

# Traduções/*Translations*

## Power, image and archaeology: monetary iconography and the Roman army

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### Introduction

This paper analyzes Roman coinage of the 4th century and its connection with the society back then through two perspectives: its material relevance when used for payment of the troops and of the provisions the empire needed, and its symbolic meaning as showed in the representations of the rulers and of their administrative policies. Having this intention in mind we will use not only numismatic sources, but also written and archaeological ones, all belonging to this period. Because of lack of space, we will deal only with some coins from the tetrarchy period (285-305), when more than 300 types were coined<sup>1</sup>.

The coins used in this research belong to the National Historical Museum, in Rio de Janeiro, an institution that has the largest coin collection in Latin America, comprising more than 130 thousand pieces coming from several regions. Dating from the 4th century alone, there are 1.888 coins bearing the representations of all emperors, usurpers and empresses that gravitated towards the power back then.

The coins, besides offering economic well being have also intrinsic iconic aspects. When we analyze the monetary obverses and reverses conceiving them as fabricated images, we see that coins imitate the things to which they refer to. Any sign, even the iconographical one, engraved through physical or natu-

ral processes, is constructed according to certain determined rules that follow social conventions. In fact, a coin circulates in three different levels, where it simultaneously is an icon, an index and a conventional symbol. The peoples that inhabited the vast Roman Empire had the knowledge to recognize their ruler in a bust engraved in a small bronze, silver or gold piece.

Coins have been studied as a simple financial exchange, another merchandise within the large world of commerce. The numismatic researcher has been more concerned with the economical and social body that coins served, that is selling and buying transactions, salary payment, etc., than with the metal with which coins were made and that also informed of the richness of a reign<sup>2</sup>.

Contemporary man hardly connects coins to a mode of communication between distant peoples. Nevertheless, a strange monetary piece would speak to a Roman owner through (1) the metal with which it was coined, noble or not, (2) its iconographic type and (3) its legend. The metal would inform of the richness of a reign and the other two elements would tell him something about its art - that is, how high was the technological ability used in the manufacture of that specific coinage -, about the power of the issuing authority and, mainly, about the political and religious ideology that embodied it. This last aspect of a numismatic source is the one we intend to explore here.

We just made a huge anachronism when we compared a capitalistic society, like ours, that has its own economical patterns, to a society that existed a thousand or two years ago. In a world of extremely low levels of alphabetization and precarious modes of communication, iconography played a fundamental role. According to Corvisier, modern and simple defini-

tions, which only look at the purchase value, are not useful when we study antiquity. In order to define a coin we need to understand its function back then<sup>3</sup>.

The present paper has this context as background. We tried to identify each existing symbol on the obverse and on the reverse of the studied coins through iconographical analysis. Those representations served as a kind of political, social, economical and religious propaganda. They also have a strong ideological weight, because the final objective was to legitimize the rulers' power before their subjects.

### I - Crisis and revolts in the 3rd century

After Septimius Severus death (222-235), Rome falls into a period of political anarchy that would last circa fifty years. One after the other, successive emperors would be hailed by the troops at dawn and assassinated at nightfall. As a way to surpass financial difficulties, coinage was struck in such an altered way that the people refused to accept them.

During most of the 3rd century, essentially during Aurelian's government (270-275), there is an attempt to reestablish the finances and to regain economical balance. At first, in order to make coin circulation easier, different mints were opened, but soon after the Emperor himself had them shut down. A new wave of revolts broke all over the Empire. To make the situation go back to normal, only coinage minted by the state is accepted, and the Senate had no longer the right to inspect its production. Increase in prices reach 1.000%. In 273 an uprising breaks in Rome. The mint workers (*Monetari*), backed up by the low Roman classes, kill more than 7 thousand soldiers of the repression forces. The Empire had last territories and was

impoverished. Changes were due: political and economical reforms that would make the moribund body live again.

## II - The tetrarchy and the restoration of order

The process of transformation begins during Gallienus government (253-268). He starts a reorganization of the army and chooses to form his personal guard the elite of the officials, together with a large cavalry group. Administration wise, senators lose the command over the legions. His successors proceed with the restoration work, at least the ones that are able to maintain themselves in power: Aurelian (270-275) and Probus (276-282). These initial reforms pave the way for the ones established by Diocletian (284-305).

After the murder of Numerianus (283-284), Caius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, born in Salona (nowadays Split or Spalato, a city and a port in Croatia), was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers. Although he possessed an illustrious name, Valerius, he did not descend from the aristocratic Roman family of the same name. So, he was not a patrician. His father had been a freedman (ex-slave) from Dalmatia (Croatia's coast). In order to avoid having a similar end as his ancestors, Diocletian relied on known trustful people that came from his social background. Some of the members of the future tetrarchy belonged to that group: Galerius (305-311), his adjunct, had guarded livestock at the Carpathian Mountains; Maximianus Herculeus (285/286-305) served army with Diocletian; Constantius Chlorus, Maximianus adjunct, also came from the legions. Both them and their successors chose assistants with identical past.

In 286 we have the beginning of several reforms that, for some time, restore the order. At first, a diarchy with Maximianus is established. Nevertheless, some questions arise that hint at Diocletian's excesses and arbitrariness. For instance, reformulation of the *annona* (annual tax over agricultural production) and strengthening of the *curiales* (Roman popular classes that came from a same

*curia* or village); peasants, colons and tenants had to stay permanently at the lands they worked on, they were prohibited of leaving; urban workers were obliged to keep the same profession and to pass it on to their descendants. A novel system of classes is, thus, established, one that was unknown in Rome until then. The intent was to maintain the Empire's economical structure immobilized.

The diarchy turns into a tetrarchy, and Galerius and Constantius Chlorus participate as Caesars. They were both connected, by marriage, to the two Augustus. Galerius marries Valeria, Diocletian's daughter, and Constantius Chlorus marries Theodora, Maximianus daughter.

The new Caesars do not have a mere administrative function. They need to strengthen their "Augustus". One "Caesar", as a kind of "vice-emperor", would aid each "Augustus". Thus, the pairs were obliged to help one another, immediately, in case of danger: the oriental Augustus and his Caesar would come in aid of the occidental colleagues. Their vow of friendship is depicted at the porphyry sculpture called "The Tetrarchs", in Venice, where the four of them are represented embraced.

Besides those facts, we have an inversion of the political axis. Rome was placed in second plan after the new capitals became official: Aquileia and Treveris, in the Occident, Sirmio and Nicomedia, in the Orient.

In an attempt to reestablish the power of the Roman economy, Diocletian tries to accomplish an economical and administrative reform. Besides issuing gold and silver coins, he also puts in circulation bronze divisional coins with an extremely tenuous silver cover, usually called "silver bath". Those coins were used for daily transactions, and were known as *follis*.

The *follis*, which size and weight was inferior to the *dupondius*, was issued between 295 and 298, according to Ewald Junge<sup>4</sup>. Its reverse bears the image of a nude Jupiter with a *paragonium* (a kind of labarum or standard that accompanied the deity) and a cornucopia symbolizing that richness and abundance were back

in the Empire. The coins minted in the Orient bear also a star in their field. The National Historical Museum has 145 such coins, from Diocletian, and 107 from Maximianus. Fifteen of those still carry this characteristic, including the silver cover, which is a very important artistic device.

In 301, the tetrarchs tried, through the *Editum Diocletiani et Collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, or Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices, to reestablish the Empire economy by rating the maximum prices of the goods - practice known, in our "post-modern" society, as "freezing" of prices and salaries, something still in use among our traditional political class. As it happens nowadays, it did not bring good results, corruption and smuggling were stimulated.

In this period also new mints were opened in order to fulfill the tetrarchy's obligations and the commercial needs: public enterprises and increase of the military and civil strength. Because of this new issues begin to circulate bearing letters at the inferior part of the coin reverse, also known as *exergue*. When visible we can identify the name (a kind of abbreviation) of the place of minting, like, for instance: PÉT (Ticinum); ARLQ, PCON, PAR, SCON (Arles); AQ, AQP\* (Aquileia); MRH, SMHA (Heraklea); VRB, ROM, VRB.ROM.Q, R\*I, RWT, RT (Rome); ASI, ASSIS, BSISZ, SMAKA, SMKG (Cizicus) (Carlan 2000: 30).

Those values are shown explicitly at the coinage of the period. In the *dupondius*, a bronze coin with a diameter larger than 2,5 mm, weighing more than 8 g, we can identify at the reverse of Diocletian's coins the representation of a half nude Jupiter, with covered shoulders, or, at Maximianus' coins, Hercules with the lion scalp, handing over to the emperor a globe surmounted by Victory. She is about to place upon the emperor's head a laurel wreath, as if the protective deities of Rome were blessing the new rulers. The *mappa* (consular mantle) and the *sella curulis* (curule chair), that represent the consul, and the cuirass, helmet, spear and horse, that represent the general, are part of the group of images that appear both

at the obverse and the reverse of the coins<sup>5</sup>, thus strengthening the imperial power legitimacy.

In theory, the Empire was still united. We are dealing here with an association and a collegial system, and not with a territorial division, although each august, aided or not by a Caesar, or by another less prestigious august, was in charge of the administration and defense of a part of the Empire. Diocletian himself was considered to be an *Ivono*, a son of Jupiter, while the other tetrarch, Maximianus, was a *Hervleo*, a son of Hercules<sup>6</sup>.

The coinages of the period exemplify these differences. At Diocletian's coins we can observe the legend IOVI AVGG, or, IOVI CONSERVAT AVGG, and at Maximianus' coins we have HERCULI PACIFER. Although the tetrarchy system was created in order to establish equality, those coinages prove that there was an internal hierarchy. One ruler was more important than his "brother", since a new august was only admitted officially at the college after his colleague's (or colleagues') approval.

In the *Hervleo's* government, Maximianus', a coin with a new *sign* was struck. It is known as votive or laudatory, because at the reverse's field we have the following inscription: VOT XX, along with the letter H (Heraklea) or KK (Carthage). Its meaning would be "We have voted for twenty years", exactly the duration of the tetrarchy. After the Augustus resignation, Maximianus uses another *sign*, VOT XX MVLT XXX, which means "We have voted for twenty years, and then for another thirty". In the legend, a laurel wreath surrounds the vote. Those votes expressed a kind of trust, the people's fidelity to his ruler. Later, other emperors, Constantine, Constans, Constantius II, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian I, struck coins with the same legend (or with variations), like VOT XXX MVLTIS XXXX or VOT XX SIC XXX.

What Diocletian really wanted was to reconstruct, at any cost, Roman greatness, which was about to become extinct, even if to do so he provoked the ruin of the majority of the citizens. He earnestly

tried to restore the sacrifices to the gods and to compel the subjects to worship the emperor as a deity. According to Funari<sup>7</sup>, Roman religious flexibility, its respect towards other religions and the easiness with which it incorporated them was an important factor for the Roman ability in dominating such a variety of peoples and such a vast geographical area.

### Coin description<sup>8</sup>

#### 1- Denomination: Dupondius

Date/Place: struck between 304-305, in Alexandria.

Obverse: IMP C DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG

Reverse: IOVICO - N S CAES / ALE

Description:

Obverse: bust, or nude, of bearded Diocletian with diadem, to the right, badly cut at the 1st and 4th quadrants; the legend bears the name and the imperial title (IMP AVG). At the reverse the deity Jupiter, standing nude, labarum to the left, with the globe, symbol of power and perfection, in his right hand. Surmounting the globe, a Victory with a laurel wreath about to crown the deity. During most part of the tetrarchy, Diocletian was considered an *immo*, a son of Jupiter, and his friend and colleague Maximianus, a *herculeo*, a son of Hercules. It was as if the protective deities of the Roman pantheon protected and gave legitimacy to the new government. We have also identified the letter S, something common in the tetrarchy's coinage, and an exergue referring to the city of Alexandria (ALE). In the deity's image there is a layer of verdigris, due to corrosion.

Observations:

Bronze piece, very well preserved; diameter: 2,76 mm; weight: 9,56 g; axis: 12.

There are three variations of this piece in the collection, all coined in distinct mints.

#### 2 - Denomination: Follis

Date/Place: struck between 303-305, in Trèves.

Obverse: IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG

Reverse: GENIO POPVLI ROMANI S F / PTR

Description:

In the obverse, bust with diadem and cuirass, to the right of the emperor, portrayed with a beard. Alterations in the legend. In the reverse, we have noticed the presence of the *genius*<sup>9</sup>, Roman tutelary deity, having the *modius* (a kind of crown) upon his head, a *patira* (lace or whip that comes with the cornucopia) in his hands, along with the cornucopia, symbol of abundance. To the deity's side the letters S F help both the identification of Diocletian and the mint responsible for this coinage. Exergue, PTR, referring to Trèves.

Observations:

Bronze piece, very well preserved; diameter: 2,02 mm; weight: 9,78 g; axis: 6.

#### 3- Denomination: Aes<sup>10</sup>

Date/place: struck between 297-298, in Alexandria

Obverse: IMP C C VAL DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG

Reverse: CONCORDIA MILITVM A / ALE

Description:

Bust with cuirass and a radiate crown, to the right. In this variation, the initials of Diocletian's full name appear. In the reverse, emperor standing up turned to the right, wearing a military uniform. He holds in his left hand a *paragonium*, and receives a globe - surmounted by Victory - from the hands of a nude Jupiter. A scepter is placed to the left of the deity. Between Diocletian and Jupiter, the letter A. Exergue of Alexandria.

Concordia that is shown in the inscription Concordia militum, in the reverse was a feminine deity, protectress of Rome's social and moral life.

Observations:

Bronze piece, very well preserved; diameter: 1,98 mm; weight: 9,80 g; axis: 10.

## Conclusion

Any symbol system is an invention of men. The symbolic systems that we call language are inventions or refining of what had been, in other times, perceptions of the object within a mentality divested of images. This turned visual language into an universal trait. Dondis adds up that visual communication is full of information with universal meaning; the symbol does not exist only in language. Its use is much more extensive. The symbol must be a simple one and should make reference to a group, idea, commercial activity, institution or political party<sup>11</sup>.

This symbology, found in numismatics, was an exposition of ideas, a composition of emblems, like the Phrygian barret (that means freedom), the cornucopia (that depicts abundance) and Con-

cordia (that shows the union is possible with everyone's efforts). Other covering objects, like the veil, that may indicate modesty or widowhood, barrets and helmets, that point to military campaigns, the adornment with the laurel wreath, that leads to the idea that those who wear them are deities - are also common images in monetary representations.

Iconographical monetary impressions, leaving aside inscriptions, reveal several figures: animals, vegetation, coats of arms, objects, buildings and more or less stylized emblems. Usually, this figures make reference to the mint and to the issuing authority, who is very clearly pointed out to the contemporaries through a figure, an attitude, or any other attribute, the meaning of which many times eludes us.

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<sup>1</sup> All dates cited here belong to the Christian Era (A.D.).

<sup>2</sup> CARLAN, C. U. "Las monedas de Constancio II en el acervo Del Museo Histórico Nacional de Río de Janeiro: características". In: ALFARO, Carmen, MARCOS, Carmen & PALOMA, Otero. *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática*. Madrid: Ministério de Cultura, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Maria Beatriz B. Florenzano, during the international seminar "The other side of a coin", presented this idea. What would be a sovereign's purpose to struck coins with less than 2 mm of diameter (smaller than our 1 cent coins) bearing an iconographical and symbolical richness of great expression, like the follis and the dupondius minted by the

tetrarchs? Available evidence shows that such an amount of work would be unlikely devised aiming only at a simple economical exchange between consumer and producer.

<sup>4</sup> JUNGE, Ewald. *The Seaby Coin Encyclopaedia. Second Impression with revisions*. London: British Library, 1994, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> DEPEYRO'T, G. *Economie et Numismatique (284-491)*. Paris: Errance, 1987, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> RÉMONDON, R. *La Crisis del Imperio Romano. De Marco Aurelio a Anastasio*. 2nd. ed. Barcelona: Labor, 1973, p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> FUNARI, P. P. de A. *Grécia e Roma. Vida pública e vida privada. Cultura, pensamento e mitologia. Amor e sexualidade*. São Paulo: Contexto, 2002, p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> We have the catalogue *The Roman Imperial*

*Coinage*. Edited by Harold Mattingly, C.H.V. Sutherland, R.A.G. Carson. V, VI, VII, VIII. London : Spink and Sons, 1983, in order to date the coins.

<sup>9</sup> The genius is a generator deity, who presides everyone's birth (or the birth of a new order). It can also be associated with the tutelage of a person, a place, of something, of someone's glory, beauty, merit or worth.

<sup>10</sup> The bronze Aes is believed to have been Rome's first coin, used for exchange, purchases and sells (Aes grave, or bronze measured by weight). It was mostly used for payment of the troops.

<sup>11</sup> DONDIS, D. A. *Sintaxe da linguagem visual*. Translation Jefferson Luiz Camargo. 2nd. ed. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1997, p. 115.

## Daniel Arasse em perspectiva: um adendo a *L'Annonciation italienne*

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A capacidade excepcional que Daniel Arasse tinha de tratar com alegria problemáticas extremamente diversas tendeu a fazer esquecer que ele era também um “especialista”. Seu interesse jamais desmentido pela pintura italiana e, mais particularmente, pela florentina, do início do *Quattrocento*, remonta a seu diploma de estudos superiores, que ele defendeu em 1967 diante de André Chastel. Desde essa época, pesam as problemáticas que estarão no cerne de sua obra maior, publicada em 1999, *L'Annonciation italienne: une histoire de perspective*. Nesse livro, Arasse se propõe a demonstrar como a perspectiva matemática, por suas próprias ambigüidades, permite representar melhor o mistério da Anunciação, a chegada da “imensidão na medida”, como a descreve na época São Bernardino de Siena. O historiador se interessa, em particular, por um tipo de composição, talvez concebida por Masaccio, depois desenvolvida, em meados do *Quattrocento*, por pintores como Domenico Veneziano, Fra Angelico e Piero della Francesca. O parentesco entre esses artistas vai, entretanto, muito além de sua maestria na perspectiva: a tradição historiográfica italiana também os agrupou em um movimento, batizado “*pittura di luce*”, visando à representação – com o auxílio de cores claras e limitadas – de um espaço pictórico ensolarado. É digno de nota constatar que várias dessas “pinturas de luz” representam efetivamente a Anunciação, momento luminoso por excelência, sugerindo uma leitura menos formalista dessa tendência pictórica. Tal ligação é pertinente? Se é, por que Daniel Arasse não a formu-

lou? Antes de poder responder a essas questões, convém retrazar brevemente o itinerário intelectual que resultou na obra de 1999. Não se trata de recolocar em questão a visão “perspectivista” de Daniel Arasse, mas sim de apoiá-la e desenvolvê-la para redefinir o que chamamos de “a nova imagética”, espacial e luminosa, do *Quattrocento*.

### Genealogia de uma intuição

“Este livro nasceu de uma intuição: do *Trecento* ao *Cinquecento*, existira na pintura italiana uma afinidade particular entre Anunciação e perspectiva”.<sup>1</sup> As primeiras palavras de *L'Annonciation italienne* não poderiam ter enunciado mais explicitamente seu propósito. Se Ambrogio Lorenzetti e Paolo Veronese constituem pontos maiores da reflexão arassiana, podemos circunscrever a algumas décadas do *Quattrocento* a verdadeira tese desenvolvida pelo historiador. É, de fato, a um artigo de John Spencer, publicado em 1955, que ele se refere em primeiro lugar, no momento de retrazar a gênese de sua reflexão.<sup>2</sup> Spencer colocava em evidência a aparição, em meados do *Quattrocento*, de uma maneira nova de representar a cena da Anunciação, com seus protagonistas, o arcanjo Gabriel e a Virgem Maria, colocados de um lado e de outro de um lugar arquitetônico cruzado ao centro por um impressionante ponto de fuga em perspectiva. Para Spencer, o exemplo mais antigo de tal composição encontra-se no fragmento da predela do *Retábulo de Santa Lúcia*, pintado por Domenico Veneziano, por volta de 1445, atualmente no Fitzwilliam Museum de Cambridge [Fig. 1]. Esse dispositivo, qualificado como “nova imagética espacial”,<sup>3</sup> conhecerá um vasto destino, primeiro em Florença, depois em toda a Itália.

No início de sua reflexão sobre a Anunciação, Daniel Arasse reivindica igualmente a herança de outro “eminente historiador”,<sup>4</sup> Erwin Panofsky. Ao seu artigo fundador sobre a perspectiva, Arasse responde de maneira ao

mesmo tempo reverenciadora e polêmica.<sup>5</sup> Ele aplaude o historiador alemão por ter sido o primeiro a compreender a perspectiva matemática como uma “forma simbólica”, cujo primeiro exemplo seria precisamente uma *Anunciação*, de Ambrogio Lorenzetti, conservada na Pinacoteca Nazionale de Siena.<sup>6</sup> Entretanto, mais ainda do que essa análise histórica, que se revelou inexata, é a própria interpretação que Panofsky faz da perspectiva que Arasse contesta. Esta não preside uma concepção “des-teologizada” do mundo, mas é empregada, ao contrário, para figurar a encarnação da divindade no mundo humano. Pois, se é verdade que a perspectiva dá uma medida ao espaço representado, alguns elementos do dispositivo pictórico resistem a qualquer representação em profundidade: isto é válido para a porta fechada, no fundo da perspectiva de Domenico Veneziano [Fig. 1], vista de muito perto quando deveria ser vista de longe, ou da placa de mármore da *Anunciação* de Piero della Francesca em Perugia, da qual pode-se discernir as veias de maneira incongruente para uma tal distância. O espaço assim construído não é contínuo e infinito, não é “moderno” no sentido cartesiano, mas constituído, de acordo com o pensamento aristotélico da época, de lugares justapostos: o mundo humano, mensurável pela perspectiva, faz reaparecer aquele divino, que escapa a qualquer medida. “Como a porta de Domenico Veneziano, o mármore de Piero della Francesca constitui uma figura incommensurável que vem na medida”,<sup>7</sup> escreve Arasse.

Como o mais antigo exemplo conservado de tal composição, a *Anunciação* de Domenico Veneziano é, portanto, capital. Entretanto, observa Arasse (seguindo, assim, Spencer): “se Domenico ... é certamente um dos mais brilhantes especialistas da perspectiva em Florença nos anos 1440, fica difícil atribuir-lhe a invenção de um esquema neste momento ainda novo”.<sup>8</sup> Segundo

os dois autores, tal inovação seria mais provavelmente obra do fundador do Renascimento na pintura, ninguém menos que Masaccio em pessoa. Na base de uma tal teoria encontra-se, além do gênio do pintor, uma passagem da edição Giunti em que Giorgio Vasari descreve uma *Anunciação* de Masaccio, situada sobre o coro da igreja florentina San Niccolò Oltrarno.<sup>9</sup> Entretanto, em 1940, Roberto Longhi havia proposto identificar esta obra como a *Anunciação* de Masolino, outrora na coleção Mellon e hoje na National Gallery of Art de Washington. Para Longhi, a atribuição vasariana se deveria a uma confusão entre os estilos desses dois pintores na segunda edição das *Vidas*.<sup>10</sup> Algum tempo depois, tal proposição recebeu um apoio de peso com a descoberta de documentos do século XVII na sacristia da igreja, falando de uma *Anunciação* que parece ser aquela de Masolino.<sup>11</sup> É verdade que a descrição de Vasari, com seu “edifício de várias colunas desenhadas em perspectiva de grande beleza”, deixava uma dúvida quanto a essa identificação.<sup>12</sup> Pouco importa, finalmente, para Arasse, a questão de San Niccolò: o que conta é que existe sim um protótipo perdido de Masaccio. Essa questão da origem não é insignificante: permite conferir toda uma outra legitimidade deste esquema pictórico. É talvez por essa razão que Daniel Arasse fará dela a única convicção intangível dos três decênios de pesquisa que determinaram sua longa meditação sobre a questão.

Em seu diploma de estudos superiores dedicado às *Figuras e estruturas do espaço em Masolino da Panicale*, encontra-se, de fato, uma alusão à *Anunciação* perdida de Masaccio, mas a “intuição” fundamental da obra de 1999 ainda não tinha sido enunciada.<sup>13</sup>

Algumas determinantes importantes da reflexão arassiana, entretanto, já estão ali presentes, como a idéia de uma justaposição, uma tensão, entre o mundo humano e o mundo divino. Essa mesma idéia será desenvolvida em

um artigo de 1970, onde aparece a primeira interpretação da construção de uma *Anunciação* como “o divino ... sugerido na profundidade”.<sup>14</sup> Foi no ano seguinte, em um escrito jamais publicado, intitulado “O lugar arquitetônico da *Anunciação*”, que sobreveio “a intuição”. Como Arasse contaria muito mais tarde, André Chastel se opôs à aparição deste artigo, pois ele “tinha percebido nele o excesso de entusiasmo e de precipitação juvenis”.<sup>15</sup> O jovem historiador devia certamente expor ali a “ponta” de sua demonstração, ou seja, a “resistência” de determinadas formas à figuração perspectiva para fazer emergir um sentido divino.

Nos textos contemporâneos e posteriores, buscaria-se, entretanto, em vão traços dessa “intuição”. Arasse disserta com prazer sobre a *Anunciação* no *Quattrocento*, mas sem jamais expor a idéia central da obra de 1999. No início dos anos 1970, opera-se no historiador uma evolução estigmatizada por suas escolhas universitárias: ele não termina sua tese junto à Sorbonne sob orientação de André Chastel, mas começa uma outra com Louis Marin, na École des Hautes Études em Sciences Sociales.<sup>16</sup> É o início de um diálogo fecundo sobre a perspectiva e a *Anunciação* italiana, que implicará, além de Arasse e Marin, figuras da EHESS como Hubert Damisch ou Georges Didi-Huberman.<sup>17</sup> A “troca de pele” é evidente quando se considera uma comunicação dedicada em 1977 ao “ponto de vista de Masolino sobre a perspectiva”: um decênio depois da dissertação de DES, o discurso está impregnado de referências semióticas.<sup>18</sup> Além disso, é numa revista italiana de semiótica que Arasse publica seu primeiro escrito sobre o tema da *Anunciação*, no qual não se encontra nenhum vestígio da “intuição” que abrirá a obra de 1999. A “nova imageria espacial” de Spencer é aqui compreendida sobretudo como um “enunciado pictural”: ao “eixo da enunciação”, este do ponto de vista do observador e do

ponto de fuga, opõe-se perpendicularmente o “eixo do enunciado”, que conta a história em vias de acontecer.<sup>19</sup> Não se trata, então, de fazer uma história desse tipo de representação, mas somente revelar o esquema discursivo tal como ele se exprime nessas obras – quer os pintores tivessem consciência delas quer não.<sup>20</sup> Essa obra de 1984 é, portanto, um estudo, às vezes vertiginoso, sobre os níveis de linguagem da representação da *Anunciação* no *Quattrocento*: “em pintura, a *anunciação* não é senão uma *enunciação enunciada no enunciado* (pictural) que ali é feito”.<sup>21</sup> Em *L'Annonciation italienne*, restará muito pouco deste discurso.

A publicação da obra de 1999 não pode ser considerada, então, um resultado linear das diversas pesquisas de Daniel Arasse. Ademais, neste livro também, há uma verdadeira polêmica: recorrendo largamente a temas desenvolvidos por Louis Marin e Hubert Damisch, Arasse não se atém menos a fazer valer sua originalidade. A idéia mesma do livro, que deveria primeiramente se intitular *La perspective de l'Annonciation* [A perspectiva da *Anunciação*],<sup>22</sup> nasceu em reação a uma idéia de Damisch. Este afirmava ver uma *cumplicidade* entre *Anunciação* e perspectiva, enquanto Arasse prefere falar de *afinidade*. Para o autor, a diferença é de tamanho: “a proposição de Damisch é mais antropológica, a minha, mais histórica”,<sup>23</sup> ele afirma de imediato. É somente então numa perspectiva histórica que a “intuição” de 1971 pode se colocar. *L'Annonciation italienne* é, portanto, ao mesmo tempo uma síntese e uma superação das diferentes escolas de pensamento que formaram Daniel Arasse. Toda a complexidade do método arassiano – feito de hipóteses de pesquisa que se completam com frequência, às vezes se desmentem, mas são incessantemente remetidas ao *metier* – é ali colocada em ação.<sup>24</sup> É porque se trata de uma obra “aberta” que podemos nos propor a completá-la.

**Perspectiva e luz: uma antinomia?**

Se a perspectiva serve de fio condutor a *L'Annonciation italienne*, outras problemáticas estão igualmente ligadas ao tema de modo recorrente, assim como a simbologia da luz, associada, desde a Antigüidade, à presença do divino. Em um artigo célebre, Millard Meiss demonstrara como esta luz tinha um papel importante “como forma e como símbolo” na pintura do século XV.<sup>25</sup> Ele havia principalmente lembrado o quanto a representação do vidro atravessado pelos raios divinos eram um atributo perfeito – e recorrente – da Virgem, que, no momento da Anunciação, é igualmente penetrada de Luz sem ser quebrada, isto é, sem perder sua virgindade. Assim a metáfora luminosa convém particularmente à representação da Virgem da Anunciação. Fazendo uma homenagem póstuma a Daniel Arasse, Charles Dempsey, ademais, tirou partido deste argumento para alargar os limites cronológicos que a obra de 1999 havia fixado: aplicando a lógica arassiana a uma *Anunciação* de Poussin, hoje na National Gallery de Londres, o historiador interpretava a luz emanada do Santo Espírito como uma figura divina.<sup>26</sup>

O livro de Arasse leva em consideração essa componente luminosa tão importante, principalmente interpretada como um elemento perturbador da organização perspectiva. Pois o que é que surge luminoso, que seja patente, refletido sobre um fundo de ouro, ou mesmo pintado, se não uma negação do espaço perspectivo matematicamente construído?<sup>27</sup> Para Daniel Arasse, essas aparições luminosas nas representações da Anunciação visam mostrar explicitamente a encarnação do divino no mundo humano de uma maneira muito diferente do dispositivo inventado por Masaccio e aperfeiçoado por Domenico Veneziano e Piero della Francesca, como a *Anunciação* de Ambrogio Lorenzetti a Montesiepi, que servirá de modelo para algumas obras sienenses. A presença de uma janela no centro da representação

é tomada como uma figura divina, por conta da luz que dela emana. “Vindo esquartejar a unidade fechada da arquitetura virginal ... a edícula central pode quase ser considerada como causa do terror de Maria: a edícula é a figura da irrepresentável erupção do divino no humano”.<sup>28</sup> Mesmo se os meios divirjam, o objetivo perseguido é, assim, o mesmo que aquele da “nova imaginária espacial” do *Quattrocento*.

Mais de um século depois, ou seja, depois do sucesso de “O ponto de vista de Masaccio”,<sup>29</sup> volta-se, segundo Arasse, a uma maneira de representar o divino análoga àquela inventada por Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Algumas *Anunciações* da pintura florentina do início do século XVI se distinguem de fato pela representação de uma luz divina irrompendo na cena sagrada, uma luz cuja função é comparável àquela da *Anunciação* de Poussin evidenciada por Dempsey. A origem simbólica dessa aparição luminosa seria de se buscar junto a Marsilio Ficino, que, no fim do *Quattrocento*, consagra um verdadeiro culto à luz, mais platônico do que cristão. Como no afresco de Ambrogio Lorenzetti, essa luz aparece abertamente miraculosa, pois contradiz explicitamente a construção perspectiva da cena representada. A partir do início do *Cinquecento*, o esquema “masacesco” parece então completamente esquecido.<sup>30</sup>

Deve-se, assim, deduzir que a questão luminosa é totalmente ausente das obras “perspectivas” do *Quattrocento*? Parece que não: nesse espaço pictural calculado, a luz tem igualmente um papel primordial, ainda que freqüentemente subestimado, pois o objetivo que a perspectiva atribui a si mesma, o de representar o *rilievo* e, assim, fazer emergir as formas do plano da representação, seria imperfeitamente alcançado só por via das linhas de fuga convergindo em direção a um ponto único.<sup>31</sup> Essa fase inicial, fundamental de um ponto de vista teórico, junta-se a uma outra, não menos indispensável para o sucesso da experiência:

a de demonstrar os campos perspectivos delimitados anteriormente.<sup>32</sup>

Mais ainda que em pintura, percebe-se a importância de tal procedimento na marchetaria, dita, corretamente, “perspectiva”. Sem os diferentes valores das essências de madeira, a impressão espacial e luminosa que emana desses painéis seria inexistente ou quase. Por volta do primeiro quarto do *Quattrocento*, essa técnica não é depreciada como viria a ser no fim do século: é talvez o próprio Filippo Brunelleschi que a inventa, no nicho do *São Pedro* de Orsanmichele e na Sacristia de Missas da catedral florentina.<sup>33</sup> Além disso, tudo faz pensar que a experiência fundadora da perspectiva, esta vista do batistério florentino e de seus “mármore brancos e negros”, era na verdade apenas um painel de marchetaria.<sup>34</sup> A marchetaria faz aparecer um componente inegável da construção perspectiva: desde sua origem, ela é constituída de uma rede geométrica precisa, cheia de valores luminosos também bem aplicados.

Na Itália do *Quattrocento*, seria incorreto opor a prática da marchetaria perspectiva à da pintura: inúmeros são os pintores a fornecer cartões aos *intarsiatori*, de Alesso Baldovinetti, no momento em que finaliza por uma *Anunciação* a decoração da Sacristia das Missas, a Piero della Francesca, que difundiu a linguagem perspectiva em toda uma parte da Itália do Norte graças aos vários trabalhos dos irmãos Canozzi da Lendinara.<sup>35</sup> Assim, esses artistas fornecem mestres de marchetaria sem que seu estilo se livre do testemunho do parentesco entre as duas técnicas: como os marcheteiros inserem pedaços de madeira mais ou menos claros, esses pintores constroem o espaço pictural justapondo zonas coloridas mais ou menos luminosas. É “o antípoda do modelado”.<sup>36</sup> do mesmo modo da montanha rosa dos *Estigmas de São Francisco* de Domenico Veneziano (Washington, National Gallery of Art). Como os outros fragmentos dessa mesma predela,

da qual fazia parte a *Anunciação* [Fig. 1], a obra era montada originalmente em uma moldura de perspectiva calculada em função do ponto de vista do espectador (moldura visível hoje sobretudo no *Milagre de São Zenóbio* do Fitzwilliam Museum de Cambridge): é o jogo de luz, o raso mais ou menos claro, que coloca em profundidade essa janela do modo mais albertiano possível, segundo os mesmos princípios que aqueles da marchetaria. Trata-se, de fato, como já disse, de uma “perspectiva de luz”.<sup>37</sup>

Tal designação fazia referência explícita à expressão “pintura de luz”, forjada em 1990 por ocasião de uma exposição homônima curada por Luciano Bellosi.<sup>38</sup> Tratava-se, então, de aproximar algumas pinturas do *Quattrocento* florentino – de Domenico Veneziano e Fra Angelico ao jovem Piero della Francesca, passando pelos menos ilustres Giovanni di Francesco ou Alesso Baldovinetti – em torno de uma idéia, não iconográfica, mas puramente formal: esses artistas representavam, com a ajuda de uma paleta cristalina, um mundo iluminado de uma doce luz solar. É impressionante constatar que esses “partidários da perspectiva e da luz”<sup>39</sup> são os mesmos que abrem para a “nova imageria espacial” da *Anunciação* do *Quattrocento*. A aproximação da tese arassiana com esse movimento pictural não promete ser fecunda?

### A Anunciação italiana: uma história de perspectiva e de luz

A obra de Daniel Arasse sobre a *Anunciação italiana* data de quase um decênio depois da exposição *Pittura di luce*: como o autor não fala jamais de “pintura de luz” deste modo, poderíamos pensar que o tema lhe parecia pouco pertinente, se não nele mesmo, pelo menos no contexto de sua longa reflexão. Ao olhá-lo mais de perto, entretanto, nos damos conta de que Arasse retoma palavra por palavra as frases de Bellosi escritas em 1990 para descrever, sobre Giovanni di Francesco, o contexto da

pintura florentina de meados do século XIV.<sup>40</sup> Arasse então deu atenção ao catálogo da exposição *Pittura di luce*. Que a noção não tenha suscitado reviravoltas mais amplas em sua análise, isto é o que convém estudar agora.

Giovanni di Francesco não é um pintor de primeiro plano do *Quattrocento* florentino, longe disso. Se ele tinha sido escolhido como porta-bandeira da exposição de 1990, era justamente porque esta queria afirmar, mais do que o brilho de um só artista, a existência de uma tendência pictural em seu conjunto. Longe de sobrevir de maneira fortuita no panorama dos estudos italianos, uma tal vertente da pintura florentina tinha sido largamente estudada ao longo de todo o século XX, graças notadamente aos trabalhos seminiais de Roberto Longhi.<sup>41</sup> A expressão *pittura di luce*, que faz parte hoje em dia da linguagem crítica italiana, pode até se aplicar em vários níveis: no sentido da exposição de 1990, trata-se da pintura colorida e luminosa da Florença dos anos 1440 e 1450, tal como ela se exprime no ponto mais alto nas obras de Domenico Veneziano e de Fra Angelico – em oposição à “pintura delicada e crepuscular” de um Filippo Lippi.<sup>42</sup> De maneira mais ampla, a corrente pode remontar, na fonte, às obras de maturidade de Masaccio e ir, no fim, até aquelas de Piero della Francesca, tais como Antonello da Messina e alguns venezianos.<sup>43</sup>

Que esses artistas tenham todos pintado *Anunciações* não tem nada de muito original em si para a época. Mas que a “nova imageria espacial” proposta por John Spencer nasça e se desenvolva precisamente neste círculo, faz pensar. Mesmo que deixemos em suspense a questão, por demais hipotética, do protótipo de Masaccio, podemos quase retrair a história da *pittura di luce* nos apoiando apenas em *Anunciações*, adotando a tipologia descrita por Arasse. A predela de Domenico Veneziano [Fig. 1] teve, de fato, um papel muito importante em Florença a partir dos anos

1440, como demonstra este pintor anônimo que é o “Mestre da Anunciação Lanckoroński”, cuja obra homônima, conservada no De Young Museum de Los Angeles, retoma com mais sucesso a combinação de tons diáfanos do que o rigor da construção perspectiva.<sup>44</sup> Em Florença, essa composição deveria revestir uma importância tanto religiosa quanto plástica, para que o pintor mais teológico de seu tempo, Fra Angelico, não hesitasse, em sua última *Anunciação*, em adotá-la, abandonando seu próprio esquema habitual, ele mesmo maduramente refletido: em uma cena do *Armadio degli Argenti*, o dominicano decalca quase que traço por traço a composição perspectiva de Domenico, e retoma suas cores cristalinas [Fig. 2]. Depois da morte de Fra Angelico, em 1455, e da de Domenico Veneziano, em 1461, a *pittura di luce* declina em Florença, não sem alguns últimos brilhos, visíveis particularmente nas *Anunciações*: é o caso do retábulo de Cosimo Rosselli, pintado em 1473, no qual o anjo e a Virgem são banhados de uma luz bem mais clara que os santos situados no primeiro plano [Fig. 3]. Mais do que em pintura, a lembrança da *pittura di luce* permanece palpável em outras técnicas, tais como a marchetaria – ela foi vista com o acabamento da decoração da Sacristia das Missas da catedral – ou as miniaturas de um Attavante degli Attavanti, no fim do século [Fig. 4].<sup>45</sup>

Para além da cidade do lírio,<sup>46</sup> é Piero della Francesca que divulga, a seu modo, essa pintura clara e luminosa em uma vasta área da Itália. A *Anunciação* que ele pinta no topo do *Políptico de Santo Antônio*, hoje na Galleria Nazionale delle Marche de Perugia, carrega, como visto, a lembrança da construção perspectiva de Domenico Veneziano, ao mesmo tempo em que a cena é banhada de uma luz ainda mais branca, típica de Piero. Seguindo os mesmos passos do pintor vão se converter teorias de artistas, tanto na Toscana, como no caso de Bartolomeo della Gatta (Avignon,

Musée du Petit Palais), quanto em Úmbria, a exemplo de Piermatteo d'Amelia (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum), ou nos Marche, caso de Giovanni Angelo d'Antonio (Camerino, Pinacoteca Cívica).<sup>47</sup>

Mesmo sumariamente, a história da *pittura di luce* se confunde então com aquela da “nova imageria espacial” do *Quattrocento*: as duas idéias aparecem desde cedo menos estranhas uma à outra. Elas são ligadas, complementares? Podemos avançar, neste ponto da reflexão, uma hipótese: se a luz pictural tem um papel tão importante nas *Anunciações* deste movimento que pudemos qualificar como “pintura de luz”, não seria justamente porque ela é em si compreendida como a manifestação do divino?

Antes mesmo de considerar a validade de tal abordagem, coloca-se de imediato um problema importante. Nenhuma das obras evocadas é, de fato, interpretada do mesmo modo por Daniel Arasse: às ambigüidades do sistema reveladas conscientemente por Masaccio sucede a limpidez de uma composição, na qual o ponto de fuga não tem mais nada a esconder, pois o interesse das obras de Domenico Veneziano ou de Piero della Francesca residia justamente nessa justaposição entre mundo humano e mundo divino, entre espaço matemático e aquele, invisível, que lhe escapa. Os herdeiros desse esquema perspectivístico suprimiriam essa porta ou placa de mármore que se recusava a ser mensurada: o sentido paradoxal do dispositivo desapareceu. É o caso da *Anunciação* de Fra Carnevale da National Gallery de Washington, cuja referência ao painel de Domenico Veneziano seria unicamente espacial e cromático, mas não mais teológico: “à imagem de sua luminosidade cristalina, a obra é transparente ... Aquilo que deve ser visto espiritualmente – a Encarnação em vias de se realizar – não deve ser buscada para além do que este quadro deixa entrever: é para ser visto naquilo

que se vê”.<sup>48</sup> Quando mesmo a “luminosidade cristalina” da obra seria uma figura de divindade, ela contradiria em aparência um dos princípios cardinais da intuição arassiana, essa “tensão entre o tema representado e o instrumento de sua representação”.<sup>49</sup>

É uma outra dificuldade que permite, de maneira irônica, ultrapassar o obstáculo: na leitura do texto canônico que relata o momento da Anunciação, nos damos conta não somente de que São Lucas não fala de luz cristalina, mas que, além disso, ele faz uma referência explícita à sombra. No *interrogatio* de Maria, que se pergunta como ser mãe permanecendo virgem, Gabriel responde com efeito: “Virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi”, ou seja, “a virtude do Mais Alto te cobrirá com sua sombra”.<sup>50</sup> No início do *Quattrocento*, Gentile da Fabriano ilustra essa frase de modo, talvez, o mais literal em sua *Anunciação* da Pinacoteca Vaticana: a pomba do Espírito Santo projeta sua sombra sobre o ventre de Maria.<sup>51</sup> Mas como imaginar uma sombra Daquele que é Luz? É possível acreditar que “a sombra da virtude do Mais Alto” seja, de fato, por um mistério puramente divino, uma emanção luminosa: é assim, de todo modo, que Daniel Arasse interpreta o “surgimento” luminoso do afresco de Ambrogio Lorenzetti de Montesiepi, o qual “cobre Maria com sua sombra paradoxal”.<sup>52</sup> A luz solar que invade as *Anunciações* florentinas de meados do *Quattrocento* poderiam então fazer referência à chegada – oh, quão misteriosa – da virtude divina no corpo da Virgem.<sup>53</sup>

Mais ainda que pelos oxímoros de um São Bernardino, cuja pátria sienense acolheu pouco a “nova imageria espacial” do *Quattrocento*, parece que uma tal leitura pode ser confirmada pelos escritos de um testemunho privilegiado da *pittura di luce* florentina, Antonino Pierozzi, mais conhecido como Santo Antonino. Nomeado arcebispo de Florença em 1446, o dominicano constitui uma autoridade moral incon-

tornável para a época. Seus sermões, compilados em sua *Summa theologica*, relevam sua “fascinação pela metáfora da luz como veículo metafísico, bem como por cada aspecto da vida da Virgem”.<sup>54</sup> No caso da Anunciação, Santo Antonino mostra-se particularmente firme quando prescreve que o acontecimento deve ser figurado sob a luz da manhã, e não sob a luz da lua ou do sol de meio-dia.<sup>55</sup> Quanto à estação, ela tem também sua importância: a Anunciação de fato aconteceu em 25 de março, dia de primavera. Tendo isso em vista, seria por acaso que Luciano Bellosi definiu a luz da *pittura di luce* como de uma manhã de primavera?<sup>56</sup> Sem negar o caráter poético, até impressionista,<sup>57</sup> de tal visão, é absolutamente razoável pensar que, se tantos pintores tentaram representar a Anunciação invadida de uma luz matinal e primaveril, isso se deva talvez a algo bem mais profundo do que buscar uma “impressão, sol nascente”.

Se há um pintor que influenciou Santo Antonino, este foi certamente Fra Angelico: em meados do *Quattrocento*, os dois dominicanos são as figuras de proa do convento de San Marco.<sup>58</sup> Quando consideramos as *Anunciações* pintadas por Fra Angelico, constatamos, de fato, uma evolução conforme os sermões de Santo Antonino: as sugestões noturnas deixam lugar à claridade solar e matinal do painel do *Armadio degli Argenti* [Fig. 2].<sup>59</sup> Em relação ao retábulo que hoje se encontra no Prado, uma outra característica maior desaparece: o raio de ouro materializando a descida da luz divina. Ninguém duvida que é necessário, entretanto, ver uma herança dessa tradição figurativa quando o pintor decide iluminar sua cena num sentido narrativo, do anjo em direção à Virgem.<sup>60</sup> Os escritos de Santo Antonino podem nos explicar essa evolução: a luz não deixa de ser considerada a metáfora divina mais adequada, mas torna-se ainda mais admirável porque é tomada de sua natureza própria, isto é, em conformidade com a concepção que têm

então as pesquisas sobre óptica. Ao representar a Anunciação, o pintor deve, então, aproximar-se o mais que possível das condições atmosféricas existentes. A supressão do ouro não deve ser interpretada aqui – como pode se fazer em Leon Battista Alberti – como uma pesquisa de “realismo”: como no caso da perspectiva matemática, a aplicação de regras de óptica não manifesta nenhuma vontade de se abstrair da influência divina.<sup>61</sup> Aproximando-se ainda mais da propagação da luz diurna, isto é, suprimindo-se os raios dourados miraculosos da tradição, exalta-se ainda mais o Criador por sua criação ela mesma.<sup>62</sup> Daniel Arasse, então, tem razão em considerar a *Anunciação* de Fra Carnevale como transparente por sua luminosidade cristalina. Todavia, na mesma instância que a transparência atmosférica das obras de Domenico Veneziano ou de Fra Angélico, essa luminosidade deixa supor a presença divina, ela deixa ver o invisível.<sup>63</sup>

#### Excursus: a *Anunciação Martelli*

Enquanto caso-limite para os dois conjuntos que aproximamos, a *Anunciação* de Filippo Lippi que se encontra na capela Martelli da igreja de San Lorenzo em Florença [Fig. 5] pode figurar como conclusão apropriada: sua composição não é de modo algum a mesma da preda de Domenico Veneziano, ainda que seu autor, por conta de sua sensibilidade pictural julgada muito diversa, tenha sido categoricamente excluído, em 1990, da exposição *Pittura di luce*. Entretanto, a obra é muito próxima daquelas que evocamos. Se, de um lado, os protagonistas não estão dispostos simetricamente em relação ao ponto de fuga central, há de fato uma forte rescisão perspectiva no centro do painel. É verdade, de outro lado, que as sombras são mais separadas do que no *Retábulo de Santa Lúcia* de Domenico Veneziano: os tons claros e luminosos abundam, no entanto, nas partes ensolaradas, isto é, sobre a metade direita da obra. Que seja preci-

samente uma *Anunciação* que marca o período, por volta de 1440, em que Filippo Lippi está mais próximo dos ideais claros e luminosos de Fra Angelico ou Domenico Veneziano, não parece precisamente, neste ponto de nossa reflexão, uma coincidência.<sup>64</sup>

O retábulo talvez não tenha sido concebido para ser visto como o vemos hoje. Como em sua primeira destinação, sua função original ainda nos escapa.<sup>65</sup> A única certeza é que a obra tinha sido pintada sobre duas metades bem distintas, formando um díptico, o que indica, ao mesmo tempo, uma estrutura material da obra e também alguns detalhes pintados.<sup>66</sup> Fra Filippo sublinha essa descontinuidade pela sua paleta: a parte esquerda é muito mais escura que seu homólogo, mesmo em zonas que deveriam ser mais claras e coloridas de maneira idêntica. Tal discrepância sempre foi um problema para os historiadores da arte.<sup>67</sup> Seria simplesmente o resultado fortuito de condições de conservação distintas? Uma outra *Anunciação* de Filippo Lippi, da Frick Collection de Nova York, prova o contrário: não obstante seu formato sensivelmente mais reduzido, encontramos ali igualmente um tratamento cromático disjuntivo entre os dois painéis da obra. Ligeiramente anterior à *Anunciação Martelli*, esse pequeno díptico se caracteriza, com efeito, por uma cor de base azul-violeta em sua metade esquerda, e um tom claramente mais rosado na parte direita. Essa disparidade já foi observada e interpretada num sentido decorativo: o manto escuro da Virgem destaca-se sobre um fundo claro, ao passo que a combinação cromática do painel de Gabriel é exatamente oposta, de modo que o conjunto forma um quiasma bem-sucedido.<sup>68</sup> Como John White magistralmente demonstrou, as cores da *Anunciação Martelli* orientam igualmente o olhar do espectador de uma maneira extremamente bem pensada.<sup>69</sup> Devemos nos contentar, por ora, com tal chave de leitura?

Podemos propor explicar essa disparidade axial levando em consideração a componente narrativa da Anunciação. No desenrolar mesmo da cena, a sucessão dos acontecimentos é, de fato, primordial: é somente quando Gabriel explica a Maria a possibilidade de sua união mística com Deus que ela aceita e é então penetrada pelo Espírito Santo. Nas representações da Anunciação, essa temporalidade se exprime também pelo raio dourado que atravessa a cena de parte a parte, da figura de Deus Pai ao ventre de Maria, pela doce luz da *pittura di luce*, proveniente, ela também, freqüentemente, da esquerda [Fig. 2].<sup>70</sup> É possível que Filippo Lippi tenha também querido representar o momento em que, como diz São Bernardino, “a eternidade vem no tempo”.<sup>71</sup> Ao invés da continuidade que implica o raio dourado ou a iluminação geral, o pintor teria sobretudo desejado marcar – separando os dois motivos de sua composição – a ruptura que conota esse acontecimento. Do ponto de vista da história cristã, a Anunciação constitui, de fato, um ponto capital, ou seja, a passagem da era da lei (*sub lege*) àquela da graça (*sub gratia*). Na Florença do *Quattrocento*, o dia 25 de março, dia da Anunciação, corresponde também à passagem do ano novo. A tomar por outros quadros de altar da mesma época, construídos em díptico e representando a Anunciação,<sup>72</sup> esta idéia fundamental poderia então ser expressa em pintura por Filippo Lippi: da era de *sub lege* que ocupa a parte esquerda da composição, passa-se àquela de *sub gratia*, muito mais clara e luminosa, isto é, investida do divino. De acordo com a teoria aristotélica das *species*, e assim com as idéias de um Santo Antonino, Filippo Lippi separa as duas metades de seu retábulo para marcar o curso da difusão luminosa.<sup>73</sup> Tal idéia de passagem ainda está por ser confirmada pelo movimento mesmo do anjo, que alcança alegremente o limite que separa as duas metades da *Anunciação* de San Lorenzo – suas asas passam, literalmente, da sombra à luz. Entre ele e a Virgem, encontra-se, in-

crustado numa base no primeiro plano, uma garrafa verde, pintada com efeitos de lustre dignos de um Jan van Eyck. Atributo tradicional da virgindade de Maria, ela reforça ainda um pouco mais a conotação luminosa do painel.<sup>74</sup>

Longe de querer ter a última palavra sobre uma questão inesgotável, essa leitura de *L'Annonciation italienne* mostra, parece-me, toda a riqueza do pensamento de Daniel Arasse. Um exame de seus escritos sobre o tema permitiu colocar em evidência um método de trabalho muito

particular, feito de um equilíbrio flutuante entre intuição e minúcia.<sup>75</sup> É nessa perspectiva de uma reflexão incessantemente a recomeçar que é preciso compreender nossa tentativa de confrontar a tese arassiana com a noção, também recente, de *pittura di luce*. Finalmente, parece que essas duas interpretações da pintura de meados do *Quattrocento* têm tudo a ganhar confrontando-se uma com a outra. Mais do que considerar a aparição luminosa como um oposto da representação perspectiva, sua presença

sob a forma da luz diáfana da *pittura di luce* confere à “nova imageria espacial do *Quattrocento*” uma das maiores continuidades na tradição figurativa italiana. Tal aproximação permite também dar sentido a essa “pintura de luz” muito exclusivamente qualificada como “poética”, um sentido que lembra a interpretação “luminosa” que Daniel Arasse fez da “ambição de Vermeer”;<sup>76</sup> sem, é claro, confundir-se com ela.

Tradução: Ana Gonçalves Magalhães

<sup>1</sup> ARASSE, Daniel. *L'Annonciation italienne: une histoir de perspective*. Paris: Hazan, 1999 (citado doravante como Arasse, 1999), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> SPENCER, John R. “Spatial Imagery of the Annunciation in Fifteenth Century Florence”, *The Art Bulletin*, XXXVII, dezembro de 1955, pp. 273-80.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Arasse, ele mesmo grande tradutor, verteu alternativamente *imagery* por “iconografia” e por “imageria”.

<sup>4</sup> Arasse, 1999, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> PANOFSKY, Erwin. “Die Perspektive als ‘symbolische Form’”. In: *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1924-25*, Leipzig / Berlin: Teubner, 1927, pp. 258-330.

<sup>6</sup> Arasse está particularmente interessado na noção de “forma simbólica”, que Panofsky retoma de Cassirer (ver ARASSE, 1999, pp. 12-3).

<sup>7</sup> Arasse, 1999, p. 45. “A imensidão na medida”, vimos, é um dos oxímoros empregados por São Bernardino de Siena para explicar aos fiéis o mistério da Anunciação (citado por Arasse, 1999, p. 11).

<sup>8</sup> Arasse, 1999, p. 19. Arasse retoma aqui Spencer quase literalmente (Op. cit. [nota 2], p. 279): “Despite his appeal to the twentieth century, the reputation of Domenico Veneziano in the fifteenth century, taken with his extant works, does not seem to permit us to credit him with the invention of a new Annunciation”.

<sup>9</sup> VASARI, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*. Florença: Giunti, 1568 [edição consultada: CHASTEL, André (Org.) *Les vies des meilleurs peintres, sculpteurs et architectes*. Paris: Berger-Levrault, III, 1983, p. 177].

<sup>10</sup> LONGHI, Roberto. “Fatti di Masolino e di Masaccio”, *La critica d'arte*, XXV-XXVI, n. 3-4, julho-dezembro, 1940, pp. 145-91 [reimpressa em: Idem, *Opere complete*. VIII/1. ‘Fatti di Masolino e di Masaccio’ e altri studi sul *Quattrocento*, 1910-1967. Florença: Sansoni, 1975, p. 32].

<sup>11</sup> Para o atual estado da questão, ver Miklós Boskovski (In: idem e BROWN, David Alan. *Italian Paintings of the Fifteenth Century*. National Gallery of Art, Washington. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 466-71), que toma, a exemplo de uma maioria de historiadores, o partido de Longhi, interpretando a distância entre a obra e a descrição de Vasari como “a simple lapse of memory”. Evidentemente, Arasse (1999, p. 22) interpreta os fatos de modo muito diferente.

<sup>12</sup> Vasari, Op. cit. (nota 9). Uma outra *Anunciação* de Masolino presta-se bem mais à descrição vasariana, a que se encontra no arco de entrada da capela de Santa Catarina em San Clemente, Roma. São muitos os historiadores, a começar por Roberto Longhi, que supuseram a presença de Masaccio nesse projeto romano.

<sup>13</sup> ARASSE, Daniel. *Figures et Structures de l'espace chez Masolino da Panicale*, diploma de estudos superiores sob orientação de André Chastel, Université de Paris Sorbonne, maio de 1967, p. 131, nota 2. No mesmo ano, Arasse publicaria um resumo de seu trabalho (“Structure de l'espace dans l'art de Masolino da Panicale”, *L'information de l'histoire de l'art*, XII, n. 5, novembro-dezembro, 1967, pp. 223-4).

<sup>14</sup> ARASSE, Daniel. “Monde divin et monde humain au Quattrocento”, *Médecine de France*, n. 217, 1970, p. 28, legenda. Essa maturação se faz igualmente, à época, nos trabalhos dirigidos que Arasse realiza em 1969-70 na Université de Paris IV (Maurice Brock, “In Memoriam. Daniel Arasse” (5.xi.1944 – 14.xii.2003, *Albertiana*, VIII, 2005, p. 6).

<sup>15</sup> Arasse, 1999, p. 15. Espera-se que reste qualquer traço deste escrito, apenas para saber se o julgamento severo que se dá ao autor é justificado ou não. Seria também importante conhecer o texto da conferência dada por Daniel Arasse por ocasião do colóquio “L'Anunciazione in Toscana nel Rinascimento” organizado em Florença, entre 29 e 31 de outubro de 1986,

pela Villa I Tatti e pelo Institut Français, então dirigido pelo próprio Arasse.

<sup>16</sup> Arasse contou no rádio France Culture como toda a documentação de sua primeira tese tinha-lhe sido roubada em circunstâncias muito romanescas e como ele então havia passado “não tanto de um mal a outro pior, mas bem ao contrário, de Chastel a Marin!” (ARASSE, Daniel. *Histoire de peintures*. Paris: France Culture e Denoël, 2004, p. 107). Sua segunda tese restará também inacabada (M. Brock, op. cit. [nota 14], p. 3). Saberá, entretanto, o por bastante esquematicamente as duas “escolas”, pelo menos para Arasse: a partir de sua dissertação de DES, a fascinação do espaço perspectivo deve-se, não aos escritos de Chastel, mas ao *Peinture et Société* de Pierre Francastel (Daniel Arasse, op. cit, p. 107; Claudia Cieri Via, “Viaggi in Italia. Daniel Arasse: una biografia intellettuale”, *Studiolo*, 3, 2005, p. 21).

<sup>17</sup> Será preciso escrever um dia a história deste entusiasmo, e tentar sobretudo lhe apreender os fundamentos. Ainda que ele exclua Hubert Damisch, citemos como exemplo emblemático desta verdadeira “conversação” a resposta da Virgem ao Anjo na *Anunciação* do Prado, de Fra Angelico – este “Fiat mihi secundum” escondido ou incluído pela coluna entre os protagonistas: Daniel Arasse, “Annonciation/Énnociation. Remarques sur un énoncé pictural du Quattrocento”, *Versus. Quaderni di studi semiotici*, 37, janeiro-abril, 1984, p. 11 nota 14; Louis Marin, “Énoncer une mystérieuse figure”, *La Part de l'oeil*, n. 3, 1987, pp. 127-9; em parte retomado em Idem, *Opacité de la peinture. Essais sur la représentation au Quattrocento*, s.l., Usher, 1989, pp. 152-4; Georges Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico. Dissemblance et figuration*. Paris: Flammarion, 1992 [edição consultada: Paris, Champs-Flammarion, 1996, pp. 19-23]; Arasse, 1999, pp. 137-9.

