

REVISTA DE  
HISTÓRIA DA ARTE  
E ARQUEOLOGIA



N. 24 / JUL/DEZ 2015  
ISSN 1413-0874  
BRASIL

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**Universidade Estadual de Campinas**  
Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas  
Departamento de História  
Pós-graduação em História da Arte  
**Centro de História da Arte e Arqueologia**

Indexada em

*BHA – Bibliography of the History of Art*  
(Getty Center, EUA)

*Francis*  
(INIST-CNRS, França)

*Qualis Periódicos*  
(CAPES, Brasil)

## Editorial

O número 24 da **RHAA** é inteiramente dedicado ao dossiê “Visões da arte colonial no século XIX: crítica, exposições e escolas no Brasil, Chile, Colômbia e México”. Organizado pelos professores e pesquisadores Leticia Squeff e Jens Baumgarten, da UNIFESP (Brasil), o dossiê apresenta artigos de Squeff e Baumgarten, dos colegas internacionais Fernando Guzmán e Marcela Drien da Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez (Chile), Juan Ricardo Rey-Márquez da Universidad de Buenos Aires e da UNTREF (Argentina) e Ray Hernández-Durán da University of New Mexico (EUA).

A edição representa um ponto de virada na história da RHAA. Após este número, o último de periodicidade semestral, a RHAA voltará a ser publicada anualmente, como foi concebida em sua origem. Além disso, devido às mudanças editoriais decorrentes das facilidades da produção digital e do acesso via internet, passaremos também a publicar, de forma efetiva e exclusiva, somente em suporte digital. Esperamos assim dinamizar o fluxo de conhecimento das disciplinas, bem como ampliar a sua difusão, mantendo-se as missões e os objetivos que sempre orientaram a RHAA.

**REVISTA DE  
HISTÓRIA DA ARTE  
E ARQUEOLOGIA**

N. 24 / JUL./DEZ 2015  
ISSN 2179-2305 (online)  
BRASIL

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A *Revista de História da Arte e Arqueologia, RHAA* é o primeiro periódico científico brasileiro a tratar as duas disciplinas de modo correlato. Publicada pelo Centro de História da Arte e Arqueologia da Universidade Estadual de Campinas, CHAA Unicamp, sua missão é promover um maior desenvolvimento dos temas sobretudo no Brasil, relacionando-os com a produção internacional da área. A *RHAA* tem por objetivo a publicação de trabalhos de especialistas brasileiros e estrangeiros sobre qualquer assunto de História da Arte e Arqueologia, promovendo-os nacional e internacionalmente.

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# Introdução:

## Visões da arte colonial no século XIX: crítica, exposições e escolas no Brasil, Chile, Colômbia e México

Leticia Squeff

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O Departamento de História da Arte da Universidade Federal de São Paulo (UNIFESP) e o da Universidade de Zurique (UZH) foram parceiros na realização do Projeto “Barroco Global: abordagens transculturais e trans-históricas para a América Latina”, que fez parte da iniciativa “Connecting Art Histories”, financiado pela Getty Foundation, sediada nos Estados Unidos. O objetivo, entre outros, era aprofundar os debates acerca do contexto cultural do discurso barroco estendido para as esferas de influência dos impérios português e espanhol desde o início da Era Moderna e sua produção de material artístico-visual. Fruto da iniciativa dos professores Tristan Weddigen e Jens Baumgarten, o projeto visava redefinir o campo investigativo do assim chamado Período Barroco, compreendido como primeiro momento privilegiado de contraste e superposição – em escala mundial – de formas artísticas ocidentais e analisá-lo como modelo de globalização da arte e da história da arte, que interligava o início da Era Moderna e os Períodos Moderno e Contemporâneo.

O contato direto com estudantes e professores de outras universidades trouxe um inegável ganho aos envolvidos, mediante a troca de experiências e intercâmbio cultural. Nesse sentido, a experiência intercultural foi estendida à sociedade por meio dos eventos internacionais abertos, como palestras, encontros e *workshops* realizados gratuitamente em locais públicos. As questões referentes à participação do Brasil na América Ibérica, sua identidade e seu relacionamento socioeconômico e cultural com os demais países do bloco foram amplamente debatidas pelo viés das manifestações artísticas.

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A ideia deste dossiê surgiu após a participação de alguns dos autores no *workshop Desafios teóricos: uma revisão da historiografia da arte colonial no mundo ibérico*.<sup>1</sup> O objetivo principal do *workshop* era repensar a historiografia da arte colonial no mundo ibérico, sobretudo na América Ibérica, problematizando seus marcos teóricos e categorias de análise: os debates sobre estilos, escolas, os problemas de autoria e materialidade, as questões de identidade e das relações entre as artes e a política, entre outros. Os textos aqui reunidos lidam com esses temas a partir de diversos pontos de vista, mas têm uma base comum: todos discutem as interpretações oitocentistas a respeito da arte colonial. O século XIX torna-se, assim, uma espécie de tema (ou problema?) associado à discussão sobre a arte colonial e suas categorias. A vinculação entre a arte do século XIX e a do período colonial coloca a necessidade de desfazermos alguns equívocos que se tornaram comuns na historiografia, e também propor novas formas de compreender a dialética entre tradição local e relação com modelos europeus – duas questões candentes para uma reflexão sobre a historiografia da arte nas Américas.

\* \* \*

Tradicionalmente, a história da arte na América Ibérica foi construída a partir de modelos externos. A intenção de construir uma história linear, marcada pela ideia de progresso – a exemplo da história da arte na Europa – levou, muitas vezes, à definição de marcos temporais em função de estruturas pré-existentes. A interpretação dos fenômenos americanos se dava a partir de uma cronologia da história europeia. Seguindo esse raciocínio, a história da arte nas Américas foi dividida, grosso modo, entre o que ficou consagrado como “pré-colombiano” e o que ocorria após a conquista. No período pós-conquista, os fenômenos artísticos foram organizados em função de uma cronologia associada à história social e política: arte colonial, arte das nações independentes, e finalmente, a emergência da chamada arte moderna no século XX. Em alguns lugares, o período colonial seria associado ao barroco, e a arte das nações independentes à arte acadêmica, também

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<sup>1</sup> O workshop aconteceu entre os dias 3 e 5 de junho de 2015, na Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo. Agradecemos a todos os colaboradores na organização deste evento: Jens Baumgarten, Tristan Weddigen, Gabriela Siracusano, Fernando Guzmán, Ana Paula Salvat e Charlotte Matter. Também agradecemos a Carolina Vanegas Carrasco pela leitura e comentários a respeito desta introdução.

referida genericamente como neoclássica em diversos manuais. A mudança entre um estilo e outro foi estabelecida por alguns autores na independência, e por outros na introdução do neoclassicismo nas Américas.

Entre as manifestações artísticas posteriores à conquista, a chamada “arte colonial”, aquela produzida sob os impérios espanhol e português, foi durante longo tempo o que mais atraiu as atenções. A pintura religiosa, os retratos, os materiais utilizados em esculturas e objetos sacros, a representação de grupos multiétnicos, entre outros, atraíram o gosto de colecionadores e o interesse de historiadores. Esse interesse pela arte colonial também levou, por exemplo, à organização de grandes compêndios sobre “arte na América Latina”. Já no âmbito interno, a “arte colonial” ou “barroca” seria mote para discursos a respeito das “identidades” locais ou mesmo a respeito de uma identidade “latino-americana” compartilhada. A “América Barroca”, a “América Surrealista” são algumas das definições que se alinham a esses esquemas de pensamento.

Em oposição ao interesse por obras e objetos coloniais, a arte oitocentista nas Américas era associada às efemérides nacionais, como se sua produção fosse apenas resultado da construção das nações independentes e dos projetos políticos de cada uma. Ou como se muitas práticas coloniais não tivessem persistido, resistindo às reviravoltas políticas. Além disso, a arquitetura dos estilos e a prática artística acadêmica, enxergadas a partir de pontos de vista “modernos” ou modernistas, foram classificadas por muitos como “ecléticas” e pouco criativas. Artistas e arquitetos oitocentistas pareciam simples repetidores de fórmulas criadas além-mar. A criatividade e identidade nas artes americanas só teriam sido regatadas pelas vanguardas a partir dos anos 1920. O indigenismo, a antropofagia, a revalorização das práticas afro-americanas, entre outros, concorrerem para promover o interesse por aspectos do passado de cada nação. O que aconteceu no século XIX permaneceria, contudo, “no meio” destes dois polos – o das colônias e o das vanguardas.

\* \* \*

Felizmente, tem havido uma grande renovação nos estudos acadêmicos. A história da arte global, os estudos pós-coloniais, os estudos visuais, entre outros, vêm arejando as pesquisas em história da arte nas Américas. As periodizações rígidas, as abordagens estilísticas e pautadas nos “ismos”, bem como as biografias de artistas cedem espaço para estudos que incluem a materialidade, a trajetória dos objetos e as geografias artísticas. Pesquisas alinhadas ao “barroco global” ou ao “classicismo global” incluem as Américas em visadas mais amplas, problematizando também a própria disciplina da história da arte em seus limites conceituais, tradicionalmente eurocêntricos.

Alguns trabalhos têm mostrado, por exemplo, como artistas, antes chamados simplesmente de “barrocos”, fizeram apropriações criativas da tradição visual disponível. Diversos estudiosos vêm mostrando, de um lado, o quanto imagens até então associadas aos estados nacionais e a discursos identitários articulavam-se a um universo de circulação mais amplo, ligado a aspectos dos gêneros artísticos e/ou literários, bem como a dinâmicas de mercado e da circulação internacional de objetos (casos do *costumbrismo* e dos álbuns de viagem, por exemplo). Tem sido apontado o quanto a prática artística é compósita de influências e recriações diversas, evitando-se uma abordagem que a associe simplesmente como manifestação da identidade ou da nacionalidade.

Por outro lado, alguns pesquisadores vêm apontando não apenas para a necessidade de contextualizar termos vagos como “arte acadêmica”, bem como a importância de se levar em conta a complexidade da formação artística e das escolhas feitas pelos artistas das Américas no século XIX. Trajetórias de artistas como José Gil de Castro, Rugendas, Cicarelli, Monvoisin, entre outros, que viajaram por diferentes pontos do território, têm permitido retratar a existência de geografias artísticas americanas que se constituíram em função de contingências locais. Abordagens comparativas entre diferentes partes das Américas têm permitido visões renovadas da pintura de paisagem e da pintura de história. O que durante um tempo era explicado em função de temas como nação e identidade ganha novas nuances, que problematizam e exploram as dialéticas entre estilos internacionais e demandas locais e as apropriações e adaptações por artistas e grupos. Exposições, colecionadores, mecenas, a circulação de obras e artistas, bem como obras tradicionalmente consideradas fora da história da arte, como as gravuras que circulavam em revistas e álbuns, entre outros, estão entre os novos objetos de pesquisa que surgem a partir destas novas perspectivas. Este dossiê vem ao encontro dessas pesquisas.

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Este dossiê trata da história das ideias sobre arte e da circulação de objetos artísticos, extraídos de estudos de caso no Brasil, Chile, Colômbia e México a partir da segunda metade do século XIX. Os artigos têm como objeto a crítica de arte, as exposições, a circulação de valores por meio de revistas e gravuras, iluminando também os problemas do patrimônio e da construção de uma tradição própria desde os anos 1840 em diante.

O dossiê abre com a contribuição de Jens Baumgarten, que faz uma discussão teórica a respeito do conceito de barroco global e seu significado como instância de confronto entre a história da arte na Europa e nas Américas. O barroco torna-se um caso de globalização da arte e da história



da arte. Essa abordagem permite a Baumgarten questionar a construção ideológica e estética que a historiografia fez do barroco. De fato, a questão perpassa diversos artigos do presente dossiê.

Fernando Guzmán e Marcela Drien iluminam dois âmbitos diferentes da cultura artística de Santiago nos anos 1850: a arte religiosa e a laica. Guzmán faz um levantamento das publicações sobre arte em bibliotecas públicas e privadas de Santiago, tratando da circulação de modelos críticos e valores estéticos. O autor mostra como a leitura de obras de autores como Vasari e Winckelmann teria inspirado membros das elites a defenderem a destruição de altares barrocos. A substituição de imagens coloniais promoveria o *buen gusto* em Santiago, fomentando novas formas de devoção.

Marcela Drien mostra como as exposições promovidas em Santiago a partir dos anos 1850 motivaram diferentes visadas a respeito da história e da arte no período colonial. Tratando dessas exposições em catálogos e artigos, homens como Miguel Luis Amunátegui (1828-1888) e Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1831-1886) refletem sobre a arte colonial e o modo de inseri-la numa narrativa da história da arte local. Os ensaios de Guzmán e Drien são complementares, iluminando dois aspectos da formação do campo artístico no Chile: um, relativo à arte sacra; e outro laico, que começa a mudar sob o impacto da abertura das exposições privadas e a fundação da Academia.

O artigo de Leticia Squeff traz uma nova interpretação de um tema já bastante discutido a respeito de Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-1879): seu posicionamento com relação à arte chamada barroca do século XVIII no Rio de Janeiro. O barroco é um tema central nos estudos sobre arte colonial no Brasil. E Porto-Alegre é tradicionalmente visto como o primeiro a adotar a palavra barroco, bem como o primeiro a desenvolver uma interpretação negativa dos edifícios e objetos feitos naquele estilo. O artigo sugere o contrário. Inspirado na leitura de Luigi Lanzi e outros autores, Porto-Alegre adota a ideia de escola artística para tratar da pintura colonial. Graças a isso, o historiador não apresentou uma visão crítica do barroco. Ao contrário, o crítico constrói uma interpretação do passado que integrava artistas do período colonial num todo coerente, concebido como história da arte brasileira.

O artigo de Juan Ricardo Rey-Márquez entra no dossiê de modo a discutir as diversas temporalidades que se sobrepõem no discurso crítico e histórico a respeito da arte colonial. O autor desdobra as diferentes camadas de significação atribuídas a um mesmo objeto artístico ao longo do tempo, apontando o terreno movediço e instável daquilo a que chamamos “patrimônio”. O quadro *Martirio de San Sebastián (c.1700)*, que era objeto de devoção quando visto em seu local original, a Capela de Jesús Nazareno, torna-se apenas mais uma obra de arte no Museo Nacional de Colombia. Além disso, o autor mostra como a interpretação sobre arte colonial na Colômbia se estruturou, nos anos 1860, em torno de um debate racial. A referência ao “castizo”, remetendo à herança espanhola,

e ao “mestizo” – em referência aos cruzamentos no território americano – polariza as discussões a respeito da qualidade e da importância da arte da Nova Granada. Rey-Márquez também aponta o vigor da interpretação pejorativa da arte colonial, que persistiu durante mais de um século. A historiografia da arte na Colômbia teria sido perpassada, durante muito tempo, por um viés de fundo racista e eurocêntrico.

Convidado especialmente para participar deste dossiê, Ray Hernández-Durán trata da história da Academia de San Carlos e da constituição da historiografia da arte no México. O autor reconstitui a história da academia mexicana e enfatiza sua importância na constituição da galeria da *Antigua Escuela Mexicana*. Ele compara as interpretações da história da arte colonial por dois autores: o mexicano José Bernardo Couto (1803-1862), autor do conhecido *Dialogo sobre la historia de la pintura en Mexico* (1872); e o norte-americano Robert Henry Lamborn (1835-1895), magnata e colecionador de obras de arte, que publicou em 1892 o livro *Mexican Painting and Painters: A Brief Sketch of the Development of the Spanish School of Painting in Mexico*. O confronto entre as interpretações do empresário norte-americano e do diretor e reformador da academia mexicana a respeito da arte colonial mostra como a historiografia foi perpassada por projetos nacionalistas e visões partidárias. Hernández-Durán aponta a centralidade do passado colonial na construção da identidade e da história do México.

Os artigos aqui reunidos discutem importantes questões da arte oitocentista nas Américas. Podemos mencionar algumas. Em primeiro lugar, o papel das academias de arte na promoção de um sistema artístico laico. O artigo de Hernández-Durán sugere curiosas sincronias entre a história da academia mexicana e da academia no Rio de Janeiro nos anos 1850-60. A galeria com a *antigua escuela mexicana* foi organizada na Academia de San Carlos poucos anos antes da primeira tentativa de disposição dos quadros como *galleria progressiva* na academia carioca em 1859. Nos anos 1850, Araújo Porto-Alegre escrevia sobre a “escola fluminense de pintura” e sobre a “escola brasileira”. E em 1879 a Academia do Rio de Janeiro organizou a primeira versão da “Coleção de Quadros Nacionais formando a Escola Brasileira”. Além disso, as duas coleções de quadros, a da “antigua escuela mexicana” e a da “escola brasileira de pintura” são fruto de um esforço de estado, a partir das academias mexicana e fluminense. Em contraste, no Chile, no mesmo período, são algumas exposições particulares que incluem quadros feitos no período colonial, como mostra Marcela Drien. Neste contexto, o debate entre tradição “local” e arte acadêmica se institui inicialmente como projeto privado, tornando-se público por meio dos debates entre os intelectuais.

Em segundo lugar, alguns textos vinculam a organização de exposições de arte e o surgimento da crítica e da historiografia. Os artigos de Drien, Squeff e Hernández-Durán sugerem que a historiografia oitocentista se desenvolve articulada ao sistema artístico mais amplo das

exposições e coleções de arte. Finalmente, outros artigos tratam do desafio de inscrever o passado colonial em uma narrativa da história da arte geral, tema que foi problematizado por Guzmán e por Rey-Márquez.

Finalmente, neste ponto, é interessante perceber semelhanças entre as diversas interpretações da arte colonial por parte de críticos e intelectuais dos diferentes círculos artísticos americanos. Vicuña Mackenna, no Chile; Araújo Porto-Alegre, no Brasil; José Manuel Groot, na Colômbia; e José Bernardo Couto, no México, buscam inserir as artes coloniais na narrativa mais ampla da história da arte geral de cada país. Pretendem, cada um com suas especificidades, sintonizar a arte de seu país com os valores europeus: seja comparando artistas locais com os “primitivos” italianos, seja propondo um modo próprio de compreender a história local de modo a incluir esses artistas coloniais. A comparação dos artistas coloniais com primitivos italianos, a crença na superioridade do cristianismo como uma força civilizadora e o viés conservador que permeia os discursos estão entre os pontos comuns dos autores aqui discutidos.

Os diversos artigos deste dossiê sugerem o quanto o conhecimento sobre a arte colonial nas Américas surge perpassado por ideologias típicas do oitocentos: da nacionalidade, da raça, do progresso, do museu, entre outras. Sugerem, além do mais, a importância da arte colonial para os pensadores ibero-americanos do século XIX. Desta forma, a leitura deste dossiê permite perceber que a arte colonial não é somente um tema do século XIX, mas é também, talvez, mais uma de suas invenções.



# Forward:

## Envisioning colonial art in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: art criticism, exhibitions and schools in Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico

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The Project “Global Baroque: transcultural and transhistorical approaches to Latin America” was a continued partnership between the art history departments of the Federal University of Sao Paulo (UNIFESP) and of the University of Zurich (UZH), into the “Connecting Art Histories” program supported and sponsored by The Getty Foundation, USA. It intended to deepen and broaden questions about criteria, methods, and theoretical approaches for a transcultural comparison of visual art and architecture in Latin America within a global system of circulation and transfer.

The baroque, as a seemingly universal stylistic phenomenon, connecting the early modern, the modern, and the contemporary periods, shall be analyzed as a case and model of globalization of art and art history. The transcultural approach to the baroque covers the cross-cultural impact of its style, the intercultural and local differentiation of its forms and meanings, its function as a means of cultural hybridization and amalgamation, and its uses as a means of national identity building. The transhistorical approach points to the alleged historical transcendence and universality of the baroque style, as established by late 19<sup>th</sup> century art history, and aims at analyzing the ensuing ideological and aesthetic constructions of history by the means of baroque style in Latin America. An outcome of this project was the possibility of reevaluating local and national theoretical standards by offering a critical perspective on the issue of cultural exchange, which aim was to contribute to the development of a transnational art history and its debates.

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The idea of this volume emerged after the participation of some of the authors in the workshop “Theoretical Challenges: the historiography of colonial art in the Iberian world”.<sup>1</sup> The main objective of the workshop was to rethink the historiography of colonial art in the Iberian world, especially in the Americas, challenging its theories and categories of analysis: the debates about styles, schools, the problems of authorship and materiality, issues of identity and the relationship between the arts and politics, among others. The texts here deal with these issues from various points of view, but they have a common basis: all discuss the 19th century approaches to colonial art. The nineteenth century becomes a kind of topic (or problem?) associated with the discussion on colonial art and their categories. The relationship between the nineteenth century and the art of the colonial period demands the necessity to remove some misconceptions that have become common in historiography, and propose new ways of understanding the dialectic between local tradition and its relationship with European models- two vital issues for a reflection on the historiography of art in the Americas.

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Traditionally, art history of Iberian America was inspired by foreign models. The intention to create a linear history, marked by the idea of progress – following the example of art history in Europe – has led sometimes to the definition of a cronology for art in the Americas based upon pre-existing structures. The interpretation of American phenomena followed the chronology of history in Europe. The history of art in the Americas was divided roughly between what was defined as “pre-Columbian” and what occurred after the conquest. In the post-conquest, artistic phenomena were organized based on a timeline associated with social and political history: colonial art, art of independent nations, and finally, the so-called modern art in 20<sup>th</sup> century Hispano-American countries. In some nationss, colonial period would be associated with Baroque style, and the art of independent Nations to academic art, also referred to generically as neoclassical in several manuals. The shift between a stylistic period to another was established by some authors in the Independence of Iberian nations, by others in the introduction of neoclassicism.

Among artistic manifestations after the conquest, the so-called “colonial art”, that produced under the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, was for a long time what more attracted attention. The religious painting, pictures, materials used in sculptures and sacred objects, the representation of

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<sup>1</sup> The workshop took place on 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> June 2015, in Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, Brazil. Many thanks to all involved in the organization of the workshop: Jens Baumgarten, Tristan Weddigen, Gabriela Siracusano, Fernando Guzmán, Ana Paula Salvat, Charlotte Matter. We also thank Carolina Vanegas Carrasco for her comments on this introduction.

multi-ethnic groups, amongst others tastes of collectors and have attracted the interest of historians. This interest in colonial art also led, for example, the organization of major textbooks on “art in Latin America”. Already within, the “colonial” or “Baroque art” would be motto for speeches about “local identities or even about a” Latin American “identity”. The “Baroque” America, America “Surreal” are some of the definitions that align to these schemes of thought.

Nineteenth century art of the Americas was associated with the national celebrations, as if its production would be a direct result of nation building and their political projects. Or as if many colonial practices have not resisted through the political upheavals of the new nations. In addition, the architecture of styles and academic practices were classified as “eclectic” by modern and modernist approaches. Nineteenth century artists and architects seemed simple repeaters of formulas created overseas. Creativity and identity in the arts would have been rescued by the Latin American avantgardes only in 1920s. Indigenism, Anthropophagy, the revaluation of African American practices would promote a renewed interest for the history of American nations. However, what happened in the 19th century would remain “in the Middle” of these two poles – that of the colonial times and that of the avantgardes.

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Fortunately, Global art history, postcolonial studies, Visual Studies, among others have been renewing the research in history of art in the Americas. Rigid stylistic approaches grounded in the “isms” as well as the biographies of artists hand over space for studies that include materiality, the trajectory of the objects and the geographies of art. Research aligned with “global baroque” or “global classicism” include the Americas in a broader perspective, also challenging the very discipline of art history in its traditionally Eurocentric concepts.

Some studies have shown, for example, that artists classified as “Baroque” by certain historians, have made a creative appropriation of the eighteenth-century visual traditions available. Several scholars have shown, on the other hand, how images until recently associated with the national State and with local identities were articulated with artistic and/or literary genres, as well as with the dynamics of the international circulation of goods and objects (costumbrismo and travel albums, for example). Some scholars also point out how artistic practice is constituted by different appropriations, avoiding to approach it as simple identity or nationality’s pure manifestation.

On the other hand, some researchers are pointing not only to the need to contextualize vague terms like “academic art”, as well as the importance of considering the complexity of the artistic

formation and the choices made by artists of the Americas in the nineteenth century. Life and work of artists such as José Gil de Castro, Rugendas, Cicarelli, Monvoisin, among others, who travelled through different parts of the territory, have traced geographies of art created by internal contingencies. A comparative approach among different parts of the Americas have allowed renewed visions of landscape painting and history painting. What was once explained based on nation and identity now gains new nuances, to challenge and explore the dialectics between international styles and local demands and the appropriations by artists and groups. Exhibitions, collectors, the circulation of artworks and artists through several cities and exhibition venues, as well as images traditionally considered outside of art history, like prints are among the new topics of recent studies. This volume is aligned with these researches.

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This volume deals with the history of ideas about art and the circulation of artworks drawn from case studies in Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico from the second half of the 19th century. The essays consider the art criticism, exhibitions, the circulation of values through magazines and engravings, illuminating also cultural heritage and the invention of traditions since the early 1840 onwards. The volume opens with the contribution of Jens Baumgarten, who makes a theoretical discussion about the concept of global baroque and its meaning as an instance of confrontation between the history of art in Europe and the Americas. Baroque becomes a case of globalization of art and art history. This approach allows Baumgarten to discuss the ideological and aesthetic construction of the Baroque made by historiography. In fact, historiography is put at stake by several articles of this volume.

The chapters by Fernando Guzmán and by Marcela Drien shed light on two different aspects of the artistic culture in Santiago of the years 1850: the religious and the secular art. Guzmán makes a survey of publications about art in public and private libraries of Santiago, dealing with the circulation of critical models and aesthetic values. The author indicates how the knowledge of authors such as Vasari and Winckelmann have inspired members of the elites to defend the destruction of baroque altarpieces of Santiago. The replacement of colonial images would promote the *buen gusto* in Santiago by fostering new forms of devotion.

Marcela Drien argues that exhibitions from the years 1850 on have promoted different opinions regarding history and art of the colonial period. Writing about these exhibitions in catalogues and reviews, men like Miguel Luis Amunátegui (1828-1888) and Benjamín Vicuña



Mackenna (1831-1886) examine colonial art and reflect on how to insert it into a narrative of the local history of art. The essays by Guzmán and Drien are complementary, illuminating two aspects of the formation of an artistic field in Chile: one concerning the religious art and other secular, that begins to change under the impact of the opening of the private exhibitions and the foundation of the Academy.

Leticia Squeff's article sheds a new light on a well-known topic about Brazilian critic Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-79), reexamining his approach on Baroque art and architecture. Baroque is a central subject of studies in Brazilian art. And Porto-Alegre is known as the first critic to use the concept of baroque, as well as the first to develop a negative interpretation of baroque buildings and objects. The article suggests another interpretation of Porto-Alegre's approach about colonial art. Inspired by Luigi Lanzi and other authors, Porto-Alegre adopts the idea of school in his essays about colonial painting. Thanks to it, the historian did not present a critical view of the Baroque style, as was pointed out during a long time. On the contrary, Porto-Alegre's interpretation of the past included artists from the colonial period into a coherent vision, defined as history of Brazilian art.

In his essay Juan Ricardo Rey-Márquez sheds light on the various temporalities that overlap in critical discourse and history about colonial art. The author reveals the different layers of meaning assigned to an object over time, pointing the shaky ground and what we call "patrimony". The painting *Martyrdom of San Sebastián (c.1700)*, which was object of devotion when viewed in its original site, the chapel of Jesús Nazareno, becomes just another piece of art in the Museo Nacional de Colombia. Furthermore, the author also shows how the interpretation of colonial art in Colombia was developed, since the years 1860, around racial concepts. The reference to "castizo", concerning the Spanish heritage, and "mestizo" – in allusion to the intermixing that took place in the American territory-polarizes discussions regarding the quality and the importance of the art of New Granada. Rey-Márquez also points out the strength of a derogatory interpretation about colonial art that endured for more than a century. The historiography of art in Colombia would have a deep racist and Eurocentric bias.

Invited specially to participate in this volume, Ray Hernandez-Durán investigates the history of the Academy of San Carlos and of the constitution of the historiography of art in Mexico. The author reconstructs the history of Mexican Academy and the organization of the so-called Old Mexican School of Painting gallery. He compares the interpretations of the history of colonial art by two authors: the Mexican José Bernardo Couto (1803-1862), author of the well-known *Dialogo sobre la historia de la pintura en Mexico* (1872), and the American Robert Henry Lamborn (1835-1895), magnate and collector of art, who published in 1892 the book *Mexican Painting and*

*Painters: A Brief Sketch of the Development of the Spanish School of Painting in Mexico.* The comparison between the ideas of the American businessman and the director of the Mexican Academy regarding colonial art shows how historiography was pervaded by nationalism and partisan politics. Hernández-Durán points out the centrality of the colonial past to identity formation and to the history of Mexico.

The collection of essays considers critical aspects of nineteenth century art in the Americas. First, the role of the art academies in fostering a secular artistic circle. Hernández-Durán's essay suggests similarities between the story of the Mexican Academy and that of the Academy in Rio de Janeiro during the years 1850-60. The gallery of Old Mexican School of Painting was organized at Academy of San Carlos a few years before the first attempt of display the paintings as *galleria progressiva* in 1859 exhibition at Academy of Rio de Janeiro. In the years 1850, Araújo Porto-Alegre wrote about a Brazilian school of Painting. "And in 1879 the Academy of Rio de Janeiro organized the first version of the Collection of National Paintings forming the Brazilian School". In addition, the two collections of paintings, the "antigua escuela mexicana" and the "Escola Brasileira" are created in public institutions, the academies of Mexico and Rio de Janeiro. And fluminense. In contrast, in Chile are private collections that gathered colonial paintings among academic artworks, as shows Marcela Drien. Hence, the debate between "local" tradition and academic art began initially as a private endeavor, reaching the public sphere through texts published in catalogues and others. Second, some essays shed light on the connections between the organization of exhibitions and the emergence of art criticism and historiography. The essays by Drien, Squeff and Hernández-Durán indicate that 19th century historiography is articulated to the broader artistic system of exhibitions and art collections. Finally, articles by Guzmán and by Rey-Márquez deal with the effort made by intellectuals and artists to arrange colonial past in a narrative of general art history.

At this point, there are many similarities between the various interpretations of colonial art by critics and intellectuals of different artistic circles in the Americas. Vicuña Mackenna in Chile, Araújo Porto-Alegre in Brazil, José Manuel Groot in Colombia and José Bernardo Couto in Mexico seek to comprise colonial art in to a broader narrative of art history from each country. They intend to tune art of their countries with European values: be it comparing local artists with "primitive" Italians, or by including these colonial artists in the local history. The comparison of colonial artists with Italian primitives, the belief in the superiority of Christianity as a civilizing force, the conservative bias that permeates the speeches are among the commonalities of the authors discussed here. The Essays on this volume indicate how much the knowledge about colonial art in the Americas relates to 19th century ideologies such as nationality, race, progress, museum, among

others. Therefore, this volume clarifies that colonial art is not only a subject of the 19th century, but is also, perhaps, another one of its inventions.



# Barroco Global – aspectos transculturais e trans-históricos: algumas reflexões preliminares

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**RESUMO** Nos últimos anos o termo o barroco global ganhou uma relevância maior no campo das ciências culturais. Este artigo – apresentado com reflexões preliminares – pretende contextualizar essa abordagem transcultural e trans-histórica dentro dos desenvolvimentos da chamada arte global. Também tenta (des-)construir os fundamentos historiográficos do século XIX bem como as possíveis implicações teóricas para o século XXI.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE** Barroco, teoria, historiografia.



**Fig. 1: Fachada da igreja San Joaquin, 1869, Iloilo, Filipinas.**

**Foto: Jens Baumgarten.**



**Fig. 2: Fachada da igreja de Miagao, 1787, Iloilo, Filipinas.**

**Foto: Jens Baumgarten.**

A fachada da Igreja de San Joaquin sobre a ilha filipina de Iloilo mostra na sua parte superior um relevo monumental [Fig. 1]. Ele se junta a várias cenas da vitória espanhola sobre os “mouros” na batalha de Tétouan, que aconteceu em 1860 no Marrocos. A representação surpreende por suas escolhas estilísticas e iconográficas. O relevo de história do século XIX já foi estabelecido, mas a escolha de autoridades locais ocorreu em tempo recorde – a execução aconteceu já em 1865 – e seguiu os modelos barrocos de um modelo específico filipino. Este modelo pode ser encontrado, por exemplo, na Igreja Miagao a apenas 40 quilômetros de distância [Fig. 2]. Este exemplo não só prova a expressão de Kosselleck: “Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen” (Simultaneidade do não simultâneo), mas mostra as possibilidades de uma abordagem barroca transcultural e trans-histórica para entender estes fenômenos bem como esses tipos de artefatos, que foram excluídos de uma história da arte tradicional.

