai la figura ben gittata.

Io ho parlato sopra il disegno; or mi resta ricordarvi che diligentemente osserviate la misura nel far le figure. Et il mio parere della misura è questa signata qua dietro,⁶⁹ osservando però che le figure di Ercole et altri eroi voleno essere più piene, e le figure delle donne voleno aver le mani e i piedi alquanto più piccioli e le unghie lunghe.

*Traduzione: Alexandre Ragazzi
Revisione: Maria de Lourdes T. Menon.*

- ¹ Utilizzati, come si sa, almeno da Piero della Francesca (1415-1492) (cfr. VASARI, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori e scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*. Firenze: Giuntina, 1568, III, p. 264) fino a Nicolas Poussin (1593/4-1665) (cfr. BELLORI, Giovan Pietro. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1976 (1672), p. 452-3). Particolarmente sopra l'utilizzazione dei modelli plastici ausiliari nel Quattrocento, si veda FUSCO, Laurie. "The use of sculptural models by painters in the fifteenth-century Italy". In: *The Art Bulletin*. LXIV, 1982, p. 175-94.
- ² Cfr. RAGAZZI, Alexandre. *A tradição da pintura que tem como modelo a escultura*. In: *Daumier escultor: correspondências com a pintura e a obra gráfica*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Orientação de Luciano Migliaccio. Campinas, SP: [s.n.], 2004, p. 3-24; 35-7.
- ³ L'opera che qui proponiamo l'analisi ha precedentemente ricevuto l'attenzione di Schlosser e di Barocchi. SCHLOSSER, Julius von. "Aus der bildnerwerkstatt der Renaissance". In: *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXI, 1912, p. 111 e ss. BAROCCHI, Paola (Org.). *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*. Milano, Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1971, I, p. 931-5.
- ⁴ Cfr. PINO, Paolo. *Dialogo di pittura. Nuovamente dato in luce*. Vinegia: P. Gherardo, 1548, p. 29b.
- ⁵ Cfr. VASARI, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori e scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*. Firenze: Torrentiniana, 1550. Cfr. anche VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1568, I, p. 112, 114-5, 120, 122-3; III, p. 264, 543; IV, p. 17, 106, 299-300, 355; V, p. 189-92, 203, 333, 412, 539, 545; VI, p. 177, 179.
- ⁶ Cfr. SORTE, Christoforo. *Osservazioni nella pittura. Con l'aggiornata d'una cronichetta dell'origine della magnifica città di Verona*. Venetia: Gio. Ant. Rampazetto, 1594 (1580), p. 20b.
- ⁷ Cfr. LOMAZZO, Gio. Paolo. *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura, et architettura...* Milano: Paolo Gottardo Pontio..., a instantia di Pietro Tini, 1584, p. 251-3, 321. Cfr. anche LOMAZZO, Gio. Paolo. *Idea del tempio della pittura*. Milano: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1590, p. 36, 53.
- ⁸ Cfr. ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *De' veri precetti della pittura*. Ravenna: Francesco Tebaldini, 1587 (1586). Anche se l'edizione del 1587 è la più celebre, c'è stata un'edizione in Faenza l'anno precedente.
- ⁹ Cfr. LAMO, Alessandro. *Discorso di Alessandro Lamo intorno alla scultura et pittura: dove ragiona della vita e opere in molti luoghi e a diverse prencipi e personaggi fatte dall'eccl. e nobile M. Bernardino Campo, pittore cremonese*. Cremona: Christoforo Draconi, 1584, p. 104, in cui l'autore menziona che in quel momento Bernardino aveva 55 anni.
- ¹⁰ Cfr. LAMO, Alessandro. *Op. cit.*, p. 117-8, in cui il Lamo presenta una lettera di Vespasiano Gonzaga datata del 16 giugno 1584. Oltre ciò, la prefazione dell'opera, scritta da Giovan Battista Trotti, il Malosso (1555-1619), porta la data 1 dicembre 1584.
- ¹¹ Una terza edizione ne seguì nel 1774. Il 'Discorso' del Lamo ed il 'Parere' di Bernardino sono stati incorporati alle 'notizie' di Giambattista Zaist (ZAIIST, Giambattista. *Notizie storiche de' pittori, scultori ed architetti cremonesi*. Cremona: Pietro Ricchini, 1774).
- ¹² Cfr. *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità posseduti dal conte Cicognara*. Pisa: Niccolò Capurro, 1821, I, p. 24.
- ¹³ Cfr. CAMPI, Antonio. *Cremona, fedelissima città et nobilissima colonia de Romani rappresentata in disegno col suo contato, et illustrata d'una breve historia delle cose più notabili appartenenti ad essa, et dei ritratti naturali de duchi et duchesse di Milano, e compendio delle lor vite*. Milano: Gio. Battista Bidelli, 1645 (1585), p. 215.
- ¹⁴ Cfr. LAMO, Alessandro. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.
- ¹⁵ Cfr. LAMO, Alessandro. *Op. cit.*, p. 39. Cfr. ancora VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1568, IV, p. 310-1 e, soprattutto, il giudizio dell'Aretino nell'edizione torrentiniana (VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1550, IV, p. 309-10), secondo il quale il pittore cremonese Boccaccio Boccaccino (1468c.-1525) è biasimato dovuto alla superbia che gli fu avvenuta di lodi precoci, il che, più tardi, lo avrebbe fatto diventare ragione di risi e non di meraviglia.
- Su questo argomento, Robert Klein nota – nel commento del capitolo XXXVIII de *Idea del tempio della pittura* – che Lomazzo faceva menzione dei suoi contemporanei in parte per una consapevolezza di storico ed in parte per evitare inimicizie – come era successo al proprio Vasari (cfr. LOMAZZO, Gio. Paolo. *Idea del tempio della pittura. Edizione commentata e traduzione di Robert Klein*. Firenze: Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1974 (1590), II, p. 639-40).
- ¹⁶ Cfr. LAMO, Alessandro. *Op. cit.*, p. 90.
- ¹⁷ Cfr. PINO, Paolo. *Op. cit.*, p. 23b-24b, in cui il 'perfetto pittore' sarebbe quello che riunisse il disegno di Michelangelo (1475-1564) ed il colore di Tiziano (1485c-1576).
- ¹⁸ Cfr. LAMO, Alessandro. *Op. cit.*, p. 53.
- ¹⁹ Su Boccaccino, cfr. LOMAZZO, Gio. Paolo. *Op. cit.*, 1590, p. 158; intorno al trattato circa il colorito, cfr. LOMAZZO, Gio. Paolo. *Op. cit.*, 1584, p. 193.
- ²⁰ Non molto si sa circa questi pittori. Antonio da Udine, il Moretto, è citato dal Lamo (LAMO, Alessandro. *Op. cit.*, 1584, p. 56); avrebbe aiutato Bernardino nella decorazione della casa di Alessandro Castiglione. Vincenzio da Caravaggio forse è Moietta Vincenzo da Caravaggio, il quale, secondo Lomazzo (LOMAZZO, Gio. Paolo. *Op. cit.*, 1584, p. 421-2), era specializzato nella composizione di fregi con 'scudi, grotteschi, festoni e simili'.
- ²¹ Cfr., ad esempio, VINCI, Leonardo da. *Libro di pittura. Edizione in facsimile del Codice Urbinato Lat. 1270 nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. Firenze: Giunti, 1995, p. 175 e VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1568, I, p. 112.
- ²² Per più dettagli sul metodo consigliato da Bernardino, si vedono il testo del 'Parere' e le note che l'accompagnano.
- ²³ Cfr. ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, 1587, p. 93-4, 96-9.
- ²⁴ Cfr. ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 98.
- ²⁵ Allo scopo di conferire credibilità a quel che aveva affermato, l'Armenini dice che tanto i giovani quanto i vecchi di Michelangelo paiono muscolosi giustamente in conseguenza dell'artista aver utilizzato pochi modelli. Quel che compromette la verosimiglianza della descrizione è che l'Armenini dice aver sentito a Milano, da un discepolo di Leonardo (1452-1519), che a questo gli dispiaceva soltanto un fatto nell'opera di Michelangelo, cioè egli aver fatto le figure molto simili l'una alle altre (cfr. ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 99). Ora, come si sa, Michelangelo ha realizzato gli affreschi del Giudizio fra il 1535 ed il 1541, ossia dopo la morte di Leonardo. Se Leonardo ha veramente detto qualcosa di simile, probabilmente si riferiva agli affreschi del soffitto della cappella Sistina – conclusi nel 1512 –, i quali egli potrebbe aver visto fra il 1513 ed il 1516. Circa l'utilizzazione che il proprio Leonardo ha fatto dei modelli plastici, cfr. GIOVIO, Paolo. *Leonardo Vincii vita; Michaelis Angeli vita; Raphaëlis Urbinitis vita; fragmentum trium diagororum*. In: BAROCCHI, Paola. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 7 e KWAKKELSTEIN, Michael W. "The use of sculptural models by italian renaissance painters: Leonardo da Vinci's 'Madona of the rocks' reconsidered in light of his working procedures". In: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, n. 1563, avril 1999, p. 181-98.
- ²⁶ Cfr. ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 221.
- ²⁷ Circa le ragioni che hanno fatto l'Armenini lasciare Roma, cfr. ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 220-1; ZAIIST, Giambattista. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 194-5; OLSZEWSKI, Edward John. *Armenini's treatise on painting. A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota*. Minnesota: [s.n.], 1974, p. 3.
- ²⁸ Cfr. ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 230. Quindi, l'incontro non potrebbe essere stato posteriore al 1564 perché, quando è stato con Bernardino, l'Armenini nutriva ancora le sue pretese artistiche, avendo aiutato il pittore cremonese in una pittura (cfr. ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 221).
- ²⁹ Cfr., ad esempio, ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 23: "non deve seguirsi il giu-

dicio solamente dell'occhio esteriore (...), ma ricorrer bisogna all'occhio dell'intelletto, il quale illuminato dalle debite regole, conosce il vero in tutte le cose". Specificamente sopra il concetto d'idea, si veda il capitolo XI del secondo libro, p. 137-8.

³⁰ ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

³¹ Citato da ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

³² ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

³³ Idem, p. 224.

³⁴ Idem, p. 224.

³⁵ Cfr. LAMO, Alessandro. *Op. cit.*, p. 55, 84.

³⁶ Cfr. ALBERTI, Leon Battista. *Da pittura*. Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 1999 (1436), p. 145 e VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1568, I, p. 112. Questo concetto vasariano è stato riutilizzato dal BORGHINI, Raffaello. *Il riposo*. Firenze: Giorgio Marescotti, 1584, p. 139.

³⁷ ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 138-9.

³⁸ Cfr. *Origine, et progresso dell'Academia del Disegno, de' Pittori, Scultori, e Architetti di Roma* (1604) – opera redatta da Romano Alberti quando l'Accademia è stata condotta da Zuccaro – e *L'Idea de' Pittori, Scultori, et Architetti* (1607) – opera scritta dallo stesso Zuccaro e che, in ogni caso, svolge quel che era stato abbozzato nel 1604; entrambi in: *Scritti d'arte di Federico Zuccaro* (Col. Fonti per lo studio dell'arte – Inedite o rare – I), Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1961. Cfr. ancora WAZBINSKI, Zygmunt, *L'Accademia Medicea del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento – Idea e istituzione*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987 (soprattutto p. 305-32, *Lo Studio: la scuola fiorentina di Federico Zuccari*).

³⁹ L'identificazione col 'perfetto oratore' di Cicerone è assolutamente pertinente. In seguito ai precetti della Controriforma, il pittore ideale si identifica con l'oratore ideale – ancora più che col poeta ideale – per quel che riguarda concetti come la chiarezza, la brevità e l'armonia della composizione – tutti strumenti utili per la persuasione, tanto dei dotti quanto degli ignoranti, circa i temi religiosi.

⁴⁰ ALBERTI, Romano. *Trattato della nobiltà della pittura. Composto ad instantia della venerabil Compagnia di S. Luca, et nobil Academia delli pittori di Roma*. Roma: Francesco Zannetti, 1585, p. 14. In effetto, Romano Alberti cita PINO, Paolo. *Op. cit.*, p. 10b che, a sua volta, aveva coerentemente inserito questo concetto nel discorso di Fabio, il personaggio fiorentino del dialogo.

⁴¹ ALBERTI, Romano. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴² Cfr. ALBERTI, Romano. *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁴³ Cfr. PLATONE, *Sofista*, 235d-236c.

⁴⁴ COMANINI, Gregorio. *Il Figgino, ovvero del fine della pittura. Ove quistionandosi se 'l fine della pittura sia l'utile, ovvero il diletto, si tratta dell'uso di quella nel Christianesimo. Et si mostra, qual sia imitator*

più perfetto, e che più diletto, il pittore, ovvero il poeta. Mantova: Francesco Osanna, 1591, p. 25. Cfr. ancora FERRARI-BRAVO, Anna Pupillo. *'Il Figgino' del Comanini. Teoria della pittura di fine '500*. Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1975 – opera che mi è stata gentilmente segnalata dal professore Luiz Marques.

⁴⁵ Cfr. COMANINI, Gregorio. *Op. cit.*, p. 81-2.

⁴⁶ Termini compresi come l'opposizione fra 'techné' e 'phýsis', il che, del resto, è una distinzione di cui il Comanini è perfettamente consapevole, poiché per quel che riguarda la creazione del poeta egli raccomanda giustamente l'opposto, cioè che si preferisca la fantasia alla realtà. Quindi in qualche modo il poeta del Comanini si unisce al poeta 'invasato' di Platone (cfr. *Ion*, 533d-534b; *Leggi* IV, 719c; *Fedro*, 245a).

⁴⁷ Ringrazio la professoressa Giuseppina Raggi ed il professore Luciano Migliaccio delle stimolanti conversazioni circa questo soggetto.

⁴⁸ SORTE, Christoforo. *Op. cit.*, p. 20a-b.

⁴⁹ Incarico che il Sorte aveva ricevuto da Federico Gonzaga (1519-1540) per il Palazzo Ducale di Mantova. Quest'opera non si è preservata.

⁵⁰ Metodo fondato sulla proiezione geometrica e che si vale del punto principale – anche conosciuto come punto d'orizzonte oppure di prospettiva (cfr. VIGNOLA-DANTI. *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica di M. Iacomo Barozzi da Vignola. Con i commentarii del R. P. M. Egnatio Danti...* Roma: Francesco Zannetti, 1583, p. 4-6) – e del punto di distanza, il quale, in questo caso, dovrebbe esser abbassato affinché fosse creata l'illusione di uno scorcio più accentuato. In effetto il risultato corrisponde all'allontanamento del punto di distanza.

⁵¹ Il Sorte allude alla p. 19b, nella quale espone il metodo tradizionale – con punto principale e punto di distanza – usato per la proiezione in prospettiva.

⁵² Il Sorte si riferisce ad un disegno stampato alla p. 21a, il quale rappresenta una colonna intagliata in scorcio.

⁵³ La preferenza per la scienza o la pratica e, quindi, l'ammissione dei modelli plastici ausiliari sono soggetti che assumono in Lomazzo un'ampiezza così grande che sorpassano di molto i limiti qui stabiliti. Basta dire che in diversi momenti l'autore si contraddice, soprattutto quando la sua intenzione è di partecipare al paragone fra la scultura e la pittura e dimostrare la superiorità di questa rispetto a quella (cfr. LOMAZZO, Gio. Paolo. *Op. cit.*, 1584, p. 252 e LOMAZZO, Gio. Paolo. *Op. cit.*, 1590, p. 36).

⁵⁴ Nel 1668 Roger de Piles tradusse e annotò un testo scritto fra il 1641 ed il 1665 da Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy. Nei commenti, De Piles raccomanda l'uso dei modelli plastici ausi-

liari (cfr. DU FRESNOY, Charles Alphonse. *L'art de peinture*. Paris: Nicolas L'Anglois, 1668, p. 22-3, 109-11). Tuttavia, questa esortazione alla pratica che qui si tratta deve esser considerata come un'eccezione, come un commento proveniente da un uomo che partecipava, per così dire, dell'opposizione all'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. A proposito del metodo predicato dalla Accademia, cfr. MÉMOIRES pour servir à l'histoire de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture depuis 1648 jusqu'en 1664. *Publiés pour la première fois par M. Anatole de Montaiglon*. Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1972 (1853).

⁵⁵ Cfr. il registro di donazione 'inter vivos' trascritto da SACCHI, Federico. *Notizie pittoriche cremonesi*. Cremona: Ronzi e Signori, 1872, p. 246-7. Ringrazio questo riferimento al professore Robert S. Miller, grande esperto per quel che riguarda Bernardino.

⁵⁶ Cfr. VENTURI, Adolfo. *Storia dell'arte italiana. IX. La pittura del Cinquecento*. VI. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1933. Rep. Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint, 1983, p. 935.

⁵⁷ Queste esigenze potrebbero esser sanate nella forma di apparati più elaborati come quelli di Cigoli e Scheiner (cfr. KEMP, Martin. *The science of art. Optical themes in western art from Brunelleschi to Senrat*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990, p. 178-81) oppure con il rigore scientifico proposto dai progressi nel campo prospettivo-matematico.

⁵⁸ Secondo l'edizione di Christoforo Draconi del 1584 (in: LAMO, Alessandro. *Op. cit.*). Il testo, senza numerazione, corrisponderebbe alle p. 121-29.

⁵⁹ Cfr. sopra, nota 20.

⁶⁰ Su quest'argomento, Paola Barocchi (BAROCCHI, Paola. *Op. cit.*, 1971, I, p. 931, nota 3) ha messo già in evidenza come la concezione assolutamente pratica della proposta metodologica di Bernardino è ancora in conformità ai precetti di Leonardo (Cfr. VINCI, Leonardo. *Op. cit.*, 1995, p. 171, 175). Inoltre, il metodo di Bernardino – cioè l'imitazione di disegni, modelli plastici e il modello naturale – è pure in concordanza col Vasari: "Chi dunque vuole bene imparare a esprimere disegnando i concetti dell'animo e qualsivoglia cosa, fa di bisogno, poi che averà alquanto assuefatta la mano, che per divenir più intelligente nell'arti si eserciti in ritrarre figure di rilievo, o di marmo o di sasso ovvero di quelle di gesso formate sul vivo ovvero sopra qualche bella statua antica, o sì veramente rilievi di modelli fatti di terra, o nudi o con cenci interrati addosso che servono per panni e vestimenti; perciò che tutte queste cose, essendo immobili e senza sentimento, fanno grande agevolezza, stando ferme, a colui che disegna; il che non avviene nelle cose vive, che si muovono" (VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1568, I, p. 112). Quindi, soltanto dopo di

assuefatta la mano – con i disegni – è che il pittore dovrebbe servirsi dei modelli plastici. Nondimeno, secondo il Vasari, le ‘cose vive’ sono parte di un programma più avanzato.

⁶¹ Nel originale “o”, il che pare esser un equivoco.