<sup>18</sup> ARASSE, Daniel. “Espace pictural et image religieuse: le point de vue de Masolino sur la perspective” In: EMILIANI, Marisa Dalai

(Org.) *La prospettiva rinacentale. Codificazioni e transgressioni*, atos do colóquio (Milão, Castello Sforzesco, 11-15 de outubro de 1977). Florença: Centro Di, 1980, pp.137-50. Malgrado a presença de inúmeras *Anunciações*, Arasse não desenvolve sua tese na obra que ele realiza sobre os primitivos italianos em 1978 (ARASSE, Daniel. *L'Homme en perspective. Les primitifs d'Italie*. Genebra: Famot, 1978).

<sup>19</sup> ARASSE, Daniel. “Annonciation/Énonciation...” cit. (nota 17), pp. 12-6. Foi Louis Marin (*Opacité de la peinture...*cit. [nota 17], p. 144), seguido do artigo de Arasse, que batizou assim esses dois “eixos”. Estes nomes serão retomados em *L'Annonciation italienne* (Arasse, 1999, p. 29).

<sup>20</sup> Arasse, “Annonciation/Énonciation...” cit. (nota 17), p. 17.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15.

<sup>22</sup> Citado notadamente por Louis Marin, *Opacité de la peinture...* cit. (nota 17), p. 161, nota 32.

<sup>23</sup> Arasse, 1999, p. 9. No recente colóquio dedicado a Daniel Arasse e organizado pelo INHA, de 8 a 10 de junho de 2006, Hubert Damisch comentou sobre os desacordos que teceram a relação intelectual entre os dois historiadores. Omar Calabrese, que havia aceito em 1984 o artigo de Daniel Arasse na revista *Versus*, explicou essa evolução entre os textos de 1984 e de 1999 pelo fato de que Arasse “queria ser historiador, historiador, historiador”. As comunicações desses dois pesquisadores demonstraram o quanto eles eram mais próximos da dimensão semiótica do pensamento de Daniel Arasse que de suas proposições históricas.

<sup>24</sup> Além disso, é sempre com algumas variantes que Daniel Arasse desenvolve em outras instâncias o tema da Anunciação: ARASSE, Daniel. “La fin du Moyen-Âge et la première Renaissance. Peinture et Sculpture” In: MOREL, Philippe / ARASSE, Daniel / D'ONOFRIO, Mario. *L'art italien du IVe siècle à la Renaissance*. Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 1997, pp. 268-71; *Idem*, “Leonardo da Vinci e la prospettiva dell'Annunciazione”, In Antonio Natali (Org.) *L'Annunciazione di Leonardo. La montagna sul marè*. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2000, pp. 15-35; *Idem*, *Histoires de peintures* cit. (nota 16), pp. 49-81.

<sup>25</sup> MEISS, Millard. “Light as Form and Symbol in Some Fifteenth-Century Paintings”, *The Art Bulletin*, XXVII, 1945, pp.43-68 [retomado em *idem*, *The Painter's Choice. Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art*, New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, 1976, pp. 3-18].

<sup>26</sup> Charles Dempsey, “Entre histoire et théorie”, *Revue de l'art*, n. 148/2005-2, pp. 66-9.

<sup>27</sup> A pintura do reflexo pode evidentemente dar uma informação espacial, mas é verdade também que ela escapa ao espaço figurativo: Leon

Battista Alberti não recomenda, em seu *De Pictura*, o uso do branco “último” para representar “o brilho extremo das superfícies mais polidas” (Leon Battista Alberti, *De la peinture. De Pictura* (1435), Paris: Macula, Dédale, 1992, p. 197)?

<sup>28</sup> Arasse, 1999, p. 83. Sobre esta obra em particular, ver também *idem*, “L'enceinte surprise de Marie: remarques sur un *Annonciation* siennoise” In: Bertrand Rougé (Org.), *La surprise*, atos do colóquio (Pau, CICADA, 9-11 de maio de 1996), Pau, Publications de l'Université de Pau, 1998, pp. 63-72. Acomodando-o a um esquema pré-perspectivo, Lippo Vanni e sobretudo Biagio di Goro Ghezzi teriam interpretado contrariamente esta “intrusão luminosa”.

<sup>29</sup> Título do primeiro capítulo de Arasse, 1999.

<sup>30</sup> Arasse, 1999, pp. 290-93. Esses raios luminosos são colocados no mesmo plano que as nuvens celestiais que irrompem nesse tipo de cena.

<sup>31</sup> O que mais impressionou os contemporâneos de Brunelleschi na “experiência” do Batistério foi precisamente o caráter mimético de tal representação: “Pareva Che si vedessi ‘l próprio vero”, nos diz Antonio Manetti, *Vita di Filippo Brunelleschi* [ca. 1482-1494], Carachaira Petrone (Org.), Roma: Salerno Editrice, 1992, p. 57.

<sup>32</sup> DAMISCH, Hubert. *Théorie du nuage. Pour une histoire de la peinture*. Paris: Seuil, 1972, pp. 164-71. Neste momento, há apenas duas etapas no processo pictural, no lugar de três colocados por Alberti e Piero della Francesca. Essa “demonstração” [em francês, “mise en lumière”; esclarecimento] encontra-se nos dois teóricos, sob o nome de “recepção das luzes” no primeiro, e de “aplicação de cores” no segundo. Isso faz pensar que existe uma certa redundância entre as duas primeiras etapas, que não são, além disso, estritamente idênticas, “circunscrição” e “composição” em Alberti, “desenho” e “comensuração” em Piero.

<sup>33</sup> *São Pedro* e seu nicho em Orsanmichele foram quase que certamente concebidos por Filippo Brunelleschi (ver Luciano Bellosi, “Da Brunelleschi a Masaccio: le origini del Rinascimento” In: *idem*, Laura Cavazzini e Aldo Galli (Org.), *Masaccio e le origini del Rinascimento*, cat. exp. [San Giovanni Valdarno, Casa Masaccio, 20 de setembro a 21 de dezembro de 2002], Genebra e Milão, Skira, 2002, pp. 21-24); sobre as marchetarias da Sacristia de Missas, ver Margaret Haines, *The “Sacrestia delle Messe” of the Florentine Cathedral*. Florença: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1983.

<sup>34</sup> Manetti, *Op. cit.* (nota 31), p. 55. É significativo ver Manetti falar de mármore “negro” para o *verde di pruto*. Também daltônico, Vasari, *Op. cit.* (nota 9), p. 195 indica-nos ademais que Brunelleschi transmite seu saber “ao jovem Masaccio” e àqueles que “trabalham a marchetaria, arte de justapor as madeiras coloridas”. Parece aqui razoável lembrar que o jovem Masaccio trabalhou, talvez, primeiramente,

em um ateliê de marchetaria em madeira (ver Eliot W. Rowlands, *Masaccio: Saint Andrew and the Pisa Altarpiece*. Los Angeles: Getty, 2003, pp. 10-1): teria ele contribuído, com Filippo Brunelleschi, para o nascimento da marchetaria perspectiva? Essa prática poderia ser invocada para explicar o caráter revolucionário de seu estilo, feita justamente de justaposições de zonas claras e escuras?

<sup>35</sup> André Chastel tinha escrito um artigo pioneiro sobre a relação entre marchetaria e perspectiva (“Marqueterie et perspective au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Revue des arts*, III, 1953, pp. 141-54 [retomado em *idem*, *Fables, formes, figures*. Paris: Flammarion, 1978, I, pp. 316-332]). A idéia será largamente desenvolvida por Massimo Ferretti, “I maestri della prospettiva” In: Federico Zeri (org.), *Storia dell'arte italiana. 11. Forme e modelli*, Turim, Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1982, pp. 459-585, que tomará o cuidado de se afastar dos pressupostos panofskyanos (p. 494). Hubert Damisch criticará essa atitude de maneira ferrenha e excessiva (*L'origine de la perspective*. Paris: Flammarion, 1987 [edição consultada: Paris: Champs-Flammarion, 1993, p. 255, nota 57]).

<sup>36</sup> Para retomar a fórmula de Cézanne para Pissarro em uma carta de 2 de julho e 1876 (In: Paul Cézanne, *Correspondance*, John Rewald (Org.). Paris: Grasset, 1978, p. 152).

<sup>37</sup> MARCHI, Andréa de. “Domenico Veneziano alla mostra degli Uffizi: appunti e verifiche”, *Kermes*, VII, n. 20, maio-agosto de 1994, p. 37.

<sup>38</sup> BELLOSI, Luciano (org.). *Pittura di luce: Giovanni di Francesco e l'arte fiorentina di metà Quattrocento*, cat. exp. (Florença: Casa Buonarroti, 16 de maio a 20 de agosto de 1990). Milão: Olivetti e Electa, 1990.

<sup>39</sup> BELLOSI, Luciano. “Giovanni Francesco e l'arte fiorentina di metà Quattrocento” In: *ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>40</sup> Arasse, 1999, p. 351 nota 102. Arasse se engana na origem da citação e menciona, no lugar do catálogo de 1990, uma exposição de tema semelhante, mas centrada em Piero della Francesca, organizada nos Uffizi dois anos mais tarde (Luciano Bellosi [org.], *Una scuola per Piero. Luce, colore e prospettiva nella formazione fiorentina di Piero della Francesca*, cat. exp. [Florença, Galleria degli Uffizi, 27 de setembro de 1992 a 10 de janeiro de 1993] Veneza, Marsilio, 1992): qualquer menção do catálogo *Pittura di luce* desaparecia então de *L'Annonciation italienne...*

<sup>41</sup> Para uma análise desta questão historiográfica, ver meu artigo “*Pittura di luce*: gênese de uma noção”, a ser publicado em *Studiolo*, 5, 2007.

<sup>42</sup> Luciano Bellosi, “Giovanni di Francesco...” cit. [nota 39], p. 24.

<sup>43</sup> Luciano Bellosi recentemente propôs ver em Masaccio um dos instigadores da *pittura di luce*

florentina (Luciano Bellosi, “Da Brunelleschi a Masaccio...” cit. [nota 33], p. 38). Se Piero della Francesca é unanimemente considerado como um herdeiro dos princípios de seu mestre Domenico Veneziano, sua relação artística com Antonello da Messina e Giovanni Bellini, proposta por Roberto Longhi (“Piero dei Franceschi e lo sviluppo della pittura veneziana”, *L’Arte*, XVII, 1914, pp. 198-221 e 241-256 [republicada em: Idem, *Opere complete. I. Scritti giovanili, 1912-1922*, Florença, Sansoni, 1961, I, pp. 61-106]), resta, ainda hoje, muito discutível.

<sup>44</sup> A obra foi recentemente exposta em Nova York, com uma atribuição a Pesellino que eu contestei (Laurence Kanter e Pia Palladino, *Fra Angelico*, cat. exp. [Nova York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26 de outubro de 2005 a 29 de janeiro de 2006], Nova York, New Haven e Londres, The Metropolitan Museum of Art e Yale University Press, 2005, cat. 52; Neville Rowley, “Le ambiguità dell’Angelico”, *Prospettiva*, a ser publicado).

<sup>45</sup> Sobre a *Anunciação* da Sacristia das Missas, veja-se Haines, op.cit. (nota 33), pp. 165-173. De modo sugestivo, Vasari associa Attavante degli Attavanti com três protagonistas da *pittura di luce*: ele o torna aos poucos aluno de Fra Angelico, depois de Bartolomeo della Gatta, assim como atribui miniaturas que ali são feitas a Pesellino.

<sup>46</sup> Trata-se de Florença, cujo símbolo é um lírio vermelho. (Nota da tradutora)

<sup>47</sup> Três obras que, por razões diferentes, alteraram um pouco a paternidade depois que Daniel Arasse falou a respeito disto: a *Anunciação* de Avignon não é mais “que atribuída a” Bartolomeo della Gatta, o “Mestre da Anunciação Gardner” foi identificado com Piermatteo d’Amelia, enquanto as obras atribuídas outrora a Girolamo di Giovanni da Camerino revelaram-se como tendo sido pintadas por Giovanni Angelo d’Antonio da Bolognola.

<sup>48</sup> Arasse, 1999, p. 224.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>50</sup> Lucas, I-35. O *interrogatio* é uma das cinco fases da Anunciação tal como a decompôs Michael Baxandall, baseando-se no sermão de Fra Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce (Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1972 [edição consultada: *Loeil du Quattrocento*, Paris, Gallimard, 1985, pp. 82-88]).

<sup>51</sup> Essa observação foi feita em primeiro lugar por Leo Steinberg: “How Shall This Be’ Part I”, *Artibus et Historiae*, n. 16, 1987, p. 34. Existe uma outra versão da obra de Gentile numa coleção privada nova-iorquina. Keith Christiansen (In *Fra Carnevale. Un’artista rinascimentale da Filippo Lippi a Piero della Francesca*, cat. exp. [Milão: Pinacoteca di Brera, 13 de outubro de 2004 a 9 de janeiro de 2005 e Nova York, The

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1º de fevereiro a 1º de maio de 2005], Milão, Olivares, 2004, pp. 147-148) também interpretou, na *Anunciação* de Filippo Lippi da Frick Collection de Nova York, uma sombra projetada sobre a Virgem em função do texto de São Lucas. Essa interpretação tem ainda mais o ar de ser pertinente, uma vez que não é isolada.

<sup>52</sup> Arasse, 1999, p. 83.

<sup>53</sup> Passaríamos, assim, da sombra de Gentile à luz de Piero, para parafrasear o título de um importante artigo de Andrea de Marchi dedicado à pintura dos Marche (Andrea de Marchi, “Pittori a Camerino nel Quattrocento: le ombre di Gentile e la luce di Piero” In: Idem (Org.), *Pittori a Camerino nel Quattrocento*, Milão, Federico Motta, 2002, pp. 24-99). Por outro lado, Louis Marin já havia interpretado o dispositivo de luz da *Anunciação* de Piero della Francesca de Arezzo como sendo de ordem divina (Louis Marin, “Ruptures, interruptions, synopses dans la représentation de peinture” In: *Ellipses, blancs, silences*, atos do colóquio [Pau, Université de Pau et des pays de l’Adour], 1992, pp. 77-86 [republicado em: Idem, *De la représentation*, Paris, Gallimard, Le Seuil, 1994, pp. 374-75).

<sup>55</sup> Samuel Y. Edgerton Jr., “How Shall That Be’ Part II”, *Artibus et Historiae*, n. 16, 1987, p. 46.

<sup>56</sup> Idem, “*Mensurare temporalia facit Geometria spiritalis*: Some Fifteenth-Century Italian Notions about When and Where the Annunciation Happened” In: Irving Lavin & John Plummer (Org.), *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*. New York, New York University Press, 1977, I, pp. 118-9.

<sup>57</sup> Luciano Bellosi, “Giovanni di Francesco...” cit. (nota 39), pp. 11-2.

<sup>58</sup> A *Anunciação* de Domenico Veneziano [Fig. 1] foi qualificada inúmeras vezes de “impressionista”. Entretanto, não se trata de modo algum de uma pintura “sur le motif”.

<sup>59</sup> Antonino ali foi padre de 1439 a 1444, e Fra Angelico, de 1450 a 1452.

<sup>60</sup> As estrelas do teto das *loggie* das *Anunciações* de Madri, Cortona e San Giovanni Valdarno podem, com efeito, sugerir uma atmosfera noturna.

<sup>61</sup> Incisões no painel do *Armadio* fazem supor que a composição inicialmente prevista era mais próxima das outras *Anunciações* de Fra Angelico (Spencer, Op. cit. [nota 2], p. 276). O Ashmolean Museum de Oxford conserva uma cópia desta obra; a única diferença, à exceção de sua qualidade bem diminuta, é que se acrescentaram incisões de ouro emanando da pomba do Espírito Santo.

<sup>62</sup> Em 1435, data do *De Pictura*, Fra Angelico aplica a perspectiva centrada depois de muito tempo, ao passo que continua a usar ouro sobre seus painéis. O que leva a pensar que,

longe de ser um predicado naturalista, a luz diurna que invade as obras do pintor a partir dos anos 1430 constitui uma espécie de equivalente espiritual do fundo de ouro da tradição gótica.

<sup>63</sup> Edgerton, “*Mensurare temporalia...*” cit. (nota 54), pp. 125-6.

<sup>64</sup> Timothy Verdon (“L’incarnazione e la città del fiore: l’Annunciazione nell’arte fiorentina”, *Arte cristiana*, LXXXVIII, n. 798, maio-junho de 200, p. 230) interpreta uma outra *Anunciação* de Fra Angelico, a do claustro 3 de San Marco, de um modo que parece vir de encontro ao que foi dito aqui: “Oltre [all’] Angelo e [alla] Vergine ... c’è qui un terzo attore in scena, una terza componente dell’azione centrale dell’evento. La luce Che avanza delicatamente da sinistra a destra: Che entre cioè com l’Angelo e dolcemente illumina, riempiendolo, lo spazio interno in cui si svolge l’evento, qui diventa quase soggetto vivo principale. Al momento stesso in cui Maria concepisce Cristo nel suo grembo, noi vediamo ‘la luce vera che illumina ogni uomo’ [João I, 9] riempire lo spazio di questo chiostro como Cristo ‘riempie’ e colma la vita di Maria.”

<sup>65</sup> Se não há lugar para discutir aqui a cronologia das obras de Filippo Lippi, nos contentaremos em assinalar que esta está longe de ser esclarecida para esse período.

<sup>66</sup> Além da interpretação que tende a considerar o quadro como um retábulo desde sua origem (Christa Gardner von Teuffel, “Lorenzo Monaco, Filippo Lippi und Filippo Brunelleschi: die Erfindung der Renaissancepala”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 45, n. 1, 1982, pp. 18-19), propôs-se alternativamente que as duas metades da obra eram painéis laterais de um órgão (Jeffrey Ruda, “A 1434 Building Programme for San Lorenzo in Florence”, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, n. 903, junho de 1978, p. 361; Eliot W. Rowlands, “Filippo Lippi and His Experience of Painting in the Veneto Region”, *Artibus et Historiae*, X, n. 19, 1989, p. 80 nota 32) ou as portas de um armário de relíquias (Francis Ames-Lewis, “Fra Filippo Lippi’s S. Lorenzo *Anunciation*”, *Storia dell’arte*, 69, maio-agosto, 1990, p. 156). É essa última hipótese que retoma Arasse, 1999, p. 142. Mais recentemente, Christoph Mezenich (“Filippo Lippi: ein Altarwerk für Ser Michele di Fruosino und die Verkündigung in San Lorenzo zu Florenz”, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XLI, n. 1/2, 1997, pp. 69-92) supôs até que a obra não seria proveniente de San Lorenzo, mas de Sant’Egidio.

<sup>67</sup> Deste modo, o capitel da pilastra central que passa, inexplicavelmente, da sombra à luz, alcançando a linha mediana do quadro. Um estudo do painel com luz rasante evidenciou três linhas horizontais, pontuadas de pontas de pregos à direita e pequenas lacunas à es-

querda. Merzenich (Op. cit. [nota 64], p. 75) deduz que os dois painéis foram elaborados e pintados em ateliês diferentes. A simetria entre os dois conjuntos de pregos nos parece, entretanto, por demais estrita para ser fortuita.

<sup>68</sup> Andrea de Marchi (“Norma e varità nella transizione dal polittico all pala quadra” In: Gigetta Dalli Regoli (Org.), *Storia dell’arte in Toscana. 3. Il Quattrocento*. Florença: Edifir, 2002, p. 203) assim podia se perguntar recentemente: “Chi potrà mai spiegare le discontinuità materiche fra le due metà dell’*Annunciazione* di Filippo Lippi poi finita in San Lorenzo e che pure nacque como una pala unitaria?”.

<sup>69</sup> RUDA, Jeffrey. *Fra Filippo Lippi. Life and Work with a Complete Catalogue*. London: Phaidon, 1992, cat. 14; CHRISTIANSEN, Keith. In: *Fra Carnevale...* cit. (nota 50), cat. 3. Não podemos concordar com a interpretação deste último autor quando ele afirma (p. 147): “il mondo illuminato dal sole di Domenico Veneziano è antitetico” à visão de Lippi (sobre esta questão, cf. meu artigo “La Renaissance de Fra Carnevale”, *Annali dell’Università di Ferrara. Sezione storia*, n. 2, outubro de 2005, pp. 89-90).

<sup>70</sup> WHITE, John. *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*. London: Faber and Faber, 1957 [edição consultada: *Naissance et Renaissance de l’espace pictural*. Paris: Adam Biro, 2003, pp. 187-91]. Essa análise será retomada por Arasse, 1999, pp. 142-3.

<sup>71</sup> O exemplo primordial, a *Annunciação* de Domenico Veneziano [Fig. 1], contradiz esse esquema. O conjunto do retábulo responde, todavia, a uma lógica luminosa que é incontesteável (cf. Helmut Wohl, *The Paintings of Domenico Veneziano, ca. 1410-1461: A Study in Florentine Art of the Early Renaissance*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1980, pp. 45-7). No fragmento de Cambridge, o modo como o sol corta, em torno de Gabriel, um retângulo luminoso sobre o muro colocado atrás dele deveria, a meu ver, ser interpretado de modo simbólico.

<sup>72</sup> Citado por Arasse, 1999, p. 11.

<sup>73</sup> Merzenich, Op.cit. (nota 64), p. 77. É sobretudo em seu artigo de 1984 que Daniel Arasse insiste sobre a ruptura temporal da *Annunciação* (“Annonciation/Énonciation...” cit. [nota 17], pp. 15-6).

<sup>74</sup> Edgerton, “How Shall This Be?” Part II”... cit. (nota 53), p. 47. O artigo de Edgerton, e seu par escrito por Leo Steinberg (op. cit. [nota 50]), tinham por objeto uma outra *Annunciação* de Filippo Lippi, da National Gallery de Londres. Ainda que reconhecendo o valor literário do ensaio de Edgerton, Daniel Arasse veio a duvidar da pertinência de sua interpretação, por demais única segundo ele, a ponto de privilegiar uma leitura mais pessoal da obra (compare-se Arasse, 1999, pp.151-6 com Idem, *Histoires de peintures*, cit. [nota 16], pp.75-77). Desde então, Charles Dempsey (op. cit. [nota 26]) colocou a obra de Filippo Lippi em paralelo com a *Annun-*

*ciação* de Poussin já citada. Nossa interpretação de duas outras *Annunciações* do mesmo Lippi teria também tendência a reforçar essa hipótese, que não seria necessariamente muito teológica para um monge carmelita.

<sup>75</sup> Millard Meiss (Op. cit. [nota 25], p. 17, nota 27) já havia interpretado o sentido simbólico dessa garrafa. Altamente significativa também é a sombra, minuciosamente pintada, que dali emana.

<sup>76</sup> Entre os inúmeros temas abordados por Daniel Arasse, os da *Annunciação* e da perspectiva ocupam um lugar muito singular para que possamos aqui tentar deduzir um método geral. Sobre esse tema, esperando a publicação dos atos do colóquio “Daniel Arasse”, nos permitiremos citar a análise penetrante de Maurice Brock, op. cit. (nota 14), p. 6: “a maior parte dos trabalhos de Daniel Arasse se revestem de um ar metodológico. Eles talvez não sejam isentos de imprudências e de erros, mas são sempre estimulantes, não tanto porque eles exporiam ou aplicariam com rigor o método perfeitamente conceitualizado inicialmente, mas, ao contrário, porque são feitos freqüentemente, e para retomar uma de suas expressões, de uma “bricolagem conceitual”. Ver também, por último, o número de junho de 2006 da revista *Esprit*, dedicada a Daniel Arasse.

<sup>77</sup> ARASSE, Daniel. *L’ambition de Vermeer*. Paris: Adam Biro, 1993, ed. 2001, pp. 168-78.

## The man in black behind the court

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Among the members of the court of the Gonzaga in the north wall of the *Camera picta* [Figs.1 e 2],<sup>1</sup> we can find a man with grayish hair soberly dressed in black among the vivaciously colored garbs and the damascene tissues [Fig.3]. His identity is unknown. A possible explanation is that he could be the humanist and educator Vittorino da Feltre (c.1378-1446),<sup>2</sup> a founding figure of the Mantuan humanism.

When Mantegna (1430/31-1506) scribbled the date of 1474, which cor-

responded to the end of the works of decoration of the *Camera picta*, in the dedicatory to the marquis Ludovico (1414-1478), Vittorino has already been death for twenty-eight years.

Ludovico III Gonzaga, second Mantuan marquis, was one of the greatest patrons of the *Quattrocento*. The extensive correspondence kept in the Mantuan archives reveals his personal effort in each project.

The Gonzaga were feudatory of the province. The most ancient ancestral that we can keep track of is a bourgeois, Filippo Corradi, whose descendants were called *dei Corradi di Gonzaga*, probably by living next to the Gunziaga, an affluent of the Po river. In 1189, Corbello Gonzaga was counselor of the Mantuan *Podestà* and, ten

years later, he received the Campitello’s feud. In December 1287, Guido Gonzaga received a great extension of lands from the Benedictines of the San Benedetto di Polirone monastery. He was a member of the Council that elected Rinaldo Bonacolsi as the Lord of Mantua. In August 16, 1328, the Bonacolsi were banished from the city by a revolt commanded by the Gonzaga. One of Guido’s sons, Ludovico (1268-1360), owner of a great fortune, became the general Captain of Mantua, lord of the city, which the family governed up until 1708. Ludovico had as his successors in the role of general Captain the son, Guido, the grandson Ludovico II, and the grandgrandson Francesco. In 1433, Gianfrancesco (1407-44), the son of Francesco and Margherita Malatesta, obtained the title of marquis of Man-

tua in exchange for 120.000 gold florins paid to Sigismundo, emperor of the Romano-Germanic Sacred Empire. In the same year, his heir Ludovico married with Barbara of Brandenburg, nephew of the emperor. The marriage was arranged during the childhood of both and Barbara was living in the court since then. She was a cult and intelligent woman, educated as she was by Vittorino da Feltre, and she kept correspondence with erudits and artists. She was considered by her contemporaries as an example of wife and mother, and her main preoccupation was the education of her ten children. The entailments with the imperial court through the kinship of Barbara Hohenzollern of Brandenburg showed useful to the family.

The Gonzaga were *condottieri*. They fought for money for the courts of Milan, Venice, Florence, and Naples, and, in some occasions, for two rival cities at the same time. Gianfrancesco disinherited Ludovico in 1437 for fighting for the duke of Milan while his father served the Venetians. Latter on, he was pardoned and reintegrated as an heir. He becomes marquis of Mantua in the year of 1444.

In the middle of the fifteenth-century, Mantua had a population of near 25.000 inhabitants. It was a city of the same size than the neighbor Ferrara and smaller than Venice or Milan. The political situation was stable, thanks to the diplomacy, to the efficient elimination of the rivals, even among the family members themselves, and to a series of matrimonial alliances with the reigning families of the northern courts.

The ducal palace, the former *Palazzo Del Capitano*, seat of the commune in the main *piazza*, was the center, and the symbol of power. The addition of the *San Giorgio* castle, a square fortified tower that received improvements during the fourteenth-century, augmented it in size.

Gianfrancesco realized many works in Mantua, but it was his son Ludovico,

who commanded the city from 1444 to 78, who transformed it in one of the main centers of the Renaissance.

Ludovico, known as *the Turk*, had a reputation for being a competent soldier and politician and he enriched the city. In the year of 1459, he was able to persuade Pius II to chose Mantua as the seat of the congress that should promote the crusade against the Turks,<sup>3</sup> the Mantuan Diet, suggesting the presence of Frederico III, which did not happen to occur, as neither happen the crusade, despite the papal court had remained there for nine months. Perhaps behind the choice of Mantua a poetic issue was also present, since it was the native land of Virgil.<sup>4</sup> In the *Commentarii*,<sup>5</sup> the pope wrote that “to the Pius Aeneas, it seemed a necessary courtesy to return to the homeland of the Aeneas Singer the glory that the tender Virgil had legated to that name.”

For the first time, Mantua was the center of a historical event and it attracted the attention of the western world. Ludovico made urban changes with the aim of welcoming condignly the pope, his court, the emperor, and the princes, all of them being guests at his own expenses.

The Diet did not have political reach. It lasted eight months. The pope and his court needed to wait for the other participants, while the Turks were taking over Athens and were invading the Peloponnesus. In the words of Eugenio Garin,<sup>6</sup> “it was an empty congress, surrounded by suspiciousness and hostilities”. The heat was intense and humid and some cardinals complained of being conducted to Mantua to die there, as in reality happened to the Sienese orator, Giovanni di Mignanelli.

For Mantua, nevertheless, this was an admirable period. To headquarter the congress was an important diplomatic victory for Mantua, for it established the city as the new Rome. In the farewell, the marquis Gonzaga and his wife followed the pope by the river

up until Revere. Despite the excessive expenses with the event, Ludovico attained great personal prestige. He was able to make the pope declare as truthful the relic with the Holy Blood of Christ, kept in Sant’Andrea’s crypt and, in the following year, he obtained the cardinalate for his second son, Francesco, who was only 17 years old.

Notwithstanding, the papal court did not get well impressed with the city. Pius II criticized the muddy streets and its unpleasant look. Ludovico’s answer was to initiate an urban renewal program that modified the look of the center of the city, with many works in the ducal palace and in the other castles.<sup>7</sup> He started by transferring himself from the *Corte Vecchia* to the *San Giorgio* castle, restructured by Luca Fancelli (1430-95).<sup>8</sup> He paved the streets, restored the Old Market and the *Palazzo Del Podestà*, and he started the construction of a new tower for the clock.<sup>9</sup>

The great project of Ludovico’s father, Gianfrancesco, was the decoration of the reception hall of the ducal palace. He hired Pisanello (c.1395-1455),<sup>10</sup> who painted a fresco with the theme of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table in search for the Holy Grail, the cup with which Joseph of Arimathaea took the blood of the crucified Jesus. In Mantua, the representation of this legend has a special meaning because the city, the first to be Christianized in the peninsula, is the keeper of the Grail with the Holy Blood, brought from the Holy Land by Saint Longuinus<sup>11</sup> short after the crucifixion<sup>12</sup>. The source for Pisanello’s painting was a French romance of the Arthurian cycle in the library of the Gonzaga family and it included portraits of the *gonzaghese* court. The portraits were a reference to the mystical descending of the Christian kings brought to Mantua by the marriage of Guido Gonzaga with Beatriz of Lorena, his third wife. The little that remained from this fresco, which was uncompleted and recovered some

years ago, shows knights with swords and spears and horses equipped with the colors of the Gonzaga, reputed breeders of thoroughbred horses that fulfilled the European courts. Both the style and the theme, the tournament, were typical of the current taste for the visual expression of the aristocratic ideals of certain nobility that owed loyalty to the feudal lord. The fresco fulfilled the need of dynastic affirmation and glorification of the Gonzaga family.

To give expression to the new image that he wanted for Mantua, Ludovico received the help of Alberti (1404-1472), the great theorist of the Renaissance. In the place of the late-gothic style and the cavalry themes, Ludovico opted for the language of the ancient Rome. It is probable that Ludovico was influenced by Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of Rimini, who initiated the reframing works of the Malatestian Temple in 1450, in accordance with the drawings made by Alberti that were based in the architecture of the Antiquity. As Malatesta, Ludovico was the lord of a small and relatively less influential state and he needed to match it to cities like Francesco Sforza's Milan, which adopted the gothic as a style. The choice of Ludovico made his court to be different and imposing. The language of Antiquity suggested the association with a great imperial power. The move to the *San Giorgio* castle proposed the idea of Rome's continuity by the shape of fortress-tower, which resembles the *Castel Sant'Angelo* in Rome.

The use of the classical style became an instrument of self-celebration for the marquis and his family, and the renewal of the city was like the renewal of the Empire. To put in practice this program it was fundamental to have the presence of the young Paduan painter Andrea Mantegna<sup>15</sup> who, around 1457, Ludovico Gonzaga was able to persuade to work for him and to establish himself in Mantua as the court painter.

The first commission that Ludovico did to Mantegna was a sacred theme for

the castle chapel. Following, came the great decoration project of the *Camera picta*, or *Camera degli sposi*,<sup>14</sup> as it was later known, the representation room of the *San Giorgio* castle. His father had chosen the Arthurian theme, of the ideal of the courtesan cavalry typically mediaeval. In the place of it, Ludovico commissioned to Mantegna the painting of a cycle of frescoes that could express visually the prestige of the Mantuan court, and could accentuate its association with the imperial traditions of the ancient Rome and not with the North European courts. The chosen themes for the iconographical program were dynastic and imperial.

The *Camera picta*<sup>15</sup> is a cubic room, with walls that measure 8.05 meters, and it occupies the first floor of the northern tower of the *San Giorgio* castle, built by Bertolino Novara between 1393 and 1406. The room has two windows, the north and the east ones. The roof is an arch that ends in a plain surface. After the death of Ludovico, it became the place where they kept together the goods of value of the family. In the *life* dedicated to Mantegna, Vasari cites briefly the fresco: "*In the same place [the castle], there are many foreshortened figures from bottom to top greatly praised because, despite the garments being hard and rigid and the manner somewhat dry, we can see that all there are made with great art and exactitude*".<sup>16</sup> Perhaps Vasari could have not entered into the room and for that reason, he does not describe it so well. It is possible also that his enthusiasm with the *Room of the Giants* (1530-35) in the Tè palace, which Vasari describes in detail, a work of his friend and for whom the biographer was also a guest, Giulio Romano (1492/99-1546), could turn difficult a correct appreciation of the frescoes of Mantegna. After all, in the roof of the *Room of the Giants*, Giulio placed the seat of Jupiter in a balustrade very similar to the eyeglass at the *Camera picta*.

According to an inscription, the beginning of the works of painting in the

*Camera picta* was June 16, 1465. In the arches, Mantegna painted medallions with the first eight Roman emperors, and in the lunettes, he painted reliefs with stories from Greek mythology, which claims that the Gonzaga family had an ancient and ideal ascendancy. The choice for the myth of Orpheus<sup>17</sup> should also be a reference to Ludovico's esteem for music.

In the center of the roof, Mantegna painted an eyeglass open to the sky, surrounded by a balustrade, with women from the court and *putti* that look to the marquis and his privileged world. This is the first example, since Antiquity, of an illusionist decorative painting, of *trompe l'oeil*.

In two walls, there are painted curtains and in the other two, there are frescoes of Ludovico and his relatives in a court environment and in front of a landscape. In the west wall, in the *Meeting*, Ludovico is at open air in the middle of his heirs, dressed with official garbs, the marquis as *condottiero* and the son Francesco with the garb of cardinal. There is no consensus in relation to the meaning of the scene or who are the other characters. Whatever be the interpretation, it is doubtless that the nomination of Francesco as a cardinal was a fundamental event to the Gonzaga family, who reached in this way the legitimization of their own power by the pope and could dream for higher ambitions. The *Meeting*, which happens before a city, an idealized Rome, is the expression of a political program that projects for the family the desire to reach the papacy itself.

In the north wall, Mantegna represented Ludovico close to his family in a porch, the Roman *atrium*. The group is in front of a balustrade decorated with marble circles, beyond which one can see a space with vegetation, as a closed garden, a *hortus conclusus*, which reminds Masaccio's (1401-28) *Raising of the Son of Theophilus*,<sup>18</sup> in the Brancacci chapel.

It is the same typology of the classical Roman buildings, the *Domus* and the *Pantheon*. It has the symbolic value of being the residence of the emperor, who was identified with the sun, one of the emblems of the Gonzaga.

The *Court* scene is a domestic and private portrait. With assurance, we can recognize only the marquis Ludovico [Fig.4] and his wife, Barbara [Fig.5]. Their children, relatives, and courtesans surround them. Nonetheless, behind the couple, in the shadow, we can see the men in black [Fig.2]. Of him, we can only see the head and a part of the chest, as an ancient bust. He is a serious figure, of great dignity, who keeps the eyes downward in a face marked by his age. There is a medal [Fig.6] made by Pisanello short after the death of Vittorino da Feltre, occurred in February 2, 1446,<sup>19</sup> which shows likeness with the *Court* painting. The man in black is in a position at the same time as discrete as central, for we see him between the reigning couple, and that fact surely indicates his importance. Moreover, in reality, Vittorino conferred a special style to the Gonzaga court and turned the city into a center of culture.

In 1422, the marquis Gianfrancesco, Ludovico's father, invited Vittorino da Feltre to settle in Mantua in order that he could be the preceptor of his children and could take care of the library. The aim, despite being to find an excellent preceptor to his children, was to legitimate the power of the family by having at his service a man so cult. Vittorino's presence and actions gave to Mantua the prestige that Gianfrancesco so much desired.

Born in Feltre, in the Venetian Alps, around 1378, Vittorino di ser Bruto dei Rambaldoni da Feltre went to Padua with eighteen years old. There, he lived the next nineteen years, with the exception of two brief periods in Venice, until he moved definitively to Mantua.

According to Baldassare Castiglione,<sup>20</sup> his pupil for eight years, Vittorino's

family had a good social position in Feltre. Vespasiano da Bisticci<sup>21</sup> describes them as *onesti parenti*. The father, Bruto de' Rabaldoni, was a notary of little resources. Vittorino, who always needed to work in order to survive and to study, considered labor as a motive for human ennoblement. His attitude in front of richness was contemptuous and he possessed only the essential. Francesco Prendilacqua,<sup>22</sup> pupil and biographer of Vittorino da Feltre, wrote about the house that the marquis Gonzaga gave to him: "Vittorino bought in the Mantuan suburb a little kitchen garden, with few vines, the ancient dwelling of our Poet who, according to the proud tradition of our co-citizens, was born there. Moreover, this place, very close to the city, he frequented with the disciples in a sign of veneration. We here call it the *Mount of Virgil*: it is a little bit higher than are the others and is prominent above the hills. This is the richness of Vittorino." According to Signorini,<sup>23</sup> Vittorino had the right of its fruition but not of its property, which was located in Pietole,<sup>24</sup> the ancient Andes where Virgil was born.

We do not know anything about his studies in Feltre. In Padua, he frequented the public courses on dialectics, philosophy, and rhetoric of the University. He faced many financial difficulties, for the courses were free of charge, but the books were very expensive. Despite his rich relatives from Padua, the Enselmini, had helped him, he maintained himself as a private teacher of grammar. He acquired the title of *Magister artium* around 1410 and he kept studying after that. A characteristic of the humanist masters is that there was not a definitive separation between the learning and the teaching activities, known as the *cupiditas discendi*, the intense desire to learn. Therefore, the masters returned periodically to take classes as pupils.

During the period of almost twenty years that Vittorino lived in Padua, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Giovanni Conversino da

Ravenna, Gasparino Barzizza and Paolo Nicoletti were his main influences.

The issue of Christianity was fundamental to Vittorino. He followed the philosophy course of Vergerio, the first humanist pedagogue, who has published in 1403 the *De ingenuis moribus*, in which he conciliated the Christian faith with the enthusiasm for the classical studies.

Vittorino studied Latin with Gasparino Barzizza, considered as the greatest Latinist of that time. It was habitual for the teachers to accept students as a way to complement the domestic budget; besides being his pupil, Vittorino was a pensioner in the house of Barzizza.

Vittorino followed the private lessons of mathematics of Biagio Pelacani, one of the few mathematics teachers. To attend the course of Pelacani during one semester, Vittorino accepted a job as *famulus* in the teacher's house. However, he could not stand the mistreatments and he abandoned the classes and started to study with Jacopo Della Torre da Forlì, with whom he learned, besides mathematics, physics and astrology. In Vittorino's medal,<sup>25</sup> made by Pisanello, we can find the inscription: *Victorinus Feltrensis summus mathematicus et omnis humanitatis pater*. Up until 1415, Vittorino lectured on mathematics and grammar in Padua.

The end of the fourteenth-century was an important period to the Italian culture. Emanuel Chrysolora, the famous teacher from Constantinople, arrived at Florence in 1397. The Greek language, which was unknown in Italy, started to be taught in the *Studio fiorentino*. In 1415, Vittorino went to Venice. He attended at Greek lessons with Guarino and taught grammar and mathematics, especially to the children of the Venetian aristocrats. He started his own school and received recognition as an educator. In the fourteenth-century, there already were some private boarding schools in some Italian cities, similar to monasteries. Vittorino's model was the monastic school.

Vittorino stayed in Venice until March 1419. Back to Padua, he started a boarding school that he directed for two years. In 1421, Barzizza moved to Milan and Vittorino succeeded him in the prestigious chair of rhetoric in the University. However, he could not stand the students immoderations. He leaved the public teaching and the city, returning to Venice in the next year. There, he opened a boarding school that students of all over Italy frequented.

In 1422, the marquis Gianfrancesco Gonzaga invited him to settle in Mantua. It was probably a suggestion made by Guarino da Verona, who became Vittorino's friend, and who was unable to accept the invitation that he received from the marquis to be the master of his children. Vittorino hesitated, but finally he moved to Mantua in 1423. The detention in Padua of his cousin, Enselmino degli Enselmini, for political reasons should have determined the decision.

The letter that he sent to the marquis, accepting the task of educating his children, reminds the rule of Saint Francis, in which the Saint places the moral virtue above the human hierarchy. It preserves the right of accepting only the orders that do not offend his conscience.

The relationship between Vittorino and the Gonzaga was always excellent. In Mantua, he had all the liberty and independence to work that he desired. He created the *Giocosa*, the first school that placed together the humanist ideals and the Christian principles and that become the most renowned humanist school of the Renaissance and a center of erudition. The children of the marquis Gonzaga, the heirs of the noble families of the Italian courts, the children of the humanists,<sup>26</sup> and for the first time, children that could not pay for the education studied there.

There was a great diversity of social origin among the students: there were the children of the marquis and of the aristocracy, of humanists and of poor

families. Each student was able to pay according to his possessions. In 1443, of the seventy that frequented the *Giocosa*, forty did not pay. Some more necessitated families received a help from the government through the intervention of Vittorino in order that their children do not needed to abandon the studies to work. There were also age differences, for there were adults and kids. The school accepted girls too, and it was one of them, Cecilia Gonzaga, sister of Ludovico, who got the greatest distinction by the brilliance of her intelligence amongst all that studied there. Some students were pupils in some disciplines and teachers in others. Vittorino desired that in his school the desire to learn prevailed. He did not admit that those who did not fitted in his demanded pattern could stay there.

Francesco Gonzaga, the Captain of Mantua, built the edifice where the school worked besides the official court residence<sup>27</sup>, to shelter clothes, jewel, books and art objects that he had brought from a trip to France. The term *Domus nostrae Zoiosae*, the joyous house, a place of pleasures and entertainments, is shown for the first time in a 1389 document. According to Paglia,<sup>28</sup> its construction should have started in the previous year.

The name of the school should be *Ca'Gioiosa*, in Venetian *Ca' Zoiosa*. Vittorino suggested changing it to *Giocosa*, *gioco* from the Latin *jocus*, a synonym of *ludus*. The names *Zoiosa* and *Giocosa* alternate in the documents.

The *Giocosa* was the house of Vittorino, of the marquis' children, and was a boarding school. The families soon started to appreciate it much and it was necessary to build a second neighboring house, where part of the students lived.

The school was an imposing building next to the river, surrounded by turfs and high trees, with an ample and well-illuminated interior and with frescoes in the walls with scenes of chil-

dren playing. Vittorino took off from the house everything that was excessive in the decoration. He sought to turn the place into the most simple and agreeable as possible and kept what could foster the intellectual activity. This was unusual, for the mediaeval schools had dark and less ventilated rooms. In the *Giocosa*, there was no artificial heat. Vittorino considered that the weaknesses of the body and the mind caused the cold and that a vigorous body and a joyous spirit should not feel cold. The rigid discipline, nevertheless, did not implicated in physical punishments.

The issue of Christianity was fundamental to Vittorino. The religious teaching had the greatest importance. The school's inspiration was religious, but without the clergy's presence.

Vittorino, likewise Alberti, suffered from the influence of the work of Quintilian (c.42-118), *Institutio Oratoria* (*The Orator's Education*). In the twelve volumes in which he deals with the education since childhood up to the orator's formation, Quintilian highlights the power of expression and of personality, considering an educated men those who are able to express themselves with sincerity, familiarity, and persuasion, on every kind of knowledge. For that reason, in the *Giocosa*, the readings that were done out loud and the declamation had especial importance.

Vittorino's biographer, Woodward,<sup>29</sup> comments on how much difficult it is to imagine the disorientation caused by the discovery of the works of Antiquity in that period. The ancient ideal of knowledge elaborated through centuries was substituted in the space of one generation for a new ideal, not yet completely realized, and the education advanced through partial attempts. The relationship between the new aspirations and the ancient faith and the conflict between the Greek cult of the body and the asceticism of the Church were hard issues. When Vittorino started to teach in Padua, in the beginning of

the fifteenth-century, these issues were coming to the fore. In the period of his death, in 1446, many solutions had been obtained through the imitation of Antiquity and, mainly, by the daily activities of masters, among whom he distinguished himself.

Guarino da Verona had translated and published Plutarch treatise *De liberorum educatione* around 1411. Ten years later, the Renaissance found the complete text of Cicero *De oratore*. The conclusions of Vittorino in relation to the education lead him to adopt in the Mantuan school educational methods used in Greece and in Rome. The desire for harmony sought the integral formation of the individual, highlighting the physical exercises as a part of the formation of the personality. Vittorino considered the intellectual development of equal importance as the physical development, being fostered the practice

of gymnastics and the excursions to the lakes and to the Alps.

The teaching had as its base the art of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. There were classes of Latin and Greek, algebra, arithmetic, geometry, logic, astrology, ethics, dialectics, natural sciences, astronomy, history, music and eloquence. People saw music with restrictions for they feared that it could affect too much the sense. They fostered the study of Greek. The students learned the Greek and the Latin, the Greek and the Latin literature and the ancient history through the classical texts.

Vittorino died at February 2, 1446, twenty-three years after having created the Mantuan school. He did not leave any text. The correspondence that he kept with his friend Ambrogio Traversari, with the exception of six letters, was lost. Despite that, the humanist in-

fluence of his school in the education and in the moral character encompassed the whole Renaissance through the actions of his pupils. The study of Greek, giving access to the original sources, was fundamental to foster the antiquarian interest. Among the students of the *Giocosa*, there were many of the future patrons of the Renaissance, as Ludovico III Gonzaga himself and Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino.

Vittorino da Feltre, who could well be the man in black [Fig.3] painted by Mantegna in the wall of the *Camera picta*, aggregated in himself the humanist ideals described by Baldassare Castiglione, pupil of the *Giocosa* for eight years, in the *Libro del Cortigiano*,<sup>30</sup> in which he establishes the ideal of behavior for the man of the Renaissance.

English version: Marcelo Hilsdorf Marotta

<sup>1</sup> Andrea Mantegna (1430/1-1506), *The Court*, c. 1474, dry fresco, northern wall of the *Camera picta*, San Giorgio castle, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> The character in black was identified as being:  
a. Vittorino da Feltre (Luzio and Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*. Turin, 1892, p.173, *apud* Kristeller, Paul, *Andrea Mantegna*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901, p.240);

b. Bartolomeo Manfredi, the court astronomer and builder of the tower clock (hypothesis of Stefano Davari transmitted orally to Kristeller in Kristeller, Paul, *op. cit.*, n.2, p.244);

c. Francesco Prendilacqua, pupil of Vittorino da Feltre and also author of the most complete biography, *Vita Victorini*, which he started to write in 1466. Prendilacqua was son of Niccolò and of a sister of Ludovico Accordi, both from Verona (Bellonci, Maria and Garavaglia, Niny. *Mantegna*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1966, p.106).

<sup>3</sup> At May 29, 1453, two years after getting onto the Ottoman Empire throne, the sultan Mohamed II conquered Constantinople. His next objective was Rome. The pope convoked a congress that could demonstrate the strength and the unity of the Western catholic world and that launched the crusade against the Turks. The natural choice to headquarter it, Rome, was not adequate. The German princes would claim a distance issue for not showing up, for they preferred that the pope came to meet them. Another possibility was an Italian

city outside the territory of the Church. The pope decided for Mantua. The fact that it was a little marquisate repelled the suspicions and did not provoke envy or jealousy. The marquis Ludovico III Gonzaga had diplomatic ability and excellent relations with the European powers, including kinship. The choice of the place should have pleased the German and especially the emperor, whose presence the pope much desired. GerGer At October 22, 1458, Pius II communicated to the marquis his decision through a brief papal document delivered, meaningfully, by the Mantuan bishop Galeazzo Craviani, who was nominated governor of Rome during the period of the pope's absence. Accompanied only by six cardinals, the pope leaved Rome at January 22, 1459. The majority of the Cardinalate College was too old and they waited for a propitious season to travel. The company followed slowly through Perugia and Siena, arrived at Florence in April, passed through Bologna and, in the end of May, entered into Ferrara, where the duke Borso D'Este furnished a boat in order that they could finish the path by the river.

<sup>4</sup> When, finally, at May 27, Pius II arrived in Mantua, his first act was to visit the place where it was supposed to be the house of Virgil.

<sup>5</sup> Pius II, *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae temporibus suis contigerunt*, Book I, Rome, 1584, *apud* Bini, Italo, "Mantova sede papale durante la

*dieta convocata da Pio II*", in *Civiltà Mantovana*, n.3, Mantua, 1984, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Garin, Eugenio, *Ritratto di Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, in *Ritratto di Umanisti*. Florence: Sansoni, 1967, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> The *Palazzo Ducale* of the Gonzaga is a set of interlinked buildings, from different periods and of different styles, which suffered many interventions. The most ancient nucleus is the *Corte Vecchia*, which includes the *Palazzo del Capitano* and the *Magna Domus*, from the thirteenth-century, and the *Domus Nuova*, from the fourteenth-century. The *Castel San Giorgio* was erected in the fifteenth-century (1395-1406) and the *Corte Nuova*, in the sixteenth-century, already through the project of Giulio Romano (1492/9-1546).

<sup>8</sup> Lucca Fancelli was born in Settignano in 1430. He was an architect, military engineer, and sculptor. He worked in Mantua, contributing to the affirmation of the Renaissance shape of the city. Many times, he was the mediator between Ludovico Gonzaga and Mantegna, of whom he was very close. He died in Mantua in 1495.

<sup>9</sup> Built by the astrologer and mathematician Bartolomeo Manfredi, the clock indicated the hours, the seasons, phases of the moon, and the position of the sun in relation to the signs of the Zodiac.

<sup>10</sup> Antonio Pisano, known as Pisanello, was born probably in Pisa between the 90 and 95

years of the fourteenth-century. The first major work was a fresco (presently lost) painted in the *Palazzo Ducale* in Venice, together with his master Gentile da Fabriano (c.1370-1427) around 1415. It is probable that it was in this occasion that Pisanello knew Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, who was there participating in a tournament.

<sup>11</sup> Longinus, the Roman soldier that wounded Christ with the spear, was converted in the moment that the blood drops fell from the wound that he had provoked. This same chalice, lost and found miraculously in Mantua over two times in the Middle Ages, can be found in the crypt of Sant'Andrea, under the central point of the Church, in front of the main altar.

<sup>12</sup> The reference to Saint Longinus reveals the probable origin of the Mantuan Christianization through the Roman army.

<sup>13</sup> Andrea Mantegna was born probably between 1430 and 31 in the Isola di Carturo, near to Vicenza and Padua. From a very poor family (the father was carpenter), he entered to the atelier of Francesco Squarcione (1397-1468) around his ten years old as a stepson. Mantegna married with Nicolosia, daughter of Jacopo Bellini, in 1453. In 1457, he accepted the invitation from Ludovico Gonzaga to settle as the Mantuan court painter, to where he moved definitively in 1460. With the exception of two trips to Tuscany in 1466 and 67 and of a period between 1488 e 90, in which he went to Rome through the request of the pope Innocentius VIII to decorate a chapel in the Vatican (later demolished), he dwelled in Mantua up until his death in September 13, 1506. He was buried there, in Sant'Andrea's funerary chapel.

<sup>14</sup> The *Camera degli sposi* received its name by the presence of a peacock, an attribute of Juno, the goddess that ruled over marriage.

<sup>15</sup> The room was continuously victim of misfortunes, which caused serious material damages. Already in the year of Mantegna's death, in 1506, the rainwater infiltration obliged the sons of the painter to restore it. There were many damages caused by the imperial troops that occupied the palace in 1630 and practiced gunshot in one of the figures. The room was abandoned up until around 1875. The restorations were all inadequate. During the Second World War, the *Camera picta* was protected with mattresses and layers of straw, what can have worsened the frescoes situation. The room received a last restoration in 1987.

<sup>16</sup> Vasari, Giorgio; Barocchi, Paola, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti, vita di Andrea Mantegna*, Florence.

<sup>17</sup> In the beginning of 1480, before returning to Florence, Poliziano created the *Favola de Orfeo* to a carnival party organized by the cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. The play was delivered in the *Camera picta*, with Mantegna's scenarios.

<sup>18</sup> Masaccio (1401-28), *Raising of the Son of Theophilus*, 1426-27, fresco, 230 x 598 cm, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.

<sup>19</sup> Pisanello (c.1395-1455), *Portrait of Vittorino da Feltrre*, bronze medal, diameter 6.7 cm, short after February 2, 1446, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

<sup>20</sup> Valitutti, Salvatore, "Inattualità ed attualità di Vittorino da Feltrre", in *Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova*, vol. XLVII, Mantua, 1979, p. 163.

<sup>21</sup> Vespasiano da Bisticci; Frati, Ludovico, *Vite di*

*uomini illustri del secolo.*, vol. secondo, Bologna: Romagnoli-Dall'Acqua, 1893, p. 222.

<sup>22</sup> Prendilaqua, E. "De Vita Victorini Feltrrensis dialogus", in Garin, Eugenio. *Il pensiero pedagogico dell' Umanesimo*, 1958, pp.642-643.

<sup>23</sup> Signorini, Rodolfo, "Una donazione rifiutata da Vittorino da Feltrre", in *Civiltà Mantovana*, n. 11, Mantua, 1986, p.1.

<sup>24</sup> Pietole would be the Andes of Antiquity.

<sup>25</sup> Pisanello (1395-1455), *Medal of Vittorino da Feltrre*, short after February 2, 1446, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

<sup>26</sup> Guarino da Verona, Poggio Bracciolini and Francesco Filelfo sent their children to study in Mantua.

<sup>27</sup> In 1884, the site that the school would occupy was established: the extreme of the present *Piazza Sordello* next to the *Piazza della Fiera*, where there was the building of the old *Mercato dei Bozzoli*, between *Via San Giorgio* and *Piazza del Castello*.

<sup>28</sup> Paglia, E. "La casa Gioiosa di Vittorino da Feltrre in Mantova", in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, XI, fasc. I, 1884, p. 7, *apud* Signorini, Rodolfo. "Un'altra "Ca' Zoiosa" (o Gioiosa) a Rodigo", in *Civiltà Mantovana*, n.9, Mantua, 1994, p. 87.

<sup>29</sup> Woodward, W.H. *Vittorino da Feltrre and Other Humanist Educators*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964 (1897), *apud* Valitutti, Salvatore, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>30</sup> The text of the *Libro del Cortigiano* started to be written around 1513, being revised and altered continuously. Aldus Manutius published it for the first time in the spring of 1528, in Venice, and in Florence it was published by The Giunti. Castiglione carefully curated the editions.

## The economical discourses and the Flemish art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: reflections on the luxury market based on Jan van Dornicke's MASP triptych

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The new Jan van Dornicke's Antwerpian triptych, which can be found in the Museu de Arte de São Paulo As-

sis Chateaubriand (MASP), can serve as a point of reference and analysis for us to sketch, based on a sociopolitical and economical approach, the first signs of the globalization process, which will undoubtedly help us to better understand the style and the iconography of this picture.

In this article, we will deal with the following topics: with the inauguration of the first art market around 1520; with the functioning of the system of art production and distribution in the territory of Flanders, particularly in its most important city, Antwerp. First, we will do a deep analysis of the triptych, in order to verify its importance in the

context of Antwerp's history, as much as in the development of painting and of its market. It will also be verified the city's importance, following with a description of the luxury market, within which the painting was also inserted. The article concludes with a methodological reflection on the need to take into account the materiality of an artwork much beyond the ideological dichotomies of the twentieth-century.

We know at least three altarpieces of Jan van Dornicke representing scenes from the crucifixion, that is to say, the Hampton Court triptych, the altarpiece from a private collection in the south of Germany, and the MASP's triptych.

It is not possible within this publication to describe in detail all these monuments. Two of them, however – the one at the MASP and the one at Hampton Court –, are a little greater in size and diverge fundamentally in relation to the quantity of figures. While the private collection triptych concentrates on the main figures, that is to say, in Christ and in the characters of the Passion, the works at Hampton Court and at the MASP shows a scene of relatively public character, composed by a huge quantity of spectators. The German version shows in the left side wing a male donator that, according to the precepts of the epoch, is represented humbly kneeling in adoration to the crucified Christ of the central panel. Besides him, standing, we can find Saint Jacob, the elder. In the right wing, besides Saint Elisabeth of Thuringia,<sup>1</sup> there is the female donor, showing the same humble posture of her masculine *pendant*. Müller-Hofstede indicates that such reduction in the number of the figures included in the scene had already occurred in the context of the ancient art from the Flanders region, exemplarily in Rogier van Weyden's well-known crucifixion to the Carthusian Monastery (Kartäuser) of Scheut in Brussels. Nevertheless, especially the conception of the central picture of Jan van Dornicke's work from Germany is more solemn, traditional, and equilibrated, the construction of the image being very tectonic and consequently more symmetrical.<sup>2</sup> The artist has turned back to older traditions in order to develop an iconographical concept much simpler, rigid and hieratic, which would lead to a composition that is centralized in God's sacrifice, that is to say, in the central sacrament of the Church, a Eucharist that would serve to the calm contemplation and to the private devotion. In this interpretation, the donors work equally as examples of adoration, of proper and adequate devotion.<sup>3</sup> It is possible for us to imagine

that such a crucifixion was ordered for the lateral chapel of a church or even for a private chapel.<sup>4</sup> Müller-Hofstede does not believe that such a triptych could have been ordered by a foreign person, been done previously to a member of the local bourgeoisie.

By the other side, the triptychs from Hampton Court and from the MASP do not show any donor. The one from Hampton Court is concentrated in the salvation by the intervention of Christ, narrating, to the left, the biblical story of the Calvary (Painful Way), in the center the crucifixion, and to the right, the resurrection. On the other side the triptych from the MASP concentrates itself on the sacrifice of Christ, equally showing the Calvary at the left side and the crucifixion at the center; at the right side, however, instead of the resurrection, it is narrated the sepulcher of Christ. With this, van Dornicke highlighted the sadness and the pain inherent to the Eucharist. Uniquely at the background, three little figures, which could be The Three Marys, do an allusion to the resurrection. The triptych from Hampton Court can be seen as a promise; the altarpiece from the MASP, however, has a very threatening moral sense. With this iconographical innovation, the triptych could be situated between the German one and the one from Hampton Court. In the case of the work from the MASP, Jan van Dornicke might have joined two distinct tendencies in a single picture. In relation to the luxury market, it could be that the two triptychs that are more public might have been produced for the foreign market, to which it would have been possible, in a second moment, to add the potential donors in the exterior sides of the lateral wings. It is also possible that some parts of the picture might have been painted in Jan van Dornicke's workshop or perhaps by his most important pupil, Pieter Cocke, who might have participated in this way in the production of the triptych. One

sign of this fact would be the particularly delicate nature and architecture of the work. In this way, all the evidences cited lead us to believe that this masterpiece might have been a part of the Antwerpian luxury market and, more specifically, might have been produced for the free foreign market.

Unfortunately, there are no intense and detailed documentation referring to Jan van Dornicke's triptych that could allow us to speculate on some positivist data, for there are no evidences of the existence of a precise donor or even of the realization of a possible ordering for the work. The extraordinary stylistic quality of the work might only be evaluated on a precise ground if we could take into account the context of its production. The correct interpretation of the iconographical details of the triptych became evident when these are understood within the parameters of the "industrial" production of that era in Antwerp, directed to a luxury market.