Dentro dos debates teóricos e metodológicos sobre os objetivos de uma história da arte global e seu impacto sobre a disciplina em si, os fenômenos culturais e historiográficos do barroco e suas dotações oferecem um rico tópico para mais discussões e análise. O conceito de barroco global emergiu como uma chave para discussão e compreensão dos primeiros discursos estéticos modernos e contemporâneos, especialmente a fim de conectar-se e confrontar histórias de arte europeia e latino-americana.

O barroco, como um fenômeno estilístico aparentemente universal, conectando o início moderno, o moderno e os períodos contemporâneos, deve ser analisado como um caso e modelo da globalização da arte e história da arte. A abordagem transcultural para o barroco abrange o impacto cultural de seu estilo, a diferenciação intercultural e local de suas formas e significados, sua função como meio de hibridação cultural e amalgamação e seus usos como um meio nacional de construção de identidade. A abordagem trans-histórica aponta para a suposta transcendência histórica e universalidade do estilo barroco, conforme estabelecido pela história da arte no fim do século XIX e visa analisar as construções ideológicas e estéticas que se seguiram da história pelos meios de estilo barroco na América Latina.<sup>1</sup>

O barroco global exige uma abordagem interdisciplinar, incluindo diferentes campos das Humanidades e Ciências Sociais, tais como a economia e a antropologia.. Por exemplo, novas abordagens como a noção de Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, da perspectiva antropológica e equivocação controlada,<sup>1</sup> ou a noção *post-comparative* de ‘falsos amigos’, podem ajudar na análise da complexidade do barroco global e na compreensão como estabeleceram-se diferentes sistemas visuais e processos de conflito e negociação em contextos de alteridade cultural. Esta abordagem pode facilitar a reavaliação, não só das relações entre comunidades indígenas e colonizadores cristãos, mas entre o erudito contemporâneo e seus objetos de pesquisa, e oferece conceitos alternativos para a dicotomia do centro e periferia.

Como lidar com a complexidade de um barroco global e evitar a perpetuação das tradições históricas de arte nacional e mitológica? É necessário comparar o barroco, por exemplo, aos contextos asiáticos e latino-americanos e abordar a dotação do barroco nos séculos XX e XXI. A formação de um sistema artístico nas Américas e na Ásia, decorrente de diálogos e confrontos entre modelos europeus e receitas locais, seria um grande ponto de discussão. A circulação de objetos de arte, não só entre as nações europeias e suas colônias, mas entre os diferentes contextos coloniais e entre os países europeus, se levarmos em conta, diz respeito à formação de um gosto italiano em Portugal do século XVIII, e ao estudo europeu das variedades europeias da arte barroca e as diferenças culturais entre oficinas alemãs ou italianas jesuíticas em países como Paraguai, Chile e Bolívia.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Defzig Barock. Von Cattelan bis Zurbarán – Manifeste des prekär Vitalen*, ed. by Bice Curiger; Cologne, Snoek, 2012; exhibition: Zurich, Kunsthau; *Contested visions in the Spanish colonial world*, ed. by Ilona Katzew; Los Angeles/New Haven/London, Los Angeles County Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2011; exhibition: Los Angeles County Museum of Art/Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Historia; *Rethinking the baroque*, ed. by Helen Hills; Farnham, Ashgate, 2011; *Barock – modern?*, ed. by Victoria von Flemming and Alma-Elisa Kittner; Cologne, Salon Verlag, 2010.

<sup>1</sup> VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, Eduardo. *The inconstancy of the Indian soul: the encounter of Catholics and cannibals in 16-century Brazil*; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2011; VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, Eduardo. *From the enemy's point of view: humanity and divinity in an Amazonian society*; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992.

<sup>2</sup> BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander. *Art of colonial Latin America*; London/New York, Phaidon, 2005; KELEMEN, Pál. *Baroque and rococo in Latin America*; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1951.

O contexto cultural da América Latina integra uma mistura complexa de patrimônio europeu, tradições locais e indígenas e uma significativa presença africana. Ele tem sido o palco para uma extraordinária superposição de modelos culturais, que englobam a diretiva tridentina na arte, a tradição clássica, imagens de nativos americanos e asiáticos e práticas modernistas de estilo internacional. Para ler estas associações e traçar as interferências mútuas, é essencial conectar-se a contextos europeus e latino-americanos.

Um resultado deste projeto será a possibilidade de reavaliar os padrões teóricos locais e nacionais, oferecendo uma perspectiva crítica sobre a questão do intercâmbio cultural. É nosso objetivo contribuir para o desenvolvimento de uma história da arte transnacional e seus debates. Um novo equilíbrio entre o local e o global pode emergir dessa experiência e funcionar como um modelo analítico, principalmente no caso dos países coloniais e áreas que tenham feito alianças e tido confrontos culturais ou políticos significativos. As questões de definição global e local, o potencial e os limites destes conceitos na abordagem de objetos de arte estão sob exame.<sup>3</sup>

A abordagem transcultural e trans-histórica é capaz de revelar pontos de interseção e se entrelaça a duas atividades. Uma experiência pessoal de alunos e professores, discutindo temas relacionados com a identidade cultural como o barroco e práticas históricas de arte como metodologia e historiografia, pode levar a um impacto duradouro e amplo.

Questões a respeito da transferência cultural, mobilidade e circulação de artefatos e ideias, variedade de história da arte, historiografias locais diferentes e metodologias definem o quadro epistemológico mais amplo. O ponto de partida cai sob a rubrica do barroco global, um termo fundamental para a história da arte e identidade cultural nos continentes. Os debates focam o campo de investigação para refinar a análise na circulação de modelos artísticos, artistas e obras de arte no início do período moderno. Dado que a noção de barroco tem sido intensamente discutida como uma característica essencial do pós-modernismo (NDALIANIS, 2004), o neobarroco, estética e entretenimento contemporâneo, combina perguntas sobre o passado e a situação contemporânea de

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<sup>3</sup> *Resisting the present. Mexico 2000/2012*, ed. by Anne Montfort *et al.*; Barcelona, RM Verlag, 2012; exhibition: Paris, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, ARC/Puebla, Museo Amparo; *Intense proximity. Une anthologie du proche et du lointain*, ed. by Okwui Enwezor *et al.*; Paris, Artlys, 2012; exhibition: Paris, Palais de Tokyo; *The global art world. Audiences, markets, and museums*, ed. by Hans Belting and Andrea Buddensieg; Ostfildern, Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2009; *World art studies: exploring concepts and approaches*, ed. by Kitty Zijlmans and Wilfried van Damme; Amsterdam, Valiz, 2008; *Is art history global?*, ed. by James Elkins; New York/London, Routledge, 2007; SUMMERS, David. *Real spaces. World art history and the rise of western modernism*; London/New York, 2003. *Weltkulturen und moderne Kunst. Die Begegnung der europäischen Kunst und Musik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert mit Asien, Afrika, Ozeanien, Afro und Indo-Amerika. Ausstellung veranstaltet vom Organisationskomitee für die Spiele der XX. Olympiade München 1972*, ed. by Siegfried Wichmann; München, Verlag Bruckmann, 1972; exhibition: Munich, Haus der Kunst; Oskar Beyer, *Welt-Kunst. Von der Ummwertung der Kunstgeschichte*, 3. ed.; Dresden, Sibyllen-Verlag, 1923.



uma disciplina globalizada,<sup>4</sup> o que representa um dos importantes desafios teóricos e metodológicos para o campo. Palestras, cursos, seminários e viagens de campo assim relacionam uma noção alargada do barroco, percorrendo do século XVII para o século XXI. O barroco é uma categoria histórica e estilística que ambas as culturas acadêmicas compartilham. No entanto, esta etiqueta estilística flexível sofreu mudanças drásticas, dos tempos antigos aos pós-modernos, e contribuiu para identidades culturais muito distintas na Europa e América do Sul, respectivamente.<sup>5</sup>

A pesquisa a respeito da cultura visual barroca latino-americana está na fase mais vibrante de sua história. Desde a festa do Quinto Centenário de viagem de Colombo, em 1992, exposições,

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<sup>4</sup> NDALIANIS Angela. *Neo-baroque aesthetics and contemporary entertainment (media in transition)*; Cambridge Mass., MIT Press, 2004; *Barock [Medienkombination]. Ein Ort des Gedächtnisses. Interpretament der Moderne/Postmoderne*, ed. by Moritz Csáky, Federico Celestini and Ulrich Tragatschnig; Vienna, Böhlau, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> BECKER, Margret. *Der Raum des Öffentlichen. Die Escola Paulista und der Brutalismus in Brasilien*; Berlin, Reimer, 2012; *História da arte. Ensaios contemporâneos*, ed. by Marcelo Campos et al.; Rio de Janeiro, Editora da Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2011; *Baroque new worlds. Representation, transculturation, counterconquest*, ed. by Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup; Durham/London, Duke University Press, 2010; BASTOS, Maria Alice Junqueira; Ruth Verde Zein, *Brasil: arquiteturas após 1950*; São Paulo, Editora Perspectiva, 2010; *Adriana Varejão. Entre carnes e mares/Between flesh and oceans*, ed. by Isabel Diegues; Rio de Janeiro, Cobogó, 2009; *Cannibalismes disciplinaires. Quand l'histoire de l'art et l'anthropologie se rencontrent*, ed. by Thierry Dufrene and Anne-Christine Taylor; Paris, Institut national d'histoire de l'art/Musée du quai Branly, 2009; *Brazil contemporary. Architecture, visual culture, art*, ed. by Ole Bouman, Sjarel Ex and Ruud Visschedijk; Rotterdam, NAI Publishers, 2009; exhibition: Rotterdam, Nederlands architectuurinstituut/Nederlands fotomuseum/Museum Boijmans van Beuningen; *Hot spots. Rio de Janeiro/Milano-Torino/Los Angeles, 1956 bis 1969*, ed. by Christoph Becker; Göttingen, Steidl Verlag, 2009; exhibition: Zurich, Kunsthaus; Styliane Philippou, *Oscar Niemeyer. Curves of irreverence*; New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 2008; ANDERMANN, Jens, *The optic of the state. Visuality and power in Argentina and Brazil*; Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007; *Igreja da Pampulha. Restauro e reflexões*, ed. by Silvia Finguerut; Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Roberto Marinho, 2006; *Transculturation. Cities, spaces and architectures in Latin America*, ed. by Felipe Hernández, Mark Millington and Iain Borden; New York, Rodopi, 2005; *Readings in Latin American modern art*, ed. by Patrick Frank; New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 2004; *Latin American architecture 1929-1960. Contemporary reflections*, ed. by Carlos Brillembourg; New York, The Monacelli Press, 2004; *Brazil: body & soul*, ed. by Edward J. Sullivan; New York, Guggenheim Museum, 2001; exhibition: New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum/Bilbao, Guggenheim Museum; *Oscar Niemeyer. Selbstdarstellung, Kritiken, Oeuvre*, ed. by Alexander Fils; Berlin, Fröhlich & Kaufmann, 2000; GUIMARÃES Cêça de, *Lucio Costa. Um certo arquiteto em incerto e secular roteiro*; Rio de Janeiro, Relume Dumará, 1996; *Reframing the Renaissance: visual culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. by Claire Farago; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995; UNDERWOOD, David. *Oscar Niemeyer and the architecture of Brazil*; New York, Rizzoli International Publications Incorporated, 1994; UNDERWOOD, David. *Oscar Niemeyer and Brazilian free-form modernism*; New York, George Braziller Incorporated, 1994; *Brasilien. Entdeckung und Selbstentdeckung*, ed. by Hugo Loetscher; Bern, Benteli Verlag, 1992; exhibition: Zurich, 1992; *Modernidade. Art brésilien du 20e siècle*, ed. by Aracy Amaral; Paris, Ministère des affaires étrangères/Association française d'action artistique, 1987; exhibition: Paris, Musée d'art de la ville de Paris, 1988. FILS, Alexander. *Brasília. Moderne Architektur in Brasilien*; Düsseldorf, Beton-Verlag, 1988; PhD thesis: Universität Bochum, 1986; DOS SANTOS, Cecília Rodrigues; et al. *Le Corbusier e o Brasil*; Sao Paulo, Tessela, 1987; MACHADO, Julio Cesar. *O barroco carioca*; Rio de Janeiro, Rio Arte e GRD, 1987; LEMOS, Carlos; José Roberto Teixeira Leite; Pedro Manuel Gismonti, *The art of Brazil*, forew. by Pietro Maria Bardi and Oscar Niemeyer; New York, Icon Editions/Harper & Row, 1983 [first ed.: São Paulo, Abril, 1979]; HORNIG, Christian. *Oscar Niemeyer. Bauten und Projekte*; Munich, Heinz Moos Verlag, 1981; BAZIN, Germain. *L'architecture religieuse baroque au Brésil*, 2 vols.; São Paulo/Paris, Museu de arte/Éditions d'histoire et d'art/Librairie Plon, 1958; PAPADAKI, Stamo. *The work of Oscar Niemeyer*, 2. ed.; New Haven, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1957 [first ed.: New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1950]; DORFLES, Gillo. *Barocco nell'architettura moderna*; Milan, Tamburini, 1951; *Brazil builds. Architecture new and old 1652-1942/Construção brasileira. Arquitetura moderna e antiga 1652-1942*, ed. by Philip L. Goodwin, 4. ed.; New Haven, The Museum of Modern Art, 1943; exhibition: New York, The Museum of Modern Art; GIEDION, Sigfried. *Spätbarocker und romantischer Klassizismus*; Munich, F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1922.

conferências e publicações trouxeram a história da arte barroca colonial e do início do período moderno à atenção dos especialistas e do público em geral. Com poucas exceções, o tratamento acadêmico e pedagógico deste material significativo tem sido restrito a determinados locais: universidades latino-americanas, ibéricas e anglo-americanas na maior parte, e, em menor medida em instituições acadêmicas na França e na Itália. No momento da escrita, não há nenhuma cadeira permanente para a arte colonial da América Latina no mundo de língua alemã. Na América Latina e especificamente no Brasil, pesquisas recentes na história da arte, especialmente sobre figuras germanofônicas como Gottfried Semper, Alois Riegl e Heinrich Wölfflin, foram em grande parte despercebidas, apesar do fato de que esses historiadores da arte tenham consagrado o próprio tema do barroco como um campo legítimo em si.

Nos últimos anos tem havido um interesse crescente na historiografia do barroco aos pressupostos, ideologias e métodos de subscrição à interpretação da cultura visual do século XVII. O projeto de pesquisa *Barroco hispânico*, financiado pelo Conselho Canadense de pesquisa, e várias exposições do Museu do Prado, em Madri, do Museu Nacional na cidade do México, são exemplos notáveis. Deste modo, o campo da história da arte está cada vez mais engajado em examinar os pontos cegos da nossa identidade disciplinar. Sobre aplicação e parâmetros do barroco, historiadores da arte nos dois lados do Atlântico têm se dedicado a uma rica variedade de temas: a ascensão simultânea dos estudos barrocos e da arquitetura neo-barroca na Viena imperial e na Alemanha Nacional Socialista;<sup>6</sup> o desenvolvimento de termos críticos tais como “*malerisch*” (pitoresco); o uso maleável do barroco para caracterizar uma variada gama de objetos e ideias, da escultura tardo-antiga até a arquitetura gótica; o problema dos excessos e superfícies nos escritos de Walter Benjamin, Gilles Deleuze, Jean Baudrillard, Omar Calabrese e outros que têm propagado a ideia de um neo-barroco trans-histórico e transcultural.<sup>7</sup>

Em meio a esta orientação para a historiografia do barroco e neo-barroco, uma tensão geográfica não examinada surgiu, um conflito que coloca desejos nacionalistas contra a difusão global de estilo. Por um lado, o barroco Europeu e especificamente o estilo da cultura visual de Roma do século XVII, tem sido o foco de historiadores de arte, que buscam compreender as origens do campo.<sup>8</sup> Para os historiadores da arte do século XIX, como Jacob Burckhardt, Cornelius Gurlitt, Heinrich

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<sup>6</sup> RAMPLEY, Matthew. “Subjectivity and modernism. Riegl and the rediscovery of the baroque”; in: *Framing formalism. Riegl's work. Essays*, ed. by Hans Sedlmayr; Richard Woodfield; Amsterdam, G + B Arts International, 2001, pp. 265-290.

<sup>7</sup> DELEUZE, Gilles. *Le pli. Leibniz et le baroque*; Paris, Éditions de minuit, 1988.

<sup>8</sup> BURDA, Felix. “Barocke Installationen. Die Raumkunst des Barock, gesehen aus dem Blickwinkel der modernen Videokunst”; in: *Hubert Burda. Kunst und Medien. Festschrift zum 9. Februar 2000*, ed. by Judith Betzler; Munich, Petrarca-Verlag, 2000, pp. 217-223; CASTELNUOVO, Enrico; GINZBURG, Carlo. *Centro e periferia*, in: *Storia dell'arte italiana*, ed. by Giovanni Previtali; Einaudi, Turin, 1979, vol. 1.1.; *Baroque art. The Jesuit contribution*, ed. by Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe; New York, Fordham University Press, 1972; *Barock als Aufgabe*, ed. by Andreas Kreul; Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2005; *Estetica barocca*, ed. by Sebastian Schütze; Rome, Campisano, 2004.

Wölfflin, August Schmarsow e Alois Riegl, a concentração em Roma foi uma solução para organizar a quantidade desconcertante de diferentes materiais.<sup>9</sup>

No entanto, em Roma, o foco geográfico ressaltou alegações contemporâneas na imprensa popular e em outros lugares da cidade como uma potência católica, uma questão especialmente preocupante na Itália após a unificação. Mesmo naqueles trabalhos em que havia preocupação com a ‘periferia’, onde se poderia esperar uma postura ecumênica para a emissão de “formulários móveis” (manuais circulando), prevaleceu uma concentração estável sobre local e topografia. O campo do barroco, como observa Gauvin Bailey, “tem sido dificultado pelo regionalismo e pela polêmica, com frequência, tomando a forma de patriotismo ultranacionalista latino-americano”.<sup>10</sup> Embora uma vez incluído na mesma vice-realeza, monumentos na Bolívia, Peru e Argentina muitas vezes têm sido estudados isoladamente, na construção de narrativas históricas de arte nacionalista. Além disso, grande parte dessa pesquisa enfoca predominantemente territórios coloniais espanhóis, enquanto ignora em grande parte as colônias portuguesas (com exceção de Luís Sobral de Moura). George Kubler e Martin Soria declarariam no livro *Arte e Arquitetura em Espanha e Portugal e seus domínios, 1500 a 1800*, publicado pela Pelican em 1959: “a respeito de grupos regionais, mesmo à custa de um sentimento nacionalista”, pois “um não poderia anatomizar uma arquitetura nacional sem o outro”.<sup>11</sup> Difundido na América Latina no século XX, o movimento de arquitetura neo-barroco, conhecido como o *revival* colonial (*renacimiento* colonial), é um testemunho eloquente para a orientação nacionalista destas investigações históricas da arte.

Por outro lado, o barroco é o estilo internacional por excelência. Já no século XIX, historiadores de arte reconheceram que o barroco se espalhou muito além de suas origens em Roma, em conjunto com a difusão das missões católicas e das ambições territoriais dos impérios cristãos. O “triunfo do barroco” não só ocorreu ao longo do eixo histórico de arte tradicional, que se estendeu de Nápoles para Veneza, mas também nas regiões mais a norte (França, Inglaterra, Suécia, Países Baixos e Rússia). Viagens de arquitetos, livros e modelos propagaram o estilo, ao lado de respostas ao classicismo e ao palladianismo, no Império dos Habsburgos de territórios no Leste Europeu e na

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<sup>9</sup> GURLITT, Cornelius. *Geschichte des Barock-Stiles in Italien*; Stuttgart, Verlag von Ebner & Seubert (Paul Neff), 1887; WÖLFFLIN, Heinrich. *Renaissance und Barock. Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien*; Munich, Theodor Ackermann königlicher Buchhändler, 1888; August, SCHMARSOW *Barock und Rokoko. Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung über das Malerische in der Architektur*; Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1897; RIEGL, Alois. *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*, ed. by Arthur Burda and Max Dvorák, 2. ed.; Vienna, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1923 [first ed.: Vienna, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1907]; PANOFISKY, Erwin. *Three essays on style*, ed. by Irving Lavin; Cambridge Mass./London, The MIT Press, 1995; GROSSE, Ernst. *Die Anfänge der Kunst*; Freiburg im Breisgau/Leipzig, Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1894; KUGLER, Franz. *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*; Stuttgart, Verlag von Ebner & Seubert, 1842.

<sup>10</sup> BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander. *Art on the Jesuit missions in Asia and Latin America 1542-1773*; Toronto/Buffalo/London, University of Toronto Press, 1999.

<sup>11</sup> KUBLER, George; Martin Soria. *Art and architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American dominions, 1500 to 1800*; Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1959.

Europa Central, na Península Ibérica, na América Latina e na Ásia. O reconhecimento da difusão global do barroco continuou até o século XX. Kubler e Soria expressaram notavelmente que o “barroco original” não cumpriu o seu escopo, e focaram na sua pesquisa monumental em “Ásia, Oceania, África e no resto da Europa”.

Portanto, a categoria do barroco tornou-se, paradoxalmente, um fenômeno local e global, se não ‘glocal’.<sup>12</sup> Esta categoria estilística pôde encarnar a essência de uma nação, suas ambições políticas e ideológicas; e ainda, certos esquemas ornamentais e características de solidez, movimento e apelo direto ao espectador em formas traduzíveis e efetivamente desconcertantes presentes na pintura, na escultura, na arquitetura e em expressões efêmeras bastante difundidas em diferentes localidades. Em toda a historiografia, debates metodológicos sobre os limites geográficos do barroco vieram à tona: estudiosos devem abraçar as manifestações do barroco fora de sua jurisdição de especialização, mesmo às custas de discorrer sobre as particularidades das condições históricas e locais? Ou devem restringir-se a um contexto geográfico singular, seja Roma, Salvador, Ouro Preto ou oferecendo pontos potencialmente ricos de comparação? Baseando-se nestas questões, um conjunto adicional de questões surge para os estudiosos hoje: o que são os contornos geográficos, e, finalmente, o que deve constituir uma visão global do barroco? Como pode ser pesquisado e ensinado, para estudantes de história da arte e estudantes de pós-graduação no campo específico? Como podem preocupações de uma história da arte ‘tradicional’, como iconografia, estilo, contexto social e político e patrocínio, envolver-se com as expansões geográficas e teóricas dos horizontes da disciplina em geral?

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<sup>12</sup> *Universalität der Kunstgeschichte?*, ed. by Monica Juneja; in: *Kritische Berichte. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften*, 2012, vol. 40, n° 2; *Global studies. Mapping contemporary art and culture*, ed. by Hans Belting *et al.*; Ostfildern, Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2011; *Islamic artefacts in the Mediterranean world. Trade, gift exchange and artistic transfer*, ed. by Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli; Gerhard Wolf; Venice, Marsilio, 2010.

# Global Baroque – transcultural and transhistorical aspects: some preliminary reflections

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**ABSTRACT** In the last years the term of a global baroque became more prominent. This article presented as preliminary reflections intends to contextualize this transhistorical and transcultural approach within the developments of the so-called global art history. It also tries to (de-)construct its historiographical fundaments in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as its possible theoretical implications for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**KEYWORDS** Baroque, Theory, Historiography.



Fig. 1: Façade of San Joaquin Church, 1869, Iloilo, Philippines.

Photo: Jens Baumgarten.



**Fig. 2: Façade of Miagao Church, 1787, Iloilo, Philippines.**

**Photo: Jens Baumgarten.**

The façade of the church San Joaquin on the Filipino island of Iloilo shows on its upper part a monumental relief [Fig. 1]. It joins several scenes of the victory of the Spanish over the “Moors” in the battle of Tétouan, which happened in 1860 in Morocco. The representation surprises by its stylistic and iconographical choices. The history painting of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was already established, but the choice of the local authorities followed in a record time – the execution happened already in 1865 – followed the Baroque models of a specific Filipino model. This model can for example be found in the Miagao Church only 40 kilometers of distance [Fig. 2]. This example not only proves the expression of Kosselleck: “Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen” (Simultaneity of the unsimultaneous), but shows the possibilities of a transcultural and transhistorical baroque approach to understand these phenomena as well as these kind of artifacts, which were excluded from a traditional art history.

Within the theoretical and methodological debates about the objectives of a global art history and about its impact onto the discipline itself, the cultural and historiographical phenomena of the baroque and its appropriations offer a rich topic for further discussions and analysis. The concept of global baroque has emerged as a key to discussing and understanding early modern, modern, and contemporary aesthetic discourses, especially in order to connect and confront European and Latin American art histories.

The baroque, as a seemingly universal stylistic phenomenon, connecting the early modern, the modern, and the contemporary periods, shall be analyzed as a case and model of globalization of art and art history. The transcultural approach to the baroque covers the cross-cultural impact of its style, the intercultural and local differentiation of its forms and meanings, its function as a means of cultural hybridization and amalgamation, and its uses as a means of national identity building. The transhistorical approach points to the alleged historical transcendence and universality of the baroque style, as established by late 19<sup>th</sup> century art history, and aims at analyzing the ensuing ideological and aesthetic constructions of history by the means of baroque style in Latin America.<sup>1</sup>

The global baroque calls for an interdisciplinary approach, including different fields of the humanities and social sciences, such as economics and anthropology, which shall be tested in the Workshops. For example, new approaches like Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's notion of perspectival anthropology and controlled equivocation,<sup>2</sup> or the post-comparative notion of 'false friends', can help in analyzing the complexity of the global baroque and in understanding how different visual systems and processes of conflict and negotiation were established in contexts of cultural alterity. This approach can facilitate the reevaluation not only the relations between Christian colonizers and the indigenous communities, but between the contemporary scholar and his objects of research, and offers alternative concepts to the dichotomy of center and periphery.

As to deal with the complexity of a global baroque and to avoid the perpetuation of national art historical traditions and mythologies, it is necessary to compare Latin American baroque, for example, to Asian contexts, and to address the appropriation of the baroque in 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century art historical and political discourses. The formation of an artistic system in the Americas and Asia, ensuing from dialogues and clashes between European models and local prescriptions, will be a major point of discussion. The circulation of art objects, between not only European nations and their colonies, but among the different colonial contexts and between European countries themselves, will be taken into account. For instance, this concerns the formation of an Italian taste in 18<sup>th</sup> century Portugal, the study of Central European varieties of baroque art, and the cultural differences between German or Italian Jesuit workshops in countries such as Paraguay, Chile, and Bolivia.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Defzig Barock. Von Cattelan bis Zurbarán – Manifeste des prekär Vitalen*, ed. by Bice Curiger; Cologne, Snoek, 2012; exhibition: Zurich, Kunsthau; *Contested visions in the Spanish colonial world*, ed. by Ilona Katzew; Los Angeles/New Haven/London, Los Angeles County Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2011; exhibition: Los Angeles County Museum of Art/Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Historia; *Rethinking the baroque*, ed. by Helen Hills; Farnham, Ashgate, 2011; *Barock – modern?*, ed. by Victoria von Flemming and Alma-Elisa Kittner; Cologne, Salon Verlag, 2010.

<sup>2</sup> VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, Eduardo. *The inconstancy of the Indian soul: the encounter of Catholics and cannibals in 16-century Brazil*; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2011; VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, Eduardo. *From the enemy's point of view: humanity and divinity in an Amazonian society*; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992.

<sup>3</sup> BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander. *Art of colonial Latin America*; London/New York, Phaidon, 2005; KELEMEN, Pál. *Baroque and rococo in Latin America*; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1951.

The Latin American cultural context integrates a complex blend of European heritage, local and indigenous traditions, and a significant African presence. It has long been the stage for a remarkable superposition of cultural models, which encompass the Tridentine directives on art, the classical tradition, Native American imagery, Asian practices, or modernist International Style. To read these associations and to map out the mutual interferences, it is essential to connect both European and Latin American contexts.

An expected outcome of this project will be the possibility of reevaluating local and national theoretical standards by offering a critical perspective on the issue of cultural exchange. It is our aim to contribute to the development of a transnational art history and its debates. A new balance of local and global can emerge from this experience and function as an analytical model, primarily in the case of colonial countries and areas, which have undergone significant cultural or political clashes and alliances. The definition global and local issues and the potential and limits of these concepts in approaching art objects, are under examination.<sup>4</sup>

The transcultural and transhistorical approach is able to reveal points of intersection and interweave the two activities. A personal experience of students and professors, discussing topics related to cultural identity such as the baroque and art historical practices such as methodology and historiography, can lead to a spreading and lasting impact.