⁶² Il metodo d'utilizzazione dei modelli plastici ausiliari proposto da Bernardino, che inserisce i modelli in una sorta di palco, trova delle similitudini soprattutto con la pratica del Tintoretto (1518-1594); Carlo Ridolfi così la riporta: “[Tintoretto] esercitavasi ancora nel far piccioli modelli di cera e di creta, vestendoli di cenci, ricercandone accuratamente con le pieghe de' panni le parti delle membra, quali divisava ancora entro picciole case e prospettive composte di asse e di cartoni, accommodandovi lumicini per le finestre, recandovi il tale guisa i lumi e le ombre. Sospendeva ancora alcuni modelli co' fili alle travature per osservare gli effetti che facevano veduti all'insù, per formar gli scorci posti ne' soffitti, componendo in tali modi bizzarre invenzioni” (RIDOLFI, Carlo. *Delle maraviglie dell'arte, ovvero delle vite degli illustri pittori Veneti e dello Stato*. Venetia: Gio. Battista Sgava, 1648, II, p. 6-7). Comunque, pure nel Vasari si trovano simili raccomandazioni: “Usono ancora molti maestri, innanzi che facciano la storia nel cartone, fare un modello di terra in su un piano, con situar tonde tutte le figure per vedere gli sbattimenti, cioè l'ombra che da un lume si causano adosso alle figure, che sono quell'ombra tolta dal sole, il quale più crudamente che il lume le fa in terra nel piano per l'ombra della figura. E di qui ritraendo il tutto della opra, hanno fatto l'ombra che percuotono adosso a l'una e l'altra figura, onde ne vengono i cartoni e l'opera per queste fatiche di perfezione e di forza più finiti, e da la carta si spiccano per il rilievo: il che dimostra il tutto più bello e maggiormente finito” (VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1568, I, p. 120).

⁶³ Si tratta di un espediente raccomandato almeno dall'Alberti (ALBERTI, Leon Battista. *Op. cit.*, 1999, p. 109-10) e Leonardo (VINCI, Leonardo. *Op. cit.*, 1995, p. 189-90 [nonostante VINCI, Leonardo. *Op. cit.*, 1995, p. 163-4]), autorizzato dal Dürer (cfr. con la stampa 'L'illustratore che disegna una donna giacente', in: *Underweysund der messung*, Nüremberg, 1538), Michelangelo Biondo (BIONDO, Michelangelo. *Della nobilissima pittura et della sua arte, del modo et della dottrina di conseguirla agevolmente et presto...* Vinegia: Appolline, 1549, p. 11b-12a), Vasari (VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1568, I, p. 119) e Christoforo Sorte (SORTE, Christoforo. *Op. cit.*, p. 20a-20b) e biasimato da Paolo Pino (PINO, Paolo. *Op. cit.*, p. 16b), che rimprovera dichiaratamente l'Alberti.

⁶⁴ Per quel che riguarda questo inconveniente, conviene ricordare le soluzioni trovate da De Piles: od il pittore dovrebbe sostenere i modelli per aria con fini e discreti fili – al modo del Tintoretto (cfr. nota 62) – o dovrebbe metterli sopra una graticola di ferro (DU FRESNOY, Charles Alphonse. *Op. cit.*, p. 110). Circa gli scorci, cfr. ARMENINI, Giovan Battista. *Op. cit.*, p. 89-92. Cfr. ancora con il metodo utilizzato da Giulio Romano e Christoforo Sorte (SORTE, Christoforo. *Op. cit.*, p. 20a-b). Inoltre, la prossimità fra i metodi di Bernardino e Giulio Romano è messa in evidenza anche perché si sa che il giovane Bernardino, dopo di aver lasciato lo studio di Giulio Campi, si è trasferito a Mantova, presso Hippolito Costa, al fine di accompagnare i lavori che realizzavano Rinaldo Mantovano e Fermo Ghifoni (Guiso) a partire dai cartoni di Giulio Romano – Bernardino ritornerebbe a Cremona soltanto nel 1541 (cfr. LAMO, Alessandro. *Op. cit.*, p. 29).

⁶⁵ Circa questi problemi, cfr. il libro V delle *Regole del disegno* di Carlo Urbino da Crema (in: PANOFISKY, Erwin. *Le Codex Huygens et la théorie*

de l'art de Léonard de Vinci. Trad. Daniel Arasse. Paris: Flammarion, 1996 (1940), soprattutto p. 49-58), in cui l'autore si dedica allo studio delle figure vedute in 'visione normale, di sotto in su e di su in sotto'. Tuttavia, Carlo Urbino è assolutamente chiaro quando si tratta di condannare l'utilizzazione di modelli plastici ausiliari (cfr. PANOFISKY. *Op. cit.*, p. 54, nota 153), e la sua contrapposizione a Bernardino è tanto più interessante perché si sa che, fino al 1565, Carlo Urbino fornì dei disegni a Bernardino (cfr. BORA, Giulio. *La prospettiva della figura umana. Gli 'scurti' nella teoria e nella pratica pittorica lombarda del Cinquecento*. In: *La prospettiva rinascimentale. Codificazione e trasgressioni*. I. A cura di Marisa Dalai Emiliani. Firenze: Centro Di, 1980, p. 313).

⁶⁶ Questa pratica pare derivare dall'osservazione dei rilievi greco-romani dell'Antichità e, secondo il Vasari, era utilizzata almeno da Piero della Francesca (1415-1492): “Usò assai Piero di far modelli di terra e a quelli metter sopra panni molli con infinità di pieghe per ritrarli e servirsene” (VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1568, III, p. 264). Cfr. ancora quel che dice l'Aretino rispetto a Niccolò Soggi (1492-1542): “Attese anco assai Niccolò a fare modelli di terra e di cera, ponendo loro panni adosso e carte pecore bagnate (...)” (VASARI, Giorgio. *Op. cit.*, 1568, V, p. 189).

⁶⁷ In questo punto, Bernardino interrompe la descrizione rispetto al modo in cui si debbono fare le forme per insegnare come si deve lavorare col gesso.

⁶⁸ Bernardino riprende la descrizione sul modo in cui si debbono fare le forme.

⁶⁹ Bernardino allude a due disegni riprodotti dopo il testo. In uno di essi c'è un uomo ignudo, in piedi, dinanzi, mentre che nell'altro l'uomo è di profilo. Ambedue i disegni sono suddivisi a quadretti.

Images of permanence: thoughts on Charles Ribeyrolles' and Victor Frond's *Brasil Pitoresco* (*Picturesque Brazil*) album

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It is our intention, in this article, to approach the relationship between painting and photography in 19th cen-

tury Brazil. We will analyze, in detail, the album *Brasil Pitoresco*, text by Charles Ribeyrolles and lithographs made from photographs by Victor Frond, which was published in 1861¹. *Brasil Pitoresco* was the first travel narrative to be edited in Latin America using illustrations obtained from photographs². Victor Frond was a pioneer in the photographic registration of national agricultural production and of the work of the Afro descendants at the farming areas of the Fluminense region, in Rio de Janeiro³.

In the essay titled “O século XIX” (“The 19th century”), Alexandre Eulálio wrote about the importance of the emergence, to the visual arts, of the technics of image mechanical reproduction, until then unheard of. They were rapidly made, especially in the case of lithography and photography. Both led to the questioning of some of the painting functions, seen then as utilitarian, as a traditional mean of human types and social surroundings registration and fixing. The author also affirms that

“...painting would suffer the impact of both inventions, although also (and this could not have been any different) it influenced attitudes and procedures of the lithographic pencil and of the objective of the artist-photographer”⁴. Regarding the association between photography and lithoengraving, Eulálio points out that the *Brasil Pitoresco* album, with text by Charles Ribeyrolles and illustrated with lithographs made from photographs by Victor Frond, is one of the “highest moments of nineteenth century’s iconography”.

Fronde resumed in his photographs some celebrated sights of Rio de Janeiro, which had been represented by travelers in paintings, drawings and watercolors. For instance, the Arcos da Lapa and the Outeiro da Glória. Travelers would portrait in their works, in general terms, idealized landscapes. Photography allowed the recording of local landscapes taking into account their specificity, putting in relief different luminosity and the variety of botanical species. In this way, Victor Frond’s and other photographers’ production contributed to the development of a more realistic approach in the country’s landscape painting. For instance, as can be seen on the production of Agostinho José da Motta. He painted Brazilian themes and sights free from exoticism. In some of the artist’s works, for example in *Vista dos Arcos da Lapa* (without date, Brasiliana collection), we perceive a new regard in relation to nature’s and landscape’s national representations.

We must point out that the album *Brasil Pitoresco* should be inserted in a broader set of image collectanea made in the 19th century, supported by the Emperor, and related to the iconographic rediscovery of the country. From the 1860’s onwards, many publications concerned with national themes were launched in Brazil. They would follow different lines of approach: historical studies (*História do Brasil*, R. Southey, 1862, for instance); literary romances

(José de Alencar works, among others) and the illustrated albums. Regarding historical painting we should notice Victor Meirelles’ painting *A primeira missa no Brasil* (1861, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes).

The *Brasil Pitoresco*’s authors had a trajectory which was associated with the conflicts for political liberty in France. Charles Ribeyrolles (1811-1860) was editor of the “*l’Homme*” journal, mouthpiece of the republican groups exiled in England due to the political movements of 1848 and to the coup d’état against Louis Napoleon, in 1851.

Victor Frond, who came from a family of small proprietors from southern France, became a dedicated republican militant. He worked at the Fire Brigade in Paris when he rebelled during the coup of 1851. He was later persecuted and sent to prison in Algeria. He eventually managed to escape and exiled himself in England. There he was in contact with Charles Ribeyrolles and Victor Hugo, among others. Frond was portrayed as a character in Hugo’s book *Histoire d’un crime* (1854). In 1854, he went on to live in Lisbon and continued to be involved in political militancy activities. In order to gain a living he took on the profession of “those who have nothing” - he became a photographer⁵. Little is known regarding the Portugal period of his life. He, probably, studied photography with Alfred Fillon, also a French and a companion from Algeria’s prison, they escaped together. As photographer of the Portuguese Royal House, Fillon became well known in his profession⁶. In 1857, when he arrived in Brazil, Frond set together an atelier in Rio de Janeiro. He immediately received the recognition from the Imperial House. When he conceived the project for the album-book, which was announced at the time’s newspapers and had the support from the Emperor, Frond called upon Ribeyrolles to write the text and took care, himself, of the photographic documentation.

The travel around Brazilian lands happened in 1858. The authors tried, then, to document the territory. They assembled images, descriptions of the sights visited and analysis of the social relations. The book, eventually, became better known due to its photographs rather than for Ribeyrolles’ text. The text was published in 1859, in a hurried edition, precariously translated and printed in a low quality paper. Nevertheless, this publication had an official character since it was published by the National Typography (Typographia Nacional). It also came with a big innovation editorially wise - the text was published in two columns, in French and in Portuguese, targeting a wider public.

The images came from France, and were distributed in small series along August of 1860 and November of 1861. The photographs were reproduced in lithoengravings and caused a massive impact. They gained autonomy, detaching themselves from the book itself⁷.

This publication has some lithographic series that set aside the Imperial capital and the slave work. Besides those central thematic groups, we have among the album’s illustrations the predominance of nature images (for instance, waterfalls and the forest), of cities and farms at the Fluminense countryside, in Rio de Janeiro, and of Salvador city, in Bahia⁸.

The authors approach regarding Brazil is very distinct from the one linked to the European debate about the use of photography in scientific expeditions or in the travels related to the “romantic orientalism”⁹. As Lygia Segala stresses:

Differing from the numerous European illustrated albums, regarding countries or regions, which invariably bring, along landscapes, a gallery of the place’s notables, Frond’s album shows, besides the sight-scenes, black slaves. In fact, the longest thematic series of his work concerns the slaves. This choice, initially disconcerting, is only possible, first of all, because

*these images go along with the genre scenes and the taste for the exotic, fashionable then in the European photographic series (albums and stereoscopic sight-scenes) and consumed by the elite. Secondly, because they find some recognition, as a registration of cultural behaviors and as documenting the work, at the still timid national abolitionist discourse. This discourse becomes more well-marked after the promulgation of the law extinguishing slave traffic in 1850. Having this focus, the photographer brings up to the front the problem of the depiction of the "Brazilian people", in contrast to the Imperial family's portraits which open the album in an iconographic dedication.*¹⁰

It is important to notice that in this publication the authors avoided approaching picturesque aspects of Brazil. They escaped describing and representing the people's exotic behaviors and also they avoided a sentimental approach of the landscape. Frond's illustrations put in relief landscapes from Rio de Janeiro. Besides natural beauties, they emphasize a certain urban rationality, prioritizing public spaces like the aqueduct and the hospital. Many of the book's illustrations show the work of the afro descendants at the farms in the Fluminense countryside, in Rio de Janeiro. Nevertheless, the photographer tried to be neutral when recording the slave's activities. The authors' abolitionist discourse is subtle - the album was supported by the Emperor and in order to take the photographs the collaboration of the farms' owners was essential, not forgetting that they were made under the attentive regard of the farm bailiff. During this period it is believed that Frond also took some photographs that would serve in a campaign inciting the immigration of colonists to Espírito Santo state¹¹.

Brasil Pitoresco images were very much publicized at the moment of their publication. Later, the album's illustrations were presented at the First Exhibit of Brazilian History, in 1881, at the National Library (Biblioteca Nacional). The images were exposed under the

title of *picturesque sights* (class XIX), *botanical themes* (class XX), *imperial family's portraits* (class XIX) and, mainly, under the title of *behaviors* (class XVII, part 2). In this last series we have the images about agricultural activities at the Fluminense farms, in Rio de Janeiro, and about the slave work¹².

Regarding the artistic scenery of the period, we should notice that the photographers, when recording urban and rural workers, created a repertory of images that were not, then, present in Brazil's painting. Painting Academies, up until the beginning of the 19th century, considered painting of cultural behaviors and of daily scenes as a minor genre, together with landscapes and still-life representations. They were following a genre hierarchy which had been consolidated at the French Academy during the 17th century. This panorama only starts to change during the 19th century. In France, since 1830, history painting begin to be replaced by the genre historical painting, which represented patriotic and nationalist themes withdrawn from episodes of past and contemporary history. Later on, in the Salon of 1850, three paintings from Gustave Courbet were then presented: *Stone-Breakers* (1849, Dresden, Gemäldgalerie, destroyed in 1945), *Burial at Ornans* (1849-1850, Musée d'Orsay, Paris), and *Peasants of Flagey* (1850, the original disappeared; copy at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Besançon). The painter used the big format, which was used, up till then, only to history painting, in order to depict the lives of individuals from the population, workers and peasants. Like Courbet, many other artists started to represent similar themes in their pieces. Realistic painting raised the painting of "genre scenes" into a status reserved to the ancient history paintings¹³. In the European context, these images were not considered picturesque, but were related to the social revolutions of the 19th century, which demanded

changes in the work relations, like the one in 1848¹⁴.

In Italy, we also have representations of workers in paintings since de 1860's. For instance, in the piece *The Stonecutter in Tuscany*, by Francesco Saverio Altamura, from 1861 (Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte). Filippo Palizzi and many other *macchiaioli* begin to portrait peasants with a dignifying regard, and in a scale that was previously used only for history painting. These pieces can be related to the need of representing and giving an identity to the people, in a recently unified country¹⁵.

Back to the Brazilian context, we would like to point out that the authors of the *Brasil Pitoresco* album, Ribeyrolles and Frond, stayed in touch with the artistic and intellectual French milieu, at the end of the 1840's. Lygia Segala stresses the proximity between Courbet and Victor Frond, who served as a model in a unfinished painting of the painter (*Fireman rushing to a fire*, 1850), which belongs to the Musée du Petit Palais, in Paris¹⁶.

At the Brazilian artistic scenario we perceive, from the 1855's writings by Araújo Porto-Alegre, that the Academy was divided between the traditional canons for teaching the fine arts and the realistic and naturalistic tendencies, which gained more and more adherents¹⁷. Since the 1880's, landscape paintings and also genre ones begin to stand out with the works of the painters related to the Grimm Group and also with the presence of such newly arrived artists from European apprenticeships as Almeida Júnior, Rodolfo Bernardelli and Belmiro de Almeida. The art critic from Rio de Janeiro, Félix Ferreira, points out in his 1885 book *Belas artes: estudos e apreciações*, the taste and the rising valorization of both genre and landscape painting:

...while history painting, the painting of battles, starts to decline in people's taste, the genre and the landscape paintings begin to be more appreciated. Landscape, national cultu-

ral behaviors, are unexplored mines, ones that our artists are leaving in a criminal abandonment. Instead, they exhaust their inspiration in the big historical canvases, which do not compensate neither morally nor money wise the amount of effort needed to get one of these paintings...¹⁸.

Luciano Migliaccio notices that, in Brazil, also after the 1880's, the image repertory from *Brasil Pitoresco* and from other photographic albums became an inspiration source and was evoked by artists practicing the rising genre painting, in their attempt to represent daily national scenes¹⁹.

For instance, the evocation of Frond's photographs can be observed in the *Engenho de Mandioca* (Manioc-Mill) (Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, 1892) painting, by Modesto Brocos. The importance of the album's images can also be better understood with the paintings by Almeida Júnior, like in *Apertando o lombilho* (Tightening the saddle), *Cozinha Caipira* (Hillbilly Kitchen) (both at the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, 1895) and also in *Caipira picando fumo* (Hillbilly mincing fume) (Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, 1893). We will deal with these below.

The evocation of the album *Brasil Pitoresco*'s lithoengravings in some of Almeida Júnior's paintings

Within the set of illustrations of the album *Brasil Pitoresco*, we intend to essentially analyze in this article some representations of rural work. We note that Frond photographed groups of people in open spaces, and in moments before the actual work began. For instance, as is the case in *Partida para a roça* (Leaving to the field), where we can see the group organized in line, holding their working tools. Many avoid the photographer's regard. This lithoengraving is evoked, in the 1880's, in some of Marc Ferrez's photographs. For example, in *Partida para a colheita do café* (Leaving for the coffee harvest) (c.1885, Instituto

Moreira Salles). In this photograph we see a line of workers in front of a farm house. Many of the characters look at the photographer and hold sieves and other working tools. In this photograph, Ferrez reinforces the emphasis on the geometry present in Frond's album, and shows, once more, the dignifying aspect and the anonymity of those workers.

On the other hand, in such images as *Produção de farinha de mandioca* (Manioc flour production), *Escravos pilando grãos de café* (Slaves braying coffee grains), *Rendeiras* (Female lacemakers) e *Descascando mandioca* (Peeling manioc), small groups of workers in action are presented to the viewer. They are disposed within an architecture [Fig. 1 – 4]. At the pieces mentioned above, the rigidity of the geometric structure, in front of which the characters are displayed, is stressed. In *Escravos pilando grãos de café* we perceive the set of verticals present at the beams of the door's sill in opposition to the horizontal lines of the construction's architrave and of the door's superior beam. Geometry also appears at the baskets and at the volumes disposed in diagonal. The diagonals are emphasized with the two pestles and with the stair put to the right of the viewer, in opposition to the set of orthogonals. In this image, Frond points out a series of working tools, there are almost no empty areas in the scene, which seems to emphasize the portrayed's silent dimension and a certain melancholy.

The construction of the image, structured within geometric severity by the photographer, is used in many images that emphasizes, in a very acute way, the presence of the characters. This can be observed in *Descascando mandioca* and in *Produção de farinha de mandioca*. Both show, besides the succession of rectangles and squares expressed by the house's windows, the geometric forms of the tables, of the working objects and of the big wheel to the right of the viewer. In *Rendeiras*

the set of rectangles at the back plan is remarkable. They are expressed by the beams of the door's sill. There is also a whole group of movements that are suggested by the set of boards where the lacework is made and by the circle formed by the women.

In those images we have, and this should be noticed, questions related to the period's techniques. Due to the precariousness of the photograph, the engravers are obliged to "translate" the photographic images to the lithography's codes.