To understand the history of Antwerp and, in this way, the context of production of van Dornicke's work, it is necessary to evaluate the general development of the European history and, most of all, the unfolding of the history of the Low Countries. Founded by the Romans in the harbor of the Schelde River a few kilometers from the Northern Sea, the effective development of this city started to occur in 1300 with the prosperity of the Flanders region. Peter Burke describes Antwerp, in his comparative analysis, as a European metropolis.<sup>5</sup> In 1567, a foreign traveler in Venice indicated the "Most Serene" as the "news metropolis" and, in 1549, another traveler called it as the "world metropolis", an expression normally reserved to Rome, seen as the *caput mundi*.

Differently from other cities, especially from its main rival, Bruges, Antwerp did not develop a textile industry.<sup>6</sup> Contrarily to the actual costume of traveling to other cities to buy textile goods, it invited foreign merchants to

sell in its market. The city local council took the decision of opening widely its fairs to the British and their goods, which normally suffered from boycotts in other localities of the Low Countries, transforming Antwerp in the main re-selling center of British tissues of the mainland. In that way, during the fairs, Italians, Spanish and representatives of the Hanseatic League (for instance, those of German cities like Lübeck, Hamburg and Bremen) leaved Bruges to do business and commercial transactions in Antwerp. These operations were so proficuous that, around 1500, Antwerp become more important than Bruges and, with a population of approximately 40 thousand inhabitants, it came to represent the most significative urban agglomeration of the Low Countries.<sup>7</sup>

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Antwerp becomes also the metropolis of the west. Vasco da Gama discovered the maritime way to India between 1497 and 1499, guaranteeing to the Portuguese the rule and monopoly of the spice trade in Europe. The control over this trade during the middle Ages was in the hands of the Italians, who had the Arabs as mediators. The Portuguese, however, could break abruptly with this monopoly, with catastrophic consequences to several companies, with the exception of those of the Italians, who continued to export the silk and the derived goods to the Low Countries. The gravitational center of the long distance trade that existed during centuries in the frontiers of the Mediterranean migrated, then, to the coasts of the Atlantic and of the Northern Sea.<sup>8</sup>

In the day of August 24, 1501, several Portuguese caravels full of spicery arrived at the port of Antwerp. The Portuguese king, who in this moment had the control and monopoly of the trade, decided to turn the city into the main center of Western Europe dedicated to the commercialization of oriental goods.

Only in Antwerp the king had the possibility to obtain from the German bankers, above all from Nuremberg and Augsburg, the quantity of indispensable metals needed to accomplish his commercial activities: the silver from India and the copper from Africa. The trade, equally proficuous to the Portuguese and the Germans, allowed to both the purchase of British tissues. In 1508, the Portuguese established the subsidy of the trade house (House of India) with the construction of the “Factorship of Flanders”, and the Germans passed to be represented by their most powerful merchant families: the Fuggers from Augsburg, who started their negotiations in the region in 1508, and, one year later, the Welsers from Nuremberg. This step was the base for the pursuit of transactions in a higher level.<sup>9</sup>

In the threshold of 1560, Antwerp had a population of almost 100 thousand inhabitants, a not much impressive number for today, but which turned the Flemish city into one of the biggest urban agglomerations of pre-modern Europe, surpassed only by Paris and a few Italian cities. The number of foreigners in the city also grew up considerably and many foreign communities started to settle permanently in Antwerp: 300 Spanish, approximately 400 British, 150 Portuguese, 200 Italians and 300 Hanseatic Germans.<sup>10</sup> Reckoning its families, associates and servants, this number reached circa five thousand immigrants, who started to play a decisive role in the prosperity of the region, acting as exporters and importers, initiating and maintaining the development of a prosperous international trade. During a determinate period, Antwerp took the place of Venice as the European storehouse and distribution center,<sup>11</sup> being again substituted, nevertheless, by Amsterdam and London in the following centuries. In this way, it is no exaggeration to say that Antwerp was the most international and cosmopolite city of the pre-modern period.<sup>12</sup>

Among the most important factors for the development of the city is not only the textile industry, but also the production of the visual arts. Contrary to many contemporary ideas about the artistic production, the creation of decorative arts in Antwerp did not follow only the inventions of genial masters, but obeyed equally to the rules of the pre-modern industrialization. Above all, in this sector, the industrial forces were most visible and, to use here an economic parlance, it is possible to claim that the productivity measured in qualitative terms grew substantially.<sup>13</sup> In the sixteenth century, the activities started to be concentrated not only in the areas of painting and sculpture, but showed also a huge production of furniture, wooden altarpieces, diamonds and other precious elements, as painted leather and glass.

Even before 1400 a strong tradition in the fabric of high quality products in the manufactures of the region had already developed.<sup>14</sup> In 1382, goldsmiths, painters, wood engravers, among others, were sufficient in number to create a first corporation. In 1415, the tapestry weavers had separated themselves from the other groups and instituted their own corporation, followed by the goldsmiths in 1456.<sup>15</sup> At the end of the fifteenth century, the bourgeoisie not only increased its influence, but also acquired more buying power, conducting this way to the growing of demand of luxury articles in Europe, above all in the Low Countries and, then, turning Antwerp into its commercial center. As had already been observed, this city was an international center, both to the traders as to the painters, goldsmiths, and weavers. They were able to buy there the precious materials that they needed to produce the paintings, sculptures, and tapestries that would come to fill the representational needs of the new bourgeoisie, a group that no doubt had their own political intentions. The art object should affirm their social ascent. De-

spite that, the artists also produced to clients from other regions. The engravers, for instance, found a wider market for their policromed or golden altarpieces in the Rhineland, in Westphalia, in Gdańsk, in Sweden, in France and in Spain. It is interesting to note that the production of works to altars not only had a fixed clientship, but also that the altarpieces made for the free market were more numerous in Antwerp than in other centers of the region of Flanders. These wooden altarpieces have a more stereotyped iconography and, so being, they have a bigger reception. In his way, they could equally serve to a church, to a chapel, to private houses or even to travelers. The artists had to develop a kind of sensibility to the needs of the market and to the diversities of taste of potential clients. This is reflected exemplarily in the adaptation of decorative elements that came from Italy. These Italianisms in vigour in the gothic altarpieces evidently demonstrate the general interest and the perception of the humanism and the Renaissance in the Flemish art. Despite that, its use can eventually prove the fact that, in this historical period, such elements did not carry any innovative character. There is a tendency to believe that works made for exportation (*koopwerken*) were done with a minimum of expenses, using prefabricated components in almost all the cases, all engraved according to a single model.<sup>16</sup>

The painting became more and more prominent in the context of art manufactures in Antwerp. Before the artistic activities of Quinten Metsys, who became master in 1491, Antwerp still had not the *status* of an important city in relation to the production of paintings. This circumstance suffered a quick change in the following years. The sixteenth century was marked by an artistic “explosion” both in what refers to the quality of the works as to its quantity. As an example of quality, we have Jan van Dornicke’s crucifix-

ion, now in exhibition in the MASP. In relation to the quantity, it is possible for us to observe a similar development in relation to the wooden altarpieces. A considerable part suffered heavily with the commercialization and the industrialization, and, excluding a few exceptional works, the assembly line paintings were the rule. To satisfy the taste of potential clients, the artisans, who counted on the support of not only ecclesiastical and noble donors, but also of the middle class and even of the lower middle class, specialized themselves in determinate productions, as the devotional works, landscapes and portraits. The specialization helped them to improve their abilities and to improve their style, causing that way a grow in productivity sided by the reduction of the costs. Many times several artists worked on the same canvas. Each one of them took care of a certain aspect or of part of the work. According to the differing aspirations, the paintings could be done in a more or less expensive fashion. Works with the background completely painted were more expensive than figures conceived above a landscape; the grayish had a price evidently less elevated than color paintings. The painters, as the engravers and all the producers of luxury articles, were refined tradesman and followed the fashion. One instructive example of this fact is the success of the Antwerpian mannerists’ painters, as for instance Jan van Dornicke. The more industrialized production shows a superficial formality and attempt to give the feeling of erudition with its references to Antiquity, which corresponded to the taste of the more or less intellectual and, some times, “snobbish” bourgeoisie.<sup>17</sup>

After the invention of the print, Mathias van der Goes produced in 1481 the first book printed in Antwerp. In the period between 1500 and 1540, around half of the books produced came from the prints of that city.

Having initiated the production with romances, the editors started to diversify their products, publishing equally academic manuals, which could also be exported, transforming Antwerp in the most important center for the production and distribution of books. Thanks to immigrants from the north of Holland, the city established itself equally as a center for the production of illustrated books. A greater afflux of precious metals stimulated the goldsmith and silversmith productions. The masters of Antwerp were the preference of all the consumers: the court, the rich bourgeoisie, the tradesman, the churches, the monasteries, the city dignitaries, the corporations, and fellowships. The mint acquired, in this way, a great importance. Several areas of the luxury commerce took advantage from the potential of the city in relation to the raw material market. An ancient source refers in 1483 to a diamond-cutter, but the commerce properly speaking of this precious stone only started to succeed at the sixteenth century, when the Italians, and later, the Portuguese, were able to put a considerable quantity of precious stones in circulation. The silk, imported from the south first by the Italians and later by the merchants from the Low Countries, enabled for the creation of a self-sufficient industry. Many satin weavers coming from Bruges had so much success that in 1533 they were granted the possibility to create a work corporation. As they used only half-silk tissues,<sup>18</sup> they were not affected by the importations of the Italians or from the Levant, being able to produce cheaper to a wider market composed by the middle class.<sup>19</sup>

The immigrants, above all, had a considerable influence on the different industries. Besides the tapestry weavers, they stimulated several other areas already established, due to the expertise and to the professionalism that they had acquired in other countries. Around the year 1500, after the arrival of Quinten

Metsys, many painters from different schools and from different regions established themselves in Antwerp. This fact makes the distinction of an Antwerpian style in the end of the fifteenth century to be difficult. As the lists from the middle of the sixteenth century from the corporation of Saint Luke demonstrate, five French goldsmiths and some musical instruments makers had activities in the city. The incentive for the migration of specialized workers was a regular politics of the municipal council. Wishing to develop the economy of their community, the regents spent a lot of effort to attract qualified foreign workers, particularly those who had at their disposal the new technologies. For these the council granted subsidies and helped in the sojourn and in the accommodation. Subsidies were granted, for instance, to the Spanish Martin Gaillard, who introduced the fabrication of the Cordovan leather in the 30's of the sixteenth century, and to Nicolaus Davidt from Beauvais, who started the weaving of the Damascene silk. The council tried to attract industrial innovators not only from distant places, but also from other regions of the Low Countries. This way Antwerp benefited from the end of the court in Malinas after the death of Margaret of Austria in 1530, an important patron of the arts. Between 1541 and 1542, the Antwerpian council also granted subsidies to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, son-in-law of Jan van Dornicke's master, a subject that will be treated right away. The artist, painter, and tapestry designer established himself some years before in Antwerp, in order to transmit to other artists and colleagues his knowledge and abilities. In the year of 1559, the council granted to a tapestry weaver the full citizenship with all the rights.

The council sought to increase the economical activities in the city through the promotion of the industry. Though this fact meant a certain disadvantage to other urban centers in the Low Coun-

tries, it was not a problem for the Antwerpian regime. The development and the implementation of more industries implicated in the growing of profit opportunities to merchants and entrepreneurs, more income to the municipality, and more jobs for the proletariat. As the social classes with less purchasing power grew, the tensions increased. With its policy of work for the poor, the government hoped to put an end to the social problems. Nevertheless, the economic and political crisis of 1566 worsened the present situation, making the government to adopt a mercantilist policy. The stimulus given to the industry had two goals. The first was the desire, by part of the council, to minimize the costs through the substitution of importations by local products; the second was to help the industries from the south of the Low Countries, giving way to its differentiation and improvement and increasing its competitiveness in the international commerce. However strong were the official economical investments, the merchants and the artists had still other reasons for choosing Antwerp amongst all the others European metropolis as their point of settlement. Christoffel Plantin revealed in a letter dated from 1574 for what reason he had chosen Antwerp. His motifs run from the presence of raw material in the warehouses and the abundance of work to the quick access to the markets. The apparent unlimited potentialities of that metropolis attracted both citizens from the Low Countries as well as individuals from distant regions. During the two first thirds of the sixteenth century, the development of the luxury market in Antwerp prospered singularly, progressing quickly and vertiginously. The majority of the industries had success and even the recession of 1520 could not truly hinder this process.<sup>20</sup>

In 1540, the market was transferred to the stock exchange (Beurs), once the painters building (Schilderspand) become small.<sup>21</sup> The activities of the

establishments of artistic production grew, so the painters' studios and, above all, the art merchants, grew in number. Well-succeeded masters started gradually to transfer the actual execution of their works to their assistants, being responsible only for the artistic inventions and for the commercial management of the enterprise. Many times the employers produced several copies of only one composition, attributing to the production an almost "industrial" character. Around 1560, approximately three hundred painters, engravers and sculptors worked in the city.<sup>22</sup>

Besides the stories of success there are, naturally, those of failure. From 1530 on, the wood altarpieces engravers, who had specialized themselves particularly in the production of works for altars and devotional figures, were obliged to pay tributes, losing much of their importance. Around 1550 they made their last altarpieces. Due to the expansion of the protestant Reform, above all in Germany and in Scandinavia, the search for ecclesiastical works diminished considerably. The markets in this region almost disappeared. In other territories, there was a radical change in the tastes and in the preferences. The new clients wanted painted triptychs or models in the Italian style, and not of wood anymore, but of alabaster or of marble, and with sculptures according to the models of Antiquity. For these clients the style of the Italian Renaissance meant progress and future, while the late gothic style of the altarpieces represented the past, the overcome. Even that some altarpieces makers strived to integrate the vocabulary of Renaissance forms, in a general way their works rested too traditional and obsolete for the taste of the epoch. The sculptors with modern style, based in models from the Antiquity, were prevailing. Artists like Cornelis Floris of Vriendt and Willem van den Broeck started to dominate the artistic scene. Once more, this new style, en-

titled “Floris style”, was exported with success to the European Northwest.<sup>23</sup>

The decades that preceded 1566 were, in reality, a very prosperous period for the commerce; they did not represented, however, a golden age to the manual laborers.<sup>24</sup> The raising of prices in Antwerp, as well as in the rest of Europe, and the lack of the corresponding rise in the salaries, signified the deterioration in the standards of living. The situation was a little better for the independent artists, for these could often ascend socially. There was, consequently, an intense and growing competition between “big” and “small” masters. Notwithstanding, as we had previously explained, the economic *boom* guaranteed even so a high standard of work, protecting the community from a serious eruption of social conflicts.

The golden age had, however, an abrupt end. After the passage of the “annus mirabilis” (Wonderjaar) of 1566, which constituted the apex of political, religious, and social differences in the Low Countries,<sup>25</sup> the economic situation deteriorated disturbingly. The prices of cereals rose definitively, leading to a decline in the standards of living. The tensions brought about a furious iconoclasm – and in part conducted – causing the destruction of several artworks. Besides that, the Spanish duke Alva reinforced the political and military pressure over the Low Countries and, to finance these operations, he raised the taxes, making many artists to run away from the city. Still, to finish, a war against England damaged definitively the international commerce.<sup>26</sup>

The use of data for the analysis of an artwork, coming from the economy of visual arts and from the sociopolitical context, has been a central question in the methodological discussions of the discipline of art history since its foundation in the universities in the nineteenth century. Without wanting to exceed the specific limit of analysis here

introduced, it would be necessary to recall two fundamental methodological streams in art history. The first one is the formal analysis that came from the two Vienna schools, represented above all by Alois Riegl from the first school, Otto Pächt from the second, and Heinrich Wölfflin.<sup>27</sup> The second stream refers to the analysis of content associated with the iconography and the iconology of Erwin Panofsky.<sup>28</sup> Nonetheless, yet another methodological line was established, which made indispensable the inclusion of a materialist analysis in the description of an artwork, as had been demonstrated by Leo Balet, Max Raphael and Hanna Deinhard.<sup>29</sup> It is interesting to highlight that the main project of Hanna Deinhard on a sociology of art never came to be published, while some traces of this plan can be found in the work *Form und Ausdruck* (Form and Expression).<sup>30</sup> The analytic posture of Hanna Deinhard represented the role of transposing figure between the generations. The referred author wrote the first reviews of the New Art History (*Kritische Kunstgeschichte*), papers dedicated to a socio-historical approach of art history, already in the beginning of the 70’s. Both Martin Warnke as Horst Bredekamp highlighted the importance of the socio-political context in the production, divulgation and perception of artworks.<sup>31</sup> In more recent decades, after many changes of perspective in the area of human sciences – the *linguistic turn* and the *iconic turn* –, the doubts related to the definition and validity of a canon in the visual arts grew, as also grew the dissolution of the definition of what is an image. It is unnecessary to say that the work *The end of art history*,<sup>32</sup> published by Horst Belting, was an affront without equivalent to the art historians. Besides that, he developed an anthropology of art that is inscribed into the methodological varieties of the visual studies.<sup>33</sup> In the context of these streams, here outlined only superficially, the aspect of

the materiality of the image comes to the fore, above all in the opinion of Elizabeth Edwards, frequently considered irrelevant by the majority of art historians.<sup>34</sup> Ulpiano Menezes, when highlighting such position, says clearly that that posture “allows for the overcoming of a subtle epistemological inadequacy very much in vogue in the suggestions for the study of images, be them considered as documents, be them considered as components of the social life. In rigor, the distinction between image-sign-document and image-thing-social-life-ingredient has little consistency – but is still repeated, for it calls to the attention, rightfully, the discursive character of the image”.<sup>35</sup> Mieke Bal describes by a meta-narration the existing tension between the materiality and the discourse, and between the object of the past and the subject of the present.<sup>36</sup> The issue of the cultural trip and the importance of materiality were suggested above all by the context of the nineteenth and twentieth century’s museums and by the wonder cameras (Wunderkammern).<sup>37</sup> However, in relation to the emergence of a luxury market for the artistic production, this issue remained irrelevant. We cannot understand this reflection as a single option deriving from the lack of a detailed documentation, but as a new analytic approach that unites the traditional analyses of the formal and iconographical interpretation, of the history of the social, political, and economical contexts and the present approaches of the visual studies.

Jan van Dornicke helped relevantly to found and institute the golden century of painting in Antwerp.<sup>38</sup> His art and of his sons-in-law, Jan van Amstel and, mainly, Pieter Coecke, with his trips to Istanbul,<sup>39</sup> important for the artistic context of the epoch, introduced a relatively innovative painting in search of unusual forms in the composition of images, combining them with tra-

ditional motifs. Such combination corresponds exactly to the association desired by their Royal clients as well as by the market from where their potential clients came. As Peter Burke says, the art of the Flemish bourgeoisie, as well as the art of Jan van Dornicke, would come to establish the basis for the notoriety of Antwerp as a European cultural metropolis. This city was undoubtedly one of the greatest centers of painting and engraving in the sixteenth century, besides being a commercial and financial axis, functioning yet as a cultural mediator between the North and South of Europe due to the huge amount of immigrants. It is necessary to consider that art, already in the sixteenth century, was an integral part of the first conflicts created by the globalization in the pre-modern epoch. Moreover, as the history of the MASP itself and of its collection reflects the history of the bourgeoisie of São Paulo, the triptych of van Dornicke reflects the first successes and declines of the Antwerpian bourgeoisie.

What is the meaning of the post-modern approach to an artwork in the social and economical context? That the interpretative energy comes from the subjectivity is a kind of common sense to the post-structuralist theory. In relation to the shown examples of the luxury market and the triptych of van Dornicke, this is not the case for a positivist revival or for speculations on the stylistic structures. These topics had been already arduously criticized by the second Vienna school.<sup>40</sup> Instead, it is about the possibility of restoring to the artefacts in themselves a certain power of action through the materiality of the works, here represented, in the more general sense, by the luxury market. It is important still to emphasize that this do not mean the use of the artwork as a projection. When we consider that the artwork not only came from an author or donor, but also has equally followed the rules of a market, which can be said to be globalized, it necessarily occurs a change in the interpretation of the impact caused by the artist. This ana-

lytical approach removes the “romantic” idea of the singular production of a genius artist, inscribing the Flemish style of van Dornicke’s work and the iconography of the Passion of the triptych in an economic discourse, from where resulted at least partially even the “Antwerpian” style. This discourse, in vigour at the same time in the negotiations between the different social groups in Antwerp, and in the needs of a market already globalized, together with the representations of the Passion of Christ, can be used to assure the expression of an externalized religiosity. The later represents the development of a discursive, social, and religious practice, which can be analyzed throughout the process that culminated with the coming of the protestant Reform. In addition, the sixteenth century’s iconoclasm are a direct consequence of the inherent criticisms to this period in Antwerp.

English version: Marcelo Hülsdorf Marotta

<sup>1</sup> See Justus Müller-Hofstede, “Jan van Dornickes Kreuzigungsaltaar: Ein Meisterwerk der Antwerpener Malerei vor Pieter Bruegel D.Ä.,” in: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, v. 52, 1991, pp. 151-62, here p. 156. The place to the left is more important for being the closest side from the priest who celebrates the mass. On the Antwerpian mannerists, it is fundamental Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 14 v. Leiden: Praeger, 1967-1974, here vol. XI (1974), pp. 11-33 (German original: *Altniederländische Malerei*, 14 vols., Berlin: Cassirer, 1924-1937). The Flemish painting from the pre-modern era served also to fundamental methodological discussions in art history. In the iconography/iconology side and the concept of “disguised symbolism”, cf. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, London: Harper Collins, 1971 (original from 1953); in relation to the stylistic analysis, Otto Pächt, *Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*, New York: Havey Miller, 2000 and *ibid.*, *Early Netherlandish Painting from Rogier van der Weyden to Gerard David*, New York: Havey Miller, 1997 (a first collection of several articles was published in 1989). The most recent introduction to the theme is Jeffrey Chips Smith, *The Northern Renaissance (Art and Ideas)*, London: Phaidon Press, 2004;

a reevaluation of the methodological aspects is Mariyan W. Ainsworth (ed.), *Early Netherlandish Painting at the crossroads: a critical look at current methodologies*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001; on Antwerpian painting, Hans Nieuwdorp (org.), *Antwerpse retabels: 15de-16de eeuw*, Antwerp cathedral exhibition catalog, 26.5.-3.10.1993, Antwerp: Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, 1993, 2 v.

<sup>2</sup> See Müller-Hofstede, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> On the iconography and, above all, the iconography of the Passion, see: Kim Woods, “Thèmes iconographiques et sources”, in: *Miroirs du Sacré* op.cit., pp. 77-94 and Jean-Pierre Delville, “Images de la Passion et regard de compassion”, in: *ibid.* and Bret L. Rothstein, *Sight and Spirituality in early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Müller-Hofstede attributes to Jan van Beer the same period crucifixion, presently in the Diocesan Museum of Cologne, and believes that it was a copy from Jan van Dornicke’s crucifixion. Müller-Hofstede, pp. 159-60.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Burke, “Antwerp, a Metropolis in Europe”, in: Jan van der Stock (org.), *Antwerp. Story of a metropolis, 16th-17th century*. Ghent: Snoek-Ducaju, 1993, pp. 49-57.

<sup>6</sup> Leon Voet, “Antwerp, the Metropolis and its History”, in: *Antwerp. Story of a metropolis, 16th-17th century*, op. cit., p. 13-17. A fundamental study of Flemish culture, Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996 (Dutch original from 1919). On the importance of Antwerp and its market in general, see the depth research of Hermann van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Market, fourteenth-sixteenth centuries*, 3 v., The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963, here v. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Voet, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> See Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999, and Hermann van der Wee and Jan Materne, “Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in: *Antwerp. Story of a metropolis, 16th-17th century*, Jan van der Stock (org.), Ghent: Snoek-Ducaju, 1993, pp. 19-31 and more recently Hans J. Van Miegroet and Neil de Marchi (eds.), *Mapping for Paintings in Early Modern Europe 1450-1750*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2006. A general vision of the research is offered by J.M. Montias, “Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from Fifteenth

- to the Seventeenth Century: A Survey”, in: *Art Bulletin*, vol. LXXII, 1990, pp. 358-373.
- <sup>9</sup> Van der Wee, p. 22 and Honig, p. 10.
- <sup>10</sup> Van der Wee, p. 23.
- <sup>11</sup> Idem, p. 21.
- <sup>12</sup> Voet, p. 16.
- <sup>13</sup> Van der Wee, p. 28.
- <sup>14</sup> On the relationship between the market and the arts in general, see Michael North and David Ormond (org.), *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, Alderhot, Brookfield et. al.: Ashgate, 1998, above all the introduction “Introduction: Art and its Markets”, pp. 1-6 and also Marzan W Ainsworth, “The Business of Art: Patrons, Clients, and Art Markets”, in: *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: early Netherlandish painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Marzan W. Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen (org.), Metropolitan Museum of Art Catalog, New York, 1998, pp. 23-38; for the most part, the catalog offers many textual and visual sources. See also John Michael Montias, “Le marché de l’art aux Pays-Bas, XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles”, in: *Annales* 1993, pp. 1541-63.
- <sup>15</sup> Alfons K. L. Thijs, “Antwerp’s Luxury Industries: the Pursuit of Profit and Artistic Sensitivity”, in: *Antwerp. Story of a metropolis*, 16th-17th century, Jan van der Stock (org.), Ghent: Snoek-Ducaju, 1993, pp. 105-13; here p. 105 and Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, “Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in: *ibid.*, pp. 19-32.
- <sup>16</sup> Thijs, p. 105, and also Lynn F. Jacobs, “The Marketing and Standardization of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron”, in: *Art Bulletin*, vol. LXXI, 1989, pp. 208-29; and also Lorne Campell, “The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century”, in: *Burlington Magazine* CXVIII, 1976, pp. 188-98. On the cooperation between the engravers and the painters, see also Lynn F. Jacobs, “The inverted ‘I’-Shape in Early Netherlandish Altarpieces: Studies in the Relation between Painting and Sculpture”, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 57, 1991, pp. 33-65 and her main work, *idem: Early Netherlandish Carved Altars*, Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1998 and more recently *idem*, “Fabrication et modes de production”, in: Brigitte d’Hainaut-Zveny (org.), *Miroirs du Sacré*, Brussels: CFC-Editions, 2005, pp. 35-54.
- <sup>17</sup> Thijs, p. 106.
- <sup>18</sup> “Half-silk” refers to a tissue composed with 50% of silk and 50% of cotton or other material.
- <sup>19</sup> Thijs, p. 107 and also Claire DuMortier, “Commercialisation et distribution”, in: *Miroirs du Sacré*, *op.cit.*, pp. 63-76.
- <sup>20</sup> Thijs, p. 108.
- <sup>21</sup> About the market in the Church of Our Lady see also Dan Ewing, “Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady’s ‘Pand’”, in: *Art Bulletin*, v. LXXII, 1990, pp. 558-638.
- <sup>22</sup> Thijs, p. 109.
- <sup>23</sup> Idem, *ibidem*.
- <sup>24</sup> Catheline Périer-d’Ieteren, “Le marché d’exportation de l’organisation du travail dans les ateliers brabançons aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles”, in: *Actes du Colloque Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age* (Rennes, Université de Haute-Bretagne 1983) vol. III, Fabrication et consommation de l’oeuvre. Paris: Picard, 1990, pp. 629-45.
- <sup>25</sup> Above all Guido Marneff, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation. Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550-1577*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- <sup>26</sup> Thijs, p. 110.
- <sup>27</sup> Alois Riegl, *Grundlagen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, Berlin: Schmidt, 1923 and the anthology of articles *idem, Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by Karl M. Swoboda, Augsburg: Filser, 1929. On Riegl, see Margaret Rose Olin, *Alois Riegl and the crisis of representation in art theory, 1860-1905*; on the Vienna school, see recently Edwin Lachnit, *Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte und die Kunst ihrer Zeit: zum Verhältnis von Methode und Forschungsgegenstand am Beginn der Moderne*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2005 and Maria Theisen (org.), *Wiener Schule: Erinnerung und Perspektiven*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2004. Also *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, no. 53, 2004. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien*, Munich: Ackermann, 1888; *idem*, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*, Munich: Bruckmann, 1920.
- <sup>28</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in iconology: humanistic themes in the art of the Renaissance*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. It is not possible here to discuss the development of the thought following the fundamental ideas of Aby Warburg and of the so-called Warburg school, including the inner differentiations, as well as the connections between the representatives of the Vienna school, above all Max Dvořák and the Hamburg school intellectuals. More recently, see the general overview in Michael Hatt, Charlotte Klonk, *Art history, a critical introduction to its methods*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- <sup>29</sup> Leo Balet, *Die Verbürgerlichung der deutschen Kunst, Literatur und Musik im 18. Jahrhundert*, Strassburg: Heitz, 1936; Max Raphael, *Idee und Gestalt: ein Führer zum Wesen der Kunst*, Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1921; *idem*, *Proudhon, Marx, Picasso: trois études sur la sociologie de l’art*, Paris: Edition Excelsior, 1933; *idem*, *Theorie des geistigen Schaffens auf marxistischer Grundlage*, Frankfurt: Fischer, 1974. Hanna Deinhard is a very interesting case. She is known in Brazil with the name of Hanna Levy, who published several articles about the so-called Brazilian baroque in the 40’s: Hanna Levy, *Henri Wölfflin. Sa théorie. Ses prédécesseurs*, Rottweil: Rothschild, 1936. Arnold Hauser sought with his publications a “third way”: Arnold Hauser, *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst*, Munich: Beck, 1967; several publications that refers to his name are compared with the three previously mentioned, dubbed as a “vulgar Marxism”.
- <sup>30</sup> Using the name of Hanna Deinhard, *Bedeutung und Ausdruck: zur Soziologie der Malerei*, Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1967.
- <sup>31</sup> Martin Warnke, *Bau und Überbau: Soziologie der mittelalterlichen Architektur nach den Schriftquellen*, Frankfurt: Syndikat, 1976; *idem*, *Der Hofkünstler*, Köln: Dumont, 1985; Horst Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte: Bilderkämpfe von der Spätantike bis zur Hussitenrevolution*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1975.
- <sup>32</sup> Horst Belting, *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte: eine Revision nach zehn Jahren*, Munich: Beck, 1995, recently translated to Portuguese (*O fim da História da Arte*. São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 2006).
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- <sup>35</sup> Ulpiano T. Bezerra Menezes, “Fontes visuais, cultura visual, História visual: balanço provisório, propostas cautelares”, in: *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 23, n. 45, 2003, pp. 11-36, here p. 29.
- <sup>36</sup> “The external images are ‘attached’ to the subject’s existence experienced as bodily, lo-

cked together; the subject is 'locked up' in the external world", Mieke Bal, *The Practice of Cultural Analysis. Exposing interdisciplinary interpretation*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999, p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> Just to cite one of the more analytical approaches, James Clifford, *Routes. Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 1997.

<sup>38</sup> See Müller-Hofstede, p. 159.

<sup>39</sup> On the relationship between the city and the Islamic world, see Alistair Hamilton, *Arab culture and Ottoman Magnificence in Antwerp's Golden*

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### ***Hercules between Vice and Virtue and Allegory of Wisdom and Strength: Veronese copies made by François Boucher from the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP)***

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It is our aim, in this article, to contribute to the understanding of the historical and artistic context of two paintings nowadays in the collection of the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP). They are copies of Paolo Veronese's (1528-1588) paintings made by François Boucher (1703-1770), and are known as *Hercules between Vice and Virtue* (Fig.1) and *Allegory of Wisdom and Strength* (Fig. 2)<sup>1</sup>.

This article is based on a master's dissertation obtained in the Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences at the State University of Campinas (Universidade Estadual de Campinas) in 2003<sup>2</sup>.

Veronese's original paintings, nowadays in the Frick Collection of New York, were made around 1576. Boucher's copies, most probably made under the request of the Portuguese Duke of Aveiro, are dated to the years following 1752. Back then the originals belonged to the Collection of the regent of France, Philippe II, Duke of Orleans.

In his 1989 monograph, Peter Watson elucidated the path of *Allegory of Wisdom and Strength*. While dealing with this painting he also described the story of *Hercules between Vice and Virtue*, from its creation in Venice to its final destination in the Frick Collection of New York. When he studied Veronese's originals Watson also gathered important information regarding the copies made by Boucher.

#### **The attribution of masp's paintings**

When he published his book, in 1989, Peter Watson did not know the actual location of the paintings, in the MASP collection. He showed an extremely old photograph of *Allegory of Wisdom and Virtue* and informed that "according to a note at Frick's archives, around 1929, Boucher's copy entered the collection of the Baron Gui Thomitz, from Paris"<sup>3</sup>.

Although unintentionally, Watson confirmed, through this note, that Boucher made the MASP's paintings. According to a letter written by Spencer Samuels to Professor Bardi, nowadays at the Brazilian museum's archives, the paintings acquired by MASP had belonged to the Baron Thomitz.

Another letter from Mitchell Samuels, from the French & Co. Gallery of New York, addressed to Assis Chateaubriand (04/5/1951) and quoted by Luiz

Marques in the MASP's catalogue reaffirms the authorship:

*It seems that Veronese's originals were in the collection of the regent of France, in the 18th century, when the Duke of Aveiro, from Portugal, fell in love with them and obtained special consent, from the regent, to have them copied, so that the copies were sent to Portugal, having stayed there until the 1890's. In the beginning of the century, the paintings were shown to Mr. Bernard Berenson, who examined them carefully and, obviously, concluded that they were not the work of Veronese's hands. After a cleaning process, he discovered Boucher's signature, completing, in this way, the whole circle of data presented above.<sup>4</sup>*

#### **The many copies of Veronese's paintings**

The historical and artistic relations between the originals, made by a Venetian painter from the Renaissance, and their 18th century French copies are fascinating, because we have propositions that deal with Art History, taste and collectionism.

The paintings from MASP also make us take into account the very meaning of a *copy*, something that has been viewed negatively in the 20th century. The Romantic conception within the idea of an inspiration and, maybe, the renewed possibilities of image reproduction, due to modern techniques, may have contributed to this depreciation.

As noticed by Luiz Marques, it is important to remember that, throughout the history of art, copies were fundamental exercises for the artists' formation. The copy was viewed as an activity of high aesthetic meaning or as the tribute to a certain master. From Mannerism onwards copies were in the center of the artistic exercise, "the painters were expected to copy other painters, architecture and nature, *in this* hierarchic order"<sup>5</sup>. We must remember that a copy is not an historical and artistic arbitrary phenomenon, each period chooses its masters. On the other hand, Veronese was widely copied by artists from all periods: Rubens, Francesco Guardi, Tiepolo, Sebastiano Ricci and François Boucher, among others.

Four copies of Veronese's originals are known. The first copies of each painting were made around 1655, and are, nowadays, at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. François Boucher made the second copies almost a hundred years later. Carle van Loo, who became the king's main painter in 1762, made the third copies and one year later was nominated director of the French Academy. His paintings are, nowadays, at the Musée de Cambrai, in France. The fourth copies, probably from the end of the 18th century, became known only in 1971, when the Marquis Bute, from Scotland, visited the Frick Collection and saw the original of a painting that had belonged to one of his ancestors. The authorship of these copies is unknown, but according to Peter Watson, the paintings were exhibited for the first time in 1799, in England, which suggests that they were also made in the 18th century<sup>6</sup>.

Marques notes that, in the case of the MASP paintings, even when Michel Laclotte saw them, him who was director of the Louvre, he manifested a "certain perplexity, motivated above all by the fact that Boucher had known, when he copied Veronese, how to mimic, in a perfect way, the Vene-

tian painting technique of the 16th century"<sup>7</sup>.

These Veronese copies belong to a historical context of European reappraisal of Renaissance Venetian painting. In the 18th century, this reappraisal happened not only through the works of Sebastiano Ricci, who recaptured the poetics of Venetian painters from the 16th century, but also through the expansion of Rubens' works in French context. This can be noticed in the production of some artists, like Watteau.

Since the end of the 17th century, The French Academy had been involved in a debate between two specific groups, the adherents of Poussin and the adherents of Rubens. The former supported the primacy of the line. The latter, the primacy of the color. The painter Charles Le Brun, director of the French Academy, defended the primacy of the line and the models established by Poussin.

From 1673 onwards, with the publication of *Dialogue sur le coloris*, by Roger de Piles, the debate was stimulated. The academic norm began to be questioned under the impact of Rubens cycle on Maria de Medicis' life, which was exhibited at the Luxembourg Palace.

Through Rubens' works, 18th century Paris rediscovered the Venetian chromatic sensibility and the poetics of its Renaissance masters. The knowledge of the Italian models in France occurred with the disclosure of art collections such as Crozat's, Mariette's and others. This disclosure happened through the reproduction of the works of art, especially through engravings. The collection of the regent of France, Philippe II, Duke of Orleans, was, in that sense, fundamental. This collection was formed by many paintings from Venetian artists, and many works from Veronese, among these, the paintings studied here.

Both Crozat and Philippe II gathered a circle of amateurs and art collectors

around them, which was also visited by artists. These people had access to their collections and this fact contributed to the formation of an Italian painting taste in general, and more specifically a Venetian painting taste.

Besides the existing relation with the artistic context of reappraisal of Venetian Renaissance masters works, the paintings copied by Boucher also deserve to be distinguished due to the iconography they display, which we will comment on briefly.

### Some considerations on the works' iconography

The allegories made for Rudolph II are among Veronese's masterpieces. The painting *Hercules Choice* or *Hercules between Vice and Virtue* is an alteration done over a set of themes important to Renaissance painters.

According to Erwin Panofsky's essay<sup>8</sup> the myth of the choice of Hercules is narrated by Prodicus. Xenophon in *Memorabilia*, II, I, 21-33, transmitted its oldest version: Hercules, young, filled up with doubts, was meditating by himself in a remote, undetermined, place. Two women appear and approach him, trying to grab the young man's attention by promising, each one in a different way, to lead him to happiness. The first one, who represents Vice, promises an easier and more pleasant path, because its joyful and idler; the second one, associated with Virtue, points out to a difficult and long path, full of dangers and privations. Hercules choice is well known: he chooses Virtue.

The character gained a surprising multiplicity of roles in the philosophical field. Both in pythagoric, stoic and sophist texts its course is used as a metaphor of the human condition.

The representation in Veronese's painting would have as base the myth as its narrated in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. The text was printed in Latin, for the first time, in 1501. In

Philostratus text he opposes the personification of voluptuousness, adorned with golden necklaces, with her hair carefully braided and wearing golden sandals, with Virtue, who is bare-foot and reflects a careless image<sup>9</sup>.

Panofsky also notes that, among the ancient texts, Philostratus is the only source where we can find the theme of the two women trying to gain Hercules attention, each one by his side, using not only words and regards, as depicted in Xenophon's narration, but also using gestures and even force.

In his essay, Panofsky showed that the painting *Hercules between Vice and Virtue* was made with a lot more freedom if we were to compare it with the iconography depicted by other artists before Veronese. In Veronese's painting, the hero, wearing silvery clothes (supposedly it is the artists own portrait), abandons the young woman so well dressed up and throws himself in the arms of the other one, whose aspect is more severe, wears a laurel and represents Virtue.

The space in the painting advances diagonally; the opposition of a caryatid column to the left and a tree to the right balances the composition. At the architrave, which is sustained by the caryatid, it is written "[HO] NOR ET VIRTUS [P] OST MORTEM FLORET" (Honor and virtue flourishes after death). The representation emphasizes, therefore, the question of immortality connected with the choice of a virtuous life. Another aspect that stands out is the high diurnal luminosity, which stretches out into the open space. In this painting, Veronese emphasizes the scene, which gets closer to the eye of the spectator, where Hercules makes his choice.

We must note the strong resemblance between the female figures of this paintings and the ones in another Veronese painting, using the same theme, *Young man between Vice and Virtue*, which is nowadays at the Museo del

Prado, Madrid. [Fig.3]. For some researchers, among them Bernard Berenson, the Prado painting would be a later piece, dating closer to the paintings of the Frick Collection, around 1580.

In this painting, Hercules turns into an eight or ten years old boy, wearing a purple costume, typical of the patricians. The painter portrayed the personification of voluptuousness as a figure adorned with gold, which glances at the boy in a seductive way. The figure of Virtue, standing up, wearing a laurel and wrapped in a kind of cloak, grabs the boy by his finger and takes him away in quick steps. He does not look back at the personification of voluptuousness, and follows Virtue submissively. According to Panofsky, this piece could well have been produced in order to celebrate the date of an ethical-religious compromise<sup>10</sup>.

On the other hand, the painting *Allegory of Wisdom and Strength* can be considered a development of the theme that appears at *Hercules between Vice and Virtue*. The female character, which represents Wisdom, turns her eyes towards the firmament. She has as one of her attributes the sun, which shines over her; it is a sinuous figure, derived from ancient statuary sculpture. Her superiority over the material world is suggested not only because of the earth globe, over which her foot lies, or the wealth spread on the floor, but by the thoughtful regard of the second character, Hercules, who leans, once again, on his club. Inspired, formally wise, in the Farnese Hercules, here he has a melancholic regard. Hercules looks down to the wealth spread on the floor. The two figures stand at foreground; to the left the space stretches out into a distant landscape, the luminosity is from the dawn. At the base of the column there is the inscription OMNIA VANITAS (everything is vain). The *Vanitas* theme became recurrent during the 17th century.

This painting can be seen as a development of Hercules' choice, where he submits himself to Virtue, here conceived in the Renaissance manner, associated with Wisdom.

In both paintings, Veronese refers to the choice of a virtuous path. He uses a theme that is, at the same time, erotic and moralizing.

Panofsky notes that the theme of Hercules' choice found its canonic form later on, in the painting of Annibale Carracci, produced in 1596 (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples) [Fig.4]. Carracci's painting became a model for the representation of this theme. The majority of later artists, right into the 18th century, established with it a relationship of agreement or disagreement. In Carracci's painting, Hercules is represented seated, listening to the speech of Virtue, who carries a short sword. The opposition between the two female figures is expressed through their clothes and hairdos, more sober in Virtue's case, and carefully braided in the personification of voluptuousness.

According to Panofsky, Carracci's painting tried to "reconstruct an ideal from Antiquity" through a harmonic rhythm. The artist represented an intense moment of interior life using as little movement as possible. His painting distinguished itself because of a "timeless ideal". In this sense, he opposed himself to the "realism of the period" seen in Veronese's painting<sup>11</sup>.

In the second half of the 17th century, artists produced a series of variations of Carracci's painting. It occurred then a tendency of transforming the serene plenitude of the characters forms into a more vibrant scene. They tried to nullify its plastic isolation through the use of an optical relation. In general terms, the idealizing style inspired by Carracci's painting got modified in the 18th century. Panofsky notes that, at this moment we see the emergence of a more free conception, which tried

to “modernize” everything that was considered Classical, turning it into a matter of subjective orientation<sup>12</sup>.

In general terms, in the 18th century, the representation of Hercules’ choice gained more theatrical forms. In Reynolds painting, *The actor David Garrick between Comedy and Tragedy* (1761, private collection, England), we arrive even at a parody.

We should notice that Veronese’s paintings may have represented an interesting model in the 18th century, because they showed an unusual iconography. The artist painted two later moments of the scenes that were usually depicted. In the piece *Hercules between Vice and Virtue*, the character has an active attitude and the painting could, as well, have been named *Hercules throws himself in the arms of Virtue*.

The two Veronese paintings analyzed here present models of political iconography that were associated to the images of those in power. This point justifies the fact that they belonged to the collectionism tradition, which by its turn was connected to sovereigns and governments. We should remember the trajectory of these paintings, because they belonged, successively, to Rudolph II, Habsburg emperor, to the Queen Christine, of Sweden, and later, probably, to the Duke of Aveiro, a noble connected to the King D. John V, of Portugal<sup>13</sup>.

Besides the set of themes, works from Venetian painters like Tiziano and Veronese also became models for French artists since the beginning of the 18th century. These paintings were sought-after by collectors and their copies were held in good praise, as the Pierre Crozat collection has shown. This rediscovery of the Venetian masters was linked to the debates around the supremacy of the line over the color, which took place in the French Academy in the 18th century. We will comment on this below.

### The polemic over drawing and coloring

In France, The Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, founded in 1648, had the purpose not only of forming artists, but also of establishing reflections about art. The French Academy built a tradition connected to the Historic Painting and to the drawing technique of Poussin. Drawing and expression formed the base of the painting, and color was only considered as an accident. The painter Charles Le Brun, director of the Academy, affirmed that color “depends entirely on the material and, therefore, it is less noble than the drawing, which depends upon the spirit”<sup>14</sup>. The debate about the coloring was then set in an institution whose order and functioning had been sustained, since its foundation, by the adherents of the drawing.

This discussion was ancient. In the 16th century, Giorgio Vasari and Ludovico Dolce wrote about the primacy of the drawing or the color. We recognize in the French context the return of ideas already present in the Italian debate of the 16th century. Jacqueline Lichtenstein stressed the existence of similar concepts in the adherents of drawing and of color minds, in both historical contexts: in 16th century Italy and in the end of the 18th century France<sup>15</sup>. But in France, the Academy forced the organization of a theory and led to the radicalization of the theoretic postulates.

It is worth examining, although in a summoned up form, the main questions linked to the polemic between Vasari and Dolce, and it is also worth examining the debates in the French Academy in the 17th century which, in some way, influenced a whole generation of painters, among them Watteau and Antoine Coypel.

#### 1- The controversy drawing-color: vasari and dolce

The founding of the *Accademia delle Arti del Disegno* in Florence (1563) was

the institutional recognition of artistic formulations that were produced since the beginning of the 15th century. The Academy, in the conception of Giorgio Vasari, would gather the most excellent painters, sculptors and architects, and would have the protection of the grand-duke of Tuscany, Cosme de Medicis. The reunion of the arts in one single organization was based on the idea that these were united in their beginnings, by the drawing (*disegno*), “father of the three arts: architecture, sculpture and painting”<sup>16</sup>.

In the book *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti da Cimabue fino ai nostri giorni* (1550 and 1568), Giorgio Vasari established the notion of drawing as the base of all imaginative process, the instrument of the painters thinking even before its material expression. The initial idea, the sketches, its final execution, everything belonged to the creative process named drawing.

The judgement of the works followed, for Vasari, criteria that valued graphic and plastic aspects: line and modeling, form and proportion. The color, therefore, would give a superficial contribution to the drawing. For the Florentines, the essential was the representation of the human figure, through its contour and modeling.

On the other hand, Venetian painting was based in the convergence of two specific technical factors: the employment of oil as involving substance, and of the canvas as support. The humidity of the Venetian climate did not favor fresco paintings. Used in the Netherlands, the employment of oil painting was particularly important in Venice in the last quarter of the 15th century. From the contact with Antonello da Messina, Giovanni Bellini explored and developed oil painting to its full potentialities.

As David Rosand<sup>17</sup> stressed, Bellini, with the application of colors in glazes (thin, translucent layers of paint), tried to create a light that seemed to emanate

from the own painting; the light could ascertain an independent existence to the illuminated objects. The exploration of the oil painting allowed Bellini to explore the luminosity in its most suggestive forms.

In Giorgione's paintings, the figures and the objects did not content themselves in emerging from the shadows that involved them. They seemed to share a mutual and palpable atmosphere. In the artists canvases, the brush work could be seen more and more. Put in gently upon the texture of the canvas, the stroke with the brush created broken, interrupted, lines which produced a new vibration in the surface.

When he referred to Giorgione, Vasari wrote that he painted only with the colors, without putting much effort in drawing upon the paper, which would have been the best and true way of painting<sup>18</sup>. Vasari held that the Venetian painters were not very skilled in the art of drawing and that they would hide this through the attraction of the colors<sup>19</sup>.

While the mode of painting from Central Italy would regard the issue of the systematic graphic preparation of the painting, the Venetian masters painted directly upon the canvas, without stopping to transform and to adjust the compositions. For Vasari and other critics, Venetian painters' procedure seemed arbitrary, irresponsible and, for instance, in Tintoretto's case, an affront to art.

Non Venetian critics turned themselves against Tintoretto. His free style contradicted the established distinctions between finished work and sketch (*finito* and *abbozzato*). Vasari criticized Tintoretto when he mentioned painters who imitated Ticiano's later mode of painting and "accomplished an awkward painting". Armenini (*De' veri precetti della pittura*, 1587) reused Vasari's critics and Federico Zuccaro (*Lamento della Pittura sè l'onde Venete*, 1605) held Tintoretto responsible for the decline

of Venetian painting at the end of the 16th century<sup>20</sup>.

The Venetian party adherents also contributed to the debate, but in Rosand's opinion they never succeeded in developing a theory or system that could be compared with Vasari's aesthetic formulation. In Venice, the critical speech that was most effective was not, necessarily, analytical, but consisted of poetic, open and suggestive discourses<sup>21</sup>. This can be observed, for instance, in Aretino's prose. In a letter written in 1544 and addressed to Tiziano, he describes a view of the Grand Canal using pictorial terms<sup>22</sup>.

In *Dialogo della Pittura*, from 1577, Ludovico Dolce answered to Vasari's first edition by making an apology of Tiziano. Dolce respected the traditional division of painting in three parts (invention, drawing and coloring), and by doing this he turned mimesis into an obligation in art. Since contours are abstractions that do not exist in nature - which is perceived as color and scheme of colors - an imitation in painting should be based in color and not in the line. Dolce considered that, although numerous painters were excellent in drawing and invention, Tiziano deserved the glory of having a perfect coloring, being, in painting "divine and with no equal"<sup>23</sup>.

## 2- The debates in the French academy

The Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, founded in 1648, aimed in granting painting with a status of liberal art, emulating not only the *Accademia di San Luca*, but also the *Académie Française*, founded by Richelieu in 1635. The greatest member who represented the Academy's doctrine was Charles Le Brun, who was also its director and who received the official commissions. He also exercised a huge influence over the most part of the artists, being, in the Academy, the moderator and referee of the discussions.

The Academy formed a tradition linked with the history of painting and with the ideals of Poussin's drawing. Le Brun used to assert that color "depends entirely from the substance and, therefore, is less noble than the drawing, which only depends upon the spirit"<sup>24</sup>.

The debate among the adherents of drawing and of color would flourish in France under the conditions determined by Louis 14th politics. The debating upon coloring was, then, inserted in an institution which had an way and a functioning that were guaranteed, since its foundation, by the drawing adherents.

Colbert established in the Academy a cycle of debates. The texts from these were written and published by Félibien and, later, by Guillet de Saint-Georges. The controversy began with a lecture delivered by Philippe de Champaigne, in 1671, about one of Tiziano's paintings. The painter took the opportunity to invoke Poussin's example, who, after studying Tiziano's paintings for some time, decided to detach himself from this path<sup>25</sup>. There followed some arguments for and against the Venetian masters. Roger de Piles, who attended the lectures as an amateur and would become a great defendant of the colorists, decided to take the debate to the public and wrote the book *Dialogue sur le Coloris*, printed in 1673.

A second episode in this controversy would have occurred between 1676 and 1681. After losing his painting collection to the king (among them, many of Poussin's paintings), the Duke of Richelieu remade it with a series of Rubens' paintings. He was oriented by Roger de Piles, to whom the duke trusted the task of writing its description. The text, called *Le Cabinet de Monseigneur le duc de Richelieu*, first appeared in 1675, and renewed the controversy, which was, by then, partly forgotten. In the Academy, the discussions continued through a series of pamphlets, where the authors would affirm themselves in favor or

against Poussin and Rubens. In 1677, Roger de Piles took the debate to the great public, through the text *Conversations sur la connoissance de la peinture*.

According to Lichtenstein, to go against the privilege of drawing was equal to attacking the Academy, that is, meant questioning not only the theoretical principle, but also the institutional fundament of liberal dignity in painting. According to the author, this is the only way for us to understand this debate, its vehemence having gone beyond those of the Italian's, in the previous century<sup>26</sup>.

In France, this situation acquired a more complex character because the primacy of drawing was defended by an institution backed by the monarchy. Lichtenstein points out that we can recognize, in the French debate, the ideas about coloring that were also present in the Italian debate. When the Italian colorists were accused of reducing the act of painting to a mere dying process, or when the colorists were censored for extracting their quality from the substance which composes the painting, and from the technique of those who produced the paints, Dolce insisted over the necessity of distinguishing the color (the substance), from the coloring, that is, the way the artist uses the color<sup>27</sup>.

Over a century later, Roger de Piles would oppose color (substance), which makes objects visible, and coloring (technique), essential part of painting. Through coloring, the painter is able

to imitate the appearance of the colors. This is the base of the *chiaroscuro* science. Coloring was criticized because it could not be taught through the use of rules, but both French and Italians answered back using the argument of talent, the first characteristic one expects to find in a painter.

Both moments claimed for the painter's status and knowledge. Without those his work would be destitute of dignity. Nevertheless, Lichtenstein remembers that, in Italy, there was not an official doctrine. The texts defending Venetian painting were, as we saw above, much less objective. In France, the debates in the Academy led to the organization of a theory and to the radicalization of theoretical postulates. As is noticed by Lichtenstein, the colorists defense was not just an aesthetic act, but a theoretical one, because it was equal to "assuming the nobility and the dignity of painting, defining it in a way that was completely incompatible with the recurring legitimizing criteria"<sup>28</sup>.

In the end of the 17th century a lot had changed: the ideas Roger de Piles defended had triumphed, and, in 1699, he was chosen honorary counselor of the Academy. The period of the controversy had gone by, and the old professor was listened to with respect: the victory belonged to the adherents of color.

### Final considerations

As a consequence of the debates in the Academy, Rubens' works were

extremely studied by French artists, specially, the cycle of Maria de Medici, which was created for the Luxembourg Palace, between 1621 and 1625. Marques has pointed out : "Partly through Rubens coloring we see Paris of the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century rediscover the chromatic sensibility, this is the Venetian lesson, which elected Tiziano and Veronese as its greatest Renaissance painters"<sup>29</sup>.

This Venetian masters were fundamental for the French artists poetics. For instance, for Watteau, as can be perceived in his paintings, structured through the coloring, and also in his free brush stroke or in some of his chosen themes. Roger de Piles writings and his eulogy to the Venetian coloring also influenced the formation of great Parisian collections, for instance, those of Pierre Crozat<sup>30</sup> and Philippe II of Orleans, to whom belonged the originals paintings that were copied by Boucher, and that were the main subject of this article.

Although briefly, I have intended to draw some comments, in this article, on the cultural context in which one can place both paintings of Boucher and on their iconographic relevance. As Marques points out, for the reasons presented above, Veronese copies made by François Boucher, currently in the MASP collection, attain a paradigmatic character, historic and artistic wise<sup>31</sup>.

English version:

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<sup>1</sup> The MASP paintings were done in oil over canvas and measure 223x171 cm.

<sup>2</sup> SILVA, Maria Antonia Couto da. The Veronese Copies done by François Boucher, from the collection of Museu de Arte de São Paulo. Dissertation (masters), Campinas: Unicamp, IFCH - State University of Campinas, Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences. (Adviser: Professor Luiz César Marques Filho), 2003.

<sup>3</sup> WATSON, Peter. *Wisdom and Strength: The Biography of a Renaissance Masterpiece*. New York, Doubleday, 1989, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> MARQUES, Luiz. *Corpus da Arte Italiana em Coleções Brasileiras, 1250-1950 - A Arte Italiana no Museu de Arte de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Berlendis e Vertecchia, 1996. pp. 84-85.

<sup>5</sup> MARQUES, Luiz. "De onde nasce um museu". *Revista Galeria*, São Paulo, 18, 1990, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> WATSON, Peter. Op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>7</sup> MARQUES, Luiz. 1990. Op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>8</sup> PANOFSKY, Erwin. *Hercule à la croisée des chemins*. Paris: Flammarion, 1999. [Original: *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in neueren Kunst*, Leipzig: Berlin, B.G. Teubner, 1930].

<sup>9</sup> Philostratus, VI, 10, quoted in Panofsky, Erwin. Op. cit., pp. 100-102.

<sup>10</sup> PANOFSKY, Erwin. Op. cit., p.110.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.120.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.128.

<sup>13</sup> The existing documentation in the Museu de Arte de São Paulo, which relates to the two Boucher copies, mentions a Duke of Aneiro as the person who ordered the paintings, and tells us that after his death they became "property of the Bragança family, reigning in Portugal" (letter from Mitchell Samuels

to Assis Chateaubriand, 04/05/1951). In the dictionaries and in the books about Portugal's history, which we consulted, references to the Duke of Aveiro were not found. We, then, decided to use the hypothesis that the person who ordered the paintings was, in fact, José Marcarenhas, Duke of Aveiro, because he was an important person in Portugal back then.

<sup>14</sup> Charles Le Brun, "Sentiments sur le discours de M. Blanchard", speech of 1672, quoted in LICHTENSTEIN, Jaqueline. *A cor eloquente*. São Paulo: Siciliano, 1994, p. 157.

<sup>15</sup> LICHTENSTEIN, Jaqueline. Op. cit. p. 157.

<sup>16</sup> VASARI, Giorgio. *Le Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti da Cimabue fino ai nostri giorni*. [1568]. Roma: Tascabili, 1991, p. 73.

<sup>17</sup> ROSAND, David. *Peindre à Venise au XVIe. Siècle*. Paris: Flammarion, 1982.

<sup>18</sup> "Ma venuto poi, l'anno circa 1507, Giorgione da Castel Franco, non gli piacendo in tutto il detto modo di fare, cominciò a dare alle sue opere più morbidezza e maggiore rilievo con bella maniera; usando nondimeno di cacciar si avanti le cose vive e naturali, e di contrarfarle quanto sapeva il meglio con i colori, e macchiarle con le tinte crude e dolci, secondo

che il vivo mostrava, senza far disegno; tenendo per fermo che il dipingere solo con i colori stessi, senza altro studio di disegnare in carta, fusse il vero e miglior modo di fare ed il vero disegno". VASARI, Giorgio. Op. cit., pp. 1285-1286.

<sup>19</sup> "Quando altri há fatto la mano disegnando in carta, si vien poi di mano in mano con più agevolezza a mettere in opera disegnando e dipigendo. E così facendo pratica nell'arte, si fa la maniera ed il giudizio perfetto, levando via quella fatica e stento con che si conducono le pitture, di cui si è ragionato di sopra, per non dir nulla, che disegnando in carta, si viene a empiere la mente di bei concetti, e s'impara a fare a mente tutte le cose della natura, senza avere a tenerle sempre innanzi, o ad avere a nasc[ond]ere sotto la vaghezza de' colori lo stento del non sapere disegnare; nella maniera che fecero molti anni i pittori viniziani, Giorgione, il Palma, il Pordenone, et altri che non videro Roma, né altre opere di tutta perfezione". VASARI, Giorgio. Op. cit., p. 1286.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in ROSAND, David. Op. cit., pp. 29, 215-216.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Pietro Aretino to Tiziano, May 1544, published in BOTTARI, Giovanni G, TICOZZI, Stefano. *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura: scritta da' più celebrati personaggi dei secoli XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII*. Milan: G. Silvestri, 1822; [éd. Fac.sim, New York: G. Olms, 1976], pp. 115-118.

<sup>23</sup> According to ROSAND, David. Op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Le Brun, *Sentiments sur le discours de M. Blanchard*, discourse from 1672 Quoted in LICHTENSTEIN, Jaqueline. Op. cit., p. 157.

<sup>25</sup> According to THULLIER, Jacques. Poussin. Paris: Flammarion, 1994, p. 183.

<sup>26</sup> LICHTENSTEIN, Jaqueline. Op. cit., p. 151.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>29</sup> MARQUES, Luiz. 1990. Op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>30</sup> According to an article of STUFFMANN, Margret. "Les tableaux de la collection de Pierre Crozat", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*: Paris, 72, June-September 1968.