Questions of cultural transfer, of the mobility and circulation of artifacts and ideas, the variety of art histories, differing local historiographies and methodologies, define the broader epistemological framework. The point of departure falls under the rubric *global baroque*, a fundamental term for both art history and cultural identity across the continents. The debates focus on the field of inquiry as to refine the analysis in the circulation of artistic models, artists, and art works in the early modern period. Given that the notion of the baroque has been intensely discussed as an essential characteristic of Postmodernism, for instance in Angela Ndaliansis's *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and contemporary entertainment* (2004),<sup>5</sup> it combines questions about the past and the contemporary situation of a globalized discipline, which represents one of the important methodological and theoretical challenges for the field. The

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<sup>4</sup> *Resisting the present. Mexico 2000/2012*, ed. by Anne Montfort *et al.*; Barcelona, RM Verlag, 2012; exhibition: Paris, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, ARC/Puebla, Museo Amparo; *Intense proximité. Une anthologie du proche et du lointain*, ed. by Okwui Enwezor *et al.*; Paris, Artlys, 2012; exhibition: Paris, Palais de Tokyo; *The global art world. Audiences, markets, and museums*, ed. by Hans Belting and Andrea Buddensieg; Ostfildern, Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2009; *World art studies: exploring concepts and approaches*, ed. by Kitty Zijlmans and Wilfried van Damme; Amsterdam, Valiz, 2008; *Is art history global?*, ed. by James Elkins; New York/London, Routledge, 2007; SUMMERS, David. *Real spaces. World art history and the rise of western modernism*; London/New York, 2003. *Weltkulturen und moderne Kunst. Die Begegnung der europäischen Kunst und Musik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert mit Asien, Afrika, Ozeanien, Afro und Indo-Amerika. Ausstellung veranstaltet vom Organisationskomitee für die Spiele der XX. Olympiade München 1972*, ed. by Siegfried Wichmann; München, Verlag Bruckmann, 1972; exhibition: Munich, Haus der Kunst; Oskar Beyer, *Welt-Kunst. Von der Umwertung der Kunstgeschichte*, 3. ed.; Dresden, Sibyllen-Verlag, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> NDALIANIS, Angela. *Neo-baroque aesthetics and contemporary entertainment (media in transition)*; Cambridge Mass., MIT Press, 2004; *Barock [Medienkombination]. Ein Ort des Gedächtnisses. Interpretament der Moderne/Postmoderne*, ed. by Moritz Csáky, Federico Celestini and Ulrich Tragatschnig; Vienna, Böhlau, 2007.



lecture courses, seminars, and field trips thus relate to an extended notion of the *baroque*, reaching from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. *Baroque* is a historical and stylistic category, which both academic cultures share. However, this flexible stylistic label has undergone dramatic changes from early modern to postmodern times and has contributed to very distinct cultural identities in Europe and South America respectively.<sup>6</sup>

Research Latin American baroque visual culture is at its most vibrant stage in its history. Since the 1992 Quincentenary of Columbus's landfall onto the New World, exhibitions, conferences, and publications have brought colonial baroque art to the attention of specialists in the early modern period, of art history, and the public at large. With few exceptions, however, the scholarly and pedagogical treatment of this significant material has been restricted to certain locales: Latin American,

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<sup>6</sup> BECKER, Margret. *Der Raum des Öffentlichen. Die Escola Paulista und der Brutalismus in Brasilien*; Berlin, Reimer, 2012; *História da arte. Ensaios contemporâneos*, ed. by Marcelo Campos et al.; Rio de Janeiro, Editora da Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2011; *Baroque new worlds. Representation, transculturation, counterconquest*, ed. by Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup; Durham/London, Duke University Press, 2010; BASTOS, Maria Alice Junqueira; Ruth Verde Zein, *Brasil: arquiteturas após 1950*; São Paulo, Editora Perspectiva, 2010; *Adriana Varejão. Entre carnes e mares/Between flesh and oceans*, ed. by Isabel Diegues; Rio de Janeiro, Cobogó, 2009; *Cannibalismes disciplinaires. Quand l'histoire de l'art et l'anthropologie se rencontrent*, ed. by Thierry Dufrené and Anne-Christine Taylor; Paris, Institut national d'histoire de l'art/Musée du quai Branly, 2009; *Brazil contemporary. Architecture, visual culture, art*, ed. by Ole Bouman, Sjarel Ex and Ruud Visschedijk; Rotterdam, NAI Publishers, 2009; exhibition: Rotterdam, Nederlands architectuurinstituut/Nederlands fotomuseum/Museum Boijmans van Beuningen; *Hot spots. Rio de Janeiro/Milano-Torino/Los Angeles, 1956 bis 1969*, ed. by Christoph Becker; Göttingen, Steidl Verlag, 2009; exhibition: Zurich, Kunsthaus; Styliane Philippou, *Oscar Niemeyer. Curves of irreverence*; New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 2008; ANDERMANN, Jens, *The optic of the state. Visuality and power in Argentina and Brazil*; Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007; *Igreja da Pampulha. Restauro e reflexões*, ed. by Silvia Finguerut; Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Roberto Marinho, 2006; *Transculturation. Cities, spaces and architectures in Latin America*, ed. by Felipe Hernández, Mark Millington and Iain Borden; New York, Rodopi, 2005; *Readings in Latin American modern art*, ed. by Patrick Frank; New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 2004; *Latin American architecture 1929-1960. Contemporary reflections*, ed. by Carlos Brillembourg; New York, The Monacelli Press, 2004; *Brazil: body & soul*, ed. by Edward J. Sullivan; New York, Guggenheim Museum, 2001; exhibition: New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum/Bilbao, Guggenheim Museum; *Oscar Niemeyer. Selbstdarstellung, Kritiken, Oeuvre*, ed. by Alexander Fils; Berlin, Fröhlich & Kaufmann, 2000; GUIMARÃES Cêça de, *Lucio Costa. Um certo arquiteto em incerto e secular roteiro*; Rio de Janeiro, Relume Dumará, 1996; *Reframing the Renaissance: visual culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. by Claire Farago; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995; UNDERWOOD, David. *Oscar Niemeyer and the architecture of Brazil*; New York, Rizzoli International Publications Incorporated, 1994; UNDERWOOD, David. *Oscar Niemeyer and Brazilian free-form modernism*; New York, George Braziller Incorporated, 1994; *Brasilien. Entdeckung und Selbstentdeckung*, ed. by Hugo Loetscher; Bern, Benteli Verlag, 1992; exhibition: Zurich, 1992; *Modernidade. Art brésilien du 20e siècle*, ed. by Aracy Amaral; Paris, Ministère des affaires étrangères/Association française d'action artistique, 1987; exhibition: Paris, Musée d'art de la ville de Paris, 1988. FILS, Alexander. *Brasília. Moderne Architektur in Brasilien*; Düsseldorf, Beton-Verlag, 1988; PhD thesis: Universität Bochum, 1986; DOS SANTOS, Cecília Rodrigues; et al. *Le Corbusier e o Brasil*; Sao Paulo, Tessela, 1987; MACHADO, Julio Cesar. *O barroco carioca*; Rio de Janeiro, Rio Arte e GRD, 1987; LEMOS, Carlos; José Roberto Teixeira Leite; Pedro Manuel Gismonti, *The art of Brazil*, forew. by Pietro Maria Bardi and Oscar Niemeyer; New York, Icon Editions/Harper & Row, 1983 [first ed.: São Paulo, Abril, 1979]; HORNIG, Christian. *Oscar Niemeyer. Bauten und Projekte*; Munich, Heinz Moos Verlag, 1981; BAZIN, Germain. *L'architecture religieuse baroque au Brésil*, 2 vols.; São Paulo/Paris, Museu de arte/Éditions d'histoire et d'art/Librairie Plon, 1958; PAPADAKI, Stamo. *The work of Oscar Niemeyer*, 2. ed.; New Haven, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1957 [first ed.: New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1950]; DORFLES, Gillo. *Barocco nell'architettura moderna*; Milan, Tamburini, 1951; *Brazil builds. Architecture new and old 1652-1942/Construção brasileira. Arquitetura moderna e antiga 1652-1942*, ed. by Philip L. Goodwin, 4. ed.; New Haven, The Museum of Modern Art, 1943; exhibition: New York, The Museum of Modern Art; GIEDION, Sigfried. *Spätbarocker und romantischer Klassizismus*; Munich, F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1922.

Iberian, and Anglo-American universities for the most part, and, to a much lesser extent, academic institutions in France and Italy. At the time of writing, there is no permanent chair for Latin American colonial art exists in the German-speaking world. In Latin America and Brazil specifically, recent research in the history of art history, especially about of Germanophone figures such as Gottfried Semper, Alois Riegl, and Heinrich Wölfflin, has gone largely unnoticed, despite the fact that these art historians enshrined the very topic of the baroque as a field in its own right.

Recent years have witnessed a burgeoning interest in the historiography of the baroque, the assumptions, ideologies, and methods underwriting the interpretation of 17<sup>th</sup> century visual culture. The research project *Hispanic baroque* funded by the Canadian Research Council and several exhibitions from the Prado Museum in Madrid to the National Museum in Mexico City are notable examples. Furthermore, as represented by such ventures as the Getty Research Institute's *Text and documents* series and the founding of the *Journal of Art Historiography*, the field of art history is increasingly engaged with examining the blind spots of our disciplinarian identity. Working on both sides of the Atlantic, art historians' s interrogation of the application and the parameters of the baroque have investigated a rich array of topics: the simultaneous rise of baroque studies and neo-baroque architecture in imperial Vienna and National Socialist Germany;<sup>7</sup> the development of critical terms such as *malerisch* as to describe overlaps in media; the malleable use of the baroque to characterize a motley range of objects and ideas, from Late Antique sculpture to Gothic architecture; the problem of excess and surfaces in the writings of Walter Benjamin, Gilles Deleuze, Jean Baudrillard, Omar Calabrese, and others who have propagated the idea of a transhistorical and transcultural neo-baroque.<sup>8</sup>

Amidst this orientation towards the historiography of the baroque and neo-baroque, an unexamined geographic tension has emerged, a conflict that pits nationalist desires against global diffusion of style. On the one hand, the European baroque, and specifically the style of visual culture of 17<sup>th</sup> century Rome, has been in the focus of art historians seeking to understand the origins of the field.<sup>9</sup> For 19<sup>th</sup> century art historians, such as Jacob Burckhardt, Cornelius Gurlitt, Heinrich Wölfflin, August Schmarsow, and Alois Riegl, the concentration on Rome was a solution as to organize the bewildering amount of different material.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> RAMPLEY, Matthew. "Subjectivity and modernism. Riegl and the rediscovery of the baroque"; in: *Framing formalism. Riegl's work. Essays*, ed. by Hans Sedlmayr; Richard Woodfield; Amsterdam, G + B Arts Internationa, 2001, pp. 265-290.

<sup>8</sup> DELEUZE, Gilles. *Le pli. Leibniz et le baroque*; Paris, Éditions de minuit, 1988.

<sup>9</sup> BURDA, Felix. "Barocke Installationen. Die Raumkunst des Barock, gesehen aus dem Blickwinkel der modernen Videokunst"; in: *Hubert Burda. Kunst und Medien. Festschrift zum 9. Februar 2000*, ed. by Judith Betzler; Munich, Petrarca-Verlag, 2000, pp. 217-223; CASTELNUOVO, Enrico; GINZBURG, Carlo. *Centro e periferia*, in: *Storia dell'arte italiana*, ed. by Giovanni Previtali; Einaudi, Turin, 1979, vol. 1.1.; *Baroque art. The Jesuit contribution*, ed. by Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe; New York, Fordham University Press, 1972; *Barock als Aufgabe*, ed. by Andreas Kreul; Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2005; *Estetica barocca*, ed. by Sebastian Schütze; Rome, Campisano, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> GURLITT, Cornelius. *Geschichte des Barock-Stiles in Italien*; Stuttgart, Verlag von Ebner & Seubert (Paul Neff), 1887; WÖLFFLIN, Heinrich. *Renaissance und Barock. Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien*; Munich,

Recent years have witnessed a burgeoning interest in the historiography of the Baroque, the assumptions, ideologies and methods underwriting the interpretation of 17th-century visual culture. The creation of a major research project Hispanic Baroque funded by the Canadian Research Council and several exhibitions from the Prado Museum in Madrid to the National Museum in Mexico City are notable examples. Furthermore, as represented by such ventures as the GRI text and documents series and the founding of the Journal of Art Historiography, the field of art history is increasingly engaged with examining the blind spots, yet at the same time, unfulfilled mandates in the work of the discipline's founders, especially those from German-speaking countries in the 19th and 20th centuries. Working on both sides of the Atlantic, art historians' interrogation into the application and the parameters of the Baroque have investigated a rich array of topics: the simultaneous rise of Baroque studies and Neo-Baroque architecture in imperial Vienna and National Socialist Germany; the development of critical terms such as *malerisch* to take account of overlaps in media; and the malleable use of the Baroque category to characterize a motley range of objects and ideas, from Late Antique sculpture to Gothic architecture,

Nonetheless, the geographic focus on Rome underscored contemporary claims, made in the popular press and elsewhere, of the city as a Catholic power, an especially fraught issue in post-unification Italy. Even in those works concerned with the 'periphery', where one might expect an ecumenical stance towards the issue of mobile forms, a stable focus upon place and topography prevailed. The field of Latin American baroque, as Gauvin Bailey observes, "has been hampered by regionalism and polemic, frequently taking the form of jingoistic patriotism".<sup>11</sup> Although once included in the same vice-royalty, monuments in Bolivia, Peru, and Argentina have often been studied in isolation, enlisted in the construction of nationalist art historical narratives. Furthermore, much of this scholarship focuses predominantly on Spanish colonial territories, while ignoring to a large degree the Portuguese colonies (with the exception of Luís Sobral de Moura). As George Kubler and Martin Soria would declare in their seminal 1959 Pelican survey *Art and architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American dominions, 1500 to 1800*, it was of utmost necessity "to respect regional groupings, even at the expense of nationalist sentiment", since "one cannot anatomize a national architecture in terms of

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Theodor Ackermann königlicher Buchhändler, 1888; August, SCHMARSOW *Barock und Rokoko. Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung über das Malerische in der Architektur*; Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1897; RIEGL, Alois. *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*, ed. by Arthur Burda and Max Dvorák, 2. ed.; Vienna, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1923 [first ed.: Vienna, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1907]; PANOFSKY, Erwin. *Three essays on style*, ed. by Irving Lavin; Cambridge Mass./London, The MIT Press, 1995; GROSSE, Ernst. *Die Anfänge der Kunst*; Freiburg im Breisgau/Leipzig, Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1894; KUGLER, Franz. *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*; Stuttgart, Verlag von Ebner & Seubert, 1842.

<sup>11</sup> BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander. *Art on the Jesuit missions in Asia and Latin America 1542-1773*; Toronto/Buffalo/London, University of Toronto Press, 1999.

another”.<sup>12</sup> Diffused throughout Latin America in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the neo-baroque architecture movement, known as the colonial revival (*renacimiento colonial*), is an eloquent testimony to the nationalist orientation of these art historical investigations.

On the other hand, baroque is the international style par excellence. Already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, art historians acknowledged that the baroque had spread far beyond its origins in Rome in conjunction with the diffusion of Catholic missions and the territorial ambitions of the Christian empires. The ‘triumph of the baroque’ not only occurred along the traditional art historical axis, which extended from Naples to Venice, but also in regions further north (France, England, Sweden, the Low Countries, and Russia). Traveling architects, books, and models propagated the style, alongside responses to classicism and Palladianism, in the Hapsburg Empire’s great swaths of territory in Eastern and Central Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, Latin America, and Asia. The recognition of the baroque’s global diffusion continued well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Kubler and Soria notably expressed that the original, though unfulfilled scope of their monumental survey was “Asia, Oceania, Africa, and the rest of Europe”.

The category of the baroque has thus paradoxically become both a local and a global, if not a ‘glocal’ phenomenon.<sup>13</sup> This stylistic category might embody the essence of a nation, its ideological and political ambitions; and yet, certain ornamental schemes and the characteristics of massiveness, movement, and direct appeal to the viewer were translatable and indeed disconcertingly present in painting, sculpture, architecture, and ephemera in vastly different locales. Throughout the historiography, methodological debates concerning the geographic boundaries of the baroque came to a head: should scholars embrace manifestations of baroque outside their purview of specialization, even at the expense of glossing over the particularities of historical and local conditions? Or should they restrict themselves to a singular geographic context, be it Rome, Salvador, or Ouro Preto, while giving up potentially rich points of comparison? Based upon these questions, a further set of issues arises for scholars today: what are the geographic contours, and ultimately, what should constitute a global vision of the baroque? How might it be researched and taught, to both students of art history and graduate students in the specific field? How can ‘traditional’ art historical concerns, such as iconography, style, social and political context, and patronage, engage with the expanding geographic horizons of the discipline at large?

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<sup>12</sup> KUBLER, George; Martin Soria. *Art and architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American dominions, 1500 to 1800*; Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1959.

<sup>13</sup> *Universalität der Kunstgeschichte?*, ed. by Monica Juneja; in: *Kritische Berichte. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften*, 2012, vol. 40, n° 2; *Global studies. Mapping contemporary art and culture*, ed. by Hans Belting *et al.*; Ostfildern, Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2011; *Islamic artefacts in the Mediterranean world. Trade, gift exchange and artistic transfer*, ed. by Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli; Gerhard Wolf; Venice, Marsilio, 2010.

# Circulación de ideas y reforma del arte católico en Santiago de Chile, siglo XIX<sup>1</sup>

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**RESUMEN** A partir de la cuarta década del siglo XIX comenzó a tomar forma en Chile un discurso acerca del arte colonial, cuyos juicios y comentarios se referían no solo a las obras producidas antes del proceso de emancipación, iniciado en el año 1810, sino también a aquellas pinturas y esculturas que, repitiendo las soluciones de los talleres coloniales, se siguieron realizando y vendiendo hasta bien entrado el siglo. En el conjunto de textos que se refieren al tema es posible identificar dos preocupaciones, por un lado, la del valor artístico de los edificios, lienzos y tallas, por otro, la de su aptitud para fomentar la vida religiosa. Sin duda, al avanzar el siglo, pareciera haberse instalado la visión de que el arte colonial no colaboraba a la formación del buen gusto y que su presencia en las iglesias estaba relacionada con formas de devoción que debían ser superadas.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE** Arte, devoción, circulación.

Un testimonio quizá más elocuente que el escrito, acerca del rechazo por el arte colonial, es la total supresión, durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, de los retablos barrocos de las cinco iglesias coloniales que aún se conservan en Santiago. En unas pocas décadas cientos de columnas salomónicas, relieves dorados, esculturas y pinturas fueron retirados de los templos de la ciudad, instalando en su lugar altares e imágenes que promovían lo que se consideraba como buen gusto y sana religiosidad.<sup>2</sup>

Los juicios respecto del arte colonial fueron una manifestación específica del balance crítico que se va construyendo acerca del período anterior a la Independencia.<sup>3</sup> El abogado Juan Egaña escribió en 1819 que la nación no se puede construir a partir de la herencia española, “porque ellos no han poseído mayor cultura, ni han permitido alguna en nuestros países, procediendo a destruir, sin

<sup>1</sup> Parte de los contenidos de este artículo son el fruto de una estadía de tres meses en la biblioteca del Getty Research Institute como académico visitante.

<sup>2</sup> Sin embargo, el fenómeno de rechazo al arte colonial tiene diversos matices que es necesario atender, muchas obras fueron valoradas desde el punto de vista artístico y, de diversas maneras, se promovió su conservación como testimonios del pasado. Buen ejemplo de lo anterior son la Exposición del Coloniaje, realizada en Santiago el año 1873, así como los comentarios de Sarmiento acerca de la necesidad de preservar el arte colonial. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, Catálogo razonado de la Exposición del Coloniaje, Imprenta del Sud-América, de Claro i Salinas, Santiago, 1873. J. A. García Martínez, Sarmiento y el arte de su tiempo, Emecé Editores, Buenos Aires, 1979.

<sup>3</sup> SUBERCASEAUX, Bernardo, *Historia de la Ideas y de la Cultura en Chile*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago, Tomo I, 1997, p. 10. Se refiere a la paradoja de la búsqueda de identidad a partir de la negación de la tradición.

aprovecharse, la que encontraron en los indígenas”.<sup>4</sup> Posteriormente, en 1842, José Victoriano Lastarria presentó en la Universidad de Chile su memoria *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile*, en las que señala la «La influencia fatal de la España y de su sistema en nuestras costumbres e inclinaciones»<sup>5</sup> o «las tinieblas del coloniaje».<sup>6</sup> El rector de la Universidad de Chile, el venezolano Andrés Bello, a pesar de considerar imparcial el trabajo de Lastarria, afirmó que el sistema colonial “encadenaba las artes, cortaba los vuelos al pensamiento, cegaba hasta los veneros de la fertilidad agrícola”.<sup>7</sup> Puntos de vista que, sin duda, debieron permear la observación y valoración del arte colonial.

Debe tenerse en cuenta que, a mediados del siglo XIX, gran parte de las pinturas y esculturas que un chileno podía observar eran coloniales. Los trabajos de Monvoisin, Rugendas o Cicarelli eran piezas excepcionales que circulaban en ambientes privados y, fundamentalmente, entre miembros de la elite social. Los enormes retablos dorados, así como los de formato barroco germano que los jesuitas habían introducido, estaban presentes en todas las iglesias.<sup>8</sup> Miles de esculturas de madera policromada y pinturas ejecutadas en los siglos XVII y XVIII podían ser vistas, cotidianamente, en los templos de Santiago y otras ciudades. Como lo testimonia la descripción de la iglesia de San Agustín en Santiago: “Los altares eran un bosque de columnas: unas derechas y otras torcidas, unas arrancando de sus propios zócalos, otras de cabezas de ángeles, llegando todas a una cornisa, en cuyos bordes se contemplaban serafines de piernas colgantes y en actitudes más bien cómicas que religiosas”.<sup>9</sup>

Al mismo tiempo, la venta de esculturas y pinturas religiosas, realizadas de acuerdo a los viejos patrones, mantuvo su dinamismo hasta la década del sesenta del siglo XIX. La expresión más clara de este fenómeno fue la migración de artistas quiteños que organizaron talleres de imaginería religiosa en la zona central de Chile.<sup>10</sup> La actividad de los quiteños proyectó las formas y soluciones del arte colonial, cuya promoción se servía de los nuevos medios disponibles, como se puede observar en este aviso publicado en 1844: “Los que suscriben, escultores quiteños, tiene el honor de avisar al respetable público de Santiago que las personas que les hayan favorecido y que en la actualidad tengan

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<sup>4</sup> EGAÑA, Juan, *Cartas pehuenches*, Imprenta del Gobierno, Santiago, 1819, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> LASTARRIA, José Victorino, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile*, Imprenta del Siglo, Santiago, 1844, p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> BELLO, Andrés, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile. Memoria presentada a la Universidad en sesión solemne de 22 de septiembre de 1844, por don José Victorino Lastarria*, en R. E. SCARPA, «Antología de Andrés Bello», Fondo Andrés Bello, Santiago, 1970, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> GUZMÁN, Fernando, *Representaciones del Paraíso. Retablos en Chile, siglos XVIII y XIX*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago, 2009, pp. 21-70 y 97-120.

<sup>9</sup> MATURANA CORTÍNEZ, Víctor, *Historia de los Agustinos en Chile*, Valparaíso, Imprenta de Lathrop, 1904, t. II, 498.

<sup>10</sup> KENNEDY TROYA, Alexandra, “Circuitos Artísticos Interregionales: De Quito a Chile. Siglos XVIII y XIX”, en *Historia*, n° 31, 98. Hernán Rodríguez Villegas, “Artistas en Chile en la primera mitad del siglo XIX”, en *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, n° 100, 337. CORTÉS, Gloria y DEL VALLE, Francisca, “Circulación y transferencia de la imagen: pintura quiteña en Chile en el siglo XIX”, en *Arte quiteño más allá de Quito*. Memorias del seminario internacional. Fonsal, Quito, 2010, pp. 182-195

algunas obras en su tienda, pueden pasar por ellas, pues se les espera hasta el término de los meses. Avisan también que teniendo una contrata en el Sur, piensan retirarse dejando su taller a cargo de Telésforo Allende, profesor del mismo arte. Ignacio Jácome y Pedro Palacios”.<sup>11</sup>

La reflexión en torno al arte colonial, por tanto, no es solo un balance del pasado, pues sus formas siguen vigentes en las pinturas y esculturas ejecutadas por los artistas quiteños y sus seguidores. Miguel Luis Amunátegui publicó el año 1849 sus *Apuntes sobre lo que han sido las bellas artes en Chile*, texto en el que se recogen referencias y comentarios a aquellas obras del período virreinal que el autor considera de mayor relevancia; al referirse a los trabajos de los pintores y escultores que perpetuaban las formas coloniales, declara que aún “nos llegan de cuando en cuando pacotillas bien surtidas de cuadros quiteños de todos tamaños”.<sup>12</sup> El mismo año se publicó en Santiago la crónica del viaje de Domingo Faustino Sarmiento a Europa, África y América; cuyo autor considera que “la artística Roma se cubriría la cara de vergüenza, si viera erigidos en alto algunos de nuestros crucifijos, con sus formas bastardas que rebajan la dignidad del Hombre Dios”.<sup>13</sup> Del mismo tenor son las afirmaciones de Pedro Lira acerca del daño que infringía la escuela quiteña en el gusto de la población, pues, “la constante introducción de sus innumerables cuadros debía precisamente influir entre nosotros: la vista cotidiana de ellos debía acabar por hacernos perder todo sentimiento e idea artística, acostumbrando el ojo a mirar toda clase de defectos i ninguna belleza”.<sup>14</sup> El juicio de Lira es, además, un buen ejemplo de la proyección en el tiempo de ciertas convicciones forjadas a mediados del siglo. Es cierto, como afirma Josefina de la Maza, que pareciera tratarse, en muchos casos, de la reiteración irreflexiva de una valoración aceptada socialmente y no de puntos de vista formulados a partir de la observación desprejuiciada de las obras.<sup>15</sup> Quizá ahí radica precisamente su interés, en el hecho de se trata de una postura crítica acerca del arte colonial, particularmente de la producción quiteña, que fue aceptada y asumida universalmente durante el siglo XIX, sin cuestionar su legitimidad.

El discurso acerca del escaso valor artístico de la pintura y la escultura colonial pareciera estar íntimamente vinculado a la idea de que su presencia en las iglesias promovía una piedad inapropiada. Mario Góngora precisa que el pensamiento católico ilustrado promovía el respeto a la liturgia oficial de la Iglesia y rechazaba las manifestaciones de la devoción popular,<sup>16</sup> posturas que caracterizaron a la elite

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<sup>11</sup> *El Mercurio*, n° 4984, Valparaíso 18 de noviembre de 1844, sin número de página.

<sup>12</sup> AMUNÁTEGUI, Miguel Luis, *Apuntes sobre lo que han sido las bellas Arte en Chile*, en «Revista de Santiago», 1849, t. III, pp. 44-52, p. 45.

<sup>13</sup> SARMIENTO, Domingo Faustino, *Viajes en Europa, África i América*, Imprenta de Julio Belín i Cia, Santiago, 1849, p. 414.

<sup>14</sup> LIRA, Pedro, “Las Bellas Artes en Chile”, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, 1866, p. 279.

<sup>15</sup> DE LA MAZA, Josefina, *De obras maestras y mamarrachos*, ediciones metales pesados, Santiago, 2014, p. 30.

<sup>16</sup> GÓNGORA, Mario, “Aspectos de la Ilustración Católica en el pensamiento y la vida eclesiástica chilena (1770-1814)”, en Mario Góngora, *Estudios de Historia de las Ideas y de Historia Social*, Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, Valparaíso, 1980, pp. 127-158, p. 129.

chilena del siglo XIX.<sup>17</sup> El sacerdote José Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre se refiere en sus escritos a la inconveniencia de ciertas prácticas de piedad que incorporan “aparatos que hoy son chocantes y repugnan con las costumbres de estos tiempos”,<sup>18</sup> afirmando que “una piedad más ilustrada trabajaría por desterrar de tales ceremonias todo lo que les acompaña de profano y repugna a la fe que las inspira y las dirige”.<sup>19</sup> La depuración de las prácticas de piedad requería una reforma del arte católico, la superación de lo que Lastarria denomina las supersticiones de los colonos<sup>20</sup> pasaba por la supresión de las imágenes religiosas tradicionales. Sarmiento afirma que las esculturas religiosas hispanoamericanas “con sus caras pintadas y sus arreos de jergón o brocato, exponen a los espíritus elevados a caer en el error de los iconoclastas”,<sup>21</sup> concordando así con “los esfuerzos de cuarenta años por desterrar las imágenes vestidas de género”<sup>22</sup> que el Cabildo Eclesiástico de la Catedral de Santiago venía sosteniendo desde mediados del siglo XIX. Vicuña Mackenna, por su parte, en su *Páginas de mi diario* durante tres años de viaje, propone como modelos a imitar las esculturas de Cánova, la iglesia de la Magdalena en París y la Basílica romana de San Pablo extra muros, a la que se refiere como una “iglesia moderna”.<sup>23</sup>

No es posible reconstruir cabalmente el conjunto de ideas y lecturas que pudieron influir en la formulación y articulación de este discurso que juzga a la tradición artística colonial como una rémora para el desarrollo de la verdadera pintura y escultura, así como, un estorbo para la promoción de la piedad ilustrada. Fundamentalmente, porque no existen investigaciones previas acerca de las publicaciones sobre arte que los chilenos del siglo XIX conocían. Sin embargo, a partir de la revisión de los catálogos de algunas bibliotecas del período es posible plantear algunas propuestas tentativas.

Resulta ineludible plantearse la posibilidad de que los escritos y puntos de vista de Johann Joachim Winckelmann hubiesen influido de alguna manera en miembros de la elite local, en particular su afirmación de que la belleza perfecta en la escultura y en la arquitectura se debía obtener usando el mármol blanco,<sup>24</sup> su convicción de que el buen gusto tenía su origen en Grecia<sup>25</sup> y, finalmente, su tendencia a condenar las obras que hoy se estudian como barrocas.<sup>26</sup> En el catálogo de la Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago se puede encontrar una edición de 1783 de *Remarques sur l'architecture des anciens*,

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<sup>17</sup> SERRANO, Sol, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República? Política y secularización en Chile (1845-1885)*, Santiago, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008, pp. 39 y 135.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 252-253.

<sup>19</sup> EYZAGUIRRE, José Ignacio Víctor, *Op. Cit.*, tomo I, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> LASTARRIA, Jose Victorino, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile*, Imprenta del siglo, Santiago, 1844, p. 113.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 412.

<sup>22</sup> *Acuerdos*, 8 de noviembre de 1887, Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago (ACS), Santiago de Chile, Libro de actas del Cabildo, n° 14.

<sup>23</sup> VICUÑA MACKENNA, Benjamín, *Páginas de mi diario durante tres años de viaje*, Imprenta del Ferracarril, Santiago, 1856, pp. 238, 242 y 244.

<sup>24</sup> WINCKELMANN, Johann Joachim, *Historia del arte de la antigüedad*, Ediciones Akal, Madrid, 2011, p. 77.

<sup>25</sup> WINCKELMANN, Johann Joachim, *Il bello nell'arte. Scritti sull'arte antica*. Giulio Einaudi Editore, Torino, 1943, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> WINCKELMANN, Johann Joachim, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 29 y 50.



Winckelmann y una versión de 1786 de *Recueil de différentes pieces sur les arts*, sin embargo, no hay constancia de que sus libros hubiesen estado en bibliotecas privadas de Santiago. Lo cierto es que no se puede descartar que sus ideas hubiesen colaborado a forjar el descrédito del arte colonial.

En la biblioteca de Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna se registra la presencia del libro *Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, en una edición de Trieste del año 1857.<sup>27</sup> En el catálogo de la Biblioteca Nacional, por su parte, se registran dos ediciones de la *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, de los años 1841 y 1857, así como un ejemplar de *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, publicado en 1838. Estos antecedentes permitirían proponer que se trató de un autor cuyos trabajos fueron conocidos por medio de ediciones recientes, lo que pondría de manifiesto un renovado interés por su lectura a mediados del siglo XIX. Es posible, por tanto, que sus ideas acerca de la inferioridad del trabajo escultórico en que se agregan materiales para esconder los errores del artista haya tenido algún eco en la elite intelectual chilena. El apelativo de zapatero remendón que Vasari utiliza para referirse a estos artífices,<sup>28</sup> se podía aplicar con toda propiedad a los quiteños que, por la naturaleza de su oficio, no solo realizaban sus trabajos ensamblando trozos de madera, sino que, además, los cubrían con policromía, cabello natural y vestidos de tela. El autor italiano se refiere respetuosamente a la tradición de tallas en madera propia del arte cristiano, sin embargo, manifiesta su preferencia por el mármol y el bronce;<sup>29</sup> punto de vista que pudo influir en la adquisición de escultura devocional europea en esos materiales para reemplazar a las viejas imágenes coloniales de las iglesias de Santiago, fenómeno que comenzó a mediados del siglo XIX y cuyo ejemplo más significativo es el altar de la Recoleta Domínica con sus esculturas de mármol de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, Santo Domingo y San Francisco.<sup>30</sup>

Un tipo de libro que aparece bien representado en las bibliotecas decimonónicas de Santiago son los relatos de viajes, cuyas páginas contienen ideas acerca del arte y la arquitectura, en ocasiones ecos del pensamiento de Winckelmann u otros autores. Uno de estos libros es *Lettres sur l'Italie*, publicado en 1788 por Charles Dupaty, cuya presencia quedó registrada en el catálogo de la biblioteca de Mariano Egaña.<sup>31</sup> El abogado francés registró en cartas su viaje por Italia, realizado el año 1785, dando cuenta de un gusto marcadamente clasicista que le lleva a lamentarse de los modelos artísticos depravados y ridículos que influyeron en autores como Bernini y Borromini.<sup>32</sup> Si Dupaty rechazaba

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<sup>27</sup> CRISTI, Mauricio, *Catálogo de la biblioteca i manuscritos de D. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna*, Imprenta Cervantes, Santiago, 1886, segunda parte, p. 241.

<sup>28</sup> VASARI, Giorgio, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*, Firenze, 1550, p. 58.

<sup>29</sup> VASARI, Giorgio, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>30</sup> El Ferrocarril, 23 de noviembre de 1882, n° 8556. RAMÍREZ, Ramón, O.P., *Los Dominicos en Chile. Breve resumen de los hechos históricos, personajes, etc.*, Santiago, 1976, p. 45. GUZMÁN, Fernando, *Representaciones del Paraíso. Retablos en Chile, siglos XVIII-XIX*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago, 2009, pp. 123 y 124.

<sup>31</sup> SALINAS, Carlos (1982): "La biblioteca de don Mariano Egaña, con especial referencia a sus libros de derecho", *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, n° 7, pp. 493 y 502.

<sup>32</sup> DUPATY, Charles Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier (1746-1788), *Lettres sur l'Italie* (1785), Chez Senne libraire de Monseigneur Comte d'Artois, París, 1788, tomo I, p. 215.

ciertos rasgos presentes en las esculturas de artistas célebres, los lectores chilenos de sus *Lettres sur l'Italie*, atentos al revisar este comentario y seguros de la autoridad del magistrado francés, debían reaccionar con mayor severidad ante las esculturas coloniales que poblaban las iglesias de Santiago.