The formal procedures and the themes of some of the album's lithoengravings permit an approximation with Almeida Júnior's production. In *Cozinha caipira* [Fig. 5] and in *Apertando o lombilho* [Fig. 6], the representation of the rural surroundings, of the daily activities and of some peculiar aspects of the working objects could have been inspired in the lithographs of Frond's album. On the other hand, in a piece like *Caipira picando fumo* [Fig. 7] the reference to the lithographs is more direct, and has to do, first of all, to the formal aspects.

Jorge Coli, an art historian, in the essay titled *Almeida Júnior: o caipira e a violência* (Almeida Júnior: the hillbilly and violence), stresses, regarding Almeida Júnior's paintings, the firm and exact meaning of the composition: "Geometry is his great ally. Whenever he can, he combines and sets exact orthogonals"²⁰. According to the author, in the painting *Caipira picando fumo* (oil study, 1893, Pinacoteca do Estado, São Paulo) the character appears facing a set of horizontal and vertical strips. He visually substitutes the focal equilibrium point and imposes himself "not as an impacting image, but as a permanent image"²¹. Coli stresses that in Almeida Júnior's works "the geometrical relations never do impose themselves over the general sense of the image. They sustain the visible, sustain that which visible, even though they withdraw themselves

from this visible. They are the ones that give the characters their strength, conferring an iconic evidence". Thus, in those paintings "the characters enhance themselves, articulated as they are to the background. They are both integrated and valued by the composition's effect. They are the main theme, not the environment."²².

Critics like Gonzaga Duque and Monteiro Lobato, among others, have pointed out another fundamental aspect of Almeida Júnior's works: its final simplicity. The painter avoids eloquence, as well as the picturesque and the narrative. He does not seek, in his paintings, any sentimental or heroic affectation, and he does not place his characters in groups, interacting socially.

As Coli observes, in works like *Picando o fumo*, the artist articulates the background and the figure, "connecting them in order to better project the character as a strong image, even though socially isolated. The powerful isolation propelled Almeida Júnior's hillbilly image within Brazilian culture"²³.

Recent studies have pointed out Almeida Júnior's admiration for photography. This can be perceived in the choices he made concerning the framing of some of his painting, which can be linked to the procedures and to the angles chosen by the photographer. Regarding Frond's and Ribeyrolles' album, the painter has evoked, as seen, the rural environment, but also formal aspects of some images. For instance, the relation between the characters and the set of parallel horizontal and vertical lines. In Frond's lithoengraved photographs there is also a certain detachment, a certain neutrality from the photographer's side, something that avoids the picturesque and that portraits the characters working in group, even though, sometimes, they present themselves absorbed in their thoughts. This may also be the result of the needed time exposure, demanded by the photographic technique.

The album's lithographs were very publicized back then, and also later. They appeared in versions that were, many times, colored by distinct painters. We notice how Frond has created permanent images, where one can perceive the photographers personal mark. The album's illustrations were important for the creation of landscape and behavior painters, at least up to the end of the century.

As studies like the one Coli did demonstrate, Almeida Júnior evoked in his paintings images from the repertory of Art History, from contemporary French painters, like Courbet. He also used photography, specifically combining the images of the album *Brasil Pitoresco*, and conferring his characters with an iconic force. In the *Senzalas* (Slave Houses) lithoengraving, from the album *Brasil Pitoresco*, we notice the slave to the left, sitting by the doorsill in front of the house, with his legs crossed [Fig. 8]. In front of him, the character faces an empty earth space. In *Caipira picando fumo*, besides the already mentioned geometric aspects which also appear in the lithoengravings produced from Frond's photographs. Almeida Júnior evokes a character like the one above, substituting the image of the black person in front of the slave house by the one of the hillbilly sitting by the entrance of the humble house. In this painting, the painter leads the observer's eyes to a closer look upon the character, a procedure that is also photographic. The *Brasil Pitoresco's* illustrations also present, frequently, characters close to doors or windows. They once more express a set of orthogonals, procedure that was adopted by the painter in several instances.

The evocation of this set of images by painters of the 1880's reveals how much Frond's production had been appreciated and publicized. It also reveals the fundamental role of photography to the period's art. In the European

context, the dialogue between painters and photographers was huge. Aaron Scharf's and Dorothy Kosinski's studies, among others, so demonstrate²⁴.

In Brazil, at the bibliography published concerning the History of Art and of Photography in the 19th century, we have rare mentions to the work many times executed by painters and photographs together and to the dialogue between them²⁵. The analysis of the relationship between painting and photography may lead to a novel understanding of the art during the 19th century, regarding both landscape and genre painting.

In literature, concerning the portrait genre, the author José de Alencar narrates, in a portion of the 1875 *Senhora* (Lady) romance, how common was the use of photography by painters:

"...Seixas went then to find two great paintings, put upon their respective easels. The canvas showed the sketches of two portraits, Aurelia's and his own, that an excellent painter, imitator of Victor Meireles and of Pedro Américo, had drawn from some photography and that was going to receive the final touches by comparing it to the models themselves.

In face of the enquiring regard of her husband, Aurelia answered:

- It is an indispensable ornament in a living room..."²⁶

Tadeu Chiarelli points out that, in this description "the fact that photography is used as an instrument for making both the painter and the model's life easier, was something that seemed common to the middle of 19th century's Brazilian elite". This practice has not yet been studied properly, neither by art historians nor by photography historians. Nevertheless, "the careful observation of certain paintings present evidence of photography's mediation at the artist-painting relation"²⁷.

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- ¹ The questions addressed in this article belong to a wider research Ph.D. project (Graduation Program in Art History at IFCH/UNICAMP), advised by Professor Cláudia Valladão de Matos. The research's focal point is the analysis of the *Brasil Pitoresco* album and its importance to the period's visual arts. The author is sponsored by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo - FAPESP.
- ² FROND, Victor. *Brazil Pittoresco* [Text by Charles Ribeyrolles] Paris: Lemercler Imprimeur-Lithographe, 1861.
- ³ SEGALA, Lygia. *Ensaio das luzes sobre um Brasil pitoresco: o projeto fotográfico de Victor Frond*. 1998, 337 f. Thesis (PhD in Social Anthropology)-Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, p. 218.
- ⁴ EULÁLIO, Alexandre. "O século XIX", in *Tradição e ruptura: síntese de arte e cultura brasileira*. São Paulo: Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, 1984, p. 117.
- ⁵ "Je résolu de [...] planter ma tente à Lisbonne et pour ne devoir mes moyens d'existence qu'à mon travail, je pris le métier de ceux qui n'en ont pas: je me fis photographe!". *Archives Nationales de France*, series F 15, 4083, dossier Frond. *Apud* SEGALA 1998, v.1, p. 105.
- ⁶ SEGALA, Lygia. *Victor Frond et le projet photographique du Brésil Pittoresque*. Colloque International "Voyageurs et images du Brésil". MSH-Paris, 2003, p.5. Available at: <http://www.chairesergioibuarque.msh-paris.fr/pdf-voyageurs/segala.pdf>. Accessed in 04/20/2007.
- ⁷ SEGALA, 1998, p. 287-288.
- ⁸ According to some scholars, the series of lithographs about Salvador would have been done from Benjamin Mullock's photographs. He was at the scene between 1858 and 1861. Frond would have bought them, including the author's rights. In fact, some of the album's illustrations depicting Salvador city resemble Mullock's photographs very much.
- ⁹ From the last years of the 1840's onwards we see the publication, in Europe, of many illustrated albums produced using photographs from Egypt, Palestine and Syria. For instance, *Voyages en Orient*, by Louis de Clerq, 1859-1860 (SEGALA 2003).
- ¹⁰ SEGALA 1998, p.247.
- ¹¹ The information belongs to the account by VON TSCHUDI, Johann Jakob. *Viagem à Província do Espírito Santo: imigração e colonização suíça*, 1860. Photographs: Victor Frond. Vitória: Arquivo Público do Estado do Espírito Santo, 2004.
- ¹² SEGALA, *op. cit.*, p. 294-295.
- ¹³ CHIARELLI, Tadeu. *Pintura não é só beleza: a crítica de Mário de Andrade*. Florianópolis: Letras Contemporâneas, 2007, p. 214-223.
- ¹⁴ NOCHLIN, Linda. *Realism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971, p. 111-113.
- ¹⁵ OLSON, Roberta J. M. *Ottocento: Romanticism and Revolution in the 19th century Italian Painting*. New York, The American Federation of Arts, 1992, p. 15.
- ¹⁶ SEGALA 1998, p. 66
- ¹⁷ GALVÃO, A. "Manuel de Araújo Porto-Alegre: sua influência na Academia Imperial das Belas Artes e no meio artístico do Rio de Janeiro". *Revista SPHAN*, n. 14, 1959, p. 50-61.
- ¹⁸ FERREIRA, Félix. *Belas artes: estudos e apreciações*. [1885], Rio de Janeiro: Arte Data, 1998, p. 106-107.
- ¹⁹ Information received in a conversation with Luciano Migliaccio, in 2005.
- ²⁰ COLI, Jorge. "Almeida Júnior: o caipira e a violência", In *Como estudar a arte brasileira do século XIX?*, São Paulo: Ed. SENAC, 2005, p. 101.
- ²¹ COLI, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
- ²² *Ibidem*, p. 105.
- ²³ *Ibidem*, p. 113.
- ²⁴ SCHARF, Aaron. *Art and photography*. London: Viking/Penguin, 1968; KOSINSKI, Dorothy (ed.) *El artista y la camera. de Degas a Picasso*. Bilbao: Gugenheim Bilbao, 2000.
- ²⁵ A recent study on the period is OLIVEIRA's, Vladimir José Machado de. *Do esboço pictórico à rotunda dos dioramas: a fotografia na pintura das batalhas de Pedro Américo*. Thesis (PhD). Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas - FFLCH/USP. São Paulo, FFLCH-USP, 2002.
- ²⁶ ALENCAR, José de. *Senhora*. [1875]. São Paulo: Ática, 1971, p. 171.
- ²⁷ CHIARELLI, Tadeu. "História da Arte/História da fotografia no Brasil - século XIX: algumas considerações". São Paulo, *Revista Ars*, v. 6, p. 78, 2005, p. 85-86.

Indian representations on 19th century Brazilian Art

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This article had as starting point the research done during my masters regarding the Italian formation of the sculptor Rodolfo Bernardelli (Guadalajara, Mexico, 1852 - Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1931), at the Philosophy and Human Sciences Institute of the Campinas State University (Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas), accomplished in 2005¹. The Indianist theme is present

in Bernardelli's youth works, produced in the 1870's, and is retaken in different moments of his life. Here, I tried to understand the meaning of these works all along the artist's long trajectory and to investigate the possible links with contemporary sculpture.

Rodolfo Bernardelli began his trajectory in the 1870's as pupil at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts - AIBA, in Rio de Janeiro. In that period, he produced his first sculptures following the Indianist theme. *Missing the tribe* (Saudades da Tribo - 1874) [Fig. 1], portraits an Indian resting, and *Prying* (À Espreita - 1875), portraits an Indian fishing. Both pieces have been lost². Celita Vaccani, who studied with Bernardelli in the be-

ginning of the 20th century, recounts that he, already a senior man then, used to describe *Missing the tribe* as an "Indian image he had made, a civilized Indian, using shorts and bare chest, upon which one could perceive a small cross, hanging from a chain, and who was lost in his thoughts, having stopped working while still holding an axe, in order to gaze dreamingly at the horizon"³.

I was able to find both an illustration and an extensive commentary regarding its presentation at the 23rd General Exhibit of Fine Arts, which was signed by Giuseppe Diabolino (probable pseudonym of a journalist or a critic), both were published in *Mephistopheles*, in 1875⁴:

Here it has opened the [annual] exhibition of student's works from the Fine Arts Academy.

This time it is quite abundant, at least quantity wise.

Regarding sculpture we do not have much; nevertheless, it is exactly here that one can find the best work...

We were about to say: the only one.

Oh! Please, authors of other works, do not get offended. We know perfectly well that the demands of the severe critics do not satisfy themselves (illegible) with the piece mentioned as our favorite; but the other works satisfy even less. Therefore, that one is the main one.

It is a statue of human size.

It stands alone, but it is a composition, that solitary figure represents an idea, tells a story, expresses a whole poem.⁵

The author, then, goes on to describe the sculpture:

It is an Indian; he has just finished his job; he is sitting on a stone, resting his weary limbs, he holds his hoe and remembers his land, missing his tribe, from where the catechesis withdrew him in order to admit him within civilized men's Communion: labor!⁶

The sculpture's theme is set, by the author, against the background of the fundamental basis of Brazil's colonization: the catechesis and the labor, seen as forms of civilization. Next, he approaches the sculpture's formal aspect, pointing out the artist's fidelity towards the type represented, since it bears the Indian's race characteristics, but "without a meanness that would harm the subject's greatness, without exaggerating, which would have made it absurd"⁷. Nevertheless, the author does not mention the crucifix hanging from the Indian's neck, something that could lead us to think that Bernardelli had made a mistake, since the cross also appears in a later work, *Paraguaçu* (1908). According to Diabolino's description, in *Missing the tribe*, Bernardelli was probably closer to the treatment given to the figures in Almeida Reis' (1838-1889) contemporary works. For instance,

Paraíba (1866) or the Indian representation at the Monument for Peter I, by Louis Rochet (1813-1878), rather than to Francisco Manoel Chaves Pinheiro's (1822-1884) sculptures. Francisco Manoel Chaves Pinheiro was Bernardelli's master at AIBA. Diabolino does not perceive a link between Bernardelli's representations and Pinheiro's ones even in the ones when the sculptor detached himself from the conventional, like the group *Ubirajara* (without date), from the collection of the Republican Museum (Museu da República), in Rio de Janeiro.

With *Missing the tribe*, Rodolfo Bernardelli reveals himself to be an innovative artist, one that does not follow closely the established conventions. His character is an acculturated native, who misses life at the forest and seems to have not completely adapted to civilization. This image opposes the one depicting the native as sovereign of the jungle, by Rochet, but also the one where he bears the imperial symbols, like the native from the work by Chaves Pinheiro. Bernardelli's Indian, represented in a moment of rest, is concentrated in his personal drama: the fact of missing his ancestral culture. The Indianist theme was retaken by Bernardelli in another work produced months later. *Prying* (1875) or *Indian caught by surprise by a reptile*⁸, as the critic Julio Huelva called it in an article from the *Gazeta de Notícias*, from 1875⁹. According to Huelva, the artist was very accomplished in this work, since he was able to ally two opposing feelings, fear and courage, in the character's expression¹⁰. The Indian fishing, surprised by an animal, should probably have stamped in his face the fright caused by the situation. Once again Bernardelli created a humanized Indian, a figure possessing great expressiveness, something very far away from the official representations of the period.

At the mentioned article, Huelva points out that Bernardelli's work con-

stitutes an individuality, differing from the pieces of such sculptors as Canova (1757-1822), James Pradier (1790-1852) and Jouffroy François (1806-1882), because he preserves "the virgin poetry of our wonderful forests" and he knows "as models, not only the statues of the old Greek school, but also the elastic and robust forms of the savages that still inhabit parts of our lands"¹¹. According to the critic the Indianist theme proposes a new form of representation, one that is distinct from classical tradition. In 1876, Bernardelli was awarded with the Bronze Medal at the Philadelphia International Exhibit, for *Missing the tribe* and *Prying*¹².

In Alfredo Bosi's opinion, from the 1870's onwards, the imperial oligarchies' conservativeness was challenged by a progressivist flow, one that defended the industry and the free labor and desired to turn Brazil into an equal among the great capitalist centers. For them, "the myth of the good savage did not have much to say. It was a symbol of the past, constructed by the Independence culture, and that could only survive as rhetorical subject at schools"¹³. In this context, Bernardelli's first works were tuned to the new scenario. The artist modified the conventional image of the Indian in those works. He is no longer represented in a heroic manner, as Brazil's symbol. On the other hand, those changes are subtle. Specialized critic did not discuss its innovative character, since they were more interested in making comments about the technical quality of the pieces.

Coquettish woman

In 1877, after receiving from AIBA, as prize, a trip abroad, Rodolfo Bernardelli traveled to Europe in order to perfect himself in Rome. There, he produced some of his main pieces connected to religious themes, for instance, *Fabiola* (1878), *Saint Stephen* (1879) and *Christ and the adulterous woman* (1881-1884).

On the other hand, the sculpture *Coquettish woman* [Fig. 2], having an Indianist theme, was produced in 1880¹⁴. This sculpture received a commentary on a sentence passed by AIBA's Sculpture Section, in 1882, regarding the works the artist had sent them, which was signed by Chaves Pinheiro and João Max Mafra:

*This nature size statue is a very beautiful image of a provocative and sensual woman of the American race. Her movement is gracious, the proportions were well observed, the modeling was executed with knowledge. Because of its subject, this statue belongs to the Genre Sculpture, so the Realist School, which has been adopted by the artist, is here acceptable. Nevertheless, if the peregrine talent that conceived and executed it with such gallantry had kept itself connected with the Idealist School, it could have produced a "piece of art"*¹⁵.

As it is noticeable from this official report, *Coquettish woman* is the most praised of Bernardelli's pieces among the professors of the Academy. Nevertheless, although the piece received a daring formal execution, a realist one, its was well accepted because the professors considered it a genre sculpture, a field where certain innovations were allowed.

In that same year, Rodolfo Bernardelli had asked Francisco Villaça for some information on the character *Moema*. His friend gave him, then, the book *Caramuru* (1781), by Santa Rita Durão. He also pointed out that:

*It is an extremely rare book and, besides, it can be very useful for you. The paintings First Mass, Banished and Moema were inspired by it. Lately, it served Mr. Taunay (Son) in order to compose a small poem, which he sent to Carlos Gomes for him to write a Brazilian opera. Regarding the illustrated newspapers and the History of Brazil that you asked me for, I will send them in another postage*¹⁶.

Most probably, Bernardelli was looking for some theme related to the history of Brazil to be used in a future composition. Nevertheless, that year he

did not produce any piece using *Moema* as theme. In order to produce *Coquettish woman* he did paper and clay studies (which are now at the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo - São Paulo State's Pinacoteca)¹⁷ because he wanted to define the woman's body position, giving her a provocative and sinuous character¹⁸.

In 1884, when *Coquettish woman* was presented at the 26th General Exhibit of Fine Arts, the critics specially pointed out the figure's sensuality, as one notices by Nimil's text in the *Gazeta da Tarde* of August, the 24th of 1884:

*That opulent and seductive woman, with round breasts, a lascivious and daring regard, with her body arched upon a tree stem, asking to be adored, provoking sensual feelings that would match the sensuality emanating from her body: that Indian woman, all nude, letting a thousand beauties disclosed, the thousand secrets that she is not afraid of revealing, demands from the visitor all the attention.*¹⁹

Gonzaga Duque essentially notices that the Indian figure in *Coquettish woman* does not present ethnical characteristics²⁰. Besides, in his opinion, her hair is tied up in a too fanciful hairstyle, inadequate for an Indian woman. Her feet should have been flat due to continuous walking and by the exercise of climbing trees. Her hands should have been uncared for, and the muscles tightened from all the activities developed. All these characteristics do not appear. They were not accomplished by the artist. Likewise, according to Gonzaga Duque, Bernardelli, besides breaking away from a coherent representation of the indigenous physical type, creates an overly adorned woman, a caricatured figure. Gonzaga Duque describes *Coquettish woman* as follows:

Besides, Coquettish woman structure is flabby. The body shows flesh softness, a flesh already tired out from the feverish nights of debauch; her smile shows the crimson ointment and the paleness of perversity; her small eyes have the temptation spark of lasciviousness, and her position, supporting herself with both

*hands upon a tree stem that is at her back, thus leaving her whole body upright, remind us of experienced women in the seduction art, who gaze themselves on the mirror, studying provocative attitudes.*²¹

The arguments presented by the critic set *Coquettish woman* as the representation of a prostitute. They stand close to the arguments presented by French critics when Carpeaux's group *The Dance* (1867) appeared and caused controversy. When they were presented to the public, the female images created by the French sculptor caused great controversy and were equally condemned due to their flabby and lascivious bodies, being associated to vulgar women.²²

Taking into consideration Bernardelli's pieces of the period, Celita Vaccani perceives, in this particular sculpture, the one that better shows a reference to French Art, especially to Carpeaux's work: "be it the figure's graciousness and enchantment, be it her modeling and the intense expression of her gaze"²³. The bodies, rendered in a naturalistic way, and the expression on Carpeaux's women's faces may have served as reference for Bernardelli, who probably had the intention of presenting an ordinary woman and not a Venus. Nevertheless, Gonzaga Duque's writings differ very much from the average Brazilian criticism of the period. That criticism, that is our conclusion, considered Bernardelli's sculpture as just a representation of a sensual figure.