<sup>31</sup> MARQUES, Luiz. 1990. Op. cit., p. 91.

## To Excavate the Past, To (Re-)construct the Present: The symbolic uses of Classical Antiquity by Napoleon Bonaparte

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### Introduction

In the last years, the Classical studies have suffered many changes. Considered, for a long time, as a discipline without any relation to modern politics, the critical approach to that stereotype, headed by Martin Bernal<sup>1</sup>, has inspired many classicists to rethink the theoretic

cal and methodological aspects of the discipline and to explore the cultural contexts, permeated by the modern nationalism and imperialism, in which the concepts were produced<sup>2</sup>.

Such discussions have produced a series of new interpretations in which the specialists sought less normative readings of the classical past. Moreover, the notion that the study of the past is not isolated from the present has propitiated the development background in which the relationships between the ancient and the modern world are much closer than they could seem at a first glance. We are not referring ourselves here to a simplistic explanation that connects the modern to the ancient, but to the production of sophisticated readings of the classical past with the aim to legitimate governments, to claim cultural heritages and to define national identities.

The present article is set in this critical perspective. Taking as an example the figure of Napoleon Bonaparte, we

will seek, in what follows, to discuss the uses of the classical past and the rising French Archaeology in the construction of his public image. In this moment, the collective representations of the past and the search for the historical origins (re-)defined the French identity after a long revolutionary process, which had shaken them. As we will see, Napoleon, the emerging leader of this process, attempted to enlarge the limits of the French Empire and to consolidate his power. In doing so, he has not concentrated only in the battlefields and in his military power, but also on the archaeological sites and in the use of the sciences and the arts. In this way, the investment in the studies of the ancient world would be an integral part of his politics.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1970, Said has already alerted to that relationship.<sup>4</sup> In his book *Orientalism*, the author highlights Napoleon's sagaciousness in using the studies of the specialists in Orientalism in order to occupy the Egypt. This attitude played

a crucial role upon the studies of the region's past as well as in the creation of modern notions of the Western and the Eastern worlds. It is not fortuitous, therefore, the relationship between Napoleon Bonaparte and the development of Archaeology in France. We just have to remember the discovery of the famous "Rosetta Stone". This important archaeological finding, whose deciphering turned it into the base for the development of the modern Egyptology, took place in July 19, 1799, that is to say, in the middle of the Egyptian Campaign (1798-1801). This was one of the legendary landmarks of the revolutionary general Bonaparte who was there, between 1798 and 1799, in the command of the French army.

In analyzing Napoleon under the point of view of the symbolic construction of his power (here understood not only as the symbols that represented the power in itself, but also as everything that could suggest it), we will try to relate his politics with the archaeological references to the ancient past. We venture to propose this approach because we understand that the Napoleonic "symbolic power"<sup>5</sup> was highly mediated by such references. For such, we will emphasize how Napoleon, with his propaganda machine, made constant use of Archaeology, under several aspects, with the finality of legitimating himself politically and of framing symbolically his power. Considering this point of view, we propose an analysis constructed in three interrelated topics: the material, the mental, and the political aspects.

### Excavating the ancient world: material culture and its symbolic use

During his government (1799-1815), Napoleon Bonaparte was a notorious stimulator of academies, institutes, artists and scientists, giving continuity to the patronage policy of the kings of the *Ancien Régime*. He himself had occupied, from 1797 on, a place as a member of

the *Institut*,<sup>6</sup> in the class of "Science" (Mathematics). As he was a member of the *Institut* and had close relations with its scientists, Napoleon always sought to employ the technological innovations in the issues of his government.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, as Gillispie reminds us, "Napoleon realized the Institute's possibilities as an instrument to transform the French universalism into cultural imperialism".<sup>8</sup>

The Egypt's Campaign (1798-1801) was to be the first great demonstration of the use of the potential of the members of the *Institut* in favor of the Napoleonic interests. Among the mineralogists, mathematicians, astronomers, civil, mining and soil, engineers, geographers, architects, draftsman, mechanical artists, translators, men of letters, typographers, doctors, chemists, cartographers, naturalists and archaeologists, the list including even a pianist and a sculptor, there were Vivant-Denon (1747-1825), Monge (1746-1818), Saint-Hilaire (1779-1853) and Champollion (1790-1832).<sup>9</sup>

Although the Egyptian Campaign had not been a military success, Bonaparte's decision to involve in it a series of artists and scientists would make it be an important landmark in the construction of his public image. After all, they would be responsible to recreate, to decode to the French people the Egyptian Antiquity in different grounds, and to use it to the Napoleon's glorification. Dominique Vivant-Denon's *La Description de l'Égypte*<sup>10</sup> is one of the greatest examples of the use of the Egyptian Campaign and of its archaeological findings to the aim of creating propaganda and ideological effects. This is so despite the fact that the apparent motivation for its publication was the description of the scientific results of the expedition, which included, among others, the discovery of the "Rosetta Stone".

On its turn, the excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum, initiated in the end of the first half of the eighteenth-

century, would receive support between 1770 and 1815, during the Napoleonic government. Even indirectly, these excavations expressed Napoleon's "archaeological facet". In 1806, for instance, José Bonaparte, recently proclaimed King of Naples (1806-1808) by his brother Napoleon, concedes to Christophe Saliceti (Born in Corsica as the Bonaparte's) the direction of the archaeological works of these two sites. In 1808, Caroline, while acceding, alongside her husband Joachim Murat, the government of Naples (1808-1815), in substitution to her brother José recently placed in the throne of Spain by Napoleon, takes under her personal protection the excavation works. Her idea was to transform Pompeii into a place for public visitation and, because of that, she played an important role in the divulgation of the data obtained during the excavations. In this sense, Marina Cavicchioli highlights that the excavation funded by Caroline not only had the aim of collecting works from Pompeii, but had the aim of constructing a specific kind of past, seeking for relationships between the Roman Empire and the French imperialism.<sup>11</sup>

Seeking to create a new identity to the French people under his government, Napoleon also stimulated the archaeological researches and the results were fundamental to the framing of that process. In that way, the studies and researches in Egypt helped to define the differences between the modern Western and Eastern worlds. They also evoked the Roman military power from its main symbols<sup>12</sup> as the triumphal arch or the notion of Empire as well as reinterpreted the Celtic (Gallic) populations after the foundation of the *Académie Celtique*, in 1805. Dietler affirms that, with the decision to organize a center for Celtic studies, Napoleon reintegrated the Gallic people in a place of glory. He was exploring the ambiguities of the French identity from the tensions propitiated by the evocation

of such distinct pasts, building a policy that envisioned to demarcate who were the ancestral of that people and to justify ideologically the expansion of his Empire.<sup>13</sup>

Through Napoleon's intention to recover these treasures from Antiquity and to interpret them according to his expansionist policy, the artists who worked under his protection were the main responsible for transposing such values to the quotidian of the beginning of the nineteenth-century Napoleonic France. Through the so-called "Imperial Style" [fig. 1], identified with Napoleon's government, the aesthetic that was flourishing with the excavations won the sympathy especially of the French elite, mixing Greek, Roman, and Egyptian elements, what would reinforce in the decoration, in the architecture, and in the fashion, the cult to that classical past:

*The motives, employed in the revetments, in the furniture, in the tissues, in the ceramics, in the goldsmith, are inspired in Antiquity. Leroy's compendium has placed into fashion the caryatides of the Erechtheum, from the Greek vases they get their shape, their palm leaves, their detached figures; Rome offers her victories, her fames, garlands, her trophies, her stuccos, her mosaics. From Pompeii come the maenads and her leopards, the satyrs, the cupids, (...) the columns. The Egyptian expedition only has fixed the fashion of the sphinxes, of the Isis, (...) of the capital (...). Vivant-Denon, when returned from Thebes, solicits to Jacob a furniture inspired in his drawings (...). The expedition fostered the frequent mixture of all these motives, which were from several origins; it does not matter, so long as they are ancient. (...) These men are dreaming to be the contemporaries of Pericles, of August, of Cleopatra.<sup>14</sup>*

Architects and the other artists revisited Rome and explored her civic virtues that they considered extemporal, they saluted Egypt and his primacy as the cradle of civilization, and they reinterpreted the reputed Greek art. The historical examples of people that had knew so much to realize the ideal

of great beauty, now had come to express the revolutionary grandiloquence and, as following, the imperial ambitions of Napoleon. Therefore, one of the formulas that he would employ to crystallize himself to posterity linked his name to an aesthetic and a personalized architectonic monumentality, which has founded in the neoclassic art its best expression.

It is necessary to highlight that this style inspired in Antiquity, extremely luxurious, could also be recognized in the streets, through the fashion that become known as the "Imperial Style". In it, the expansive tissues (the same ones used in the upholstered furniture and walls of the luxuriously decorated houses), the jewels, and the hairdressing, were, alongside pastiches from Antiquity and symbols of the struggle of an industrious France, a bourgeois social codification.

We cannot forget to mention the influence of the classical aesthetics that also marked some of the most famous monuments built in Paris during the Napoleonic government. The Triumphal Arch of the Carrousel (1806-1808) and the Vendôme Column (1806-1810), both built to celebrate the victory of the Napoleonic troops in the Battle of Austerlitz (1805), were inspired in monuments of Ancient Rome. The first one was inspired by the Arch of Septimius Severus (of which the Parisian arch is a reduced copy) and the second one by the Trajan Column (which is represented the expedition of the Roman Emperor Trajan against the people of Dacia).

This complex net of reinterpretations of the ancient world and, in special, of the Greco-roman world, has extrapolated the universe of the scientific researches that the French were starting to bring to light in the beginning of the nineteenth-century and started to impregnate the French imaginary, producing a very specific vision of the ancient past. We would like to examine some of these issues in the next pages.

### **The construction of the French identity: the bridge between the present and the past in the Napoleonic period**

Besides having marked the embellishment of cities, of homes and of bodies, the use of classical references in the Neoclassicism, headed by the painter Jacques-Louis David, has actualized and reinforced under the government of Napoleon an imaginary line of continuity between the present and the past. The systematic use of these classical aesthetic models both by the Revolution as by the Empire (David and many other artists are their bearers from one epoch to the other) does not reveal only the uses of that Antiquity in the search for the legitimization of the power.<sup>15</sup> It has also transposed to contemporary times, through an imaginary bridge that seemed to cross the centuries directly without interruption. The examples of civism, moral, loyalty and sacrifice were followed by the revolutionary citizens and, latter, by the vassals of Napoleon.

Many paintings of Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825),<sup>16</sup> already famous since the end of the kingship of Louis XVI by the painting *The Oath of the Horatii* (exhibited to the public in 1785), considered as the manifest of the French Neoclassicism, are exemplary cases of the use of that present-past bridge to shape attitudes and thoughts. Some of his works that were inspired in the events of Antiquity, like *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* (1799), *The Death of Socrates* (1787), and *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (1814), besides the *Oath* itself, had placed in evidence the didactic use of that classical past. This happens both because David painted them in gigantic dimensions and because he chose civic themes.

We can also argue that there was a kind of classic movement in the language. Different attitudes detected this phenomenon such as the recovery of titles, names of posts and mottoes from the ancients' oratory. The use of

regulatory words by famous orators of Antiquity was in vogue. When Napoleon resuscitates, in his speeches against England, the words of Cato “*Delenda est Carthago*” (Cartage must be destroyed), he turns the French-British economic dispute into a glorious re-edition of the Punic Wars between Rome and Cartage that have disputed the dominion over the Mediterranean in the past. In a proclamation to the army, which antedated the boarding to Egypt, dated May 19, 1798, done in Toulon, he would have said:

*Les légions romaines, que vous avez quelquefois imitées, mais pas encore égales, combattaient Carthage tour à tour sur cette même mer, et aux plaines de Zama. La victoire ne les abandonna jamais, parce que constamment elles furent braves, patientes à supporter la fatigue, disciplinées et unies entre elles.*<sup>17</sup>

Napoleon transposed the discipline and loyalty of the Roman legions to the nineteenth-century France with the creation, in May 19, 1802, of the “Legion of Honor”, a distinction that contemplated important services rendered to France both by the civilians as by the militaries. Expanding the notion of reward (until then only expected to militaries) through all the French social tissue, it aimed to help to create a climate of internal harmony, especially in the social point of view. The “Legion” becomes a “véritable milice du régime et non pas décoration nationale”<sup>18</sup> when it was accessible to all and was guided by the acknowledgement of merit. This was an important instrument inside the symbolic construction of the Napoleonic power. When it was laid over the chest of the contemplated it formalized and turned explicit the enrolments (which brought immense satisfaction to Napoleon when it was all about the realists or the feverous republicans), solidifying, with a “mixture of authority and equality”,<sup>19</sup> silent relations of dependence, gratitude, and protection between Bonaparte and those who were acknowledged and rewarded.

On its turn, to call the government that arose after the stroke of the “*Brunaire 18*” as a “*Consulate*” (1799-1802) is another symptom of that movement. In this case, the selection of denominations for the new government was not only a matter of differentiation in relation to the Directory, but a testimony to the whole need, of Bonaparte and his now accomplices, to save the appearances of legality. Therefore, to reactivate the triumvirate system was a way to give the false impression of a tripartite repartition of power<sup>20</sup> while transmitting the idea that it would not be concentrated in a single hand. To denominate the French triumvirs as “*consuls de la République*” would suggest both a civic morality, by reactivating the Roman example, as well as the continuity of the Republic, which reaffirmed to the bourgeoisie the promise of consolidation and maintenance of its gains obtained during the Revolution. Inclusive, likewise Julius Caesar, Napoleon would also carry officially the title of lifelong Consul (1802-1804), a title that the French Senate would offer to him and a plebiscite would confirm.

We also cannot let unnoticed the denomination of Napoleon’s reign. In adopting the word “*Empire*”, in direct reference to the Roman model, besides illustrating his plans of hegemony in Europe, Bonaparte also gave the impression that the monarchic reestablishment that he promoted was not a continuation, but a breakage. To use the status of Emperor also served as a justifying motive both to the prerogative pleaded by him of consecration by the Pope, as well as to the superior juridical condition that he wished to enjoy in front of the other monarchs whom, as kings and princes, would be considered his subordinates, likewise the Pope itself. Tarlé explains:

*Napoleon proclaimed that, likewise Charles Magnus, he will become Emperor of the Western world and that he did not consider himself as a successor of the ancient kings of France, but of the great Charles Magnus.*

*In reality, the empire of Charles Magnus has been only a tentative to resurrect and prolongs another much greater empire: the Roman Empire. Napoleon considered himself as equally the heir of that empire, the unifying force of the countries of the western civilization. In fact, before the Russian campaign he reunited under his direct authority or indirect dependence a set of territories much ampler than Charles Magnus’ empire.*

*In 1812 the formidable power of Napoleon reached, considering only Europe and letting aside the Roman possessions in Africa and in Asia Minor, over vast territories, incomparably much richer and much populated than the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, when Europe knew Napoleon’s intentions to resurrect Charles Magnus’ Empire, this project seemed to many people a crazy presumption and an insolent challenge overthrown to the civilized world.*<sup>21</sup>

It is still interesting to remember that, in 1804, Napoleon would elect the eagle as the symbol of his power, placing it as one of the main elements of the visual culture of his Empire.<sup>22</sup> In reality, since the tenth century the Sacred Germanic Roman Empire has already been reusing the Roman imperial eagle in the profit of its political figuration. The choice for this animal, so long consecrated in the popular imaginary as an emblem of power, of the imperial force, a kind of neo-Roman symbol, besides affirming the imperial preeminence of Napoleon, also brought the idea of bellicosity. It could equally symbolize, somehow, the *self-made man* condition displayed by Napoleon himself, who found a sign of distinction for his personal political ascension. It is enough to consider how it suggests velocity,<sup>23</sup> the velocity which helps in the persecution, in the catching, that brings about the capture of the prey (and who has the control of the situation exercises the power), which is opposed in terms of action to the static position of the cock, symbol of the French monarchy. In that way, in the arms of Napoleon, the eagle would be represented in profile and with open wings, catching a

bundle of lightning bolts (in allusion to its warrior function), stretched out over a field around which one can see the Legion of Honor's distinction.

In this context, the "King of Rome" title given by Napoleon to the son François-Charles-Joseph Napoleon, who was born in 1811 from his second marriage with the archduchess Maria Louise of Austria, would not be a simple honorific adornment that only would allude to the seat of the ancient Roman Empire, reinforcing its symbolic link with the Napoleonic government. This title, without doubt, was reaffirming the possession of the Italian territories by the Emperor of the French who, since 1805, became King of Italy taking the territories from the Austrian Emperor, now his father-in-law. In a certain way, its use also aimed to cool down the Austrian minds by suggesting that a prince from that house, despite being Napoleon's son, in a way or the other, would still keep the possession of these territories.

That mental bridge between past and present will also be a privileged pathway that Napoleon will explore in the construction of his public image with the use of the so-called mimetic politics, the third aspect that we shall discuss as follow.

### The classical past and the construction of the public image of Napoleon

"Excavating" the political past of Antiquity, Napoleon reactivated several of its figures and started to promote, with his governmental propaganda machine, his image as a public man. These references determinate a historical past, which has political implications and we call here of "mimetic politics". Although these figures were abundantly used by Napoleon, it was not, however, an innovating recourse because it had already been used, for instance, by Louis XIV.<sup>24</sup>

In the title page of the *Description de l'Égypte*, the artist represented Napoleon "with the look of a Roman conqueror guiding his chariot in persecution to the Mameluke enemies, while a Nile personification contemplate his deeds".<sup>25</sup> We can better understand the efficacy of this and some many other visual discourses pertaining to the Napoleonic propaganda if we consider how the models from Antiquity were dominating the artistic perception of the time, reaching even the politico-military issues. In this way, we can only completely disclose the politico-ideological meaning of this front page, dated from the Empire (1809), and its reflexes in the imaginary, inside the parameters of comparison with Classical Antiquity. In it, a mimetic politics reinforces the image of Bonaparte with the costume of Roman conqueror through the mediation of the figures of Julius Caesar, Mark Anthony, and August, whose deeds (likewise those of Alexander of Macedon) Bonaparte updates while stepping, after so many centuries, in Egyptian territory.

Napoleon would not discard another strong appeal: the one of updating the entrances of the great Roman generals who were bringing their booties and prisoners of war and paraded under the so-called triumphal arches. In that way, for a moment Paris was dressed likewise Rome, and Napoleon, likewise Caesar. Furthermore, the most primary reference to the origins of the triumphal arches (the ancient Roman Empire) was fitting them perfectly as a support for the neoclassical style then in vogue:

*Napoleon admired the motif of the triumphal arch, and during his regime the Arch of the Carrousel (...) and especially the colossal Triumphal Arch of the Star served as a reminder that neoclassicism had divorced the Republic and has married the Empire.*<sup>26</sup>

Therefore, besides the admiration by its shapes and by the temporal competition (identification), the arches were exteriorizing an aspect of the political

use of the arts, accentuating the relationship between the neoclassicism and the Napoleonic Empire.

Inside the scenic uses of the arches, appropriated by the Napoleonic ceremonial, they were shown both in their provisory shape (being built, many times, hurriedly for some commemoration), as marking the city in a permanent fashion in stone, marble, or bronze, being symbolic landmarks of the Parisian topography. Conjugated to the "Entries", parades that happened during solemn visitations of the sovereign to some locality, when he would be returning from a well-succeeded military campaign or when some important figure would arrive, the arches accentuated the triumphal aspect of these welcome ceremonies.

We can cite as an example the return of the victorious Second Italian Campaign in 1800, from Milan to Paris, when several of the little cities along the way raised triumphal arches for the passage of Bonaparte and his troops.<sup>27</sup> In 1809, some weeks after the Austrian defeat in Wagram and the imposition of the peace to Austria, the French army entered Paris passing by a kind of vault formed by many triumphal arches.<sup>28</sup> The great pomp, which honored so much the troops that were returning and the one who commanded them, had benumbed the crowd so much that, perhaps, they did not noticed the decrease of one forth of its effective. Hauteceur also highlights that after the victorious Battle of Austerlitz, in December, 1805, Napoleon would had passed through triumphal arches in Strasburg and La Villette; ordering, some months later, the construction of two monumental and permanent arches in Paris, which would become "The Star" and "The Carrousel" ones.<sup>29</sup>

The stylistic reference to the Trajan Column in the construction of the Vendôme Column [Fig. 2] also brings the recourse to the mimetic politics between Napoleon and the Roman emperor in

homage to who the Romans built the column. This famous column, which is presently in the *Place Vendôme* in Paris, would be the pedestal that would elevate to the heights the image of Napoleon, right in the centre of Paris, which would give to him a sort of omnipresence. The Peace statue that should crown its top, according to the original project, ended with a bronze statue of Napoleon represented with the garbs of a Roman emperor, crowned by laurels, and having in one hand a sword and in the other a globe (the emblem of the universal monarchy) topped by a winged feminine figure.<sup>30</sup> The strong visual recourse that rolled up and exploded in its top by the presence of the Caesarean figure of the emperor made of it the stronghold *par excellence* of the Napoleonic power. This explains why, somehow, from the first entry of the allies in Paris (March 30, 1814), the monument would come to suffer a series of violent attacks by the anti-Bonapartist, which would continue throughout the nineteenth-century.

Then, in April 8, 1814, the French would dismiss for the first time the colossal Napoleon of his bronze throne, as his flesh and bone equivalent who founded himself in the need to abdicate, being this one of the greatest examples of the purge that the Napoleonic symbols would suffer with the return of the Bourbons. The realistic flag and Louis XVIII, who would leave the stage rapidly during the “One Hundred Days”, and would return with the beginning of the definitive exile of the emperor in Saint Helen, replaced these Napoleonic symbols. In 1832, however, Napoleon’s statue would come back to occupy the top of the Vendôme, which would lose in that way the white flag of the realists, but not wearing his Caesar costume. It was all about a new statue in which it would represent the former emperor in the same manner as the canonical image with which we are accustomed: standing, dressed with a sober and long coat, using his little and characteristic hat and

with his hand inside the corset, a pose that would remain as his trademark. The Caesarean statue of Napoleon would only come back to occupy the column under the reign of Napoleon III (1852-1870), his nephew. The latter would order the substitution, in 1863, of the little pompous “little Corporal” again by the Caesar. In that way, the old coat would be undressed to bring back the Roman suits and the little hat would give place to the laurels. However, in May 16, 1871, during the Paris Commune, the statue would suffer another fallback. Only in 1875, the French would restore the monument according to its original details, thanks to new moldings done according to the conservation of the original moulds.

Another example of this mimetic politics can be found in the painting *Napoleon Crossing the Alps at the St. Bernard Pass* [fig. 3]. Painted between 1800 and 1801, it was the result of David’s artistic ability, allied to the achievement of Napoleon conducting the French troops to cross the Alps during the Second Italian Campaign (1800). This painting would be under the official iconography point of view the representation that would mark Napoleon’s post-Brumaire phase.

The Austrian had already concentrated almost all their forces in the direction of Geneva. Switzerland chose to let the St. Bernard Pass unprotected while they judged that it would be impossible to the French to use the most difficult pass way. Nevertheless, Bonaparte had made the choice for exactly that way. Between May 15 and 20, 1800, he and his troops, not without great suffering, would cross the “Great St. Bernard” Pass, updating, after centuries, Hannibal’s deed:

*Bonaparte’s soldiers knew, while crossing the Alps, the snowy tops’ extreme cold, the open abyss in front of their feet, the avalanches, the snowstorms, the bivouacs in cold lands, as much (...) as Hannibal’s soldiers had (...) knew them 2000 years before. With the difference that it were not the elephants, as in Hannibal’s*

*time, who felt into the abyss, but cannons, guns, cars and provisions.*<sup>31</sup>

Therefore, what would be just an audacious and well-succeeded military maneuver in Bonaparte’s career ended up, being crowned by the souvenir of the great Carthaginian general, in an excellent opportunity for the identification and creation of affinities between him and Hannibal.

In order to portray the modern Hannibal, David accepted the suggestion of the pose given by the First-Consul himself, and he used in his composition one of the characteristic aesthetic-symbolic elements of the *Ancien Régime*: the equestrian statue. Against a scenario of eternal snow and imminent storms, between the cliff wall and the abyss edge, David represented Bonaparte mounting a restless stallion that neigh nervously standing over his hind hand. David explores the recourse to mimetic politics curiously in the sequence of names sculpted in capital letters in the rocks that come from the ground – BONA-PARTE, HANNIBAL, CHARLES MAGNUS – a kind of heroic genealogy of the crossing of the Alps in which Bonaparte places himself as the last heir.

That identification with the ancient military leaders was not restricted to the universe of painting. Napoleon commissioned, in 1806, a table called “the table of the great leaders of Antiquity”. In it, we can see the profile of Alexander, The Great, in the center, surrounded by twelve heads of ancient heroes painted likewise cameos, in which a low relief with images that narrate the key events in the life of each of those heroes complements them.<sup>32</sup> There, for instance, we can see Hannibal crossing the Alps and Perikles rebuilding Athens, in a clear metaphorical allusion to the deeds of Napoleon himself; he has crossed the St Bernard Mount during the Italian Campaign and was promoting the monumentalizing of Paris.

Bonaparte would also retake one of the most marking episodes of the Ro-

man Republic history in a declaration that he wrote and which he published in the *Moniteur*, in 1799. In it he would give his version – the one that would become the official – for the facts that happened in the Brumaire 18 and 19 (November 9 and 10, 1799), when the actions that would culminate in the famous *coup d'État* that would place him definitively in the power took place. This is interesting to observe that Bonaparte created, to his contemporaries and to posterity, a repertoire of images that transformed some slippage of actions in heroic moments, carried with dramatic tonalities, turned to his exaltation, and taking him away from the edge of the events.

Bonaparte forges one of the highest dramatic points of his legend and of the theatrical nature of his power when he evokes in his declaration,<sup>33</sup> for instance, the episode of the resistance of the *Cinq-Cents'* assembly occurred in the Brumaire 19. This was the apex of the *mise-en-scène* of the Brumaire and the moment of biggest threat for the accomplishment of his plans. Napoleon fancy himself at the same time of great victim and of great hero, when, in reality, Lucian, his brother, then president of the *Cinq Cents*, was the man of action. When Lucian perceived the discontentment of the deputies with the ineffective harangues of Napoleon (who had entered in the room without having been invited), he urgently yelled to the troops that were outside the assembly, with the allegation that some deputies attempted against the life of his general. However, Bonaparte will throw to forgetfulness, in his version to the *Moniteur*, and without even having cited his name, the decisive and very important intervention of Lucian, which will result in the definitive dissolution of the Directory. Meanwhile Bonaparte would declare: “vingt assassins se précipitent sur moi et cherchent ma poitrine, les grenadiers du Corps législatif que j'avais laissé à la porte de la salle, accourent, se mettent entre les assassins et moi”.<sup>34</sup> The prox-

imity between the scenes of Julius Caesar's murder in the Roman Senate by the stabs of daggers that will become, not coincidentally, the prelude for the Roman Empire, is here big with the “Brumaire 18”, which will become the prelude for the Napoleonic Empire.

Bonaparte “dressed” himself up with somebody else's qualities, “excavating” them from the collective imaginary of the epoch with his military deeds and his political moves. In this way, he expressed his admiration for such famous and legendary figures as well as his expectation that his subordinates would fall into the same identification, while he charged his own heroic capital with more symbolic value. We can note, therefore, how Bonaparte reactivated and linked a series of epopee took from Antiquity to the construction of his own epopee, which provided that he could introduce himself to the public under several disguises, directing the models of French identity and his relationship with the past.

### Concluding Remarks

The turn from the eighteenth to the nineteenth-century was a fundamental moment for the framing of the then nascent French Archaeology. We can find its conception inserted in a new social context, guided, as highlights Olivier,<sup>35</sup> by the Enlightenment and by the invention of the Nation, thought as a collectivity that shares a common historical origin. When we focus in the figure of Napoleon, we realize how much important he was in this process. By one side, he encouraged the production of knowledge about the ancient past by supporting the researches in the *Institut* and turning public some kinds of interpretations about this past in arts and the architecture. By the other, he recovered important events from Antiquity, building his own public figure from the civic virtues of the great leaders of the past.

The relationship between the army

and the members of the *Institut* express that peculiar situation of Napoleon's policy in establishing links with the past in order to shape the identities of the present. In this context, archaeology mediates these relationships; it excavates the material culture of the ancient peoples and reinterprets it in the Napoleonic context, producing the basis for the idea of the modern France.

In this sense, the Napoleonic power reallocated the Greeks, Romans, Celts, Egyptians, inside the French quotidian, and their main symbols are reviewed, producing specific and many times homogeneous images of the past of these populations, seeking to define the French national identity and justify its dominion over other populations. The political uses of the ancient past have defined the differences and stated identities: WE (the French) in contrast to THEM (the populations from the territories conquered by Napoleonic France). Therefore, both by the aesthetic-material, as by the politico-ideological, point of view, the age of Napoleon was immersing in the ancient past, which the recent discoveries in archaeological sites were disclosing. This peculiar situation, far from being simplistic, indicate the intricate relationship that exist between the ancient past and modern politics and, beyond that, expresses the use of the French Archaeology in a well defined and fundamental aims of the symbolic construction of the Napoleonic power and of the French identity.

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English version: Marcelo Hilsdorf Marotta

- <sup>1</sup> BERNAL, M. *Black Athena. The afroasiatic roots of Classical Civilization*. New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1987.
- <sup>2</sup> On this issue and on the relationship with the study of material culture, cf., for instance, DÍAZ-ANDREU, M. “Nacionalismo y Arqueología: Del viejo al nuevo mundo”. *Anais da I Reunião Internacional de Teoria Arqueológica na América do Sul – Revista do Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia*, supl. 3: 161-180, 1999; DÍAZ-ANDREU, M. “Nacionalismo y Arqueología: el contexto político de nuestra disciplina”. *Revista do Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia*, n. 11: 3-20, 2001; FUNARI, P.P.A. “Book Review – Archaeology under fire, Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East”. *World Archaeological Bulletin*, 13: 82-88, 2001; GARRAFFONI, R.S. e FUNARI, P.P.A. *História Antiga na sala de aula*. Campinas: IFCH/UNICAMP, 2004; HINGLEY, R. “Images of Rome: Perceptions of Ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the Modern Age”. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 44, 2001; HINGLEY, R. “Imagens de Roma: uma perspectiva inglesa”. In: Funari, P.P.A. (org). *Repensando o mundo antigo – Jean-Pierre Vernant e Richard Hingley*. Translated by Renata Senna Garraffoni and revised by Pedro Paulo A. Funari. Campinas: IFCH/UNICAMP, 2002, Textos Didáticos, n. 47; MESKELL, L. (ed.) *Archaeology under fire - Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*. Londres: Routledge, 1998; OLIVIER, L. “As origens da Arqueologia francesa”. In: FUNARI, P.P.A. (org). *Repensando o Mundo Antigo*. Campinas: IFCH/UNICAMP, 2005 (Coleção Textos Didáticos, n. 49) e SILVA, G. J. da. *O aparato ideológico sobre o estudo da Antiguidade na França de 1940-1944, ou a construção do mundo gaulês antigo, romano e galo-romano sob Vichy por meio da cultura material e da tradição textual*. Campinas, 2005. PhD Thesis delivered at the Department of History-UNICAMP.
- <sup>3</sup> On this issue, cf. DIETLER, M. “Our ancestors the Gauls: Archaeology, Ethnic nationalism, and the manipulation of celtic identity in modern Europe”. *American Anthropologist* 96, 1994, (3): 584-605.
- <sup>4</sup> SAID, E.W. *Orientalismo – Oriente como invenção do Ocidente*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001.
- <sup>5</sup> Pierre Bourdieu defines the “symbolic power” as the “power upon the particular use of signs and, in this way, upon the vision and the meaning of the natural and social world”, “which exists because the one that is subjected to it believes that it exists” (BOURDIEU, P. *O Poder Simbólico*. Lisboa: Difel, 1989, p. 72 e 188).
- <sup>6</sup> The *Institut National de France* was founded in October 25, 1795, in the period of the Directory, under the command of the Public Instruction Ministry, as a substitute for the academies of the *Ancien Régime*, conceived as mere “adornments” for the monarchy. The *Institut* should collaborate with the civic well-being and order the responsibility of the state funding to the arts, sciences, and letters. It had three divisions: science (60 members); moral and political science (36 members); and literature and fine arts (48 members).
- <sup>7</sup> BOÏME, A. *Art in an Age of Bonapartism: 1800-1815*. Chicago/Londres: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- <sup>8</sup> GILLISPIE, C. C. “Science and Technology”. In: CRAWLEY, C.W. (ed.). *The New Cambridge Modern History: war and peace in an age of upheaval- 1793-1830* (vol. IX). London/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 126.
- <sup>9</sup> Dominique Vivant-Denon would be the great coordinator of the artistic propaganda of the Napoleonic regime, being with Jacques-Louis David, Napoleon’s official painter, the main pillars of the Fine Arts under the French First Empire. It is worth remembering that both were already acting artistically during the government of Louis XVI. David had consecrated himself definitively in 1785 as the head of the neoclassical movement. Denon had served in Naples under Louis XVI as a diplomat, besides acting as a drawer and engraver. He was nominated, in 1802, as “Directeur-Général des Musées” in France and would be the founder of the Louvre. Gaspard Monge would become known as the creator of the descriptive geometry; Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, travel-naturalist, known among us for his writings based in his visit to Brazil, and Jean-François Champollion, the “father of Egyptology”, who deciphered the “Rosetta Stone”.
- <sup>10</sup> *Description de l’Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l’expédition de l’armée française, publié par les ordres de sa majesté l’empereur Napoléon le Grand*, 23 volumes published in Paris from 1809 to 1828.
- <sup>11</sup> CAVICCHIOLI, M. *A representação da sexualidade na Iconografia Pompeiana*. Campinas, 2004. M.A. Dissertation delivered at the Department of History-UNICAMP. See, in special, the page 17.
- <sup>12</sup> We highlight here that, beyond the symbolic uses, Napoleon also made practical uses of Antiquity. In his march through the Italian Peninsula, he followed the steps of the Carthaginian general, Hannibal. Napoleon had a special admiration for this general (as we shall see in what follows), considered since Antiquity as a great military strategist. On these issues, cf. PEDDIE, J. *Hannibal’s war*. Great Britain: Sutton Publishing, 2005.
- <sup>13</sup> Cf. DIETLER, M. “Our ancestors the Gauls: Archaeology, Ethnic nationalism, and the manipulation of celtic identity in modern Europe”, op. cit.
- <sup>14</sup> HAUTECOEUR, L. *L’Art sous la Révolution et L’Empire en France*. Paris: Guy Le Prat, 1953, p. 43.
- <sup>15</sup> An interesting example of this use of Antiquity, before Napoleon, is in the effort of the artists in the service of Louis XIV to transform the city of Paris in a new Rome. This “Romanization” attempt had led him consolidate his power by affirming and legitimating himself as the presumptive heir of that Antiquity. It was an ideological apparatus created by the Sun-King that, by promoting the identification of his government with the *Imperium Romanum* (also visible in the promotion of a mimetic politics, which would make him be Louis August, before Louis, the Great), sought to duly impose itself over a feudal plurality still extant. If he needed to be Louis August, by reference to a mythical time, his capital-city should be constituted equally in a mythical space that associated the present to the past, helping him in the crystallization of his mystified portrait. The Roman looks that were taking place in the arts, in the literature, and in the music, also presenting itself in the theaters and in the festivities of the court, come, in this way, to mark the capital of France through the construction or reformation of churches, statues, palaces and arches that were the testimonies of the triumphs of “Louis-August”. Therefore, through several urban and architectonic reformulations, the king transferred symbolically the Ancient Rome to Paris, making of his capital-city a symptom of the transfusion of Romanity into the body of the French monarchy to give it a new political vigour. Cf. APOSTOLIDÈS, J.-M. *O Rei Máquina: espetáculo e política no tempo de Luís XIV*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio/Distrito Federal: EDUNB, 1993, p. 78-79.
- <sup>16</sup> Nominated, in 1804, Napoleon’s “Premier Peintre”, David would be heightened definitively to a position of supreme prominence over the rest of the French artists in the Napoleonic France. We can say that, while Napoleon’s dictatorship advanced in France, David’s “dictatorship” also was advancing in the field of French painting.
- <sup>17</sup> Apud CHATEAUBRIAND, *Mémoires d’Outre Tombe*, Paris: Flammarion, 1948, p. 337.
- <sup>18</sup> LEFÈBVRE, G. *Napoléon*. Paris: PUF, 1953, p. 135.
- <sup>19</sup> RUDÉ, G. *A Europa Revolucionária: 1783-1815*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, s/d, p. 197.
- <sup>20</sup> Three “provisory consuls” formed the first executive commission that started the Consulate: Napoleon Bonaparte, Sièyes and Roger Ducos. Ducos has been one of the Directors; nevertheless, he worked together with the group of conspirators. With the establishment of the new constitution, called “of the VIII year”, the provisory government formed by Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Ducos, would be

substituted by an effective executive, formed by three “decennial consuls” that should be nominated by the Senate (Legislative). The first three governantes, designated by the Constitution, were Cambacères, Lebrun and... Bonaparte (who was also the “First Consul”)! This shows how Bonaparte was the real owner of the power, while the other two consuls played only a counseling role.

<sup>21</sup> TARLÉ, E. *Napoléão*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1973, p. 142.

<sup>22</sup> We based ourselves, for the data referring to the election of the eagle as the symbol of the Napoleonic Empire, in the considerations of Alain Boureau, *L'Aigle: chronique politique d'un emblème*, Paris: Cerf, 1985. This work also makes interesting analyses about the adoption of that symbol by the USA and the Nazi Germany.

<sup>23</sup> “Every velocity, in the measure that it is linked

to the sphere of power, can be translated into a **persecuting** or **catching** velocity” (CANETTI, E. *Massa e Poder*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995, p. 283, bold caps by the author).

<sup>24</sup> On that issue, cf. APOSTOLIDÈS, op. cit.

<sup>25</sup> BOÏME, op.cit., p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Idem, *Ibidem*, p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> On that issue cf. DAYOT, A. *Napoléon raconté par l'image d'après les sculpteurs, les graveurs et les peintres*. Paris: Hachette, 1895.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, *Ibidem*, p. 252.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. HAUTECOEUR, op.cit., p. 23.

<sup>30</sup> Las Cases affirms, somewhere in his *Mémorial*, that it was initially all about placing in the top of the column a statue of Charles Magnus (what seems more dislocated from the initial purpose of the column, than the placing of

Napoleon's statue). Anyway, if he thought that, we can interpret its possible substitution by the statue of Napoleon as a sign of affirmation of his image, in the measure that he feels comfortable to discard the mediation of other political figures that he used, until then, in favor of the construction of his image, through a mimetic politics. (LAS CASES, E. *Le Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*. Paris: Flammarion, (1951) [1823], p. 256).

<sup>31</sup> TARLÉ, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>32</sup> BOÏME, op.cit., p. 19-20.

<sup>33</sup> For the citations, we used the transcription of the proclamation made by BERTAUD, J. P. 1799: Bonaparte prend le pouvoir – La République meurt-elle assassinée? Bruxelles: Complexe, 1987, p. 166-168.

<sup>34</sup> Idem, *Ibidem*.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. OLIVIER, op. cit.

## L'Épitomé d'anatomie de Félix-Émile Taunay, 1837

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### Introduction

Félix Émile Taunay a dédié une grande partie de sa vie à l'Académie Impériale des Beaux-Arts de Rio de Janeiro. Peintre de paysage et fils de Nicolas-Antoine Taunay, lui aussi peintre paysagiste, Félix-Émile occupe, dès 1824, la chaire de peinture de paysage que son père avait quittée en 1821, lors de sa rentrée à Paris. En cette année de 1824, une longue trajectoire dédiée à l'enseignement fait ses débuts. Après la mort du directeur portugais Henrique José da Silva, en 1834, Taunay est élu le nouveau directeur de l'Académie brésilienne de Beaux-Arts, fonction qu'il occupera 17 ans durant. Au cours de cette longue période, il fut le responsable de l'organisation d'un système d'enseignement basé, en grande partie, sur des modèles académiques français. Parmi les mesures qu'il a implantées pendant les années dédiées à cette institution

d'enseignement, se trouve tout un système de perfectionnement d'études de dessin, dont le cours au modèle vivant<sup>1</sup>, les classes d'anatomie<sup>2</sup>, l'organisation et la traduction d'ouvrages didactiques.

Parmi ces mesures, celle qui nous intéresse le plus promptement est l'œuvre *Epítome de anatomia relativa às bellas artes seguido de hum compêndio de physiologia das paixões e de algumas considerações geraes sobre as proporções com as divisões do corpo humano; offerecido aos alumnos da Imperial Academia das Bellas Artes do Rio de Janeiro*<sup>3</sup>. [*Épitomé d'anatomie relatif aux beaux-arts suivi d'un compendium de la physiologie des passions et de quelques considérations générales sur les proportions avec les divisions du corps humain; à l'intention des élèves de l'Impériale Académie de Beaux-Arts de Rio de Janeiro*]

Il s'agit d'un compendium de théories artistiques relatives à l'anatomie, organisé et traduit<sup>4</sup> par Taunay<sup>5</sup>, publié en 1837. L'Épitomé était un complément fondamental pour les cours au modèle vivant et d'anatomie, implantés et développés au cours de cette période. Il était basé sur les principaux traits artistiques anatomiques utilisés à l'académie française depuis le 17<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il n'était composé que de textes se rapportant

aux ouvrages mentionnés et ne présentait pas d'images<sup>6</sup>.

La première partie concernait l'ostéologie et la myologie. Les textes originaux furent extraits de l'ouvrage *Abrégé d'anatomie, accommodée aux arts de peinture et de sculpture*, écrit par François Tortebat et Roger de Piles, publié en 1668. La deuxième concernait la thématique de la physiologie des passions de Charles Le Brun, présente dans *L'Expression Générale et Particulière*, objet de sa *Conférence* de 1668. La troisième partie venait de la rubrique concernant les proportions générales, écrite par Louis Millin, pour son *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, publié en 1806. Taunay ajoute encore une petite partie concernant la division du corps humain, selon l'ouvrage de Gérard Audran, intitulé *Les proportions du corps humain mesurées sur les plus belles figures de l'Antiquité*, publié en 1683. Ainsi, la publication de Taunay est composée des principales théories artistiques ayant rapport à l'anatomie utilisées à l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture au 17<sup>e</sup> siècle, la seule exception étant une petite partie relative au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, extraite du dictionnaire de Millin, mettant en évidence la question des proportions.

### Le traité de Tortebat et de Piles

Le premier ouvrage qui compose l'épitomé de Taunay est celui de François Tortebat et Roger de Piles. Il constitue aussi la partie principale et la plus longue de la publication (31 pages). François Tortebat, premier peintre de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture depuis sa fondation officielle par Louis XIV en 1663, compose son *Abrégé d'Anatomie*<sup>8</sup> [Fig. 1], se basant sur les planches du traité d'anatomie du belge Andrea Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica*, de 1538, ainsi que sur une autre œuvre du même auteur, réalisée à partir de la première, intitulée *Andrea Vesalii Bruxellensis, schola medicorum Patauina professoris, suorum de Humani corporis fabrica librorum*, publiée en 1543, à partir de dessins réalisés par le Titien<sup>9</sup>. Tortebat compose le premier traité anatomique entièrement tourné vers l'éducation artistique publié en France:

*Et c'est ce qui m'a fait entreprendre ce petit Abrégé d'Anatomie, que j'ai tiré des meilleurs Auteurs que j'ai lus, avec tout le soin que ma curiosité m'a fait prendre. Je l'ai accommodé à la Peinture de telle sorte que l'on m'a voulu persuader qu'il fera trouvé non seulement facile et agréable, mais même très utile à tous ceux qui ont quelque ambition de se rendre habiles dans le Dessin. Au reste cet Abrégé sera si succinct, qu'on n'aura pas lieu de se plaindre du trop grand embarras de choses différentes: et l'économie que j'y garde est même toute nouvelle; car ayant reconnu que ceux qui ont écrit pour la Médecine, ont parlé d'une infinité des choses inutiles aux Peintres, j'ai voulu que tout d'un coup l'on vît le nom, l'office et la situation des muscles d'un côté, et la figure démonstrative de l'autre. J'ai cru aussi qu'il étoit nécessaire, après les muscles, de faire voir le squelette, étant le soutien des autres parties, et le principal bâtiment du corps humain ... en sorte que, parmi cette grande forêt de difficultés, on a peine à reconnaître ce qui est nécessaire, d'avec ce qui n'est pas: et c'est à quoi j'ai cru avoir apporté quelque remède, en vous donnant ce petit Abrégé*<sup>10</sup>

Tortebat se soucie de la réalisation d'une œuvre libre de conceptions ana-

tomiques considérées inutiles au domaine des arts plastiques, d'où la nécessité d'extraire de l'œuvre de Vesalius ce qui lui paraît le plus approprié aux artistes. L'ouvrage est constitué de trois planches pour le squelette [Fig. 2] et de sept autres pour «l'écorché» [Fig. 3]. La partie dédiée à la myologie est sous-divisée en trois colonnes, où l'on trouve leurs noms respectifs, leurs origines et insertions, ainsi que leur fonction. Dans l'édition brésilienne, Taunay suit le même schéma de Tortebat, en respectant la sous-division des textes et leurs contenus concernant la myologie. Pour la partie de l'ostéologie, il supprime la petite explication donnée par Tortebat à propos des os de la tête, remettant, en note, à la traduction de l'œuvre de Charles Le Brun, contenue dans le même épitomé, pour les explications relatives à cette partie du corps humain. L'œuvre de Tortebat fait certaines références aux os de la tête, mais ne les traite pas de manière individuelle sur ses planches. C'est la raison pour laquelle Taunay supprime complètement ces références et remet aux leçons de Le Brun, ne faisant qu'un résumé des principales compositions osseuses du tronc, des extrémités inférieures et postérieures selon le traité de Tortebat.

L'ouvrage du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle connaît un grand succès en Europe, nonobstant les autres traités sur le même thème parus au cours des siècles suivants<sup>11</sup>. Ceci lui garantit la parution de nouvelles éditions en 1733, 1760 et 1765. Il faut cependant faire une remarque concernant l'auteur du traité français. Le nom Roger de Piles ne surgit qu'à partir de l'édition de 1733, ce qui a semblé quelque peu étrange, de la mesure où Tortebat est l'auteur des planches mais pas des textes, comme il l'indique lui-même à la présentation de son ouvrage: «ce petit abrégé d'anatomie qui m'est tombé entre les mains». Personne ne connaît pourtant la raison pour laquelle Tortebat ne cite pas de Piles, ni même pourquoi le nom de ce dernier n'apparaît que sur

l'édition postérieure et pas sur la première édition, celle de 1668. Il peut s'agir d'un simple manque d'intérêt de l'auteur ou de questions concernant les discussions à propos de la prédominance de la couleur ou de la ligne, à l'ordre du jour à cette époque, en dépit du fait que la parution de *Dialogue sur le coloris* n'ait eu lieu qu'en 1673, et son entrée effective comme académicien ne se concrétise qu'en 1699, année où il publie *L'abrégé de la vie des peintres*. En revanche, Piles lui-même déclare, quelques années plus tard, être l'auteur du petit texte inclus dès la première édition, voici ses mots: «J'en ai fait voir l'utilité et la nécessité dans la Préface d'un petit Abrégé que j'en ai fait, et que Monsieur Tortebat a mis en lumière»<sup>12</sup>. Toutefois, l'édition de 1765 inclut le nom d'un autre auteur, Guichard-Joseph Duverney (1648-1730), qui aurait écrit la partie concernant l'ostéologie dans un texte nommé *Traité des os*, publié dans son ouvrage *Œuvres anatomiques*, paru en 1761, par la même maison d'édition qui publie l'œuvre de Tortebat en 1765, chez Jombert. Malgré le jeune âge de Duverney, qui en 1668 ne comptait que 20 ans, certains historiens tels que Duval considèrent l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'œuvre de ce dernier ait vu le jour avant même que celle de Tortebat, d'où sa possible référence. Les écrits de Duverney n'ont été réunis que quelques années après sa mort, précisément en 1761, par cette même maison d'édition, qui avait inclus la note concernant son œuvre à la fin du traité de Tortebat. Rien ne permet pourtant d'affirmer que Tortebat s'est effectivement basé sur l'œuvre de Duverney dans la section d'ostéologie. Duval remarque qu'il n'y a pas, dans le texte de Duverney, certaines informations concernant la forme des os et leurs fonctions. En même temps, Duval met en évidence les impressions relatives aux os dans l'œuvre de Tortebat:

*Ces explications sont d'une très grande exactitude; mais, malheureusement, lorsque l'auteur vent, dans de rares occasions il est vrai, expliquer*

les causes, la raison d'être de certaines dispositions, il commet des erreurs d'appréciation; il ne faut pas cependant lui en garder rancune, car de nos jours encore nous les avons entendu répéter. Par exemple, il dit: "Le Fémur est voûté par devant, et enfoncé par derrière, pour la commodité de s'asseoir"; et plus loin: "Entre l'Os de la Cuisse et la Jambe, il se voit un Os rond appelé la Rotule" (nous n'insisterons pas sur cette indication d'os rond appliqué à un os de forme triangulaire) "qui sert à empêcher que les Jambes ne fléchissent en devant"<sup>3</sup>

En comparant les œuvres de Torte-bat et Duverney, Duval ne confirme pas les références données par la maison Jombert, dans la mesure où le traité de Duverney ne se ressemble pas à celui de Torte-bat et ne contient pas les erreurs retrouvées sur ce dernier. Dans le cas de la traduction brésilienne, Taunay connaît les imprécisions contenues dans le traité, puisqu'il en fait part lui-même à la préface de son œuvre. Malgré cette remarque, il reproduit quand même dans sa traduction les imprécisions de Torte-bat ou de de Piles.

*L'épitomé d'Ostéologie et Myologie a été composé par De Piles à l'aube du siècle dernier, et publié à l'usage des artistes sous le nom de Torte-bat. Quels qu'aient été les progrès faits en anatomie depuis ces temps et les modifications dans son vocabulaire, l'estime portée à cette œuvre élémentaire continue la même, dans la mesure où elle ne concerne surtout que les apparences extérieures. Quand l'on s'en rend compte, les petites défaillances et même les petites erreurs dans la nature intime des parties et les petites différences de nom ne sont pas très nuisibles. Il suffit que le tout se maintienne intelligible<sup>4</sup>.*

Malgré ses imperfections, Taunay connaît l'usage continu que l'on fait de son œuvre depuis sa première édition jusqu'à l'actualité dans les académies européennes<sup>5</sup>. Nous savons que le même ouvrage a été utilisé non seulement en France, mais aussi à l'Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, à l'occasion où son directeur, Francisco J. Ramos a demandé, en 1803, que l'œuvre de Torte-bat soit incorporée à la méthode de l'enseignement anatomique.

Il a aussi été reconnu comme étant le meilleur en éducation artistique, ayant été autrefois indiqué par Anton Raphael Mengs à ses élèves. Pour ce faire, l'œuvre serait traduite en espagnol<sup>6</sup>. Elle a aussi été traduite en allemand en 1706 et diverses éditions en anglais furent réalisées jusqu'en 1842<sup>7</sup>.

Le traité traduit et adopté par Taunay a été utilisé pendant de longues années, nonobstant les critiques qu'il recevait parfois de la part des professeurs, qui en demandaient sa mise à jour ou l'addition d'autres thèmes.

### La «Physiologie des passions», de Le Brun

La «*Physiologia das paixões por Carlos Le-brun*», ainsi désignée par Taunay, constitue la deuxième partie de son épitomé. Il concerne les expressions humaines provenant de la passion de l'âme. Comme le dit le propre ouvrage, la traduction provient des écrits de Charles Le Brun contenus dans sa *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*, de 1668. La conférence faisait également partie d'un programme didactique non moins intellectuel promu par le directeur de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, Charles Le Brun, responsable de l'organisation didactique de l'institution récemment fondée sous le domaine de Louis XIV. Il s'agissait donc d'une expression en plus du pouvoir royal, qui s'étendait à une série d'autres institutions aussi créées sous l'investiture du ministre Colbert, ayant toutes pour objectif direct la célébration de l'État du Roi Soleil. Basé sur le *Traité des Passions* de René Descartes, élaboré en 1649, aussi bien que sur l'œuvre *Caractères des passions*, du médecin Cureau de la Chambre, publiée en 1640, le traité de Le Brun remonte aussi, tout comme les deux premiers cités, au quatrième livre de la *Republique* de Platon, où la théorie des parties de l'âme est formulée:

«*Les traducteurs médiévaux de Platon, dont les collèges jésuites et les universités perpétu-*

*aient encore au XVIIe siècle le langage, avaient pris l'habitude de qualifier le logos de "partie rationnelle de l'âme", dont l'appétit (la forme de désir) était nommé "intellectuel". L'autre partie, la "partie sensitive", tout impulsive et passionnelle, faisait chez Platon l'objet d'une subdivision en thumos – le courage, l'ardeur à s'enflammer pour les causes nobles (justice, piété, vertu, ordre public) – et épithumia, l'appétit grossier, tourné vers la nutrition, la conservation et la procréation, et à qui il pouvait arriver de se révolter contre le logos, se souillant alors de luxure provocatrice et perverse. Les scolastiques traduisaient thumos par "appétit irascible" et épithumia par "appétit concupiscible"<sup>8</sup>*

La Théorie de Platon apparaîtra dans les premiers passages de Cureau, de Descartes et, par conséquent, dans l'œuvre de Le Brun, lorsqu'il décrit les dénommées passions simples comme étant celles advenues de «l'appétit concupiscible», comme l'amour, la haine, le désir, la joie et la tristesse, et les passions composées, provenant de «l'appétit irascible», c'est-à-dire, la crainte, l'audace, l'espoir, le désespoir, la colère et l'épouvante. Il y a là aussi une claire référence à l'œuvre de Senault, *De l'usage des passions*, éditée en 1641, dans laquelle sont abordés les concepts des passions simples et composées, également empruntés par Le Brun dans son œuvre. Il convient à Le Brun de ne citer aucun de ces auteurs comme sources de ses principales théories sur les passions de l'âme. Il en dégage ce dont il a besoin dans le domaine artistique, sans toucher aux questions philosophiques qui bouleversaient grandement la politique et la religion à l'époque de Louis XIV, qui prônait l'exclusion du philosophe et de ses théories. Il faut rappeler que Descartes est décédé en 1650 à Stockholm, après avoir vécu pendant presque 30 ans en Hollande, dans la crainte des persécutions de l'État de Louis XIV, qui ne corrobore ses écrits dans l'enseignement français qu'à partir de 1675. Il n'était donc pas nécessaire, pour Le Brun, de rentrer dans les discussions à propos des théories et de leurs différences. Julien

Philippe souligne dans la «Présentation» de l'œuvre de Le Brun rééditée en 1994 cette question, advenue du propre commentaire de Le Brun dans son œuvre: «il y a tant de personnes savantes qui ont traité des passions, que l'on n'en peut dire que ce qu'ils en ont déjà écrit»<sup>19</sup>. Le Brun ne se montre pas très clair par rapport à la référence à Descartes. En revanche, comme le souligne Philippe, son allusion est très claire:

*Mais le contexte est ici important: nous sommes dans une académie de Louis XIV – et l'État, parlant par la bouche de Le Brun, confisque la vérité et n'a pas à se soucier de faire des citations. Cette impersonnalité d'État, cet art anti-subjectif qui résout tout en méthode, incline Le Brun à supprimer pour ainsi dire l'auteur de la doctrine dont il est l'inventeur.*<sup>20</sup>

La référence à Cureau de la Chambre est cependant la bienvenue, une fois que le médecin était protégé par l'État de Louis XIV et l'un des protecteurs de l'académie dirigée par Le Brun, quoique ce dernier ne souligne pas sa participation effective dans sa conférence. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'idée suscitée par l'union entre la philosophie, la médecine et l'art devient attrayante, dans la mesure où l'art devenait parfait dans l'élaboration d'un traité sur les passions de l'âme dédié aux beaux-arts, qui en dégagait les propos qui lui convenaient. On offrait aux peintres le point de départ de leur travail, c'est-à-dire l'expression de l'âme, qui concentrée dans les mouvements du visage, devenait le moteur des autres parties du corps, correspondant pleinement au caractère systématique de l'enseignement proposé par Le Brun en tant que directeur de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture.

*L'expression, à mon avis, est une naïve et naturelle ressemblance des choses que l'on a à représenter: elle est nécessaire, et entre dans toutes les parties de la peinture, et un tableau ne saurait être parfait sans l'expression; c'est elle qui marque les véritables caractères de chaque chose; c'est par elle que l'on distingue la nature des corps, que les figures semblent avoir du mouvement, et que tout ce qui est feint paraît être vrai.*<sup>21</sup>

L'on enseignait (ou imposait) au peintre ce qu'il devait peindre, ce qu'il devait composer comme représentation picturale de l'État de Louis XIV. De cette manière, les dessins faits par Le Brun et les textes sur les passions contenus dans sa *Conférence* s'associaient à un autre ouvrage édité aussi dans cette même année de 1668, celle de Tortebat, constituant les bases fondamentales à Taunay pour la construction de sa méthodologie d'enseignement.

Le texte de Taunay à propos des passions présente trois parties: l'ostéologie de la tête (en deux pages), «la myologie de la tête» (en deux pages) et «la physiologie des passions – mouvements des muscles dans les passions de l'âme» (en huit pages), ainsi évoqués. Taunay ne dit pas clairement sur quelle édition il a basé sa traduction ni de quel ouvrage il a extrait la conception des os et des muscles de la tête qui introduisent le thème. Il est possible que Taunay se soit basé sur l'ouvrage de Vesalius, une fois qu'il le cite lors de sa référence aux os du tronc par le biais de la traduction de l'épitomé d'ostéologie de Tortebat, étant donné que cette citation n'existe pas dans cette partie du texte de Tortebat.

Pour la traduction des passions, Taunay semble, cependant, alterner entre celle éditée par Picart en 1698, considérée la plus fidèle aux notes originales de Le Brun, et celle éditée par Jean Audran en 1727, dans laquelle il présente une espèce de résumé des passions, se concentrant sur les parties techniques de chaque description présente dans la *Conférence*, leur donnant la forme de notes composées de petits textes imprimés auprès des planches gravées. Les textes élaborés par Taunay sont très similaires à ceux de cette dernière édition, une fois qu'ils ont pratiquement le même format, et sont accompagnés de brèves explications:

*La Tranquillité – Planche 1*

*Quand l'âme se trouve en parfaite sérénité, les traits du visage se maintiennent dans leur*

*état naturel. Un aspect de satisfaction peut alors exprimer cette situation tranquille.*

L'hypothèse du rapprochement à Audran est encore renforcée par la conservation, à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Rio de Janeiro, d'un exemplaire de l'édition d'Audran de 1727, composé seulement des planches, sans les textes en forme de notes [Fig. 4]. Cependant, Taunay y ajoute des parties qui ne sont pas présentes dans cette publication de 1727, ce qui nous remet encore une fois à l'hypothèse de l'utilisation de l'édition de Picart. Ceci étant, il semble que Taunay ait eu recours à ces deux éditions pour composer sa traduction.