Los autores citados no manifiestan una especial atención a los problemas específicos del arte sagrado o devocional, de modo que, para comprender la especial preocupación acerca de los supuestos efectos negativos del arte colonial en la vida religiosa es necesario identificar otras fuentes. En este ámbito, un libro particularmente influyente debió ser *El pintor cristiano y erudito* de Juan Interian de Ayala, cuya presencia en diversas bibliotecas de Santiago permite pensar en la difusión de sus contenidos en el medio local.<sup>33</sup> El libro contiene un catálogo de los errores que se cometen al pintar y esculpir una imagen sagrada, repitiendo en el contexto de la ilustración española algunos argumentos contenidos en los libros de Molano, Paleotti, Vicente Carducho y Antonio Palomino, entre otros autores.<sup>34</sup> En el segundo capítulo se refiere a la necesidad de que “los principiantes rudos, e ignorantes, y á algunos otros malísimos Artífices” se les prohíba pintar o esculpir imágenes sagradas, sugiriendo que se les autorice a pintar “barberías, tabernas, melones, legumbres, cohombros, calabazas, y quanto se les antojare, con tal que no pinten Imágenes Sagradas, que habiéndose introducido para fomento de la piedad, por el abuso que ellos hacen de su Arte, sirven mas presto de irrisión, y de desprecio”.<sup>35</sup> El libro contenía todos los argumentos para condenar buena parte del arte colonial, bajo la consideración de que sus esculturas y pinturas no obedecían a las reglas del arte y, por tanto, ofendían la dignidad de los sujetos representados. Sus formas ridículas y despreciables, utilizando los adjetivos del autor, no eran hábiles para promover la devoción.

Es indudable que circularon otros libros que contenían ideas acerca del arte en el medio santiaguino de mediados del siglo XIX, sin embargo, el repertorio referido, junto con ser representativo de géneros diversos, permite trabajar a partir de publicaciones de las cuales se puede afirmar, con bastante seguridad, que estuvieron presentes en bibliotecas de la ciudad. De modo que, se puede afirmar que el discurso relativo a la necesidad de regenerar el arte devocional tomó forma a partir de lecturas específicas. Las ideas contenidas en los libros de Winckelmann, Vasari, Dupaty e Interian de Ayala, junto a otros, fueron convenciendo a la elite nacional que la observación regular de las pinturas de los siglos XVII y XVIII y de las viejas esculturas policromadas, junto con impedir la formación del bueno gusto, fomentaban formar de devoción anacrónicas.

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<sup>33</sup> SALINAS, Carlos (1982): “La biblioteca de don Mariano Egaña, con especial referencia a sus libros de derecho”, *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, nº 7, p. 531. Se conservan ejemplares en la Biblioteca Nacional y en la Biblioteca del Convento de la Recoleta Domínica

<sup>34</sup> MOLANUES, Johannes, *De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris*, Lovaina, 1570. PALEOTTI, Gabriele, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*, 1582, Bolonia. CARDUCHO, Vicente, *Diálogo de la pintura, su defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias*, Madrid, Francisco Martínez, 1633. PALOMINO DE CASTRO, Antonio, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*, Madrid, Imprenta de Sancha, 1795.

<sup>35</sup> INTERIAN DE AYALA, Juan, *El pintor cristiano y erudito, ó tratado de los errores que suelen cometerse freqüentemente en pintar, y esculpir las Imágenes Sagradas*, Madrid, 1782, p. 11.

# Circulation of Ideas and Transformation of Catholic Art in Santiago, Chile, 19<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>1</sup>

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**ABSTRACT** Starting in the last four decades of the nineteenth century, a discourse regarding colonial art began to develop in Chile. This discourse's judgments and observations addressed artworks produced before independence from Spain, which began in 1810, but also those paintings and sculptures that, following the traditions adopted in colonial workshops, continued to be manufactured and sold well into the nineteenth century. In the set of texts discussing this topic, we detect two main concerns. On the one hand, these discussions reveal a preoccupation relating to the artistic value of the architecture, paintings, and carvings; and on the other, of the artworks' ability to promote religiosity. Without a doubt, in the course of this century, it appears that the prevalent opinion had determined that colonial artworks did not contribute to the development of what was then considered in good taste and that its presence in churches referred to forms of devotion that had to be overcome.

**KEYWORDS** art, devotion, circulation.

The complete eradication, during the second half of the nineteenth century of Baroque altarpieces in the five colonial churches that still remain in Santiago, exemplifies and therefore bespeaks perhaps more eloquently about this phenomenon of rejection by the colonial art, than that presented in the existing literature. In a few decades, hundreds of Solomonic columns, gilded reliefs, sculptures, and paintings were removed from the city's churches, and in their stead were installed altars and images that promoted what was considered good taste and healthy religiosity.<sup>2</sup>

The conclusions about colonial art were a specific manifestation of the critical balance that began to develop during the period prior to Independence.<sup>3</sup> Juan Egaña, a lawyer, writing in 1819,

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<sup>1</sup> Part of the contents of this article are the fruit of a three-month stay in the library of the Getty Research Institute as Guest Scholar.

<sup>2</sup> However, the phenomenon of colonial art's rejection has different nuances that must be acknowledged. Many artworks continued to hold artistic value and colonial art was regarded as evidence of the past and thus its preservation was promoted in various ways. Two good examples of this are the 1873 exposition "La Exposición del Coloniaje" in Santiago and Sarmiento's writings, which appealed to the need to conserve colonial art. See VICUÑA MACKENNA, Benjamín, *Catálogo razonado de la Exposición del Coloniaje*, Imprenta del Sud-América, de Claro i Salinas, Santiago, 1873. J. A. García Martínez, *Sarmiento y el arte de su tiempo*, Emecé Editores, Buenos Aires, 1979.

<sup>3</sup> SUBERCASEAUX, Bernardo, *Historia de la Ideas y de la Cultura en Chile*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago, Tomo I, 1997, p. 10. This source discusses the paradox of the search for identity from the denial of tradition.

argued that the nation could not be established on the Spanish heritage. “Because they have not possessed greater culture, nor have allowed any of it within our countries, and have proceeded to destroy unexploited that which they found in the indigenous one”.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, in 1842, José Victoriano Lastarria, a Chilean intellectual, presented at the Universidad de Chile his memoirs titled *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile*. In which he explains what he judges to be “Spain’s system and deadly influence on our customs and inclinations”<sup>5</sup> or “the darkness of colonialism”.<sup>6</sup> The Universidad de Chile’s rector, the Venezuelan Andrés Bello, while considering Lastarria’s work as impartial, stated that the colonial system “shackled the arts, thwarted the ability of thought to fly, and blinded even the agricultural fertility”.<sup>7</sup> Undoubtedly, these points of view must have permeated the study and evaluation of colonial art.

We must keep in mind that in the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the paintings and sculptures that Chileans had access to or could observe dated from the colonial period. The works by Monvoisin, Rugendas, o Cicarelli were exceptional artworks that circulated mainly within private circles and thus fundamentally among the elite. The enormous gilded altarpieces as well as those following the German Baroque style that the Jesuits had introduced were present in all the churches in Chile.<sup>8</sup> Thousands of paintings and polychrome sculptures in wood executed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could still be seen regularly in the churches in Santiago and other cities in Chile. As Maturana’s description of the Iglesia de San Agustín in Santiago attests: “The altars were a forest of columns: some straight and other crooked, some emerging out of their own baseboards. Other ones were in the shape of angel heads all of them approaching a single cornice in whose borders one could see seraphim with their legs hanging rendered to appear rather comical than religious”.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time, the demand for religious sculptures and paintings executed in a manner that followed previously established patterns, maintained its vigor until the 1860s. The clearest expression of this phenomenon was the immigration of artists from Quito, Ecuador, who established workshops in Central Chile specializing in the manufacture of religious imagery.<sup>10</sup> The Quito artists’ undertakings

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<sup>4</sup> EGAÑA, Juan, *Cartas pebuences*, Imprenta del Gobierno, Santiago, 1819, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> LASTARRIA, José Victorino, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista y del sistema colonial del los españoles en Chile*, Impenta del Siglo, Santiago, 1844, p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> BELLO, Andrés, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia de la conquista y del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile. Memoria presentada a la Universidad en sesión solemne de 22 de septiembre de 1844, por don José Victorino Lastarria*, en R. E. SCARPA, «Antología de Andrés Bello», Fondo Andrés Bello, Santiago, 1970, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> GUZMÁN, Fernando, *Representaciones del Paraíso. Retablos en Chile, siglos XVIII y XIX*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago, 2009, pp. 21-70 y 97-120.

<sup>9</sup> MATURANA CORTÍNEZ, Víctor, *Historia de los Agustinos en Chile*, Valparaíso, Imprenta de Lathrop, 1904, t. II, p. 498.

<sup>10</sup> KENNEDY TROYA, Alexandra, “Circuitos Artísticos Interregionales: De Quito a Chile. Siglos XVIII y XIX”, en *Historia*, n° 31, 98. RODRÍGUEZ VILLEGAS, Hernán, “Artistas en Chile en la primera mitad del siglo XIX”, en *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, n° 100, 337. CORTÉS, Gloria y DEL VALLE, Francisca, “Circulación y transferencia de la

were instrumental in maintaining the forms, style, and other creative features of colonial art, and to promote its continuation they availed themselves of the newly available media, as this newspaper ad from 1844 demonstrates:

“The undersigned, sculptors from Quito, have the honor to inform the respectable public of Santiago that those who have been favored and currently have some oeuvres in the workshop, if they could come to collect them, since they will be awaited until the close of the months. They wish to inform as well that having a contract in the south, they are thinking of retiring and leaving Telésforo Allende, professor of this type of art, in charge of their workshop. Ignacio Jácome and Pedro Palacios.<sup>11</sup>

This consideration concerning colonial art, therefore, is not only in consideration of the past, because its forms remain relevant in the paintings and sculptures executed by Quito artists and their followers. In 1849, Miguel Luis Amunátegui published his *Apuntes sobre lo que han sido las bellas artes en Chile*, in which he references and comments on those artworks dating from the viceregal period that he considers most relevant. When referring to the work of painters and sculptors who perpetuated the colonial forms, he declares that even now: “we receive from time to time a well assorted swarm of paintings of all sizes from Quito”.<sup>12</sup> In that same year was published in Santiago the chronicles of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento describing his travels throughout Europe, Africa, and America. Where the author surmises: “the artistically\_refined Rome would cover her face with shame if she could see how we raise very high some of crucifixes made with bastard forms that diminish the dignity of the Son of God”.<sup>13</sup> Following in this same vein are Pedro Lira’s declarations about the damage that the Quito school would inflict upon the artistic taste of the people of Santiago. He stating: “the constant introduction of its numerous paintings should exert a most precise influence among us: our frequent sightings of them should end up making us lose all artistic sentiment and idea, accustoming\_the eye to observe all types of defects and no beauty”.<sup>14</sup> Lira’s opinions are additionally, a good example of the projection in time of certain convictions forged by mid-century. As Josefina de la Maza states, it appears that has to do, in most cases, with the careless reiteration of socially accepted values and not points of view formulated from an unbiased evaluation of artworks.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps therein lies precisely their interest, in the fact that it has to do with a critical stance on colonial art, particularly that produced by Quito artists working in Santiago, which was universally accepted and assumed in the nineteenth century without questioning its legitimacy.

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imagen: pintura quiteña en Chile en el siglo XIX”, en *Arte quiteño más allá de Quito*. Memorias del seminario internacional. Fonsal, Quito, 2010, pp. 182-195

<sup>11</sup> *El Mercurio*, n° 4984, Valparaíso 18 de noviembre de 1844, sin número de página.

<sup>12</sup> AMUNÁTEGUI, Miguel Luis, *Apuntes sobre lo que han sido las bellas Artes en Chile*, en «Revista de Santiago», 1849, t. III, pp. 44-52, p. 45.

<sup>13</sup> SARMIENTO, Domingo Faustino, *Viajes en Europa, África i América*, Imprenta de Julio Belín i Cia, Santiago, 1849, p. 414.

<sup>14</sup> LIRA, Pedro, “Las Bellas Artes en Chile”, *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, 1866, p. 279.

<sup>15</sup> DE LA MAZA, Josefina, *De obras maestras y mamarrachos*, ediciones metales pesados, Santiago, 2014, p. 30.

The discourse about the little artistic value of colonial painting and sculpture appears to be closely linked to the idea that their presence in churches promoted an inappropriate piety. Mario Góngora states that the enlightened Catholic thought supposedly promoted respect for the Church's official liturgy and rejected the manifestations of popular devotion,<sup>16</sup> postures that characterized the Chilean elite's thought of the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> In his writings, the priest José Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre describes the inconvenience of certain practices of piety. That consist of “appliances that nowadays appear as shocking and repugnant with the current customs”,<sup>18</sup> declaring “a more enlightened piety would work to eradicate from such ceremonies anything accompanying them that is profane and repugnant abominable to the faith that inspires and directs them”.<sup>19</sup> The purging of the traditional practices of piety required a reform of Catholic art, and included overcoming what Lastarria deemed to be the superstitions of the settlers<sup>20</sup> and the suppression of traditional religious. Sarmiento maintains that the religious sculpture of Latin America “with their faces painted and their pallet trappings or brocade, exposing the elevated spirits to fall prey to the mistake of the iconoclasts.”<sup>21</sup> In accordance with “forty years of efforts to banish the images dressed with cloth”<sup>22</sup> that the Cabildo Eclesiástico of the Catedral de Santiago had been supporting since the middle of the nineteenth century. Vicuña Mackenna, meanwhile, in his book *Páginas de mi diario durante tres años de viaje* proposed as role models Canova sculptures, the church of the Madeleine in Paris, and the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls, which he refers to as a “modern church”.<sup>23</sup>

It is not possible fully reconstruct the set of ideas and readings that could have influenced the formulation and articulation of this discourse that judges the colonial artistic tradition as a hindrance to the development of the real painting and sculpture, as well as to the promotion of an enlightened piety. Fundamentally, because there are no known previous investigations about the literature discussing art to which Chileans of the nineteenth century had access or knew. However, after reviewing catalogs in libraries of this period it is possible to suggest a few tentative propositions.

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<sup>16</sup> GÓNGORA, Mario, “Aspectos de la Ilustración Católica en el pensamiento y la vida eclesiástica chilena (1770-1814)”, en Mario Góngora, *Estudios de Historia de las Ideas y de Historia Social*, Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, Valparaíso, 1980, pp. 127-158, p. 129.

<sup>17</sup> SERRANO, Sol, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República? Política y secularización en Chile (1845-1885)*, Santiago, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008, pp. 39 y 135.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 252-253.

<sup>19</sup> EYZAGUIRRE, José Ignacio Víctor, *Op. Cit.*, tomo I, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> LASTARRIA, Jose Victorino, *Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile*, Imprenta del siglo, Santiago, 1844, p. 113.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 412.

<sup>22</sup> *Acuerdos*, 8 de noviembre de 1887, Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago (ACS), Santiago de Chile, Libro de actas del Cabildo, n° 14.

<sup>23</sup> VICUÑA MACKENNA, Benjamín, *Páginas de mi diario durante tres años de viaje*, Imprenta del Ferracarril, Santiago, 1856, pp. 238, 242 y 244.

It is unavoidable to consider the possibility that Johann Joachim Winckelmann's writings and points of view could have somehow influenced members of the local elite. Particularly his claim that perfect beauty in sculpture and architecture should be obtained with white marble,<sup>24</sup> his conviction that good taste found its origins in ancient Greece,<sup>25</sup> and finally, his tendency to condemn artworks that are currently studied as Baroque.<sup>26</sup> In the Biblioteca Nacional in Santiago, the catalogue includes the writings of Winckelmann including a 1783 version of his *Remarques sur l'architecture des anciens*, a 1786 version of his *Recueil de différentes pièces sur les arts*. However, there is no evidence that private libraries in Santiago included Winckelmann's work. The truth is that one cannot rule out the possibility that his ideas had contributed to forge the discrediting of colonial art.

Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna's library registers that it owns the book *Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, an 1857 edition by Trieste.<sup>27</sup> The Biblioteca Nacional's catalog shows ownership of two editions of *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, dating from 1841 and 1857 as well as an edition of *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari* published in 1838. These antecedents would suggest that Winckelmann's work was known through recent editions, which would show a renewed interest in his writings in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is possible, therefore, that his ideas about the inferiority of sculptural work in which artists added materials to hide errors would have had some resonance among the Chilean intellectual elite.

The nickname "cobbler" that Vasari used to refer to those relying on these artistic tactics,<sup>28</sup> could be appropriately applied to the Quito artists who by the nature of their work, not only performed their artworks assembling pieces of wood, but also covered them in polychrome and supplied them with natural hair and clothing made of fabric. The Italian author respectfully refers to the tradition of woodcarvings fitting of Christian art; however, he expresses his preference for marble and bronze.<sup>29</sup> This point of view could have influenced the acquisition of European devotional sculpture in those materials to replace the old colonial images in the churches of Santiago, a phenomenon that began in the middle of the nineteenth century and whose most significant example is the altar of the Recoleta Dominicana, which has marble sculpture of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, Santo Domingo y San Francisco.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> WINCKELMANN, Johann Joachim, *Historia del arte de la antigüedad*, Ediciones Akal, Madrid, 2011, p. 77.

<sup>25</sup> WINCKELMANN, Johann Joachim, *Il bello nell'arte. Scritti sull'arte antica*. Giulio Einaudi Editore, Torino, 1943, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> WINCKELMANN, Johann Joachim, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 29 y 50.

<sup>27</sup> CRISTI, Mauricio, *Catálogo de la biblioteca i manuscritos de D. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna*, Imprenta Cervantes, Santiago, 1886, segunda parte, p. 241.

<sup>28</sup> VASARI, Giorgio, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*, Firenze, 1550, p. 58.

<sup>29</sup> VASARI, Giorgio, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*, Firenze, 1550, p. 70.

<sup>30</sup> El Ferrocarril, 23 de noviembre de 1882, n° 8556. RAMÍREZ, Ramón, O.P., *Los Dominicos en Chile. Breve resumen de los hechos históricos, personajes, etc.*, Santiago, 1976, p. 45. GUZMÁN, Fernando, *Representaciones del Paraíso. Retablos en Chile, siglos XVIII-XIX*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago, 2009, pp. 123 y 124.

A type of book that was often found in nineteenth-century libraries in Santiago are travelogues, which include ideas about art and architecture that on occasion echo Winckelmann's thinking or that of other authors. One example of these travel books is the *Lettres sur l'Italie*, published in 1788 by the French lawyer Charles Dupaty, which was registered as being part of Mariano Egaña's library catalogue.<sup>31</sup> Dupaty, a French lawyer, recorded with letters his travels throughout Italy during 1785, giving account of a markedly classicist taste that leads him to bemoan the depraved and ridiculous artistic models influencing such figures as Bernini and Borromini.<sup>32</sup> If Dupaty rejected certain features in the sculptures of celebrated artists, Chilean readers of his *Lettres sur l'Italie*, attentive as they reviewed this comment and certain in his authority, should have reacted more sternly against the colonial sculptures crowding the churches of Santiago.

The authors cited above do not devote any special attention to the specific problems of the sacred or devotional art. Therefore, to understand the special concern about the alleged negative effects of colonial art on religious life, it is necessary to analyze other sources. In this context, a particularly influential book must have been Juan Interian de Ayala's *El pintor christiano y erudito*, whose presence in various libraries of Santiago indicates that the ideas therein contained would have been widely diffused locally.<sup>33</sup>

The book includes a catalog of mistakes that are routinely committed when painting and sculpting a sacred image, repeating in the context of the Spanish enlightenment some arguments contained in publications by Molano, Paleotti, Carducho Vicente, and Antonio Palomino, among other authors.<sup>34</sup> The second chapter in Interian de Ayala's book expresses the need for "the rude and ignorant neophytes and some other very bad artists to be prevented from painting or sculpting sacred images. Suggesting that they be authorized to paint "barber shops, taverns, melons, vegetables, cucumbers, pumpkins, and anything that they please provided they do not paint sacred images that having been introduced to foster piety, by the abuse they make of their art, they serve more quickly to ridicule and contempt".<sup>35</sup> The book seemingly itemized all possible characteristics that could enable the condemnation of the majority of colonial art. Considering that, its sculptures and paintings did not

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<sup>31</sup> SALINAS, Carlos (1982): "La biblioteca de don Mariano Egaña, con especial referencia a sus libros de derecho", *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, n° 7, pp. 493 y 502.

<sup>32</sup> DUPATY, Charles Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier (1746-1788), *Lettres sur l'Italie* (1785), Chez Senne libraire de Monseigneur Comte d'Artois, París, 1788, tomo I, p. 215.

<sup>33</sup> Salinas, Carlos (1982): "La biblioteca de don Mariano Egaña, con especial referencia a sus libros de derecho", *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, n° 7, p. 531. Some editions are housed at the Biblioteca Nacional and the Biblioteca del Convento de la Recoleta Dominicana.

<sup>34</sup> Salinas, Carlos (1982): "La biblioteca de don Mariano Egaña, con especial referencia a sus libros de derecho", *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, n° 7, p. 531. Some editions are housed at the Biblioteca Nacional and the Biblioteca del Convento de la Recoleta Dominicana.

<sup>35</sup> INTERIAN DE AYALA, Juan, *El pintor christiano y erudito, ó tratado de los errores que suelen cometerse freqüentemente en pintar, y esculpir las Imágenes Sagradas*, Madrid, 1782, p. 11.



obey the rules of art and therefore offended the dignity of the subjects represented. According to the author, colonial art's ridiculous and despicable conventions were not conducive to devotion.

Undoubtedly, various other books discussing art circulated in Santiago in the middle of the nineteenth century beyond those cited above. However, the selection herein referred besides presenting different genres, allows scholars to work with publications that have for the most part being shown to be part of the city's libraries during this period. Thus, we can securely state that the discourse on the need to regenerate devotional art began to take shape from very specific readings. The ideas promoted by the books of Winckelmann, Vasari, Dupaty e Interian de Ayala, and that of other similar authors, were instrumental in convincing the national elite that the systematic evaluation of seventeenth and eighteenth century paintings and polychrome sculptures, along with impeding the development of good taste, encouraged anachronistic form of devotion.



# Discursos en torno al arte colonial y su visibilización en Chile en el siglo XIX

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**RESUMEN** A lo largo del siglo XIX fue posible apreciar una actitud crítica respecto al arte colonial, surgida en contextos intelectuales liberales que promovían un arte académico que consideraban apropiado en el marco de una naciente cultura republicana. Sin embargo, los discursos que animaron esta mirada crítica hacia la producción artística bajo el dominio español en América, se expresaron no solo en el campo intelectual, sino también en el ámbito de las exposiciones de arte. El presente artículo examina la forma en que estas instancias expositivas visibilizaron no solo este espíritu crítico, sino los intentos por insertar al arte colonial en el relato de la historia del arte.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE** Crítica, Arte colonial, exposiciones, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna.

Tras la independencia chilena y durante gran parte del siglo XIX, la actitud de intelectuales hacia el mundo colonial se caracterizó por el desdén que gradualmente comenzó a expandirse al ámbito artístico. Las cada vez menos favorables ideas frente al arte colonial se expresaron principalmente en los esfuerzos de numerosos miembros de la elite por instalar un gusto artístico académico europeo como el más apropiado para formar bajo su alero a las artes nacionales. La promoción del arte europeo y el rechazo al arte producido bajo dominio colonial se expresó no solo en textos críticos, sino también a través de plataformas expositivas que visibilizaron las distintas maneras en que el pasado colonial y las artes producidas en ese período fueron percibidos.

En efecto, las exposiciones deben ser vistas como escenarios especialmente apropiados para comprender la manera en que intelectuales vinculados al mundo cultural utilizaron no solo textos en medios de prensa o catálogos de exhibición- para elaborar un discurso en torno al arte colonial, sino estrategias expositivas que visualizarían estas ideas en un ámbito público. De este modo, las exhibiciones, que constituyeron espacios privilegiados para la instrucción y sociabilidad facilitaron la instalación de discursos tanto artísticos como históricos frente a la colonia.

Este artículo busca analizar la forma en que las ideas de prominentes intelectuales como Miguel Luis Amunátegui (1828-1888) y Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1831-1886) en torno al arte colonial, se expresaron en contextos expositivos a cuya organización estuvieron vinculados durante la

década de 1850, momento en que la Academia de Pintura – creada en 1849 – se constituía como la institución artística más importante del país.

Asimismo, este estudio busca demostrar que mientras Amunátegui utilizó la referencia al arte colonial como una herramienta discursiva para instalar el modelo artístico europeo, este fue visto por Vicuña Mackenna, como una forma de insertar el arte americano en una narrativa más amplia de la historia del arte.

El menosprecio con que se consideró el período colonial durante el siglo XIX se expresó inicialmente en círculos de intelectuales que, conscientes del importante papel del arte en el ámbito virreinal, consideraron necesario renovar el lenguaje artístico en función de la nueva realidad política y cultural del país. Para ello se recurrió principalmente al imaginario republicano francés y a una serie de imágenes de héroes de la independencia.<sup>1</sup> En efecto, ya en la década de 1820 el jurista Juan Egaña reflexionaba en torno a la función específica del arte como herramienta para promover las virtudes cívicas, consideradas por él como fundamento del orden social.<sup>2</sup>

Sin embargo, sería en la década de 1840 cuando José Victorino Lastarria, se alzaría como uno de los intelectuales liberales más críticos del modelo cultural de la colonia y del escaso desarrollo de las artes y las ciencias bajo el dominio español.<sup>3</sup> Poco después, a la crítica de Lastarria se sumaría la de Miguel Luis Amunátegui, una de las figuras centrales del pensamiento liberal chileno.

Uno de los motivos que explica el interés de intelectuales en las artes se relaciona en primer lugar, con la relevancia que se les atribuyó en el proceso “civilizador”, en que las artes eran consideradas herramientas fundamentales para la formación cultural y la consolidación de la nación. Ello se reflejó en los esfuerzos realizados por estos intelectuales para fortalecer una cultura republicana en que avanzaran las ideas ilustradas y que vería en el arte académico la forma más apropiada para contribuir a la educación del pueblo y a la construcción de un relato histórico y artístico nacional.

Uno de los artículos más relevantes de Miguel Luis Amunátegui sobre arte fue publicado en la *Revista de Santiago* en 1849,<sup>4</sup> justamente cuando el pintor italiano Alejandro Ciccarelli inauguraba la

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<sup>1</sup> CRUZ, Isabel. “Diosas atribuladas: alegorías cívicas, caricatura y política en Chile durante el siglo XIX”. *Historia*. Santiago, Vol. 30, 1997, pp. 127-171; MAJLUF, Natalia. “De cómo reemplazar a un rey: retrato, visualidad y poder en la crisis de la independencia (1808-1830)”. *Histórica*. Lima, Vol. 37, n° 1, 2013, pp. 73-108.

<sup>2</sup> Sobre las ideas artísticas clásicas que tempranamente comenzaron a permear el mundo intelectual, véase GUZMÁN, Fernando y YÁÑEZ, Eugenio. “La recepción de los clásicos en las concepciones de Juan Egaña acerca del arte”. *Alpha*, Osorno, n° 37, Dic. 2013, pp. 135-136.

<sup>3</sup> LASTARRIA, José Victorino. *Discurso de Incorporación de D.J. Victorino Lastarria a una Sociedad de Literatura de Santiago, en la Sesión del tres de mayo de 1842*. Valparaíso: Impr. De M. Rivadeneyra, 1842, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> AMUNÁTEGUI, Miguel Luis. “Apuntes sobre lo que han sido las Bellas-Artes en Chile”. *Revista de Santiago*. Santiago, Tomo III, 1849, pp. 37-47.

Academia de Pintura en Chile.<sup>5</sup> Prestando especial atención a los aspectos formales de las pinturas producidas bajo dominio español, Amunátegui criticaba la poca destreza de los artistas, en un intento por demostrar la inferioridad de la pintura colonial y legitimar la decisión del Estado de instalar el canon europeo en Chile a través de la creación de la Academia.<sup>6</sup>

Según Amunátegui, las debilidades del arte colonial y especialmente el quiteño se debían principalmente a las dificultades de los artistas para ajustarse a los principios artísticos europeos. En su opinión, el problema de los artistas quiteños radicaba en su incapacidad de combinar la luz y la sombra, y en su falta de destreza en el dibujo y el dominio de la perspectiva: “Los individuos que colocan en sus lienzos parece que estuvieran tendidos y no de pié; aquel que el pintor ha querido presentar a lo léjos, en el fondo, el espectador lo percibe como quien dice codeándose con el que ocupa el primer término; en una palabra, no tienen perspectiva”.<sup>7</sup> En definitiva, era la falta de dominio de reglas académicas que guiaran a los artistas la que los llevaba a realizar verdaderos “mamarrachos”.<sup>8</sup>

Si bien el juicio del intelectual chileno se centraba en aspectos formales, ello debe verse aquí como una manera de distanciar el estado de desarrollo artístico colonial de una nueva era que comenzaría con la formación de artistas bajo el alero de la Academia. En último término, la creación de esta institución artística marcaba el quiebre con el sistema de las artes colonial, con sus criterios estéticos y sus formas de producción.

De esta manera, el intelectual dejaba el arte americano en una posición altamente desventajosa y a una insalvable distancia de la calidad de las obras europeas que comenzaban a llegar al país.<sup>9</sup> La apertura de nuevos mercados tras la Independencia, había favorecido la circulación de obras de arte y artistas franceses e italianos, que en gran medida estimularon el gusto por la pintura europea, especialmente en un momento en que el contexto artístico local no disponía de anticuarios o comerciantes especializados. De este modo, los comentarios de Amunátegui se insertaban en un contexto en que el público chileno se mostraba receptivo al arte europeo, que comenzó a compartir los espacios domésticos, con obras locales.

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<sup>5</sup> Sobre los principios que orientaron la formación de la Academia, véase el discurso de inauguración de su primer Director, Alejandro Ciccarelli. *Discurso pronunciado en la Inauguración de la Academia de Pintura por su Director D. Alejandro Ciccarelli*. Santiago: Imprenta Chilena, Marzo de 1849.

<sup>6</sup> AMUNÁTEGUI, Miguel Luis. *Op. Cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> *Id. Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Id. Ibid.* Josefina de la Maza ha señalado que Miguel Luis Amunátegui habría sido el primero en utilizar este término. Sobre la aplicación del concepto “mamarracho” a las obras de arte colonial, Josefina de la Maza ha realizado un estudio en que afirma que este término -que seguiría usándose durante el siglo XIX tanto para obras coloniales como para obras de calidad cuestionable- tiene fuertes ataduras formales e ideológicas con la época de la colonia. El término identificaría a un objeto extravagante, desaliñado o imperfecto y se relaciona con el escaso desarrollo del gusto o su inexistencia. DE LA MAZA, Josefina. *De Obras Maestras y Mamarrachos*. Santiago: Metales Pesados, 2014, pp. 23-25.

<sup>9</sup> Ya en la década del 1840 habían llegado al país artistas europeos entre los que destacaba el pintor francés Raymond Monvoisin, cuya influencia en el medio local ha sido estudiado por Josefina de la Maza. DE LA MAZA, Josefina, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 43-90.

Un artículo firmado bajo el seudónimo de Arístides, publicado en 1883, arrojaba luces sobre la forma en que en las obras europeas habían comenzado a convivir con las coloniales en estos espacios:

Es necesario no olvidar que si es cierto que ahora cuarenta años algunos cuadros de un mérito verdaderamente superior adornaban algunos de nuestros aristocráticos salones o cubrían las murallas de algún claustro, también es cierto que al lado de esos cuadros figuraban, sin producir una violenta disonancia, las figuras grotescas y chillonas de la escuela quiteña, que el mal gusto de aquel tiempo acariciaba con cierta complacencia.<sup>10</sup>

Este pasaje sugiere entonces que la década de 1840 se habría constituido como un espacio de transición en el gusto artístico nacional que ya en la siguiente década marcaría un giro, al menos en el espacio público, hacia la adopción del canon europeo.

Así, si bien esta convivencia de obras se producía en el ámbito privado, la presencia de pintura colonial se reduciría sustancialmente en el espacio público. En efecto, algunas exposiciones de pintura organizadas en la década de 1850 y 1860, revelan la conciencia que algunos individuos tuvieron del rol instrumental de las exposiciones en la promoción de modelos artísticos europeos entre el público nacional. Un caso especialmente interesante es el de aquellas muestras de pintura organizadas por instituciones privadas como la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria –dirigida por el propio Amunátegui–, que resultan reveladoras tanto del limitado espacio destinado a obras coloniales, como de la mención que a ellas se hizo durante estas exposiciones.