In my opinion, *Coquettish woman* may be considered an image that symbolizes the Brazilian nation. Nevertheless, it undoubtedly was closer to Brazil's representations that appeared on the period's humorist magazines, where an Indian wearing a cockade and a feather petticoat is set in extravagant and even ridicule situations behind a context of political criticism. For instance, as we see on Angelo Agostini's drawing published at the *Revista Illustrada*.

Moema, Iracema and the Guarani

Moema (1895) [Fig. 3] is a natural size sculpture, produced five years after Bernardelli assumed the position of director of the National School of Fine Arts. Taking into consideration the sculpture's theme, it can be connected to Victor Meirelle's (1832-1903) very famous painting *Moema* (1866). In 1859, Pedro Américo (1843-1905) had also produced a sketch on the same theme, where the body of the dead Indian woman arrived at the beach, but it was still shown partially covered by water.

According to Luciano Migliaccio, Bernardelli's sculpture has a distinctiveness marked by the composition's form where Moema's figure, in natural size, is set horizontally at the base of the sculpture, as if it were a relief²⁴. In this way, the piece receives a novel treatment, one that takes it away from the frieze conception and asks from the spectator new ways of looking at it.

This work shows a contrast between some parts of the Indian's body, which are treated in a realistic manner, appearing from the water, and other parts, which are not well defined, being immersed under water. That manner of rendering the sculpture reminds us of the artist's contact with Italian contemporary sculpture, especially some of Vincenzo Gemito's (1852-1920) works.

In my opinion and regarding the sculpture's theme, the artist, besides having read the seminal book *Caramuru*, by Santa Rita Durão, may have gotten his inspiration from a poem by Luís Guimarães. Bernardelli's friendship to Guimarães became stronger in Rome, between 1873 and 1880. Back then,

Guimarães was in a diplomatic mission at the Italian capital and had just published his book *Sonetos e Rimas* (Sonnets and Rhymes) (1880). Bernardelli may have chosen the exact moment to be rendered in sculpture from the poem *A voz de Moema* (Moema's Voice), which begins with a citation from one of the most famous extracts from *Caramuru*: "Ah, cruel Diogo!" she said with grief. And without being again seen, she plundered herself into the water"²⁵. In his sculpture it is possible to see that Bernardelli preferred to use the moment when the body of the drowned Indian woman has not completely arrived at the beach. In this way, he throws an intensely dramatic light into the scene²⁶.

On the other hand and according to Vaccani, *Guarani* [Fig. 4], produced for the José de Alencar's Monument opened in 1897, was the bas-relief piece that pleased the artist the most²⁷. That work shows the Aimorés united against Peri. Bernardelli created for it some figures with an accentuated relief and set the characters in several distinct plans. By this he suggested different depths in the composition. The Indians, armed with clubs, or yet, squatted by a bonfire, reveal their ferocity by their face expressions and their attitude. That image contrasts with Iracema's delicacy and gesture, which can be seen represented in another relief by Bernardelli, from the same monument [Fig. 5].

In those works, Bernardelli explores such concepts as savagery and the Portuguese colonist's acceptance, inspired by characters in Brazilian literature.

In the 20th century's first decade, Bernardelli once more dealt with the

Indian representation, specifically with the statuette *Paraguaçu* (1908) [Fig. 6], nowadays belonging to the collection of the National Museum of Fine Arts. As Migliaccio points out, if *Moema* represents a character excluded from the country's formation process, in *Paraguaçu* one can see the adapted savage, someone who will continue the historical process of the country²⁸.

The statuette is part of a group of female figures, all of small format, produced by the artist in different moments of his trajectory. It is not one of the artist's best known pieces. In it, Bernardelli represents the colonized Indian, a character in Santa Rita Durão's book. She holds with natural easiness a rifle, the weapon Caramuru used to surprise the savages. Nevertheless, I believe that Paraguaçu's figure may also express a certain sadness, although she has a determined attitude. Maybe in this mature phase, the artist was re-thinking the images he had previously created.

In conclusion, in this article I tried to point out some aspects concerning the representation of the Indian in the Brazilian art of the 19th century, especially in Rodolfo Bernardelli's works. I tried to show how this sculptor revealed himself to be an innovator, when he produced images, along his trajectory, that dialogue with the period's conventions in sculpture and in painting, either through the approach he chose or through their formal execution.

English version:

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¹SILVA, Maria do Carmo Couto. *A obra Cristo e a mulher adúltera e a formação italiana do escultor Rodolfo Bernardelli*. Dissertation (Masters in History) – Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas. Advisor – PhD Luciano Migliaccio. Campinas, 2005, 271p.

² According to a letter from the painter Francisco Villaça the last one would had been broken. Letter from Francisco Villaça to Rodolfo Bernardelli, Rio de Janeiro, December, 1st, 1877. Arquivo Histórico do Museu Nacional de Belas Artes (Historical Archive of the National Museum of Fine Arts)/Arquivo Pessoal

(Personal Archive) Rodolfo e Henrique Bernardelli. APO 128.

³ VACCANI, Celita. *Rodolfo Bernardelli*. Rio de Janeiro, 1949. p. 55.

⁴ Translator's note: The archaic Portuguese was translated into modern English.

- ⁵ DIAVOLINO, Giuseppe. *Bellas Artes. Me-
phistopheles*. Rio de Janeiro, year 1, n. 32, p.6,
Jan., 1875.
- ⁶ Ibidem
- ⁷ Ibidem. Mine underscore.
- ⁸ This piece is also mentioned, by the same ti-
tle, in an article of the *Jornal do Commercio*.
ACADEMIA de Bellas Artes (exposição)
(Fine Arts Academy - Exhibit). *Jornal do*
Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, year 58, n.106,
p.1, 17 April. 1879. According to Celita Vac-
ciani, this piece must have also portrayed the
figure of an Indian guarding his dominions.
Nevertheless, the title that was given by the
press sheds light on the fact that the Indian is
caught by surprise by the animal, who should
be prying. VACCANI, Op. cit., p. 55.
- ⁹ Pseudonymous of Alfredo Camarate (1840-
1904). Journalist, critic, architect. He came
to Brazil in 1872. *ENCICLOPÉDIA da litera-
tura brasileira*. Afrânio Coutinho; J. Galante de
Sousa (orgs.). São Paulo: Global Editora; Rio
de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional/
DNL; Academia Brasileira de Letras, 2001.
- ¹⁰ HUELVA, Julio. *Bellas Artes. Gazeta de Notí-
cias*. Rio de Janeiro, year 1, n. 12, 13 August,
1875. *Folhetim da Gazeta de Notícias*, p.1.
- ¹¹ Ibidem.
- ¹² DUQUE, Gonzaga. *A arte brasileira*. Campi-
nas: Mercado de Letras, 1995. (Coleção Arte:
Ensaios e Documentos), p.251. We must stress
that the certificate does not show the title of
the pieces that received prizes. The criteria
used by the judges were as follows: artistic
excellence and figure. *Certificado de participação*
na International Exhibition Philadelphia, Filadélfia,
1876. Arquivo Histórico do Museu Nacional
de Belas Artes – Arquivo Pessoal Rodolfo e
Henrique Bernardelli. APO 645.
- ¹³ BOSI, Alfredo. *Dialética da colonização*. São
Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992. p.246-247.
- ¹⁴ The original piece belongs to the collection of
the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes (National
Museum of Fine Arts). A bronze copy is at
the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo (São
Paulo's Estate Pinacoteca).
- ¹⁵ Ibidem. Mine underscore.
- ¹⁶ LETTTER from Francisco Villaça to Rodolfo
Bernardelli, Rio de Janeiro, 14th of July, 1877.
Arquivo Histórico do Museu Nacional de Bel-
las Artes/Arquivo Pessoal de Rodolfo e Hen-
rique Bernardelli. APO 97.
- ¹⁷ The artist's representation of the woman's
body has a clear realistic character in this
clay study. Something that was quite daring
for the period.
- ¹⁸ If we look at a photograph taken back then we
would be tempted to think if maybe Rodolfo
Bernardelli did not intend, with this work, to
provoke the more conservative professors at
the Academy. In that photograph, without
date, and published in Celita Vaccani's book,
Henrique Bernardelli appears dressed as a
monk, carrying a book and contemplating *Co-
quettish woman* clay draft. See it in VACCANI,
Op. cit., p. 80. This image can be compared to
a sentence written on a critic's text back then:
"Saint Anthony, the chaste, would not resist
Coquettish woman". NIMIL. Nas Bellas-Artes.
Gazeta da Tarde. Rio de Janeiro, year 5, n. 199,
27th of August, 1884. p.2). We should remem-
ber that during Henrique's Italian sejour he
produced *Messalina* (1880), a very erotic female
figure, although still within the conventions
of an historic theme.
- ¹⁹ NIMIL. Nas Bellas-Artes. *Gazeta da Tarde*. Rio de
Janeiro, year 5, n.199, 27th of August, 1884. p. 2.
- ²⁰ DUQUE, Gonzaga. *A arte brasileira*. Campi-
nas: Mercado de Letras, 1995. (Coleção Arte:
Ensaios e Documentos). p. 252.
- ²¹ DUQUE, Op. cit., p. 253.
- ²² *The dance* was commanded by an old friend of
Carpeaux's, the architect Garnier and it was
conceived in order to compose, with other
sculptures, the decoration of the Paris' Op-
era. The conservative criticism understood
the piece to lack decorum. They linked the
dancing movement of the piece with the *Can-
can*. In this way, those women were not rep-
resenting bacchantes, but average people who
were dancing in frenzy due to over drinking.
Their bodies looked "used, soft, flaccid and heavy".
WAGNER, Anne M. *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux:
sculptor of the Second Empire*. New Haven: Yale
University Press, 1990. p. 237.
- ²³ VACCANI, Op. cit., p. 79.
- ²⁴ MIGLIACCIO, Luciano. *Moema – Rodolfo Ber-
nardelli*. Speech held at the Pinacoteca do Es-
tado de São Paulo, in May, the 22nd, 2003.
- ²⁵ This poem is at the collection Primeira Parte.
In: GUIMARÃES JÚNIOR, Luiz. *Sonetos e*
rimas: lírica. Preface by Fialho D'Almeida. 3rd.
ed. Lisbon: Liv. Clássica Ed. de A. M. Teixeira,
1914. Available at www.itaucultural.org.br. Ac-
cessed in: 03.25.2004.
- ²⁶ The idea of Moema's body partially immersed
in water could have been inspired by Pedro
Américo's painting. In Bernardelli's sculpture,
the way the artist modeled the woman's body
and the sea waves, which emphasize light
modulations, leads us to establishing a certain
link with the nocturnal scene painted by Pedro
Américo. Guimarães poem also comes to our
mind. This poet most probably was aware of
Pedro Américo's painting, since he had writ-
ten the painter's biography in 1872.
- ²⁷ VACCANI, Op. cit., p. 79.
- ²⁸ MIGLIACCIO, 2003.

Social archaeology: an alternative paradigm to the Anglo-American one¹

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The structuring of the Anglo- American paradigm in Venezuela and social archaeology

Venezuela, as the rest of the Carib-
bean islands, has been, since the 1930's,
a region that has attracted the interest

of researchers, mainly from the east co-
ast of the United States. In fact, Wen-
del Bennet, Alfred Kidder, Cornelius
Osgood and George Howard, from
Yale and Harvard Universities, accom-
plished the first works of research done
in Venezuela, which can be considered
modern archaeology, between 1933 and
1939 (Bennett 1937; Osgood & Howard
1943; Kidder 1944; Cruxent & Rouse
1961; Vargas-Arenas 1988, 1990). By the
end of the 1930's, Irving Rouse, also a
researcher in Yale, began working in
the Caribbean islands, and a decade

later, he begun working in Venezuela
(Cruxent & Rouse 1961).

The eastern establishment, as Patter-
son calls it (1986), has then dominated
Caribbean archaeology up to the point
when it became hegemonic all over the
region. This has not changed so far,
especially in the islands and to some
extent in Central America.

Since the creation of the School of
Anthropology at the Central University
of Venezuela, in the 1950's, research has
begun to be conducted by Venezuelans

coming from that Center. We have, from now on, two tendencies: the first one is composed by researchers who keep using the North-American paradigm, above all the theoretical and methodological approach created by Rouse, based on the description of ceramic styles; the second one is more critical, aimed at analyzing the past's social-historical contexts. It has been influenced by the famous Venezuelan ethnologist Acost Saignes, as well as by European ethnologists, for instance Gordon Childe, Marcel Mauss and Andre Leroy-Gourhan, among others. This same archaeological group follows the theoretical tendencies of James Ford, Evans and Meggers, who share the same theoretical position as Leslie White. These theoretical bases led to the development of an antagonistic scientific orientation that diverges from the hegemonic Rouse paradigm in Venezuela archaeology (Vargas Arenas 1986, 1990).

The social archaeology that has been practiced, since the end of the 1960's (Bate 1989; Vargas & Sanoja 1992; Patterson 1993), by a group of researchers from Latin America (Lumbreras 1974; Sanoja & Vargas 1974; Sanoja 1985; Veloz Maggiolo 1976; Bate 1978; Bate *et al.* 1983, 1984, 1985; Vargas Arenas 1990; López 1990) shares the same theoretical position (Gándara, personal communication), which affirms the existence of an archaeological science of society, its development and transformations, as a subject matter of knowledge, position that is shared among different disciplines of social sciences. Even so, this theoretical position is based, in a very explicitly way, on an ethical posture that implies in assuming a political compromise with the studied society. This compromise presumes, among other things, the practice of an archaeology that goes beyond an action field centered in the past and that tries to analyze the causes that originated the present existing condi-

tions of Latin American societies, the structuring forms and the development of such conditions, and the process of particularization that led each country to be what it is nowadays.

Social archaeology explores novel themes and problems. Novel because they had been left aside by previous research, which had other purposes and that obeyed other political interests. Within these novel propositions the study of daily life stands out. It offers explanations about the daily activities, interpersonal relations, and consuetudinary behavior along distinct periods. It also allows the knowledge of the consuetudinary rupture, when it gets created and altered, during each historical period's transformations. Regarding urban archaeology, we are interested in evaluating the impact caused by capitalism in domestic life (Vargas-Arenas 1994a).

The social archaeologist has, consequently, a compromise that implies in the search of explanations for very present day problems of Latin American countries. By understanding the factors that caused the present social-historical and cultural configurations of Latin America, it is possible to envisage forms of publicizing this collective knowledge.

This way established, social archaeology practice implies in an action by the archaeologist encompassing multiple fields of social life: academic, managing of cultural resources and, mainly, education (Vargas & Sanoja 1990; Sanoja & Vargas 1990). This last field is the essence of social archaeology. Knowledge is not planned for mere contemplative objectives but to be used for social transformation. Such social transformation necessarily requires the existence of a historical consciousness in the collective's mind, knowledge of historical processes, an acceptance of the past as belonging to oneself (Vargas & Sanoja 1990; Vargas & Sanoja 1993; Vargas-Arenas 1994b). In a certain way, it implies in breaking

away from conscience homogenization, which has arisen as paradigm of the capitalist expansion.

Colonial archaeology or archaeology of capitalism?

The archaeological study of the historical process that marks the insertion of native American societies within arising European capitalism allows us to analyze the distinct formations of Latin American national societies, the cultural contents of Creole societies from the 16th century onwards, and the development of the dependence process, which is implicitly connected to the consolidation of peripheral capitalist countries, having as consequence their underdevelopment.

Following this sequence of ideas, we should take into account the Voyages of "Discovery" and the European partaking in what is now Latin America, which were pieces of the mercantile capitalist expansion and an attempt to explore and to accumulate capital - basically precious metals and labor - in order of boasting European development and consumption. Back then, Europe was in need of capital and labor (Gonder Frank 1967; Gonder Frank, Puiggros & Laclau; Losada Aldana 1967).

For positivist archaeology (and, in this case, architects conceived as mere draftsmen), which has been common practice, up till now, in the Caribbean, and specifically in Venezuela, the numerous colonial sites, habitations, cities, monasteries, *mantuanos* houses, government buildings, fortresses, workshops, spaces, popular creativity, social problems and the like, have been approached by the same conceptual and methodological tools used for studying the pre colonial period. Those tools turn societies into styles, types and series, which are valid only for the sake of terminology, used for aesthetic and formal aspects of a cooking jar, for instance the *mayóllica*, or for buildings

(Duarte & Fernández 1980; Duarte & Gasparini 1989; Gasparini 1976).

According to our point of view, the study of colonial or republican archaeological sites cannot be set aside the urban environment context that mediate their development, also from the unequal processes of interchange that characterize the relationship between the so-called first world (past and present), comprised of producers and exporters of manufactured goods, and the peripheral countries, comprised of producers and exporters of raw materials. Archaeology has to and must analyze the results of such unequal interchange, which usually ends up with the eradication of local manufacture processes, incapable of maintaining its competence in face of the industrial production of daily use goods, which are marketed by the mass media (Sanoja & Vargas 1994; Vargas *et al.* 1994; Cunill Grau 1987).

The archaeological research of capitalism (Leone & Potter 1988; Paynter 1988) during the colonial period allows us to analyze the impact provoked by the First Industrial Revolution over the dependent colonial societies. This same archaeology, during the Republic, helps us to begin studying the effects of the Second Industrial Revolution and of industrial capitalism over equally dependent societies, and, finally, to project this view into contemporary society, where a novel cycle of worldwide hegemony deepens the gap that separates the countries of the still called first world and the ones that are still in a “process of development”.

The archaeology of capitalism, of the colonial period or the republican one, is the archaeology of inequality (Paynter & MacGuire 1991), which also manifests itself in the design of urban houses and in the differential consumption of the daily use goods among the people that live in distinct or similar spaces within the same city. Industrial products show an increasing standardization, even though during the second half of the

19th century we seem to have a clear diversification of formal styles. The volume and quality of consumption of industrial goods also become and indicator of its differential use, accordingly with the archaeological site relevance in relation to social classes.

Research projects of the so-called historical or colonial archaeology in Venezuela and in Caribbean, generally, have focused its main academic interest in the excavation of monasteries and churches, archaeological sites that represent the corporative section of the oligarchic social structure. I believe that the reason behind this preference is the fact that the high quantity of *mayólica* use in certain religious buildings gives us a statistics base for defining typologies and chronologies. Nevertheless and at the same time, its value for interpreting the dynamics of the social-economical structure is much more restrained since the church was part of the dominant hegemonic group. On the other hand, church’s structure is also organized in an extremely unequal way, which parallels society’s structure as a whole. Its insertion within the production circuit cannot be considered as representative, for instance, of private and public sites.