*Les différentes passions de l'âme exercent une influence très marquée sur les muscles du visage. Ceux-ci expérimenteront des changements plus ou moins considérables selon l'intensité et la violence de la passion: c'est pourquoi la rage et le désespoir défigurent toutes les formes du semblant, alors que la compassion et la jouissance se limiteront à le modifier légèrement. Un conseil utile pour les étudiants c'est qu'ils doivent faire attention à caractériser le tempérament et les formes d'une figure de manière analogue à la passion qu'ils veulent le faire exprimer. Il serait ridicule, par exemple, que de représenter dans une colère violente un homme dont les yeux bleus, la stature décharnée et les formes efféminées indiquent la mollesse et le manque d'énergie. De même, la douceur serait mal caractérisée par une disposition absolument opposée.*<sup>22</sup>

Dans son compendium, Taunay présente 23 passions, la *Conférence* de Le Brun en présente 21, et Audran 19. Cela s'explique par le fait que Taunay déploie en deux explications certaines de ses passions, telles que *La joie*, de 1668 et *La joie tranquille*, de 1727, transformées en *Tranquillité* et *La Joie*, séparément. La *Douleur corporelle*, ainsi concentrée sur les textes de Le Brun et soulignée dans ses planches telles que *Douleur aiguë*, *Douleur d'esprit* et *Douleur corporelle*, a été déployée dans le texte de Taunay en *Douleur corporelle aiguë et d'esprit*, *Douleur corporelle simple* et *Douleur corporelle extrême*. L'édition de 1727 présente la *Douleur aiguë* et la *Douleur corporelle simple*. Le *désir* et *l'espoir*, au

contraire, sont séparés dans l'édition de 1668, et *l'Espoir* est exclu de celle de 1727. Taunay unit ces deux passions en une seule explication. Il en fait autant concernant *le Mépris* et *la Haine*, séparés sur les deux éditions. L'édition de 1727 présente la *Compassion* [Fig. 5], passion créée par Jean Audran lui-même, n'existant donc pas dans l'original de 1668. La *Compassion* a cependant été incorporée à la traduction de Taunay, ce qui nous indique l'usage effectif de cette édition. La *Rage* fait surface dans le contenu de *l'Extrême désespoir*, isolée dans la *Conférence* de 1668 (*La Colère*) et isolée dans celle de 1727.

La contraction des muscles du front et le mouvement du nez, l'ouverture de la bouche et des yeux, la position de la pupille, et surtout l'élévation des sourcils, constituent les caractéristiques principales de la «construction» de la passion dans les figures. Les sourcils seraient, selon Le Brun,

*... la partie de tout le visage ou les passions se font mieux connaître, quoique plusieurs aient pense que ce soit dans les yeux. Il est vrai que la prunelle par son feu et son mouvement fait bien voir l'agitation de l'âme, mais elle ne fait pas connaître de quelle nature est cette agitation. La bouche et le nez ont beaucoup de part à l'expression, mais pour l'ordinaire ces parties ne servent qu'à suivre les mouvements du coeur ...*<sup>23</sup>

Le compendium de Taunay présente, ainsi dénommées, les passions suivantes: La Tranquilité (planche 1), La Joie (planche 2), l'Admiration (planche 3), le Ravissement (planche 4), l'Attention et l'Estime (planche 5), le Mépris et la Haine (planches 6 et 16), l'Horreur (planche 7), l'Effroi (planches 8 et 16), la Tristesse et le Découragement (planches 9 et 14), le Ris (planche 10), le Pleurer (planche 11), la Rage (planches 12 et 13), l'Extrême Désespoir (planche 13), l'Amour Simple (planche 14), le Désir et l'Espoir (planche 14), la Vénération (planche 15), la Douleur Corporelle Simple (planche 15), la Crainte (planche 16), la Compassion

(planche 17), et la Jalousie (planche 18). Taunay présente donc 23 passions décrites séparément, quoique n'utilisant que 19 planches comme illustration, ce qui l'approche encore davantage de la réédition d'Audran de 1727, composée aussi de 19 planches.

### Les proportions du corps humain – Millin et Audran

La troisième et dernière partie de la traduction composée par Taunay s'intitule «Quelques considérations générales sur les proportions». Elle se reporte à l'entrée «Proportion» du *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*<sup>24</sup> d'Aubin-Louis Millin, édité en 1806 en France. L'entrée de Millin est en fait constituée d'un court essai à propos de la proportion dans le domaine des beaux-arts, c'est-à-dire les rapports mathématiques établis entre les diverses parties du corps, et dans lequel il cherche aussi à faire allusion à la musique<sup>25</sup>, en travaillant les questions de l'harmonie appliquées au corps humain, «modèle parfait des bonnes proportions<sup>26</sup>».

*L'effet produit par la proportion ou la disproportion se voit à chaque fois que plusieurs objets doivent concourir à former un ensemble harmonieux. Sur les objets visibles, il y a des proportions concernant la taille des parties, dans ce sens: certaines peuvent être trop grandes et d'autres trop petites; concernant la lumière et le clair-obscur, certaines peuvent être trop illuminées et d'autres pas assez; quant à l'expression, il peut y avoir des parties plus belles, plus touchantes, en un mot, plus expressives que le tout ne le permet. En ce qui concerne le sens de l'ouïe, il y a des proportions par rapport à la durée, à la force, à l'élévation des tons, sur la grâce et l'effet qu'elles produisent. Ce serait une erreur que d'imaginer que l'on ne doit observer les bonnes proportions que dans le dessin et l'architecture. Tous les artistes doivent y porter attention: elles sont à l'origine de l'harmonie et de la vraie unité de l'ensemble.*

Le dessin et l'architecture ont des fonctions fondamentales dans ce sens. Ensuite, lorsqu'il compare les tailles de

chaque partie du corps, faisant en sorte qu'elles offrent au tout leur perfection dans le sens de la proportion, Taunay fait de nouveau mention à la ville et à sa composition, aux parties qui peuvent lui offrir les proportions adéquates, aux espaces qui peuvent ou pas être remplis par la lumière dans une édification, aux tailles des colonnes et leur solidité, enfin, aux éléments qui doivent se mouler visant la perfection de l'ensemble. Ces exemples sont utilisés pour décrire de quelle manière chaque partie se rapporte au tout. On y voit clairement le chemin suivi par Millin dans sa conception de nature, se rapprochant de la théorie du tout organique formulée par Goethe, qui «nourrit un culte de la nature, qu'il conçoit comme un tout organique, dont l'harmonie repose sur des lois à découvrir<sup>27</sup>». Dans son essai, Millin parle du concept de la nature par rapport à l'harmonie, c'est-à-dire «la soumission de la nature des parts et de leurs rapports avec la nature du tout», sous laquelle le dessinateur doit choisir les parties qui lui semblent plus convenables à la construction de sa figure.

Ensuite, il nous apprend comment doivent être faites les mesures de la tête et du visage, selon lesquelles seront faites les mesures des autres parties du corps. L'essai finit pourtant par servir à discuter la question du dessin, ce qui avait déjà été longuement fait, en détails anatomiques, dans les traités antérieurs. En fait, Taunay finit par obéir, dans son épitomé, à l'ordre relatif aux cours d'anatomie: ostéologie, myologie, proportions et formes, incorporant la physiologie des passions de Le Brun et comprenant les os et les muscles de la tête.

Finalement, dans le propre essai de Millin, il y a un court passage intitulé «Avec les divisions du corps humain par Gérard Audran», sur les proportions à partir des plus belles formes de l'Antiquité réalisées par Gérard Audran. Le traité réalisé par le graveur Audran, *Les proportions du corps humain mesurées sur les plus belles figures de l'Antiquité*, fut édité

en 1683 [Fig.6] et venait s'ajouter à une série d'autres traités destinés à la formation des élèves de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture en ce qui concerne les proportions<sup>28</sup>, ainsi qu'à celui antérieurement réalisé par Tortebat et Le Brun. Comme le dit le titre lui-même, Audran présente les mesures de dix modèles grecs masculins, entre lesquels les statues d'Apollon du Belvédère, de Laocoonte, d'Hercule Farnese et Antinoüs, deux modèles féminins, entre lesquels la Vénus de Médicis et un modèle égyptien, l'Égypte du Capitole [Fig. 7]. Les statues se présentent en différentes positions et les mesures de leurs fragments sont aussi présentées. À la préface de son œuvre, Audran explicite les objectifs de son travail :

*Cela paroît d'abord fort aisé: car puisque toute la perfection de l'Art consiste à bien imiter la nature, il semble qu'il ne faille point consulter d'autre Maître, & qu'on n'ait qu'à travailler d'après les modelles vivans; toutefois si l'on veut approfondir la chose, on verra qu'il ne se trouve pas que peu au point d'hommes dont toutes les parties soient dans leur juste proportion sans aucun default. Il faut donc choisir ce qu'il y a de beau dans chacun, & ne prendre que ce qu'on nomme communément la belle nature ... On peut avancer hardiment qu'ils ont en quelque sorte surpassé la nature; car bien qu'il soit vray de dire qu'ils n'ont fait véritablement que l'imiter, cela s'entend pour chaque partie en particulier, mais jamais pour le tout ensemble, & il ne s'est point trouvé d'homme aussi parfait en toutes ses parties que le sont quelques-unes de leurs Figures. Ils ont imité les bras de l'un, les jambes de l'autre, ramassant ainsi dans une seule Figure toutes les beautés qui pouvoient convenir au sujet qu'ils representoient, comme nous voyons qu'ils ont rassemblé dans l'Hercule tous les traits qui marquent la force, & dans la Venus toute la délicatesse & toutes les graces qui peuvent former une beauté achevée. Ils ne plaignoient ny le temps ny les soins; ils s'en est trouvé tel qui a travaillé toute sa vie en vü de produire seulement une Figure parfaite.*<sup>29</sup>

L'étude du modèle vivant ne serait donc pas suffisant pour la construction de la figure, quoique fondamentale à

l'apprentissage artistique. Par le moyen de l'étude de l'ancien et de l'appropriation de chacune de ses parties, l'on arriverait à la perfection des grecs, suivant le modèle de Zeus, mais du point de vue de la statuaire. Il évoque donc la supériorité de la statuaire ancienne face à la nature. Toujours sur sa préface, Audran discute à propos des parties irrégulières de chacun des modèles qui seront rencontrés dans son traité, justifiées, cependant, par la position que les statues avaient dans leur originalité, ce qui ne dérange en rien leur perfection.

On remarque, néanmoins, certaines différences théoriques entre l'œuvre d'Audran et l'article de Millin, surtout par rapport à la question des parties et du tout, comme nous l'avons vérifié antérieurement. Taunay se soucie pourtant plutôt de la méthode didactique, sans vraiment s'occuper des questions théoriques concernant chacun des traités traduits, tout comme l'a fait Le Brun lors de l'organisation de ses passions. Millin, par exemple, ne cite pas explicitement le nom d'Audran dans son article de 1806, il se limite à faire mention à l'existence d'une œuvre qui traite des mesures générales des belles statues. Taunay, en revanche, fait référence au traité d'Audran vers la fin de son texte sur Millin, faisant le pont entre ces deux ouvrages: «Gérard Audran a adopté cette échelle dans son œuvre intitulée «Proportions du corps humain mesurées sur les plus belles statues de l'Antiquité, Paris, 1863».

Sur son épitomé, Taunay fait un résumé de ce traité édité en 1683, par le moyen de considérations à propos des mesures d'Apollon du Belvédère et de Vénus de Médicis, en plus d'une courte mention à Hercule de Farnese. Sur deux paragraphes d'explication concernant les mesures des statues, Taunay lui-même reconnaît la difficulté du sujet et souligne, à la fin: «Tout ça se montre très compliqué: il convient que les élèves aient recours aux figures d'Audran existantes à l'Académie, et sur lesquelles

s'offrent à la vue les mesures correctes d'Hercule de Farnese, de Vénus de Médicis, d'Apollon du Belvédère, d'Antinoüs et de l'Égyptien du Capitole». Et ainsi se termine sa courte référence à Audran, sans d'autres explications sur la question concernant la statuaire ancienne et l'étude des proportions. Il destine, néanmoins, tout au long de sa carrière de directeur, une attention spéciale à l'exemple de l'ancien.

## Conclusion

En traduisant ces œuvres et organisant l'épitomé pour ses élèves, Taunay place l'académie brésilienne dans l'ensemble des institutions qui utilisaient et traduisaient les traités artistiques, s'incorporant au système de circulation des œuvres anatomiques destinées à la méthodologie de l'enseignement.

La diffusion de ce modèle français passait, au moyen de ses traductions, par les académies anglaise, espagnole, portugaise, allemande, et, dorénavant, brésilienne. Dans le cas du Brésil, Taunay fait une sélection d'ouvrages, les traduisant et réunissant dans une seule publication, ce qui ne se faisait pas couramment dans les autres académies<sup>30</sup>. Le cas qui se rapproche le plus du livre de Taunay est peut-être l'ouvrage portugais *Medidas gerais do corpo humano (Mesures générales du corps humain)*, publié en 1810 par le peintre Joaquim Leonardo da Rocha, professeur d'une école de dessin de l'Île Madère, œuvre également basée sur les principaux traités concernant les proportions<sup>31</sup>. Cette publication se concentre cependant sur le thème des proportions, ce qui la distingue du compendium de Taunay, qui est composé de plusieurs publications concernant bien d'autres sujets. Dans l'œuvre brésilienne, outre la praticité et l'importance de chacun de ces traités pour la méthodologie de l'enseignement du dessin, en assemblant toutes ces œuvres d'auteurs français en un seul livre, Taunay pense sans doute à la question financière de l'académie et à sa dépen-

dance par rapport au gouvernement en ce qui concerne les frais de l'institution, qui représentaient un grand problème auquel l'institution devait faire face chaque année.

Il nous semble évident que Taunay se soucie, pendant ses premières années à la tête de la direction, de créer un système adéquat à l'enseignement académique, c'est-à-dire à partir d'éléments qui composaient l'académie française depuis son origine, mettant en évidence, comme il se doit, les questions ayant rapport à l'ancien, essentielles à l'esthétique néo-classique, en vogue jusqu'aux fins du 18<sup>e</sup> et débuts du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle. La mention au traité d'Audran, quoique réduite, s'identifiait non seu-

lement à la reprise de l'ancien comme conception esthétique à partir des théories de Johann Winckelmann, suivies par Taunay en tant que directeur de l'académie, mais aussi au moyen de nouvelles éditions (1801 et 1855) de son traité, qui dorénavant allait être réutilisé dans les académies, ou dans des publications mises à jour<sup>32</sup> par d'autres auteurs, surtout en ce qui concerne les mesures, comme c'est le cas de celle élaborée par Nicolas Poussin, traduite en français en 1803<sup>33</sup>.

Taunay sait très bien que la conception parfaite du corps humain obtenue par le moyen du dessin consiste à l'union de tous ces facteurs, soustrayant les irrégularités du modèle vivant, avec

l'étude de l'anatomie et les modèles de l'Antiquité, faisant naître de là sa forme parfaite. Le dessin du nu et la statuaire ancienne composent, néanmoins, les principales classes auxquelles Taunay se dédie très soigneusement pendant de longues années de sa carrière. L'œuvre rarissime de Taunay, publiée en 1837 et conservée aujourd'hui au Musée Dom João VI à Rio de Janeiro est une preuve concrète de ces modèles théoriques, employés en très grande mesure dans les académies, puissant instrument pour le développement de la méthode didactique employée au Brésil.

Traduction : Nina de Melo Franco

<sup>1</sup> Le cours au modèle vivant fut approuvé par le gouvernement impérial en 1834.

<sup>2</sup> Les classes d'anatomie étaient déjà prévues par les statuts réformés de 1833. Les élèves, selon ces statuts, devaient suivre des cours à l'Hôpital Militaire (Procès verbal du 10/10/1833, Musée Dom João VI, EBA, UFRJ), ce qui n'a pas eu lieu. Le premier professeur a été engagé en 1837.

<sup>3</sup> Œuvre disparue du Musée Dom João VI depuis les derniers travaux développés par le Professeur Alfredo Galvão, l'*Épitomé d'Anatomie* fut retrouvé en juin 2004 grâce au déroulement de la recherche en doctorat intitulée *Félix-Émile Taunay: cidade e natureza no Brasil*. L'*Épitomé* est daté de 1837 et fut imprimé par la *Typographia Nacional*. C'est une œuvre rarissime qui se trouve en parfait état, exception faite à sa couverture. Elle n'est composée que de la théorie présente dans les textes mentionnés ci-dessus.

<sup>4</sup> "... et alors M. Ferrez a insisté sur la nécessité de développement de cette classe, et pour sa préparation, M. le directeur vient de traduire l'*Épitomé d'Anatomie*, qui va bientôt être publié». Procès verbal du 1/3/1837, Musée Dom João VI, EBA, UFRJ.

<sup>5</sup> Il faut remarquer que Taunay avait traduit, en 1836, l'ouvrage *Arte de pintar a óleo conforme a prática de Bardwell, baseada sobre o estudo e a imitação dos primeiros mestres das escolas italianas, inglesa e Flamengo*, à partir de l'ouvrage anglais de Thomas Bardwell, *The Practice of Painting and Perspective Made Easy*. Le livre de Bardwell fut édité en 1756, et Taunay prend pour base sa 13<sup>e</sup> édition.

<sup>6</sup> Les élèves devaient avoir recours aux originaux pour analyser les planches.

<sup>7</sup> *Abrégé d'anatomie, accommodé aux arts de peinture et de sculpture, Et mis dans un ordre nouveau, dont la méthode est très-facile, et débarassée de toutes les difficultés et choses inutiles, qui ont toujours été un grand obstacle aux Peintres, pour arriver à la perfection de leur Art. Ouvrage très-utile, et très-nécessaire à tous ceux qui font profession du Dessin. Mis en lumière par François Tortebat, Peintre du Roy dans son Académie Royale de la Peinture et de la Sculpture*. Paris, 1765. Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art – Collections Jacques Doucet.

<sup>8</sup> Certains auteurs indiquent la date de 1667 comme étant celle de la première édition. Sur l'exemplaire de l'École des Beaux-Arts, l'année indiquée est celle de 1668. "De plus, nous adoptons la date de 1668 pour une autre raison qui nous semble plus valable encore: à la suite du Privilège, qui est daté du 2 novembre 1667, se trouve la mention 'Achevé d'imprimer pour la première fois le douzième janvier 1668". DUVAL, Mathias & CUYER, Édouard. *Histoire de l'anatomie plastique. Les maîtres, les livres et les écorchés*. Paris, Société française d'éditions d'art, 1898, p. 139.

<sup>9</sup> DUVAL, Mathias, p. 141. Cependant, l'attribution des planches au Titien est une thèse qui ne prend corps qu'au 17<sup>e</sup> siècle. À son tour, Johannes Stephanus Calcar, assistant du Titien, est aussi considéré l'auteur des planches de Vesalius, cité par Vasari dans la deuxième édition des *Vite*. Cf. RÖHRL, Boris. *History and bibliography of artistic anatomy*. NY: 2000; ainsi que ROBERTS, K. B. *The fabric of Body: European traditions of anatomical illustration*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

<sup>10</sup> TORTEBAT, François. *Op. cit.*, préface.

<sup>11</sup> A ce sujet, voir BARBILLON, Claire. *Canons et théories de proportions du corps humain en France*

(1780-1895). Thèse pour l'obtention du Doctorat présentée devant l'université de Paris X – Nanterre, sous la direction de M. le professeur Pierre Vaisse, 1998, v. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Duval citant l'œuvre de Piles, *L'art de la peinture*. Paris, 1751, p. 148, In DUVAL, Mathias, *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>13</sup> Idem, p. 140.

<sup>14</sup> Préface de l'*Épitomé* organisé par Taunay.

<sup>15</sup> Dans son ouvrage, Schlosser confirme l'usage et la traduction de l'œuvre en diverses langues. SCHLOSSER, Julius von. *La littérature artistique*. Paris: Flammarion, 1996, p. 629.

<sup>16</sup> "José Luis Munárriz quedó encargado de traducir los textos de los tres esquelos y de las figuras". NAVARRETE MARTINEZ, Esperanza. *La Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y la pintura en la primera mitad del siglo XIX*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1999, p. 168. Munárriz était académicien d'honneur depuis 1796 et est devenu secrétaire général à partir de 1807.

<sup>17</sup> RÖHRL, Boris. *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>18</sup> PHILIPPE, Julien. *Op. cit.*, p. 27-8.

<sup>19</sup> LE BRUN, Charles. *L'expression des passions & autres conférences, correspondances*. Paris: Éditions Dédale, 1994, p. 52.

<sup>20</sup> PHILIPPE, Julien. "Présentation", In LE BRUN, Charles. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> LE BRUN, Charles, *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> Taunay, à l'introduction de la partie concernant la «physiologie des passions».

<sup>23</sup> LE BRUN, Charles, *Op. cit.*, p. 60-1.

<sup>24</sup> MILLIN, Aubin-Louis. *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*. Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1806.

<sup>25</sup> Le dictionnaire de Millin est destiné aux Beaux-Arts, comprenant aussi la musique.

<sup>26</sup> BARBILLON, Claire. Op. cit., p. 461-5.

<sup>27</sup> MODIGLIANI, Denise & BRUGÈRE, Fabienne. “Préface”, In MENGES, Anton Raphael. *Pensées sur la beauté et sur le goût dans la peinture*. Paris: ENSBA, 2000, p. 22.

<sup>28</sup> Par exemple, les traités d’Henry Testelin (1696) et Abraham Bosse (1656).

<sup>29</sup> AUDRAN, Gerard. *Les Proportions du corps humain mesurées sur les plus belles figures de l’Antiquité*. À Paris, Chez Gérard Audran, Graveur du Roy, rue S. Jacques, aux deux Pilier d’or. MDCLXXXIII. Avec privilège du roy. Bibliothèque de l’Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art, Collections Jacques Doucet.

<sup>30</sup> À la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, de nouveaux traités

d’anatomie sont publiés à partir de la réunion des ouvrages déjà parus, comme celui de William Rimmer, *Art Anatomy*, de 1877. Il y a des combinaisons nouvelles entre les traités et la création de nouvelles figures, caractérisant le surgissement d’un autre type de publication dans le domaine de l’anatomie destinée à l’enseignement, comme dans le cas de Rimmer. Ce n’est pas le cas de Tournay, puisqu’en dépit du fait de travailler avec plusieurs ouvrages en même temps, il ne fait que les traduire, sans ajouter de nouvelles conceptions aux textes originaux. Il n’y a pas non plus l’inclusion de nouvelles figures, les consultations se font sur les planches originales. Cf. RÖHRL, Boris. Op. cit.

<sup>31</sup> RÖHRL, Boris. Op. cit. Le premier traité portugais d’anatomie, *Método de proporções e anatomia*

*do corpo humano*, fut publié en 1836 par Francisco de Assis Rodrigues, professeur de sculpture de l’Academia de Belas Artes de Lisbonne.

<sup>32</sup> Barbillon cite les imitateurs et les plagiatés de son œuvre, réalisés vers la fin du 18<sup>e</sup> et 19<sup>e</sup> siècles, par exemple: *Proportions des plus belles figures de l’Antiquité*, publié en 1794 par François-Anne David, *Les proportions du corps humain, mesurées sur les plus belles statues de l’Antiquité*, daté de 1800, dont l’auteur est le méconnu Rinmon. BARBILLON, Claire, Op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>33</sup> Il s’agit du manuscrit de Nicolas Poussin intitulé *Mesures de la célèbre statue de l’Antinoüs suivies de quelques observations sur la peinture*, transcrit et publié par Bellori en 1672 et traduit de l’italien par M. Gault de Saint-Gervais, à Paris, pour la maison d’édition Egron, en 1803.

## Shipwreck Archaeology and the project of studying a slave ship

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### Introduction

This paper intends to present and discuss shipwreck archaeology in Brazil, a theme which is quite novel in the country. It aims to establish some arguments, using a type of approach that contemplates the maturing of archaeological studies in its specialization as nautical/underwater/maritime. This pondering has as starting point two considerations. The first one is the fact that in archaeology it does not matter what type of activity is practiced nor its relevance. All human actions that have left material remains are significant because they represent fragments of social life in a certain moment<sup>1</sup>. Being so, a vessel, independent of its magnitude, - a wooden canoe or a modern transatlantic -, when it wrecks becomes an archaeological site. Those sites are the evidence, the material remains, of

something that suddenly stopped existing; a moment is interrupted when a wreck happens. Being so, the wreck represents, clearly, the material remains of social moments that were happening on board and that ceased while active<sup>2</sup>. Archaeological sites of shipwrecks deserve the same respect as any - independently of the remains being underwater. Unfortunately, in Brazil this heritage is not well understood.

The second consideration refers to the theme of our project: “the slave ship” and to the fact that it is quite novel. In the world there are very few similar study cases that were developed by archaeology<sup>3</sup>. Being so, very little has been effectively produced, systematically, on *in situ* studies of slave ships. We believe that, maybe, one of the reasons for this situation is the negative symbolic burden, coming from a recent historical memory, which this approach receives in general, but specially in former enslaver countries like Brazil. Alberto da Costa e Silva, an Africanist, shares this view with us about the lack of research on slave ships. In his book *Um rio chamado Atlântico: a África no Brasil e o Brasil na África* (“A river called Atlantic: Africa in Brazil and Brazil in Africa”), he says: “regarding this ship, I have never set eyes upon a systematic

study to it dedicated, where we would see gathered, analyzed and completed the data that exists on the evolution, along more than 300 years, of the types and sizes of the vessels used for slave traffic, their production, their crew, their logistics and their economic handling. This data exists but still is scattered around different sources”<sup>4</sup>. We believe that quotes like this one only enhance our responsibility towards our field researches.

Being so, an archaeological research that aims in studying the remains of a slave shipwreck in Brazil - a brig of North-American origin, named *Carmargo* that sank in Angra dos Reis, RJ, in 1852, leads to several possibilities regarding the production of knowledge. Among them, we can mention answering the nautical archaeological gap regarding the vessel as an artifact, which will give voice to the excluded from official historiography, those who sailed in these vessels as human cargo and as crew. Archaeology will permit a “reading of material culture conjugated with the interpretation of the written source”<sup>5</sup>. This kind of approach, with very rare exceptions, is still limited to ideological discourses and to generalizing and homogenizing ideas about the slave ship.

### Shipwreck Archaeology

Shipwreck archaeology is archaeology! It represents the integration of certain archaeological specializations, as nautical (regarding the vessel), underwater (regarding the environment of the site) and maritime (regarding the society), into one specific category, which studies one specific type of archaeological site. It has absolute no relation whatsoever with the adventurous action of treasure hunting, which is permitted by law in Brazil, and which regards those kind of underwater sites as lost material that need to be recovered in exchange of rewards<sup>6</sup>. Shipwreck archaeology believes that these sites, which help form the underwater cultural heritage, and the production of archaeological knowledge about them, only has meaning if they are public - that is, open to the people - and if they can interact with the different communities.

We want also to stress that this archaeological standing, which characterizes the archaeologist as a social agent and legitimizes a concern with cultural diversity, has begun to be built only after 1986, when the *World Archaeological Congress* was founded. It reunited archaeologists, researchers of different fields and general public from several segments of society, all worried with the social dimensions of archaeology<sup>7</sup>. Nowadays, archaeological research is no longer conceived as possible without a public commitment. It is not possible, anymore, to conceive an archaeological site as an intellectual property of the researchers<sup>8</sup> or as private property, in the case of shipwrecks in Brazil, of treasure hunting enterprises.

The Unesco Convention for the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage<sup>9</sup> was set in 2001, in Paris. It recognizes an archaeological site as public and considers public engagement to be fundamental. It also stimulates the adoption of public policies in favor of the underwater cultural heritage, aiming in guaranteeing its existence for the

future generations. Because of this, the Convention incites the adoption of educational heritage programs and of underwater tourism aimed to the general public, when possible, in order to integrate the public with the researches and, by this, valorizes the importance of this cultural heritage in human history.

An archaeological site formed by the remains of shipwrecks is considered underwater cultural heritage. It also has international characteristics. Understanding this point is quite simple! We can use as an example the brig *Camargo* itself. This vessel was built in the United States and its remains are located in Angra dos Reis, RJ. The crew, as it was usual back then, must have been quite diverse (North-Americans, Portuguese people, Brazilians, among others). The brig was responsible for the traffic of Africans from Mozambique to Brazil. We have no evidence of the presence of human remains in the data available. We believe this is so because, in order to eliminate evidence of clandestine traffic, the vessel was burnt soon after the landing of the enslaved Africans. The *Camargo* site represents, explicitly, the testimony of a multi material culture from several origins. It is no different from other such wreck sites, spread through seas and oceans of the world.

In this context it is important to stress that, for archaeology, a shipwreck archaeological site

“Represents a complex system that, like any other representation of society comprehends inequalities, contradictions and social conflicts. Being the vessel understood as the common name for any construction aimed in sailing on water<sup>10</sup> - an floating artifact; or being it understood as the major historical expression of the exchange flux; or being it a power structure; or being it the floating representation of social relations; or understanding the vessel as a mobile human landscape; or, still, the vessel being understood as regional,

national or international social-historical symbols of identities.”<sup>11</sup>

To think about shipwreck archaeological sites in Brazil, through archaeology, is to think about the identities among them and the several types of people in our society, “the voices, the remains and the rights of the native, black and people in general excluded from the dominant accounts”<sup>12</sup>. In Brazil, the memories of the Atlantic crossings are part of the construction of Brazilian history. After all, the ethnical plurality of the Brazilian people is a result of such crossings (since pre-history). The remains of shipwrecks are, by far, the great monuments for this cultural construction<sup>13</sup>. Nevertheless, the role played by this relationship - vessel and crossings - is lost in our educational formation and assumes an obvious role. That is, it is taken for granted: we sailed and that's it!

But, we wonder if this complex process can really be synthesized so simply? Aren't we disregarding relevant information about a common past, the sailing? Taking in consideration that every vessel has a name and a shape that represents its dimensions, function, crew, load, chronology, etc, we change that understanding immediately. Why, then, should we generalize things, since a canoe made by a single piece of wood is different from a raft, in the same way as a ship is different from a Portuguese galleon, and the latter is different from a Spanish galleon, which, by its turn, is different from a frigate, and the latter, once again, is different from a brig, and successively? They all have only one thing in common, they sail!

This new approach, which we are proposing, suggests, for instance, that in the case of a shipwreck site, every day life on board should be contemplated by material culture. Its archaeological context should be studied *in situ*, with the help from history and maritime ethnography (which deals with the seaman), and not by a fetish for objects removed from these sites<sup>14</sup>. This material culture

can certainly tell us different stories, distinct from the ones registered in the captains or any passenger's diaries and that represent official history. Besides, it is always a good idea to emphasize the concept that a written document should be considered a discourse<sup>15</sup> and not a given truth. "The study of the subaltern classes has increased. Archaeological sources give a big contribution to those studies, because they have an anonymous and involuntary character"<sup>16</sup>.

Faced by these considerations, we stress the idea that all shipwreck sites should be respected in order to be studied properly! They are not only unique but cannot be revived once destroyed; they are complex symbolic systems, filled with meanings<sup>17</sup>. It is always good to keep in mind that the importance of an archaeological site is subjective and depends on the goals of the researcher. It is him who "reintroduces the artifacts of extinct cultures in a existing society"<sup>18</sup>.

### (Re) thinking slave ships

Although enslaved Africans traffic lasted for more than three hundred years, period during which we find improvements on naval construction and when new sailing technologies were developed (for instance, vapor propulsion), the image that comes to our mind when we think about this traffic, as is well put by the historian Jaime Rodrigues in his book *De costa a costa* ("From coast to coast"), from 2005, is the image inspired by the gravure *Negros no porão* ("Negroes in the hold"), from 1835, by Johann Moritz Rugendas, which has become a classical illustration that appears in several works done on this theme. The ships known as "slave ships", or "tumboiros", actually were produced of several different types, but gained, through this movement, a unique, homogenous vision.

Rugendas turns the hold of a ship, through his iconographic reference, in a "representation of slave traffic, by excel-

lence, independently of chronology and changes in naval architecture. Focusing, essentially, in the tiny holds of ships, dark and packed with captured Africans, the use of such crystallized slave traffic images turns the slave ship in an object without history, since the way it is perceived is almost timeless"<sup>19</sup>.

This gravure, in particular, has an interesting appeal for nautical archaeology, because it sends us back to the interior of the ship, and not to the ship itself. Because of its constant illustrative use, filled up with meanings, this image became the symbol, in collective imaginary, of the interior of all vessels that transported African slaves. By this, we have a homogenizing of three hundred years of naval construction, which became only the hold of a ship. This iconography has transformed the hold in the official place of transporting human cargo in a slave ship, a "tumboiro"! But, if we analyze it through a technical approach rather than an ideological one, we will observe that the idea of "negroes in a hold of a ship" does not portrait, in fact, the hold itself.

This observation of ours has absolute no intention of minimizing the cruelty with which the maritime slave traffic was held. In fact, Rugendas representation can be called quite soft. Our aim is to stress the point of how little we do know about these ships. They represented, explicitly, maritime transportation, in such a way that we came to generalize certain terms, consequence of built discourses, that did not coincide with the vessels' architecture itself.

For instance, through all the centuries of maritime traffic of enslaved Africans, a huge range of vessels, of distinct types and sizes, was used for this function. Some of them were built just to perform this kind of commerce and others - the majority of which were already quite old - were adapted for the same purpose. Being so, the consecrated reference of "negroes in the hold of a ship" not always fitted the schematic or-

ganization of a vessel that transported human cargo. Everything was possible in terms of lodging, coresponding to the type of the vessel, but, roughly, according to the French architect Jean Boudriot (1984), one of the world's major specialists in naval construction, the internal division of space occurred in three levels (considered from below to the top): 1 - the hold, for storing water and provisions; 2 - a fake cover<sup>20</sup>, for the human cargo (black Africans slaves); and 3 - a cover, for the crew.

We should emphasize that this description of the slave ships' scheme of organization comes from the study of French written sources from the 18th century. It corresponds to a schematic drawing made by the Englishman Robert Walsh, in 1828, after he had visited the Brazilian slave ship *Veloz*, which was intercepted in Africa by the vessel he himself was traveling<sup>21</sup>. This coincidence is very meaningful for the study of slave ships. According to Rodrigues (2005), "Walsh was one of the few travelers to set foot upon a ship loaded of negroes" (p. 134). This shows that Walsh was concerned with depicting exactly what he saw, without letting himself get influenced by the abolitionist propaganda from the period<sup>22</sup>. The drawing shows the schematic division of the ship from the outside, depicting the hold, with its load of provisions and water, the fake cover, with its reduced space, over crowded, and the slaves, there, piled up; and the deck.

Regarding the overpopulation at the fake covers of ships - and not at the holds -, which can be identified from different sources, we also share the view that this was done, in a very cruel way, to answer the demand of a ever so greedy market in search of slave labor. We have expressed here the desire to acquire the maximum profit by transporting also the maximum quantity of individuals in a single voyage, even though this could lead to a considerable number of casualties.

“According to Gorender, the high level of mortality at the sea was the result of a ‘big differential’ between the slave price of purchase in Africa and their price of selling in Brazil. Certain voyage costs, he affirms, like the use of the ship and the costs with the crew, were unchangeable, no matter what was the cargo, and the only additional costs resulting from the overloading were spent with the slaves themselves and with a small increment in the cost of maintenance. ‘In such circumstances’, he concludes, ‘it was worthwhile to take the risk’”<sup>23</sup>.

We should add the maritime tradition of, in an organized way, making good use of the space available in the vessels used for maritime transport of goods (this fact is mentioned a lot in the accounts of maritime voyages). There is also the fact that, for the seaman back then, the enslaved African negro was considered a merchandise to be transported as live cargo and not as a passenger. Finally, the concept of comfort on board is very recent in the universe of navigation. Only by the end of the 19th century we see it being developed through the use of the transatlantic, also dedicated to the passenger (voyage industry).

Regarding the human cargo that was loaded, it is important to stress that many sources, like Walsh’s own report, describe the organization on board, for instance the division of the slaves by gender and age. This demonstrates a concern with the distribution of these people in the vessel, aiming at having more safety on board, not only regarding possible revolts, but also through a point of view that privileges the control of the live cargo’s weight, because it is mobile and provoke problems during the navigation.

Concerning the life of the seamen, the ones responsible for this kind of transportation and not for the commercial activity that it involved, we must remember that it was very hard and

without any privileges. Social inequalities of the societies were reproduced on board even strongly<sup>24</sup>. To those on board “an extremely heterogeneous world” was revealed, “the characters at the vessel could not be reduced to mere sailors, because this coarse simplification would hide the labor division that sustained a space with a rigid hierarchy, something characteristic of that floating society”<sup>25</sup>. Thirst, hunger and discomfort did not only happen to the ones being transported as merchandise, many sailors had to deal with this kind of challenge. Because, “the seamen had to ally physical resistance with minimum provisions, and many times, hunger. Besides, there were the risks of the diseases - like scurvy, rheumatism, typhus, yellow fever, ulcers and skin diseases - and also the perils of the job itself, which causes hernias and traumas”<sup>26</sup>. Not surprisingly, wooden legs and other mutilations are common on the accounts about these men<sup>27</sup>.

Maritime activities are dependent on the conditions of nature, like good winds, becalmed seas and tempests. How nature behaved was a fundamental factor to avoid despair among those on board, everyone, and not only the slaves being transported. Nevertheless, for the slaves the physical factor - due to a process which began much before the sea voyage itself and that weakened them, not helping to endure the hard challenges of such an oceanic voyage - and the psychological terrors to which they were exposed (the trauma of getting on board by force, not knowing what was going to happen), put them in disadvantage by comparison with the crew. Even so, as we pointed out, the possibilities of suffering during the voyage were general; “the hard conditions on board led also the crew in the slave ships to death”<sup>28</sup>.

Some travelers’ accounts give us a non-humanist approach regarding the overloading on board. They were familiar with life at sea and were wit-

nesses to the traffic. For instance, the German Schlichthorst, who, in 1829, “would say that ‘at the slave ships themselves, space is not so narrow as usually people imagine. A vessel that in Europe could take on board three hundred passengers, transports from Africa four hundred negroes’ ”<sup>29</sup>.

### For an archaeology of the slave ship

Shipwreck archaeological sites many times are compared to *time capsules* because of the conservational state of their remains. Nevertheless, we must draw attention to the conceptual hazard of this metaphor. It is not a rule. The process of formation and conservation of those sites, after the wreck, is going to determine if there really is a possibility of the artifacts and other evidence to remain in place. Depending on the environmental dynamics of the location of the site, the remains from the shipwreck can spread out for hundreds of feet or even for miles. In that sense, part of the archaeological material belonging to that specific context, that is, to the vessel destruction, may not be near the main structure<sup>30</sup>.

For archaeology, life on board of a vessel, mainly in ultramarine - for instance, the case of the brig *Camargo*, that came from Mozambique - due to its complexity, may be translated into a social *microcosm*. This microcosm was, many times, faithful to its place of origin (or places, considering the plurality of the crew and their long periods of sojourn in Africa), and those people brought along with them for the journey several different artifacts. All of them give testimony of their time and their moment<sup>31</sup>. We must keep in mind, also, that many of the artifacts that are found, isolated or in association with others, may be used as excellent markers of certain particularities regarding social-cultural aspects.

Nevertheless, while fieldwork at the *Camargo* did not begin, it became neces-

sary to understand more about maritime navigation and all that it involved. Especially, understand more about these vessels. Keith Muckelroy (1978), British archaeologist, is the father of a classical definition for a vessel: “a machine, conceived to serve as a means of transportation; a relevant functional set of a military or economical system; a close community, with its own hierarchy, its habits and its own conventions”<sup>32</sup>. This definition is the one used in order to understand a vessel. Since we lack the information that an archaeological excavation would give us, we chose to analyze a concrete example, documental: the case study made by Jean Boudriot in his book *Traite: Negrier l'Aurore*, published in 1984<sup>33</sup>.

In his work, Boudriot presents and discusses the French slave ship *l'Aurore*, built in 1784 by H. Penevert. The text is technical and specialized, well provided of important information on this subject. This information allows us to get closer to that ship and to its dynamics.

*L'Aurore* was a ship of 280 tons<sup>34</sup>, approximately measuring 30 meters of length and 8 meters of beam<sup>35</sup>, equipped with three masts (a chief one and two smaller ones), artillery limited to eight cannons of small caliber<sup>36</sup>, and which already used the technology of copper coating at the hull. This revetment protected the wood of the hull, which were fluctuant and immersed (in nautical terms, the living-work of a vessel), from the shipworm<sup>37</sup> (*teredo navalis*). Those shipworms<sup>38</sup> are very common in ports where the waters are hot and clean, like the African ones where the vessels remained anchored for months.

Although *l'Aurore* was not a very big ship, if we keep in mind the vast typology of vessels, this frigate was able to transport 600 slaves in its fake cover, due to the good use of the two floors (quarterdeck type) built at the same floor. It had on board, enabling a good running of the vessel, a crew of 40 to 45 men<sup>39</sup>.

Thirst was one of the most feared problems when at sea. To guarantee the surviving of those 650 people on board, according to Boudriot, the vessel needed a great amount of water, the equivalent, approximately, of 2,8 liters per person, per day. So, for a 60 days journey it was needed circa 110.000 liters of water; and 1.820 liters for each extra day. Even if we take into consideration the fact that casualties on board would reduce both the strength and the number of human cargo transported, it was necessary, when making up the provisions, to take into account wastefulness and the inevitable leaking of the barrels.

In order to understand more clearly what this meant, at the *l'Aurore* hold, for instance, instead of slaves, as Rugendas paints, there was 581 barrels of water (each with the capacity of holding 242 liters). In total, it hold 140.000 liters, and that enabled the ship to have an autonomy - in theory - equivalent to 2 and a half months of water use.

This aspect of the load was so important that, when a vessel was approached by the British patrolling, during the period of fighting the traffic off, one of the clues used to prove that that vessel was involved in that kind of commerce was the quantity of water barrels at the holds. The grated scuttles, that divided the fake cover of the deck, were also used as incriminating evidence<sup>40</sup>.

Besides the hundreds of water barrels, *l'Aurore* also transported at its hold: 10 tons of biscuit, 10 tons of rice, 4 tons of fava bean, gunpowder and ammunition for the cannons, extra sails, ropes (kilometers of them) and other materials in general, among many other things<sup>41</sup>.

How to administer all this? Only a routine work disciplined and organized would be successful in order to manage such complexity. It is hard to imagine 650 people in a floating confined space at the ocean. This only reinforces what was already said about life on board, and how navigation itself, result of this orchestrated activity that involves

man-vessel-nature, could be related to the success and precision of such an operation. Pompey, the famous roman general, once said regarding this process: “Navigating is necessary, life is not necessary” (*Navigare necesse; vivere nos est necesse*).

However, we should point out that this example, studied by Boudriot, regards a vessel, a frigate, used when slave traffic was legal. We know of dozens of other kinds of vessels, and they varied immensely along those 300 years. What kind of vessel was the brig *Camargo*? Was it faster, because it operated in clandestineness? How was its hold, what was different from other vessels? Regarding the transportation of the slaves, the brig *Camargo* was not much different from *l'Aurore*. The data we have reveal that it unloaded “in Bracuí, Ilha Grande (to the south of Rio de Janeiro), circa 500 to 600 negroes coming from Quelimane, Mozambique. Soon after the brig was set on fire by the population”<sup>42</sup>.

The intentional fire and the subsequent sinking were used as a means of concealing evidence, thus avoiding embarrassment for the powerful people directly involved with that illegal commerce. But, what was left of this episode? Only archaeology is able to access the remnant material culture of the *Camargo*, since the main structure of the hull and some archaeological evidence has already been located and even plundered by adventurous divers. According to information given by a local diver in his book *Guia dos naufrágios da Baía de Ilha Grande*: “*Camargo* suffered some sacks. More recently, lanterns and other pieces were removed in order to decorate a hotel in the Baía da Ribeira. Nowadays, the ship is in a state of complete dismantling, but in a safe place, because the area has become an underwater archaeological site, where one can only dive if he has an authorization”<sup>43</sup>. The Navy of Brazil gives this authorization; our project awaits it to initiate fieldwork.

Traditional historiography uses the textual data available from that period in order to study this episode. It involved corruption of the justice system, powerful local people, and other things. On the other hand, the material culture still waits to be analyzed by archaeology. Being aware that a shipwreck site represents something that ceased to exist all of a sudden, the remains of the *Camargo* represent an interrupted moment of 1852, packed with material culture - the ship itself is an artifact -, all direct testimony of a period, of the people, of the traffic, and that may confirm and/or contradict much of what is said in the textual data available and produced: history that cannot be found in the books!

### Final considerations

In the beginning of the 1960's, internationally speaking, underwater archaeological finds relating to shipwreck sites began to question the insufficiency of the textual data available and known in order to provide information for the questions that emerged from field works made on those sites. For instance, details about the construction of those vessels, the loads, and the commerce routes. Doubts and news that pointed towards the "birth" of a new area of production of archaeological knowledge, and that came to add to the strengthening of archaeology as a social science, breaking away with romantic tradition that saw it as a simple technique to illustrate the tragic-maritime history. But, at the same time that this speech arose, built upon the analysis and the interpretation of underwater material culture, the then "young" specialists of this "Nautical/Underwater/Maritime Archaeology" identified a certain academic disdain regarding their subject<sup>44</sup>.

This fact, unfortunately, is still present in our Human Sciences, even after fifty successful years of works in this archaeological specialization. According to the British archaeologist Sean McGrail, a specialist, the issue

here is a kind of general antipathy for the nautical subject, this antipathy can be related to the abyss that divides seamen and men from the land<sup>45</sup>. This is so real that there are still few researchers that "adventure themselves into those seldom navigated seas"<sup>46</sup>!

This division between maritime and continental people does not represent any novelty and is something that has gone on in western societies because the sea still is seen as "a badly known space, dangerous, outside terrestrial culture, outlaws that rule the continent"<sup>46</sup>. That is why we find such "agro centric"<sup>47</sup> approaches that make us call Earth a planet made mainly of water. Maybe this is due to the divisions of the worlds, identified by maritime anthropology, which contribute to justify this distance that exists in the Human Sciences regarding this subject. In the Brazilian case, they may serve as argument for the existence of a legislation that contradicts our own Federal Constitution.

In the beginning of the 1990's, "in a context of political and thematic opening"<sup>48</sup> we experienced, at the same time that the sketching of a Brazilian scientific underwater archaeology<sup>49</sup> was being produced, another novelty in Brazil. Three archaeologists of distinct nationalities: Pedro Paulo Abreu Funari (Brazilian), Charles Orser Jr. (North-American) and Michael Rowlands (British) established a pioneer project in Brazilian archaeology: the study of the Quilombo dos Palmares (from Zumbi dos Palmares). This subject became consecrated by distinct historic and anthropological approaches, which "provided other accounts, less centered in the written discourse and concerned with the exploited or excluded social groups"<sup>50</sup>, and that used the study of material culture. Contributing thus to a novel way of conceiving archaeological research in Brazil, inspired by the fluidity of the identities, breaking away with traditional cultural models, homogeneous and normative<sup>51</sup>.

Interesting enough, nowadays, over little more than a decade, Brazilian archaeology testifies the integration of those two subjects, because the present project intends on studying social groups that were excluded through the analysis and the interpretation of material culture remnant of a slave ship. This will be done having in mind the aims of public archaeology, that understands that archaeology is only possible if it can be integrated to the local communities and can work along social movements.

The results of those archaeological studies about the remains of a slave ship, which was deliberately sank in order to be forgotten, have a lot to contribute to history. Its material remains (what survived of the hull) must be used as a monument for preserving the memory of what meant slavery and human traffic around the world, "hoping that the fight for a period of justice, liberty and equality will continue in order to avoid that such crimes happen again"<sup>52</sup>.

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- <sup>3</sup> For instance, the studies produced in the 1970's about the Portuguese slave ship James Matthews, which wrecked (already modified) in 1841, near Freemantle, in Australia; or, in the 1980's, a study about the English slave ship Henrietta Marie. This ship wrecked in 1700, in Florida (New Ground Reef), and it was used much more as an illustration of history rather than as a work of archaeological interpretation. Besides those studies mentioned, we cannot count for more than a dozen similar study cases around the world, all poorly publicized.
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- <sup>34</sup> Ton is a unity that expresses the volume or cargo capacity of a ship, named tonnage (CHERQUES, Sérgio. Dicionário do mar. São Paulo: Globo, 1999).
- <sup>35</sup> Beam is a nautical term that corresponds to the widest breadth of a ship, at the chief rib.

- <sup>36</sup> Artillery aimed at protecting the vessel especially from pirate attacks.
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## Angelo Agostini: Art criticism, politics and culture in Brazil during the Second Empire

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### Angelo Agostini: a biography

As Joaquim Nabuco<sup>1</sup> tells us, Agostini was an idealist. Although he was not committed to institutional political practice, he was interested in the effects of this practice on the reality of people's lives: "... Angelo Agostini had the good fortune of being what may be defined in matters of liberalism a well balanced character, of those who love freedom not for the word, but for the thing itself, not for the doctrine, but for the fact, and, above all, not for oneself, but for the others ...".<sup>2</sup>

J. Bocó, a journalist from the magazine *O Malho*, - the last journal with

which Agostini has collaborated – has drawn the following opinion about the artist's work: "without his memorable drawings, that followed his combative spirit, the sarcasm against the exoticism of the institution that 'fortunately prevailed' and the attacks against the genuine slave-owners wouldn't have the penetration they have had amidst the large popular sectors, aligning them spiritually with the great cause of freedom".<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, the *Gazeta Artística* in 1910 – the year of the passing of Agostini - was not as generous in its appreciation:

*It is blatant that Agostini could not dedicate himself seriously to the study of Art, to which his unset and lively spirit inclined him to... Angelo Agostini could never perfect himself in the technique of the processes and in Theory of Art. Therefore all of his works resent from this artistic culture deficiency....*

*... Angelo Agostini has always been a mediocre drawer. His caricatures were almost*

*always reduced to the plain portrait, with the occasional precision of a photographic plate, but inexpressive, silent in the stillness and fidelity of the physiognomic traces... The success of his caricature was in the sayings that accompanied the drawings. He never went beyond the criticism of concrete facts, up to the point of a general abstraction, of the symbolism that condensates and integrates a critical appreciation, defining the social tendencies of a setting, of an age, of a civilization. The deficiency of the drawing and poorness of the composition would not allow him, even if he wanted, to rise up to the deed of this artistic conception of caricature.*<sup>4</sup>

The information gathered about Agostini are very fragmented, and most of the times, come in a very flattering tone – with a few exceptions as the text above, that points out flaws in the artist's formation at the same time it contests his talent, so praised by other sources. Even though the mentioned article was even aggressive towards

the artist, it nevertheless regards him as someone who had been involved with the artistic milieu. Nonetheless, as a man of the Press who had liberal and abolitionist opinions and a critic of the teaching methods of the Imperial Academy, Agostini had several enemies – a fact easily noticed though the discussions entailed in the pages of the journals he has worked for.

*For myself, being in Brazil since 1859, and having solely this audience to evaluate my work, I am very recognized for the good welcome I've always been given. I am certain, however, that if I'd followed the recommendation of the illustrious journalist and went to Paris, I would likely meet the same kind of acceptance. I can't see why the audience there would be better than the one we find here. The caricature is not an Art that requires great special knowledge to be understood and appreciated...*<sup>5</sup>

The excerpt above is an answer by Angelo Agostini to Ferreira de Menezes, from the *Jornal do Commercio*, who was protesting against an alleged boldness of the critic enterprise of foreign caricaturists in Brazil, namely Angelo Agostini, Luigi Borgomainerio and Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro.<sup>6</sup>

Besides illustrating Agostini's response, this excerpt provides us concrete information: the year that the artist arrived in Brazil. As we've mentioned earlier, his biography is full of gaps. Therefore, if we are to know a little of Agostini's trajectory, we've had to dig for scattered data and compare them in order to compose his biography – which includes conflicting information starting from the artist's date of birth. Carlos Cavalcanti, in his *Dicionário brasileiro de artistas plásticos*,<sup>7</sup> informs us that the Agostini was born in 1843 in the Italian city of Vercelli. But João Francisco Velho Sobrinho, in his *Dicionário Bio-Bibliográfico*,<sup>8</sup> states that the artist was born in 1842, in Farcelle. There are sources which support either one or the other biographer. Nonetheless, all of them agree that his birthday was in an April 8th in Italy.

Our path has indicated that Agostini lived for a short time in Italy and had been for more than ten years in France, with his grandmother, before coming to Brazil. There, for what is known, he would have started his artistic formation. We couldn't find any documents or reports of the artist to corroborate this information. However, it might be interesting to consider the intriguing story of the character Cabrião (created by Ângelo Agostini in 1866), in a homonymic journal, the second paper in which he took part in São Paulo after *Diabo Coxo*. Antonio Cagnin, who made studies about Agostini, made the following statement:

*The symbol figure portrayed in the paper Cabrião, as all evidences seem to indicate, is the self-caricature of Ângelo Agostini. What is still to be found out, more as a curious fact, is if at that time Agostini had already worn the same "pointy beard" and moustache to imitate the looks of the character portrayed in the novel, if he adopted this appearance when he found out his physical and spiritual identity with the character or if he did it later, to embody the symbol of the paper. Anyway, it was a perfect symbiosis, between Cabrião/Agostini, caricature/caricaturist, le genie infernal du peintre, which was present on the pages of the Cabrião every week, in satires and caricatures, mocking the politicians and the society of São Paulo.*<sup>9</sup>

O Cabrião, which is committed to say the truth, is an attentive and critical observer of the political, religious, cultural and social events of the still incipient city of São Paulo.

The character eventually was given a biography, described in a few editions of the journal. Could Agostini have lent the character some elements of his own biography? Perhaps. As a foreigner still in the beginning of his career, he could have found in his character a way of introducing himself to the audience and to gain its sympathy, assuring his place in the press.

Theses approximations we've dared to make above might be mere speculation. However, the literary work can also

have an historic function. According to Antonio Candido, we should "... take into account, thus, one level of reality and one level of elaboration of reality, and also the difference of the perspective of the contemporaries of the piece of work, including the author, and of the posterity it entails, determining historical variations of function in a structure that remains aesthetically invariable ..."<sup>10</sup>

Let's see a few excerpts of this biography: "... I declare to this generation and to posterity that I am an authentic Parisian, a Parisian of body and soul. I speak French, a lot better than any son of the Great Britain, and Portuguese – a lot better than Mr. Mancille, even though I haven't taken an exam to teach, either because of the disciples or because of the government"<sup>11</sup>

The irony is a very remarkable trace of Agostini's work that shall remain. Wouldn't this be the assertion of a foreigner that has adopted France as his fatherland? If we consider the effervescent Paris of those days, of the importance of the press and its huge development, there would be nothing better for someone initiating in this milieu than claiming to be a son of this revolutionary glorious country. During the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Paris faced a great increase in its population, which has migrated from the country zone to the urban area. In less than fifty years, the city that by 1800 had about 600 thousand people reaches 1 million people.

It was during the second Empire (1852-1870) that Paris started to change to its present features. Napoleon III entitled George Haussmann with the responsibility to transform Paris into a modern capital city, with the creation of parks and gardens, a sewage system, theatres, hospitals and the administrative division it has nowadays. Agostini followed closely many of these changes that modernized the old Paris.

The period he lived in Paris was very fertile for the formation of artists. The

city was a central cultural marking point in Europe, and a reference for many artists. The papers that published caricatures also flourished; and to pick one of them out was difficult. Therefore, at a very young age, Agostini has circulated within this environment, which must have certainly had influence on the development of his work.

*... by the time when I was 14 years of age, I had the same practical knowledge of life than a society man, a son of a [good] family by his 20s...*

*From that age I carried the seeds of some virtues, that later transformed me from a boy into a fine man: the great sensitivity cultivated in my spirit for the love, almost fanaticism inspired in me by the melancholic figure of my mother: the mysterious rapture that dragged me towards Beauty and all the Arts in all of their forms: and finally, the deep hatred I devoted to hypocrisy, to superstition, to the robe and to the poisonous Jesuitism – all of which I saw in the frightening and sinister image of the drunk and corpulent being that fathered me by the means of a crime.<sup>12</sup>*

We can notice at the beginning of the excerpt a statement of an increased maturity on behalf of the subject of the biography, who states having gained knowledge and experience that would be beyond his biological development. It's known that Agostini had come to Brazil at a very young age and, in all biographical references, there's information that he has arrived here already with an artistic formation. This statement of maturity does not contradict his biographers.

Later, Cabrião speaks of his spirit, inclined to the Arts and points out to the possible influence of his mother. Raquel Agostini, who was a lyric singer, might have probably provided a very rich artistic environment to her son, even though she was occasionally absent, touring.

Cabrião makes a very negative reference to his father figure, who would have been a priest, and say that it's from

him that he inherited his hatred for the Church and for injustice. We don't have much information about Antônio Agostini, the artist's father. He would have been a violinist who passed away very early, depriving Agostini, still a kid, from the company of the presence his father.

*... I have made myself a man and an artist, a great artist, without the help of anyone else.*

*... It's curious the way I've made myself a useful man, finding me a job in a painting workshop, in Paris. That's how it happened:*

*On the surroundings of my mother's convent, there was a drawing workshop. The master was a grotesque figure, worthy of Hoffman's crayon, a living caricature, a fantastic being, a superb character that when I saw him, immediately woke up in me the humoristic genius, the caricaturist skill that was dormant in my soul...*

*... The old painter, my first victim, instead of being angry with my pranks, tried to get to know me, and declared he was ready to welcome me into his shop, and to teach me how to draw, because he saw in me an useful talent, etc, etc.*

*I accepted the offer, worked, and in a brief period of time was the trusted disciple of the good old man that had opened his arms to me. By my 20s I was already an artist, had a profession and the independent life of all of those who work.<sup>13</sup>*

It is very curious the way the character describes his artistic initiation, his "gift" for caricature and his brief stay in an atelier. Cabrião attributes an almost complete autonomy to his formation, with the exception of this painter whose name is not informed, who would have believed in his potential and offered him some space, material and knowledge.

According to our sources, Agostini doesn't make any reference to his education or to his influences. Although he hasn't stated anything about it, he appears almost as an autodidactic artist. Even the dictionaries and biographical articles speak of Agostini as a master, and say nothing about his formation. In an interview, his granddaughter Mari-

ana Villalba Alvim<sup>14</sup> says that her grandfather sent a determined sum of money to an old master painter in France, what is another clue about Agostini.

The reason why Agostini came to Brazil is not clear. We know that his mother married the Portuguese journalist Antônio Pedro Marques de Almeida and that the family has settled in Brazil. Agostini arrived in Rio de Janeiro in the company of his mother and, a short time after, went to São Paulo.

In another passage of Cabrião's story, his explanation about why he came to Brazil was the following: "... the America was then the *monomania* of almost every Parisian. To me, it was even more: my artist's dream, my future"<sup>15</sup>

After Agostini's artistic initiation in Paris, why not trying the luck in a young country, whose artistic activity was still very little and where new collaborations could be very welcomed?

In Brazil, Agostini found a scenery marked by colonial formation, with slavery, epidemic outbreaks, a poorly developed press and a still very precarious and restricted cultural life, very different from the French settings, but a very fertile terrain for his sharp pencil.

### Agostini at the Press

We don't know much about the first years of Agostini in São Paulo. There's an information, not confirmed by documents, that he would have worked as a foreman in the construction of a road, that linked Mauá- Raiz da Serra railway terminal to the city of Juiz de Fora, in Minas Gerais. If he took part in this work, he didn't prosper nor left any marks. . His life activity that has been registered in the history of Brazil has occurred in the press, more precisely since September of 1864, at the journal *Diabo Coxo*. This magazine represented a new enterprise in the press of São Paulo due to its format, which gave great prominence for caricature. From its eight pages, four were left to caricature. This kind of

journal, with emphasis on illustrations, became popular years later in Brazil and was the kind of the other magazines in which Agostini has worked.

The magazine was written by Luis Gama, a former slave, an abolitionist and a liberal, with the collaboration of Sizenando Nabuco<sup>16</sup> – younger brother of the defender of the abolitionist cause Joaquim Nabuco – and, of course, Angelo Agostini. This journal had a short life span, having ceased its activities in December of 1865.