En el caso de la Exposición de Pintura organizada en 1856 por la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria, los organizadores no solo fueron miembros de la Sociedad, sino también coleccionistas de arte. Tal es el caso de Marcial González, quien solicitó colaboración al entonces director de la Academia, Alejandro Ciccarelli para la realización de la muestra, demostrando cómo los esfuerzos privados se potenciaron con los del Estado para promover valores estéticos europeos.<sup>11</sup>

En la ocasión, se reunieron 142 pinturas, de las cuales solo tres correspondían a obras coloniales,<sup>12</sup> lo que dio cuenta no solo de la existencia de un gran número de obras europeas –mayoritariamente copias– en Chile, sino de la restringida visibilización del arte colonial en el ámbito público, a pesar de la existencia de un aún significativo número de obras coloniales en la esfera privada.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> ARÍSTIDES. “Sobre el salón I”. *La Época*, 20 de septiembre de 1883, Núm. 651, s/p.

<sup>11</sup> DRIEN, Marcela. “Coleccionismo y secularización en Chile durante el siglo XIX”. En A.M. PIMIENTA HOFFMANN, et al. *História da arte: Colecoes, arquivos e narrativas*, Sao Paulo: Editora Urutau, 2015, pp. 73-81.

<sup>12</sup> *Catálogo de los cuadros que contiene la Exposición de Bellas Artes de la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria*. Santiago: Imprenta del Ferrocarril, 1856.

<sup>13</sup> Hasta entonces, y tal como lo señalaba Amunátegui, el arte quiteño había sido especialmente popular no sólo en el ámbito de las instituciones religiosas, sino también en el ámbito privado, debido a su bajo costo. AMUNÁTEGUI, Miguel Luis. *Op.*

Aunque la presencia de obras europeas en el espacio público no necesariamente significó la desaparición de la pintura colonial, sí dio cuenta de un gradual desplazamiento, que se acentuaría en las siguientes exposiciones.<sup>14</sup> El paulatino abandono de las nociones culturales y artísticas coloniales expresado en el ámbito expositivo, resultaba relevante también porque, ante la inexistencia de museos de bellas artes en el país – el primero se crearía en 1880 –, las exposiciones serían espacios relevantes para la formación del gusto público y por lo tanto, de legitimación de modelos artísticos.<sup>15</sup>

Para la exposición realizada por la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria en 1858, el político liberal e historiador Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna –también miembro de la Sociedad– realizó una reseña que, haciendo las veces de catálogo, incluyó consideraciones que apuntaban a los aspectos formales de las obras – que incluían copias de pinturas de grandes maestros europeos y obras contemporáneas, así como apreciaciones que daban cuenta de su interés por su inscripción estilística. En efecto, a diferencia de Amunátegui, Vicuña Mackenna recurrió a su conocimiento de los grandes períodos de la historia del arte europeo para establecer analogías entre el su desarrollo y el del arte americano.

Aunque en la exposición no se incluyeron obras coloniales, las referencias a ellas no estuvieron ausentes. En su reseña de la muestra, Vicuña Mackenna prestó especial atención al rol que las escuelas artísticas y los pintores habían tenido en el desarrollo de la historia del arte. De este modo, la relevancia de las obras radicaba no sólo en el prestigio de sus creadores, sino en su calidad de representantes de las grandes escuelas europeas, por las que mostró gran admiración.

Notablemente, a lo largo del texto, Vicuña Mackenna hace referencia al arte colonial en más de una ocasión, recurriendo a comparaciones y analogías que demostraban su interés por instalar estéticamente lo colonial en un contexto más amplio de la historia del arte. Sin embargo, el autor no estableció comparaciones entre el arte barroco americano y el barroco europeo, como podría pensarse. En su lugar, propuso a la pintura colonial como análoga a la de los llamados “primitivos italianos”:

El arte de la pintura que hizo la gloria de Grecia i de Roma desapareció en el cataclismo de los bárbaros, durante el espacio de diez a doce siglos.

Su nueva era comienza a principios del siglo XII; i su iniciativa se debe, como acaso todos los grandes pasos de la inteligencia humana, al acaso de un día, a la inspiración de un hombre.

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*Cit.*, pp. 44-45. Si bien hasta la década de 1840 el arte colonial había gozado de gran popularidad, Alexandra Kennedy ha señalado que ya a mediados del siglo XIX habría comenzado una lenta pero sostenida disminución de encargos de este tipo de obras. Según la autora, la comercialización de arte quiteño y su fuerte presencia en Chile durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX y hasta 1870, se habría debido al asentamiento de artistas quiteños en el país. Sobre la circulación de obras quiteñas en Chile véase KENNEDY, Alexandra. “Circuitos artísticos interregionales: De Quito a Chile. Siglos XVIII y XIX”. *Historia*, Santiago, Vol. 31, 1998, pp. 87-111.

<sup>14</sup> DRIEN, Marcela, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 73-81.

<sup>15</sup> El propio Pedro Lira, uno de los artistas chilenos más influyentes durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX en Chile, afirmaba que el principal objeto de una exposición era la enseñanza del público y la difusión del gusto. LIRA, Pedro. *La Exposición de Pinturas de 1867*. Santiago: Imprenta de la República, 1867, p. 2.

Habitaba en Florencia por el año de 1280 un pintor célebre llamado Juan Cimabue, cuyos cuadros, que hemos visto i que honrarían hoy apenas los claustros de nuestros conventos de Santiago, eran paseados en triunfo por el pueblo florentino, arrebatado de entusiasmo por aquellas madonas que hoy serían eclipsadas por las mismas señoras de Quito, si no fuera una profanación solo el decirlo.<sup>16</sup>

La relación que establece Vicuña Mackenna entre ambos tipos de obras sugiere no solo la alusión a semejanzas formales entre las obras barrocas americanas e italianas de los siglos XII y XIII, sino a equivalencias en su rol como antecesoras –en una mirada vasariana- de períodos de alto desarrollo artístico:

Giotto hizo una gran revolución en el arte. Abandonó el antiguo estilo conocido bajo el nombre de bizantino, del que nuestros cristos quiteños, tiesos como palo i chorreados de sangre son la mejor muestra, i se puso a copiar la naturaleza. Así se encontró de nuevo el gran secreto del arte i a este primer paso se debieron sus gigantescos progresos sucesivos.<sup>17</sup>

Así, el autor sitúa lo colonial en una suerte de estadio primitivo, en un contexto artístico que aún no ha alcanzado madurez y que sin embargo, debe ser considerado como parte del desarrollo de la historia del arte. Esto resulta significativo por cuanto, -a pesar de la falta de adecuación a los estándares académicos- lejos de omitir o negar su valor estético, Vicuña Mackenna considera el arte colonial como parte del relato de la historia del arte local.

De lo anterior podemos desprender que al momento de definir un modelo de relato de la historia del arte, Vicuña Mackenna se alinea con la tradición renacentista que, por cierto, tendría un lugar central en la propia exposición de pinturas en la que se inserta esta reseña. En efecto, en la muestra abundarán las copias de los grandes maestros del Renacimiento y el Barroco.

A diferencia de las exposiciones de la década de 1850, la exhibición organizada por la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria en 1867, fue la primera de estas muestras en contar con una comisión que seleccionara las obras que serían exhibidas y consideró por primera vez un catálogo que organizaría las obras por grupos y de acuerdo a su distribución en la propia exposición. Esta vez no incluiría ninguna obra ni mención alguna al arte del período colonial.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> VICUÑA MACKENNA, Benjamín. *Una Visita a la Exposición de Pinturas de 1858. Por uno de los Comisionados de la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria*. Santiago: Imprenta del País, 1858, pp. 7-8.

<sup>17</sup> VICUÑA MACKENNA, Benjamín, *Op. Cit.*, pág. 7-8. La existencia de un ejemplar de las *Opere di Giorgio Vasari* (Trieste, 1857) en la biblioteca de Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna permite sugerir una relación entre las ideas sobre la historia del arte expresadas en este pasaje y los criterios de Vasari. Agradezco a Fernando Guzmán la gentileza de compartir conmigo esta referencia. CRISTI, Mauricio. *Catálogo de la biblioteca i manuscritos de D. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna. Segunda Parte*. Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1886, p. 241.

<sup>18</sup> De acuerdo al catálogo, las obras se organizaron de la siguiente manera: Originales Antiguos, Copias Europeas, Autores Modernos y Pintura Nacional. LIRA, Pedro, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11-18.



Si bien la exposición de 1867 mostró un total silencio respecto al arte colonial, ello no significó que la cultura colonial desapareciera del ámbito expositivo. La década de 1870 mostraría un giro radical, liderado por el propio Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, hacia la recuperación del legado colonial a través de una muestra que reuniría sus vestigios materiales: La Exposición del Coloniaje.

A la luz de lo anteriormente expuesto, es posible distinguir al menos dos criterios distintos a partir de los cuales se evaluó el arte colonial en exposiciones realizadas durante la década de 1850. Mientras Miguel Luis Amunátegui intentó desmarcarse completamente de las formas coloniales para abrazar modelos europeos, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna no solo no desestimó el valor artístico del arte colonial, sino que intentó inscribirlo en el desarrollo de la historia del arte a partir de nociones estéticas europeas que se harían visibles en una aún incipiente cultura de exhibiciones nacional.



# Discourses About Colonial Art and Their Visibility in Nineteenth-Century Chile

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**ABSTRACT** Throughout the nineteenth century it was possible to appreciate a critical attitude towards colonial art, which emerged in liberal intellectual contexts seeking to promote an academic art they considered appropriate within the context of a nascent republican culture. However, those discourses animating this critical view towards the artistic production under Spanish rule in Latin America were manifested in spheres including the intellectual and the art exhibitions fields. This article seeks to examine the forms in which these instances of exhibition, visualized not only this critical spirit but also the attempts to introduce colonial art within the larger discourse of art history.

**KEYWORDS** Criticism, Colonial Art, Exhibitions, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna.

Following Chilean Independence and throughout much of the nineteenth century, the attitudes of intellectuals towards the colonial world were characterized by a disdain that gradually began to infiltrate the artistic world. The increasingly unfavorable notions about colonial art were expressed mainly in the efforts of numerous members of the elite to establish a European academic artistic taste as the most appropriate, intending thus to form under its wing the national arts in the new republican context. The promotion of European art and the rejection of art created under colonial rule was articulated in critical texts and exhibition platforms that projected the different ways in which the colonial past and the arts produced in that period were perceived.

Indeed, the exhibitions should be regarded as platforms particularly suited for understanding the setting in which intellectuals associated with the cultural sphere utilized not only texts – for instance, the media and exhibition catalogs – to advance a discourse regarding colonial art, but also exhibition strategies that would visualize these ideas in the public domain. Thus, the exhibitions, which constituted privileged spaces for instruction and sociability, facilitated the establishment of artistic discourses as well as historical ones concerning the colonial past.

This paper seeks to analyze the way in which ideas of prominent intellectuals like Miguel Luis Amunátegui (1828-88) and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1831-86) regarding colonial art, were expressed in the context of exhibitions with whose organizations they were linked during the 1850s, a

time when the Academy of Painting – created in 1849 – was developing into the most important artistic institution in the country.

At the same time, this article seeks to demonstrate that whereas Amunátegui used references to colonial as a discursive resource to install the European artistic model, colonial art was seen by Vicuña Mackenna as a way to insert Latin American art more broadly within the narrative of art history.

The disdain with which those in the nineteenth century regarded the colonial period was initially manifested in intellectual circles. Those who were conscious of the important role that art played in the political context of the viceroyalty, considered it necessary to renew the artistic language in relation to the country's new political and cultural reality. To this end they resorted primarily to the French republican imagery and to a series of images depicting the heroes of Independence.<sup>1</sup> In this context, already by the 1820s the jurist Juan Egaña reflected about the specific function of art as a tool to promote civic virtues, which he considered as fundamental to maintaining the social order.<sup>2</sup>

However, it would be in the 1840s when a liberal like José Victorino Lastarria would rise as one of the most critical liberal intellectuals of the colonial cultural model and of the scant development of the arts and sciences that occurred under Spanish rule.<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, a central figure in Chilean liberal thought, would concur with Lastarria's criticism.

One of the motives explaining the intellectuals' interest in the arts is related first to the relevance attributed by them to the "civilizing" process. Indeed, the arts were considered essential tools for cultural formation and consolidation of the nation. This was reflected in the efforts of the intellectual elite to strengthen a republican culture, which would be nurtured by enlightened ideas and regard academic art as the most appropriate manner of contributing to the education of the people as well as the construction of a historical and artistic national narrative.

One of the most important articles by Miguel Luis Amunátegui about the arts in Chile was published in the *Revista de Santiago* in 1849,<sup>4</sup> precisely the time when the Italian painter Alejandro Ciccarelli inaugurated the Academia de Pintura in Chile.<sup>5</sup> Paying particular attention to the formal

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<sup>1</sup> CRUZ, Isabel. "Diosas atribuladas: alegorías cívicas, caricatura y política en Chile durante el siglo XIX". *Historia*. Santiago, Vol. 30, 1997, pp. 127-171; MAJLUF, Natalia. "De cómo reemplazar a un rey: retrato, visualidad y poder en la crisis de la independencia (1808-1830)". *Histórica*. Lima, Vol. 37, n° 1, 2013, pp. 73-108.

<sup>2</sup> On the classical artistic conceptions that early on began to permeate in the intellectual realm, see GUZMÁN, Fernando y YÁÑEZ, Eugenio. "La recepción de los clásicos en las concepciones de Juan Egaña acerca del arte". *Alpha*, Osorno, n° 37, Dic. 2013, pp. 135-136.

<sup>3</sup> LASTARRIA, José Victorino. *Discurso de Incorporación de D.J. Victorino Lastarria a una Sociedad de Literatura de Santiago, en la Sesión del tres de mayo de 1842*. Valparaíso: Impr. De M. Rivadeneyra, 1842, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> AMUNÁTEGUI, Miguel Luis. "Apuntes sobre lo que han sido las Bellas-Artes en Chile". *Revista de Santiago*. Santiago, Tomo III, 1849, pp. 37-47.

<sup>5</sup> On the principles that guided the creation of the Academy, see the inaugural speech of its first Director, Alejandro Ciccarelli: *Discurso pronunciado en la Inauguración de la Academia de Pintura por su Director D. Alejandro Ciccarelli*. Santiago: Imprenta Chilena, Marzo de 1849.

aspects of the paintings produced under Spanish rule, Amunátegui criticized the little dexterity of artists in an attempt to demonstrate the inferiority of colonial painting and legitimize the state's decision of installing the European canon in Chile through the creation of the Academy.<sup>6</sup>

According to Amunátegui, the weaknesses of colonial art and in particular that created by Quito artists, were primarily due to the difficulties they faced when adjusting to European artistic principles. In his opinion, the root of the Quito artists' problems rested in their inability to combine light and shadow as well as in their lack of dexterity in drawing and mastery of perspective, saying: "The individuals whom they represent in their canvases seem to be lying down and not standing up; that figure which the painter has wanted to portray in a remote place, in the background, the viewer perceives as if they were hobnobbing with the one who is painted in the foreground; in a word, they lack [skill when depicting] perspective."<sup>7</sup> Finally, it was this lack of dominion of the academic rules guiding artists that drove them to depict "*mamarrachos*".<sup>8</sup>

Although Chilean intellectuals' judgment focused on formal aspects, this should be seen here as a way of distancing the stage of colonial artistic development from a new era that the training of new artists under the Academy's wing would usher. Ultimately, the creation of this artistic institution would signal the break with the system of colonial art, its aesthetic standards as well as its forms of production.

Thus, the intellectual left Latin American art in a highly disadvantageous position by erecting a virtually insurmountable barrier from the quality of European artworks that were beginning to arrive in the country.<sup>9</sup> The opening of new markets immediately following Independence favored the circulation of art as well as the arrival of French and Italian artists in the country, which to a large extent stimulated a taste for European painting, especially at a time when the local context did not count on the expertise of antiquarians or specialized traders. In this way Amunátegui's comments took root in a context in which the Chilean public had shown itself to be receptive to European art, and had begun to share domestic space with local artworks.

An article bylined with the pseudonym Aristides, published in 1883, sheds light on the manner in which European artworks had begun to coexist with the colonial ones in the domestic spheres.

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<sup>6</sup> AMUNÁTEGUI, Miguel Luis. *Op. Cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> *Id. Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Id. Ibid.* Josefina de la Maza points out that Miguel Luis Amunátegui would have been the first to use this term. Regarding the use of "mamarracho" to describe colonial art, Josefina de la Maza asserts in her recent study that this word—which would be continued to be used in the nineteenth century to refer to colonial art as well as art whose quality was considered questionable—has strong formal and ideological ties with the colonial period. This term denoted an extravagant, disheveled, or imperfect object and was associated with total lack or poor development of taste. DE LA MAZA, Josefina, *De Obras Maestras y Mamarrachos*. Santiago: Metales Pesados, 2014, pp. 23-25.

<sup>9</sup> By the 1840s, European painters had already arrived in Chile; one of them was the French painter Raymond Monvoisin, whose influence on local art, Josefina de la Maza recently analyzed. DE LA MAZA, Josefina, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 43-90.

It is necessary to not forget that while it is true that [for] now forty years some paintings of a truly superior merit adorned some of our aristocratic salons or covered the walls of a cloister, it is also true that alongside those paintings figured, without producing a violent dissonance, the grotesque and gaudy figures of the Quito school, which the bad taste of that time embraced with a certain complacency.<sup>10</sup>

This passage, therefore, suggests that the 1840s would have been instituted as a transitional period in the national artistic taste that already by the next decade would mark a turn, at least in the public sphere, toward the full embrace of the European cannon.

While this coexistence of art was taking place in the private sphere, the presence of colonial painting would be substantially reduced in the public realm. Indeed, some exhibitions of paintings organized in the 1850s and 1860s reveal the awareness that some individuals had of the instrumental role that exhibitions had in promoting European artistic models among the national public. A particularly interesting case is that of those exhibitions organized by private institutions such as the Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria (Society of Primary Instruction) – directed by Amunátegui himself – which ultimately reveal the limited space given to colonial artworks as well as of the limited mention that they received during these exhibitions.

In the case of the Exhibition of Painting that the Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria carried out in 1856, the organizers were not only members of said society, but also art collectors. That was the case of Marcial González, who requested the assistance of the then director of the Academy Alejandro Ciccarelli for the organization of the exhibition, demonstrating how private efforts combined with those of the state to promote European aesthetic values.<sup>11</sup>

On that occasion were gathered 142 paintings, of which only three were colonial.<sup>12</sup> This demonstrated not only the existence of a large number of European works – mostly copies – in Chile, but the restricted visibility of colonial art in the public domain, in spite of the existence of a still significant number of colonial artworks in the private sphere.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> ARÍSTIDES. “Sobre el salón I”. *La Época*, 20 de septiembre de 1883, n° 651, s/p.

<sup>11</sup> DRIEN, Marcela. “Coleccionismo y secularización en Chile durante el siglo XIX”. En A.M. PIMIENTA HOFFMANN, *et al. História da arte: Colecoes, arquivos e narrativas*, Sao Paulo: Editora Urutau, 2015, pp. 73-81.

<sup>12</sup> *Catálogo de los cuadros que contiene la Exposición de Bellas Artes de la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria*. Santiago: Imprenta del Ferrocarril, 1856.

<sup>13</sup> Until then, and as Amunátegui had pointed out, the art made by artists from Quito had been especially popular among those within religious institutions and also in the private sector, due to its low cost. AMUNÁTEGUI, Miguel Luis. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 44-45. Although until the 1840s colonial art had enjoyed great popularity, Alexandra Kennedy has asserted that by the mid nineteenth century, commissions of colonial art had begun a slow but steady decline. According to the author, the immigration and settlement of artists from Quito in Chile could explain their strong commercial success and its strong presence in the country during the first half of the nineteenth century and up until 1870. For discussion of the circulation of

Although the presence of European art in the public realm did not necessarily mean the disappearance of colonial painting, it did emphasize a gradual displacement from the public realm, which would be accentuated in the following exhibitions.<sup>14</sup> The gradual abandonment of colonial cultural and artistic notions expressed in the realm of exhibitions, was particularly significant because in the absence of fine arts museums – the first would be created in 1880 – exhibitions would become relevant spaces for the formation of public taste and therefore, of legitimizing artistic models.<sup>15</sup>

For the exhibition organized by the Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria in 1858, the liberal politician and historian Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna – also a member of this Society – produced a review that operated as a catalog and included reflections that pointed out not only the formal aspects of the artworks – which included copies of old masters paintings and contemporary art-, but appraisals revealing his interest for its stylistic definition. Indeed, unlike Amunátegui, Vicuña Mackenna resorted to his knowledge of the great periods in the history of European art to situate colonial art within this framework.

Although the exhibition did not include colonial artworks, there was no shortage of references to it. In his review of the works included in the exhibition, Vicuña Mackenna paid special attention to the role that art schools and painters had had in the development of art history. Accordingly, the relevance of the artwork lay in the prestige of its creators, and in its function as representative of the major European schools for which he showed great admiration.

Remarkably, throughout the text, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna refers to colonial art on more than one occasion, drawing on comparisons and analogies demonstrating his interest in establishing the colonial aesthetic in the broader context of art history. Notably, the author did not establish a comparison between the Latin American Baroque and its European counterpart, as one might expect. Instead, he proposed colonial painting to be analogous to the so-called “Italian primitives”, saying:

The art of painting that made Greece and Rome glorious disappeared in the cataclysm of the barbarians in the span of ten to twelve centuries.

Its new era commences at the start of the twelfth century; and its initiative is due to, as perhaps all the major steps of human intelligence, to the chance of a day, to the inspiration of one man.

There lived in Florence in 1280 a celebrated painter named Juan Cimabué, whose paintings, which we have seen and that would today honor the cloisters of our convents in Santiago,

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artworks made by Quito artists in Chile see: KENNEDY, Alexandra. “Circuitos artísticos interregionales: De Quito a Chile. Siglos XVIII y XIX”. *Historia*, Santiago, Vol. 31, 1998, pp. 87-111.

<sup>14</sup> DRIEN, Marcela, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 73-81.

<sup>15</sup> Pedro Lira himself, who was one of Chile’s most influential artists during the second half of the nineteenth century, asserted that the principal end of an exhibition was the education of the general public and the dissemination of taste. LIRA, Pedro. *La Exposición de Pinturas de 1867*. Santiago: Imprenta de la República, 1867, p. 2.

were paraded in triumph through the Florentine town, robbed of enthusiasm by those Madonnas that today would be overshadowed by those very ladies of Quito, if it would not be a desecration to only say it.<sup>16</sup>

The relation that Vicuña Mackenna establishes between both types of works suggests not only the existence of formal similarities between the Latin American Baroque artworks and thirteenth-century Italian paintings, but equivalences in their role as forerunners – in a Vasarian view – of periods of high artistic development. Vicuña Mackenna contends:

Giotto revolutionized the art world. He abandoned the old style known as the Byzantine, of which the Quito artists's renditions of our Christs, stiff as a stick and dripping with blood, are among the best examples, and he dedicated himself to copying nature. In this way the great secret of art was thus found anew and owes to this first step its gigantic successive achievements.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, the author situates the colonial in a sort of primitive stage, in an artistic context that has not yet reached maturity and, nevertheless, should be considered as part of the development of art history. This becomes significant because – in spite of the inadequacy of the academic standards – far from omitting or denying its aesthetic value, Vicuña Mackenna considered the colonial as part of the local art history account.

The foregoing reveals that when defining the archetype for the narrative of art history, Vicuña Mackenna has the Renaissance tradition in mind, which would have a central place in the exhibition of paintings itself. Indeed, in the exhibition copies of the works of the great masters of the Renaissance and Baroque would abound.

Unlike exhibitions of the 1850s, the one that the Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria organized in 1867 was the first to count on the support of a committee to select the artworks that would be exhibited and considered for the first time creating a catalog that would organize the artworks by groups and according to their distribution within the exhibition. This time, the exhibition would not include any colonial art nor make mention to this period.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> VICUÑA MACKENNA, Benjamín. *Una Visita a la Exposición de Pinturas de 1858. Por uno de los Comisionados de la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria*. Santiago: Imprenta del País, 1858, pp. 7-8.

<sup>17</sup> VICUÑA MACKENNA, Benjamín, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 7-8. The presence of the *Opere di Giorgio Vasari* (Trieste, 1857) in Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna's personal library suggests that the ideas expressed in this passage may be inspired in the criteria established by Giorgio Vasari. I would like to thank Fernando Guzmán for his kindness in sharing this reference with me. CRISTI, Mauricio. *Catálogo de la biblioteca i manuscritos de D. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna. Segunda Parte*. Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1886, p. 241.

<sup>18</sup> According to the catalogue, the artworks were organized as follows: Originales Antiguos, Copias Europeas, Autores Modernos y Pintura Nacional. LIRA, Pedro, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11-18.



While the 1867 exposition marked a silence with regarding to colonial art, this did not mean that the colonial culture would disappear from the exhibition realm. Led by Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna himself, the 1870s would take a radical turn towards recovering the legacy of the colonial through an exhibition that would gather its material vestiges: *La Exposición del Coloniaje* (The Exhibition of the Colonial).

Ultimately, it is possible to appreciate at least two different sets of criteria from which colonial art was evaluated. While Miguel Luis Amunátegui attempted to disassociate from colonial forms completely and to embrace European ones, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna not only does not devalue the aesthetic worth of colonial art, but inserts it in the development of art history from the perspective of European aesthetic notions that will make themselves visible in the incipient national exhibition culture.



# Araújo Porto-Alegre e o elogio do barroco

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**RESUMO** A oposição entre estilos tem larga importância na historiografia das artes na Europa. O objetivo deste artigo é mostrar como a categoria de escola foi operativa para a construção de uma história da arte no século XIX brasileiro. Graças a ela, o crítico Manoel de Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-79) concebeu um modo de interpretação do passado brasileiro que valorizava o barroco e as peculiaridades do passado artístico fluminense. Este artigo mostra que, ao contrário do que foi afirmado diversas vezes, Porto-Alegre via o barroco como parte importante na construção do que ele entendia como história da arte brasileira.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE** Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-79); história da arte no Brasil; barroco; escola brasileira; Escola de Pintura Fluminense.

Manoel de Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-79) já foi apontado como o primeiro crítico a utilizar o termo “barroco” para falar da história da arte no Brasil. Como artista formado na pedagogia neoclássica, Porto-Alegre teria deplorado as origens coloniais da arte brasileira. A “certidão de nascimento barroca” era um dado inquietante na cultura brasileira, problema que seria mais tarde retomado por Mario de Andrade. Para ambos interessava, ainda que partindo dessa origem um tanto “abastardada”, construir um futuro para as artes no Brasil.<sup>1</sup> Futuro que deveria ser construído sobre bases racionais, em sintonia com o que se passava no âmbito internacional, sobretudo na França. O objetivo deste artigo é apresentar uma outra interpretação das ideias de Porto-Alegre sobre o passado artístico do império. Pretendo discutir como a ideia de escola de pintura, desenvolvida sobretudo por Luigi Lanzi, é apropriada por Porto-Alegre para escrever a história das artes no Rio de Janeiro. Graças ao uso desse conceito, o crítico fez uma interpretação menos pejorativa dos artistas “barrocos” da colônia. Mais do que isso, o conceito de escola permitirá, a ele e a outros pensadores do século XIX, formular uma primeira visão orgânica e de conjunto da arte produzida no Brasil. A “escola brasileira” será o termo adotado e repetido diversas vezes pelos autores que vieram depois de Porto-Alegre, numa tentativa de evocar uma peculiaridade local a partir de uma categoria tida como “universal”.

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<sup>1</sup> GOMES JR, Guilherme Simões. *Palavra peregrina: o barroco e o pensamento sobre artes e letras no Brasil*. São Paulo: Edusp/Educ/Fapesp, 1998.

## Porto-Alegre e as ideias sobre arte de seu tempo

Além de ser considerado o fundador da história da arte brasileira, Porto-Alegre foi um dos homens mais cultos de sua época. E é justamente por isso que ele, sendo em primeiro lugar um artista, treinado em pintura e arquitetura, também atuou como crítico de arte e homem de letras no Rio de Janeiro. Por isso, seus escritos ficaram dispersos em jornais e revistas científicas. Apesar disso, pretendo mostrar que seu pensamento chegou a alcançar complexidade em alguns escritos, de modo a incluir as diferenças entre os artistas num todo orgânico.<sup>2</sup>

Porto-Alegre escreve sobre o passado do império utilizando-se de conceitos da história da arte europeia – as escolas e os estilos artísticos, tratando da biografia de artistas e da descrição de obras de arte e edifícios. Em seus artigos, o crítico menciona autores como Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Alexandre Lenoir, F. Schlegel, entre outros. Há, na verdade, uma longa lista de nomes e referências em cada um de seus textos. Por isso, sua participação no que se poderia chamar de história das ideias sobre arte no Brasil tem atraído interpretações diferentes. Muitos trabalhos mencionam as relações de Porto-Alegre com uma miríade de autores e personalidades do século XIX. Baseando-se normalmente em referências nominais feitas pelo próprio crítico, esses trabalhos raramente se aprofundaram em análises mais circunstanciadas. A questão, contudo, deve ser tratada com cuidado, pois a citação fazia parte da retórica dos homens de letras do período. A palavra rara, a menção a autores clássicos e escritores estrangeiros, o estilo floreado eram algumas das características da retórica dos bacharéis do império. Por isso, não é a simples menção aos autores o que deve interessar a uma história das ideias sobre arte do século XIX no Brasil, mas sim o método e os conceitos utilizados pelo crítico.

Porto-Alegre utilizou o termo “escola artística” em diversos escritos, que tratavam não apenas do passado do império, mas também de artistas seus contemporâneos. O crítico chegou a mencionar Luigi Lanzi em pelo menos um de seus artigos.<sup>3</sup> De fato, àquela altura, “escola” tinha larga tradição no pensamento sobre artes na Europa. O termo tivera enorme penetração nos museus e nas ideias sobre arte a partir de fins do século XVIII, graças à divulgação das ideias do antiquário e erudito Luigi Lanzi (1732-1810). Vale reconstituir rapidamente o lugar de Lanzi nos debates sobre história da arte na época.

## A escola de pintura e o novo display das coleções de arte

O padre Lanzi foi um respeitado etruscólogo, tendo publicado diversos tratados sobre arqueologia, literatura e poesia antigas.<sup>4</sup> Sua *Storia Pittorica dell'Italia* (1792) foi um grande sucesso, sendo lida e utilizada largamente durante o século XIX. A obra foi rapidamente traduzida para o inglês e

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<sup>2</sup> GOMES JR, Guilherme Simões. *Op. Cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Porto-Alegre menciona Lanzi no artigo “Exposição de 1843”, in *Minerva Brasiliense*, vol. 1, n. 5, 1844, *apud* (orgs). *Manuel de Araújo Porto-alegre: singular e plural*. São Paulo: IMS, 2014, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> BAZIN, G. *Histoire de l'Histoire de l'Art*. Paris, Éditions Albin Michel, 1986.

francês, sendo reformulada pela primeira vez em 1795-96, quando foi editada em dois volumes. Em 1809, recebeu a edição definitiva, revista e aumentada pelo autor em cinco volumes acrescidos de um índice.

Inicialmente Lanzi divide a pintura italiana em quatro escolas (florentina, bolonhesa, romana e napolitana).<sup>5</sup> Nas três edições de sua obra, este esquema será sucessivamente ampliado em catorze escolas.<sup>6</sup> Cada escola era definida em função de critérios relativamente elásticos, que incluíam sua localização na geografia da península, a relação entre mestres e discípulos, admitindo-se em alguns casos a inclusão de artistas estrangeiros, entre outras variáveis, de modo a criar um sistema ao mesmo tempo coerente e variado.<sup>7</sup>

“Quem se torna mais sábio ao informar-se dos ciúmes dos artistas, das rixas dos romanos ou das vociferações dos bolonheses?”, perguntava Lanzi, com ironia, no prefácio, demonstrando a intenção de superar o modelo vasariano, organizado em função das biografias dos artistas.<sup>8</sup> Lanzi propunha discorrer sobre as obras, e não tratar da vida dos artistas. Por outro lado, o conceito de escola permitia a Lanzi evitar o que considerava outro problema da história da arte criado por Vasari: a excessiva valorização de Florença em detrimento de outros centros.<sup>9</sup> A ideia de escola pictórica também estava relacionada a um propósito de compreender a história da pintura na Itália em função dos estilos artísticos ou “maneiras”, seguindo o método já utilizado por Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768).