In our case, there are several options, which do not use up the existing diversity.

1. Sites inhabited by a domestic group formed by several distinct social classes, where domestic space will be secluded not only according to technical functions that should be accomplished by the pattern of daily life, but also according to distinct cultural and social traditions, shared by the members of the domestic group.
2. Sites inhabited by a domestic group formed by an unique social class, maybe a nuclear family sharing the same social and cultural tradition, while there is an egalitarian social division of labor, needed in order to fulfill daily life goods.

3. Sites that once were the headquarters of an institution of collective services, for instance, a hospital.
4. Sites formed by several distinct social classes, dunghill for a populated center.
5. Sites formed by an unique social class, dunghill for a populated center.
6. Sites that forms an area of production, trade or interchange.

As a result of our research done at the Caracas Project of Urban Archaeology (Vargas *et al.* 1994; Vargas-Arenas 1994b, 1994c, 1994d), we have been able to infer that within the physical organization of the domestic space in Venezuela, and probably also on Eastern Caribbean, there is a linear logic: the spaces closer to the front door are reserved for the exhibition and the fulfillment of social activities by the dominant component of the domestic group. The more distant spaces are reserved for the areas where domestic chores are accomplished, for instance, the processing and cooking of food, the washing of clothes, as well as the sleeping area for the maids and the area for the disposal of the garbage produced by the whole domestic group.

At the sites from the colonial period, and in view of their domestic life having a tendency in being autarchic, the archaeological deposit shows the use, in daily life, of very few imported or exotic goods, especially *mayólica* and liqueur, and very rarely textiles, buttons, metal objects, ritual objects, etc. For instance, the variety of needed chores to fulfill common rituals such as cooking, serving and consuming foods, reveal the use of local Creole manufactured goods.

At sites from the republican period, the diversified consumption of manufactured goods reveals a rising dependence, by the domestic group, of foreign and sometimes exotic manufactured goods. This allows us to identify, at

the archaeological record, more specific functions of the dominant domestic component. For instance, the use of industrially made toys, pharmaceutical objects and products for personal health care, the use of machineries, illumination tools, etc. This helps us identify the impact of and the differences between the First and the Second Industrial Revolutions and their impact on the daily life of the domestic groups and their rupture regarding traditional Creole culture, which led them to a more cosmopolitan way of life.

Type 2 sites may reflect different social situations lived by poor people, be it in social urban spaces, in peasantry villages or in Indian Reductions.

Hospitals and collective care centers, which happen within colonial or republican social structures, are among type 3 sites, designed to help the poor. They represent a kind of domestic group formed by people that share the conjuncture of an unequal social situation, even though this same group is formed by people coming from other groups with diverse social classes, and whose association is needed in order to fulfill the daily chores of the institution's life. In this case, archaeological data tends to present a variety of building and medical materials, cooking vessels, food remains and skeletal human bones, which when put in contrast with textual documentation, provide very significant data on morbidity and on the material conditions of the dispossessed classes' life, either during the colonial period or during the first centuries of the republican period (Vargas *et. al.* 1994).

At type 4 sites, the archaeological re-

cord presents information in series about the evolution of consumerist habits of society in general. Regarding Caracas, the dunghills that were investigated up till now reveal the intrinsic relation between the daily life of urban communities and the capitalist expansion cycles of the 18th and the 19th centuries (Kondratieff 1979; Paynter 1988: 416-417).

In some cases, the dunghills tend to generally show the autarchic character that Creole peasantry communities have assumed during the 18th and the 19th centuries. The use of manufactured goods is profoundly linked to processes of or to domestic cycles of production interchange and consumption, having a small quantity of foreign or exotic goods present.

One can demonstrate the existence of type 5, as it has happened in Caracas and in Cumaná, in sites linked to the great earthquake of 1812. There, we have an overwhelming presence of vessel fragments coming from the same European producer, something that would only be possible if we were dealing with deposits of products for distribution. The presence of this kind of site seems to be mainly linked to structures of the end of the 18th century and of the beginning of the 19th century, associated with economical booms due to Charles III's reforms. Those reforms meant an adjustment of the colonial regime regarding the conditions imposed by Spain due to worldwide capitalism.

Conclusion

It is not possible to search for solutions for the conditions present in Ve-

nezuela if the average citizen ignores or is ashamed of his and her history. It is necessary to count on the existence of a historical conscience that will allow the collectivity to gain the necessary spirit for the accomplishment of common goals. Latin America's social crises are not only economic, but also - and mainly - social and cultural.

Having this panorama in mind it is absolutely necessary to have an archaeological practice that makes sense for the average inhabitant, a practice that will allow him or her to identify himself or herself with the peoples, the individuals, the places and the actions along history and not with tedious and cryptic descriptions of vases, *mayólica* and buildings. On the other hand, social archaeology has the task of reconstructing the commoner's daily life, domestic and public history, in order to produce a significant and unified reading of the historical and cultural heritage.

The archaeology practiced within the Anglo-American paradigm has not, so far, offered to Venezuela - and we would dare to say even in the Caribbean - a positive link between past and present. On the contrary, as a teacher once said: "I do not understand how can I teach history using these things that archaeologists call types, phases and styles. For this reason, it is imperative to develop an alternative paradigm - as is the case of social archaeology - obliged to the ideal of making science and, at the same time, helping to build a fair society".

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¹ Paper for the American Association of Archaeology, Minneapolis, may 1995.

² One of the creators of the Social Latin American Archaeology.

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Historical of the formation of the Neapolitan crib collection that belongs to the Sacred Art Museum of São Paulo though the letters exchanged by Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho

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Introduction

In 1948, Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho decides to acquire a set of Neapolitan crib pieces to be donated to the city of São Paulo. While the donation process was being analyzed in the Local Chamber, Matarazzo could get near the authorities a place to exhibit the pieces: *Galeria Prestes Maia*. On 4 Octo-

ber 1950, the complex was opened to the public. The exhibition turned up to be an important cultural event, over passing all preliminary expectations of the wrapped ones, which contributed for Matarazzo to create the *Museu dos Presépios* in 1951, after a conversation he had with the poet Sérgio Milliet, his wife, Lourdes Milliet, and the journalist Paulo Duarte. The museum worked until 1985 in the *marquise do Parque Ibirapuera* and nowadays is part of MAS¹ collection.

Besides Matarazzo's personal devotion to the crib's cult, this collection must be seen inside his cultural program for the city of São Paulo, once its acquisition occurs at the same time of his initiative of establishing the *Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*. As an

art expert he was and because of his neapolitan origin, Matarazzo knew the artistic importance of the eighteen century Neapolitan cribs and he tried to acquire relevant pieces for his collection.

Despite the relevance of the collection, little was known about its origin. Up to now, all the procedures for this nucleus formation were never known. The main reason for it to happen was the fact that the documentary references of the collection were not joined together in the same place. During preliminary studies, we discover that the letters exchanged between Matarazzo, his lawyer and others involved, were stored in the *Fundação Bienal de São Paulo*, while the rest of the documentation about the collection was situated in MAS archive. Through inquiry of master's degree

entitled *Preservação do Presépio Napolitano do Museu de Arte Sacra de São Paulo: percurso metodológico para a elaboração de um inventário científico*, we putted together and systematized all these informations were. Thus, it was possible to produce a complete study about the historical of the collection, discovering data about pieces acquisition, assemblies, cataloguing, conservation analyses, temporary exhibitions and restorations that we will expose ahead.

1. Letters exchanged for piece's acquisition.

1.1. Scenery

In the middle of 1948, Matarazzo began to exchange some letters² with his lawyer, Renato Pacileo, in Rome, and with his brother-in-law Francesco Caramiello, in Naples, to treat the procedures about to the assembly of the Neapolitan Crib in São Paulo. From the beginning, he demonstrated his intention to donate the set to the local authority.³ For this reason, he expresses in the letters his concern in choosing relevant pieces, carrying out an appropriate assembly, joining and keeping together all documentation about the pieces and acquiring visual and bibliographical references about the subject.

His initial attention was to carry out a scenery similar to the ones produced in the XVIII⁴ century. To do that, Ciccillo thought in producing the crib structure in Italy, especially in Naples, because he believed that only a neapolitan might know and be loyal to the proper models of the time. Firstly, through his brother-in-law Caramiello, he designated the task to Lembo and Allegra.⁵ After the beginning of the works, Caramiello realized that Lembo was a limited knowledge craftsman of limited knowledge and cut him of the post, employing up Menella, an artist, according to Pacileo, no longer expressively in the market.⁶

Even before all pieces being acquired, the scenery began to be projected and constructed in a country house in the region of Tower del Grecco.⁷ Nevertheless, by end of September 1948, Matarazzo decided to drop it out. At this moment, the works were advanced and Pacileo wrote detailing the situation: the sketch in clay,⁸ the project and the detailing plans of the crags assembly were ready, the supporting base was built, it had 14 meters length and 4 meters depth⁹ and the cork to wad the scenery had been already acquired. According to the lawyer, the carpentry service to produce the little houses, the trees production and the painting of the whole scenery were still remaining, which he believed would take at least more forty days.

After being informed about the situation, Ciccillo became surprise. In his letter of 8th October, he expressed he did not know that his plans about the crib had taken concrete dimensions. According to the letters, he did not imagine that Caramiello had begun the works, nor that the dimensions of the crib would reaching 14m x 4m. At this point, we notice a contradiction or a mistake between what he previously wrote and what pointed out this day. Apparently, by calling off the works, we can suppose that he knew about it. Unless he might think the contracted artists were doing only a preliminary study and were not executing the project during the whole period. Even though, the lawyer had already questioned his contradictories information on 28th September:

Poiché nella Sua del 20 Settembre non é ben chiarito se il presepio dev'essere ultimato poi spedito, oppure se si deve inviare in Brasile tutto ciò ch'è pronto al momento [...] Ella appunto, nella Sua, mi scriveva: 'in modo da poter avere io tutte le informazioni per farmi venire qui sia il presepio che il bozzetto', frase che sarebbe un pò in contrasto col Suo ordine di sospendere i lavori.¹⁰

Anyway, it was explicit by the letters that after calculating the costs

involved¹¹ on the Italian production's transportation, Ciccillo had dropped his plans out:

Sono anche molto indeciso a far spedire 28 casse per la sola armatura del presepio, tre quintali per il bozzetto, 12 quintali per il sughero ecc. Quanto pagherò per trasporto e dogana di queste 28 casse. Non sarebbe forse più conveniente che i Sigrì Mennella e Allegra mi facessero un disegno ed una pianta completa con dei suggerimenti per il montaggio ed io trovi qui il personale e materiale necessario.¹²

From this moment on, he changed his strategy and began to defend the idea that the assembly should be carried out in Brazil, following the drawings of Mennella-Allegra, or by other possibilities that might appear during the pieces acquisition.

Another important point, in his decision of discarding the material produced in Naples, was the amount of shepherds that would be necessary to filled out the scenery of 14m x 4m. Pacileo and Caramiello had calculated he would need at least a thousand shepherds. Thinking on economical values, Ciccillo considered, it would be too expensive to produce a crib of such proportions. Even so, the lawyer tried to demonstrate that the quoted quantity was not absurd, supplying as an example Sammartino's crib in Naples. According to him, before the War, this one had around 12 to 14 thousand shepherds distributed in a scene of 12m length and 6m depth.¹³ On the other hand, both Roseo and Giacomini supported the argument that this amount of shepherds was not an exaggeration. Interested in selling their pieces, they kept affirming that it was possible to carry out a relevant crib, putting together the pieces they offered Ciccillo's ones.

From the beginning, Matarazzo had argued that the construction of the scenery should only be carried out by a neapolitan. Even with the possibility to carry out it in Brazil, he supported this position:

...Come già Le ho detto quando parlo di comprare un presepio, intendo dire di comprare diversi pupi, competerà poi all'artista di organizzare la messa in scena del presepio e per questo io avrei desiderato uno specialista che conoscendo usi e costumi sia in condizione di dare vita e movimento ad un'opera del genere. Nonostante il Giacomini e qualche decoratore locale mi garantiscano di poter fare un'opera bella, io ne dubito molto perché penso che solo un napoletano o uno che abbia veramente vissuto in contatto con tale specie di opere d'arte possa costituire ed organizzare un presepio.¹⁴

However, this point of view was not maintained for much time. Some days later, Apollonio, Giacomini's partner and cousin, convinced him that he should carry out a crib "con perfetto spirito napoletano"¹⁵ in Brazil and arguing that if by chance, the result was not pleasing him, then it would be the moment to bring the Italian specialist.

As Pacileo was concerned with the news Ciccillo would produce the scenery in Brazil, he wrote a detailed report about the crib's situation,¹⁶ arguing that to build the structure in Italy¹⁷ would be more prudent and economical. About this subject, he emphasizes the following topics: (1) lack of specialized craftsmen in Brazil experts in this Italian tradition; (2) the facilities of obtaining pieces or eventual accessories might needed to create the scenes if it were built in Italy; (3) the possibility of reusing the material previously acquired (cork and wooden base). Further on, he emphasizes the difficulties what Ciccillo would have in Brazil:¹⁸ (a) lack of proper materials to do eventual aging simulations or pieces; (b) lack of tradition in the restore area and possible lack of good restorers; (c) lack of able professionals to sculpt the scenery and his details (houses, bridges, trees, temple, etc.), to produce the animals and accessory to compose the scenes, to paint the scenery and to do eventual golden details. Yet, from the economical point of view, based on the frustrated attempts (Lembo-Allegra and,

then, Menella-Allegra) and trying to avoid further wastes, he reflected that they must stop with tries and choose a professional who really had knowledge in the area. At this point, he gets in touch with the Roman artist-set designer Giordano Giovannetti¹⁹ and asks him to sketch a drawing to send the Matarazzo.

In reply to what were exposed by the lawyer, Ciccillo explains:²⁰ "...qui c'è tutto il materiale di montaggio necessario e il personale occorrente per il presepio", affirming that there were good professionals able to restore, execute models and sculpt the scenery in the country. For instance, he quoted: "abbiamo dei buoni artigiani e proprio in fabbrica abbiamo una sezione di ceramica artistica diretta dallo scultore De Marchis che potrebbe aiutare moltissimo".²¹ As the possibility of the reusing the material produced in Naples, he was emphatic: "tutto quello che è perduto è perduto nei lavori fatti a Napoli e penso che la perdita non sia molto forte",²² definitely discarding its use or sent to the country. Finally, he concluded that it would be safer to produce everything in São Paulo based on the studies and projects of an Italian specialist, who would come to the country only finish the details, leaving in charge of Pacileo the decision between Mennella²³ and Giovannetti.

So, the lawyer took advantage of the situation to reiterate Giovannetti's ability. However, he tried to show impartiality, explaining the reasons why he gave up Mennella: the difficulty of controlling his work because of distance and the known aspects of his personality.

Even before speaking with Ciccillo, Pacileo looks for Giovannetti and shows him the pieces's photos and the details of the works done in Naples, with the intention that the artist could start the scene's design. Then, the lawyer informed Matarazzo the interest of the artist in carrying out the project was so huge that he had already done

a sketch showing the position of the angels and he had drawn the relief of the landscape. In the beginning, Ciccillo had considered the possibility of the artist still come to Brazil and ride the crib still in 1949. Subsequently, calculating the wrapped costs, he wrote:²⁴ "Vedo che dovrò rinunciare alla collaborazione del Prof. Giovannetti. Le condizioni economiche da lui richieste, se non sono pesanti in se stesse, sono pesanti nel complesso, tenendo conto dell'altre spese fortissime che ho da sostenere".²⁵ At this moment, he decided that the assembly would be carried out in Brazil, based on photographic analyses, on the advices given by Pacileo and on eventual bibliographical found by the Italians who were living in the country.

During the whole discussion about the scenery, Pacileo remained attentive and interested, giving several opinions, suggestions and doing researches about other cribs and its peculiarities. Firstly, after some ideas he exchanged with Roseo, he suggested to Ciccillo to put boca de cena for frontlet closure of the crib. To do that, he indicated two parts of boca de cena that belonged to the altar of the Church of San Felippo Neri in Rome,²⁶ and they were in possession of Roseo at the moment. However, Matarazzo discarded the idea.

As Ciccillo had charged Pacileo to research about the spatial needs to create the crib, he sent him a detailing report about the necessities of the expositive area²⁷ and the possible types and dimensions of the scenery. Based on these studies, he concluded: "ho potuto dedurre che i costruttori del tempo del presepe (artisti ed architetti) hanno realizzato presepi a 'tipo rettangolare' (schizzo N° I) – per noi frontale – ed a 'tipo redondo' (schizzo N° I, in basso) – per noi circolare".²⁸ Taking these two spatial formats as an example, he suggested some solutions. First of all, he informed considering the examples found in Naples and Rome²⁹ and the

magnificence of the XVIII century Royal cribs³⁰ the dimension proposed before, the one of 14m x 4m was not exaggerated.

Besides, he considered four meters depth moderate, suggesting its increase for seven meters, measured in which the landscape would lost its focus and mix in the distance. Another possible solution proposed would be a mixture of the rectangular format with the circular one, creating a sort of square with 18m length and 15m depth. This solution would make possible both frontlet and sides³¹ visions. Still, paying attention to the possibility of choosing the circular scenery type, in which the public might turn around the crib, he suggested it had a diameter of 14m. Nevertheless, he warned about the difficulties to do the sky and an appropriate lighting. Still, remembering of the boca de cena (house tabs), he told that if this model were chosen, it might be putted in the ante-room, working as opening to the crib.

Later on, thinking about the small crib executed by Schettino for the King Ferdinando IV, bought through Roseo, Pacileo suggested that the nativity scene should be putted in the centre of the composition and that there would create a contrast between the aristocratic and the popular Naples in its surround. So, he describes:

*... dividere, come settori artistici, il presepe in TRE PARTI: la parte centrale con il mistero propriamente detto; le altre due parti, quasi a far rilevare il contrasto fra la parte nobile ... della città di Napoli e la parte povera, la prima con la ricostruzione di una grande salone principesco, con l'architettura del tempo, con nell'angolo un piccolo presepe, e ciò a dimostrare le possibilità economiche ... di una parte della popolazione, la seconda con a ricostruzione della "taverna".*³²

When he had considered the quality of the pieces acquired by Cicillo, Pacileo focused on their exhibition, advising him to separate the most important pieces, the ones with recognized

authorship from of the rest, showing them up inside individual shop windows, to allow the public to appreciate their details, which might be not seen in the role scenery composition. He explained that this expositive scheme had been adopted in the Museum of San Martino, in Naples, and in the Monaco's museum.³³

Between the advices gave by Pacileo, we can still detach his worries with the lighting, the effects of light,³⁴ the cataloguing, the preservation and restoration of the pieces and the necessity of producing a publication to promote the collection.

When he had prepared the pieces to be sent, he did a photographic register of all the samples, listing them in an attached report. At this moment, he had the cautious to put a "... un rettangolino bianco, sul quale non ho trascritto il mio numero progressivo, in quanto non so quale sarà il suo criterio finale ...",³⁵ so that, the new cataloguing numbers could be noted on the photographic books³⁶ at the end of the Brazilian cataloguing. Still, he informed that he had written down in red the related number each piece had in the lists. Finally, he advised Cicillo to adopt a sequential and progressive numeration for the whole collection during cataloguing.