We believe that during these first years Agostini's political ideas began to take impulse. His newspaper's colleagues Luís Gama e Sizenando Nabuco took very assertive anti-slavery stances. Luís Gama had felt the rigors of slavery on his own skin, even though he was son of a white Portuguese. As soon as he conquered his freedom in 1848, he began to fight for the liberation of the black slaves. He was also the oldest in the group: at the age of 34 he was a man with enough social and political experience to plant in youngsters as Agostini the seeds of abolitionism and liberalism.

By that time São Paulo was still a very small province, without great representation in the national political scenery. In the beginning of 1860, São Paulo had fewer than 30 thousand inhabitants, less than 50 streets and only one theatre. Its greatest feature was the Law School, with a little more than five hundred students, but and institution that formed men who had great relevance in the history of the country. Through the Law School halls have passed great idealists of the abolitionist and the republican causes, as well as exponents of Brazilian literature.

The Law School was a centre of dissemination of new ideas and of the education of the future government employees. Names such as Joaquim Nabuco, Aluizio Azevedo, Castro Alves, Rui Barbosa, Fagundes Varela, Prudente de Moraes, Bernardino de

Campos, among others, had the opportunity of debating and deepen essential fundamental issues of the country.

In September of 1866, Agostini, Américo de Campos<sup>17</sup> and Antônio Manuel dos Reis<sup>18</sup> have founded the *Cabrião*, a journal that followed the same editorial line of the former one, whose most relevant features were humor and caricature. According to Délio Freire dos Santos, the *Cabrião* “was incontestably the most well known journal of humor and caricature ever edited in São Paulo during the Empire”.<sup>19</sup>

Its attitude has always been critical, without leaving aside information and entertainment. The Paraguai War was a theme the journal has intensively explored, praising the patriotism of the soldiers at the same time it criticized the way of recruiting the volunteers. According to several historians, the Paraguai War was a very important factor in the disintegration of the Empire.

The image of D. Pedro II has always been respected during these first years – something that wouldn't continue in Agostini's work in Rio de Janeiro. There the Emperor would be the target of much criticism through jesting caricatures.

The editorial line of the *Cabrião* remained abolitionist, liberal and with Republican ideas.

Years later, Agostini would nostalgically recall the beginnings of his work and the colleagues at the *Cabrião*:

*It was with me that Américo de Campos made his debut in the press in 1866 at the illustrated paper Cabrião. We understood each other immediately. As we both were men of firm character and, it could be said, tempered as the finest steel, we've undertaken a genre of publication that was then a little known and a pretty risky.*

*Dr. Antonio Manuel dos Reis, , was also our companion, and a good person, but quite sanctimonious, who finally left the paper after some heated discussions with me, because I'd been painting some priests in the paper and Saint Pe-*

*ter with a pipe on his mouth – which entertained Américo very much, who laughed a lot.*<sup>20</sup>

The *Cabrião* faced financial problems. Besides that, the journal was prosecuted and had its office plundered. It eventually ceased to be published in 1867. On the same year Agostini went to Rio de Janeiro and started to work at *O Arlequim*, a journal who had several owners, passing through more or less conservative phases. Its name has also been changed several times. It was born as *Bazar Volante* and thus was named between 1863 and 1867. On that last year it becomes *O Arlequim*, where the caricaturists Joseph Mill,<sup>21</sup> V. Mola<sup>22</sup> and Flumen Junius,<sup>23</sup> who were all Angelo Agostini's work colleagues, have worked.

In 1868 it is named *Vida Fluminense*, when Agostini takes up its artistic direction (a position he has occupied until 1871). Cândido Aragonês de Faria,<sup>24</sup> Luigi Borgomainerio, João Pinheiro Guimarães,<sup>25</sup> V. Mola and Antônio Vale<sup>26</sup> have passed through the magazine. We observe that in these magazines the contact between the caricaturists is strongly present. Many of them maintained several artists at work at the same time, each one of them held responsible for one part of the illustrations.

In 1876 *Vida Fluminense* was named *O Figaro* and, in 1878, received the name *A Lanterna*, ceasing its activities that same year.

In 1872, Agostini went to the *Mosquito*, which existed between 1869 and 1877. This criticism and caricature paper belonged to Manoel Rodrigues Carneiro Jr., founder of the *Gazeta de Notícias*. The caricaturists Pinheiro Guimarães, Faria and Bordalo Pinheiro have also worked there.

It's in this magazine that the first caricatures by Agostini that commented on the Exhibition of Fine Arts of the Academy of 1872 were displayed. The artists reproduced drawings of the works exhibited followed by comments on the pieces.

In 1876 Angelo Agostini founded the *Revista Illustrada*, which was considered his greatest work and was already praised by his contemporaries, as Joaquim Nabuco, who called it an abolitionist bible, and even by others, as Herman Lima, who conducted a careful study about caricaturists in Brazil, and Monteiro Lobato, an important icon in Brazilian literature who compared Agostini's magazine in documental importance to the works of Debret and Rugendas, besides considering the artist the greatest talent in caricature in Brazil.

It is precisely this journal that concentrates the most part of the criticism and the artist's drawings related to the Brazilian artistic phenomena. It is also the journal that was headed by Agostini for the longest period of time: until 1888 the magazine was of his entire responsibility.

The pages of *Revista Illustrada* have staged major discussions about national issues, of the denunciation of violence against black people, of the presentation of a new social and political project for Brazil, based in a liberal republican regime, of changes in the artistic scene, of the consolidation of artists, among several other issues – all of it in the broadest manner possible, facilitated by the didactics of the illustrations. According to Werneck Sodré this was one of the reasons of the great success of the magazine.

... Evidently, it wasn't about providing well done engravings, or it wasn't just about that: it was fundamental that they were connected to national reality, that the audience could see itself through them, could find what they wanted and what was interesting to them. In a period of crescent agitation, when the great issues that would shake down the regime were surfacing, when essential or important matters were being discussed, it was required to amplify the influence, not restricting it to the cultivated, intellectualized, wealthy element.<sup>27</sup>

By the end of 1888, Agostini would have divorced the Portuguese D. Maria Palha, his first wife, and left to Europe

with his former student Abigail de Andrade, the daughter of an important farmer from the region of Vassouras – redoubt of conservatives and slave owners who had been severely attacked by Agostini through his magazine. In Brazil, Abigail gave birth to Angelina Agostini, after what she would have left to Paris, pregnant once again with an artist's child. There, a boy named Ângelo would have been born, dying shortly after, followed by his mother. Angelo Agostini remained in Europe until 1894, when he came back to Brazil, and didn't return to the *Revista Illustrada*, which has been sold to Luís de Andrade<sup>28</sup> in November of that same year. An old collaborator, Andrade had taken up the direction of the magazine when Agostini left, and remained in that post until 1898, the last year of publication of the journal.

We don't have the complete list of the collaborators of the magazine, but we know that among them were – besides Luís de Andrade, mentioned above – Artur de Miranda, José Ribeiro Dantas Jr. and Pereira Netto, a disciple of Agostini who took over the illustration of the magazine after the departure of his master.

When Agostini left to Europe, he had a broad circle of friends. This information comes from a note published by the *Revista Illustrada* that enlists some of these friends who were present on the event of his boarding. Among these names are artists, literates, politicians and traders, besides, of course, active members of the abolitionist movement, such as the president of the Abolitionist Confederation João Clapp, among other less known characters as Seixas Magalhães, who kept in his property in Leblon a *quilombo* responsible for the production of camellias – the symbol flower of the abolitionist movement – which even supplied the imperial palace.<sup>29</sup>

Among these good friends we've noticed Dr. Joaquim Nabuco, Mr. João Clapp, Mr. José do Patrocínio, Dr. Monteiro de Azevedo, Baron of

Jaceguay, Dr. Demerval da Fonseca, Mr. Rodolpho Bernardelli, Mr. Zeferino da Costa, Mr. Insley Pacheco, Dr. Álvaro Alvim, Mr. Seixas Magalhães, Mr. Antonio Andrade, Mr. Ignacio Doellinger, Mr. Paula Ney, Mr. Bento Barbosa, Mr. Augusto Ribeiro, Mr. Eduardo Agostini, all the staff of *Revista Illustrada*, and still other people, whose names we can't recall.<sup>30</sup>

With Agostini's departure, the magazine lost much of its combativeness and originality. In 1889, with the advent of the so acclaimed Republic, the magazine becomes partial towards the new regime, always acting to applause the new government without formulating critical considerations, or often, remaining silent.

Our artist's stay in Europe is another gap we're not able to fill in. We might suspect that due to the circumstances in which he left Brazil, he may have made enemies of great influence and, therefore, it might have been convenient to stay away for a while. An excerpt of one of his letters, published at the *Illustrada* seems to corroborate this hypothesis: "I don't know if I will be able to come back next winter, but, as soon as possible, I will follow there, anxious to meet again all of these good friends from the difficult times. Besides that, I miss very much our country – now twice as free – where I've spent the best days of my life."<sup>31</sup>

Another suspicion is that Agostini may have employed his stay in Paris to dedicate himself to painting – an activity the artist has never abandoned. When he returned to Brazil, Agostini took part from 1895 until 1909, almost without interruption, of all of the general exhibitions of the National School of fine Arts.<sup>32</sup>

In 1895 he founded the *D. Quixote*. Would Agostini now feel he was the lone ranger, fighting the invincible windmills as in Cervantes' story? His ideals of a Republic weren't fulfilled, and the abolition of slavery didn't result in much social progress. Facing this new political setting and after several years away

from the country, his prestige wasn't the same anymore, but he still believed in the power of the press.

The magazine lasted until 1903, but lacked the same success of the previous publication. After this enterprise, Agostini would only collaborate with other journals, such as *O Tico tico*, a children's magazine published between 1905 and 1959, founded by Luís Bartolomeu. He has also collaborated with *O Malho*, a magazine founded in 1902 that would last through the first half of the 20th century, ceasing its activities in 1954. In this journal Agostini has published his last works, a proof that he already wasn't as renowned as the great man of combat he once was. He also lacked the space in the press and the recognition of the Republic he had fought for.

*The man who had played that most important role, that was a potential individuality in solving the national problem of the abolition of the slaves and in the demolishing criticism of the wrongs and shames of the past regimen, has died a poor man, deprived of any official assistance and, on the event of his funeral, not even one representative of the Republic authorities was present, of that same Republic which had been the direct consequence of the abolition [of the slavery]...*<sup>33</sup>

### Agostini and the Art Criticism

The criticism Angelo Agostini made through the caricatures and text shows us the great uneasiness of the artist towards the fine arts. His political concerns permeate all of his work and give the tone of his opinions. Something that as never been noticed before in this work by Agostini is, precisely, his political militancy, his not-exemption.

The politics was a constitutive part of everything Agostini did. Even though he never assumed an institutional political position, he expressed through his work clear anti-empire and anti-slavery beliefs. Therefore, the institutions linked to the Empire or that defended the actions of the government weren't

seen with good eyes by the critic. This is the case, for example, of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (IAFA). Its partnership with the Imperial government would immediately link it to backwardness and injustice – characteristics commonly imputed to the government.

One of the main reasons that made Agostini to see backwardness and backlash in the IAFA was, precisely, its connection to the imperial government, which, according to the critic, besides being the great responsible for the hindrance of the country's progress, would also demand the production of an art that would advertise for the Empire. However, it was under this "authoritarian" government that journals like the *Illustrada* could exercise their "freedom" of criticize and contest the government and the Imperial Academy. Wouldn't we arrive here at a paradox? Or, perhaps, would the silence of Agostini about contradictions like this one reveal a political stance of choice and discourse?

In his art criticism, Angelo Agostini put forward many issues raised by Gonzaga Duque, who is regarded as the major Brazilian critic of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Among the frequent statements are the importance of studying in the perfecting of the artist and the little favorable conditions met in Brazil. On the following excerpt by Gonzaga Duque, highlighted by Chiarelli in the Introduction of *A arte brasileira*, this connection is clear: "... In a country under the same circumstances in which Brazil is at present, only a long period of studies and much meditation can make the artist rise up to his deserved place of giving him the elements for his independence of thought and action".<sup>34</sup>

In Agostini's statements it's common to observe his disillusion with Brazilian artistic environment, which is considered very poor, and his constant exhortation to the artists to study and perfect themselves in order to produce independently, away from the Academy. The critic always mentioned to the art-

ists who have improved themselves, as Henrique Bernardelli and Firmino Monteiro. He also advised the artist, when commenting on a specific work, to apply himself to studying more, because this would be the only way to correct some flaws. That's the case, for example, of the painter Castagnetto, who had a work exhibited at Ouvidor Street in 1887 – considered a monarchist redoubt at the time –, who, without being named, received from the critic the following advisement: "Do everything possible to leave Rio de Janeiro and go to Italy to study. And after studying a great deal, you shall see that you still have a lot to learn, but will be painting a hundred times better than today".<sup>35</sup>

Agostini took very firm stances towards artistic phenomena. In an article entitled *Palestra*, the critic comments on the status of fine arts at the time:

*In all respects, the situation of the artists in Brazil is lamentable.*

*The audience, rather unprepared to the artistic movement, not always give the artists the subsidy they're worthy of, and that are indispensable for their lives.*

*The State, when spending some, is always moved by political spirit and for pledges.*

*There's a permanent crisis that obligates the artists to abandon their ideals, to travel as peddlers and to take care of works for commission instead of works of art.*<sup>36</sup>

It's interesting to observe that the analysis of the situation doesn't ignore the public sphere, essential for an enlargement of the art market. Perhaps that's the reason why Agostini was so careful in divulging works of art on the magazine, in order to make them reach the largest number of people. The way in which Agostini presents his criticism is also a way of educating the gaze and the opinion of the public. The critic teaches them ways to see art.

He also analyses the role of the government, rendered as modest, but the single one, and yet conducted by interests beyond the artistic field. That's

the reason why such a little number of artists could engage themselves in a promising career.

As it must be clear at this point, the greatest target of Agostini's criticism was the Academy of Fine Arts and all it represented. According to the critic, it was a vicious, corrupt and reactionary institution. Its problems ranged from the teaching staff, regarded as weak and unprepared, passing through the teaching methods employed to the organizational and physical structure of the institution. Agostini even claims that anyone who truly wanted to learn should run away from the academy or never would manage to become a real artist.

Agostini's criticism, besides targeting the academy, also touched the issue of the art criticism of that moment, as well as the artists and their production. His opinions vary from a certain humor, occasionally permeated by acridness and great freedom to mention artists and pieces he may or not have liked, besides his great irony.

Regarding art criticism, Agostini's opinion was very severe. According to him, the criticism was not constructive. It was made either to unconditionally praise the artists, or, on the contrary, to destroy the possibilities around them. In short, it was a criticism without measure or limits of good sense.

Concerning the works of art, his criticism consisted in either appreciating them or not; however, he always considered the artist's trajectory in his evaluation. He usually made a comment on how the artist had made some good pieces, but didn't succeed in that particular case. Or, on the contrary, that the artist had made progress and had a great future. There were, still, those who had always been considered great artists and whose every new piece only added to their talent, and also those considered incapable of the artist's role.

Here we face another paradox in Agostini's reflections. The critic has

always enforced the idea that an artist's education required a great deal of study and, to accomplish that, he recommended art centers such as Italy, regarding the IAFA a completely incapable teaching facility. However, if it is the study that prepares the artist, how was it possible that there were some individuals rendered incapable to do exercise that job? Would be a "gift" be needed in order to be lapidated by studying? How would it be possible, then, to determine who might possess such a "gift"?

According to the critic, the fine-arts had already reached such a complicated and difficult stage that a wide and radical reformulation would be required.

*... But it is necessary, indispensable a complete reform, a replacement of the teaching faculty; because whenever the students have painting professors who don't understand drawing, landscape professors that don't understand nature, sculpture professors that have no notion of art and architecture professors that are retired masons, the academic teaching will be forcibly harmful, corruptive and fatal to the arts.<sup>37</sup>*

Agostini has also used the pages of his *Revista Illustrada* to call the attention to pieces of art and artist he considered valuable and talented, creating a counterpoint to the official artists as Pedro Américo and, mostly, Victor Meirelles – who was the greatest representative of the official art. Not only Meirelles never had a single note of appraisal by the critic from the *Illustrada*, but, on the contrary, has been the target of the most caustic comments, as we can see in Agostini's opinion about Meirelles project of making a landscape of Rio de Janeiro. "We make vows, then, that this unfortunate and *panoramic* idea doesn't go any further; we can't sanction with our support a subscription that demands a fabulous amount for the execution of one of the greatest foolishness possible, and that might only serve to expose us to ridiculousness overseas".<sup>38</sup>

As opposed to what is noticed about Victor Meirelles, the greatest example

of an artist, the one who should be followed, was for the critic the sculptor Rodolpho Bernardelli, who had his image associated with true art, with the most sublime production of an artist. Bernardelli was the "great genius artist" for Agostini.

It's certain that there was a great friendship between both of them, what could justify, in part, the promotion of the artist's image. But it's certainly a relationship that surpasses the purely personal sphere, since Bernardelli has been elected by the critic as an alternative to the Academy of Fine Arts, as its greatest counterpoint, an example endowed with all the virtues of a great artist. During the period when Agostini had been ahead of the *Revista Illustrada*, the sculptor had his entire trajectory followed and divulged, in images and in text.

*Until today, however, the sculpture has only given signs of life in countries filled with artistic tradition, where the cultivation of beauty passes from generation to generation through a phenomenon of hereditariness, where it's possible to say that's a component of the popular blood.*

*We didn't know of any young country, disorganized, in a thrilling evolution which suddenly, as in a bold answer to those that rendered the holy art as a monopoly of the ancient nations, could reach out its arms to Greece or Italy. This honorable originality belongs to us, so may it come, at least, to compensate the patriotism of so many disappointments!<sup>39</sup>*

The portrait by Bernardelli was also the one who received the greatest attention among so many others divulged by the magazine. His figure, in the form of a bust, was printed among some of his most expressive works until that date (1885): *A faceira, Santo Estevão, Busto em bronze* of the doctor Montenovesi and the *Christo e a mulher adúltera*. The lithography takes up the two central pages of the magazine. Furthermore, a series of three articles bearing the name of the sculptor as the title was dedicated to him, besides many other notes and quotes.

Although Rodolpho Bernardelli has been the critic's most praised and privileged artist, others have also deserved laudatory notes by the critic, being among them Firmino Monteiro, Arsênio Silva, Luigi Borgomainerio, Henrique Bernardelli and Georg Grimm.

Borgomainerio was respected by Angelo Agostini, who recognized in him a master, someone to be followed; besides that, the caricaturist, painter and drawer had – as well as Agostini and his colleague Bordalo Pinheiro – a strong anticlerical activity. The work of these caricaturists was similar in its satiric tone, which they mastered with great agility.

In his *História da caricatura no Brasil*, Herman Lima highlights many qualities of Borgomainerio, comparing him to Bordalo Pinheiro for his great technical domain of caricature drawing. “In fact, the Italian caricaturists was distinguished from all others artists of the genre, who had appeared among us until that time, not only for the perfection and originality of his cartoons,<sup>40</sup> in which the lithographic work went side by side with the drawing, as in a special verve, a satiric tone never seen in Brazilian journalism before”.<sup>41</sup>

Borgomainerio has acted in Brazil for a short period. He arrived here in 1874 to work in the *Vida Fluminense* and eventually passed away in 1876, already working at the journal *O Fígaro*, victim of a yellow fever epidemic – something quite common in Brazil at the time. The artist had already worked for successful humoristic papers in Europe, such as *Spirito Folleto* and *Mefistófeles* from Naples, *Pasquinbo* from Turin and *Fischietto* from Milan. He had an excellent control over the drawing technique and has even been compared to Gavarni<sup>42</sup> by the *Gazeta de Notícias*, such was the recognition of his work by the press.

Agostini has observed and recognized Firmino Monteiro's trajectory. Monteiro was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1855, stud-

ied at IAFA, was a student of Zeferino da Costa and Victor Meirelles, among others. He spent some time advancing his studies in Europe, something that was highly valued by Agostini, who, at a certain point, said that the artist had great merit in achieving his freedom from the precepts of the Academy. The artist took part in a few general exhibitions and was dedicated to the painting of landscapes, historical painting and painting of genre. In 1882 he had his portrait printed on the first page of the *Revista Illustrada*. His portrait was made as a bust with a palette and brushes at his right and vegetation at the back.

On the same edition of the magazine there's a text that highlights his work ethics, his great dedication to his art, his energy, his confidence and his satisfaction in being an artist.

... *Very much on the contrary of the idle habit of the most part of our artists, Mr. Firmino doesn't weep for his luck as an artist nor complains about the lack of taste of the audience, neither courses the moment he became a painter...*<sup>43</sup>

The temper of the artist was very valued there. It's worthy to remember that, at that point, he had painted the picture *Fundação da cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, what is mentioned in the text and clearly makes reference to *Primeira missa* by Victor Meirelles. Maybe there is a questioning about Meirelles work that, as mentioned earlier, wasn't appreciated by Agostini.

Arsênio Silva was the introducer of the gouache technique, unknown or not employed in Brazil until that moment. This had granted him great prestige, although later the artist has died, almost forgotten.

It's precisely on the year of his death that the photographer Insley Pacheco promoted an exhibition of Arsênio's artwork, an occasion in which the critic of the *Illustrada* rendered him homage and recognized the initiative of Pacheco's work.

Georg Grimm was remembered several times by the critic of *Illustrada*, whether by exhibition's announcements, by comments on exhibited art pieces or even by the approval of the artist's teaching methods, the painting of landscapes “*en plein air*”. The quality Agostini most valued in Grimm was certainly his activity as a professor.

Georg Grimm, specialized in landscapes and founder of the Grimm Group, adopted an innovative posture in the teaching of landscapes when he took the students out of the atelier and put them to observe nature and paint “*en plein air*”. He has also been a professor of landscapes at the Academy for a short period of time, but sufficient to win the critic's support.

The prominence of this artist in Brazil began in 1882, when more of than a hundred of his pieces were exhibited at the Society for the Fine Arts in Rio de Janeiro (*Sociedade Propagadora de Belas Artes*). The press reacted in a positive way. According to Carlos Maciel Levy: “Even though the landscape continued a depreciated genre of little prestige, it was impossible to ignore the vigor and the importance of the art work of that German man – so little known, but of such vibrant and unexpected qualities for the shy artistic environment of that time”.<sup>44</sup>

The Landscape Chair of the Academy – whose previous occupant, Leôncio da Costa Vieira, had prematurely passed away in September of 1881 – was vacant. Under these circumstances, and facing the success accomplished by Grimm, the press started to draw on the need of appointing a new professor to the vacant chair, and who would be a better candidate than Grimm? Although the Academy had opposed to his hiring, it has eventually happened – according to Levy, as an imposition of the Ministry of Business of the Empire.

Henrique Bernardelli had his talent recognized by Agostini and, besides that, was the center of one of the greatest dis-

cussions of the criticism of the 19th century, between Gonzaga Duque Estrada and Angelo Agostini. At first, Agostini dissatisfactions towards the critics as a hole, which wouldn't have acknowledged Henrique's talent and, as a consequence, his exhibition wouldn't have reached its deserved success. Agostini claimed that Brazilian criticism wasn't capable of recognizing a great artist. The critics would have said that Henrique was a "hope", a term with which Agostini has disagreed. How would it be possible that Henrique, who took care of his formation in Italy, who had a good production, could represent only a "hope"? He was already a consolidated artist. Thus, when the article signed by Alfredo Palheta at *A Semana* questions technical issues in the painting by Henrique Bernardelli, Agostini, under the pseudonym X, responds with harsh words: "But we couldn't let through so much nonsense and pedanticism on the part of an individual who has the petulance of wishing to pass for a specialist to the eyes of the audience, when, in fact, he is nothing but an ignorant".<sup>45</sup>

Agostini contests the technical issues on the writings of A. Palheta, refuting every observation. As an artist, Agostini certainly judged himself to be more qualified to make references of this kind, while Duque Estrada lacked an artistic background and, therefore, competent to make such considerations. To illustrate this, we reproduce below an excerpt of the critic, being the first sentence by A. Palheta and the comment by Agostini.

*I also notice the excessive use of blue tones and violet shadows, already in the figures and also in the landscapes.*

...-

*If the illustrious critic had the trouble to think, he would see that the figures and the landscapes made en plein air can't avoid participating in the blue of the sky: since it is blue, all the parts that are not illuminated by the sun shall be inevitably blue, especially in the most distant plans.*<sup>46</sup>

Angelo Agostini has also praised, commented and criticized several other artists in their caricature salons, an artistic genre very developed in France, or better, a Parisian peculiarity, whose origins are in the 18th century. At that time some publications employed irony and humor rather than serious criticism to comment on the art works exhibited in the official Parisian salons. At the beginning, little illustration has been used. "Il s'agit là d'un genre, en effet, d'une formule spéciale de compte rendu humoristique par l'image..."<sup>247</sup>

These caricature salons have been published on the pages of contemporary journals or in single albums. Since the decade of 1840 they've started to gain strength. "D'une manière générale, dans en plupart des journaux à caricatures ou tout simplement à images, le salon, textuel ou imagé, est encadré, pris entre l'autres épisodes de la vie sociale et culturelle".<sup>48</sup>

Thus, it's possible to observe that these salons are full of reference to that society and to its debates. The ideas circulated with the images. For an observer of our times some of these details may pass unnoticed, since it's difficult to have access to all of the codes of a specific society, in a determined time and place. However, the caricature salons have contributed

with a sense of popularization of the art pieces, since the memorization of a cartoon, for its comical effect, is easier than remembering an art piece. In the same way, the caricaturist may be able to interpret the meaning of the popular appreciation of the art works.

Angelo Agostini has also created his own "caricature salons". Some of its characteristics, as its form, its humor, its drawing and subtitles are similar to the French genre, but Agostini had his own singularities. The identification of the names of the artist and the piece of work is the trade mark of his production, in contrast to the French case, where the names were rarely present. His comments had to be directly addressed to the authors, after all, the critic aimed to either establish a dialogue with them, or to reach their greatest target: the official institution and its production.

His caricature tracings lacked the agility and the simplification of the tracings observed in some French journals specialized on this technique. Even though there are differences between his work and the work done by the French caricaturists, it's not necessary to consider these differences in a hierarchical scale that evaluates one in detriment of the other. To reflect on Agostini's work allows us to find traces of a memory that criticized the political, artistic and social system of Brazil during the Second Empire. Therefore, this opens another possibility of confrontation of documents and discourses – an essential activity of the historiographer's work.

*English version: Daniela Ferreira Araújo Silva*

<sup>1</sup> Joaquim Nabuco, son of a slave owning family, was born in Recife in 1849. From the beginning, his contact with slavery would have gained his sympathy for the abolitionist cause. He studied Law in Recife and São Paulo, and was colleague of Rui Barbosa and Castro Alves. He followed a career in

politics, and fought for abolition of slavery side by side with José do Patrocínio, Joaquim Serra and André Rebouças. Although he had always remained a monarchist, he acted in the Republic as a diplomat. Nabuco believed that slavery was the greatest hindrance in the progress of Brazil.

<sup>2</sup> *O Paiz*, Rio de Janeiro, 10th of October, 1888, p. 1. Free translation.

<sup>3</sup> Free translation. By the "institution that 'fortunately prevails'" the author means the slavery. *O Malho*, Rio de Janeiro, year IX, n. 385, January of 1910.

<sup>4</sup> *Gazeta Artística*, São Paulo, 30th of January of 1910.

<sup>5</sup> *Revista Ilustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, 1876, year I, n.06. p.2

<sup>6</sup> Luigi Borgomainerio was an Italian painter, drawer and caricaturist, who came to Brazil in 1874, after a short period in Argentina. Being an artist very renowned in Italy, he took part in successful humoristic papers in Europe, as *Spirito Foletto*. In Brazil, he has worked at the *Vida Fluminense* and, later, at *O Fígaro*, until he passed away in 1876, due to the epidemic of yellow fever that year. On the event of his death, the press, including the *Revista Ilustrada*, paid him several homages. He was known for his intense anticlerical activity, as were his colleagues Agostini, Bordalo Pinheiro e Faria. His art was very original, of great perfection and with a satiric tone. He has been renowned and respected in his time.

Rafael Augusto Bordalo Pinheiro was a Portuguese caricaturist of renowned talent, who has illustrated in Brazil between 1875 and 1879. His style, irreverence and satiric acridness granted him great success. He criticized the clergy, politics and habits. He began his collaboration in Brazil at *O Mosquito*. Bordalo has illustrated an entertaining volume about the voyage of D. Pedro II to Europe – who remained one of his favorite characters. He possessed great love for the Theater, due to his youth aspiration to be an actor. Therefore, this kind of art has always found its space on his works. As a result of his clear, straight-forward and direct activity, he made several enemies, having suffered two attempts against his life in Rio de Janeiro. He also entailed a long debate with Agostini, which was displayed through many pages in the press. Finding himself in a difficult situation in Brazil, he decided to return to Portugal to continue with his artistic work there. He was also a ceramist. The Brazilian papers in which he has worked were *Berlinda*, *Lanterna Mágica*, *Psit*, *O Besouro*.

<sup>7</sup> CAVALCANTI, C. & AYALA, W. (Coord.) *Dicionário brasileiro de artistas plásticos*. 4 v. Rio de Janeiro / Brasília: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1973-1980.

<sup>8</sup> VELHO SOBRINHO, João Francisco. *Dicionário bio-bibliográfico brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro: [s.n.], 1937.

<sup>9</sup> CAGNIN, Antonio Luiz. “Agostini, Quadrinhos *Comics Funetti*?”. In: R. *Italianística*, year III, n. 3, p. 29-55, 1995.

<sup>10</sup> MELLO E SOUZA, Antonio Candido. *Literatura e sociedade*. São Paulo: T. A. Queiroz; Publifolha, 2000 (Grandes nomes do pensamento brasileiro). p.153

<sup>11</sup> *O Cabrião*, São Paulo, 1866, n. 2, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Idem, n. 3, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Idem, *ibidem*, p.23

<sup>14</sup> Mariana Alvim, daughter of Laura e Álvaro Alvim, granted an interview to Marcus Tadeu

Daniel Ribeiro in 1988. The interview is included in the interview’s master’s thesis as an Appendix: RIBEIRO, Marcus Tadeu Daniel. *Revista Ilustrada* (1876-1898) – “Síntese de uma época”. Rio de Janeiro: December of 1988, UFRJ. Mariana passed away in Brasília in 2002.

<sup>15</sup> *O Cabrião*, São Paulo, 1866, n. 13, p. 102. Author’s emphasis.

<sup>16</sup> Sizenando Barreto Nabuco de Araújo was born in Recife in July 16th of 1842, and died in March 11<sup>th</sup> of 1892, in Rio de Janeiro. He was son of the counselor José Tomas Nabuco de Araújo. He graduated from the Law School of São Paulo in 1860. He was a Theater enthusiast, wrote plays, was a deputy in the Provincial Assembly, and general deputy representing the Province of Pernambuco. He also exercised the function of public prosecutor.

<sup>17</sup> Américo Brasilio de Campos, son of Bernardino José de Campos, was born in Bragança, SP, in August 12th of 1835. He graduated in Social and Juridical Sciences in the Law School of São Paulo. He has worked at the *Correio Paulistano*, São Paulo, 1867-1874, at *A Província*, also in São Paulo, printed between 1875 and 1883, together with Francisco Rangel Pestana. He was a defender of the liberalism and of the liberation of the slaves.

<sup>18</sup> Son of Alexandre Antônio dos Santos, Antônio Manuel dos Reis was born in São Paulo in 1840. He graduated in Social and Juridical Sciences in the Law School of São Paulo in 1862. He was a catholic, with connections with the Church. He worked for *Brasil Católico* and for the *Apóstolo*.

<sup>19</sup> *Cabrião*: weekly humoristic publication, edited by Angelo Agostini, Américo de Campos and Antônio Manuel dos Reis; 1866-1867 / Introduction by Délio Freire dos Santos. 2. ed. Revised and complemented. São Paulo: Ed. Unesp, Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 2000.

<sup>20</sup> *D. Quixote*, Rio de Janeiro, 1900, year VI, n. 113.

<sup>21</sup> A French artist based in Brazil and thought at wealthy families’ homes to initiate their children in the appreciation of Arts. He also did portraits, landscapes and illustrations, besides caricatures. He associated political caricature to social caricature in the style of Henrique Fleiuss. He has collaborated with *Bazar Volante* (1863-67), *Ba-ta-clan* (1867-68), *Mequetrefe* (1875) and *O Fígaro* (1876). His drawings were blunt and rough, but had a great satiric tone. According to Herman Lima, he was one of the first to do humoristic parody, followed by Agostini. He died in Rio de Janeiro between 1879 and 1880.

<sup>22</sup> He was a caricaturist whose identity is yet to be determined. His work showed strong French influences. He worked at *O Arlequim* and at the *Vida Fluminense*.

<sup>23</sup> Flumen Junius, as he was named by *Semana Ilustrada*, besides being a caricaturist, wrote prose and poetry. His name was Ernesto Augusto de Sousa Silva e Rio. He has collaborated with *O Mosquito*, *Vida Fluminense*, *Semana Ilustrada*, among others. He was a respected caricaturist at his time. He passed away in Rio de Janeiro in 1905.

<sup>24</sup> Cândido Aragonês de Faria was a brazilian caricaturist. Founder and owner of *O Mosquito*, he also collaborated with *O Diabrete*, *Vida Fluminense*, *O Zigue-Zague*, *Pacotilha*, *Mefistófeles*, *Ganganelli*, *O Fígaro* and *Mequetrefe*. It’s important to note that, according to Herman Lima, Faria would have been one of the few caricaturists that were not influenced by Agostini. He died in France.

<sup>25</sup> He was one of the first caricaturists of the press. He started his career at the *Semana Ilustrada* in 1863, then worked in the journals *O Bazar Volante*, *Vida Fluminense*, *O Mundo da Lua*, among others. His drawings were clear and easily assimilated. It seems his career has ended at the *Vida Fluminense*.

<sup>26</sup> Antônio Alves do Vale de Sousa Pinto was born in 1846, in Portugal, and came to Brazil in 1859. He did landscapes, portraits, drawings, caricatures and lithography. He was a brother of the Portuguese painter José Júlio Sousa Pinto. He worked at *O Lobisomem*, *Vida Fluminense* and *Mequetrefe*. He had great influence of Agostini’s style.

<sup>27</sup> SODRÉ, Nelson Werneck. *História da Imprensa no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1966, p. 255.

<sup>28</sup> Luís de Andrade was born in Pernambuco, in November 20th of 1849. He has studied in Portugal, but never finished his superior education. He started his work at the Portuguese press with Bordalo Pinheiro, at the journal *Lanterna Mágica*. Andrade was also one of the permanent writers of the *Revista Ilustrada*, under the pseudonym of Julio Verim.

<sup>29</sup> Information presented in the article by SILVA, Eduardo. “Camélias da Abolição: as flores subversivas do quilombo do Leblon”. *Nossa História*. Rio de Janeiro, year I, n. 07, May of 2004, p.26-31.

<sup>30</sup> *Revista Ilustrada*. Rio de Janeiro, 1888, year XIII, n. 518, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Revista Ilustrada*. Rio de Janeiro, 1889, year XIV, n. 573.

<sup>32</sup> In 1898, Agostini took part in the *Exposição Geral* (General Exhibition) with ten paintings and in 1901, with the work *Aurora* – in exhibition today in the Casa de Cultura Laura Alvim in Rio de Janeiro. In 1904, he has exhibited three of his works and in 1907 and 1908, with one work each year.

From what we could verify in the catalogues of the National Museum of Fine Arts (MNBA),

the artist never presented the same work twice in none of these exhibitions – what gets us closer to the hypothesis that at the end of his life he has dedicated himself more to painting.

At the Casa de Cultura Laura Alvim, we have found eight canvases attributed to Ângelo Agostini. Only four of them are in exposition, and only two of the later are signed.

Unfortunately, some of the canvases are in a desolate condition, and it's almost impossible to identify what has been painted. Furthermore, the paintings are not maintained under adequate storage conditions, what impairs even more their state of conservation.

The institution lacks registries of origin of the paintings, as well as dates, titles or any other information besides the size and the description of the paintings.

It's deplorable that these works are left forsaken, without the chance of being known, identified and studied, completely abandoned by our competent political institutions.

<sup>33</sup> *O Malho*, Rio de Janeiro, year IX, n. 385, January of 1910 (text published on the event of Agostini's death).

<sup>34</sup> DUQUE ESTRADA, Luiz Gonzaga. *A arte Brasileira*. Introduction and notes by Tadeu Chiarelli. Campinas (SP): Mercado das Letras, 1995, p. 29.

<sup>35</sup> *Revista Ilustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, 1887, year XII, n. 459, p. 6 e 7.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> *Revista Ilustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, 1879, year IV, n. 187, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 1885, year X, n. 419, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 1885, year X, n.420, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Note of the translator: The original article feature the word “charges”, which in Portuguese may refer either to gag cartoons or to political (or editorial) cartoons.

<sup>41</sup> LIMA, Herman. *História da Caricatura no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Ed., 1963. 3 vol. p.872

<sup>42</sup> Guillaume Sulpice Chevalier (1804-1866), was a

French caricaturist and lithographer of the 19th century, who worked at the *Charivari*. He was also an aquarellist and an illustrator of books. He lived in London between 1847 and 1851 where, touched by the miserable life conditions of the poor classes, he employed his talent to call the attention to the social problems.

<sup>43</sup> *Revista Ilustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, 1882, year VII, n. 297, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> LEVY, Carlo Roberto Maciel. *O Grupo Grimm: paisagismo brasileiro no século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: Pinakothek, 1980, p.25.

<sup>45</sup> *Revista Ilustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, 1886, year XI, n. 444, p.3 e 6.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3 e 6.

<sup>47</sup> CHADEFEAUX, Marie-Claude. “Le Salon caricatural de 1846 et les autres salons caricaturaux”. In: *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, March, 1968, p. 161.

<sup>48</sup> CHABANNE, Thierry. *Les salons caricaturaux. Les dossiers du Musée D’Orsay*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1990, p. 8.

## The formation of the sculptor Rodolfo Bernardelli in Italy (1877-1885): an analysis of his trajectory from primary sources.

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This article is the result of a research about the formation of the sculptor Rodolfo Bernardelli (Guadalajara, Mexico, 1852 - Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1931), made during the production of our masters dissertation in the Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas from the Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences of the Campinas State University), completed in 2005.<sup>1</sup> Bernardelli, along the painters Rodolfo Amoedo (1857-1941) and Henrique Bernardelli (1858-1936), belongs to a generation of students of the Academia Imperial de Belas Artes - AIBA (Imperial Academy of Arts), located in Rio de Janeiro. During the decades of the 1870's and 1880's, these

artists tried to renovate art in the country by trying to break away from some canons of academic tradition. The understanding both of this questioning and of the new propositions made then, will allow us to better know the characteristics of Brazilian art production, related to AIBA, during the end of the 19th century. We will also understand its possibilities of change and rupture.

Bernardelli entered the Academy in 1870. He had as professor of sculpture Francisco Manoel Chaves Pinheiro (1822-1884). In 1874, Bernardelli naturalized Brazilian. He received a prize in The International Exposition of Philadelphia, in 1876, with the sculptures *Missing the tribe* (Saudades da tribo) (1874) and *Prying* (À espreita) (1875), both related to the Indianist theme. Still in 1876, he received the First Gold Medal in the 24th General Exposition of Fine Arts with *Davi, winner over Goliath* (Davi, vencedor de Goliath) (1873), a piece of work “within the Classical spirit which dominated the Academy”.<sup>2</sup> He also received the Prize of Foreign Trip from AIBA, with

the relief *Priamus begging for Hector's body* (Priamo implorando o corpo de Heitor). Between 1877 and 1885, he was sojourner in the Academy of Rome. In this period, the artist studied with the sculptor Giulio Monteverde (1837-1917) and got acquainted with Achille D’Orsi (1845-1922) and Eugenio Maccagnani (1852-1930), among others.

The trajectory of Rodolfo Bernardelli, in this period, was recovered through the analysis of primary sources, data that, for its most part, had remained not studied. This analysis let us form a novel vision about his Italian experience.<sup>3</sup> A specially relevant factor used during our masters research, that helped immensely our work, is the existence of a group of letters<sup>4</sup>, official documents and manuscripts from Bernardelli himself. With these it was possible, for instance, to better understand the elaboration process of what is considered Bernardelli's main piece of work in this period: *Christ and the adulterous woman* (Cristo e a mulher adúltera) (1881-1884) (Fig. 1). As our research has shown, this piece represents

the first monumental marble group to enter the Academy collection, and it represented a great investment made by the Institute for Bernardelli's formation. This is so not only because of the material itself which was used, but also because the artist's sojourn abroad was extended. Similarly, we could analyze, through the survey of the texts published then, the reception of the works made in Italy, when they were exhibited in the artist's first personal show, at AIBA, in 1885.

Before he made Christ and the adulterous woman, Bernardelli had produced, in Italy, two other religious related works: the bas-relief *Fabiola* (Fabíola) (1878) (Fig. 2) and the sculpture *Saint Stephen* (Santo Estevão) (1879) (Fig. 3). In *Coquettish* (Faceira) (1880) (Fig. 4) he returned to the nationalistic theme, the Indianist subject, but presented it using a new formal treatment. Besides, in Italy the artist made a series of busts, when he made representations of well known people, for instance *Czech* (Checa) (1877) or *Montenovesi* (Montenovesi) (c. 1882), where he displayed great technical control.

Among other documents, the sentences passed by the professors of AIBA turned out to be essential sources for the understanding of how Bernardelli's Italian works were received in the Institute. For instance, in the sentence passed by the Sculptor Section, presented in a Congregation session of 11/9/1882, in the part regarding the sculpture *Saint Stephen*, we can perceive the Academy disapproval of the saint's too realistic expression. But at the same time, through the extremely detailed manner in which the piece is described in this official document, we come to the conclusion that the professors realized that the piece was very well made, in a way that it passed on sentiments through the way the saint's body was represented:

*The protomartyr of Jesus Christ's religion is moribund, the excessively hard pains inflicted on him through the martyrdom is perfectly*

*expressed in his physiognomy, and in all the fibers of his still young body. In this supreme trance he rolls his eyes to heaven, with a gaze surpassed by the most excruciated agony, and the physical pain, and the (unreadable) hope of glory, which is drawn, is rare perfection, all over this statue, from the disbeveled hair in his head to the contracted toes of his feet. This expression, way too realistic, here substitutes that ascetic sentiment which should prevail in the Christian martyrs souls and, specially in the Saint's, chosen by the sojourner because he was the first to shed his blood as Christ's confessor. In the Section of Sculptor's opinion this is the natural and almost unavoidable result of the sojourner's attachment to the Realist School. This school is not accepted by the actual Congregation of the Academia Imperial de Belas Artes, because it is the faithful guardian of the good Classical Arts tradition, which was given to it by its talented founders.<sup>5</sup>*

The *Coquettish* sculpture is described in the same document and constitutes the most praised piece by the professors. Nevertheless, in our view, its good acceptance is due to the fact that it was considered a gender sculpture, where greater innovations were allowed. Despite the restrictions, the woman's naturalistic body and its provocative posture were noted, as is possible to conclude from the reading of the document:

*This statue of natural grandeur is a very beautiful woman figure of the American race, lubricious and provocative. The movement is gracious, the proportions were well observed, the modeling was done with knowledge. This statue belongs, due to its subject, to the Gender Sculpture, and so the Realist School which the sojourner has adopted, here, is admissible, nevertheless, if the peregrine talent that has conceived and made it, with so much courage, had focused on the Idealist School, it could have produced a master piece.<sup>6</sup>*

Rodolfo Bernardelli, possibly, already left Brazil with some knowledge of Realism. In the relief which granted him the "trip prize" he may have found inspiration, for its main figure, in the work *Dead Abel* (1842), from the Tuscan sculp-

tor Giovanni Duprè (1817-1882). Celita Vaccani emphasizes that the artist had known foreign pieces of work, in this period, through newspapers and magazines.<sup>7</sup> *Abel* was a work made by Duprè in the beginnings of his career, and was derived from his studies with Lorenzo Bartolini (1777-1850). Its a natural size statue, that renowned Duprè with the title of "verism pioneer", even though, later in his production, this tendency became softer. According to Jason<sup>8</sup>, what shocked and fascinated the audience about this work was the artist's carelessness, he did not dissimulate the anatomical consequences of death in the character's physiognomy, that showed empty eyes and an open mouth. It is not a simple image of the dead Abel, for the author represented, there, a corpse abandoned in the desert. Through the figure of Achilles, in Bernardelli's relief, it is possible to perceive that the sculptor, even before he traveled to Europe, had already as reference a polemic statue, due to its strong naturalism.<sup>9</sup>

In a manuscript from 1877, Bernardelli defined his contact with Realism:

*Having I just introduced myself to the study of sculptor art, although I had obtained a bronze medal in the Universal Exhibition of Philadelphia, I found this art in a latent state of transition, since the Romantic School was almost dead, Realism was beginning its domination over the new spirits. A year before, the greatest sculptor so far had passed away, Carpeaux. Regarding artistic sculpture evolution there was almost nothing going on. Realism had as its program the attentive study of nature and life. The Romantic theory, with the fall of the Empire (in) 1870 was fading away, Zola succeeded Balzac and he was the first to start Realist Art.<sup>10</sup>*

The artist mentioned Carpeaux (1827-75), the important French sculptor that had caused polemics with two works from de 1860's: *Ugolino and his sons* and, mainly, the group *The dance*, made for the Opera of Paris. We do not know, for sure, what did Bernardelli

know about Carpeaux, but, with certainty, he already had heard of his polemic works. We believe that, besides the sculpture- *Tarcisus Martyr Chretien* (1868), from Falguière (1831-1900), Bernardelli could have found inspiration for his *Saint Stephen* sculpture in Carpeaux's figure of one of the young Ugolino's sons. Nevertheless, the exacerbated Realism that characterized Italian Art, in those years, surprised the young artist when he arrived:

*I visited the B (unreadable) Academy, the modern works, and I got disillusioned with myself due to my ignorance of the psychological aspect of the artistic movement. The sculptures, then, tried their best to imitate the natural form, I saw some beads of old women laughing, with all the sores of the old skin, the only thing missing was that they had hair implants, I did not like it and I told Prof. P. Am° (Pedro Américo) so, who told me that this was the Modern School.<sup>11</sup>*

In Italy, Bernardelli got acquainted with sculptors and painters that made works of art with a very innovator character. This relationship can be perceived in the pieces that he makes in that period and, also, in his later Brazilian production. In a letter dating from 1929, already a senior man, he regrets the death of some artists he met in Italy, possibly during his Italian sojourn: (...) there, in Italy, several friends of mine, as old as I, have left. That's how it goes, one leaves and others come, these that left, however, were very prominent: Gemito, D'Orsi and Michetti, and will not be replaced any sooner, most probably only by the Futurists.<sup>12</sup> In this document, we can see how relevant, it was to him, the production of those Italian artists, Vincenzo Gemito (1852-1929), Achille D'Orsi (1845-1929) and Francesco Paolo Michetti (1815-1929), in comparison with the works of the Italian vanguard.

Nevertheless, the choice for the Realist School was not an easy one for the artist. In the sentences passed by the Academy, and even in his personal correspondence, we observe, many times, the

critics of professors and colleagues regarding this option. In a letter addressed to Maximiano Mafra, Bernardelli comments that his school had attracted to him antipathy and that his works had been compared, by some students in the Academy, to "cast puppets, like the ones the Italians sell on the streets".<sup>13</sup>

From what we were able to perceive, Bernardelli had a quarrel with his sculpture professor, Chaves Pinheiro, in the very first years in Rome, most probably due to the Realist tendency that he had been presenting in his works. But the young sculptor had the support of the Emperor. In a letter addressed to the Count of Gobineau, Peter II wrote enquiring about an artist "born in Brazil, but from Italian family, that studies in the 'atelier' of the sculptor Monteverde. I believe him to be very talented".<sup>14</sup> The Count, that was in Rome in 1878, answered the monarch: "I got informed about the young sculptor Bernardelli, of whom your majesty talks about. I saw in his home a big bas-relief which is being made for the Academy in Rio: the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian. There is a lot of talent in the work and Mr. Bernardelli showed himself to be a hard working man with a very distinct spirit".<sup>15</sup> Peter II, then, thanked him for the news "about little Bernardelli".<sup>16</sup> This situation can also be seen in the report of the painter José de Medeiros (1849-1926), in a letter addressed to Henrique Bernardelli, from 6/20/1881. In the letter, Medeiros comments that Chaves Pinheiro had just made a "puppet", with the name of Saint Sebastian. According to Medeiros, Peter II, while visiting the Academy, turning himself toward Rodolfo Bernardelli's work, had said: "The eyes of this one, this one has life inside it, that other one is dead". Medeiros goes on: "My colleague Chaves Pinheiro almost set the Academy on fire".<sup>17</sup> The quarrels with Professor Chaves Pinheiro go on while *Christ and the adulterous woman* was being made. About this, Bernardelli wrote, in 1882:

*I do not understand why he declares himself to be my enemy now! I have never done anything to him (...). I will always remember him as my first master. As to him finding everything I do as bad is his right, the artist is, unfortunately, open to this, and should not get surprised, nor try to persuade himself that what he does is all good. The continuous and conscientious work kills and throws down all the obstacles, I will get there, if God helps me, certainly it will not be Mr. Chaves who will take away from me what should be mine.<sup>18</sup>*

However, it is possible to notice that in minor works, which were not part of the sojourner duty, Bernardelli would present more freedom in his execution. In some busts, made in the following years, for instance in the portrait of the painter Modesto Brocos (1883), the sculptor reveals formal proximity with some portraits of Vincenzo Gemito, for example *Michetti's portrait* (1873). Another of Bernardelli's work, *Head of Capri island's villager*, without date, reminds us some aspects of Neapolitan sculpture of those years. In this work, the artist keeps a dialogue with *Head of Sailor* (c.1878), from Achille D'Orsi. Lamberti points out<sup>19</sup> that D'Orsi's sculpture corresponds to the taste for the sketch, related to Verism, of a close relationship between folklore research and scientific classification. The junction of picturesque and the faithful documentation of uses and types of the Neapolitan world became a commercial hit in this period. Lamberti alerts for D'Orsi's careful portrait of the bonnet, the earrings and the apotropaic medal of the character. We can find a similar reference in the paintings of Francesco Paolo Michetti (1851-1929) and in sculptures by Gemito. Later works of Rodolfo Bernardelli, made in Brazil, for instance *Baiana* (Baiana) (c.1886)<sup>20</sup>, where he depicted common people, probably represented a renovation in the country's gender sculptor, and they can also indicate a taste for this kind of sculpture.

On the bust *The artist's employee in Rome* (O empregado do artista em

Roma) (1881), Bernardelli shows interest in the representation of Ancient Rome's characters, getting closer, by this, to the works Achille D'Orsi made in the end of the 1870's.

Some of the pieces made by Bernardelli in his Italian sojourn were sold by the artist himself, after they had been displayed in local shows, as a way of complementing the money sent by AIBA, which he shared with his brother Henrique. This is seen in a letter of 8/21/1881:

*In the Popolo Exhibition, which takes place annually, I displayed two terracotta heads, from which I believe I sent you some pictures, they are named Furba and Gígetto.... all the newspapers cited (them) as among the best, and some wrote things, the best for me, was to sell them, I am obliged to do so, I have to sell because AIBA's money is not enough, as you very well know, we are two....<sup>21</sup>*

In another letter to João Maximiano Mafra, Bernardelli writes: "I have [an idea of making] a small group, which I intend to send to the next Salon, what holds me back is the question of time, it would otherwise be an actual subject (name of the work is unreadable) something to sell".<sup>22</sup> We can conclude that, regarding those small sized works, the artist would choose contemporary themes, making, most probably, gender statuettes, which were easier to sell. It is important to notice that Bernardelli tried to mingle with the Roman artistic atmosphere. Since 1877, he belonged to the International Artistic Association of Rome and he tried to send pieces for the annual shows of the city. Some of these works, as he himself reports in the quoted fragment, were commented in a positive manner in the local newspapers.

### **The marble execution of Christ and the adulterous woman (1881-1884)**

The piece *Christ and the adulterous woman* was made by Rodolfo Bernardelli in Rome, between 1881 and 1884. From this work on, Christ became a recurrent

figure in the artist's production, present in tomb pieces and small statuettes.

The cast sketch of the piece also belongs to the collection of the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, in Rio de Janeiro, and was approved by the Congregation of Professors of AIBA, in 1882. In the cast, the artist had not yet projected the realistic effect of the mantle, one of the recognized qualities of this sculpture. In a letter to Maximiano Mafra, Bernardelli affirms that he still would have to make many changes, that Christ's tunic will not be that same one, "at least [I] was promised, after I had finished the work, to be sent a real tunic, that is, a Hebrew one, which, If I am not mistaken does not have such large sleeves, like the one I made".<sup>23</sup> Christ's head also changes enormously. In the beginning, it had been portrayed wearing a skullcap, with both hair and beard molded in a different way. On the other hand, the adulterous character is the one closest to its final result, with only some small differences, like the woman's dorsum, which is partially dressed up in the cast, whereas in the marble piece it appears nude. Also her legs, covered in the cast, can be seen in between the open parts of her dress in the marble piece. In this way, the character gains sensuality.

This sculpture began to be produced around March, 1883, when the marble began to be roughed-hew by three stonemasons, who worked every day.<sup>24</sup> In July, the sculpture had not been concluded yet, being that, according to the artist, "there were huge difficulties to be conquered".<sup>25</sup> Most probably, it began to be made by Bernardelli from the second semester of 1883 onwards.

In the many drawings that the artist made, while studying the image of Christ, we can perceive a special care towards the anatomy and, also, towards precision of movements of both arms and legs. The study of the character, initially nude, and then, dressed up, was made in different positions. In some

drawings, we can see that Bernardelli studied the position of the hair around Christ's face. Regarding the mantle, which appears in one of the selected drawings, it is possible to perceive that the artist was concerned with working the right texture of the tissue and the draping of the mantle.

Regarding the formal models used for the sculpture *Christ and the adulterous woman*, one of them could have been an engraving about the same subject, a Bible illustration done by Gustave Doré (1832-1883) [Fig. 5]. As it is pointed out by Luciano Migliaccio, at the sketch made for the painting *Christ in Cafarnaum* (Cristo em Cafarnaum), by Rodolfo Amoedo, at the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, the figure of a "static and furious Christ, circled by a light halo"<sup>26</sup> goes back to Doré's Bible illustrations. Knowing the affinities between the two artists, we believe that both could have used a similar source. Migliaccio also points out that, in the picture, we have a "reading of Christ's life done by Renan, who renovates Domenico Morelli's religious iconography in Italy, in those years".<sup>27</sup> Thus, we would have another point of contact between the sculptor and the painting, the use of Renan's writings. There are many formal similarities between Doré's engraving, regarding this Bible passage, and Bernardelli's sculpture: in Christ's attitude, who protects, with his body, the adulterous woman; in the long mantle that falls up to his feet; and also, in the way the woman, recoiled behind Christ, protects herself with her arms held in front of her. According to the biblical text, Jesus, while was being enquired, wrote in the ground using his finger. This inscription appears in the engraving, and also can be seen at the base of the sculpture, in Hebrew. In a similar way, on the marble pedestal, worked in geometric shapes, we can propose a reference to the column which can be seen in the back, in the engraving. One thing to be noted, otherwise, is that each piece

differs from the other regarding the expressiveness of the characters. Christ's extended arm, in the sculpture, with his open hand in front of him, is closer to a preaching gesture, and that makes him a more emphatic figure. On the other hand, the adulterous woman posture, with her face facing down and being held by one of her hands, gives us the impression of a much more inner attitude, if compared to the one presented in the engraving.

According to Millicent Rose<sup>28</sup>, the Bible edition illustrated by Doré gained success in the 1860's, because it was the work of a single artist. According to this researcher, Doré's engravings pleased a large public, because, besides not following the traditional iconography of the subject, in them, he tried to transmit a unique realism to the sacred story. As Rose points out, for instance, when Doré drew the story of Israel in Egypt, he did it based on the Egyptian collection in the Louvre. He used both modern archaeological knowledge and psychological realism, depicting the men in a way that a contemporary of the great novelists and of the new photographers would have done. Besides, the artist manifested, in his numerous drawings, a greater interest for Christ's personality, rather than for the character symbolized by him. He gave more attention to the individual than to the divinity. This can, probably, be traced to his contact with Renan's writings, which, at the time, made Christ's images compromise to the novel demands of realism and exactitude.<sup>29</sup>

Another thematic and formal model used for Bernardelli's sculpture *Christ and the adulterous woman* may have been Giulio Monteverde's *Judicious Virgin and Fool Virgin* (1866), which was, according to Francesco Priani, a work that the artist, as pensioner of the academy Ligustica, made during his first year of betterment studies in Rome, to be sent to Genoa.<sup>30</sup> Formally wise the two pieces have many similarities. For instance,

the figure's position which, standing up, holds with one hand an oil lamp and with the other inclines himself towards her in a gesture of supplication. The critic Vincenzo Marchese points out the Monteverde's fortunate choice when he chose to expose the evangelical concept using but two figures. That allowed him to clearly show the moral sense of the work through the contrast of the bodies: the Judicious Virgin, noble and delicate, and the Fool Virgin, massive and plebeian.

The body of the Fool Virgin shows evident naturalistic accents, and also a sense of earthly life. It is also said, talking about her, that the artist overdid himself, because the biblical text describes her as inadvertent, but not lascivious or regretful. Going on with this analysis, Marchese asks if the artist would have tried to express the easiness with which an imprudent soul can sin when it is deprived of the light of reason. For the researcher, this teaching can be similar to that old one, of Love and Psyche. It would show on Monteverde's sculpture as the Christian psyche opposed to the pagan psyche: celestial love confrontig earthly love. In the article addressed here, Francesco Priani<sup>31</sup> points out that we can already see the particular way through which Monteverde will, in the future, model the human body in his cemetery works. For instance, as it happens with some of his angels, like the one at the Oneto tomb, in the Staglieno cemetery in Genoa, which has a very beautiful and provocative body. In this piece, the naturalistic aspect contrasts with the metaphysical concept that was planned to be shown. The researcher also affirms that the ethical intent is almost always present in this sculptor's works. For instance, the sculpture *Edoardo Jenner tries in his own son the inoculation of the vaccine* (1873). In this way, we could think that the sculpture *Judicious Virgin and Fool Virgin* would have in common, with Bernardelli's sculpture, the moral-

izing theme, allied to the realism in the representation of the bodies.

In a similar way, by the use of the inscriptions and, essentially, through the production of the base in the sculpture, Bernardelli keeps on a dialogue with some of Achille D'Orsi's pieces. In the representation of an arid floor, contrasting with the softness of the characters flesh or with the texture of the tissues, the artist keeps an affinity with the Neapolitan sculptor. For instance, with *Religion at the desert* (1872) or with *Proximus Tuus* (1880). The base is incorporated to the rest of the scene, amplifying the realistic effect of the composition.

It is important to observe that, in the Turin Exhibition of 1880, the Italian sculptor Ettore Ximenes (1855-1926), admirer of the works of art made by Domenico Morelli and D'Orsi, presented a sculpture with the name *Christ and the adulterous woman*. Rodolfo Bernardelli, probably, must have visited this exhibition because, as it was possible to perceive, the artist had the concern of following the art shows in Italy and even in France. We do not know if the knowledge of the existence of this work influenced Bernardelli's sculpture, since it was not possible to obtain an image of that piece. At the Turin Exhibition of 1884, Ximenes presented *Judas kiss* (c. 1884), work in which the image of Christ is very close to the one that appears at the cast of Bernardelli's *Christ and the adulterous woman*. The similarities can be seen in the great tunic wore by Christ and in the use of the skullcap. It is important to stress that, at this same exhibition, the Brazilian sculptor presents, for the first time, his marble sculpture.