O erudito alemão transformara a abordagem sobre a Antiguidade. Seu método dava destaque ao exame e interpretação dos objetos, contribuindo para consolidar a disciplina que surgia como campo específico do saber – a história da arte. Winckelmann havia estabelecido períodos na história da Antiguidade, apontando etapas de progresso, ápice e decadência, além de diferenciar os estilos de cada civilização. Criara, assim, um esquema histórico complexo, que articulava fases históricas aos estilos das obras e a determinadas sociedades.<sup>10</sup> A partir da leitura de Winckelmann, Lanzi estabelece uma interpretação da história da pintura na Itália em que os estilos, relacionados às escolas artísticas, têm

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<sup>5</sup> GRASSI, Luigi & PEPE, Mario. *Dizionario dei termini artistici*. Torino: UTET, 1994, p. 850. A ideia de escola já era utilizada por autores como Giovanni B. Agucchi, Mancini, B. Cellini, entre outros. “A novidade trazida por Lanzi consistia em ter apensado às escolas maiores uma rica constelação de escolas menores: ao todo, catorze, incluindo o Piemonte, (...)” GUINZBURG, Carlo. “História da arte italiana”, in *A micro-história e outros ensaios*. LISBOA: Difel, 1989, p. 10. Cf. também VENTURI, L. *Il gusto dei primitivi* (1936); ZERI, Federico, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (1983). Agradeço a indicação dessas leituras a meu colega Cassio Fernandes.

<sup>6</sup> *Apud* BAZIN, *A história da história da arte*. Rio de Janeiro: Martins Fontes, 1989, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> Venturi compara Lanzi a um botânico, que classifica e reagrupa artistas segundo escolas regionais (florentina, sienesa e assim por diante), individuais (maestros e discípulos) e de acordo com o gênero. Cf. VENTURI, Lionello. *Historia de la critica de arte*. Buenos Aires: Poseidon, 1949 (1936), p. 162.

<sup>8</sup> *Apud* BAZIN, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> *Apud* GUINZBURG, Carlo. “História da arte italiana”, in *Op. Cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> SÜSSEKIND, Pedro. “A Grécia de Winckelmann”, in *KRITERION*, Belo Horizonte, nº 117, Jun./2008, pp. 67-77.

papel central. Além disso, a *Storia* de Lanzi insere-se em um movimento mais amplo de renovação do entendimento da arte, da arqueologia e dos debates a respeito do patrimônio.<sup>11</sup>

O padre Lanzi também fora responsável pela reorganização da coleção da Galeria degli Uffizi, sobre a qual publicara sua *Guida alla Galleria di Firenze*, em 1782. A obra teve enorme impacto entre os conservadores das galerias principescas e dos museus de arte que surgiam pela Europa. Lanzi organizou os quadros como “*Galleria Progressiva*”, de acordo com as escolas artísticas, alinhadas de modo cronológico e também regional ou nacional. A *Galleria Progressiva* oferecia ao visitante uma visão da história da arte europeia de modo simultaneamente geográfico e histórico.<sup>12</sup>

Homens como Francesco Algarotti, Louis Petit de Bachaumont, Chrétien de Mechel, Nicolas de Pigage, J.J. Winckelmann, entre outros, participaram de uma rede de eruditos que compartilhava desse princípio de organização progressiva das galerias em obras e escolas.<sup>13</sup> Junto com Lanzi, eles fixaram um novo paradigma de disposição de obras, que nenhum colecionador ilustrado podia ignorar. No começo dos anos 1780, Chrétien de Mechel transformou Viena no que foi o primeiro museu de história da arte. Já no começo do século seguinte foi a vez do Museu do Louvre adotar o princípio da *Galleria Progressiva*.<sup>14</sup>

Também Joachim Lebreton utilizou a ideia de escola pictórica para organizar o que seria a primeira coleção de pinturas da futura academia de artes do Rio de Janeiro. Nos anos seguintes, a pinacoteca da Academia seria ampliada e reformulada pelos diversos diretores. Mais tarde, a ideia de “escola brasileira” seria adotada na organização da pinacoteca da Academia pelo menos três vezes durante o império: de modo inicial na exposição de 1859 e mais tarde, como “Coleção de Quadros Nacionais formando a Escola Brasileira” em 1879 e 1884.<sup>15</sup>

## Os “nossos” primitivos e o elogio do barroco

Vista deste contexto mais amplo, a adoção da ideia de escola por Porto-Alegre parece quase

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<sup>11</sup> Sobre os desdobramentos desse novo modo de se relacionar com a Antiguidade no debate sobre o patrimônio cf. por exemplo CHOAY, Françoise, *Alegoria do Patrimônio*, São Paulo: Edusp/Liberdade, 2001, p. 65 *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Lanzi “(...) donnera un exposé théorique dans sa *Storia pittorica dell’Italia dal Risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fino del XVIII secolo*, ou il créera ce cadre des écoles de peinture qui allait régir les pinacothèques européennes jusqu’à nos jours.” Bazin, *Les temps de musées*. Liège: Desoeur S.A., s/d, p. 162. Sobre o tema, ver também McCLELLAN, Andrew. “Rapports entre la théorie de l’art et la dispositions des tableaux au XVIIIe siècle”. In : *Les Musées en Europe à la veille de l’Ouverture du Louvre. Actes du colloque la commémoration du bicentenaire de l’ouverture du Louvre*, les 3, 4 et 5 juin 1993, sous la direction scientifique d’Edouard Pommier. Paris: Klincksieck et musée du Louvre, 1995.

<sup>13</sup> McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Idem, ibidem*, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Sobre a coleção escola brasileira na coleção da Academia, cf. *Uma Galeria para o Império: a coleção de quadros nacionais formando a escola brasileira (1879)*. São Paulo: Edusp, 2013.

óbvia. Ele fora aluno da academia carioca e conhecia alguns escritos de Winckelmann, Mengs e Lanzi. No entanto, a questão merece um olhar mais detido.

Na primeira vez em que trata diretamente do passado artístico do império, diante de uma plateia formada por eruditos franceses, Porto-Alegre menciona alguns dos artistas de que trataria mais tarde, como o escultor e arquiteto Mestre Valentim e o pintor José Leandro de Carvalho, entre outros. No pequeno discurso, mais tarde publicado num dos volumes da *Voyage Pittoresque et historique au Brésil (1834-39)*, de Debret, o jovem Porto-Alegre já utiliza a ideia de escola artística. Como sua principal preocupação diante dos membros do Instituto Histórico de Paris é enfatizar a relação entre a nova academia, inaugurada no Rio de Janeiro em 1826, e a tradição de ensino artístico francês, ele afirma que a “escola do Rio de Janeiro” é “filha legítima da escola de Paris”. A seguir, complementa que “a escola de Grandjean [de Montigny] não se mostrava menos próspera do que a do senhor Debret.”<sup>16</sup> Ao declarar isso, o autor admite que “escola” se refere a algo mais do que uma instância de ensino artístico. Liga-se à maneira específica de cada mestre, que é aprendida e desenvolvida pelos discípulos.

Após seu retorno ao Brasil, em 1837, Porto-Alegre tem a possibilidade de fazer pesquisas mais aprofundadas, examinando pessoalmente documentos eclesiásticos e igrejas. A “Memória sobre a Escola de Pintura Fluminense” reconstitui a trajetória de sete pintores que trabalharam no Rio de Janeiro entre o início do século XVIII e os anos 1830. Neste artigo alentado, publicado na *Revista Trimestral* do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, ele fez uma síntese das obras e das biografias de artistas que atuaram durante o século XVIII, juntando, em alguns casos, tudo o que se conhece até hoje sobre aqueles homens.<sup>17</sup>

A ideia de escola foi utilizada como referência não apenas geográfica genérica – “a escola fluminense de pintura” –, mas também como maneira típica de cada artista. Porto-Alegre insere os artistas da colônia sob um epíteto duplamente simbólico. Em primeiro lugar, organiza o grupo a partir de sua localização na geografia da antiga colônia portuguesa: o adjetivo “fluminense” circunscreve os artistas num determinado contexto climático-geográfico. E aqui existe uma apropriação explícita do sistema usado por Lanzi, que também dividira as escolas italianas em função de sua localização geográfica. Por outro lado, ele menciona a “escola” de Manoel Dias, do mesmo modo como se referira à “escola” de Montigny ou de Debret.

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<sup>16</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “As artes”, in “Resumo da história da literatura, das ciências e das artes no Brasil”, in *Viagem Pitoresca e Histórica ao Brasil*, apud KOVENSKY & SQUEFF (orgs). *Manuel de Araújo Porto-alegre: singular e plural*. São Paulo: IMS, 2014, pp. 260-261.

<sup>17</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “Memória sobre a antiga Escola de Pintura Fluminense”, *R.I.H.G.B.*, 1841, III, 33, Suplemento, pp. 547-557 apud KOVENSKY & SQUEFF, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 262-266.

Em seu artigo sobre a igreja da Candelária, Porto-Alegre afirmava: “Os nossos melhores templos foram começados quando a arte borromínica triunfava na metrópole da América portuguesa, motivo porque vemos abundar aqui semelhante estilo.”<sup>18</sup>

De fato, a cidade do Rio de Janeiro tinha seus principais marcos monumentais em edifícios construídos no século anterior: o passeio público, os arcos da Carioca, os chafarizes, as principais igrejas da cidade. Essas construções são elogiadas mais de uma vez pelo crítico.<sup>19</sup> No discurso no Instituto Histórico de Paris, Porto-Alegre reconta a história do Passeio Público, exaltando os crocodilos que ornamentavam um dos chafarizes, “engenhosos na sua forma colossal”. Elogia “os quiosques” por seu “conjunto harmonioso que domina o mar e se casa aos rochedos vizinhos”, concluindo que “Essas obras e muitas outras deram impulso ao gênio nacional; (...)”.<sup>20</sup> Em outro artigo, elogia as portas da igreja do Carmo, comentando que: “Estas duas portas seriam consideradas como dois monumentos perfeitíssimos da arte borromínica em toda a sua pompa e em qualquer cidade da Europa.”

Também elogia o “caráter grandioso” das “artes no tempo da colônia”.<sup>21</sup> O Mestre Valentim seria exaltado em diversos artigos, pelo “luxo” de suas criações. Porto-Alegre chegaria a afirmar: “Valentim elevou a arte borromínica a um ponto tal, que rivaliza com as maravilhas de Versailles e Capela Real de Dresda.” O barroco, como estilo de uma época, é parte de um repertório artístico próprio da escola fluminense. Sendo assim, deve ser exaltado e inserido na narrativa mais ampla da história da arte brasileira. O barroco só é criticado quando Porto-Alegre comenta artistas do século XIX, tratando de exposições e artistas contemporâneos.<sup>22</sup>

Mas é preciso notar que a ideia de escola se adequava aos problemas enfrentados pelo historiador. O conceito de Escola permitiu-lhe lidar com o material um tanto específico que tinha nas mãos: o processo artístico da colônia portuguesa sempre seguiu de longe o que ocorria no centro das artes europeias – Itália e França. “(...) Nós andamos sempre um século atrás do movimento europeu”.<sup>23</sup> Além disso, os artistas do passado do império eram normalmente simples artesãos, com uma formação artesanal e prática. Porto-Alegre observa, por exemplo, que o pintor Raimundo era “filho de seu próprio entusiasmo”, ou que “da escola de Manoel Dias não saiu um único figurista que tal nome

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<sup>18</sup> Porto-Alegre. “Iconografia Brasileira”. *RIHGB*, 1856, p. 370.

<sup>19</sup> O mesmo acontecia em outras ex-colônias americanas, onde a instauração do neoclássico foi um processo lento e condicionado por muitas concessões e negociações. Cf. NIELL, Paul B. and WIDDIFIELD, Stacie G. *Buen gusto and classicism in the visual cultures of Latin America, 1780-1910*.

<sup>20</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “As artes”, *apud* KOVENSKY & SQUEFF (orgs). *Op. Cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “A igreja Santa Cruz dos Militares” *Ostensor Brasileiro*, nº 31, vol. 1, 1845, pp. 241-245, p. 242.

<sup>22</sup> Ver por exemplo as críticas que faz às exposições gerais nas revistas *Minerva Brasiliense* (1843-45) e *Guanabara* (1849-1855). O autor faz ácidas críticas ao barroco no artigo sobre a exposição de 1843. “Exposição de 1843”, in *Minerva Brasiliense*, RJ, nº 5, vol. I, 1º de janeiro de 1844, transcrito in Kovensky & Squeff, *Araújo Porto-alegre: singular e plural*, p. 275.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “A igreja Paroquial de Nossa Senhora da Candelária”, *apud* KOVENSKY & SQUEFF (orgs). *Op. Cit.*, p. 281.



mereça”. Ou seja, o crítico não se furta a reconhecer os limites técnicos dos primeiros artistas fluminenses.<sup>24</sup>

É talvez por isso também que Porto-Alegre faz comparações que a princípio parecem desconcertantes. O crítico compara o “pintor histórico mais antigo” que descobriu nos arquivos do Rio de Janeiro, Frei Ricardo do Pilar, a artistas como Cimabue e Giotto. Mais tarde, na “Iconografia brasileira” (1856), Porto-Alegre observa que as obras feitas por Leandro Joaquim “serão um dia o que hoje são as pinturas de Giotto, Masaccio e outros mestres que precederam a Renascença”.<sup>25</sup>

Essas comparações não podem ser vistas simplesmente como artifícios de retórica, ou exageros de um bacharel encantado pelo modelo da história da arte italiana. Como o crítico mesmo explicita em vários escritos, os artistas da colônia eram escravos e ex-escravos. Numa época marcada por teorias raciais, esse era um fato de não poucas consequências para alguém que tinha a tarefa de incluir esses homens numa narrativa de história da arte.<sup>26</sup> Aproximar aqueles homens de artistas europeus consagrados pode ser entendido, assim, como parte de uma estratégia de convencimento. Mas além disso, também aqui, Porto-Alegre se inspirava em Lanzi. Diante da inexistência de uma narrativa sobre o passado artístico do império, e de parâmetros internos para qualificar os artistas que apresentava pela primeira vez, os chamados “primitivos” italianos, valorizados na obra de Lanzi, são lembrados de modo a servir de parâmetro para os artistas locais.<sup>27</sup>

“Quando o Brasil tiver o seu Vasari, estas curtas notícias hão de servir de base para trabalhos mais amplos, e desafiar pesquisas acerca dos nossos artistas primitivos.”<sup>28</sup> Porto-Alegre sabe que lhe cabe demarcar uma narrativa inicial sobre aqueles homens. Coloca-se assim, ele também, como uma espécie de cronista primitivo de uma história que, mais tarde, poderá ser contada com mais apuro por outro historiador. Na aproximação com os italianos, os “nossos artistas primitivos” encontram sua razão de ser, bem como uma justificativa para os limites técnicos de suas obras. Eles são os iniciadores da “escola brasileira” que virá mais tarde. Os artistas da Escola Fluminense haviam preparado o caminho para os artistas mais refinados que viriam depois. A crença na transformação dos estilos e das escolas através do tempo permite a Porto-Alegre elogiar o barroco.

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<sup>24</sup> LANZI, Luigi. *The history of painting in Italy*, book 1. In *Luigi Lanzi Works*, The Perfect Library, edições Kindle.

<sup>25</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “Iconografia Brasileira”, in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, tomo XIX, nº 23, 1856, KOVENSKY & SQUEFF, *Op. Cit.*, p. 338.

<sup>26</sup> Tratei diretamente da questão in SQUEFF, L. “Quando a história reinventa a arte: a Escola de Pintura Fluminense”, *Rotunda*, nº 1, 2003. Disponível em <http://www.iar.unicamp.br/rotunda/rotunda01.pdf> (acesso em 3 de setembro de 2016).

<sup>27</sup> Sobre a valorização dos artistas primitivos italianos na obra de Lanzi cf. BAZIN, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70; Lanzi inicia seu livro refutando a interpretação de Vasari de que pintura antes de Cimabue fora perdida. *Apud.* SORENSEN, Lee. “Luigi Lanzi”, *Dictionary of Art Historians* (website), <https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/lanzil.htm>.

<sup>28</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “Manoel Dias: O Romano”, in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, tomo XIX, nº 23, 1856 *apud.* KOVENSKY & SQUEFF, *Op. Cit.*, p. 284.

## A escola fluminense e a escola brasileira

Em discurso no Instituto Histórico, Porto-Alegre resume, enfim, uma periodização da história da arte. A cada uma das fases da história do Brasil – colônia, reino e império – correspondia uma etapa na história da arte:

J.B. Debret é o chefe da terceira época da escola fluminense, que começou nos tempos coloniais com frei Ricardo do Pilar e acabou com Raimundo, para renascer com Leandro Joaquim e acabar em 1816 com Manoel Dias e José Leandro. Ensinou a Simplício Rodrigues de Sá, a Francisco Pedro do Amaral, a José Cristo Moreira, a José da Silva Arruda, a pintura histórica, a ornamentação, a paisagem, e a cenografia; (...) <sup>29</sup>

Ele segue o princípio estabelecido por Lanzi de definir cada época de acordo com seus mestres. A escola fluminense teria tido três épocas: a criada a partir da atuação de Frei Ricardo do Pilar, a de Leandro Joaquim e, a seguir, a partir da presença de Debret na academia. Como as anteriores, a corrente artística liderada por Debret também possui um vínculo com a história política: é o estilo que corresponde à nação emancipada. Deste modo, Porto-Alegre insere a chegada da “colônia artística francesa” na história brasileira. E Debret também é incorporado à escola fluminense. Ao fazer isso, o autor se inclui, mesmo sem se citar, na escola fluminense. Afinal, Porto-Alegre fora um dos primeiros discípulos de Debret na academia carioca. Mas ele aponta Francisco Pedro do Amaral como o mais importante aluno de Debret. O diferencial deste artista, o que lhe garante o lugar de destaque é, justamente, sua posição de transição: se começara a carreira como discípulo da escola de Manoel Dias, mais tarde Francisco Pedro atualiza suas obras de acordo com os princípios trazidos pelos franceses. <sup>30</sup>

Usando o conceito de escola, Porto-alegre cria uma continuidade entre mestres e discípulos e define a transformação de estilos artísticos em uma entidade histórica coerente. Graças à ideia de escola, Porto-Alegre elogia o barroco: ele é “o começo” de uma “escola brasileira”. A escola local se aperfeiçoa com a chegada de Debret e o funcionamento da Academia carioca. Para Porto-Alegre, a escola fluminense transforma-se em escola brasileira sob o império independente. Por isso, ele usaria o termo escola em críticas sobre artistas contemporâneos, em artigos sobre as exposições gerais, ou mesmo como diretor da Academia de belas artes, uma posição que ocupou entre 1854 e 1857.

Contudo, Porto-Alegre é arguto o bastante para perceber que a escola brasileira é, antes de tudo, um problema, um projeto que surge com a emancipação política. Ela se alimenta do contato com a tradição clássica francesa, mas não se resolve apenas como repetição do classicismo francês. A escola brasileira depende não só do conhecimento de modelos estrangeiros, mas também do desenvolvimento

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<sup>29</sup> Porto-Alegre. “Discurso pronunciado na sessão pública aniversária do Instituto, em 15 de dezembro de 1852”, *RIHGB*, p. 548.

<sup>30</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, “Iconografia brasileira”, 1856, *apud.* KOVENSKY & SQUEFF (orgs). *Op. Cit.*

de um estilo particular. Assim, a “escola brasileira” é um projeto que se constituirá de forma lenta e, na visão de Porto-Alegre, a partir da ação de diversos agentes: do funcionamento sistemático da academia de belas artes do Rio de Janeiro, da prática artística dos melhores pintores locais, da intervenção consciente de personagens como ele, entre outros. Cabe, portanto, aos contemporâneos, e sobretudo às novas gerações, trabalhar para a construção de uma “escola brasileira”. Que será clássica e brasileira, e não mais “fluminense” e “barroca”.

### **A escola artística e a arte da periferia**

Como apontado por Carlo Guinzburg, a história da pintura italiana, escrita por Lanzi, evita com êxito a ideia de centro. Além disso, graças à ideia de escola, as diferenças regionais e as identidades locais são valorizadas em si mesmas. Ou seja, “escola” suaviza o tradicional esquema proposto por Vasari, organizado segundo a ideia de centro-periferia.<sup>31</sup> Se Lanzi buscava lidar com o policentrismo artístico da Itália, o caso da América portuguesa não parece ter sido muito diferente, com diversos centros e diferentes vetores de circulação de artistas e objetos de arte. Talvez por causa disso, a ideia de escola foi operativa também para outros historiadores e críticos posteriores, que promovem uma verdadeira proliferação de escolas para tratar do período colonial: a escola bahiana de pintura, a escola mineira, a escola recifense, entre outras.

A narrativa da história da arte brasileira, enunciada por Porto-Alegre, surge a partir da leitura de obras de autores como Lanzi e Winckelmann. Apesar disso, Porto-Alegre alcança aproximar os artistas do passado colonial a referências internacionais de largo prestígio na história da arte europeia. É o que lhe permite elogiar artistas como Mestre Valentim e outros, e elaborar toda uma interpretação sobre a “primitiva escola fluminense”. Por outro lado, o crítico de estrita formação inspirada no neoclássico e no respeito pela Antiguidade, interessa-se por estudar artistas que pouco ou nada se inspiraram na tradição clássica. Ao contrário, os artistas estudados por Porto-Alegre alinhavam-se ao gosto “borromínico” ou barroco, como ele mesmo afirma tantas vezes. Mas graças ao conceito de escola, esses homens tão simples, de formação oficial e de tendência barroca podem ser incorporados à história da arte que ele escreve. O barroco é o estilo da escola fluminense; que mais tarde será ampliado e transformado, já a partir do contato com os franceses e a posterior fundação da academia no Rio de Janeiro, em escola brasileira. Da escola fluminense à escola brasileira, o barroco é o caminho e a fonte a partir da qual brota, na visão de Porto-Alegre, a história (possível) da arte brasileira.

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<sup>31</sup> Contudo, o autor mostra como a estrutura da obra de Lanzi mantém um modo desigual de tratar das artes e da cultura italianas. A tensão entre centro e periferia na obra de Lanzi “reflete aquela distorção que caracteriza a história (não só pictórica) da Itália”. GUINZBURG, *Op. Cit.*, p. 25.



# Araújo Porto-Alegre and the praise of baroque

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**ABSTRACT** The opposition between styles has had a great importance in the historiography of arts in Europe. This article argues that the term school of painting was adopted by Brazilian painter and art critic Manoel de Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-79) for writing the history of 19th century art in Rio de Janeiro. By defining a “Fluminense School” and later a “Brazilian School”, the critic conceived an interpretation of Brazilian past that praised baroque artworks and the peculiarities of the artistic past of Rio de Janeiro. This article claims, on the contrary to what has been stated, Porto-Alegre appreciated Baroque art as an important step to the creation of what he thought to be the History of art in Brazil.

**KEYWORDS** Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-79); art history in Brazil; baroque; Brazilian School; Fluminense School of Painting.

Manoel de Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-1879) is known as the first critic to use the term “baroque” in Brazil. As an artist faithful to the tenets of Neoclassicism, it is believed Porto Alegre deplored the colonial origins of Brazilian art. Baroque being labeled as the origins of Brazilian art was a disturbing factor to Brazilian culture, a problem that would later be challenged by critic Mario de Andrade. Even though they regarded baroque origin as a problem, both critics wanted to create a new future for the arts in Brazil.<sup>1</sup> This future should be built on a rational basis, according to what was going on in the international art circles, particularly in France. This paper intends to present a new interpretation of Porto-Alegre ideas about the history of art in Imperial Brazil. I shall discuss how the term “school of painting” was adopted by Porto Alegre for writing the history of art in Rio de Janeiro. Due to this concept, the critic changed his approach about the Baroque artists of the colonial period. Furthermore, by using the term “school of art”, he and other thinkers of nineteenth century Brazil were able to formulate a global overview of the art produced in Brazil. “School of painting” and “School of art” were employed by several nineteenth century critics and historians.

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<sup>1</sup> GOMES JR, Guilherme Simões. *Palavra peregrina: o barroco e o pensamento sobre artes e letras no Brasil*. São Paulo: Edusp/Educ/Fapesp, 1998.

## **Porto-Alegre and the ideas about art at the time**

Araújo Porto Alegre laid the foundations of art history in Brazil. He was believed to be one of the most educated men of his time. For this reason, apart from being a painter and architect, he also worked as an art critic and a journalist in Rio de Janeiro. His writings are spread in newspapers and cultural magazines. Nevertheless, I argue that in some articles he achieved a comprehensive view of art history, in which differences among local artists were organized in to a coherent historical complex.<sup>2</sup>

Porto-Alegre writes about artists biographies or works of art and architecture in Rio de Janeiro, by using concepts of European history of art such as schools of painting and styles. In his texts, he quotes authors such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Alexander Lenoir, F. Schlegel, among others. There are in truth a long list of names and references in each of his texts. For this reason, his role in what could be called the history of ideas about art in Brazil have inspired different interpretations. Some scholars would associate Porto-Alegre's relations with a myriad of authors and personalities of the nineteenth century. Relying on nominal references made by the critic himself, these works lacked in-depth analyzes. However, the question must be carefully examined, because quoting was part of the rhetoric of the intellectuals of that time. Specific rhetoric, heightened level of vocabulary and usage of quotes were all hallmarks of such authors of the time period. Thus, Porto-Alegre was not uncomfortable with this trend. For this reason, a history of ideas about art in nineteenth-century Brazil should rather discuss the methods and concepts used by the critic as opposed to referencing his sources.

Porto-Alegre used the term “school” in several writings, dealing not only with the past of the empire but also with respect to contemporary artists. The critic even mentioned Luigi Lanzi in at least one of his articles.<sup>3</sup> At that time, “school” had a long tradition in art appraisal in Europe. The term had enormous popularity among antiquarians and art collectors at the recently founded museums at the end of century XVIII, thanks to the diffusion of the ideas of the antiquarian and scholar Luigi Lanzi (1732-1810). Let us shed light on Lanzi's role in debates on the history of art of his time.

## **The school of painting and the new display of art collection**

Father Lanzi, a respected Etruscologist, published several treatises on ancient archeology, literature and poetry.<sup>4</sup> His *Storia Pittorica dell'Italia* (1792) was a great success, being read and widely used during the nineteenth century. The book was quickly translated into English and French, being

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<sup>2</sup> GOMES JR, Guilherme Simões. *Op. Cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Porto-Alegre mentions Lanzi in the essay “Exposição de 1843”, in *Minerva Brasiliense*, vol. 1, nº 5, 1844, *apud* KOVENSKEY & SQUEFF (orgs). *Manuel de Araújo Porto Alegre: singular e plural*. São Paulo: IMS, 2014, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> BAZIN, G. *Histoire de l'Histoire de l'Art*. Paris, Éditions Albin Michel, 1986.

reworked for the first time in 1795-96, when it was edited into two volumes. In 1809 the book received the definitive edition, revised by the author and published into five volumes plus an index.

At the beginning Lanzi divides Italian painting into four schools: Florentine, Bolognese, Roman and Neapolitan.<sup>5</sup> This structure would increase up to fourteen schools in the next three editions.<sup>6</sup> Each school was defined by relatively elastic criteria: the region of the peninsula, the relation between masters and disciples, admitting in some cases the inclusion of foreign artists, among others, to simultaneously create a coherent and varied system.<sup>7</sup>

“What do we learn by exploring the jealousies of the Florentine artists, the Roman quarrels, or the boasts of the Bolognian schools?”<sup>8</sup> Lanzi asked, ironically, in the foreword, demonstrating his intention to overcome the Vasarian model, organized by artists biographies. Lanzi’s approach was to discuss the artworks, not artists’ lives. In addition, the concept of school of painting allowed Lanzi to avoid what he considered to be another problem in Vasari’s treatise: Florentine artistic primacy over other artistic centers. Lanzi recognized the importance of each school, seeking to rank it in relation to the others. The term of school was also adopted in order to understand the history of painting in Italy based on artistic styles or “manners”, following the method already used by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768).<sup>9</sup>

The German scholar had transformed the approach to antiquity. His method gave prominence to the examination and interpretation of objects, contributing to consolidate a discipline that was emerging as a specific field of knowledge -the history of art. Winckelmann had set periods in the history of Antiquity, pointing eras of progress, apex and decadence, as well as differentiate the styles of each civilization. The scholar created a complex historical scheme, in which time periods were articulated to certain artworks and societies.<sup>10</sup> Under Winckelmann’s influence, Lanzi establishes an interpretation of the history of painting in Italy in which styles, related to the schools of painting, have

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<sup>5</sup> GRASSI, Luigi & PEPE, Mario. *Dizionario dei termini artistici*. Torino: UTET, 1994, p. 850. The idea of school was used by authors such as Giovanni b. Agucchi, Mancini, b. Cellini, among others. “The novelty brought by Lanzi consisted in having larger schools included a rich constellation of smaller schools: (...)”. Lanzi states that Agucchi “was the first to divide Italian art into the schools of Lombardy, Venice, Tuscany, and Rome.” LANZI, Luigi. *Luigi Lanzi Works*. The Perfect Library, 2013. E-book, position 5669. GUINZBURG, Carlo. “História da arte italiana”, in *A micro-história e outros ensaios*. LISBOA: Difel, 1989, p. 10. Cf. também VENTURI, L. *Il gusto dei primitivi* (1936); ZERI, Federico, *Storia dell’arte italiana* (1983). I thank my colleague Cassio Fernandes is suggesting this reading.

<sup>6</sup> *Apud*. BAZIN, *A história da história da arte*. Rio de Janeiro: Martins Fontes, 1989, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> Venturi compares Lanzi to a botanist, because he sorts and gathers artists according to regional schools (Florence, Siena, and so on), individual (teachers and disciples) and according to the genre. Cf. VENTURI, Lionello. *Historia de la critica de arte*. Buenos Aires: Poseidon, 1949 (1936), p. 162.

<sup>8</sup> LANZI, Luigi. *Luigi Lanzi Works*. The Perfect Library, 2013. E-book.

<sup>9</sup> *Id. Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> SÜSSEKIND, Pedro. “A Grécia de Winckelmann”, in *KRITERION*, Belo Horizonte, nº 117, Jun/2008, pp. 67-77.

a central role. In addition, the *Storia* of Lanzi plays a part in the renewal of art understanding, archaeology and debates about cultural heritage.<sup>11</sup>

Father Lanzi had also been responsible for reorganizing the collection of the *Galleria degli Uffizi*, which inspired his *Guida alla Galleria di Firenze* (1782). The book had an enormous impact among princely galleries and recently founded art museums that arose around Europe. Lanzi organized the artworks as “Galleria Progressiva” (progressive collection), display by regional or national schools, chronologically aligned. The *Galleria Progressiva* offered a historical and geographical view of the Uffizi Collection.<sup>12</sup>

Men like Francesco Algarotti, Louis Petit de Bachaumont, Chrétien de Mechel, Nicolas de Pigage, J.J. Winckelmann, among others, formed an international network of scholars who shared this approach to the display of art as *Galleria Progressiva*.<sup>13</sup> Along with Lanzi, they set a standard no enlightened collector could ignore. In 1780, Chrétien de Mechel transformed Vienna into what was “the first art historical survey museum”. In the beginning of the following century, the Louvre museum followed in suit.<sup>14</sup>

The same principle of “progressive collection” was used by Joachim Lebreton in the Academy of Fine Arts of Rio de Janeiro. In the following years, Academy’s gallery would be enlarged and reformulated by different managers. But school remained a key-category to classify paintings and artists of the collection. Later, the idea of “Brazilian school” would be adopted for the display of the paintings at least three times: in 1859 and later, as “National Paintings collection forming the Brazilian School” in 1879 and 1884.<sup>15</sup>

### **“Our primitives” and the praise of the baroque**

From this broader perspective, Porto Alegre’s adoption of the concept of school seems almost obvious. He was a former student of Rio de Janeiro academy and also knew the writings of Winckelmann, Mengs and Lanzi. However, the issue needs closer examination.