When he discussed about the piece's conservation and restoration, he informed that Cicillo would have to make them be cleaned to move its ageing, emphasizing the necessity of a continuous conservation program for the collection. So, he suggested the following preventive cares:

*...vi sarà necessario una continua vigilanza della polvere che potrà togliere con degli aspiravolpere, e quindi inaffiamente (sic) di D.D.T.³⁷ in modo da preservare i costumi e le parti deteriorabili ed in più cospargere (sic) di cera le parti delicate dei "pastori" (Le dirò a suo tempo la ricetta e il modo di applicazione).*³⁸

About the garments restoration, he informed that he had only got old

cloths for the trousers and coats of the shepherds, and he completed, saying it would be difficult to find ancient cloths in the appropriate pattern and colors appropriate to do the dresses. About it, he emphasized:³⁹ "... la stoffa usata per i vestiti per i pastori ha disegni minuti: quindi fiorellini, o altre disegni quali righine, quadratini ecc, che non si trovano facilmente nelle stoffe comuni, dove s'incontrano fiori grossi e disegni che sarebbero sproporzionati confezionando abiti minuscoli".⁴⁰

Finally, according to Cicillo requests, he stated looking up for crib's photos and Naples panoramic sights engravings and joined images to help the Brazilian scenery designer to develop his project. In the beginning, he was informed that the photographer Alinari had a partial photo of San Martino's crib.⁴¹ Then, he could buy some engravings with details of Neapolitan XVIII century urbane life characters, such *venditore di ciambelle, o l'acquaiolo, o venditore di verdure*, among others.⁴² Latter on, he sent eight photos, some of then with details of *Presepe della Certosa di S. Martino*, one about a piece group and others about Leonetti's⁴³ collection, and also sent seven engravings with different city sights.⁴⁴

1.2. Pieces

When Matarazzo begins his plan of assembly a crib in São Paulo, he already had almost two hundred pieces previously acquired in Naples, when Pericle Roseo sold an apartment to his brother Giannicola. These are listed in the second photographic⁴⁵ album and there has 105 shepherds, 34 angels and 54 animals,⁴⁶ as well as some accessories.⁴⁷

Cicillo intended to join other samples to the ones he had in Brazil. Caramiello had already bought 27 more pieces in the Giacomini Gallery⁴⁸ in Rome,⁴⁹ and Lady Elvira Longobardo had sent him another 39 samples. In the

full amount, there were 59 shepherds and seven angels⁵⁰ which had been photographed and filed in the collection Album number 3. Besides these examples, another nine animals and 14 accessories were added up.

On 30 September 1948, Matarazzo wrote his lawyer to inquire and to consult him about two acquisition proposals of some collections had received.⁵¹ At this moment, the gospel on the Neapolitan market about his acquisitions had increased the pieces value. This forced Matarazzo to re-value his ambitions. Thus, there was started a debate about if the collection should be formed under that situation or if it should be better to wait to a propitious moment, when the market situation had returned to normal or when better offers shown up.

Both Caramiello and Pacileo agreed that the most prudent was to wait. On the letter of 28 September, the lawyer informs that Caramiello was spreading away that as the scenery construction were interrupted, so Matarazzo would not need to purchase more samples and he advises Ciccillo to change the pieces acquisition fount to end up with the market scent. A few days later, he wrote:⁵²

... il di Lei pensiero di non eseguire assolutamente l'opera entro il 1949, devo dirLe che non è del tutto errato. La "notizia" corsa sul mercato napoletano del costruendo presepio, da parte Sua, ha fatto salire il prezzo a tutto, inerente al presepio. Ho l'impressione che l'acquisto dei pastori fatto lentamente, e quando si presenta l'occasione propizia per il prezzo, potrà portare un notevole risparmio alla realizzazione generale. [...] Acquistando, perciò, a poco a poco, e senza por limite di tempo, si potrà lo stesso, così mi pare, compiere lo stesso l'opera nell'anno 1949. Si dovrebbe perciò, man mano ch'Ella può averne la possibilità di liquido, fare un fondo qui ed averlo a disposizione per quando si presenta la occasione di comprare qualche pezzo bello ed a poco prezzo. La piazza di Napoli, io per il momento la terrei da parte: il Roseo

ha troppo lavorato l'ambiente e gli animi sono ancora caldi. A Roma, se si dovesse cercare bene, ho l'impressione ch'esistano altri presepi dell'epoca napoletana presso famiglie romane, amanti del precisato presepio settecentesco e che potranno eventualmente avere idea di vendere. Si tener presente che i presepi dell'epoca avevano necessità di molto spazio ed oggi molte famiglie si sono dovute resstringere(sic) in locali più esigui e quindi la impossibilità di mantenere un simile presepio.

Even though, while they were keeping the discussions if the collection should be acquired to short or long term, Pacileo thought it was interesting to know and to value the quality of the pieces offered by Giacomini and Roseo, in order to supply an accurate position. About Giacomini's pieces, he reported they were well-made and very significant, once there were several samples with small dimension, something rare in the market.⁵³ As the ones from Roseo, he affirmed he has seen good pieces, but he believed he had seen the better ones; once Roseo had brought only a few pieces from Naples. In any case, he decided to wait until he could visit the set to give a final report.

However, Matarazzo was encouraged with the possibility of the pieces being easily sent under Gioacomini residence transfer and with the discount in the total amount. Therefore, on 11 November 1948, he told his lawyer the agreement he made with the teacher Apollonio and he requested him to do the procedures for its sending. Pacileo listed 102 shepherds, six angels and 22 animals⁵⁴ in the Album number 4. At this moment, Giacomini supplied details about the set⁵⁵ and informed that, both of the examples and their clothes were originals. Meantime, he never sent a descriptive list of the authors' pieces. This fact caused lots of uncertainty.

It is interesting to emphasize the contradiction in the lawyer's reports about the pieces offered by Giacomini. At a first moment, he attests the collection relevance writing "É un buon materiale

ed é tutto al completo, cioè con le figure di S. Giuseppe e della Madonna, animali ecc., in quanto la persona, che ora lo detiene, lo acquistò a suo tempo de una famiglia napoletana".⁵⁶ Later on, when Giacomini does not report the each shepherd authorship; Pacileo begins to question their quality, asserting:

*Dalle foto, che mi ha rimesso, ho notato degli ottimi pezzi. Da Napoli ho portato tutto un ottimo materiale: ed il Roseo mi consegnerà, eventualmente, dei pezzi scelti. Non pongo la mia attenzione su quelli acquistati dal Giacomini, i di cui pastori potranno far massa nelle parti scure e di controluce del presepe, in quanto l'autenticità degli autori non mi é stata asserita dal Giacomini.*⁵⁷

During the mail exchange about the pieces of Giacomini, there was a relevant passage that brings up the conceptual divergence between Ciccillo and his lawyer on the word "crib". Ciccillo had informed Pacileo that Giacomini had offered him a crib. When the lawyer was valuing the proposal, he warned him that it was not a crib that were offered, but of a collection of crib characters. Nevertheless, Matarazzo explained:⁵⁸ "Tengo a dirLe che quando parlo di presepio incisivamente mi riferisco ai pupi".⁵⁹

After the acquisition of this set, the lawyer was committed with the procedures of their sending. According to the agreement settled on with Giacomini, this one would transport the offered pieces and the other samples acquired by Matarazzo through his residence transfer. In the beginning of January 1949, as the residence transfer was getting near,⁶⁰ Pacileo did the photographic register, the cataloguing list and packed the pieces previously safeguarded with Caramiello and he asked Giacomini to do the same with his samples.

During the pieces' packing at Giacomini's Gallery, a regular visitor, who had learnt about Matarazzo's acquisitions, offered a set of 51 pieces to Marcelo Giacomini. This one did not

want to assume the risks of its acquisition without knowing Matarazzo's desire. Even though, the collector decided to sent them into Giuseppe Giacomini's residence transfer, waiting Ciccillo's decision in the arrival. Pacileo had been invited to see the collection and he sent the following report:

Ho trovato che effettivamente è un gruppo di materiale scelto e, come si soul dire, di primissima scelta. Vi sono in ispecial modo i due "angeli nude", di dimensioni non comuni, e che sono rari sulla piazza, di un ottima fattura: sono del De Viva Angelo. ... Ottimo pure, per eccezionale fattezze, anche la figura del mendicante. Come pure la conservazione e come patina e come costumi di tutti pastori è assai rilevante: vi sono poi, nelle figure di piccola altezza, i cosiddetti "pastori mosca", rifiniture, rare nei pastori di tali dimensioni, perfette.⁶¹

The decision for purchasing this set had brought lots of divergences between Giacomini's brothers and Matarazzo. Giuseppe had negotiated with Ciccillo that the payment of this set would be done in local currency added of interest in the following six months. However, Marcelo had not been in touch with this agreement and he was thinking to receive the proposed sum in Lyres. How, at the moment of the payment, there were exchange differences and none of the brothers wanted to deal at losses, so they broke with their word and demanded that the payment was done in Italian currency. This position made Ciccillo cancel the acquisition another group composed by two shepherds and a "caprone"⁶² proposal by them. The images of 51 pieces set were placed the Album number 1 and they have 44 shepherds, three angels and four animals.

At he same time, Ciccillo had received Giuseppe Giacomini proposal, Roseo also offered him three sets. The first one was a terracotta group done by Sanmartino in which five dogs were attacking a deer.⁶³ The second one was a small crib done by Schettino for the king Ferdinando IV which was given

to his executive chief, the marquis of Bisignano. This set had the peculiarity of having being installed inside another crib, as Pacileo had described:⁶⁴ "Tale piccolo presepietto fu sistemato, nell'annata (nella gara consueta che avveniva fra i gentilizi napolitani) nel grande presepe della stessa famiglia: v'era rappresentato un grande salone di una casa principesca nel quale era stato allestito un presepietto. Così si aveva un Presepe nel presepe".⁶⁵

The third and last one was part of Giusso Duke's crib.⁶⁶ All the offered samples were safeguarded in the Istituto dei Ciechi di Napoli. Pacileo waited his travel to Naples to supply a precise report to Ciccillo, once Roseo had only shown him some pieces. When he saw the pieces it informed:⁶⁷ "In verità, Le debbo dire che si tratta di un prezioso materiale..." and completed ahead: "Le posso con sicura feremezza dire che si tratta di materiale 'ottimo'. Alcuni di quei pastori li ho visti riprodotti in una pubblicazione tedesca,⁶⁸ e ciò per l'autenticità d'arte e di autore". In the beginning, Ciccillo was not inclined in buying these sets, because he was financing several projects. However, the possibility of dividing the rates in several months let him decide for their acquisition on 7 February 1949. When the pieces were transferred to Rome, the lawyer catalogued them and annexed the photos on the Album number 5. At this moment, he quantified their content: 78 shepherds, 38 angels, 68 animals and 128 accessories.⁶⁹

During the negotiation for the acquisition of the above-mentioned pieces, Pacileo would discover that Ciccillo had bought a Moors' band together with the pieces he first purchased from Roseo and that this band was not handed out. This discussion begins when Roseo tells the lawyer that there was a band with fine instruments,⁷⁰ between the shepherds sent to Brazil. Intrigued, Pacileo writes on 31 December 1948:

A proposito, io vorrei sapere da Lei (nel caso sarò costretto a fare una indagine presso Elvira Longobardi) se Giannicola possiede dei pastori a casa sua. Difatti il Roseo mi diceva che ad Elvira ha venduto a suo tempo dei pastori di ottima fattura (ed esempio mi parla di una figura che rappresenta um brigante e poi di due complessi bandistici, che non ho scorto nelle foto rimessemi, e di altre figure) ma non ha mai saputo, perché una volta era citato il nome del Giannicola ed altra volta era citato il Suo nome quali compratori, a chi era destinato effettivamente tale materiale.

Ciccillo answered that Giannicola had acquired him some pieces, but neither him nor his brother had the described examples. Later on, during Pacileo's searching for photographic planks,⁷¹ he found with the photographer Alinari a photo of a Moors' band. When he shown it to Roseo, he confirmed that this was the band he said he had sold to Matarazzo.

However, he informed he would solve the question when he went to Naples and he could check into his archives lists which pieces were actually negotiated. Some months later, When Roseo was passing by the Blind men institute, he discovered that during the pieces transport, the in charge of the service had forgotten one of the boxes, leaving it in a corner of the institute. These examples were handed to Pacileo, that listed their photos on the Album number 5, between the numbers 167 and 185.

During the sending procedures of last pieces acquired from Roseo, Pacileo gets in touch with some new cribs offers and he informs Ciccillo about four possible acquisition options.⁷² The first one was a group composed by 72 pieces that belongs to Aloisi Carlo, the Spain consul in Rome. The second one would be a crib assembled on a base of 9m x 4 m, that was part of the Gatti-Farina collection.⁷³ Another possibility would be a group of 28 pieces that were being sold because of a inheritance share. Finally, there were notices about the avail-

ability of another part of the Giusso duke's crib.⁷⁴

On 30 August 1949, Ciccillo decided for the first offer constituted by 68 shepherds and four animals. At this moment, he reinforced he wanted the lawyer to get with the collector a detailed list to avoid problems like the ones that happened with the group sold by Giacomini.⁷⁵ About this set, Pacileo had previously written to him: "... compresi due cammelli:⁷⁶ di questi una ventina sono di dimensioni piccoli, molto belli e che possono stare vicino a quei pastori di cui Le ho parlato prima circa il presepe del Bisignano, gli altri della dimensione normale di cui una trentina di seconda scelta".⁷⁷ Nevertheless, when Matarazzo received them, he did not show the same enthusiasm, emphasizing: "i due cammelli inviati sono modernissimi e fatti di pasta di carta, stampati, ed ogni modo serviranno ugualmente".⁷⁸ All the samples were registered in the Album number 6 and sent together with the pieces acquired from Roseo.

Despite the fact these last ones had been bought in February, they had not been sent until to end of August because of bureaucratic subjects. Originally, Ciccillo considered the hypothesis of the pieces came in his brothers luggage, but Pacileo alerted him that at the moment the Italian authorities were doing a rigorous vigilance in their cultural inheritance and they would not allow them to exit the country.⁷⁹

As a solution, the lawyer proposed⁸⁰ their sending by including them in some residence transfer,⁸¹ like it was previously done with Giacomini, and he informed he knew a lady (family Manguzzi) that would transfer her residence in May. However, when Pacileo was deal the subject with the family, there was no longer the possibility to include anything on the box, once they had already inspected and closed up.

So, while Pacileo was looking for another family that would move to Bra-

zil, Ciccillo was investigating the legal procedures to import the material. On 5 September, the lawyer was informed that the wife of the sculptor De Marchis⁸² would transfer her residence to Brazil. As all the pieces were already packed, including those ones of the last acquisition, Pacileo was managed to insert them at time into the family belongings and they were shipped in the Neride vessel on 31 October.

In the middle of December, the boxes arrived in Brazil and when they were opened, someone noted that the famous Group of Sanmartino, the one with dogs attacking the deer, was broken. When Ciccillo asked the lawyer the value of the set to be refunded by the insurance company and to carry out its restore,⁸³ he questioned the packing quality. In his answer, Pacileo guaranteed that the pieces were packed following all the necessary recommendations and explained:⁸⁴

*Le confermo, in verità, che fu tenuto nel massimo conto ogni cautela tecnica intesa ad evitare rotture di qualsiasi genere a ciascun pezzo immesso nei bauli. Le dirò che particolare cura, poi, dato il suo grande pregio artistico, fu usata nell'imballaggio del gruppo di Sammartino che, richiuso a perfetta tenuta d'aria nella apposita campana di vetro, fu collocato ad angolo nel baule, dopo aver lungamente studiato la migliore posizione e tutti gli accorgimenti possibili per la sua incolumità. Nell'interno, poi, della campana, ogni pezzo del gruppo è stato accuratamente avvolto ed isolato da altro pezzo, anche accuratamente avvolto: il tutto poi protetto dalla campana di vetro. Ora, io mi domando se non si è rotta la campana di vetro, ad un eventuale urto, come poteva rompersi il contenuto?*⁸⁵

1.3. Bibliography about the crib

Because of his intention in creating a support center to the crib, Matarazzo asked Pacileo to acquire bibliographical references. His intention was to form a library⁸⁶ to stimulate the divulgation and the studies on the subject.

The lawyer, who previously had got in touch with the crib literature in some readings on the libraries,⁸⁷ had difficulty in buying publications on the market. Most of the books had their extinguish t his finished publications and few titles were published in between and post-war period. Through these facts, he got in touch with publishers, hopeless of getting some example that might had been left behind by chance, and also asked the booksellers to be informed if some title came out. Still, on the letter of 2 January 1949 letter, he mentioned to Ciccillo his intention in getting in touch with collectors and researchers to obtain information or do copies of their titles, because he had been informed that Benedetto Croce and Michele Galdieri had relevant books.

While a conversation with Roseo, the lawyer mentioned his search for bibliographical references. This one informed him that there were several titles in the library of apartment he sold the Giannicola, once he was intending to produce an essay on the subject in the past. When Ciccillo was inquired about it, he affirmed that he had not found anyone of these books. Anyway, Roseo kept affirming it.

A few months latter, Pacileo sent a detailed report⁸⁸ when Ciccillo asked a description on the development of his search. As he informed, up to that moment, he had got only the following publications: *Storia del Presepe*, de Angelo Stefanucci,⁸⁹ published in 1944, *Trecani*⁹⁰ Encyclopedea and some papers copies taken in some libraries, but he told he had not had time to copy them fully. Then, he mentioned that he had got in touch with the teacher Fausto Nicolini,⁹¹ who told him he was preparing a monograph, but he had no publication perspective.

This one offered him a copy of the study published in the *Atti dell'Accademia Pontiniana*, an essay published in a newspaper,⁹² and in-

formed him about an article written in the “Secolo XX” magazine. Yet, the lawyer talked to Benedetto Croce’s friend who assured him the senator had not any example on the subject.

On 20 October, Pacileo sent through Pietromarchi count a typed⁹³ copy of two examples: (1) *Cenni Storici sul Presepe* de Antonio Perone⁹⁴ and (2) *Il Presepe Napoletano* de Fausto Nicolini.⁹⁵ This would be the last sent material. On May 1950, the lawyer did a general summary of the previous acquisitions, to finish his contribution on the task.

2. Peculiarities of the collection history after its arrival in Brazil

Matarazzo decided to begin the works of cataloguing and restoration even before all the examples arrives and he invited Lourdes Milliet to coordinate them. So, on 22 August 1949, the team was formed and the works were divided: Lourdes Milliet was in charge of the collection conservation, Evarista Ferraz Salles was responsible for the restoration and Bruna Becherucci was in the control of the pieces cataloguing.

As there were some pieces that have not arrive yet, they decided to begin the assembly and the preparation of the scenery [Fig. 1], at the same time they were cataloguing to move on the works. So, the set designer Tullio Costa [Fig. 2] was hired to develop and to coordinate the architectural and environmental shape of the crib. His creation was based on images and on reports about the architecture and the customs of the time.

All the accessories needed to compose the scenery were produced by Ítalo Bianchi and Evarista Ferraz Salles and the miniatures, by André Aguirre and Antonio Longo. Besides Milliet, Salles and the set designers, Tullio Costa and Ítalo Bianchi, the students Hugo de Mello, Norbeto Morais Leme and Luis Contrera helped in the assembly.