#### Art critic and Bernardelli's 1885 exhibition

In September of 1885, Rodolfo Bernardelli returned to Brazil. In October, the 16th, an individual exhibition of the artist was opened at the Academia Imperial de Belas Artes. It showed a

group of sculptures made in Rome. The next day, he was nominated professor of statuary at this institution. We can perceive the reception the works received at that moment because of the large press that surrounded the exhibition. It was commented many times at the first pages of the main periodicals of Rio de Janeiro, for instance, *Jornal do Commercio*, *Gazeta de Notícias*, *Gazeta da Tarde* and also in the *Revista Illustrada* and the *O Mequetrefe*, among others. The exhibition received, also, the visit of Don Pedro II. The newspapers also mentioned, on a daily basis, information about the visiting public.

Through the analysis of the critic, made during our research, we could perceive a concern by the authors of those texts of not only pointing out the artist's trajectory, since his ingress at AIBA, but also in describing the sculptures and some formal details. For instance, in a text with no authorship, published at the *Jornal do Commercio*, Bernardelli is presented as "one of the rare artistic talents that could be found in any country".<sup>32</sup> The author affirms that some of the pieces that were exhibited were already known to the public, like *Fabiola*, because when it was exhibited for the first time it caused great impact. About *Coquettish*, the journalist affirms that this late piece is a mist of correction and lasciviousness, maybe a exceedingly 19th century product, where, due to the sculpture's perfection and charm, the free and daring conception of the sculptor is forgiven. Next, he comments that Greek art would not allow the expression of feeling and physiognomy, because it was not dignifying for the gods. The copies of the Venuses that Bernardelli made in Rome are excellent works, as well as "the reproduction of two jewelries of classical art although we may judge that school not able to acclimatize to our century, because their absolute and complex beauties are totally ideal qualities, they do not exist in nature".<sup>33</sup> For the author, the thing that

shows off the most about the pieces that were exhibited is the sculpture *Christ and the adulterous woman*. Both figures are to be admired, Christ with the left hand protecting the woman and with the right one defying the lapidaries with no guilt, and the adulterous, who tries to hide herself among the folds of his tunic. At the characters bodies blood seems to run. The text ends with an affirmation that Bernardelli is a complete artist, in the full sense of the word, and, asks if the country is "large enough a theatre for this artist to run his notable talent and wisdom".<sup>34</sup>

In another article, also not signed, published at *O Paiz*, in October, the 16th, a summary of the sculptor's career is presented. His prizing in the Philadelphia Exhibition, with *Missing the tribe and Prying*<sup>35</sup>, his prizes given by the Republic of Venezuela are also mentioned, where he received the Bolívar medal, and the badge of honor in Turin, for *Christ and the adulterous woman*. The author also observes that the sculptor had received no prizes in Brazil and affirms that, on the other hand, he received distinctions from a country that dedicates all its care to the arts: he had been praised by Giulio Monteverde, who is quoted as the author of *Columbus*, *Franklin Genius* and *Jenner*, and had been saluted by Maccagnani, who immortalized himself with the sculpture *Gladiators* and was producing, back then, the statue of Garibaldi, to be sent to Brescia. In the text it is also noted that Bernardelli had gained respect from other famous Italian sculptors, like the Italians Girolamo Masini (1840-1885), and D'Orsi (assigned as the author of *Proximus Tuus*), and also the British sculptor Alfredo Gilbert (1854-1934), who studied in Rome those years. We would like to point out that Gilbert is considered by the researchers as a renovator of British sculpture, mainly with works like *Icarus*, where he resumes Renaissance models. In the *O Paiz* article it is noted that Bernardelli could have passed away the homages that were

given to other Brazilian artists, who only through his influence were able to appear in Italian exhibitions. The author of the article also affirms that the sculpture provokes an intense and profound impression upon the spectator, even when it is located in a room with dim light. He also points out that, for the first time, he feels dominated by national art: "if national can be called a Brazilian educated in Italy paid by Brazil".<sup>36</sup> Next, he describes the sculpture, and he stresses the magnificence of the figure of Christ, "that speaks up and moves and imposes in such a way, that any man get subjugated to that self-reliant expression, noble and distinct". The figure of the adulterous woman is also noted as having a physiognomy of "scare, shame and confidence".<sup>37</sup> The text goes on:

*Ways of academic tradition and conventions of statuary despised, this sculpture has, beyond all, color and movement, life and heat. The same marble gets modified under the target and transforms itself in different tissues and in flesh of various tons. The vests undulate and the figures are human bodies with the details of human nature.*<sup>38</sup>

In this article it is also mentioned an event<sup>39</sup> that can be understood as another element of the creation of a myth about Bernardelli, related to an old Greek story: the director of AIBA, a man used to the statuary, when he saw Bernardelli's sculpture, got closer to the figure of Christ to look at the feet and, with one of his hands, tried to lift the tunic, only then remembering that he had in front of him the cold marble. The text ends mentioning that Bernardelli had been nominated as professor of the Academy, but points out that there was not a place, there, for statuary classes. In this way, the artist would not leave his atelier, what, according to the text, would give him profit in order to "take care, seriously, of something that our government never assumed seriously".<sup>40</sup> In some articles published back then, besides praising the artist, there is a po-

litical opposition against the imperial government, for instance in “Ésthetica Imperial” (“Imperial Aesthetics”), published in the *Gazeta da Tarde*.<sup>41</sup>

A text from França Júnior about Bernardelli’s exhibition, published in a newspaper of that period, praises the success of the contemporary Italian art in Paris, through the Realist School and the gender sculpture:

*What is Italy, statutory wise, could be observed in 1873 in the Exhibition of Vienna, Austria, and in the last Universal Exhibition in Paris.*

*The name Monteverde alone was enough to glorify it, in the sumptuous artistic tournament of Prater!*

*The famous Fisherman by Gemito and the gracious Tufolina by [Odoardo] Tabacchi were the major successes of the Trocadero!*

*With a brilliant pleiad of sculptors, among whom we have, besides the ones mentioned, Dorsi, Masini, Maccagnoni and Donato Bracaglia, Italy, this sublime revolutionary, transformed completely the Plastic Arts.*<sup>42</sup>

França Júnior, who knew Bernardelli for a long time, shows in this text an extensive contact with the works of the artists that the sculptor met in his period abroad. Besides, because of the friendship that united the two Brazilians, he could describe with certainty the ideals of the artist in his youth:

*About ancient sculptor the young artist knew already, more or less, the excellence of some of the copies in cast from our Pinacotheca.*

*The Greek statues, on the other hand, did not satisfy his ideal aspirations. Those Antinoos, marvelously beautiful, but with a beauty drawn by severe and absolute laws, that could not be transgressed, running the risk of excommunication; those Gladiators, with exuberant muscles, exhaling the last sigh in academic positions, the Venuses, the Apollos, the Bacchuses, the Dianas, the Fauns, all that looked like convention, school.*

*His young ardent nature felt bad in that atmosphere.*

*He began to dream.*

*And in those dreams, like Columbus, catching a glimpse of America beyond the Atlantic, he also saw his ideal through the ocean.*

*His artistic instincts took him immediately to Italy.*<sup>43</sup>

The author goes on talking about Bernardelli’s work and its connection with Modern Art:

*Modern Art, on the other hand, should have as motto “it is only beautiful what is real” - it could not nor it would be licit to park, like a Sahara pyramid, on the old Olympic fantasies.*

*Modern Art proclaimed the revolution.*

*And from this revolution emerged the school to which Bernardelli is affiliated, and that was his dream.*

*The grandiose marble representing Christ and the adulterous woman, nowadays in exhibition at the Academia de Belas Artes is an eloquent proof of what was said.*

*The artist amazes us, above all, because he knew how to use truth to shape the two figures of the group in all their details.*<sup>44</sup>

The critic Julio Verim presents in the *Revista Illustrada* some comments on the role of sculpture in that contemporary moment. The author affirms that, after a long period of unjust condemnation, where sculpture was judged as an art that was only historic, unfit for the transformations that happen through time, and, “unable to reproduce the passions, the dramas and the epopees of the modern world”<sup>45</sup>, it began to be understood as “as rich in expression as its two congeners, it has been used, admirably, for the representation of heroism, of despair, of love or piety. The point is that those feelings should be inspired by those who comprehend them!”<sup>46</sup> In the same number, the *Revista Illustrada* presents, in double page, an illustration showing the main works of Bernardelli and a portrait of the artist. In a later edition, on the same magazine, a note comments the meeting between artists and men of letters in order to offer a dinner

party in homage to the sculptor. Among the ones present at the event were the main representatives of the press: Dr. Ferreira de Araújo, from the *Gazeta de Notícias*; França Júnior, from *O Paiz*; Arthur de Azevedo, from the *Diário de Notícias*; Valentim Magalhães, from *A Semana*; and Angelo Agostini, from the *Revista Illustrada*. Mr. Laet, from the *Jornal do Commercio*, was not able to attend the party. The group of artists was formed by professors and colleagues from AIBA: Zeferino da Costa (1840 - 1915), José de Medeiros, Belmiro de Almeida (1858 - 1935), Décio Villares (1851 - 1931), Felix Bernardelli (1866 - 1905), Pedro Peres (1850 - 1923) and Augusto Duarte (1848 - 1888). Through this note, and along our study, it was possible to perceive the relationship between men of the press and this generation of artists, and also the existence of a debate about the modernization of the arts in the country.

In our research, we are able to conclude that the qualities to which the critic gave more attention are the ones related to the expression of the figures, the beauty of the forms, the ability demanded from the artist to make the work of art and, mainly, to the relation of his works with contemporary Italian sculpture. It is our belief that Rodolfo Bernardelli’s modern propositions, both thematic and formal, consecrated the artist among the intellectuals of that period. Bernardelli’s production in Italy showed a tendency of presenting a delicate balance, which allowed him to be accepted by the congregation of professors, being a student, and to be promoted by the academic institution. At the same time, he tried to make works that were coherent with the new ideas that begun to appear in Brazil at the end of the 19th century.

*English version:*

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- <sup>1</sup> SILVA, M. do C. C. *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 – Prof. Luciano Migliaccio. Campinas, 2005, 271 p.
- <sup>2</sup> MORALES DE LOS RIOS FILHO, A. “Subsídios para a história da escultura, gravura e desenho do Rio de Janeiro (1889-1930)”. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional, 1973, v. 296, jul.-set.1972, p. 197.
- <sup>3</sup> In order to make the transcriptions easier, the writing of the manuscript documents was brought up to date. Regarding the articles of the magazines published back then, the orthography, the paragraphs and the printing errors were kept as in the originals.
- <sup>4</sup> For instance, an important group of photocopies of typed letters, written by Bernardelli and addressed to João Maximiano Mafra (1823-1908), secretary of the Academia Imperial de Belas Artes, which bring inedited data about Bernardelli’s stay in Italy.
- <sup>5</sup> Sentence passed by the Sculpture Section over Rodolfo Bernardelli’s works, while he studied in Rome, January, the 13th, 1882. Historical Archive of the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes/ Personal Archive of Rodolfo and Henrique Bernardelli. APO 196. Mine underscores.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*. Mine underscores.
- <sup>7</sup> VACCANI, C. *Rodolfo Bernardelli*. Rio de Janeiro: [s.n], 1949, p.53.
- <sup>8</sup> JANSON, H. W. *Nineteenth Century Sculpture*. London: Thames and Hudson, [c. 1985], p. 85-7.
- <sup>9</sup> According to Carlo del Bravo, the cast which was exhibited at the Academia, in the autumn of that same year (1842), provoked a scandal because it was believed to be a decal of the model. Dupré tells that the model, Antonio Petrai, was even denuded in order to, through comparison, prove it was a mistake. BRAVO, C. del. “Il bozzetto dell’Abele di Giovanni Dupré”. *Paragone*. Florence, 23, n. 271, p. 69-78. Set. 1972.
- <sup>10</sup> BERNARDELLI, R. [Manuscript]. Historical Archive of the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes / Personal Archive of Rodolfo e Henrique Bernardelli. APO 188. Author’s underscore. Mentioned in: WEISZ, S. de G. *Estatuária e ideologia: monumentos comemorativos de Rodolfo Bernardelli no Rio de Janeiro*. Dissertation (Masters in Art History) – Rio de Janeiro: Escola de Belas Artes, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1996, p. 58.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>12</sup> Letter from Rodolfo Bernardelli to Benjamin Victor de Mendonça. Rio de Janeiro, April, the 12th, 1929. Private Collection, São Paulo.
- <sup>13</sup> Letter from Rodolfo Bernardelli to João Maximiano Mafra, Rome, August, the 2nd. 1881. Author’s underscore.
- <sup>14</sup> GOBINEAU, A. D. *Pedro II e o conde de Gobineau: correspondências ineditas*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938, p. 235.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 244.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 248.
- <sup>17</sup> Letter from José de Medeiros to Henrique Bernardelli, Rio de Janeiro, June, the 20th, 1881. Historical Archive of the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes. APO 68.
- <sup>18</sup> Letter from Rodolfo Bernardelli to João Maximiano Mafra, Rome, March, the 17th, 1882. Historical Archive of the Museu Dom João VI.
- <sup>19</sup> LAMBERTI, M. “Aporie dell’arte sociale: il caso Proximus Tuus”. In: *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*. Pisa, série III, v. XIII, 4, p. 1088.
- <sup>20</sup> Gonzaga Duque refers to a sculpture by Bernardelli titled Hue!, which represents “a negro crioula from Bahia, holding a small basket of fruits, and that speaks up those words using a gracious antic”, exhibited in the Faro & Nunes Bookstore, in 1886. DUQUE-ESTRADA, L. G. *Impressões de um amador / textos esparsos de crítica (1882-1909)*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG / Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 2001, p. 111-2.
- <sup>21</sup> Letter from Rodolfo Bernardelli to João Maximiano Mafra, Rome, August, the 2nd, 1881. Historical Archive of the Museu Dom João VI.
- <sup>22</sup> Letter from Rodolfo Bernardelli to João Maximiano Mafra, Rome, November, the 24th, 1879. Historical Archive of the Museu Dom João VI.
- <sup>23</sup> Letter from Rodolfo Bernardelli to João Maximiano Mafra, Rome, August, the 2nd, 1881. Historical Archive of the Museu Dom João VI.
- <sup>24</sup> Letter from Rodolfo Bernardelli to João Maximiano Mafra, Rome, April, 1883. Historical Archive of the Museu Dom João VI.
- <sup>25</sup> Letter from Rodolfo Bernardelli to João Maximiano Mafra, Rome, July, the 17th, 1883. Historical Archive of the Museu Dom João VI.
- <sup>26</sup> MIGLIACCIO, L. “Rodolfo Amoedo. O mestre, deveríamos acrescentar?”. In: MARQUES, L. (ed.). *30 mestres da pintura no Brasil*. São Paulo: Masp, 2001, p. 35.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*. p. 35.
- <sup>28</sup> ROSE, M. “Introduction to the Dover Edition”. In: *The Doré Bible illustrations*. New York: Dover Publications, 1974, p. v-ix.
- <sup>29</sup> DORE, G. *La vie et l’oeuvre de Gustave Doré*. Paris : ACR, c. 1983.
- <sup>30</sup> PRIAN, F. *Giulio Monteverde, scultore. Genova: Università degli studi di Genova*. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, 1975-1976, v. 2, p. 88.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 13-4
- <sup>32</sup> BERNARDELLI, R. *Jornal do Commercio*. Rio de Janeiro, year 63, n. 288, p. 1, Oct., the 16th, 1885.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>35</sup> BERNARDELLI, R. *O Paiz*. Rio de Janeiro, year 2, n. 287, p. 2, Oct., the 16th, 1885
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.
- <sup>39</sup> The same account was given in an article by Somel. SOMEL.” Grupo em mármore: Cristo e a Adultera (impressões)”. *Gazeta da Tarde*. Rio de Janeiro, year 6, n. 248, p. 2, Oct., the 28th, 1885.
- <sup>40</sup> BERNARDELLI, R. *O Paiz*. Rio de Janeiro, year 2, n. 287, p. 2, Oct., the 16th, 1885.
- <sup>41</sup> “Esthetica Imperial”. *Gazeta da Tarde*. Rio de Janeiro, year 6, n. 237, p. 1, Oct., the 15th, 1885.
- <sup>42</sup> FRANÇA J. *Folhetins*. 4th. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Santos, 1926, p. 556.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 555.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 557.
- <sup>45</sup> VERIM, J. “Rodolpho Bernardelli”. *Revista Illustrada*. Rio de Janeiro, year 10, n. 420, p. 2, 4-5. Oct., the 31st, 1885.
- <sup>46</sup> BERNARDELLI, R. *Revista Illustrada*. Rio de Janeiro, year 10, n. 421, p. 6.

## Between the origin and the degradation: the first rehabilitation of the building of the São Paulo Art Museum

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The São Paulo Art Museum was founded in 1947, and during its early years it did not have its own dedicated structure. It was primarily housed in the building of the Daily Associates of publisher Assis Chateaubriand<sup>1</sup>. For the museum to have its own headquarters was a dream: with it, the museum could improve and extend its activities.

The construction of the proper building for the São Paulo Art Museum (MASP) took eight years of intense work. The persistence of the architect Lina Bo Bardi<sup>2</sup> and the engineer José Carlos de Figueiredo Ferraz<sup>3</sup> were fundamental to its completion. Both had been faithfully dedicated to the project of the new headquarters, working uncompensated. The result was the opening of a museum constructed with “meat, bone and blood,”<sup>4</sup> raised in rude and exposed concrete, enveloped by large glass sheets. It is extraordinary to note that the structure’s pillars stand 81 yards apart – a world-wide record, according to the literature. The museum would be the property of the City of São Paulo, which financed its construction, and it would be yielded in *commodatum* to the museum. Both City Hall and the MASP would share maintenance costs. Before this arrangement, expenses had been paid by Chateaubriand. After his death, few months before the inauguration of the new MASP, the Daily Associates ceased funding the museum<sup>5</sup>.

### Leaks

Shortly before its scheduled opening, the museum experienced its first leaks – in the main exhibition hall.<sup>6</sup> The

biggest concern of Pietro Maria Bardi<sup>7</sup>, MASP’s founder and director, was to protect the works of art and ensure they did not suffer damages. Considering that the building was newly completed, the problem was quite an awkward surprise. In Bardi’s view, the installation of the concrete flagstone waterproofing was certainly badly executed.<sup>8</sup> He believed this was due to the fact that the final finishings were hurried, so as not to delay the museum inauguration. The director alerted the construction company of the problem immediately.

While each party awaited a solution, the leak reached and damaged a painting.<sup>9</sup> Furious, Bardi contacted the party he considered responsible for the “true disaster,” the company that installed the waterproofing:

*Independent of any action to be taken by City Hall, in order to address this problem and end this outrageous incident, we request that you immediately solve the waterproofing failure. We must inform you that if a new leak appears, we will have to close the Museum to public visitation, and consequently inform the press of the cause of the closing and the responsible parties.*

The waterproofing company defended itself, insisting that its service was “perfect.”<sup>10</sup> It had also sent a report to the construction contractor and City Hall, where it reaffirmed a previous comment, “that the longitudinal beams must also be waterproofed – that they were left untreated was the actual cause of the water seepage and leak.” City Hall requested a budget for the waterproofing of the beams, which was approved and authorized by the construction company.

Just as this process was set to begin, architect Lina Bo Bardi intervened to stop it.<sup>11</sup> She explained to City Hall that the procedure would alter “the natural appearance of the concrete,” causing “serious aesthetic problems.” Such consequences, to her, were unacceptable. The concrete had to be “absolutely kept as projected,” that is, without any cov-

ering. As with Pietro Bardi,<sup>12</sup> Lina did not believe that the leaks came from the exposed concrete, but from faulty waterproofing.

Subsequent rains would generate 14 points of water infiltration, necessitating the removal of four works of art from the exhibition hall. To make City Hall or the construction company solve the problem, Pietro Bardi again threatened to close the museum and explain to the public the reason for doing so.<sup>13</sup> This tactic, however, did not work and the museum continued normal operations.

Lina came back from a European trip expecting to find the building “finished.”<sup>14</sup> In contrast, everything was “falling to pieces due to mismanagement by City Hall.” Beyond the existing leaks, dirt-bottomed reflecting pools and a viaduct were constructed next to the museum. The architect expressed her dissatisfaction and again she asked for remedies, strengthening her insistence that the exposed concrete be kept as designed. This time, however, she mentioned addressing “the pillar leaks,” not the beam leaks.

*I also want to solve the pillar leakage, to find a decent solution that doesn’t damage the concrete as a painting can, even an invisible coating. That type of workmanship would even further demoralize the building. With the ‘dirt-lakes’ and the pretty newness of the viaduct it’ll be soon one of the prettiest “naughtinesses” of São Paulo.*

Indeed, the points of water entry were not restricted to the roof of concrete flagstone – they were also present in the pillars. Once again we see Lina concerned with both the resolution of the problem and the preservation of the exposed concrete, which was crucial to the integrity of the building’s architecture.

In order to seal the leaks in the flagstone, in 1973 small portions of the original waterproofing were removed and these sites were treated with a new application of sealant. That is, almost

the entire original waterproofing was kept, for two reasons – the water was infiltrating only at specific points, and patching specific spots would greatly reduce the expense, which was paid directly by the museum.<sup>15</sup> This service would be guaranteed for a period of five years, and would expire at the same time as the guarantee of the first waterproofing, which had been assured for ten years. The price proposed by the waterproofing company was considered fair, and its proposal was accepted by the museum.<sup>16</sup>

However, the problem persisted. In 1978, at the end of both guarantee periods, a new and complete waterproofing would be made, this time paid for by City Hall. According to an engineer at City Hall, the waterproofing had failed with the passage of time.<sup>17</sup> The contraction and dilatation of the concrete flagstone had resulted in cracks – apertures where the rain water had penetrated. To adequately address the problem, it would be necessary to remove the material until reaching the underlying concrete, and then apply a new coat of waterproofing.

The matter was published in the press with the title: *Humidity, a danger to the works of art of the MASP*. Exposed to the public, this put the museum in an uncomfortable situation, particularly embarrassing its director, Pietro Bardi. In a reply to the article, Bardi affirmed that a problem with humidity didn't exist and whoever argued to the contrary was “a perfect imbecile.”<sup>18</sup> He stated that there was just “one or two little leaks that appear only during strong rains,” and that those leaks were equivalent to “thousandths of a degree of the imbecile's humidity.” To the director, eventual temperature and humidity fluctuations would be corrected by the air conditioning and ventilation system.

In order to safely begin the service, the City Hall engineer asked for pertinent information, including the maxi-

mum load the flagstone supported, so as not to put laborers and materials above the capacity of the flagstone on the roof. Bardi kept the tone: “This is a hard city – everybody has something to say. For eight years I have had to make repairs to the flagstone. I would like to catch fifty of these imbeciles and put them up there to fall down.”

His irritation had good reason: it was the museum's reputation which would suffer from accusations of irresponsibility. Certainly, Bardi's annoyance was directed more to the negative repercussions of the matter than to the poor engineer. To Bardi, City Hall was the party mainly responsible for the problem. When it did not act, he himself took care of the waterproofing. According to Bardi, at the time of construction, Lina had expressly recommended the services of a particular company whom she judged to be the most competent. Due to fiscal constraints, City Hall selected another company based on a more competitive bid. Soon after it completed its service, the first leaks appeared. The company responsible was called to provide the repairs, but it had gone into bankruptcy. Thus, the museum, with its short resources, started to undertake and perform its annual repairs on its own.

These in-house repairs, however, did not stop the leaks. In order to properly address the problem, City Hall would need to finance a professional waterproofing.<sup>19</sup> In the meantime, the leaks continued, as the museum's appeals to City Hall went unanswered. The museum would continue functioning under these conditions until it reached its breaking point.

#### More leaks

The second half of the 1980s was the most critical period for the MASP. Its problems were not restricted to the roof: cracks and spots in the concrete had appeared; the windows had

rusted; and cracks had developed in the flagstones of the street-level plaza. The building had gotten to the point that not only could the works of art be damaged, but the utility of the structure itself had become precarious. The image of the solid institution, strengthened by its architecture, was compromised by the appearance of precocious ruin. The imposing structure was, for the first time, fragile and threatened.

Among all its tribulations, however, the leaks in the exhibition hall were the most vexing.

In 1985, two engineers had been called specifically to evaluate the state of the roof.<sup>20</sup> During their inspection, they had observed that the waterproof thickness reached almost eight inches – well beyond the normal limits.<sup>21</sup> The explanation was simple: throughout the years, trying to plug the leaks, the museum applied successive, overlapping layers of waterproofing without removing the previous coats. With this, the building structure was overloaded with weight, reaching the equivalent of 200 pounds/square yard. This overload contributed to the extreme deformation of the flagstone, resulting in a “pool” of water six inches deep on the roof. This increased not only the risk of leaks, but also the weight on the roof and strain on the structure.

The engineers had concluded that the waterproofing had to be completely removed, and new waterproofing applied. The MASP did not have the necessary resources for this procedure. City Hall did not even supply the museum with sufficient amounts of money for regular maintenance; what it did provide was managed frugally by Bardi.<sup>22</sup> Donations to the museum only helped fund its normal activities and operations. Beyond this, entry to the museum was free for all, with the exception of some events at the museum's theatres. Thus, the question was: how to obtain the financing for the rehabilitation?

Clearly, the in-house repairs of the concrete flagstone were ineffective and actually harmful to the building. However, there was another problem: the exposed concrete of the pillars developed rust spots, resulting from the infiltration of water which reached the internal and exposed metal supports. This was due to flaws and imperfections in the construction process. To cure this pathology (and probably distrusting that the museum administration could act effectively by itself, as in the case of the waterproofing) the engineering office of Figueiredo Ferraz recommended a set of prophylaxis procedures to address the damages.<sup>23</sup> The instructions were very clear. Figueiredo was unremunerated – the assessment was a donation from him to the MASP. While the museum didn't have the funds to contract a specialized company, the solution was pragmatic: the employees of the museum could refurbish the exposed concrete. It wasn't the best solution, but at least the repairs were done in a professional manner, avoiding mishaps such as those that had occurred in the flagstone. Everybody was tired of waiting for City Hall to address the issues. The palliative attitude of the museum followed desperately from the negligence of the successive city governments.

Throughout the first part of 1986, at least three letters had been sent from the museum to the Department of Civil Works at City Hall, requesting support for the urgent building rehabilitation. The letters received no reply,<sup>24</sup> so Bardi personally appealed to the Cultural Secretary, Jorge Antonio Miguel Yunes, asking for his intervention in the matter.<sup>25</sup> This had positive results: the Secretary requested that Civil Works send a commission of engineers to inspect the building immediately.<sup>26</sup>

It is hard to understand why the Department of Civil Works, accustomed to receiving requests to repair buildings, didn't help the MASP immediately, of

its own volition. There are many possible reasons: resistance to considering the MASP as an institution belonging to City Hall; the attrition of personnel with successive administrations since the construction of the museum; a misunderstanding of the gravity of the situation; interpersonal or political relationships; the bureaucracy; etc. The most probable cause, however, is that Bardi's requests for repairs were perceived as orders or commands, which were not appreciated by the Department of Civil Works. This explains why Civil Works charged itself with providing an inspection report, but not a waterproofing service.<sup>27</sup> This is an example of the habitual tension between the museum and City Hall, seen in each step of the repair process.

With the report in hand, Bardi detailed the scope of what would be done:

*[...] a large and complete reform and restoration of the building structure, of all aluminum frames of the immense glass panes, the floor at the ground level, which forms the square, to increase the security against fire by expanding the water reservoir, the refurbishment of the electrical installation that has already aged 19 years [...] All these services and many others, including the most delicate ones, are not only for conservation or maintenance, but to rehabilitate, restore and recover the building.*<sup>28</sup>

Bardi didn't specify everything that was in the inspection report – he didn't need to. But there was a significant omission. The report indicated the “general treatment with an application of protective coating” on the “pillars, flagstone, beams and walls.”<sup>29</sup> That is, it recommended covering the exposed concrete. Certainly, Bardi deliberately ignored this recommendation. Perhaps the covering did not interest him at that moment due to the other urgent items. The museum prioritized the problems related directly to preservation of the works of art and minimized all others. To stanch the water infiltration was the most important thing. The remaining repairs were secondary.

To obtain the necessary funds for the rehabilitation, Bardi would attack on two fronts: he began a donation campaign to industry and business leaders,<sup>30</sup> and requested a complementary amount of money from City Hall. In the first case, his careful devotion would yield good results<sup>31</sup>. Bardi had high hopes for his request to City Hall, as it had recently approved the rehabilitation of the old Municipal Theatre, and surely the MASP deserved the same attention.

After much insistence on the part of Bardi, Mayor Jânio Quadros finally turned his attention to the museum. In order to begin the most urgent step – the roof waterproofing – City Hall ordered two new reports on the matter. The contracted offices were the same ones that had inspected the building in 1985: the offices of Dirceu Franco de Almeida and Figueiredo Ferraz.<sup>32</sup>

Both the reports had recommended essentially the same measures, but with one important difference. The first report, that done by Dirceu Franco de Almeida, was produced by an independent professional, with no ties to the museum. He suggested the installation of metallic roofing tiles on the covering, maintaining (with drawings and specifications) that the structure of the building would support the light load of this new element and that it would not modify the architecture of the building. The other report, written by the office of Figueiredo Ferraz, did not mention this procedure. In contrast, Ferraz himself criticized the idea of the roofing tiles, recommending the solution of the original project: simply the waterproofed flagstone. Ferraz disapproved of measures “that burden the structure with unacceptable additional loads or that compromise the architectural forms.” He emphasized that he was contacting Lina Bo “to search for a solution affording both the necessity of a good waterproofing, and respect for the aesthetic requirements.”<sup>33</sup>

If we consider that the “architectural forms” would change very little with the installation of the metallic roofing tiles (simply because not many people would ever see the building from above) and that their weight would not, in fact, put the structure at risk, then it becomes clear that the pride of the report’s author was more salient than his sense. Engineer Figueiredo Ferraz’s position was that of an artist (holding the integrity and purity of his workmanship above all else) rather than that of a technician (searching for the best solution to a practical problem). Clearly, his intransigency regarding the preservation of the architecture was a natural reaction for one who conceives of his solution as being the ideal. Ferraz correctly observed that the flagstone waterproofing was “a routine measure to be taken at least every five years.”<sup>34</sup> But he didn’t consider the financial difficulties of the museum (financed almost exclusively with public resources), which would be vastly alleviated with the inexpensive and simple maintenance of the aluminum roofing tiles. In the end, of course, the proposal of Figueiredo Ferraz won the competition.

Beyond the flagstone waterproofing, another alarming problem showed itself: the atypical deformation of the structure. The large water puddles on the roof were only one indication of this problem. Many more cracks had appeared in the flagstone, and the steel handles that supported the first floor showed considerable differences in tension – some were very slack and others very strained.<sup>35</sup> The solution would be to add new steel handles to the longitudinal beams.<sup>36</sup> To do this, it was necessary to inspect them internally.<sup>37</sup> The beams were hollow inside, having been filled with large empty wooden boxes to make them lighter without altering their structural behavior. These boxes are not removed after the drying process of the concrete – and thus they were dubbed the “lost boxes.” These “lost boxes”

were large enough to allow the entry of people. Thus, a window of access into the interior of the beam was opened to observe the state of the steel handles. The technician entered there and found some unexpected inhabitants – termites, which had found in the beams an ideal habitat: a humid environment and plentiful food. This was yet one more problem to be dealt with. Additional windows had to be opened inside the beams, enabling both a chemical treatment to exterminate the insects and the removal of all the “lost boxes.”<sup>38</sup> More sums of money were necessary and the rehabilitation seemed unending.

### Waiting

Although the negotiations were productive, the beginning of the actual work was delayed. In the meantime, approximately 40 leaks appeared in the ceiling of the main exhibition hall.<sup>39</sup> To prevent the water from reaching the works of art, initially it was enough to relocate them slightly. Basins were placed below the leaks, and around these were erected temporary white wooden walls which also served to support the relocated pictures.<sup>40</sup> This improvisation, however, didn’t work for long, and the art pieces would soon have to leave the main exhibition hall.

Part of the solution to this dilemma was proposed by Bardi – to negotiate the loan of the museum’s Impressionist masterpieces to the Milan Royal Palace. This would be of great benefit to the MASP – beyond preserving the works of art, it would also receive a donation of funds in exchange.<sup>41</sup> The complementary solution was to transfer the other works of art to the first floor, some to the temporary exhibition hall and the others to the museum storehouse.<sup>42</sup> The main exhibition hall was empty, waiting for the rehabilitation, and the other areas of the museum – its administrative area, the restaurant, the theatres and the library – continued functioning,<sup>43</sup> although the museum’s

ambiance was discernibly dampened for the museum employees.

The MASP operated this way for more than year, expecting the imminent rehabilitation. Meanwhile, the building agonized. The reasons for the delay were the accounts of City Hall: exhausted as always.

### Wrap Up

The rehabilitation would finally begin in the middle of 1988.

It was not advantageous to wait, but the result was better than anticipated. City Hall opted to fund not only the initial foreseen work, but also the inspection of the ventilation/air conditioning system<sup>44</sup> and the waterproofing of the reflecting pools on the plaza level.<sup>45</sup>

Before this, however, it was a priority to repair the waterproofing of the roof, clean the concrete by sand blasting and repair the windows. These improvements would be responsible for what became the visual landmark of the reform: a mounted metallic scaffolding raised around the building, serving as truss to the laborers, and which supported a large blue nylon blanket that would protect the pedestrians and the glass of the windows against accidents, as well as containing the solid particles expelled during the cleaning of the concrete.

The blue canvas was so impressive that comparisons to the works of art of Christo had been inevitable.<sup>46</sup> In fact, the presentation was reminiscent of some of his interventions. Lina appreciated the new visual of the building, but she didn’t foresee the failure of City Hall to pay the construction company.<sup>47</sup> This caused the discontinuation of the rehabilitation,<sup>48</sup> and eventually postponed – for almost one year – the removal of the “art installation” *a la* Christo. Once more, delays in the rehabilitation of the museum were caused by City Hall.

A funding campaign was sponsored by a bank<sup>49</sup> with the intention of forming a group of partners to support the

museum. However, in five months only the half of the capital to be invested was collected. An events company contrived another campaign, “Save the MASP,” that never got off the drawing board.<sup>50</sup> This effort would raise funds with a toll in the avenue in front of the MASP, where donators would receive a sticker and a coupon entering them into a drawing for a new car.

The need for resources put Bardi in an extreme predicament. If necessary, the museum would sell one of its precious works of art, *Baigneuse s’essuyant la jambe*, by Renoir.<sup>51</sup> The painting was valued at approximately 5 million dollars, enough to pay for the rehabilitation (estimated at 2 million dollars) with funds left over. This possibility generated much discussion and many reactions, most of them against the idea of the sale. In general, the consensus understood Bardi’s position but disagreed with it. One of the most vehement arguments was voiced by the actor Umberto Magnani: “If a museum needs to sell a work of art, we don’t need a museum. It’s like selling a car to buy gasoline.”<sup>52</sup>

The picture, fortunately, was not sold. Certainly, Bardi was more interested in the repercussions of the issue than in the loss of a relic. The MASP was able to reach an agreement with the new administration of Mayor Luiza Erundina at City Hall, which had led to the resumption of the rehabilitation.<sup>53</sup> To do it, the scope of the repair was reduced to the minimum necessary. City Hall would provide funds to clean and treat the concrete and repair the windows. The remaining work (waterproofing the roof and reflecting pools, and repairing the building interior) would have to be directly financed by the private initiative<sup>54</sup> and executed by companies contracted by the MASP.<sup>55</sup> The release of resources by City Hall was conditional on the MASP securing complementary resources, which it was committed to do from the state and federal governments and leaders in industry and business.<sup>56</sup>

The MASP obtained the complementary funding. Once more it collaborated with the office of Figueiredo Ferraz,<sup>57</sup> which provided its services for the project without remuneration.<sup>58</sup> The same arrangement had been made with the CBPO, the Brazilian Company of Projects and Workmanships,<sup>59</sup> and several other partners. In exchange, of course, the collaborators’ contributions would be noted in plaques in front of the building.<sup>60</sup>

The rehabilitation ended and the main exhibition hall would be ready for reopening in the first week of 1990.<sup>61</sup> Only repairs in the doors and blinds, work on the electric installations, the painting of the ceiling and general cleaning remained to be done. Moreover, a study to increase the illumination points was prepared.<sup>62</sup> The rehabilitation of the main exhibition hall seemed finally finished.

#### **Soft water erodes hard rock**

Alas, the leaks continued.

Where was the problem? The waterproofing was carefully executed. What points remained vulnerable?

The only way to find them was to conduct a test.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the roof’s drains were blocked and the cells of the flagstones were totally filled with water, one at a time, creating immense puddles on the waterproofed surface. The result was surprising: there were no leaks. The waterproofing was perfect.

However, when it rained and the wind blew, the leaks continued.

So, the workmen decided to conduct another test: submitting one of the great concrete beams to water spurts under high pressure.

After doing this, the cause finally was identified: the water passed through the exposed concrete beam, a highly porous material that facilitated the penetration and the percolation of water. The diagnosis of the company who did the first flagstone waterproofing in 1968 was

correct. Bardi’s comment in 1978 now gained full meaning<sup>64</sup> – the leaks had appeared only when the rain was strong; that is, when the pressure of the wind allowed the water to penetrate the beams.

We saw that the idea of covering the concrete was refused by the architect because it would cause “serious aesthetic problems.” At the end of construction, Lina not only opted to retain the exposed concrete, but also defended her decision against the argument that the beams needed to be waterproofed. The architect believed the exposed concrete was fundamental to the architectural expression of the building – a common option in the 1960s and 1970s<sup>65</sup> – and she didn’t expect such a choice to compromise the museum. After all of the problems throughout the years, finally coating the structural beams would mean recognizing a serious flaw in the project. The reputations of the museum, the building, the engineer and the architect would each be blemished. The heroic image of the Brutalist architecture would be damaged. A good explanation would be necessary to ensure that this did not occur.

#### **Fire engine red**

An ink company that knew what was happening at the MASP presented a proposal to participate in the “renewal of the façade of the building,” donating products “applied for decades world-wide to protect exposed concrete against deterioration, the attack of industrial gases and microorganisms.”<sup>66</sup> The “aesthetic and original characteristics of the exposed concrete” could be kept, or, if preferred, color and brightness could be applied.<sup>67</sup> Wisely, the initiative would be kept secret until the conclusion of the negotiations and it was certain that the work would be carried out.<sup>68</sup> Also, wisely, the proposal was directed to the architect Lina Bo Bardi.

The MASP accepted the proposal,<sup>69</sup> but instead of opting for a colorless

coating, an expressive color would be applied – a red – in order to further distinguish the structure of the building.<sup>70</sup> Some color tests were done until a tone was reached and selected by Lina: fire engine red.

The choice was a perfect one for the ink company's strategy, which put the problem of the MASP as "a cultural event" in a project involving architecture and memory.<sup>71</sup> The project was "created to stimulate the employ of colored inks in buildings, to humanize the large city environments." Moreover, it aimed to "reverse the trend of using inks in white and ice colors," which represented 70% of the national ink consumption.<sup>72</sup>

For the museum, it was an excellent chance not only to solve the unending problem of the leaks, but also to recoup and fortify the credibility of the institution. The change in the appearance of the building would be a turning point – a milestone. It was at this time that Globo Net, the biggest Brazilian television network, and Itaú, a prestigious bank, promoted a campaign to choose the architectural symbol of São Paulo.<sup>73</sup> Even the MASP was not chosen, the campaign would publicize its new appearance.

There remained the need to present a justification for the red painting. In fact, it was a technical matter – it was necessary to waterproof the beams. But why had they not been waterproofed before?

The solution was in the building's history. According to the architect, the idea to use the color red was an old one.<sup>74</sup> It appeared in some early elements of the architectural project: in the

first drawings, the gargoyles of the roof were red;<sup>75</sup> in a perspective, the dark ash of the flagstone is presented against a sky dyed in red; the "stairs-slopes" in the museum's civic hall had always been red;<sup>76</sup> and, moreover, Lina had, in fact, thought about painting the structure red, as indicated in a sketch probably done at the end of the 1950s.<sup>77</sup>

However, it had been the conclusive orientation of the architect to keep the concrete free of any painting or covering. This is clearly shown in the correspondence between her, the contractors and City Hall. The presence of red elements in the early project didn't matter. What mattered is how the justification for the red painting was presented to the public.

In general, the press published accounts along these lines:

*If the project of Lina Bo Bardi was considered audacious in 1968, when the São Paulo Art Museum was inaugurated, its impact would have been even larger if the four great beams of suspension had displayed the red color they now do. The original and vanguardist idea of the architect was retaken to solve water infiltration problems that have persisted for the three years of the building's restoration. As Lina's staff architect, Marcelo Ferraz, remembers, the painting fulfilled a dual purpose: to its technical function was added an aesthetic one.*<sup>78</sup>

The red color as the "original idea" was incorporated into the mythic origin of the building: the glorious history of the MASP resurfaces in postponed triumph. The painting was discarded in 1968 because "its impact would have been even larger" – perhaps because the Brazilian military dictatorship saw the color red as subversive; and Lina,

as we know, was a communist. Furthermore, the facts were never totally clarified, and were only partially explained, with distortions. For instance, "infiltration problems" did not only persist "for the three years of the building's restoration," as the article claims, but since before its inauguration – for more than twenty years. But this was a delicate moment for the museum: the honor of the MASP could not be besmirched beyond what was done by the rehabilitation itself. The reluctance to assume responsibility for the error was based on a desire to preserve the reputations of the museum, the building, the engineer and the architect as heroes, not villains, of history. This was a defensive attitude that, as Georges Duby recalls, "obviously exaggerates the merits, concentrating all the light on them, and keeps in the shadows what was less glorious – even erasing that which could tarnish the image."<sup>79</sup>

A significant change occurred at the same time as the visual transformation of the building: Bardi yielded the directorship of the museum to Fábio Magalhães, who had assisted him for months before, especially with the problems during the rehabilitation. The nonagenarian *professore* declined the offer to be the museum's honorary president. He led the museum for more than forty years, doing more good than harm. He deserved to rest. One stage was ending and another beginning, renewing insistent hopes for a better MASP.

*Translation: Alex Miyoshi*

*Revision: Todd Malpass*

<sup>1</sup> Francisco de Assis Chateaubriand Bandeira de Melo was born in Umbuzeiro, State of Paraíba, Brazil in 1892, and died in São Paulo, in 1968. He was proprietor of an immense net of media outlets in Brazil, and actively participated in the cultural and political life of the country. He conceived and established the São Paulo Art Museum, which today takes his name.

For further details of his life, see MORAIS, Fernando. *Chatô, o rei do Brasil*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Lina Bo Bardi was born in Rome in 1914 and died in São Paulo in 1992. The wife of Pietro Maria Bardi, she was Editor of Habitat magazine. She designed buildings, teatral scenes, furniture, jewels and objects.

Among her noted works is her residence, the Glass House – the current headquarters of the Lina Bo and Pietro Maria Bardi Institute – and the SESC-Pompéia building, both in São Paulo. For more details of her life, see FERRAZ, Marcelo Carvalho (org.). *Lina Bo Bardi*. São Paulo: Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi, 1993.

- <sup>3</sup> Figueiredo Ferraz was born in 1918 and died in 1994, in São Paulo. In 1941, he established his office that still stands today with his name, developing projects in the sectors of transportation, energy, sanitation, industry and the environment, among others. He was Mayor of São Paulo in the decade of the 1970s. Further information is available in: <<http://www.figueiredo-ferraz-eng.com.br/>>. Accessed May 26, 2006.
- <sup>4</sup> COELHO, Neusa Pinheiro. "Museum constructed with meat, bone and blood". *Diário da Noite - Edição Nacional* (Journal). São Paulo, September 6, 1968. São Paulo. MASP Library.
- <sup>5</sup> Interview with Luiz Hossaka, September 8, 2005.
- <sup>6</sup> Letter from the MASP, signed by P.M. Bardi, to Mr. Maury de Freitas Julião, the City Hall Civil Works Director. São Paulo, October 25, 1968. MASP Library.
- <sup>7</sup> P. M. Bardi was born in La Spezia, Italy in 1900, and died in São Paulo in 1999. He was a journalist, historian, collector and *marchand* of art. After World War II he settled in São Paulo, becoming an important figure in the Brazilian arts scene. He helped the publisher Assis Chateaubriand to create the São Paulo Art Museum. For further details of his life, see TENTORI, Francesco. *P. M. Bardi*. São Paulo: Instituto Lina Bo e P. M. Bardi, 2000.
- <sup>8</sup> Letter from the MASP, signed by P.M. Bardi, to Mr. Aloísio A. D'Andrea Pinto, Heleno & Fonseca Building Company Engineer. São Paulo, January 27, 1969. MASP Library.
- <sup>9</sup> Letter from the MASP, signed by P.M. Bardi, to the Directors of the Reviwa Waterproofing Company. São Paulo, April 16, 1969. MASP Library.
- <sup>10</sup> Letter from Reviwa Waterproofing Company to the MASP. São Paulo, April 23, 1969. MASP Library.
- <sup>11</sup> Letter signed by Lina Bo Bardi to Mr. Maury de Freitas Julião. São Paulo, February 27, 1969. BCDMASP.
- <sup>12</sup> Letter from the MASP, signed by P.M. Bardi, to Reviwa Waterproofing Company. São Paulo, April 28, 1969. BCDMASP.
- <sup>13</sup> Letter from the MASP, signed by P.M. Bardi, to Heleno & Fonseca Building Company, the City Hall Civil Works Department and the City Hall Education Department. São Paulo, January 16, 1970. BCDMASP.
- <sup>14</sup> Letter signed by Lina Bardi to Mr. Joaquim Mario – Heleno & Fonseca Building Company. São Paulo March 3, 1970. ALBB.
- <sup>15</sup> Letter from Cyrino Building Company to the MASP. São Paulo, November 5, 1973. MASP Library.
- <sup>16</sup> Letter from the MASP signed by Engineer Roberto Rochlitz. São Paulo, November 19, 1973. MASP Library.
- <sup>17</sup> "Humidity, a danger to the works of art of the MASP." *Folha de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, July 26, 1978. MASP Library.
- <sup>18</sup> "Bardi: the MASP does not have humidity." *Folha de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, August 1, 1978. MASP Library.
- <sup>19</sup> "Where there are leaks, there is humidity." *Folha de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, August 2, 1978. MASP Library.
- <sup>20</sup> Typed document. Register of the visit of Engineer Nelson Zahr (from the office of Figueiredo Ferraz) and Dirceu Franco de Almeida, Civil Works Pathologist. May 21, 1985. MASP Library.
- <sup>21</sup> Interview with Engineer Nelson Zahr, May 25, 2006.
- <sup>22</sup> "Bardi 'rains in the wet spot.' And he denounces." *O Estado S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, July 16, 1987, p. 7. MASP Library.
- <sup>23</sup> SÃO PAULO ART MUSEUM BUILDING - PROCEDURES FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE DAMAGED CONCRETE. Typed document from the office of Figueiredo Ferraz to the MASP. July 5, 1985 (date written by hand). MASP Library.
- <sup>24</sup> "The challenge of the museum." *A Construção em São Paulo Magazine*. São Paulo, July 20, 1987, #2058, p. 1. MASP Library.
- <sup>25</sup> Letter from the MASP signed by P.M. Bardi to Mr. Jorge Antonio Miguel Yunes, Cultural Secretary, City Hall, June 18, 1986. MASP Library.
- <sup>26</sup> Letter from the MASP signed by P.M. Bardi to Engineer José Carlos de Figueiredo Ferraz, November 13, 1986. MASP Library.
- <sup>27</sup> Letter from the MASP signed by P.M. Bardi to Edmundo Monteiro, President of the MASP, January 8, 1987. MASP Library.
- <sup>28</sup> Letter from the MASP signed by P.M. Bardi to Edmundo Monteiro, President of the MASP, January 7, 1987. MASP Library.
- <sup>29</sup> Report of the Department of Civil Works, City Hall to Jânio Quadros, Mayor of São Paulo. MASP Library.
- <sup>30</sup> Letter from the MASP signed by P.M. Bardi to Mr. Paulo Maluf (Eucatex), Mrs. Carmem Machline (Sharp S.A.) and Mr. Antonio Ermírio de Moraes (Votorantim), May 20, 1987; to Mr. Valentim Santos Diniz and Mr. Henry Maksoud (Hidroservice Engineering), May 26, 1987. MASP Library.
- <sup>31</sup> Letter from the MASP signed by P.M. Bardi to Engineer Nelson Zahr, July 30, 1987. MASP Library.
- <sup>32</sup> Letter from Figueiredo Ferraz to Pietro Maria Bardi, signed by José Carlos de Figueiredo Ferraz. REPORT ON THE CURRENT WATER-PROOFING CONDITIONS OF THE MASP BUILDING. March 1987. MASP Library.
- <sup>33</sup> Letter from Figueiredo Ferraz to Pietro Maria Bardi, signed by José Carlos de Figueiredo Ferraz. MASP Library.
- <sup>34</sup> Letter from Figueiredo Ferraz to Edmundo Monteiro, signed by José Carlos de Figueiredo Ferraz. São Paulo, March 23, 1987. MASP Library.
- <sup>35</sup> Interview with Engineer Roberto Rochlitz, September 8, 2005.
- <sup>36</sup> The addition of new steel handles was completed later, in 1999. Report of the Experimental Engineering Office. November, 1999. Figueiredo Ferraz Library.
- <sup>37</sup> Interview with Engineer Nelson Zahr, May 26, 2006.
- <sup>38</sup> Letter from Tecnomad to the MASP, signed by Director Pedro Antonio Zanotto. São Paulo, May 5, 1987. MASP Library.
- <sup>39</sup> "The challenge of the museum." Op. Cit. BCDMASP.
- <sup>40</sup> "Dribbling the leak." *Afinal Magazine*. São Paulo, March 1, 1988, p. 17. MASP Library.
- <sup>41</sup> It was not the first time something similar occurred. In 1973, some works of art were loaned to the Tokio Occidental Art Museum, which forwarded USD\$100,000 to the MASP. GONÇALVES FILHO, Antonio. "MASP sends pictures to Italy." *Folha de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, 23 de abril de 1987. MASP Library.
- <sup>42</sup> "Umbrella." *Afinal Magazine*. São Paulo, November 17, 1987, p. 20. "Leaks divide painters." *O Estado de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, November 12, 1987, Caderno 2, p. 8. MASP Library.
- <sup>43</sup> "A trip through the greatest art in São Paulo." *Jornal Centro - Centro Empresarial de São Paulo*. São Paulo, #17/1988, p. 7. MASP Library.
- <sup>44</sup> "MASP undergoes rehabilitation to protect pictures against leaks." *Folha da Tarde* (Journal). São Paulo, April 6, 1988. MASP Library.
- <sup>45</sup> GONÇALVES, Heinar. "Twenty years after its inauguration, MASP undergoes its first rehabilitation." *Gazeta Mercantil* (Journal). São Paulo, May 5, 1988. MASP Library.
- <sup>46</sup> "FOR A GIFT - Wrapped up in plastic, the MASP gets its first rehabilitation." *Vêja SP Magazine*. São Paulo, August 10, 1988, p. 110. "MASP in works until the beginning of 1989." *Folha de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, August 31, 1988, p. C-3. MASP Library.
- <sup>47</sup> The government of Mayor Jânio Quadros would leave his successor, Mayor Luiza Erundina, a debt twice as large as it was left by the preceding administration, that of Mayor Mário Covas. "Debts and deficit, the inheritance of Jânio." *O Estado de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, December 14, 1988, p. 1. MASP Library.
- <sup>48</sup> *Vêja SP Magazine*. São Paulo, March 29, 1989, p. 7. MASP Library.

- <sup>49</sup> “HARD DAYS OF THE PACKED MUSEUM.” *Veja SP Magazine*. São Paulo, February 22, 1989, pp. 14-20. MASP Library.
- <sup>50</sup> *Project “Save the MASP,”* by Grottera & Cia. First semester of 1989. MASP Library.
- <sup>51</sup> A similar matter occurred when the building was in construction. The need for money led the museum to pledge and resell a picture back to its original owner – Gauguin’s “Joseph and the Putifar’s wife.” “THE ROYAL INAUGURATION OF A NEW MUSEUM.” *Jornal do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, October 31, 1968. Caderno b, p. 6. MASP Library.
- <sup>52</sup> Beyond Magnani, actress Esther Góes and art critic Sabato Magaldi had also disagreed with the sale. “YOU CAN LOSE THIS RENOIR.” *Jornal Espigão da Paulista*. São Paulo, March 17 to 30, 1989, #1, p. 1. MASP Library.
- <sup>53</sup> Letter from City Hall to the MASP, signed by architect Mayumi Watanabe de Souza Lima, EDIF Director, to Fábio Magalhães. São Paulo, June 23, 1989. MASP Library.
- <sup>54</sup> ANDERÁOS, Ricardo. “City Hall frees resources to restart the rehabilitation of the MASP.” *Folha de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, July 4, 1989, p. E-3. MASP Library.
- <sup>55</sup> Letter from City Hall to the MASP, signed by José Eduardo Martins Cardozo, to Edmundo Monteiro. São Paulo, September 29, 1989. MASP Library.
- <sup>56</sup> *PROTOCOL OF INTENTIONS. Minutes of meeting*, May 3, 1989. MASP Library. The Bradesco Bank donated almost all of the necessary sums for the rehabilitation. *BRADESCO CONTRIBUTES TO THE REOPENING OF THE MASP*. July 6, 1989. MASP Library.
- <sup>57</sup> *Workmanship: MASP – ROOF WATER-PROOFING*. Technical report from the office of Figueiredo Ferraz. MASP Library.
- <sup>58</sup> Interview with Engineer Nelson Zahr, May 26, 2006.
- <sup>59</sup> “Work restarted at the MASP: the truss will leave this month.” *Jornal Espigão da Paulista*. São Paulo, September 89, #6, year 1, cover. MASP Library.
- <sup>60</sup> Interview with Engineer Nelson Zahr, May 26, 2006.
- <sup>61</sup> In fact, the main exhibition hall would be reopened March 19, 1990, with the President of Portugal, Mário Soares, present – at the same time that some works of art were returning from expositions around the world. “From Rafael to Picasso, the MASP works of art return to the nest.” *Jornal da Tarde*. São Paulo, March 19, 1990. MASP Library.
- <sup>62</sup> Letter from the MASP, signed by Fábio Magalhães, to Mrs. Maria do Carmo. December 19, 1989. MASP Library.
- <sup>63</sup> Interview with Engineer Nelson Zahr, May 25, 2006.
- <sup>64</sup> Bardi stated that there was just “one or two little leaks that appear only during strong rains.” “Bardi: MASP does not have humidity.” *Folha de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, August 1, 1978. MASP Library.
- <sup>65</sup> Some architects in Brazil have works noted for the use of this material – for example: João Batista Vilanova Artigas and Paulo Mendes da Rocha. KAMITA, João Masao. *Vilanova Artigas*. São Paulo: Cosac & Naify Edições. 2000. ARTIGAS, Rosa (org.). Paulo Mendes da Rocha. São Paulo: Cosac & Naify; Associação Brasil 500 Anos Artes Visuais; Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, 2000.
- <sup>66</sup> The ink company contacted the museum some years before, when Bardi searched for support to do the flagstone waterproofing. Letter signed by P.M. Bardi to José Carlos de Figueiredo Ferraz, May 20, 1987. BCDMASP.
- <sup>67</sup> Letter from Bayer do Brasil S.A. to Lina Bo Bardi, signed by R. Hilkemeyer; Th. Engbert. July 20, 1989. MASP Library.
- <sup>68</sup> Letter from Glasurit do Brasil Ltda., signed by Arnaldo Hauptmann and Ricardo Botelho, to Fábio Magalhães (MASP). São Bernardo do Campo, May 30, 1990. MASP Library.
- <sup>69</sup> Letter from Fábio Magalhães to Roberto Goulart (Glasurit), May 2, 1990. MASP Library.
- <sup>70</sup> “Museum gains red beams and flagstones.” *Projeto Magazine*. São Paulo, #134, 1990. MASP Library.
- <sup>71</sup> Letter from Glasurit do Brasil Ltda., signed by Arnaldo Hauptmann and Roberto Goulart to Fábio Magalhães (MASP). São Bernardo do Campo, May 15, 1990. MASP Library.
- <sup>72</sup> “Glasurit paints the MASP.” *Química Industrial-SP Magazine*. São Paulo, August 1990, pp. 10-11. MASP Library.
- <sup>73</sup> Letter signed by Fábio Magalhães to Roberto Goulart (Glasurit), May 29, 1990. MASP Library.
- <sup>74</sup> “MASP employs three thousand liters of ink to paint pilasters red.” *Folha de S. Paulo* (Journal). São Paulo, August 17, 1990. Caderno Ilustrada, p. E-3. MASP Library.
- <sup>75</sup> Lina Bo Bardi’s drawing, September 18, 1965. Instituto Lina Bo e Pietro Maria Bardi.
- <sup>76</sup> In the drawing, in the ceiling of the plaza of the museum, there are two significant words in mirrors: “LIBERDADE” (freedom) and “SOLIDÃO” (solitude). *L’ombra della sera*. Lina Bo Bardi’s drawing, November 5, 1965. Instituto Lina Bo e Pietro Maria Bardi.
- <sup>77</sup> “più bello – struttura cemento armado dipinta rossa” (prettier – red painted concrete structure). Lina Bo Bardi’s drawing, no date. Instituto Lina Bo e Pietro Maria Bardi.
- <sup>78</sup> “The color of passion.” *AU Magazine*. São Paulo, Oct./Nov. 1990, #32, p. 23, Ed. Pini.
- <sup>79</sup> This is a direct translation from the Brazilian version of the original French of Georges Duby’s work, *Guillaume le Maréchal ou le meilleur chevalier du monde* (Librarie Arthème Fayard, 1984). There are several English versions. One of them is William Marshal: the Flower of Chivalry. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.

## A reflection on the situation of Cultural Heritage in Portugal<sup>1</sup>

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As all concepts, the present concept of Cultural Heritage (and those connected to this area: conservation, restoration, remodelling, among others) will

change. Anyway, what certainly will not change is the notion of the importance of protecting that same Heritage.

According to the chronological time or to the country, the idea of Heritage has also changed, having as its fundamental points of change, the society, politics, economy, philosophy and the religion each civilization had. But this change of concepts, according to a certain era, is the key of knowl-

edge to fully understand our Cultural Heritage.

Portugal was not indifferent to the passage of time and to the change of concepts related to this theme. The inevitableness of protecting the Heritage of our country soon appeared and it was due to His Highness João V that one of the first legislative texts on the protection of monuments appeared (1721).

However, it was only in 1985 that the first Law of Portuguese Cultural Heritage emerged (264 years after one of the first legislative texts and 84 years after the proclamation of the assessment criteria for immobles that should be considered to be National Monuments, in 1901). Sixteen years had passed on the first appearance of the Heritage Law in Portugal, when the Law of Bases of Politics and Regimen of Protection and Valuation of Cultural Heritage emerged, on September 8th 2001.