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<sup>11</sup> On the spreadings of this new way of relating to antiquity in the debate on heritage cf. CHOAY, Françoise, *Allegoria do Patrimônio*, São Paulo: Edusp/Liberdade, 2001, p. 65 *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Lanzi “(...) donnera un exposé théorique dans sa *Storia pittorica dell’Italia dal Risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fino del XVIII secolo*, ou il créera ce cadre des écoles de peinture qui allait régir les pinacothèques européennes jusqu’à nos jours.” Bazin, *Les temps de musées*. Liège: Desoer S.A., s/d, p. 162. Sobre o tema, ver também McCLELLAN, Andrew. “Rapports entre la théorie de l’art et la dispositions des tableaux au XVIIIe siècle”. In : *Les Musées en Europe à la veille de l’Ouverture du Louvre. Actes du colloque la commémoration du bicentenaire de l’ouverture du Louvre*, les 3, 4 et 5 juin 1993, sous la direction scientifique d’Edouard Pommier. Paris: Klincksieck et musée du Louvre, 1995.

<sup>13</sup> McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Idem*, *ibidem*, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> I discuss this issue in *Uma Galeria para o Império: a coleção de quadros nacionais formando a escola brasileira* (1879). São Paulo: Edusp, 2013, chapter 3.



The first time he approaches art history in Brazil, Porto Alegre talks to the members of the Historical Institute of Paris about some of the artists he would later deal with, such as the sculptor and architect Mestre Valentim and the painter José Leandro de Carvalho, among others. In the short speech, later published in one of the volumes of Debret's *Voyage Pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1834-39), the young Porto Alegre already uses the term of school of painting. As his main concern is to emphasize the relationship between the new academy, inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro in 1826, and the tradition of French art education, he states that the "Rio de Janeiro school" is an "authentic pupil of the Paris school". He goes on to add that "the school of Grandjean [de Montigny] was not less prosperous than that of Mr. Debret."<sup>16</sup> In making this statement, the author admits that "school" refers to something broader than artistic teaching. It implies the specific manner of each teacher, which is learned and developed by his pupils.

After his return to Brazil in 1837, Porto-Alegre made more in-depth research, examining ecclesiastical documents and churches. The "Memory of the Fluminense School of Painting" narrates the history of seven painters active in Rio de Janeiro between the beginning of the eighteenth century and the 1830s. In this article, published in the *Quarterly Review* of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, he made a survey of the works and biographies of those artists, joining, in some cases, all the available information about them.<sup>17</sup>

The concept of school was used not only as a geographical reference – "Fluminense School of Painting" – but also conveyed each artist's individual creation. Porto-Alegre inserts the artists of the colony under a double symbolic title. First, he sheds light on the region where these artists worked: the adjective "fluminense" relates to the climatic-geographical surroundings of Rio de Janeiro. Porto-Alegre adopts Lanzi's ideas, which also divided Italian schools according to their geographical locations. Furthermore, he mentions the "school" of Manoel Dias as equally as he refers to the "school" of Montigny or Debret.

In his article on the Candelária church, Porto-Alegre affirmed: "Our best temples were started when borrominesque art triumphed in the metropolis of Portuguese America, that is the reason why we see this similar style in abundance here."<sup>18</sup>

In fact, Rio de Janeiro city's main landmarks - the Passeio Público (Public Promenade), the Carioca arches, the fountains, and all the main churches of the city- were built in the previous century.

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<sup>16</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. "As artes", in "Resumo da história da literatura, das ciências e das artes no Brasil", in *Viagem Pitoresca e Histórica ao Brasil*, apud KOVENSKY & SQUEFF (orgs). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 260-261.

<sup>17</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. "Memória sobre a antiga Escola de Pintura Fluminense", *R.I.H.G.B.*, 1841, III, 33, Suplemento, pp. 547-557 apud KOVENSKY & SQUEFF, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 262-266.

<sup>18</sup> Porto-Alegre. "Iconografia Brasileira". *RIHGB*, 1856, p. 370.

Porto-Alegre gave these buildings various praises.<sup>19</sup> In his speech at the Historical Institute of Paris, the critic recounts the history of the Public Promenade, admiring the crocodiles that adorned one of the fountains, “ingenious in its colossal form”. He celebrates the booths for their “harmonious integration with sea and rocks around” concluding that “These works and many other works gave impulse to the national genius; (...)”.<sup>20</sup> In another article, he pays tribute to the Carmo Church, commenting that “These two ports would be considered as two perfect borrominesque art monuments in all of its fancy in any city of Europe.”

He also praises the “grand manner” of the “arts in the time of the colony”.<sup>21</sup> Master Valentim would be acclaimed in several articles for the “luxury” of his works. Porto-Alegre would go so far as to say: “Valentim has elevated the borrominesque art to such an extent that it challenges the wonders of Versailles and the Royal Chapel of Dresden.” The Baroque, as a style, is part of an artistic repertoire of the school of Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, it must be exalted and inserted in the general art history. However, Porto-Alegre criticizes baroque aspects in artworks of contemporary artists displaying in academy exhibitions.<sup>22</sup>

The idea of school suited to problems faced by the historian. The history of art in colonial Brazil has always closely followed what occurred in the Italian and French Art Centers. “(...) We always walk a century behind the European movement”, wrote Porto-Alegre.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the artists of the colony were usually simple craftsmen with practical background. Porto-Alegre observes that painter Raimundo was “son of his own enthusiasm”, or that “not one painter from the school of Manoel Dias deserves such a name.” The critic does not deny the technical limits of the first artists from Rio de Janeiro.

In his article about the Fluminense School, the critic compares the “oldest historical painter” he discovered in the archives of Rio de Janeiro, Frei Ricardo do Pilar, to artists such as Cimabue and Giotto. Later, in “Iconografia Brasiliense” (1856), Porto-Alegre observes that the works made by Leandro Joaquim “will one day be what today are the paintings of Giotto, Masaccio and other masters that preceded the Renaissance.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The same was true in other former colonies, where the adaptation of classicism was shaped by local factors. Cf. NIELL, Paul B. and WIDDIFIELD, Stacie G. *Buen gusto and classicism in the visual cultures of Latin America, 1780-1910*.

<sup>20</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “As artes”, *apud* KOVENSKY & SQUEFF (orgs). *Op. Cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “A igreja Santa Cruz dos Militares” *Ostensor Brasileiro*, nº 31, vol. 1, 1845, pp. 241-245, p. 242.

<sup>22</sup> See for instance Porto-Alegre critiques in *Minerva Brasiliense* (1843-45) e *Guanabara* (1849-1855). He criticizes baroque art in his essay on the 1843 exhibition. “Exposição de 1843”, in *Minerva Brasiliense*, RJ, nº 5, vol. I, 1º de janeiro de 1844, in Kovensky & Squeff, *Op. Cit.*, p. 275.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “A igreja Paroquial de Nossa Senhora da Candelária”, *apud* KOVENSKY & SQUEFF (orgs). *Op. Cit.*, p. 281.

<sup>24</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “Iconografia Brasileira”, in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, tomo XIX, n.23, 1856, KOVENSKY & SQUEFF, *Op. Cit.*, p. 338.

These comparisons should not be understood simply as pieces of rhetoric, or an excess of a scholar influenced by Italian art history. As the critic himself states in several writings, the artists of the colonial period were enslaved and/or former enslaved. In a time of racial theories, Porto Alegre made a break through by including those men in a history of art.<sup>25</sup> To compare those men to consecrated European artists can thus be understood as part of a convincing strategy. Porto Alegre was once again inspired by Lanzi.

Facing the lack of a historical narrative about art in the Brazilian empire, as well as the absence of internal parameters to qualify those artists, Porto Alegre borrows the “primitives”, valued in Lanzi’s narrative on Italian painting, as a means of evaluating local artists.<sup>26</sup>

“When Brazil has its Vasari, these short stories will serve as the basis for a more complete work, and inspire new research on our primitive artists.”<sup>27</sup>

Porto-Alegre knows that it is up to him to start an initial narrative about those men. Thus he presents himself as the author of the first draft of a story that later can be properly written by other historians. In comparison with Italian primitives, “our primitive artists” can be put in perspective. They are the forerunners of the Brazilian school. The artists of the School of Rio de Janeiro had prepared the way for the more refined artists that would come later. The belief in transformation of styles and schools through time allows Porto-Alegre to accept and praise Baroque style.

### **The Fluminense school and the Brazilian school**

In a speech at the historical Institute, Porto-Alegre summarizes a periodization of the history of art of Brazil: each period in the history – colonial, the Portuguese Kingdom and Independent Empire –, corresponded to a school.

Lanzi divided the Florentine school into five eras, from the earlier Tuscan artists to Cimabue and Giotto up to Pietro da Cortona and his followers.<sup>28</sup> Porto-Alegre asserts that each of the phases of Brazilian history – colonial, kingdom and empire – corresponded with a stage in the history of art. In addition, the critic would use the same time category used by Lanzi:

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<sup>25</sup> I discussed this aspect in SQUEFF, L. “Quando a história reinventa a arte: a Escola de Pintura Fluminense”, *Rotunda*, nº 1, 2003. Disponível em <http://www.iar.unicamp.br/rotunda/rotunda01.pdf> (acesso em 3 de setembro de 2016).

<sup>26</sup> On the appreciation of Italian primitives by Lanzi cf. BAZIN, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70; Lanzi starts his book by refuting Vasari’s statement that the painting before Cimabue was lost. *Apud*. SORENSEN, Lee. “Luigi Lanzi”, *Dictionary of Art Historians* (website), <https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/lanzil.htm>.

<sup>27</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, Manuel de Araújo. “Manoel Dias: O Romano”, in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, tomo XIX, nº 23, 1856 *apud*. KOVENSKY & SQUEFF, *Op. Cit.*, p. 284.

<sup>28</sup> LANZI, Luigi. *The history of painting in Italy*, book 1. In *Luigi Lanzi Works*, The Perfect Library, edições Kindle.

J.B. Debret is the head of the third period of the Fluminense school, which began in colonial times with Frei Ricardo do Pilar and ended with Raimundo, to begin again with Leandro Joaquim and end in 1816 with Manoel Dias and José Leandro. Debret taught Simplício Rodrigues de Sá, Francisco Pedro do Amaral, José Cristo Moreira, José da Silva Arruda, history painting, ornamentation, landscape, and scenography; (...) <sup>29</sup>

The division by periods corresponds to the variations of style. Porto Alegre follows the principle established by Lanzi of defining each epoch according to its masters. As shown by Lanzi, Fluminense school had three periods: the first one started with Frei Ricardo do Pilar, the next one was led by Leandro Joaquim, and then the art found a better style under the direction of Debret, in the fine arts academy. Like the ones previous, the artistic current led by Debret also intertwines with political history: it corresponds to the independent nation. Hence, Porto-Alegre inserts French artists in Brazilian history. Debret is also associated with the school of Rio de Janeiro – a critical component in Porto-Alegre’s thinking. In doing so, the author includes himself in the Fluminense school. After all, Porto-Alegre had been one of Debret’s first disciples at the Rio academy. However, he points out Francisco Pedro do Amaral as the most important pupil under Debret. <sup>30</sup>

Porto-Alegre creates a continuity between masters and disciples, and sets the transformation of artistic styles in a coherent historical development. Using the classification of schools, Porto-Alegre recognizes the Baroque as “the beginning” of the “Brazilian school”. The local school developed with the arrival of Debret and the opening of the carioca Academy. For Porto-Alegre, under the independent empire, fluminense school turns into Brazilian school. So, he would use the school term in essays on contemporary artists, in articles about the General exhibitions, or even as director of the Academy of fine arts, a position he held between 1854 and 1857.

Porto Alegre attentively argues that Brazilian school arises with political emancipation. Brazilian School of painting feeds from the classical French traditions, but it is not merely repetition of French classicism. Their masters and pupils not only borrowed from foreign models but also developed their own styles. Thus, “Brazilian school” is a work-in-progress that develops slowly, as its style undergoes changes with the variation of taste, thanks to the Rio de Janeiro Academy of Fine Arts, the artistic practice of local masters, and the conscious action of people like Porto-Alegre himself, among others. Moreover, for Porto-Alegre, it’s up to the contemporaries, especially the younger ones, to organize and promote the “Brazilian school”, which soon should be classic and Brazilian, and no longer “Fluminense” and “Baroque”.

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<sup>29</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE. “Discurso pronunciado na sessão pública aniversária do Instituto, em 15 de dezembro de 1852”, *RIHGB*, p. 548.

<sup>30</sup> PORTO-ALEGRE, “Iconografia brasileira”, 1856, *apud*. KOVENSKY & SQUEFF (orgs). *Op. Cit.*

## School of painting and the art of the periphery

As pointed out by Carlo Guinzburg, the history of Italian painting written by Lanzi avoids the idea of center successfully. Moreover, in accordance to the idea of school, regional differences and local identities are valued in and of themselves. I.e. “school” softens the traditional scheme proposed by Vasari, organized according to the idea of Center-periphery.<sup>31</sup> If Lanzi sought to handle the polycentrism of Italy, the case of Portuguese America does not seem to have been different, with several centers and different vectors of artist circulation and artworks. This is the reason the idea of school was also adopted throughout Brazil by later historians, who mentioned a “Bahia school of painting”, a “Minas Gerais school”, the “Recife school” and so on.

Porto-Alegre’s narrative about art history is inspired by authors such as Lanzi and Winckelmann. However, he properly manipulates the term of school to compare the artists of the past to international masters of European art.

Porto-Alegre’s case allows us to retrace not only how the narrative of Brazilian art history arises from the reading of works by authors such as Lanzi and Winckelmann. He celebrates artists like Mestre Valentim and others, and formulates the idea of “primitive school of Rio de Janeiro”. In addition, the author, normally inspired by neoclassicism and by antiquity, not only studies but also appreciates artists who were less inspired by the classical traditions. On the contrary, the artists studied by Porto-Alegre were aligned to the “Borrominian” or Baroque taste, as he himself affirms so many times. But by virtue of the idea of school, these simple men, with their workshops and baroque tendencies, can be incorporated into the history of art that Porto Alegre writes. Baroque is the style of the Fluminense school, which later will be expanded and transformed into Brazilian school. From the Rio de Janeiro school to the Brazilian school, the baroque is the path and source from which, for Porto-Alegre, the (possible) history of Brazilian art emerges.

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<sup>31</sup> However, the author shows that Lanzi’s book maintains an unequal approach from arts and culture in Italy. The tension between centre and periphery in Lanzi “reflects that distortion that characterizes the story (not just pictorial) of Italy” GUINZBURG, *Op. Cit.*, p. 25.



# Castizo *versus* Mestizo: Un Debate Historiográfico

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**RESUMEN** Este artículo propone una exploración de las ideas estéticas subyacentes en textos sobre arte colonial aparecidos en Colombia entre 1861 y 1975, a partir del concepto de barbarie de Walter Benjamin en relación con posturas racistas y eurocéntricas detrás de la articulación histórica. En dicho período, transcurrido entre las guerras civiles del siglo XIX y la violencia política del siglo XX, se mantuvo una confrontación entre los conceptos de lo mestizo y lo castizo, entre la mezcla impura y la pureza mediocre. Tal paradoja lleva a una reflexión a partir del pensamiento del filósofo español Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936), quien distingue entre la Historia de los grandes acontecimientos y lo que denomina Intra-historia, en alusión a la vida histórica en períodos temporales extensos.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE** Historiografía del arte colonial, Colombia, Castizo, Mestizo.



Fig. 1: Luis García Hevia. Iglesia de San Agustín, después de la toma de la ciudad en 1862. Daguerrotipo, *El Gráfico*. 25 de febrero de 1911. Ubicación desconocida.



**Fig. 2: Manuel Doroteo Carvajal (1819-1972). San Agustín. Vista del interior de la Capilla arruinada, tomada del lado sur desde el mismo sitio en donde estaba la efigie de Jesús Nazareno. *Álbum de dibujos y acuarelas de Manuel D. Carvajal*, Marzo 11 de 1862. Acuarela sobre papel. Colección Museo del Siglo XIX – Fondo Cultural Cafetero, reg. 976 (folio 134). Reproducción fotográfica ©Museo Nacional de Colombia / Samuel Monsalve Parra**





**Fig. 3: Manuel Doroteo Carvajal (1819-1972). San Agustín. 25 i 26 de febrero de 1862. Puerta i parte del interior de la Capilla de Jesús Nazareno arruinada por el incendio i la metralla de las tropas de Leonardo Canal. *Álbum de dibujos y acuarelas de Manuel D. Carvajal*, Marzo 11 de 1862. Acuarela sobre papel. Colección Museo del Siglo XIX – Fondo Cultural Cafetero, reg. 976 (folio 134). Reproducción fotográfica ©Museo Nacional de Colombia / Samuel Monsalve Parra**



**Fig. 4:** A la izquierda, detalle de la fig. 3; a la derecha, atribuido a Gregorio Vázquez de Arce y Ceballos (1628-1711), *Martirio de san Esteban*, ca. 1700, óleo sobre tela, 223,5 x 148,5 cm, Museo Nacional de Colombia, reg. 2093. Reproducción fotográfica ©Museo Nacional de Colombia / Samuel Monsalve Parra.

Bogotá, febrero de 1862. Después de casi un año de guerra, el Partido liberal toma el gobierno y limita la influencia de la iglesia con la desamortización de bienes de manos muertas y la tuición del culto, es decir a través de la subordinación de la Iglesia al Estado. En medio de la confusión y los combates entre partidos políticos, la guerrilla conservadora de Guasca, población cercana a Bogotá, entra sorpresivamente a la capital y toma la Casa de Moneda para atacar luego al convento de San Agustín, donde se refugiaban los liberales. El convento en ruinas, fotografiado por el artista Luis García Hevia (Fig. 1) dejó expuestos sus tesoros como se aprecia en los dibujos de Manuel Doroteo Carvajal. Detrás de las techumbres caídas, en la Capilla del Jesús Nazareno (Fig. 2) llama la atención el bosquejo de una pintura. Se trata de un *Martirio de San Esteban* que se salvó de los estragos del combate, la metralla y el incendio que se desató con el enfrentamiento (Fig. 3) y que, gracias al pintor Ramón Torres Méndez, llegó a la colección del Museo Nacional de Colombia donde ahora se encuentra (Fig. 4).

Este pequeño relato es la metáfora de una época en la que se intentaba dejar atrás la influencia hispánica para establecer un nuevo orden. La fotografía de García Hevia, el dibujo de Carvajal y el rescate de Torres Méndez implican miradas diferentes del patrimonio colonial. La fotografía muestra un ala del convento demolida en el siglo XX, así como el afianzamiento del procedimiento fotográfico de producción de imágenes – García Hevia era pintor –; tre tanto el dibujo pertenece a la iconografía de las luchas políticas del siglo XIX al tiempo que evidencia una práctica testimonial de los dibujantes costumbristas del momento; por último la pintura religiosa colonial descontextualizada en una sala de museo, es una *obra de arte* ante los ojos del siglo XX que nos remite al momento de su ejecución – finales del siglo XVII – y por ello a una práctica devocional. De esta forma surgen tres temporalidades distintas para la articulación histórica en relación al arte neogranadino: primero la construcción de un repertorio de imágenes fotográficas que constituirían con el tiempo parte de un discurso histórico; en segundo lugar, la vivencia del patrimonio arquitectónico neogranadino – el convento- y sus restos – la pintura- como escenario del devenir histórico de la República de Colombia y finalmente la conversión de las producciones artísticas del período hispánico en Patrimonio Nacional. El nexo que liga los tres documentos (dibujo, fotografía y pintura) y sus temporalidades remite a las *Tesis de filosofía de la historia* de Walter Benjamin. Acabamos de adueñarnos “...de un recuerdo tal como éste relampaguea en un instante de peligro...”, estamos volando hacia el futuro con el rostro hacia el pasado como el ángel de la historia inspirado en el *Angelus Novus* de Klee, para constatar que en el proceso de articulación histórica como lo define Walter Benjamin “No existe documento de cultura que no sea a la vez un documento de barbarie” (Benjamin, 2001: 45-46). En nuestro caso ¿Cuál es la barbarie detrás de los documentos citados? Además de la guerra civil, en el momento del que nos ocupamos se discutían en Colombia diversas miradas de la colonia en procura de entender el presente. Como en la guerra civil los historiadores se dividieron entre dos bandos: los que tomaron partido en favor de la colonia – los conservadores – y en contra, los liberales. Unos y otros produjeron una historia acorde a sus intereses políticos que encontró en la variable de la *raza* una respuesta a la confrontación del momento. En 1861 el liberal José María Samper publicó en París su *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas y la condición social de las repúblicas colombianas* (Imprenta de Thunot). Samper condena la actuación española en América pues: “...mientras la conquista destruía o embrutecía completamente a las razas fecundas y accesibles de Colombia, excluyéndolas de toda personalidad y todo cruzamiento con las razas peninsulares...” los conquistadores fundaban “...una sociedad viciosa, profundamente pervertida por el hábito de la violencia, y que tenía todos los defectos sin ninguna de las virtudes civiles del mundo europeo” (Samper, 1861: 23). En 1868 Sergio Arboleda – conservador – publica *La república en la América española*, libro en el que postula que la religiosidad hispánica, influyó positivamente en el “genio, carácter e historia de nuestra raza” (Arboleda, [1869] 1951: 58). Mientras Samper condena al carácter de la *raza latina* – denominación reciente de origen francés – por el contrario Arboleda destaca la *hispanidad*, y así lo que para uno es el error del fanatismo católico, para el otro es la virtud en la que se asienta la cultura

colombiana. De estas dos la postura conservadora sería la dominante. En el primer ensayo sobre arte neogranadino, una biografía del pintor del siglo XVII Gregorio Vásquez de Arce – autor del *Martirio de San Esteban* mencionado- José Manuel Groot explica que la iglesia católica propendía por el progreso de las artes. Para probarlo cita una biografía de Guido Reni concluyendo que las obras de arte piadosas están destinadas a una “exposición perenne” pues comisionar obras sagradas es como “reclamar para Dios un milagro del pincel” lo cual en efecto ocurría en la colonia, pues “los artistas tenían fe”] (Groot, 1859: 6). En cambio los pintores modernos -es decir los del siglo XIX- no logran éxito con sus imágenes sagradas por haber sustituido el necesario espiritualismo por el materialismo, es decir, por preocuparse de lo puramente plástico (Groot, 1859: 6-7). Así que una condición necesaria para ser buen artista es ser piadoso, tener *unción* en palabras de Groot. Pero parece haber otra condición más. Groot cita en su texto una conversación con el cónsul inglés y artista amateur Edward Walhouse Mark, a quien le era difícil creer: “...que estas pinturas no fueran traídas de Europa o que Vásquez no hubiera sido europeo, porque de otro modo era imposible, que sin salir del país, hubiera tenido ideas tan justas de las artes...” (Groot, 1859: 24). Así se homologa al buen arte con Europa por lo cual resulta imposible pensar que un americano produjera tales pinturas. Esto lo refrenda Groot al decir que Vásquez pintaba “...en una sociedad sin gusto ni ideas, i solo en fuerza de su jenio pudo llegar al grado de perfección que admiramos en sus obras de primer orden...” (Groot, 1859: 24). Entonces el genio artístico es el que explica la capacidad del artista para tener una producción que se asemeja a la europea. Como vemos, la mirada de Groot está en la misma línea de la de Arboleda, pues para ambos en la civilización católica se funda la cultura colombiana. Samper, por su parte, le reprochaba a los europeos mirar con desdén hacia América, cuando su cultura era producto de la conquista europea. Por ello hablaba de una república hispano-colombiana. Pero este punto de vista no tuvo tanta fuerza como el conservador, porque Samper como los pensadores liberales cayó en desgracia al final del siglo XIX cuando el partido conservador – en el poder para entonces- restableció su alianza con la iglesia católica.

Estas discusiones pasaron al siglo XX no solo por la re-edición en 1951 la obra de Arboleda (ministerio de educación) y en 1969 la de Samper (Universidad Nacional de Colombia) o por un renovado interés en el estudio del arte neogranadino y por ende en su primer investigador, José Manuel Groot. Los autores citados reflejan una discusión más profunda. Se trata de la tensión entre lo “castizo y lo mestizo”, entendidos como categorías de análisis que excedieron la historiografía de artística. Por *castizo* entiéndase la herencia española, contrapuesta a lo *mestizo* que remite a lo americano. En el siglo XIX – y aún en el XX- lo *castizo* nos lleva al pasado lamentablemente perdido, a la “tranquilidad” emanada de la religión. Mientras que lo *mestizo* designa la herencia de la mezcla entre español e indígena y – en menor medida – con el descendiente de africano. Pero además lo mestizo es problemático, pues la mezcla implica una disminución de los valores originales de las razas mezcladas para el pensamiento del siglo XIX.

En el que fue el manual más importante de historia de Colombia en la primera mitad del siglo XX, la “Historia de Colombia para la enseñanza secundaria” ([1911] 1920) sus autores Jesús María Henao y Gerardo Arrubla refuerzan las ideas sobre la cultura en términos raciales; por una parte aparece la colonia “religiosa” tranquila en contraste con la República políticamente turbulenta:

Nuestros mayores tenían muy arraigado el sentimiento religioso; cuidaban de la pompa del culto externo, y mezclaban en él lo profano con lo espiritual. Algunas de sus fiestas eran muy aparatosas y su recuerdo perduraba formando época en la colonia. No sería aventurado decir que señalaban los años por las solemnidades públicas que les daban tranquilo deleite: sus descendientes marcan el tiempo con el recuerdo de las contiendas fratricidas (Henao y Arrubla, [1911] 1920: 209).

Ahora veamos el caso de lo *mestizo* las producciones artísticas. En el mismo manual de historia, se relata que el filólogo Rufino José Cuervo, quien residió en París en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, tuvo la idea de llevar obras de Vásquez a Francia para mostrar la superioridad de un artista que se comparaba en Colombia con maestros italianos y sevillanos. Pero las críticas negativas recibidas por la obra del neogranadino hicieron cambiar la imagen que tenía Cuervo, por lo cual Henao y Arrubla en su obra dicen que “A Vásquez [...] no debe dársele sino la gloria que le corresponde” y a continuación citan el relato de Cuervo:

Desgraciadamente la opinión que tenemos de él [Vásquez] es en extremo exagerada. El mérito de nuestro pintor es relativo: grande para nosotros si se ve la época y el teatro en que trabajó, pero pequeño, insignificante, al lado de los maestros inmortales... Las pinturas de Vásquez son para nosotros de suma importancia y necesarias para la historia del arte en nuestro suelo, y deben conservarse como monumento, pero nunca como obras acabadas, pues si en Vásquez se deben admirar el talento y la fecundidad, también se deben deplorar defectos que no cuadran con la idea que se tiene de un pintor excelente (Henao y Arrubla, [1911] 1920: 184-185).

Desde entonces los valores del arte neogranadino se pusieron en duda, pues si por un lado se reconocía la labor civilizatoria de España, por otro la precariedad neogranadina se convirtió en un paradigma: “...el valor de nuestros pintores es relativo, dado el atraso en que vivió la colonia” dicen los autores “El medio en que se desarrolla la pintura exige opulenta civilización, y los hijos de Santa Fe [Bogotá] no podían tener ideas muy elevadas de lo que es la belleza” (Henao y Arrubla, [1911] 1920: 184). De hecho esta mirada explica las transformaciones que sufrió la arquitectura neogranadina y la pérdida de muchas obras de arte por venta o directamente destrucción. Este es el caso de la catedral de Tunja, afrancesada en su interior y cubierta su fachada por placas de piedra, como lo denunció el historiador de la arquitectura colombiana Carlos Arbeláez Camacho.

Tres décadas después Gabriel Giraldo Jaramillo en su libro “La pintura en Colombia” (1948), acoge el paradigma de mediocridad asegurando que era imposible, dada la precariedad del medio material: “[que] pudiese florecer una gran cultura artística...” pues desde un punto de vista que mezcla a Hegel con Hippolyte Taine “todo se oponía al desarrollo superior del espíritu” por lo cual “la aparición de un gran valor intelectual hubiera sido un contrasentido” después de lo cual sentencia: “mediocre fue el ambiente y mediocres todas las manifestaciones de quienes en él vivieron” (Giraldo Jaramillo [1948] 1980: 73).

En suma lo que había de rescatable en el Nuevo Reino de Granada se debía a la civilización católica; pero la pobreza material del territorio, primero como audiencia unida al Virreinato del Perú y luego como Virreinato en propiedad, impedía el desarrollo artístico y cultural, siguiendo a los autores anteriormente citados. Esto se explica en parte por la admiración que despertaron en el medio colombiano Inglaterra y después Francia, desde mediados del siglo XIX. En consecuencia los valores *castizos* se relativizaron en las artes y en cambio se vio mayor esplendor en la lengua y la religión. El libro citado de Giraldo Jaramillo es el primer estudio histórico en profundidad de la pintura neogranadina en el siglo XX, pero en muchos aspectos se ve unido al siglo anterior: en primer lugar en su análisis se establece una mirada evolucionista en la cual los artistas de los siglos XV y XVI representan los “balbuceos de un niño” que dan lugar al surgimiento de *maestros primitivos* en el XVII, a los que pertenece Vásquez (Giraldo Jaramillo [1948] 1980) Ahora ¿cómo se puede ser al mismo tiempo maestro y primitivo? La obra del pintor neogranadino se explica por “...el genio de la raza que vino a cristalizar en su selecto espíritu” tema en el que profundiza más adelante: “Hemos dicho que Vásquez encarna la vida toda del coloniaje en sus varios aspectos; pero no fue solamente el traductor fiel y elocuente de su época y de su raza, sino que como todos los auténticos artistas, fue un anticipado que marchó a la vanguardia de sus contemporáneos...” (Giraldo Jaramillo [1948] 1980).

Contrario a lo que podría pensarse, esta perspectiva no se transformó en las siguientes décadas, sino que se fortaleció en medio de un escenario de guerra partidaria, que enfrentaría de nuevo a liberales y conservadores. El 9 de abril de 1948 fue asesinado en Bogotá el líder Jorge Eliécer Gaitán y de nuevo la ciudad fue destruida. De nuevo el partido conservador se consolidó en el poder en alianza con la iglesia católica. En este proceso desaparecieron muchos edificios coloniales, pues para qué conservar lo mediocre. A diferencia del siglo XIX, el conservatismo no protegió las producciones coloniales lo cual sumado a que el liberalismo propendía por la modernización llevó al notable descuido del patrimonio cultural. Por ello no extraña que el historiador y ensayista liberal Germán Arciniegas siendo ministro de educación (1942-1946), defendiera la idea de demoler el Convento de Santo Domingo con una frase que pasó a la historia: “para claustros los de España”. Curiosamente durante su gestión se fundó el Museo de Arte Colonial. Las confrontaciones políticas se recrudecieron y hubo que

esperar hasta la década de 1960 para que se re-iniciaran los estudios sistemáticos de la historia del arte colonial.