On 4 October 1950, the set was exhibited to the public in Prestes Maia Gallery. In spite of the intense afflux of visitors and of the outcomes that the Crib Napolitano allowed, the town hall asked for the space eleven months after its inauguration to install the escalators in the gallery. So, in December 1951, the set was disassembled and the pieces again deposited in Matarazzo Metal work Factory, where they remained safeguarded for more five years waiting for the municipal decision.

On 19 November 1956, in the Wladimir of Toledo Piza management, the law number 5.083 authorized the town hall to receive the Neapolitan Crib donation.

Under Matarazzo influence, who was the president of the Commission for the Festivities of the Centenary IV, the museum could use the ancient “Pavilhão do Folclore”, situated in the “Marquise do Parque Ibirapuera”. In fact, the place became a big deposit to shelter the boxes. As the town hall did not dispose resources for its establishment and maintenance, the whole space remained without furnishes or divisions.

In January 1965, Matarazzo tried a new strategy near the town hall to finally organize the museum. Through the trade 1.309/65, he offered the project of “Exposição Internacional de Presépios”,⁹⁶ which there were proposed to him in the end of the previous year. This exhibition was organized by Angelo Stefanucci, the curator of another nine similar displays, produced between 1950 and 1959, in Italy and in Spain.

The exhibition presumed the assembly of 18 rooms with several world-wide crib centers successively exposed, with the intention of attracting researchers and the public in general. According to Matarazzo’s proposal, he would buy and would donate all the samples to the local authority, if the town hall financed the assembly (installations, production

and transportation of the pieces) and disposed an appropriate and definite place to exhibit them. If the local authority preferred to acquire the set, he would be committed in financing the assembly. However, neither the town hall, represented by Francisco Prestes Maia, nor the state, governed by Carlos Alberto de Carvalho Pinto, had the interest in supporting the event.

On 2 July 1970, Paul Zingg, the Secretary of Education and Culture, sent a trade (177/70) to Luis Arrôbas Martins, the Secretary of the Treasure of São Paulo, letting the “Museu dos Presépios” available to the “Museu de Arte Sacra” from that moment on. The legal transfer took place some months later, on 20th October, and the museum was opened to a public [Fig. 3] on 27 November 1970.

Even though, the museum remained handed to the disregard of the authorities and to the shortage resource, once they were now shared with MAS. The money got with the ticket office and with the sale of the pennants and slides, that should be used in benefited the museum, had to be sent to other sectors of the state.

Matarazzo was very upset with the courses his donation had taken, but he still proposed to MAS director to do a report pointing what was need for both museums fully develop their activities. He would negotiate with the authorities the situation. He was also interested on financing the necessary benefits. Nevertheless, besides the Museum Council deciding on behalf of Ciccillo’s proposal, the director did not accept his intervention.

In 1973, Milliet was retired and her post was occupied by Ilza das Neves, who was working for two years in the institution. She tried to follow the path supported by Milliet, but the difficulties would remain the same.

Knowing the constant problems the museum had, Matarazzo had ques-

tioned the return of the set to the town hall, complaining the lack of interest of the public authorities. Some days before his death, he spelled a letter expressing his disappointment, and in a passage he sets his annoyance out:

...preocupo-me muito com o Museu dos Presépios e o seu atual imobilismo. Afora os conjuntos que doe, e mais algumas aquisições oficiais posteriormente efetuadas, nada mais se fez por ele. Penso que, se tivesse uma autonomia autêntica, desvinculada do Museu de Arte Sacra, ganharia dinamismo e extensão, podendo realizar ao que se propõe no incentivo e (sic) propagação da arte presepiста.⁹⁷

In a last impulse, Matarazzo brought together some friends and created the “Associação Brasileira Amigos do Presépio”. The official ceremony happened on 4 October 1976.

Even with its lack of resource, the “Museu dos Presépios” had been opened for 15 years in the “Marquise”. The public interest was enormous and the visitors’ increased every year. In the year of its inauguration the visitors’ number was 5.427 persons, four years later it was 24.303, two years before its closure it was reaching almost 60 thousand and in 1985, even being opened for three months it had 11.156 ** visitors.⁹⁸

Besides the lack of allowances, the “Museu dos presépios” faced a problem even more complex: he got state allowances, but was using a municipal building. This made unavailable urgent structural repairs in the building. Since the Ibirapuera’s buildings were putted up, they were having several problems of infiltration, plumbing, insects infestation because of the fastness of their construction to the festivities of the IV Centenary of the city.

On 27 March 1985, IPT was called to check the museum⁹⁹ building structure, especially in what concerns the xylophages insects infestation. There was obvious the building insalubrities and the awful installations of museum,

which were putting in risk the collection, the staff members and the public. As a result, the museum was closed to in March, and the whole material was packed between 16 and 17 December of the same year.

When the pieces arrived at MAS on 27 December, they were safeguarded in a place lent by the sisters inside “Mosteiro da Luz” corridors. Despite the fact of the staffs recommendations that the pieces should not remain inside the box for a long time, specially those ones which were attacked by mould and insects, they would stay a long period at this situation.¹⁰⁰ [Fig. 4]

Since the museum was closed, there were always news about it would return soon to Ibirapuera after the “Marquise” was restructured. However, this had never happened. There some displays during Christmas time, the years the pieces remained packed into boxes. The biggest of these productions happened in “Pavilhão Manuel da Nóbrega” at “Parque do Ibirapuera” with the Neapolitan crib reassembly. [Fig. 5]

Instead of being shown through isolated groups as the previous years, the crib was reinserted in his ancient scenery¹⁰¹ after some scenographical adaptations made by José de Anchieta. Another twenty cribs were also exhibited in this display.

At the end of 1997, “Museu dos Presépios” was finally reopened to the public and it was placed in ancient residence of the chaplain,¹⁰² in the “Monastério da Luz” itself. At this moment, the press published that a definite place was being prepared in the Monastery cave to install the Neapolitan crib.¹⁰³

At the same time they were reforming the building, the studies for the reassembly of the Neapolitan Crib had began in the beginning of 1998. The project was a partnership between “Sociedade dos Amigos do Museu” the private enterprise through the “Lei de Incentivo à Cultura”.

Since the Neapolitan Crib Napolitano had been fully exposed in 1996 at Ibirapuera, no other complete assembly was done. Through the years that the scenery designed by Tullio Costa was deposited inside the “Marquise”, he suffered degradations caused from the constant water leaks, rodents and insects attacks and the decomposition of some of their materials. During Pavilhão Manoel da Nóbrega assembly, it was re-used and some of their parts recovered. It is important to point out that the scenery was not restored but reformed. Thus, several materials were used (lots of them low quality materials) without the preoccupation with its durability or eventual residual effects on the structure [Fig. 6].

After the disassembly of the exhibition at Pavilhão Manuel da Nóbrega, the pieces were packed into boxes and the scenery remained some months there. During the period it had been left there, it suffered more damages. In June 1997, he was dismantle and dismembered, some of them were conditioned in the MAS Technical Reserve and other parts were left in the transportation company deposit.¹⁰⁴ Since the scenery had been created, it had non-recommending materials from Conservation Science view, such as conglomerate, compensate, eucatex, iron, besides organic matter (mosses, foliage, etc.).¹⁰⁵ The situation had had been aggravated by its restructuring in 1996. Since part of its material was decomposing and emanating awful gases, the conservation staff together with the directorship of MAS have decided to throw it away. So, the studies for its new assembly have begun. According to the preventive conservation concepts, laboratorial tests were carried out at CECOR to choose possible scenographical materials. At this moment, the worry was to find inert materials or materials with lower migration or emission rates of awful compounds, so that they would

not aggravate the pieces deterioration state, specially the cloths.¹⁰⁶

At the same time chemical analyses were done, others works were being carried out. The scenographic volumes were studied by the set designer Silvio Galvão [Fig7] and by museum staff through use of pieces photos

and models. At the end of the whole project, the new assembly could assure the stability of the collection conservation conditions and the Neapolitan crib was finally open to the public on 18 December 1999 [Fig. 8].

However, this assembly did not take into account an appropriate philological

reconstitution of the scenes the crib is composed from the historical perspective,¹⁰⁷ and the current doctor project entitled *Neapolitan Crib of the Sacred art Museum of São Paulo: expography and attributions* intends to bring this discussion up.

Translation:

¹ Museu de Arte Sacra de São Paulo (Sacred Art Museum of São Paulo).

² They begin on 28 September 1948 and finish on 17 May 1950. Nevertheless, the conversations between Ciccillo and his lawyer are previous from this date. The letter sent on 28 September is an answer to a letter sent by Ciccillo on the 20th. However, it was not possible to find out any previous letter to September. There are still some subsequent letters to 1950, in which Matarazzo makes contact with some international institutions (Sociación de Pesebristas de Barcelona, Associazione Italiana Amici del Presepio e Girard Foundation), trying to find out information and bibliographical references about the cribs.

³ That is shown up on 30 September 1948 letter, when he writes to the lawyer: “Come Lei si ricorda io ho sempre l’idea di formare qui in San Paolo, a scopo di beneficenza, un grande presepe napoletano da esporre al pubblico”.

⁴ When he refers in the letters that he wanted to do a scenery closed to the ones of the XVIII century, he was definitely thinking on the museums scenes he knew, which reflects a interpretation of the century XX.

⁵ In the second page of the letter sent on 25 October 1948, Pacileo affirms that Allegra was a decorator.

⁶ Information supported on the 25th October 1948 letter.

⁷ According to Pacileo, initially they might think in carrying out the construction in Resin. However, this hypothesis was discarded because of some difficulties there. At a second moment, Caramiello contemplated the possibility of using Villa Matarazzo, but, for some reason not set out by Pacileo, this suggestion was given up. Finally, they decided for Torre del Grecco.

⁸ The sketch had 2 m length, 60 cm depth and it weighed around 300 Kg. Because of the costs involved in sending the model to Brazil, Pacileo suggested that a plaster copy might be done. Still, he recommended that Caramiello sent a photo to Ciccillo, so that he could be able to follow the work in process.

However, we do not know if that was done, since we did not found any other reference

about it, neither in his mail, nor in the MAS archive.

⁹ These dimensions were based on the cribs setted in Naples, specially the SanMartino Museum’s one and the one of the Via do Imperio, in Rome.

¹⁰ Letter sent by the lawyer Renato Pacileo on the 28th September 1948.

¹¹ It is good to remember that, Ciccillo also was financing his initiative of establishing the MAM in Sao Paulo. He reports in his letter on 10th November 1948: “Il fatto principale che mi spinge a chiedere una dilazione nei pagamenti eventuali é che io sono il finanziatore del Museo di Arte Moderna che ho lanciato a S. Paulo circa sei mesi fa. Da preventivi fatti questo Museo mi costerà l’anno venturo da 14 a 15 milioni di lire al cambio odiermo, se non di più”.

¹² Letter sent to Pacileo by Matarazzo on 8 October 1948.

¹³ In 25 October 1948, the lawyer reports that during a conversation about Sammartino’s crib, Roseo had told him that several pieces were not used in its reconstruction after the war, so much were the amount of pieces.

¹⁴ Letter sent on 9th November 1948

¹⁵ Letterwrote by Matarazzo on 11 November 1948.

¹⁶ Report sent on 9th December 1948.

¹⁷ In 1949, after knowing Ciccilo’s plans, Roseo warns: “Ho sentito ventilare che vorrà far costituire il Presepe in Brasile. Grave errore! Per certe espressioni di arte non si può trascurare l’ambiente, il suo phatos, la tradizione che germoglia ancora nel sangue degli artigiani che la covano loro sollisanno concepirla. In ogni modo: buon successo!”

¹⁸ This part of the letter demonstrates the total prejudice and ignorance into the brasilian resources by Pacileo. In what concerns the restore, we can partly agree with the lawyer, once, there was no a solid tradition in this field at that moment. There were some few scholars who would subsequently drive the first directives of the area.

¹⁹ According to Pacileo, Giovanetti was able to carry out the crib scenary, once he was a researcher in Barroque and its architecture.

²⁰ Letter sent on 20 December 1948.

²¹ Ibidem.

²² Ibidem.

²³ Several times, Pacileo comments that Menella had not a good temper and Ciccillo also makes comments about it on this letter.

²⁴ Letter sent on the 22th February 1949.

²⁵ Matarazzo was referring to the expenses with the assembly of the MAM.

²⁶ According to Pacileo, on his letter of 9 December 1948, this boca de cena had been idealized by Bernini. Subsequently, on 20 January 1949, he added more informations telling Roseo had used part of the arch beam to compose a dining room of the XVIII century and he had sold two bases to someone, remaining those two parts of the boca de cena and some head of angels that, were signed to a shop in Rome at that moment.

²⁷ He was worried in describing the architectural design of the space, commenting the necessity of the existence of an ante-room with bathrooms, shop and the administration and suggesting the installation of a coffee-shop so that the public could have one place to rest.

²⁸ Letter sent on 22th Januray 1949.

²⁹ When it mentions Naples, he refers to the Crib of Sammartino and in Rome, to the one of Empire Road.

³⁰ At this moment, he refers to the importance given to the cribs that time and how their dimensions were important. For incense, he describes the most imposing crib of the time, Carlos III’s crib, telling that it used to take many rooms.

³¹ The first assemble executed by Tullio Costa follow a similar model in a small proportions, once it supplies both frontlet and side view of crib.

³² Letter sent by Pacileo on 7 July 1949.

³³ Informations got on the letter sent on 20 September 1949.

³⁴ He pays attention to the fact that many cribs (including the one of the Road of the Empire) do not have great impact because of the lack of lighting study, once important pieces are putted against the light, which made them lose

their tridimensional aspect. So, he informs on the letter of 9 December 1948 that he had asked Giovannetti to provide a study with three different effects of lighting: day, sunset and night.

³⁵ Letter set on 16th January 1949.

³⁶ This would never be done and beside the photos we find several numbers referring to their different cataloguing.

³⁷ We can suppose what this poison was applied in the pieces. This information is very important for everybody who get in touch with the pieces (restorers or not), once it has a high residual power, offering a serious intoxication risk.

³⁸ Information found on the letter of 9th December 1948.

³⁹ Letter sent on 28th September 1949.

⁴⁰ This information was not considered during the garments restore. Rude cloths placed slight details. This is explicit when we compare the photos done in Italy, before the pieces being shipped, with the ones attached in the files that were taken away before the crib's first exhibition, after its "restore" in 1949-50.

⁴¹ Letter sent on 2nd January 1949.

⁴² Letter sent on 16th January 1949.

⁴³ Letter sent on 28th January 1949.

⁴⁴ Letter sent on 20th September 1949.

⁴⁵ There are six photographic albums in the museum archive with photos taken in Italy before the pieces were sent to Brazil. Each one of them belongs to a specific negotiation and not to a particular collection, once in some albums more than one collection was joined together and sold by the same person.

⁴⁶ This amount was given by Pacileo on 2 December 1948.

⁴⁷ Analyzing Album 2 samples list,, we checked the amount indicated by the lawyer and we discovered 36 accessories that were not listed by him.

⁴⁸ This gallery belongs to Marcelo Giacomini, Giuseppe Saverio Giacomini's brother.

⁴⁹ Information found on the letter sent by the lawyer on 16 January 1949.

⁵⁰ Dates found on the letter sent by Pacileo on 2 December 1948.

⁵¹ Giacomini offered a crib and Roseo three different collections.

⁵² Letter sent to Cicillo on 18th October 1948.

⁵³ According to Pacileo, the small dimension samples rarity is based on the lack of physical space in the residences (decade of 50). That is the reason why the families that had those cribs prefer to keep with them only the small samples and to sell only the bigger ones.

⁵⁴ Quantity found on the letter sent on 2 December 1948.

⁵⁵ Letter sent to Matarazzo by Giuseppe Saverio Giacomini on 2nd November 1948.

⁵⁶ Part of the letter sent on 29th October 1948.

⁵⁷ It was reported on 31 December 1948.

⁵⁸ Letter sent to Pacileo by Matarazzo on 9th November 1948.

⁵⁹ This conceptual divergence could have been one of the causes about Cicillo's surprise when he received the scenery building report by the end of September. Perhaps, when he treated the assembly, he was not imagining the accomplishment of the scenery, but only the acquisition of the pieces, design projects and sketch of the scene ambience.

⁶⁰ The pieces were shipped to Brazil on 20 January.

⁶¹ Letter sent to Cicillo on 29 January 1949.

⁶² Marcelo Giacomini left this group in his brother custody during his residence transfer.

⁶³ According to the reports, this was an unique piece done for the king Ferdinando di Borbone, when Sanmartino was designated as a sculptor for Real Factory of Capodimonte. Such a group was preserved inside a glass shop window.

⁶⁴ Letter sent on 7th July 1949.

⁶⁵ When Pacileo suggested Cicillo to remake this scene in the Brazilian crib's assembly, he talked to Roseo about possibility of acquiring the Our Lady and Saint Joseph, once they were not in the set. Roseo had told him that these pieces belonged to a nun, but he might try to get them.

⁶⁶ Giusso duke was the queen's nephew.

⁶⁷ Letter sent on 9th December 1948.

⁶⁸ Pacileo would again talk about this publication when he was searching for bibliographical references (letter sent on 20th September 1949).

⁶⁹ Datas got on the letter sent by Pacileo on 7 July 1949.

⁷⁰ Letter wrote by Pacileo em 9 December 1948.

⁷¹ Letter sent on 16 January 1949.

⁷² Proposals listed on the letter sent on 9 August 1949.

⁷³ The lawyer informed that the set was composed by 316 shepherds, 202 animals (including rare animals in the market, like parrots, buffaloes, elephant), 42 silverware and 282 other objects. Still, he mentioned that Sanmartino was the authorship of Sacred Family and the group of angels was superior to the one of San Martino Museum in Naples and that this one had been designed by Fischetti.

⁷⁴ Cicillo had already acquired recently a part of this crib with his last negation with Roseo.

⁷⁵ Matarazzo had reinforced the necessity of having such informations, once he would donate the set to the local authority, se he wrote to the lawyer: "Dato que ho quasi la completa certezza chei di questo presepio farò una donazione al Municipio di S.Paolo, ho bisogno di presentare una documentazione seria pertanto La peigo di raccogliermi tutti i dati sia di questo gruppo ora comprato, e sia dei pastori comprati dal Giacomin.".

⁷⁶ Matarazzo had previously reported to Pacileo his wish in acquiring exotic animals.

⁷⁷ Letter sent on 7 July 1949.

⁷⁸ Letter sent by Matarazzo on 16 December 1949.

⁷⁹ According to Pacileo, the Ministry of Artistic Goods sometime ago had allowed a collection to be sent to North America. So, he did not believe they were going to allow a new one.

⁸⁰ It was proposed on his letter sent on 30 April 1949.

⁸¹ According to Italian laws, a person who was transferring his residence was allowed to take with him all his belongings without having to pay customs taxes or get special permissions.

⁸² This sculptor was uncharged of the artistic ceramic sector of Matarazzo's factory.

⁸³ We do not know if the restore it of this piece was done, as soon as there are not documentation about it in the archives. If it were done, it probably remained with Cicillo.

⁸⁴ Letter sent on 29 December 1949.

⁸⁵ Cicillo did not supply any information if the glass shop window had been broken or not, only saying that the pieces were broken. Therefore, how the lawyer could affirm such fact? In fact, Pacileo's report was not clarifying. There was a doubt if the set shattered because of the bad packing or it was caused by the handling during the opening of the boxes. Besides, he did not set out how they were positioned inside the shop window, only saying that they were protected by the shop window. Would not it be the accident cause? Once to be inside a glass shop window is a risk factor during the transport and not a protection, as the lawyer asserts.