Hand in hand with legislation, many other organisms appeared with the objective of protecting and managing the Portuguese Heritage, such as: Junta Nacional da Educação (JNE) – (*National Education Committee*); Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes (ANBA) – (*National Academy of Fine Arts*); Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais (DGEMN) – (*General Direction of National Buildings and Monuments*); Comissão Organizadora do Instituto de Salvaguarda do Património Cultural e Natural (COISPCN) – (*Organizing Committee of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Defence Institute*); Instituto de José de Figueiredo – (*José de Figueiredo Institute*); Instituto Português de Conservação e Restauro (IPCR) – (*Portuguese Institute of Conservation and Restoration*); Instituto Português do Património Cultural (IPPC) – (*Portuguese Institute of Cultural Heritage*); Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico (IPPAR) – (*Portuguese Institute of Architectonical and Archaeological Heritage*); Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico (IPPAR) – (*Portuguese Institute of Architectonical Heritage*); Instituto Português de Arqueologia (IPA) – (*Portuguese Institute of Archaeology*).

There have always been and there are still various organisms whose function is to protect Heritage. However, this proliferation of organisms gave rise to an enormous complexity on what their activity on the field is concerned.

Could we assert that, concerning the competences of each organism, the laws are not sufficiently clear yet? At the moment, we have three great organisms responsible for the protection of the Portuguese Heritage, namely the *General Direction of National Buildings and Monuments* (Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais), the *Portuguese Institute of Architectonical Heritage* (Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico) and the *Portuguese Institute of Archaeology* (Instituto Português de Arqueologia). Legally, these are the organisms in charge of giving one's opinion and/or making interventions in this area.

We mark out the *General Direction of National Buildings and Monuments* (Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais (DGEMN)) since 74 years after its creation (1929), it is still working. Notwithstanding the fact that many organisms have been extinguished, created or modified over these years, the DGEMN has always managed to impose its vigour and, despite many improvements, most part of its competences in this area have been maintained.

A consequence of this situation is the constant “struggle” between the DGEMN and the other organisms that also have the function of protecting our Heritage.

A good example of that state is the situation occurring between the DGEMN and the IPPAR who have always fought for the delimitation of the activity areas of each institution. The position of these organisms has been evident until our days.

In this situation the issue of competences is aggravated mainly when we talk about classified immobles not belonging to the IPPAR or to Heritage inventories, where an overlapping of competences might happen. This complex situation started when the IPPAR assumed the execution of works, which did not happen initially.

To worsen the matter, both organisms depend on different ministries, with their own groups of pressure.

Concerning the IPA-IPPAR, even though the competences are well defined, the fact is that the issues related to Archaeology are divided between both of them. That situation and the correspondent loss of competences by the IPPAR has, sometimes, caused difficulties of relationship, articulation and cooperation between the two Institutes.

The appearance of *Law nr 16 A/2002*, which marked the fusion of the IPA with the IPPAR has, once again, raised several issues. Which one was the best solution? To gather everything that was related to Archaeology in a single Institute (though there could appear less clear cases, specially those about monuments with a strong archaeological component); or, as it is foreseen, to unite the Institutes again (which could bring the mitigation of Archaeology comparing to the great importance held by Architectonical Heritage)? Another solution was to maintain the present model (guaranteeing a real articulation between both organisms).

In any way, there are many questions in our mind: Were the organisms acting correctly, according to their function? We can't forget to point out all the work developed by the IPA during these years. Will there be a permanence of that work after its integration in the IPPAR?

There is no answer for these questions right now, but having knowledge of the course of the organisms related to Heritage in Portugal, we can imagine that, probably, over the next years everything might change once again. However, the doubt still remains when we talk about the DGEMN that is still untouchable.

As a product of this situation, we continue with a conflict about the delimitation of acting areas that will, no doubt, raise delays and complications

in the interventions to carry out, even when each organism has its competences legislated and circumscribed.

The situation is complex. Maybe due to the fact that the best way to work together was not found yet and, on the contrary, what stands out, almost always, is the competition between organisms.

Still, we must state that all of these organisms have contributed in a unique way to the preservation of Heritage in Portugal: the DGEMN shows the tradition of carrying out works with a high level of effectiveness and performance; the IPPAR has assumed a bigger concern from the heritage point of view in its recovery works; the IPA has managed to dignify the Portuguese Archaeology at an international level and has contributed, in an exceptional way, for the inventorying and consequent diffusion of the Archaeological Portuguese Heritage.

Maybe what is fundamental is to find the best solution from an operational point of view, that is to say, to implement mechanisms that can assure the effective protection of Heritage Properties integrated in the environment they are set in (urban or rural).

The news that we can observe, through the different Media, seems to point to a lack of definition concerning the functions of the future Heritage Institute. The existence of various groups of pressure related to the interventions on Heritage, as well as the management of places and monuments presently depending on the IPPAR, has set the supposition of a possible affectation of some of those monuments to the DGEMN and also to the *Portuguese Institute of Museums* (Instituto Português de Museus (IPM)).

If that transfer really happens, we can conclude that the capability of intervening of the future Heritage Institute may be extremely affected, because most earnings of today's IPPAR come from those same monuments and places.

Another question that remains undefined is of which Ministry (of Culture, Public Works Department or Environment) should be responsible for the guardianship of Heritage? Finding a solution for this matter seems a very complex job, even because of the extension of the concept of Heritage, which has become comprehensive. Being a question worthy of a serious debate without complexes, because it has many possible options, we affirm our opinion that the patrimonial matters belong, above all, to the scope of culture, and the other aspects should integrate this priority.

We also consider that the changes must sue the structures that would lead to a change of mentality of the people in relation to Heritage. Despite being well marked in the different Fundamental Laws of the various organisms, the question of Heritage divulgation among people has not achieved the intended aim. To confirm this statement we can take a look at some museums or cultural routes (they are in a complete lack of visitors).

We have observed, inclusively, that many Heritage areas have been banished to a second plan, such as the case of the ethnographic area. So, we think that maybe it would be more important to value actions and solutions in these areas instead of changing or extinguishing organisms from times to times.

We will not finish this reflection without referring to some data registered in Portugal about the condition of our Museums and Architectonical Heritage, based on the document “Estatísticas da Cultura, Desporto e Recreio – 2000”<sup>22</sup> (*Statistics of Culture, Sports and Entertainment*). These data reinforce our concern mentioned in this thought.

Relatively to museums, the 201 considered in this study registered a total of 7,4 million visitors (which means an average of 37 000 people per museum, per year), 1,3 millions belonging to school groups (about 17 per cent of all visitors).

[Table 1.1]<sup>3</sup>

So, we can stress that the region of Lisbon and *Vale do Tejo* is at the top of the list presenting more Museum visitors, followed by the North and Centre of the country (even so, with less than half the visitors). The southern regions of the country and the islands are the ones that attract fewer visitors. The groups from school, with their 17 per cent, reinforce the idea that it is essential to implement some actions in this area with the aim of developing a Heritage consciousness.

We also observed that the most visited places were the Museums built in Monuments (34 per cent). There is no doubt that this is an important fact, because it shows the people's receptiveness for monumental buildings. We can deduct something on what concerns the way of attracting more visitors to museums in the future (since their preference is well known). Inherent to this element is also the place and the way of implementing a museum (maybe the answer is to build the museum *in situ*).

As to the Architectonical Heritage, the referred study registered 4032 protected immobiles, 65 per cent belonging to the category of *Public Interest Immobiles* and 21 per cent that of *National Monuments*.

The study proves, once again, that the region of Lisbon is the one that has more protected immobiles (1089), presenting the other regions a much smaller number: *Beja* (274), *Castelo Branco* (249), *Portalegre* (272) and *Ilha da Madeira* (295).

[Table 1.2]<sup>4</sup>

Relatively to the division of Classified Immobiles according to the time of building, the statistic study points out the “*Baroque/Rococo/ Pombaline*” period as the one with more classified elements (2323), followed by the “*Man-*

nerist/Renaissant” period (1 398) and the “Medieval/Gothic”(1 319). The period of Prehistory is, on the contrary, the one with less classified goods (188), such as the Roman Period (272) and the one that refers to the New Art (206).

[Table 1.3]<sup>5</sup>

With respect to the architectural typology, the study confirms that the Monuments with a religious architecture are the most attractive to the entities associated to Heritage, when we talk about classification aspects. Only

surpassed by the civil architecture (3 790), the religious architecture monuments compose the biggest part of the classified elements, 41 per cent (3 521). The military architecture owns 5 per cent (395) and the sets have 248 classified elements.

[Table 1.4]<sup>6</sup>

It is the analysis of these data, of the legislative process and course/ action of the different organisms that allow us to make a reflection on the present Heritage setting in Portugal.

All the information collected points out to a patrimonial politics that has to be renewed in various sectors. The diversity of ideas and criteria of actions has given origin to different ways of intervening. Those ways have marked the difference in terms of quality and quantity, in all the regions of the country. The lack of information mechanisms has also removed people from this area, which belongs to all of us. It is necessary to stop time erosion, not only on monuments but also on men’s mentality.

*Translated by: Daniela Henriques*

<sup>1</sup> This reflection is presented in the essay of the Mastership thesis, defended in the University of Évora on April 13<sup>th</sup> 2004, named “Integration of Archaeological Vestiges in the Historical Centre of Beja: A contribute for its Integrated Conservation”.

<sup>2</sup> *Statistics of Culture, Sports and Entertainment- 2000.*

Lisbon: National Statistics Institute, 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Table adapted from: *Statistics of Culture, Sports and Entertainment-2000.* Lisbon: National Statistics Institute, 2002, page 32.

<sup>4</sup> Table adapted from: *Statistics of Culture, Sports and Entertainment-2000.* Lisbon: National Statistics Institute, 2002, page 38.

<sup>5</sup> Table adapted from: *Statistics of Culture, Sports and Entertainment-2000.* Lisbon: National Statistics Institute, 2002, page 39.

<sup>6</sup> Table adapted from: *Statistics of Culture, Sports and Entertainment-2000.* Lisbon: National Statistics Institute, 2002, page 40.

**Table 1.1** Museum visitors by region, in 2000<sup>4</sup>

| Region                | From schools     | Total            |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|
| North                 | 260,575          | 910,720          |
| Centre                | 156,855          | 768,981          |
| Lisboa e Vale do Tejo | 762,442          | 4,812,348        |
| Alentejo              | 22,618           | 126,166          |
| Algarve               | 37,745           | 616,767          |
| Azores                | 5,001            | 30,595           |
| Madeira               | 20,685           | 1,001,999        |
| <b>Total</b>          | <b>1,265,921</b> | <b>7,367,576</b> |

**Table 1.3** Division of Classified Immobiles, according to the time of building<sup>8</sup>

|                                    |              |
|------------------------------------|--------------|
| Prehistory                         | 188          |
| Roman                              | 272          |
| Medieval/Gothic                    | 1,319        |
| Manueline                          | 755          |
| Mannerist/Renaissant               | 1,398        |
| Baroque/Rococo/Pombaline           | 2,323        |
| Romantic/Neoclassical/Revivalistic | 792          |
| New Art/Modernist                  | 206          |
| Popular                            | 368          |
| Without information                | 1,044        |
| <b>Total</b>                       | <b>8,665</b> |

**Table 1.2** Inventory of Architectonical Heritage<sup>5</sup>

| Region         | MN <sup>6</sup> | IIP <sup>7</sup> | VC <sup>8</sup> | INP <sup>9</sup> | VCR/L <sup>10</sup> | Total        |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Aveiro         | 14              | 71               | 30              | 372              | -                   | 487          |
| Beja           | 24              | 64               | 2               | 184              | -                   | 274          |
| Braga          | 63              | 139              | 19              | 309              | -                   | 530          |
| Bragança       | 24              | 108              | 9               | 260              | -                   | 401          |
| Castelo Branco | 11              | 71               | 22              | 145              | -                   | 249          |
| Coimbra        | 44              | 114              | 30              | 185              | -                   | 373          |
| Évora          | 102             | 99               | 9               | 160              | -                   | 370          |
| Faro           | 25              | 77               | 20              | 207              | -                   | 329          |
| Guarda         | 57              | 166              | 23              | 479              | -                   | 725          |
| Leiria         | 27              | 97               | 27              | 263              | -                   | 414          |
| Lisboa         | 116             | 382              | 44              | 547              | -                   | 1,089        |
| Portalegre     | 59              | 89               | 9               | 115              | -                   | 272          |
| Porto          | 76              | 189              | 32              | 346              | -                   | 643          |
| Santarém       | 41              | 111              | 81              | 142              | -                   | 375          |
| Setúbal        | 24              | 58               | 21              | 207              | -                   | 310          |
| V. Castelo     | 54              | 132              | 16              | 306              | -                   | 508          |
| Vila Real      | 25              | 96               | 13              | 273              | -                   | 407          |
| Viseu          | 40              | 191              | 27              | 207              | -                   | 465          |
| Azores         | 1               | 322              | 53              | 30               | -                   | 406          |
| Madeira        | 7               | 29               | 25              | 153              | 81                  | 295          |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>834</b>      | <b>2,605</b>     | <b>512</b>      | <b>4,890</b>     | <b>81</b>           | <b>8,922</b> |

**Table 1.4** Distribution of Immobiles by Architectonical type<sup>12</sup>

|                        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|
| Religious Architecture | 3,531        |
| Military Architecture  | 395          |
| Civil Architecture     | 3,790        |
| Sets                   | 248          |
| Sites                  | 586          |
| Without information    | 115          |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>8,665</b> |

## Archaeological researches in the central region of São Paulo State – Fapesp Project<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction: the epistemological context

The present research is part of an epistemological context that explains its characteristics and dynamics. The Brazilian Archaeology shows a long trajectory, since its beginnings in the nineteenth-century. Archaeology came to assume the academic features only after the Second World War, in great part because of the human rights struggles headed, in the field of Archaeology, by Paulo Duarte. The military oppression would come to obstruct the progress of the humanist Archaeology, but the restoration of the civic rights would allow, since the middle of the 80's, for the upbringing of a variety of approaches and social engagements in the discipline, which started to interact, each time more, with the social groups, and to adopt less elitist attitudes. The development of the legislation for the protection of the heritage, also a consequence of the democratization process, created a notable increase in the field researches and favored the inclusion of the interests of natives, quilombolas, and the common people in general in the field of preoccupations of Archaeology. Archaeology started to be thought as an activity with social relevance and as part of the public policies for the inclusion and shortening of inequalities. In this new context, and feet-to-feet

with the development of world Archaeology, the Brazilian Archaeology started to deal with the plurality, the heterogeneity, the conflicts, and with social identities.

As the archaeological theory became more sophisticated, in the last years a growing number of excavators turned themselves to social aspects of the past day-to-day life. Part of their increased attention with society and with the social and symbolic meanings emerged from their growing interest in studying the works of scholars from different academic fields, in order to get new *insights* and methods of research. The archaeologists that, in the first instance, withdrew from the schematic and mechanical approaches and sought innovative ways to interpret the daily life, started, in that way, to read regularly the works of geographers, sociologists, historians, anthropologists and social scientists in order to sharpen their interpretive abilities and to amplify their points of view. By adopting more nuanced and multifarious perspectives, many social archaeologists started to examine the archaeological deposits recognizing the importance of two socio-historical contexts: (i) the one that was in the past and was experimented by the individuals studied and (ii) the environments in which they, as archaeologists, experienced and worked. The growing thought about the importance of the contextualization of the research itself progressed rapidly the archaeological interpretation and turned it relevant, in world scale, to the communities of the descendants of the people that Archaeology studies. The practice of Archaeology, relegated in the past to the silent rooms of the universities and to the dusty deposits of museums, was transformed into a discipline with a significant engagement in relation to the public.<sup>2</sup>

This research can be inserted in that renewal of world Archaeology,<sup>3</sup> by seeking, by way of a study of a central

region of the São Paulo State, in Brazil, to verify the ancient settlements and their relevance to the constructions of identities,<sup>4</sup> as well as to propose a public Archaeology initiative in relation to the management of that heritage.<sup>5</sup>

### The development of the project

After reading the specialized literature, which was done to deepen the knowledge obtained in the archaeological researches already realized in the region, we went to the field, dividing our work into two stages, and we surveyed the proposed areas (Middle Jacaré-Guaçu and Upper Mogi), whose results will be present short bellow. Nonetheless, the readings revealed two realities that are very different from those shown in previous archaeological researches.

The studied region, known historically as the “Hinterland of Araraquara” or “Fields of Araraquara”,<sup>6</sup> has archaeological findings that spring out, in some works, from two ceramist traditions.<sup>7</sup> One of those traditions we relate to the Tupi language populations, which the archaeologists label as the Tupi-Guarani tradition or, more recently, Tupinambá and Guarani sub-traditions. The other one we can relate to the Jê language populations, which, by the lack of a better specification, we will label, at a first moment, as the Pedra do Caboclo tradition (we are using a terminology proposed by Brochado).<sup>8</sup> Although these two traditions had already been studied separately, a deeper analysis in the region considered, which seems to be the south frontier of one of them (Aratu sub-tradition of the Pedra do Caboclo tradition), still has not been done. In this first moment of the research the differences between the discourses from the historical sources and the archaeological works in the region has called our attention. In the former, the region is seen as the settlement of multiple Indian ethnic groups,<sup>9</sup> while, in the last years, the evidences are pointing

only to two ceramist traditions. However, the archaeological researches in the region, from a theoretical point of view, are still incipient and there was not, until the moment, a real interest in fulfilling the emptiness that this area of research represents to the study of the native populations, both through the archaeological point of view as well as the ethno-historical one.

There were previous studies of the Mogi-Guaçu, receiving the attention of professional and amateur archaeologists since the decade of 1940.<sup>10</sup> They gave to the researchers a heterogeneous picture in relation to the ceramic sites. In the researched area, five ceramic sites has already been identified, and four of them had been excavated in the 80's,<sup>11</sup> in the Luís Antônio County. Moraes proposed and executed a Masters Project where he has re-analyzed these four sites at the Luís Antônio County.<sup>12</sup> The fifth site, Suzuki, was found in the Guataparã County in the phase of contract archaeology done by the Scientia Scientific Counseling, from the works of survey executed for the duplication of the Araraquara-Ribeirão Preto freeway.

The research in the four sites at Luís Antônio only caught a glimpse of the archaeological potential of the area, for it was not its goal to do a systematic archaeological survey in that portion of the Mogi-Guaçu River. The sites were found through oral information when the researchers were participating of the fieldwork phases of the Archaeological Research at the Vale do Rio Pardo Program, realized in 1981, under the coordination of the archaeologists Solange Bezerra Caldarelli and Walter Alves Neves, from the former Institute of Prehistory.

The other researches at the Mogi-Guaçu and adjacent regions were done in areas that the present Project (in terms of survey) does not enclose, but they add important data to the development of future investigations. Alves and

Calleffo researched the archaeological site from the Monte Alto region, among them the Água Limpa and Anhumas I and II sites, from the Aratu ceramist tradition.<sup>13</sup> Although Alves has not done researches in the Mogi-Guaçu basin, but in the Rio do Turvo, an affluent of the Rio Grande, his results are of great importance for a better understanding of the regional Archaeology, for they comprehend an area still not researched by Brazilian Archaeology.

Manuel Pereira de Godoy, amateur archaeologist and a great knower of the Mogi-Guaçu River, got an interest, in the decade of 1940, for the archaeological findings in the regions of Pirassununga and Rio Claro, having contributed with detailed descriptive texts of the material culture that he found.<sup>14</sup> In 2003, an archaeological survey was done as contract archaeology in the SP 322 Road, which links Sertãozinho to Bebedouro,<sup>15</sup> revealing the existence of two ceramic sites in the area of the Pitangueiras stream and in the right margin of the Mogi-Guaçu. The sites were excavated and the material can be found in the Araraquara County Museum, where it received the laboratorial treatment (washing and numeration of the artifacts, techno-typological analysis). José Luís de Morais,<sup>16</sup> also through contract archaeology, detected ceramic sites in the area of influence of the Mogi-Guaçu Hydroelectric Central, which encompassed the counties of Mogi-Guaçu, Mogi-Mirim and Itapira (high Mogi).

The Mogi-Guaçu River, up to where go its archaeological researches, presents a heterogeneous picture in relation to the ceramist sites. In the established portion at the high Mogi, the archaeological sites relates to the Tupi-Guarani ceramist tradition, having been found ceramic fragments with painted decoration over white or red engobus, and with plastic decoration presenting the unguilate and corrugated motifs, for instance. Such decorations,

the shapes of the reconstituted vases and the presence of funerary urns, constitute, in the traditional nomenclature of Brazilian Archaeology, the Tupi-Guarani ceramist tradition.

The five sites detected in the Middle Mogi by the team of Solange Caldarelli can also fit into the Tupi-Guarani tradition, for they show the same characteristics. The sites of Pitangueiras in a first moment were included in the Aratu tradition, for not showing plastic decoration and for the extension of their villages (perceived through the delimitation of its surface distribution). However, during the salvage works, some painted fragments were found, which alludes to the Tupi-Guarani tradition, as well as a Tembetá fragment, a labial adornment traditionally linked to the Tupi Indians, but also found in Aratu sites.<sup>17</sup>

Although it can be evident that the archaeological traditions can not define the ethnic groups, being only apprehensions of the researcher's point of view, it is possible that the relations between native populations from different ethnic groups or languages (in this case, populations of Jê and Tupi languages) had resulted in material culture differentiations left by these peoples. Some of them are perceptible to the archaeologist's eyes, but the scientific and western context reinterprets them.

In contrast to the Mogi-Guaçu, the Jacaré-Guaçu River, affluent of the Tietê through its right margin, has not received systematical study yet under the archaeological point of view. Nevertheless, the Tietê, by its importance in the Brazilian hydrographical scenario, has already rendered many researches, which points to a great archaeological potential, above all in relation to the ceramist populations related to the Tupi-Guarani tradition. The Tietê Project, which encompassed the low and middle valleys of this river, initiated in the 70's by the construction of the Ilha Solteira Hydroelectric Mill in the Paraná River,

has evidenced a great quantity of ceramic and lithic archaeological sites. Maranca, Silva & Scabello<sup>18</sup> suggest to the region a homogeneous picture in relation to the ceramic populations, having been found many sites with material culture related to the Tupi populations and only one, in the city of Olímpia (Maranata site), linked to the Aratu ceramic tradition (generally attributed to the Jê language populations).

Our researches in the Jacaré-Guaçu River could bring to the present archaeological discussions more information about the Tietê basin, showing new ceramic sites with the aim of comparing them to the others that exist in the area of this great river and on the adjacent locations, as in the area of the Middle Upper Mogi.

### The region: delimitation and geographical aspects<sup>19</sup>

The macro-region of the project, whose archaeological works done until today will be used with the objective of doing comparisons with the material found in the two hydrographical basins chosen for the research, has as its natural limits the margins of the rivers Piracicaba, Tietê, Grande e Paraná. Still, the waters of the rivers Pardo and Mogi-Guaçu [Fig. 1] cover its areas. In relation to the physical aspects (geology, geomorphology, weather, vegetation), the two micro-regions to be researched has very similar characteristics, despite some differences. We will describe their main aspects in what follow.

We divided the micro-regions of the Project into the areas of two hydrographical basins:

#### Middle Jacaré-Guaçu

The Middle Jacaré-Guaçu, affluent of the Tietê by its right margin, is inserted in the Tietê/Jacaré hydrographical basin, Hydric Resources Management Unit n° 13. Of this HRMU, besides the section of the Tietê River comprehended be-

tween the Ibitinga and Barra Bonita Hydroelectric Mills, of the Jacaré-Guaçu in its high, middle, and low sections, it is also included the Jacaré-Pepira basin, another important affluent of the Tietê by its right margin.

According to the Report of the São Paulo State Institute of Technological Researches,<sup>20</sup> the sub-basin of the Middle Jacaré-Guaçu represents 9% of the total area of this HRMU, having around 1.065,67 Km<sup>2</sup>. On this sub-basin, the lands of the following counties are included: Araraquara, Boa Esperança do Sul, Ibaté, Ribeirão Bonito, and São Carlos.

In relation to the geology of the region, it springs out in the area of the Tietê / Jacaré hydrographical basin the “clastic sediments predominantly sandy and the igneous basaltic rocks from the São Bento group (Mesozoic of the Paraná Basin), the sedimentary rocks from the Bauru group (belonging to the Bauru Basin, from the Upper Cretaceous), and the Cenozoic sediments represented by the Itaqueri formation and correlated deposits (from the São Carlos and Santana mountain ranges), and by the alluvium deposits associated to the drain net, besides the colluviums and eluviums”.<sup>21</sup>

According to Setzer (1966), based in the climatic classification proposed by Köppen, there are two climatic types in the basin:

- 1 – Cwa: It is hot and humid, with dry winter, and average temperature superior to 22 °C in the hottest month and inferior to 18 °C in the coldest month.
- 2 – Cwb: There are little areas where this type of climate occurs. It is humid and mild with dry season. Average temperature in the hottest month is inferior to 22 °C and, in the coldest month, is inferior to 18 °C.

In relation to the vegetation, the region is characterized by the presence of open pasture with patches of stunted

vegetation (“Cerrado”), “a complex of vegetal formations that shows variable physiognomy and flower composition: campestrial (open field), savanna (dirty field, cerrado field and cerrado *stricto sensu*) and forest (big cerrado), forming an ecological mosaic”.<sup>22</sup>

As to its implantation in the national space, the cerrado is situated almost totally in tropical climate, with the exception of its south edge, in the São Paulo and in the south of Minas moderated altitudes (altitudes between 1.000 and 1.700 meters), suffering the effect of soft frost in winter nights. Occurring mainly in the Central-West region, the cerrado is the second biggest Brazilian vegetal formation. In the State of São Paulo, it is “interrupted by other vegetal formations, as in the proximities of Campinas, Ribeirão Preto, Franca and Altinópolis”.<sup>23</sup>

In the geomorphologic map made by the ITR/FEHIDRO/CBH-TJ, we can observe the following events in the researched region: on the left margin of the Middle Jacaré-Guaçu, between the Água Preta (Ribeirão Bonito) and Rancho Grande (Boa Esperança do Sul) streams, the altitudes vary from 500 to 688 meters. There are a predominance of ample mounts crosscut by average hills between the left margin of the São João stream and the right margin of the Ipê stream. In the latter’s margins the festooned slopes predominates. Between the Peixe River and the Rancho Grande stream, there are fluvial plains in a terrain with few declivities on to the Jacaré-Guaçu River, as we could observe in the phase of fieldwork survey.

The right margin of the Jacaré-Guaçu, in its middle section, shows geomorphologic aspects that are different from those described above. Since the Ribeirão do Laranjal up to the Córrego do Tanque, both in the lands of the Araraquara County, the altitude vary from 500 up to 750 meters. From the Ribeirão do Laranjal up to near the Chibarro River, the average hills pre-

dominate, crosscut by ample hills and basaltic plateau. The festooned slopes predominate from the Chibarro River up to near the Córrego do Tanque. There happen to occur fluvial plains on both margins of the Chibarro River and on the Córrego das Cruzes. The ample hills predominate nearest to the Córrego do Tanque, being its left margin the limits of the fieldwork survey.

### Middle Upper Mogi

The Mogi-Guaçu River sprouts in the State of Minas Gerais, in the Bom Repouso County, and its basin comprehends the southwest regions of that State and the northeast regions of the State of São Paulo. It was subdivided into economic-ecologic compartments together with the Rio Pardo basin. The area of the present research is included in the compartment called Middle Upper Mogi, of which the following cities are included: Motuca, Guatapar, Lus Antnio, Rinco, Santa Lcia, Amrico Brasiliense, Descalvado and Santa Rita do Passa Quatro.

The offspring of the Mogi-Guaçu River, whose name means “big snake” in Tupi, is located in the Morro do Curvado, in Bom Repouso, in the Crystalline Upland. Its average altitude is of 1.650 meters. The river runs through the State of Minas Gerais around 95 Km, crossing the Serra da Mantiqueira, to run through more 377 Km in the Paulista territory, in the Central Upland, to flow into the Rio Pardo.

As for the geological aspects of the Mogi River, we can say that “through all the east part sprung the crystalline rocks from the Gneissic-Migmatite complex and from the Aungui group, with many intrusive granite bodies. The rest of its area corresponds to the oriental part of the Paran State geological basin and involves a good part of its stratigraphical series, since the Upper Carboniferous up to the Cretaceous. Almost the whole totality of the riv-

er’s bed is constituted by basalt, which springs out in several streamlets, as in Salto do Pinhal, Cachoeiras de Cima, Cachoeiras de Baixo, Cachoeira de Emas and Escaramua”.<sup>24</sup>

The Mogi basin, in all its extension, is implanted into four geomorphologic provinces: The Atlantic Upland, the Peripheral Depression, The Basaltic Cuestas and the Western Upland. The Middle Upper Mogi sub-basin has all its extension distributed in the area of the Western Upland, located more to the west of the basin. The Western Upland is characterized by a “great uniformity, what makes the relief to be somewhat monotonous, with the predominance of short and ample hills, as the Serra do Jaboticabal. The altitudes oscillate between 400 and 600 meters”.<sup>25</sup>

According to the Koppen International System, in the Mogi basin there are four climatic divisions, being the type Aw the one that predominates in the area of the research, which represents “a tropical climate with rainy season in the summer and dry season in the winter. This climatic type occurs on the north of the Mogi-Guaçu hydrographical basin. The pluviometric index varies between 1.100 and 1.300 mm and the dry season in this region occurs between the months of May and September, being July the month where it reaches the highest intensity”.<sup>26</sup>

According to Brigante & Espndola, several types of phyto-ecological territories represent the vegetal coverage in the Mogi-Guaçu area. They can be defined in the following way: semi-deciduous seasonal forest (sub-caducous folia rainforest), dense ombrophilous forest (pluvial rainforest), alluvial dense ombrophilous forest (cilium forest), cerrado (savanna), and big cerrado. In the Mogi-Guaçu river basin, “there are”, presently, “great part of the cerrado and big cerrado vegetation legally suitable for the cutting of trees, which would diminish still further the index of vegetal coverage in the referred ba-

sin”.<sup>27</sup> In the Middle Upper Mogi, in a specific fashion, the biggest area of native woods are constituted by the big cerrado, followed by the cerrado and, at last, by woods.<sup>28</sup>

### The survey in the Jacar-Guaçu middle course

The first phase of the fieldwork survey was done in the Middle Jacar-Guaçu and it encompassed the areas contained in the IBGE charts (scale 1:50.000) of Araraquara and Boa Esperana do Sul. In terms of county division, the survey covered areas of the left and right margins of the referred river that are part of Araraquara, Boa Esperana do Sul and Ribeiro Bonito. In relation to the city of Araraquara, we had previously known about a lithic occurrence, near to the Chibarro River (UTM Coordinates E0782970/N7580116). In Ribeiro Bonito, through oral information, we had previously known about a lithic occurrence (actinolite / polished) in Guarapiranga (in the district of Ribeiro Bonito) and in the Morro da Figura, a place widely known by the city inhabitants and which, according to them, has inscriptions on the high banks and on the lithic material. In Boa Esperana do Sul, also through oral information, we already knew of the existence of ceramic material in Pedra Branca, a district from where, according to the informants, some igaabas containing bones were taken in the 60’s.

The approaching method of the area chosen for this phase was to gather oral information with the rural area inhabitants and to visit places where it would be probable to find archaeological sites, as the rocky outcrops (among all sandstone), gravel beds (near to the rivers) and the confluences of the affluent with the main river. We had previously established some points on the IBGE charts that are 1 Km distant one from the other, which can be found in the half-hillside. Also, when it was possible,

we walked through the margins of the affluent round 2 Km up to the source of the river, for the ceramic material of which we had previously known in the Jacaré-Guaçu basin (in Pedra Branca) are located around 3,5 Km from this river, on the left margin of the Mandaguari stream.

In this phase of work, we did choose to do not do a systematic survey, for the ceramic sites are generally located on the surface. Above all, in places of culture, where the plough is used, we can well observe the material's distribution, despite the relative destruction caused by the plough. As for the lithic sites, we can also observe them on the surface, in gravel beds near to the rivers or in the outcrops of raw material, as the sandstone.

The approach with the inhabitants of the rural area sought to take into consideration the knowledge that they have of the archaeological material. Therefore, it is very common for the rural people or to those who have previously worked with the land to make reference to the material culture that we researched as "the Indian's vessel" (intact ceramic vessels), "ancient dishware" (ceramic potsherds), "lighting bolt stone" or "sparkling stone" (polished axe blades), "Indians land" or "black land" (dark anthropogenic soil generally found in ceramic sites).

During the work, he had some difficulties to get to the pre-established places. The biggest difficulty, which turned unviable to arrive at certain interesting points, was the existence of many orange plantation farms, where it is not allowed to get in, for there is the need to control the diseases in the citric fruits as, for instance, the citrus canker and the citrus variegated chlorosis. Besides the orange trees, many sugarcane farms had still not done the cut in the plantations, a fact that, in many cases, allowed for the observation of the soil only through the cart ways for the traffic of sugarcane trucks in the epoch of

the cutting of the trees. The places that were most visible to the team were areas of pasture with erosion, places for the cattle's passage (which leaves the soil exposed), ploughed land, low and medium size sugarcane, little size plantations, as the peanut, and subsistence plantations.

In a place near to the Córrego do Pavão, we collected some oral information to be later verified, for they referred to areas that do not belong to this phase of the research. For example, an informant told us that, in the Santa Lourdes farm, near to the Córrego do Tamanduá, in Ribeirão Bonito, there are "lighting bolt stones". Two other informants said that, in the Fazenda das Flores dam, in São Carlos, there are "lighting bolt stones" occurrences. Some people also said that there were rock inscriptions on the Morro da Figura (Ribeirão Bonito) and on another mount, between Boa Esperança do Sul and Bocaina, in the Diamante farm, near to the Jacaré-Pepira River, another Tietê affluent. We registered such informations in order to verify them later.

We present, in what follows, a summary description of the four ceramic sites found in the phase of survey on the Jacaré-Guaçu. The complete list of the archaeological sites and isolated occurrences can be found at Table I.

- The right margin of the São João stream, in the Ribeirão Bonito County, is a place with medium and low size sugarcane and little declivity on to the main river. In the second point of the São João stream, we found ceramic material, characterizing the São João site (abbreviated as SJO), a name given in honor to the stream. The site is located on the edge of two farms and its biggest portion is in the lands of Mr. Eurico Fernandes, owner of the Estrela Ranch. The archaeological site can be found approximately 450 meters from the São João stream and ap-

proximately 1.5 Km from the Jacaré-Guaçu River. We evidenced at least four ceramic concentrations, with many thick and thin fragments, some rim and many gauges made of pink sandstone [Fig. 2]. There are many slim materials, without decoration, but there are also painted materials, as, for instance, a thin rim, probably from a pot. In this fragment, the decoration was made in white and red. We could not evidence fragments with plastic decoration (corrugated, unglazed, and brushed). The ceramic is very fragile, but we could find red and white engobus. In the site, there are also lithic materials (sandstone chips, a silex scraper well finished and sandstone gauges). We could find a small polished fragment made from broken basalt, possibly being a polisher. However, its forms suggest the head of a semi lunar axe, a ritual artifact generally attributable to the Jê populations and, in relation to Archaeology, found in sites from the Itararé and Aratu traditions [Fig. 3]. The site is in an area of sugarcane culture of three phases, low, medium and high, and a portion is in a pasture area. We could observe on the ceramic mortar the existence of slim and bulk sand and fragments of vegetal origin (cariapé) as organic additives.

- In the left margin of the Mandaguari stream, near to the rural district of Pedra Branca, belonging to the Boa Esperança do Sul County. We had already known of an archaeological site through oral information. The inhabitants of Boa Esperança and Pedra Branca informed us that, thirty years ago, when they built a little dam in the Mandaguari stream, they extracted from the place many urns, some of them containing bones. Mr. Nelson Neves, who lived in Boa Esperança and who worked on the place at the time, donated to the Araraquara County Museum,

through our mediation, a little ceramic bottle gourd, with decoration, and a polished axe blade that, according to him, were extracted from the place, together with the igaçabas. Nonetheless, nothing has been left of these, for they were broken in many pieces by the tractors. We had labeled this archaeological site as the Mandaguari (abbreviated as MDG). The site can be found up to 150 meters from the stream that gave its name and approximately 3,5 Km from the Jacaré-Guaçu. An area of little declivity on to the Mandaguari stream, the actual soil occupation is for the sugarcane plantation, whose estate lands, the São Luís farm, belonging to Mr. Fernando Tanuri, were rented to the Zanin Mill. In the moment of the inspection, the north portion of the site was occupied with medium sugarcane, while its bigger portion is in an area where the cutting of the sugarcane was done a short while ago. We could observe on the place a ceramic already much fragmented by the works of plough: some thin and thick sherds without decoration [Fig. 4], a piece of a vessel's keel (with red paintings), a painted fragment (with black, white, and red decoration) and some red sandstone blocks. We did not do the delimitation of the area of the site, leaving this procedure to posterior phases.

- At a distance of 920 meters from the Mandaguari archaeological site, going downwards on the stream of the same name in the direction of the Jacaré-Guaçu River, we found another ceramic site, labeled as the Barrinha archaeological site (abbreviated as BRR), for being located in the homonymous estate. The archaeological material is located on a place of low sugarcane, in the Santana da Barrinha A site, the propriety of Mr. Luís Colin Filho. In the place, we could observe a ceramic

concentration; most of it being slim sherds (without decoration) and a sherd with corrugated plastic decoration. We also collected a little polished blade, the base of which was probably used as a hammerstone, for there are in it marks of usage. We did not delimitate the site, leaving this task to a posterior phase. The site is located at approximately 250 meters from the Mandaguari stream and at 2,25 Km from the confluence of the Rancho Grande stream with the Jacaré-Guaçu, on a land with little declivity on to the stream.

- At a distance of 2,5 Km from the Barrinha archaeological site, going downwards in the Mandaguari stream, which at this section receives the name of Rancho Grande on the IBGE chart, in the confluence area between this stream and the Jacaré-Guaçu River, we found ceramic material in the sugarcane cart ways [Fig. 5]. This archaeological site was labeled as Rancho Grande (abbreviated as RGR). We could not delimitate the occurrences, for the sugarcane was high, almost in the cutting epoch. Nonetheless, the fragments found in the cart way suggest a high density of archaeological material. The potsherds that we were able to observe do not have decoration (slim surface). We also found a smoothed pebble, suggesting a ceramic polisher, and some red sandstone tools. Farther on, walking through the cart ways of the southeast part of the site, we could observe a ceramic with less evident Indian patterns (for instance, the type of burning). The laboratory works after the site's excavation and the dating by thermoluminescence will be able to bring us subsidies to check the first evidence that this ceramic could be from the epoch of the first contact between Indians and non-Indians. The site can be found at 200 meters from

the Jacaré-Guaçu River, in the São Manuel farm, the propriety of Mrs. Maria Luiza Travassos.

### **The survey in the middle section of the Mogi-Guaçu (Middle Upper Mogi)**

The second phase of the fieldwork survey was done on the middle section of the Mogi-Guaçu and it encompassed the areas contained on the IBGE charts (scale 1:50.000) of Porto Pulador and Rincão. Later on, through oral information gathered at the field, we identified a ceramic archaeological site in the Motuca County (IBGE chart of Guariba, scale 1:50.000), amplifying our area of research. The Motuca region is also part of the area encompassed by the Middle Upper section of the Mogi-Guaçu River.

In relation to the county division, the survey covered the areas of the left margin of the referred river that are part of the counties of Rincão, São Carlos and Motuca. One of the sites is located very far away from the Mogi-Guaçu River, in the Anhumas, an affluent that run along several counties, among them the Américo Brasiliense. The archaeological site (that was labeled as Anhumas II) is located in the lands of this county.

The survey on the right margin of the main river, which encompasses areas of the counties of Guatapará and Luís Antônio, was not done in this phase. We centered our attention only on the left margin affluents, for the area to cover in the survey is ample, despite the reduced number of affluents. These are more distant one from the other than the ones researched in the phase of the survey of the Jacaré-Guaçu. On a straight line, the course of the Mogi-Guaçu in this section chosen for the research is of about 20 Km. However, it is worth to highlight that, in this portion of its course, the Mogi-Guaçu assumes features of a river full of meanders. Ac-

ording to the boatman that we found in the area, this section between the Córrego do Rancho Queimado and the Ribeirão das Guabiobas has, as a rule, 40 Km of navigation.

Although the approaching method had been the same as the Jacaré-Guaçu phase (gathering oral information, visitation to places where it would be probable to find archaeological remains, as rocky outcrops, gravel beds, confluences of rivers), we had better results in the gathering of information with the inhabitants of the rural area. In the same manner as in the previous phase, we established previously some points on the IBGE charts, approximately 1 Km distant one from the other. We also walked, when it was possible, through the margins of the affluents around 2 Km on the direction of its source. We did not choose for the systematic survey, with the opening of test-wells, for the area that we could observe is, almost in its totality, used for the culture of sugarcane, what has aided the visualization of the material on the field. We cannot forget also about the areas whose main economical activities are the extraction of sand and clay.

We observed some differences in relation to the area surveyed in the Jacaré-Guaçu. In the first place, we had difficulties to find sites that were closer to the main river, due to the total transformation of the landscape by economic activities that causes the degradation of the environment, among all the extraction of sand and clay. The places that we had access evidenced a destruction of the environment that has been happening, in some cases, for twenty years. In this kind of undertaking, many archaeological sites were destroyed, for on many places we just found only huge craters due to the extraction of sand.

In a section of the Jacaré-Guaçu we found the same situation in relation to the topography. Many sites, in this case, were found throughout the affluents,

giving the idea that the populations went upward through the smaller rivers searching for a propitious place to build their villages every time they had found such topographical situation. On the other side, sites were found on other places, in which the terrace was closer to the bed of the river, without a big marsh interposing the two. This is the case of the Santo Antônio site, in Motuca (in the Mogi-Guaçu phase), which we will describe later on, and the Rancho Grande site, in Boa Esperança do Sul (in the Jacaré-Guaçu phase), previously described.

Although the economic activities found in this section of the Mogi-Guaçu are very noxious to the environment and, by extension, to the archaeological heritage, they approximate people from the hydrographical environment. There are many workers' stories that says that, for extracting sand from the bed of the river, they had already found many "ancient" things, among them much archaeological material. The local inhabitants cited, mainly, the "lighting bolt stones" and the "arrow heads".

In this way, likewise the farmers, these workers give valuable informations on places where we could find archaeological remains. The problem faced is that, for coming from the river's bed, such remains could have come from other places. Notwithstanding, the simple mention to streams and localities can help us in the search for archaeological sites, what in reality happened with some informants that we met during this phase of the survey. A study of oral History and memory with these populations who live from several activities related to the Mogi-Guaçu River certainly would render precious informations about the transformations in the visions about the archaeological material. This could be done from the apprehension of this past material universe recovered from the river's bed or found in the places of agricultural activities.

Some oral information gathered could not be verified due to the available time for the research, having in mind the distance that we should walk yet. However, the informations were registered and, even if they have not been verified in this phase of the research, they could serve to future researchers that find an interest for the area and for the amplification of the investigations that we have now started.

For instance, in this phase we interviewed Mr. Pedro, who works on a place of sand extraction in the lands belonging to Rincão, in the left margin of the Mogi-Guaçu, near to the SP 255, the freeway that links Araraquara to Ribeirão Preto. Working since a long time in the region, Mr. Pedro gave us informations that could evidence the relationship of the people of the place with the "ancient" things that are found next to the Mogi-Guaçu River. Even if the informations are not exact, they give us an idea of the places that could receive a better attention later. All the places cited by the informant are a little more distant from the flume of the Mogi River, what has lead us to do not prioritize the search, since we had established, on the chart, the points to be verified closer to the main drain.

Mr. Pedro cited as places to be looked for, in relation to the occurrence of archaeological material or some phenomena linked to it, the São João farm in the Estação do Ouro (arrow head), the Cabaceiras River, an affluent of the Mogi-Guaçu by its left margin ("fire ball"),<sup>29</sup> the Cachangal farm (senzala), the Fazenda do Redondo (ancient pots) and Morro Chato in the Fazenda do Redondo (possibly cave art). The Morro Chato has already been cited by several inhabitants of the locality, in previous works that we did for other researches. However, we had not gone to verify the information yet, due to the difficulties of access.

Other information that we collected refers to a place with clay pots

in Motuca, possibly related to the Santo Antônio archaeological site, also found through oral information. According to Mr. Antônio, owner of the lands where we found the Santo Antônio archaeological site, this above-mentioned place, where we could find another archaeological site, belongs to the lands of the Bem-te-vi Ranch, the propriety of Mr. Mateus Voltarel. It is located in the Córrego do Bem-te-vi, which flows into the Ribeirão do Bonfim, an important affluent of the Mogi-Guaçu by its left margin, in the Motuca County. When we observed the IBGE chart of Guariba, in which are located the lands of Motuca that are flowed by the Mogi-Guaçu river, we realized the existence of a Bem-te-vi stream that, nonetheless, flows into the Ribeirão do Lajeado, which by its turn flows into the Ribeirão do Bonfim. We recorded the information, waiting for further journeys to the field.

Mr. Irineu Rapatoni, from Rincão, also informed us about the existence of pestle hand in the Japarutuba ranch, in Motuca, but he did not know how to say the exact name of the stream in which we found this material. We verified the other oral informations obtained in this phase of the survey and, as we found archaeological material, we will summarize them below (the complete list of sites and occurrences can be found at Table II).

- In the left margin of the Mogi-Guaçu River, in the lands belonging to the Rincão County, between the Rancho Queimado and São José streams, we found ceramic material. We labeled the finding as the São José site, whose abbreviation is SJS. It is an area where the soil is used for the sugarcane culture, which was very high and did difficult a better visualization of the remains on the surface. All the ceramic material that we could see was very fragmented, having little material to be observed, certainly due to the destruction of

the site caused by the plough. We were able to identify some little thick fragments of rim with white engobus and plastic decoration of the corrugated style, some vase wall fragments with red painting over white engobus, as well as fragments without painting and decoration. We observed all these material in the cart way between the sugarcane plantations, but we could evidence material on the surface also inside the sugarcane plantation. The site is located on the beginning of the terrace, in an area with little declivity on to the Mogi-Guaçu River. There is, between the location of the site and the river, an inundation plain with 1.750 meters. The distance of the site to the Córrego do Rancho Queimado is of 2.250 meters and, to the São José stream (the name of the site comes from it), 1.700 meters. It is placed in an area of ample mounds, whose altitude varies from 537 to 553 meters.

- Right margin of the Ribeirão das Anhumas:
- This stream, by its extension, is considered an important affluent of the Mogi-Guaçu River, flowing into the areas of the counties of Rincão, Santa Lúcia, Américo Brasiliense and Araraquara. Many informants cited the Ribeirão das Anhumas as an interesting area for the occupation of native peoples of the past. The main favorable features that some informants cited were, above all, the hunting and the fishing that were, until recently, in the 70's, still abundant. Many of the oral informations that we got, above all those from Mr. Pedro, above mentioned, are situated in areas that are flowed by the Ribeirão das Anhumas and its affluents. In a previous phase of the survey (2003), we found a fragment of Indian ceramics on the right margin of the Anhumas. At that moment, we did not know that this

fragment was very close to a ceramic site known since the 70's, which is the Rapatoni site (left margin of the Ribeirão das Anhumas), which we located and registered in the phase of survey of our project and we will describe later on.

Still on the right margin of the Ribeirão das Anhumas, in lands that belongs to the Santo Antônio farm, in the Rincão County, which were rent to the Santa Cruz Mill for the sugarcane culture, we found an archaeological site that we labeled as Anhumas I site, whose abbreviation is ANH1. The material found were fragments of thick ceramics, a potsherd painted in red and black over white engobus [Fig. 6], being the rim of a big pot, another rim fragment with decoration that reminds the incisions made with the nails [Fig. 7], and many other slim potsherds, without plastic or painted decoration.

The archaeological site is located in the area of sugarcane plantation and, when of its finding, the land was being plough, what facilitated the visualization of the material. By the dimension of the potsherds visualized on the surface, we believe that this site has, up to the moment, a much smaller degree of destruction than the previously described (São José site – SJS), what could be interesting to a future excavation.

The Anhumas I site is located at 450 meters from the Ribeirão das Anhumas, on its right margin, and at 1.700 meters from the confluence of this stream with the Mogi-Guaçu. However, on a straight line, the distance between the site's place and the Mogi-Guaçu is of 1.100 meters. The place is a terrace with little declivity on to the Ribeirão das Anhumas, with the presence of ample mounds of few altitude, whose closer higher part do not exceed 565 meters.

In the left margin of the Ribeirão das Anhumas, going upwards in the direction of its source, in the area of the Santa Cruz Mill, we found ceramic ma-

terial in the sugarcane area. As the sugarcane was high, we only could observe some very small fragments, giving the impression of being an archaeological site that has suffered much from the works of plough. The delimitation of the area and the eventual confirmation that it really was a destructed site will only be possible in a future phase, when the sugarcane will be already cut. Despite the high sugarcane, we observed some equally small fragments inside the plantation. We labeled the place as the Anhumas II archaeological site (abbreviation ANH II).

The ceramic fragments that we found are all slim, without plastic or painted decoration. The Anhumas II archaeological site is located in the lands of the Américo Brasiliense County, near to the SP 255 freeway, which links Araraquara to Ribeirão Preto. It is also near to the Araraquara Nautical Club, which uses the waters of the Ribeirão das Anhumas. It is situated at 150 meters from this stream and approximately 12 Km from the confluence of the Anhumas with the Mogi-Guaçu River. It is situated near to the plain and low area next to the stream, in the beginning of the terrace.

To this phase of the fieldwork in the Mogi-Guaçu, we intended to locate an archaeological site known since the 70's. There is, in the Araraquara County Museum, a polychromic funerary urn [Fig. 8] from this site and, in the epoch of its discovery, there was a great interest for this material. By being the first archaeological site found in the region, we had the interest of locating it to record it and to follow with archaeological investigations that could come with more information on the material.

We contacted the son of the ancient owner, Mr. Irineu Rapatoni, who gave us some important informations referring to the site and to its discovery. Mr. Irineu told us that the ceramic material was found in the Bom Retiro

farm (ancient propriety of his father, Mr. João Rapatoni) when they plough for the first time the land. He said also that, when the land was uncultivated or the plantation was lower, they could see, from the top of a mount, the black spots on the land that the researchers from the Paulista Museum had told them to be the spots of ancient Indian huts. Today, unfortunately, it is not possible anymore to observe such details, since the land have being suffering the action of the plough since that epoch (the decade of 1970).

We located, in this way, the site and labeled it as the Rapatoni archaeological site (abbreviated as RPT). We could not delimitate the area of the site, for the sugarcane was high. The Rapatoni archaeological site is located on the right margin of the Ribeirão das Anhumas, in the lands that belongs to the Rincão County, very close to a broken bridge of the ancient road that linked Ribeirão Preto to Rincão. Today, another road was built and it is located more to the right of the place of the site. The distance from the archaeological site to the Ribeirão das Anhumas is of 650 meters, and from the site to the Mogi-Guaçu River, 2.100 meters. It is situated in an area with average declivity on to the Ribeirão das Anhumas, almost on the top of the hill, which has 570 meters as its maximum altitude. We could observe on this location many ceramic fragments, all without plastic decoration [Fig. 9].

Going upwards on the Mogi-Guaçu River, already in the lands of São Carlos, in the area between the Ribeirão das Guabiobas and the Ribeirão das Araras, we found ceramic material in an archaeological site that we labeled as Itauarama (abbreviated as ITA). In this site, there are slim ceramics [Fig. 10], but we also found a thick fragment with plastic decoration in the corrugated style. We could also note, in the walls of another thick ceramic fragment, crushed sherds as organic addi-

tives. We could not delimitate the area of occurrence for the sugarcane was high. According to the owner of the Itauarama farm, where the archaeological site is located, he rented the lands to the Santa Cruz Mill, for sugarcane plantation.

The site is located in a terrace with little declivity on to the Mogi-Guaçu River, whose altitude do not exceeds 532 meters. The distance from the Mogi River is of 1.450 meters. According to the Porto Pulador chart made by the IBGE (scale 1:50.000), the site would be 150 meters from a small drain, inexistent today. The access to the place of the site is done through the SP 255, which links Ribeirão Preto to Araraquara, in the direction of Ribeirão Preto, entering at the right by the neighboring road that goes up to the Taquaral district (belonging to Rincão). The analysis of the site's situation will be possible when they cut the sugarcane, for its size did not allow a better visualization of the material on the surface.

In a talk with the inhabitants of the rural area near to the Ribeirão das Anhumas, we knew of another place with ceramic archaeological site, in the lands of Motuca. According to an informant, in the ranch of her family they collected in the past, around twenty years ago, many ceramic pieces (pots of several sizes), as well as axe blades. We went to the place and we found the remains, which we labeled as the Santo Antônio archaeological site (abbreviated as SAT). This site is presently propriety of Mr. Antônio, who lives in Motuca. His estate is divided into an area for the breeding of animals (of several species) and a bigger area for the plantation of sugarcane, in which the archaeological site is located. We found in the cart ways of the sugarcane plantation (which was high) a huge quantity of slim ceramic fragments, without plastic or painted decoration, whose organic additives, well visible, are constituted by the cariapé [Fig. 11].

According to the delimitation of the findings on the surface made through walks in the sugarcane cart ways, we could realize that the fragments have an ample distribution, differently from the sites found up to the moment. We observed fragments on the surface in an area of approximately 250 X 250 meters, whose distance from the Mogi-Guaçu River is of 450 meters. Near to the site there is the Ribeirão do Bonfim, at a distance of 350 meters. The site is, consequently, in an area near to the confluence of this stream with the Mogi-Guaçu River.

### Going on with the work

The research in process (which had its two first moments presented in this article) has as its main goal, through the elaboration and execution of all the traditional phases of the archaeological work (survey, excavation, laboratory), to create subsidies to the complementation of these previous stages into the proposal of heritage education in the Araraquara region. All the work is being conducted in a way as to turn viable the transformation of the knowledge of an Indian past and its relationship with

the actual population, making this past as something relevant to the national society, generally leaved behind,<sup>30</sup> and rethinking the relationship between the ethnical and national identities, traditionally seen as opposed things.<sup>31</sup>

The primordial goal of this research, heritage education, seeks to act out in the most different social sectors and to hit an ample public through lectures, short-courses to teachers, and the assemblage of an exhibition, as well as the presentation of partial results to the scientific community in articles, symposia and meetings. We also aim at the elaboration of a publication (about the region's Indian past) to primary and secondary school teachers, and the elaboration of a PhD thesis on the archaeological material of the region.

In a theoretical level, we prioritize the study of the role that material culture have in the imaginary of society, despite its transformations (myth transformed into beliefs and popular tales). How such apprehensions can bring us informations, even multifarious, about the vision that national society has, today, of the Indian populations that lived in the Araraquara region? The field-

works and the contact with the community of the region of Araraquara revealed a great research potential in this sense. To take into consideration the discourse that the people of the community utter about the archaeological sites can help us in the construction of a "prehistoric" Indian more connected to what we call national History. The future works or already under way, the systematic gathering of material and the laboratorial analyses, conjugated to the heritage education that comes from the research proposal seeks this goal.

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*English version: Marcelo Hilsdorf Marotta*

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pedro Paulo A. Funari, Charles E. Orser Jr, Solange Nunes Oliveira Schiavetto. *Identidades, discurso e poder: estudos da Arqueologia contemporânea*. São Paulo: Annablume / FAPESP, 2005, FAPESP Process no. 04/05273-6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pedro Paulo A. Funari, Andrés] Zarankin, Emily Stovel. *Global Archaeological Theory*, New York: Kluwer / Fapesp, 2005, FAPESP Process no. 03/12576-2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Solange Nunes Oliveira Schiavetto. *A Arqueologia guarani: construção e desconstrução da identidade indígena*. São Paulo: Annablume / FAPESP, 2003, FAPESP Process no. 2002/07184-5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pedro Paulo A. Funari. "Public archaeology in Brazil". In *Public Archaeology*, edited by Nick Merriman. London and New York: Routledge, 2004, 200-12.

<sup>6</sup> MANO, Marcel. "Os campos de Ara coara: um ensaio de perspectiva etno-histórica". *Re-*

*vista Uniara*. Araraquara (SP), 3:13-37, 1998.

<sup>7</sup> It is important to highlight that, in this work, we have used the nomenclature adopted by the Pronapa (as, for instance, the archaeological traditions), for a better understanding of the archaeological picture seen through such nomenclature. However, this research do not follow the pronapian model and do not have as its aim to discuss the interaction from fossilized models of culture that the Brazilian Archaeology has used in the course of its history.

<sup>8</sup> BROCHADO, José P. *An ecological model of the spread of ceramist and agriculture into eastern south America*. Chicago: University of Illinois, PhD Thesis, 1984.

<sup>9</sup> MANO, 1998, Op. cit.; MANO, Marcel. *Os campos de Araraquara: um estudo de história indígena no interior paulista*. PhD Thesis, IFCH / Unicamp, 2006.

<sup>10</sup> CALDARELLI, Solange B. Projeto: Prospecção arqueológica na Faixa de Servidão da Linha de Transmissão 138 Kv SE Pirangi

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- <sup>11</sup> CALDARELLI, 1983, Op. cit.
- <sup>12</sup> MORAES, 2005, Op. cit.
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- <sup>14</sup> GODOY, 1946, Op. cit.
- <sup>15</sup> CALDARELLI, 2003b, Op. cit.
- <sup>16</sup> MORAIS, 1995, Op. cit.
- <sup>17</sup> BROCHADO, 1984, Op. cit.
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- <sup>21</sup> IPT 1999, Op. cit.
- <sup>22</sup> IPT 1999, Op. cit.
- <sup>23</sup> IPT 1999, Op. cit., p. 43.
- <sup>24</sup> BRIGANTE, Janete & ESPÍNDOLA, Evaldo L. G. (Eds.). *Limnologia fluvial: um estudo no rio Mogi-Guaçu*. São Carlos (SP): RIMA, 2003, p. 4.
- <sup>25</sup> BRIGANTE, Janete & ESPÍNDOLA, Evaldo, 2003, Op. cit., p. 5.
- <sup>26</sup> CBH-Mogi / CREUPI. Diagnóstico da bacia hidrográfica do rio Mogi-Guaçu “Relatório Zero”. 219 pp. Agosto de 1999.
- <sup>27</sup> BRIGANTE, Janete & ESPÍNDOLA, Evaldo, 2003, Op. cit., p. 9.
- <sup>28</sup> CBH-Mogi / CREUPI 1999, Op. cit., p. 52.
- <sup>29</sup> In this case, the informant could be referring to the natural phenomenon known as the will-of-the-wisp. We had already noted that many people who live in the rural areas and know archaeological material refer to this kind of phenomenon generally occurring in the same place where they describe to have “lighting bolt stones” and “Indian’s vessels”. In reality, when we observe the Indian myths, above all the Tupi myths described by some travelers and analyzed by Alfred Métraux (MÉTRAUX, Alfred. *A religião dos tupinambás e suas relações com a das demais tribos tupi-guarani*. 2. ed, Brasília 267, 1979), we realized that such phenomena could have some relation with the archaeological sites of the ceramist peoples. The ancient Tupi linked such phenomenon to the legend of the *baetalá* (fire thing or, as it is suggested by the radical *mboi*, fire snake, generally occurring near to the rivers and places where they buried their relatives).
- <sup>30</sup> FUNARI, Pedro P. A. “Os desafios da destruição e conservação do patrimônio cultural no Brasil”. *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*. Porto, 41:23-32, 2001.
- <sup>31</sup> SCHIAVETTO, Solange N. O. “A questão étnica no discurso arqueológico: afirmação de uma identidade indígena minoritária ou inserção na identidade nacional?” In: FUNARI, Pedro P. A., ORSER Jr., Charles E. & SCHIAVETTO, Solange N. O. *Identidades, discurso e poder: estudos da Arqueologia contemporânea*. Fapesp / Annablume, 2005, p. 77-90.