⁸⁶ As it seems to be, this project was not implemented, once there is no further information about it in the archives.

⁸⁷ On his letter of 2 December 1948, even before Cicillo request he wanted to buy some publications, Pacileo mentioned he had found a huge literature in the Library of the Palace of Venice, when he was searching information to improve his knowledge on the crib.

⁸⁸ Letter sent on 20 September 1949 to answer the letter posted by Matarazzo on 2 December.

⁸⁹ It was acquired on 16 January 1949 and it was sent on 23 July by teacher Manginelli.

⁹⁰ According to Roseo, in the past, he and Senator Treccanni had thought in producing a monograph about the Neapolitan. Nevertheless, he had given up his plans, and Treccanni wrote a short essay in the entry “crib”.

⁹¹ He was contact in February 1949.

⁹² These two essays were sent to Matarazzo on 28 September 1949 by the teacher Levi.

⁹³ Pacileo typed these titles himself.

⁹⁴ Edited in Naples an 1896 by Tipografia Fratelli Contessa.

⁹⁵ This essay was published on 19 November 1930 in *Secolo XX* magazine.

⁹⁶ During the acquisition of the Neapolitan crib pieces, Ciccillo had already received a proposal. This subject was treated on the letter of 22 December 1948. In that moment, He postponed this idea, because of the costs he was having with the crib’s assembly and with MAM inauguration.

⁹⁷ Letter spelled by Matarazzo on 11 de April 1976, four days before his death.

⁹⁸ This data was got on the File about the Crib done on 14 March 1988 and it is available in MAS archive.

^{**} This data is based on extra officiate documents.

⁹⁹ The report N° 21.956 sent on 8 April 1985 by the Wooden Division of the IPT.

¹⁰⁰ The sisters lent a place to deposit of the boxes for a six month period, however they remained there more than two years.

¹⁰¹ It is interesting to observe that, after years being partially exposed, its assembly in scenery had been announced as great event. In the exhibition prospect, Marcos Mendonça, the Culture Secretary of the State, reports: “A mostra Presépios tem para o Governo do Estado de São Paulo um significado muito especial: estamos trazendo de volta, após um hiato de 10 anos, este fabuloso conjunto formado pelo Presépio Napolitano do Séc. XVIII, agora exposto de forma magnífica e com uma extraordinária concepção cênica”.

¹⁰² This place had been previously used by MAS administration.

¹⁰³ The article of Andréa Wellbaun, “O menino Jesus – nas obras do Museu dos Presépios” declares: “Agora, já se pensa num lugar de honra para o presépio napolitano: o porão do Museu de Arte Sacra, que está sendo escavado e deve ficar pronto em março de 1998”. The variety section on 17 December 1997 also reports: “...A intenção é cavar 2,4m e chegar até as fundações do Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora da Luz, que datam de 1774. Ali deverá ser aco-

modado o presépio napolitano...” We only got a photocopier of the article without any reference of its origin nor publication date.

¹⁰⁴ Some parts of the scenery dimensions were bigger than the doors of the technical reserve. So, they were deposited in the transportation company.

¹⁰⁵ The eucatex has acid PH, the hardboards, conglomerate and the polyurethane foam set free awful substances; metal pieces can suffer oxidation; and paints and colorings can react with the pieces, in special with the cloths, besides they could also emanate toxic components.

¹⁰⁶ The pieces had already suffered several adverse situations in terms of their conservation. During the 15 years they were exhibited at Ibirapuera, they were exposed to high levels of relative humidity, leaks of water, insects and rodents, besides they were fixed in unsuitable way in scenery which was emanating awful substances. Then, they became packed several years. All this process contributed to degrade the cloths and the pieces and turn them fragile.

¹⁰⁷ Study based on the analysis of the bibliography about the subject, of the existent registers in archives and of relevant samples from international museums and collections.

Research note: Jatobá Aterro, Mato Grosso State, Brazil

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Introduction

This paper aims in presenting the results of the analyses made, up till now, on the material evidence of the Jatobá Aterro. This archaeological site is located at the Descavaldo region, by the left bank of the Paraguai River, in Mato Grosso State. Due to construction works being done in the area, in 1999 it became necessary to undertake

some salvage work there, the results of which have contributed in enhancing our knowledge over ancient human occupation at the Pantanal area of Mato Grosso State.

Since the 1950’s this site has suffered no archaeological interventions. Nevertheless, systematic excavations were executed in a 32 m² area. There it became possible to evidence combustion and funerary structures, and material culture. The original area’s dimension corresponds to a small elliptical site. The first archaeological layer has been affected since the majority of the site is under an ancient building structure. Systematic excavations have been accomplished at the site’s SO-S portion, near the river bank.¹

Three layers of stratigraphy have been identified. The first one consists of dark grey to black sandy sediment.

Its color is due to the richness of the organic material within, with the presence of gastropods, human bone and fauna remains, material culture, funerary and combustion structures. It also presents alterations due to human action and due to rooting. The second layer presented itself to be dark gray and sandy, containing some calcareous concretions. It presented a higher quantity of archaeological structures, fauna and human bone remains and material culture. The third yellowish sandy layer presented, in the beginning, great quantity of calcareous concretions and some archaeological material. Next, it became solid and sterile. Dating done for the second layer indicated 690 + - 70 and 750 + - 70 BP.²

The site’s combustion structures have different sizes and were present at all layers. Some of the combustion

structures had human fragmented bones within, with signs of having been exposed to fire. They also contained fauna remains and ceramic sherds. Most burials were located on top of or by the combustion structures.

Eleven burials and two funerary structures in spots of black earth have been evidenced. One of the funerary structures contained feet bones in anatomical connection and the other one contained some disjointed human bones.

The large quantity of scattered human bones found has drawn our attention. Those were found not only near to the bonfires but also all over the excavated area. This evidence has been interpreted as actions perpetrated by the groups that occupied the site, which had an impact on previous occupations' structures.

The burials were of five adults, five children and one adolescent. The children's burials were executed mainly with the child in an extended position, and with an East-West skull-pelvis orientation. One single infantile burial, located outside the excavated area had the body in a flexed position and with a Northeast-Southeast orientation. Only one double burial was discovered. It contained an adult woman and a child less than one year of age.

After the analysis of the exhumed skeleton remains of the eleven burials had begun, we could verify the presence of thirteen individuals. Adding this number to the skeleton remains previously removed by the workers, we have a total of sixteen individuals.

Methodology

In order to undertake a gender diagnosis, the skull's, the jaw's and pelvis' morphological characteristics were observed. When it was possible, the whole skeleton was analyzed. Biological age was established from dental eruption analysis, from the solidification of the

long bone's epiphyses, from the synostosis of the skull's structures and from the pubis symphyseal face.³

The analysis of the mandible's characteristics aimed at observing the existent degree and type of dental wearing so that some cultural aspects could be linked to diet and cultural activities where the teeth act as a third hand. The occurrence of fractures, polishing and dental pathologies was also observed in order to supply subsidies for a better understanding of these populations, based on the fact that teeth are great biological informants. Teeth are in contact with the whole file of diet elements and with material culture (food, primary goods, adornments, etc.). To achieve a good analysis of the dental wearing Murphy's (1959) proposition for the molars was followed but using Hillson's (1990) adaptation regarding the other teeth. These analyses were complemented with the establishment of the shape and the direction of the wearing, following Molnar's (1971) proposition, and assuming that fibrous or hard materials, when sustained by the teeth, produce in them patterns of identifiable usage, particularly in woman's teeth, who used them to manufacture baskets.

In the analysis of the burials that were disturbed by human action, the identification of the bone remains and the representation of the anatomical elements was aimed at verifying which parts of the skeleton were absent and which were present. We have tried to compare the theoretical number of anatomical elements with the minimum number of present anatomical elements.

In order to analyze the scattered human bone material we have used such identification criteria, as proposed by Turner & Morris⁴, as: brain exposition, facial mutilation, burned bones, dismemberment signs, the pattern of lost anatomical elements, exposition of the long bones' marrow and marks

of sectioned bones. Regarding the bones that were exposed to fire we have used Shipman, Walker & Bichell's and Holock's propositions.⁵

Besides the coloring of the bone material, fire provokes microscopic alterations as well as fractures at the bone's surface. According to Ubelake⁶, bone material lacking soft tissue reacts differently when exposed to the fire than bone material covered by tissue. In dry bones exposed to fire one notices fissures at the surface and longitudinal fractures, whereas in bones that are covered by tissue there are transversal fractures, irregular longitudinal fractures and incurvation. Nevertheless, a body that is exposed to fire results in bone remains with distinct degrees of burning, since a thick layer of muscles protects some anatomical unities. Bones that are protected by a small layer of tissues are the first ones to fragment and to calcine. Consequently, bones that are protected by more tissue present least signs of burning.⁷

Results

Only one of the sixteen individuals studied could not have his age or age category estimated. We have observed significantly child mortality (40%) and there was only one adolescent recorded. Regarding the adult individuals, five were female and three were male. The predominant age category was the one between 20-30 years old (33,3%), followed by individuals aged between 30-35 years old (13,3%) and only one over 50 years old.

Most child burials were in extended position, in ventral decubitus. They presented strings of monkey teeth or beads made from mollusks. Only one child burial was in lateral decubitus and inflected, with a string of beads done with some animal's teeth.

Only one of the adult burials could have its funerary characteristics observed. The other ones had been distur-

bed by recent human action or by the ancient occupants of the archaeological site. The material that was compiled by the workers was analyzed. It indicated the presence of a senile male individual, a female adult and a third adult individual that could not have its gender established. Since burial 1 suffered the impact of the construction, possibly, part of its skeleton must correspond to one of those above.

Ceramic vessels covered burial 5, which corresponded to a 25-30 years old female individual. It presented a necklace made with human teeth and was associated to a child burial, also covered by a vessel. It also contained two feline fangs and beads made from mollusks.

Some preliminary observations regarding the morphological characteristics indicated individuals with high skulls (1m-3f), narrow (1m) and large (1f) faces, narrow (1m-1f) to very large (1f) noses, short (1m-1f) to long (1f) mandibles, robust individuals. Only burial 9 was different, being more fine and delicate. Due to the absence of many of the long bones in some of the burials, stature evaluation was compromised. Even so, we could estimate an approximate stature of 154,7 to 156,5 for burial 5 and of 158,5 to 160,0 for burial 1, both female. Regarding the male individuals we obtained, approximately, a stature of 167,3 (burial 2) to 170,3 (burial 4a). Up to the present moment, the burial analyses have been centered on the funerary structures that presented alterations (with atypical characteristics) and in the human bone material that was scattered through the excavated area and in the bonfires.

Although burial 2 presented a high degree of disturbance, we have observed articulation of cervical vertebrae, as well as of the left humerus, radius and ulna. Besides those, there were skull fragments, some thoracic vertebrae and bones from the right arm. The anatomi-

cal unities present corresponded to 32% of the skeleton.

The analysis of the bone remains corresponding to burial 4 revealed the presence of two individuals. Both the skull and the mandible were found, along with the bone fragments, in a combustion structure. According to their characteristics, we have an adult female individual. Among the bone fragments in the bonfire, we have identified one adolescent and a third adult individual, as well as adornments. By the bonfire, pelvis, hand and articulated feet bones were found. Upon the pelvis there was a crossed radius and an ulna, besides a humerus. Those skeleton remains reveal an adult male individual. The anatomical unities that refer to the male individual correspond to 40% of the skeleton, that is, to the left arm, the pelvis, the hands and the feet. On the other hand, the female individual presented only 17% of her anatomical unities.

Burial 9 revealed the skull, the mandible and the first articulated cervical vertebrae. Below those there were disjointed long bones. The bone remains were found in a black earth circle of 40 cm of diameter. The analyses have demonstrated the absence of most bones (59%). Among the few long bones fragments found, we have verified marks of sectioning. This burial corresponds to a female individual, showing a pattern of dental wearing totally distinct from the rest of the exhumed individuals of the site. In the same excavated rectangle of burial 9, two other spots of black earth, presenting human bones, were found. One of the spots corresponded to two feet in anatomical connection and the other one to disjointed feet bones.

Burial 10, corresponding to a child between 1 to 3 years of age, presented only 6% of its skeleton, being this part of the vertebral column, a left arm and the pelvis. This one was the only child burial without adornments.

Dental analysis

Due to the facts exposed above, only five individuals (two male and three female ones) could be investigated regarding their dental arches. Since we had previously noticed that the burial 9 individual differentiated herself from the others because of her dental pattern, we tried to check out dental similarities and differences among the site's individuals. The teeth were grouped, following Molnar's (1971: 180) proposition, according to their functional relationships, as well as for having a connection to the positioning of the adornments.

We did observe, in the male individuals, that the difference of wearing, regarding the incisors, canine and first premolars teeth, was small, probably due to age difference among them. The senile individual presented less wearing at the molars than the adult individual, but presented cavities. The adult individual presented wearing due to the pressure at the vestibular face of the canine teeth and a light retraction of the inferior incisors, probably caused by the use of an adornment at the inferior lip.

Among the female individuals, burial 9 presented a very accentuated wearing pattern. It differentiated itself from the others, both female and male ones. Burial 5, besides the wearing, was the only one to present a cavity. At burial 4b a wearing, due to pressure at the vestibular face of the central and left lateral upper incisors, probably caused by the use of an adornment, was observed. Excepting burial 9, we could verify that the two male individuals presented a slightly more accentuated wearing than the other female individuals.

Regarding the direction of the dental wearing of the male individuals we have noticed the predominance of the oblique type for the upper incisors and canine teeth. The buccal-lingual and distal-mesial directions standing out. At the inferior dental arch there is not a predominance of a specific type.

In the female individuals we have noticed a predominance of the oblique type for the upper incisors and canine teeth, especially in the buccal-lingual direction (37%), whereas regarding the molars there is a predominance of the round type (22,5%). At the lower female dental arches the oblique type prevails. We have here a higher rate of the mesial-distal (40%) and of the distal-mesial (22,5%) directions for the incisors and the canine teeth, and of the lingual-buccal (22,5%) for the molars.

We should point out the singular characteristics of burial 9's dental wearing, not only due to its degree, but also because of the predominance of the oblique buccal-lingual type for all the upper teeth. There, the wearing goes up to the tooth base at the lingual surface. On the other hand, we have observed, at the lower teeth, the oblique mesial-distal type for the incisors and the canine teeth, and the lingual-buccal type for the molars, also going down to the tooth base.

In sum, we have observed three dental patterns among these individuals: reasonable wearing and presence of cavity pointing out to a higher consumption of carbohydrates (possible horticulture) associated with hunting and gathering activities; reasonable wearing without cavities, usually associated with hunting and gathering activities and the use of adornments; and a very accentuated wearing, essentially at the lingual surface of the upper teeth and at the vestibular surface of the lower teeth, also pointing out to a subsistence based on hunting and gathering activities and on the consumption of some kind of fibrous, abrasive food and/or possible production of handicraft with fibers. We have noticed that the kind of wearing, which was revealed in burial 9, presents similarities to the one found at the monkey's teeth used as an adornment, something that leads to the supposition of a preference for some kind of fruit also highly consumed by these animals.

Analysis of the bone fragments

Taking into account the fact that most burials were associated to bonfires and that this practice could be related to the funerary ritual, this could be the reason behind some of the calcined bones. Besides, new burials disturb burials from previous occupants, thus exposing dry bones to the heat of those structures of combustion. On the other hand, such evidence as incomplete burials and funerary structures of some feet, determined the necessity of a detailed analysis of several scattered bone fragments of layers II and I.

Besides the funerary structures, 778 human bone fragments, scattered through the excavated area, have been collected, as well as human teeth, adornments, fauna and ceramics. The analyses of the scattered human bone material aimed at an evaluation of its degree of fragmentation, in order to identify the characteristics related to the exposition to the fire, to possible marks of sectioning and to the action of cutting the meat off from the bones.

Only burial 9, from all the incomplete burials, presented marks of sectioning at the humerus (left and right) and at the right ulna fragments. At all the other burials, the analyses of the fragments did not reveal specific marks pointing out to the use of a cutting object.

Human bone and fauna fragments, artifacts and adornments, found scattered through the site, have been present since layer I, becoming denser in layer II. Taking into account the fact that only the bones that have been exposed to a degree higher than 200 °C do present visible modifications, we verify that 29,5% of the bone fragments have been exposed to temperatures between 300 °C and 600 °C. There is not any material that has been exposed to higher temperatures.

Regarding the types of fractures of the bones, which have been exposed

to a temperature higher than 200 °C, we noticed that some were still covered by soft tissue (20%), while the majority, when exposed to the fire, had already lost its muscular tissue.

The marks of sectioning happened in calcined bone fragments, but only in 3,2% of the fragments. In layer I, this marks were present in 4,5% of the calcined bone fragments, and in layer II in only 2,3%. We should point out that the marks of sectioning in calcined fauna bone fragments were also observed.

Conclusion

In view of the differences found, it seems probable that we have here two distinct populations. The dental characteristics demonstrate the presence of horticulture populations and individuals of hunters and gatherers populations. Regarding the latter, they do not correspond to a single population, since burial 9 presents a differentiated wearing pattern.

The type of teeth wearing from this burial should probably be correlated to distinct cultural practices, related either to the production of handicrafts or to food preparation. The use of palm fruits by several indigenous populations⁸ could be one of the determinant elements connected to this type of teeth wearing.

We should also point out that the material remains that were recorded from the site belong to the cultural practices of several groups from the Pantanal region. The use of wooden lip adornments and adornments stud with small disks made of mollusks were common among several indigenous groups of the Alto Paraguai.⁹

Evidence such as buried feet and individuals represented just by parts of their bodies could be related to possible rituals to which enemies were submitted. Burial 9 is very characteristic, showing this difference in the treatment

of a dead person. Besides the missing anatomical unities, some fragments of long bones present marks of sectioning. The presence of human bones cut in sections and necklaces made of human teeth add up to reinforce the supposition that these practices were related to constant conflicts among several groups from Pantanal and that were recorded by Cabeza de Vaca (1987).

The use of heads from enemies or their scalps as war trophies was a common practice among the populations of Pantanal. Also common was the use of artifacts made from their bones.¹⁰

Nevertheless, not all bone fragments would be related to war practices but to the burial procedures of the site's

own occupants. The practice of aerial burials in circular holes exposing the head or in very shallow holes¹¹ is one of the burial practices recorded among the populations of Pantanal that would result in the exposition of the bones. We should also notice the existence of distinct funerary practices carried out for deaths suspected to have been provoked by witchcraft, where the bodies were covered by straw and burned or were mutilated and buried in holes.¹²

The archaeological evidence here presented does not allow us, yet, to appraise in a more extensive way the funerary practices of the studied site. It is necessary to have research done in untouched sites and also to make pro-

found ethno-historical studies about the indigenous peoples that inhabited the Pantanal area. Anyway, the collected data show the relevance of studying bone evidence and the importance of pursuing the archaeological research in the Mato Grosso site.¹³

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¹³ Além da bibliografia referenciada ao longo do texto, ver também: ANDREW, P. & COOK, J. Natural modifications to bones in a temperate setting. *Man*, 20(4): 675-691. 1985. JONES, S. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing identities in the past and present*. London, Routledge. 1997. OLIVEIRA, J.E. Acuri, a palmeira dos índios Guató: uma perspectiva arqueológica. *Ciudad Virtual de Antropología y Arqueología*, 2000, www.naya.org.ar/articulos/arqueo04.