Para los fines de brevedad, para finalizar nuestro análisis nos concentraremos en una serie de textos en los que reaparece con fuerza la dicotomía *castizo/mestizo*. Quince años después del libro pionero de Giraldo Jaramillo el historiador español Francisco Gil Tovar, llegado a Colombia en la década de 1950, escribe el artículo “Para una historia del arte en Colombia. Los pobres cimientos de nuestro humilde arte colonial” en 1963. Gil Tovar explica que el Nuevo Reino de Granada no tuvo la fortuna de los virreinos novohispano y peruano, como tampoco la de la audiencia quiteña. La inferioridad neogranadina, según Gil Tovar, no se comparaba ni siquiera con el caso de Buenos Aires. El autor especula que esto se debió posiblemente a que “España no halló en esta tierra [el Nuevo Reino] una raza fuerte y una cultura indígena que mereciera el honor de competir con ella” (Gil Tovar, 1963). Este aspecto de “competencia” entre culturas le interesa particularmente, y por ello luego agrega: “...el indio que formó la población básica – exceptuando en lo que tenía de orfebre – no mostró capacidades de trabajo artístico de altura” pues para Gil Tovar no había grandes mitos entre los indígenas del territorio neogranadino, a comparación con los nativos de otros territorios, hasta el punto que los españoles no construyeron sobre las ruinas de edificios indígenas pues ellos no tenían ninguna ambición arquitectónica. Solo templos de barro y paja. A esto se sumaría que “las familias poderosas españolas no enviaron a sus miembros a este territorio de que recibían [...] escasas noticias poco capaces de mover a entusiasmo”. En cambio hubo según el autor “solo segundones sin fortuna” de lo que concluye “el arte colonial en Colombia desarrollóse, humilde y esforzadamente, dentro de este cuadro y dentro de él [...] produjo lo que podía esperarse y quizá algo más” (Gil Tovar, 1963)

Poco tiempo después otro historiador español, Santiago Sebastián, parece responder con el artículo “Problemática de la arquitectura neogranadina. Autenticidad y valor del arte colonial” (1963). Sebastián, llegado a Colombia para culminar sus estudios de doctorado, remite su texto al curso sobre arte hispanoamericano dictado por el arquitecto argentino Mario Buschiazzo, quien junto a Enrique Marco Dorta y Diego Angulo Iníiguez visitaron Cali y Popayán en la década de 1960 (AA. VV., 2006: 28). Lo trascendente de la perspectiva de Sebastián es que propone no interesarse en la búsqueda de la “belleza pura” sino en lo que llama las “bellezas impuras, históricas y particulares de la arquitectura neogranadina” (Sebastián, 1963). A diferencia de las especulaciones sobre la raza de Gil Tovar, Sebastián cita una real cédula de 1550 según la cual la corona dispone para el Nuevo Reino de Granada “que las casas sean humildes y no haya en ellas superfluidades”, refrendada por otra real orden de 1788 que manda que el templo de San Francisco en Popayán no se adorne con figuras extraordinarias para no ofuscar el conjunto (Sebastián, 1963). La conclusión del historiador, se dirige a la injerencia de la corona española en la estética neogranadina. En el resto de su trabajo busca demostrar las particularidades de la arquitectura y defenderla de las incomprensiones de analistas del siglo XIX, en

referencia a autores alemanes, ingleses, franceses y norteamericanos, tan alejados y críticos con la estética colonial.

En escritos posteriores como “Problemas de la estética neogranadina. La influencia francesa en nuestro arte colonial” (1964) y “Relaciones artísticas entre México y la Nueva Granada. Formas y elementos en nuestro arte colonial” (1965) Sebastián continúa con sus análisis esquivando el problema del *mestizaje artístico* o de los estilos mestizos, para hacer hincapié en las relaciones existentes entre los artistas activos en la América Hispana y la diversidad de fuentes y modelos que fueron tomados y adaptados en sus trabajos. La conclusión más clara al respecto queda plasmada en una pequeña guía de arte neogranadino titulada “Itinerarios artísticos de la Nueva Granada”, aparecida en 1965, donde explica:

[...] pienso que el término de arte mestizo no es del todo adecuado por cuanto puede llevar a la confusión de lo estético con lo étnico, ya que se tiene demasiado presente el fenómeno biológico, y de la misma manera se quiere explicar el hecho artístico. Allí donde hay una forma mestiza se piensa en seguida en un artista indio o criollo. No debemos olvidar que un estilo se determina por sus características y no por sus artífices. Los primeros mestizos no fueron los hijos de blanco e india, sino los españoles que se sintieron embrujados por la tierra americana. También acá se repitió tímidamente – diríamos – el *Graecia capta* de Horacio, y los conquistadores fueron conquistados (AA. VV., 2006: 67).

Este enfoque claramente formalista, a lo Wölfflin, es una historia de arte sin artífices – ya sabemos que tiene pocos nombres conocidos el arte colonial – lo cual aparentemente acabaría con la discusión de lo *mestizo/castizo*. Pero líneas más adelante Sebastián explica que había una fusión cultural en el Nuevo Reino de Granada en la que la cultura europea por estar mejor estructurada, prevaleció sobre la indígena (AA. VV., 2006: 67).

Gil Tovar por su parte, re elaboró sus posturas y las radicalizó. Para el *Congreso Eucarístico Internacional* de 1968, Francisco Gil Tovar y Carlos Arbeláez Camacho publicaron el libro *El arte colonial en Colombia*. En la introducción, Gil Tovar explica que el mestizaje y criollismo artístico neogranadino surgió de una doble mediocridad: la inexistencia en Nueva Granada de una “tradición brillante” como la azteca o la inca y la carencia de “altos blasones que temieran la impureza de sangre” en los españoles que la conquistaron y habitaron. El resultado fue “un pueblo medio, dispuesto a dar un arte a su medida” (Gil Tovar, 1968: 11) con una débil *voluntad de forma* y por ello tan distante del caso mexicano y peruano (Gil Tovar, 1968: 12-13), en suma un “mestizaje sin mestizaje” autor de un arte de la impericia asimilable a las *castas*. En su artículo “Mestizaje artístico” de la Enciclopedia Salvat de Arte Colombiano, aparecida en 1975, Gil Tovar explica que los artistas activos en América se adecúan y apartan del modelo español simultánea e inconscientemente al aceptar “soluciones y propósitos [hispanicos] nunca bien comprendidos del todo” sobre los que realizan variaciones; para Gil Tovar el arte colonial era el



resultado de una hibridación, en la que predomina *lo blanco* sobre *lo indio* y *lo africano*, es decir “Biológica y antropológicamente habría de ser el hijo híbrido de padres de distinta raza” del que deriva una clasificación taxonómica de arte Hispanoindio y Lusoindio, y en menor medida arte indoafricano, afroindio, euroindio, indoeuropeo, hispanoindoafricano, afrohispanico e indoafroespañol; en conclusión todo un sistema de *castas estéticas*, en el que la dominante de una “forma expresiva” determina cual prefijo esté primero. En Nueva Granada, según Gil Tovar, el “mestizaje hispanoindio neogranadino” produjo el “arco-diadema” que desde una perspectiva europea sería un “arco semicircular mal hecho y adornado con dudoso gusto” pero para la investigación “histórico-artística, apoyada ahora por la antropología y por la semiología” resulta un “singular signo de mestizaje, al margen de que guste o no y de que estéticamente pueda tener o no alguna importancia”.

Para concluir esta exploración de las ideas estéticas en textos aparecidos entre 1861 y 1975, podríamos pensar que la barbarie detrás de la articulación histórica del arte colonial – siguiendo a Benjamin – osciló entre el abierto racismo y el eurocentrismo. En medio de las guerras civiles del siglo XIX o la violencia política del siglo XX, se mantuvo una confrontación no menos estrepitosa entre lo *mestizo* y lo *castizo*, entre la mezcla impura y la pureza mediocre. Esta paradoja remite al pensamiento del filósofo español Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936), muy citado por Sebastián, quien distingue entre la *Historia* de los grandes acontecimientos en tiempos breves de cambio y lo que denomina *Intra-historia*, en alusión a la vida histórica en períodos temporales extensos; la *Historia* es el acontecer político de los grandes cambios narrado en la agitación de la prensa escrita, mientras que la *Intra-historia* es la tradición entendida como la sedimentación de los siglos, su legado traído a nosotros por transmisión silenciosa de “hombres sin historia” (Unamuno, [1895] 1916: 38-40). Estas dos dimensiones temporales traen a la memoria la *longue durée* de Braudel (1958), aunque cabe señalar que la formulación de Unamuno antecede a la del historiador francés por medio siglo. La dialéctica entre *Historia* e *Intra-historia* apareció en el ensayo “La tradición eterna” que hace parte de *En torno al casticismo* (1895). En dicho ensayo Unamuno reflexiona sobre el problema de la pureza cultural frente a la renovación y al cambio, entendidos éstos como caras de una misma moneda: “...el sol del porvenir [...] dibuja la sombra del pasado...” (Unamuno, [1895] 1916: 26). Lo *puro*, es decir *lo castizo*, sostiene el filósofo, no es lo “original” lo propio de una nación, sino lo “originario”, lo común a toda la experiencia humana. Por ello es más importante lo humilde de la vida cotidiana que la grandilocuencia de la representación artística: “preferimos el arte a la vida, cuando la vida más oscura y humilde vale infinitamente más que la más grande obra de arte” (Unamuno, [1895] 1916: 40) Y así, parafraseando a Benjamin y Unamuno, como el *ángel de la historia* que mira hacia atrás lo que se destruye, vamos construyendo miradas historiográficas sobre la cuales proyectamos nuestras inquietudes más actuales pues el sol del porvenir dibuja nuestra sombra sobre el pasado.



# Castizo *versus* Mestizo: A Historiographical Debate

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**RESUMEN** Este artículo propone una exploración de las ideas estéticas subyacentes en textos sobre arte colonial aparecidos en Colombia entre 1861 y 1975, a partir del concepto de barbarie de Walter Benjamin en relación con posturas racistas y eurocéntricas detrás de la articulación histórica. En dicho período, transcurrido entre las guerras civiles del siglo XIX y la violencia política del siglo XX, se mantuvo una confrontación entre los conceptos de lo mestizo y lo castizo, entre la mezcla impura y la pureza mediocre. Tal paradoja lleva a una reflexión a partir del pensamiento del filósofo español Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936), quien distingue entre la Historia de los grandes acontecimientos y lo que denomina Intra-historia, en alusión a la vida histórica en períodos temporales extensos.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE** Historiografía del arte colonial, Colombia, Castizo, Mestizo.



Fig. 1: Luis García Hevia. San Agustín Church, after the taking of the town in 1862. Daguerrotype, *El Gráfico*. February 25, 1911. Location unknown.



**Fig. 2: Manuel Doroteo Carvajal (1819-1972). San Agustín. View of the interior of the ruined chapel, taken from the south side and in the same spot where was the effigy of Jesus the Nazarene. *Álbum de dibujos y acuarelas de Manuel D. Carvajal*, March 11, 1862. Watercolor. Museo del Siglo XIX- Fondo Cultural Cafetero, reg. 976 (folio 134). Photo: Museo Nacional de Colombia / Samuel Monsalve Parra.**



Fig. 3: Manuel Doroteo Carvajal (1819-1972). San Agustín. Februar 25 and 26, 1862. Door and part of the interior of the Jesus the Nazarene chapel, ruined by the troops of the Canal Leonardo. *Álbum de dibujos y acuarelas de Manuel D. Carvajal*, March 11, 1862. Watercolor. Museo del Siglo XIX- Fondo Cultural Cafetero, reg. 976 (folio 134). Photo: Museo Nacional de Colombia / Samuel Monsalve Parra.



**Fig. 4: On the left, detail of fig. 3; on the right, attributed to Gregorio Vázquez de Arce y Ceballos (1628-1711), *Martyrdom of Saint Stephen*, ca. 1700, oil on canvas, 223.5 x 148.5. cm, Museo Nacional de Colombia, reg. 2093. Photo: Museo Nacional de Colombia / Samuel Monsalve Parra.**

Bogota, February 1862. After nearly a year of war the Liberal Party took the government and limited the Catholic Church influence by its subordination to the State, with the disamortization of mortmain lands and the exercise of inspection over public worship. Within the confusion and combats between the political parties the conservative guerrilla of Guasca, small town nearby Bogota, enters by surprise to the capital and takes the Mint before attacking San Agustín convent –by the moment a liberal place of refuge. The ruined convent – photographed by Colombian artist Luis García Hevia (Fig. 1) – exposed their treasures as can be seen in Manuel Doroteo Carvajal drawings. Behind the fallen roof in the Jesus the Nazarene chapel (Fig. 2) draws attention the sketch of a painting (Fig. 3). It is the *Martyrdom of Saint Stephen* that survived from the combat ravages, the grapeshot and the fire ignited by the conflict and, thanks to the painter Ramón Torres Méndez, arrived to National Museum of Colombia collection where nowadays we can see it (Fig.4).

This short story is the metaphor of an era when they tried to outrun the Hispanic influence to establish a new order. Garcia Hevia photography, Carvajal drawing and the rescue by Torres Mendez involves different views of colonial patrimony. The photography shows a convents wing demolished in 20<sup>th</sup> century as well as the strengthening of the photographic image production process – Garcia Hevia himself was a painter –; in the other hand the drawing belongs to the 19<sup>th</sup> century political struggle iconography while evidences a witnessing practice by the *costumbrista* draftsmen in the moment; finally the religious colonial painting took out of context on a museum’s exhibition room is a *work of art* for 20<sup>th</sup> century eyes which refers to the time of its execution – late 7<sup>th</sup> century – and therefore to a devotional practice. In this way, three different time frames emerges to articulate history in relationship to Nueva Granada art: first the construction of a photographic images repertoire which over time would established part of a historical discourse; on second place the experience of the *Nueva Granada* architectural heritage – the convent – and its remains – the painting – as stage of historical development in the Republic of Colombia and finally the conversion of Hispanic period artistic productions in National Heritage. The link that binds the three documents (drawing, photography and painting) and their time frame recalls Walter Benjamin’s *Theses on the Philosophy of History*. We just seize hold “...of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger”, we are flying to the future with our face turned toward the past as the angel of history inspired by the *Angelus Novus* of Klee, only to make us sure that in the process to articulate the past historically – as defined by Walter Benjamin – “There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism” (Benjamin, 1969: 256-257). In the case we are dealing with, which is the barbarism behind the documents quoted? Besides the civil war, at the moment we are talking about in Colombia they were discussing different visions of the Colonial era in an attempt to understand the present. As in the civil war historians were divided into two sides: the ones that took side in favor of the Colony –the conservative ones- and against them, the liberals. The first one and the latter produced a history that suited their political interests and which found in *race* a variable that responded to the confrontation of the moment. In 1861 the liberal José María Samper published in Paris his *Ensayo sobre las revoluciones políticas y la condición social de las repúblicas colombianas* (Thunot Press) [Essay on the political revolutions and the social condition of Colombian republics]. Samper condemns Spanish actions in America because “While the Conquest destroyed or brutalized completely the fertile and accessible Colombian races, by excluding them of any personality and any mixture with Iberian (peninsular) races...” the conquerors were founding “...a vicious society, profoundly perverted by the habit of violence, which had all the defects without any of the European civil virtues”<sup>1</sup> (Samper, 1861: 23). In 1868 Sergio Arboleda –a conservative historian- published *La república en la América española* [The Republic in Hispanic America]

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<sup>1</sup> The original quote in Spanish is as follows: “...mientras la conquista destruía o embrutecía completamente a las razas fecundas y accesibles de Colombia, excluyéndolas de toda personalidad y todo cruzamiento con las razas peninsulares...” los conquistadores fundaban “...una sociedad viciosa, profundamente pervertida por el hábito de la violencia, y que tenía todos los defectos sin ninguna de las virtudes civiles del mundo europeo”. Translation of the author.

book in which he argues that Hispanic religiousness had a positive influence in the “temper, character and history of our race”<sup>2</sup> (Arboleda, [1869] 1951: 58). While Samper condemns the *Latin race*<sup>3</sup> character Arboleda, on the contrary, highlights the *Spanishness* [*hispanidad*] and so the things that represents the mistakes of catholic fanaticism for the first one, to the latter represents the virtues in which the Colombian culture is based. The conservative would be the dominant among those two postures. On the first essay on Nueva Granada Art, a biography of 17<sup>th</sup> century painter Gregorio Vasquez de Arce – the actual author of the *Saint Stephan’s Martyrdom* mentioned- José Manuel Groot explains that Catholic Church tended to the progress of the arts. To prove this assertion he quoted a Guido Reni biography to conclude that pious works of art are destined to a “perennial exhibition” [“exposición perenne”] because to comission sacred art is like “to claim from God a brush miracle” [“reclamar para Dios un milagro del pincel”] which actually happened during colonial era when “the artists had faith” [“los artistas tenían fe”] (Groot, 1859: 6). Instead modern 19<sup>th</sup> century painters do not succeed with theirs sacred subjects because they substituted the necessary spiritualism by materialism, which means they cared just for plastic values (Groot, 1859: 6-7). So a necessary condition to be a good artist is to be pious, to have *unction* in the words of Groot. But it appears to be another condition. Groot quotes on his text a conversation with English Consul Edward Walhouse Mark to whom it was difficult to believe “...that those paintings were not brought from Europe or that Vasquez was not European, because otherwise it was impossible that without going out of the country he would have had so fair ideas on art”<sup>4</sup> (Groot, 1859: 24). Thus fine art is linked to Europe and in consequence is impossible to think than an American produced such paintings. Groot endorses it by saying that Vasquez painted “on a society without taste or ideas and just by the force of his genius he could reach the perfection degree admired on his first class paintings”<sup>5</sup> (Groot, 1859: 24). So artistic genius is what explains artist capability to have a European like production. As we can see Groot’s view is on the same path than Arboleda’s and for both Colombian culture is founded on Catholic civilization. Instead Samper blamed Europeans for looking down upon America, when its culture was produced by European Conquest. For this reason he talked of a Hispanic-Colombia Republic. But this approach didn’t have as much strength as the Conservative, because Samper as the rest of liberal thinkers fell into disfavor by the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Conservative Party – by then on the power- re-established an alliance with Catholic Church.

Those debates passed to 20<sup>th</sup> century, but not only because of the reissue of Arboleda’s work (Ministerio de Educación, 1951) and Samper’s (Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1969) or by a

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<sup>2</sup> In spanish: “el “genio, carácter e historia de nuestra raza” Translation by the author.

<sup>3</sup> Denomination french in origin.

<sup>4</sup> “...que estas pinturas no fueran traídas de Europa o que Vásquez no hubiera sido europeo, porque de otro modo era imposible, que sin salir del país, hubiera tenido ideas tan justas de las artes...”

<sup>5</sup> “...en una sociedad sin gusto ni ideas, i solo en fuerza de su genio pudo llegar al grado de perfección que admiramos en sus obras de primer orden...” The original spelling is repected.



renewed interest on Nueva Granada Art, and therefore, on his first researcher José Manuel Groot. Those authors reflect a deeper discussion. It is the tension between “castizo” and “mestizo”,<sup>6</sup> taken as analytical categories that exceeds artistic historiography. By *castizo* should be understood a Hispanic Heritage, as opposite to *mestizo* that recall American productions. In 19<sup>th</sup> century – and even in 20<sup>th</sup> *castizo* takes as to a past regrettably lost and the “tranquility” derived from Catholic religion. Meanwhile *mestizo* stands for the result of the crossbreed between Spaniards and Native Americans and in a lesser extent with Afrodescendant. But also *mestizo* is problematic for 19<sup>th</sup> century thought because implies a value decrease from the mixed races.

In *Historia de Colombia para la enseñanza secundaria* [History of Colombia for High School] ([1911] 1920) the most important Colombian history manual in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, their authors Jesús María Henao and Gerardo Arrubla encourages the idea of culture on racial thought; on one hand appears the “religious” tranquil Colony in contrast with the politically disturbed Republic:

Our elders had deeply rooted the religious feeling; they cared about the pageantry of external worship mixing on it the profane and the spiritual. Some of their holidays were so ostentatious and its remembrance endured marking a milestone in the Colony. It would not be ventured to assure that they pointed out the years for the public solemnities that provided a quiet delight: their descendants points out the time recalling fratricidal strife <sup>7</sup> (Henao y Arrubla, [1911] 1920: 209).

Now let's see the case of *mestizo* in artistic productions. On the same history manual it is told that philologist Rufino José Cuervo –resident in Paris during second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century- had the idea of taking Vasquez paintings to France to show the superiority of an artist that in Colombia was compared to Italian and Sevillian masters. But the negative critics received by the work of the artist changes the idea Cuervo had, which made Henao and Arrubla write that “Vasquez should not receive more glory that he deserves” and continues with the story of Cuervo:

Unfortunately the opinion we have on Vasquez is extremely exaggerated. Our painter's merit is relative: big for us within the time and his background, but little, insignificant, compared to the immortal masters... Vasquez paintings are of high importance for us and necessary for the History of Art of our land, and should be preserved as a monument, but never as finished works, because if should be admired Vasquez talent and fruitfulness, should be

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<sup>6</sup> *Castizo* comes from Castilla, one of the kingdoms of Spain. In Spanish that word also denotes something pure – as in race as in culture – in opposition with the word *Mestizo* which means mixture of races, a crossbreed, and furthermore impurity and in consequence was less valuable than *castizo* during colonial era.

<sup>7</sup> Nuestros mayores tenían muy arraigado el sentimiento religioso; cuidaban de la pompa del culto externo, y mezclaban en él lo profano con lo espiritual. Algunas de sus fiestas eran muy aparatosas y su recuerdo perduraba formando época en la colonia. No sería aventurado decir que señalaban los años por las solemnidades públicas que les daban tranquilo deleite: sus descendientes marcan el tiempo con el recuerdo de las contiendas fratricidas.

deplored also defects that doesn't fit with the idea of an excellent painter<sup>8</sup> (Henaó y Arrubla, [1911] 1920: 184-185).

Since then Nueva Granada art values are called into question, because if on one side it was recognized Spain civilizing efforts, on the other the precariousness of Nueva Granada became paradigm: “the value of our painters is relative, given the backwardness in which lived the Colony” and follows “the background in which painting is developed requires opulent civilization and the sons of Santa Fe [Bogotá] could not have high ideas on beauty”<sup>9</sup> (Henaó y Arrubla, [1911] 1920: 184). In fact this view explains the transformations that suffered Nueva Granada architecture and the loss of many artworks by sale or direct destruction. This is the case of Tunja cathedral frenchified on its interior and with its façade covered on stone plaques as denounced by Colombian architecture historian Carlos Arbeláez Camacho.

Three decades after Gabriel Giraldo Jaramillo on his book “La pintura en Colombia” (1948), welcomes the mediocrity paradigm assuring the impossibility, given the precariousness of the material medium: “that could blossom a high artistic culture” because from a perspective that mixed Hegel with Hippolyte Taine “everything was opposed to the higher development of spirit” whereby “the emergency of a high intellectual value would be nonsense” and afterwards sentences: “mediocre was the ambiance and mediocre all the demonstrations of the ones who lived on it”<sup>10</sup> (Giraldo Jaramillo [1948] 1980: 73).

To sum the only redeemable thing from Nuevo Reino of Granada had to do with Catholic Civilization; but material poverty of the territory, first as a part of Viceroyalty of Peru and then as a viceroyalty itself, was against the artistic and cultural development, following the aforementioned authors. This can be explained by the admiration paid in Colombia to England and France, since mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. As a consequence *castizo* values were relativized in the arts giving in exchange greater splendor to language and religion. On his book Giraldo Jaramillo makes the first deep historic study on Nueva Granada painting written in 20<sup>th</sup> century, but in many ways is close to 19<sup>th</sup>: first of all on his analysis establishes an evolutionist view under which 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries artists represented the

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<sup>8</sup> Desgraciadamente la opinión que tenemos de él [Vásquez] es en extremo exagerada. El mérito de nuestro pintor es relativo: grande para nosotros si se ve la época y el teatro en que trabajó, pero pequeño, insignificante, al lado de los maestros inmortales... Las pinturas de Vásquez son para nosotros de suma importancia y necesarias para la historia del arte en nuestro suelo, y deben conservarse como monumento, pero nunca como obras acabadas, pues si en Vásquez se deben admirar el talento y la fecundidad, también se deben deplorar defectos que no cuadran con la idea que se tiene de un pintor excelente.

<sup>9</sup> “El medio en que se desarrolla la pintura exige opulenta civilización, y los hijos de Santa Fe [Bogotá] no podían tener ideas muy elevadas de lo que es la belleza.”

<sup>10</sup> “todo se oponía al desarrollo superior del espíritu” por lo cual “la aparición de un gran valor intelectual hubiera sido un contrasentido” después de lo cual sentencia: “mediocre fue el ambiente y mediocres todas las manifestaciones de quienes en él vivieron.”

“babbling if a child” [baluceos de un niño] that gave place to the 17<sup>th</sup> century *primitive masters*, to which Vasquez belongs (Giraldo Jaramillo [1948] 1980). Now how can be at the same time master and primitive? The Nueva Granada Painter work is explained by “the genius of a race that crystallized on his select spirit” subject in which adds later: “We have said that Vasquez embodies the complete life of colonial rule in various aspects: nonetheless he was not just the faithful and eloquent interpreter of his era and race, but as every true artist he was an advanced one that went ahead of his contemporaries” (Giraldo Jaramillo [1948] 1980).

Opposed to what might be expected this view didn’t change on the following decades, but was strengthened among a political war that confronted again Liberals against Conservatives. On April 9, 1948, the political leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitán was assassinated in Bogotá and again the city was destroyed. Again the Conservative Party consolidated an alliance with Catholic Church. In this process disappeared many colonial buildings, because there was no reason to preserve the mediocrity. Unlike 19<sup>th</sup> century the conservatives didn’t protect the colonial productions which added to the liberal defense for the modernization produced a remarkable carelessness of cultural heritage. That is why it was not a surprise that liberal historian and politic Germán Arciniegas, while being Minister of Education (1942-1946), defended the demolition of Santo Domingo cloister pronouncing a phrase that made history: “cloisters, those of Spain” [para claustros los de España]. Curiously on this moment the Museum of Colonial Art of Bogotá was founded. The political confrontations escalated and it was not until the 1960’s that the systematic study of Colonial Art History was re-started.

For the sake of briefness, to finish our analysis we will concentrate on a series of writings in which the dichotomy *castizo/mestizo* appears again. Fifteen years after the pioneer book from Giraldo Jaramillo the Spanish historian Francisco Gil Tovar – arrived in Colombia in the 1950’s – writes in 1963 the newspaper article “For a history of Colombian art. The poor foundations of our humble colonial art” [Para una historia del arte en Colombia. Los pobres cimientos de nuestro humilde arte colonial]. Gil Tovar explains that the Nuevo Reino de Granada didn’t have the fortunes of Nueva España and Peru viceroyalties, note even the one of the audience of Quito. The Nueva Granada inferiority – says Gil Tovar- have no comparison even with the case of Buenos Aires. The author speculates that this happened because “Spain did not found in the Nuevo Reino a strong race and a native culture that deserved the honor of being a contestant” (Gil Tovar, 1963). This “competition” between cultures was an aspect the author care especially for and about this then adds “the native that formed the population base – except for the goldsmith- did not show high artistic work abilities”.<sup>11</sup> Because for Gil Tovar there were no big myths among the Nueva Granada natives in comparison with the settlers from other territories, to the point that Spaniards did not have to construct on the natives

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<sup>11</sup> España no halló en esta tierra [el Nuevo Reino] una raza fuerte y una cultura indígena que mereciera el honor de competir con ella” “...el indio que formó la población básica – exceptuando en lo que tenía de orfebre – no mostró capacidades de trabajo artístico de altura”.

ruined buildings for they had none architectonic ambition. Just temples made of straw and mud. In addition to that “the powerful Spaniard families didn’t send to this territory from which they received little news as to encourage them” Instead – following the author – “just penniless second order people” from which concludes “Colonial art in Colombia developed humble and enterprisingly within those conditions and thus produced what could be awaited and maybe more”<sup>12</sup> (Gil Tovar, 1963).

Shortly after another Spanish historian – Santiago Sebastián – seems to answer with his article “Problems in Nueva Granada architecture. Colonial art authenticity and value” [Problemática de la arquitectura neogranadina. Autenticidad y valor del arte colonial] (1963). Sebastián arrived in Colombia to finish his Ph.D., and recalls in his writing the course on Hispanic American Art gave by the Argentinean architect Mario Buschiazzo, which together with Enrique Marco Dorta and Diego Angulo Iníiguez visited Cali and Popayan in the 1960’s (AA. VV., 2006: 28). The momentous of Sebastian’s perspective is that he suggests not worrying about “pure beauty” but in what he calls “impure, historic and particular beauties on Nueva Granada architecture” (Sebastián, 1963). Instead of Gil Tovar’s speculations on race, Sebastian quotes a 1550 Royal Decree [real cédula] in which Spanish Crown suggests that in the Nuevo Reino de Granada “the houses should be humble and without superfluous things”, that was reinforced by another decree in 1788 that order for San Francisco Temple at Popayan not to be ornamented with extraordinary figures that would obscure the whole (Sebastián, 1963). The historian conclusions target the Spanish Crown interference in Nueva Granada aesthetics. In the rest of his text seeks to demonstrate the aforementioned architecture specificities as well as defend them from the 19<sup>th</sup> century analyst’s misunderstandings, referring to German, English, French and North American, so distant and critic with Colonial aesthetics.

In Sebastian’s later writings, such as “Problems in Nueva Granada aesthetics. The French influence on our colonial art” (1964), and “Artistic relationship between Mexico and Nueva Granada. Forms and elements in our colonial art”<sup>13</sup> (1965), the author continues his analysis avoiding the problem of *artistic mestizaje* or *mestizo styles*, to focus on the active artists in Hispanic America and the diverse sources taken and adapted on their work. The clearest conclusion on the subject appears in a little Nueva Granada art guide entitled “Artistic Itineraries of Nueva Granada”, issued in 1965, where explains:

I think the term of mestizo art is not that accurate for it may lead to confuse aesthetics with ethnics, because it has too much present biological process, and in the same way it is desired to explain the artistic. Where there is a mestizo form one thinks immediately in an Indian or

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<sup>12</sup> “Las familias poderosas españolas no enviaron a sus miembros a este territorio de que recibían [...] escasas noticias poco capaces de mover a entusiasmo” “solo segundones sin fortuna” de lo que concluye “el arte colonial en Colombia desarrolló se, humilde y esforzadamente, dentro de este cuadro y dentro de él [...] produjo lo que podía esperarse y quizá algo más.”

<sup>13</sup> “Problemas de la estética neogranadina. La influencia francesa en nuestro arte colonial” (1964) y “Relaciones artísticas entre México y la Nueva Granada. Formas y elementos en nuestro arte colonial” (1965).

Creole artist. We should not forget that a style is determined by its characteristics not by its maker. The first *mestizos* were not the children of White and Indian, but Spaniards that felt bewitched by American soil. Also hear it was repeated shyly – let’s say – Horace’s *Graecia capta*, and the conquerors were conquest (AA. VV., 2006: 67).

This clearly formalist view, Wölfflin like, is a history of art without artists – as we know Colonial Art has a few known names – which apparently would finish with the *mestizo/castizo* discussion. But some lines ahead Sebastian explains that there was a strong cultural fusion in Nueva Granada in which European Culture prevailed over Indian because it was best structured (AA. VV., 2006: 67).

Gil Tovar in turn, redraft his ideas and radicalized them. For the *Congreso Eucarístico Internacional* in 1968, Francisco Gil Tovar and Carlos Arbeláez Camacho published *El arte colonial en Colombia*. On the introduction Gil Tovar explains that *mestizaje* and artistic Nueva Granada creole [criollismo] emerged from a double mediocrity: the inexistence in Nueva Granada of a “brilliant tradition” as Aztec or Inca and the lack of “High coat of arms that feared the blood impurity” in the Spaniards that conquered and inhabited it. The result was a “mediocre people, suited for give an art at his measure” (Gil Tovar, 1968: 11) with a weak *will form* and therefore so distant from Mexican and Peruvian cases (Gil Tovar, 1968: 12-13), in sum a “mestizaje without mestizaje” author of an unskillfulness art assimilable to *castes*. In his article “*Artistic Mestizaje*” for Salvat Encyclopedia of Colombian Art, issued in 1975, Gil Tovar explains that active artists in Colombia suited and went away from Spanish model simultaneous and unconsciousness by accepting “Hispanic solutions and purposes never fully understood” over which they made variations; for Gil Tovar Colonial Art came from a hybridization in which *White* dominate *Indian* and *African*, that’s to say “biologically and anthropologically it has to be the hybrid son from different race parents” from which derived a taxonomic classification of Hispanic-Indian and Portuguese-Indian Art and on a minor degree Indo-African, Afro-Indian, Euro-Indian, Indo-European, Hispanic-Indo-African, Afro-Hispanic and Indo-Afro-Hispanic; in conclusion a system of *aesthetic castes*, where the dominant “expressive form” determined which prefix came first. In Nueva Granada, says Gil Tovar the “Hispanic-Indian *mestizaje*” produced the “arch-headband” [arco-diadema] which from a European perspective would be a “poorly done semi-circular arch and decorated with questionable taste” but for the research “historic-artistic based on anthropology and semiology” results a “singular sign of *mestizaje*, no matter whether it likes or not or if it would have some aesthetic significance”.

As a conclusion to this exploration of texts issued between 1861 and 1975, we could think that the barbarism behind the historic articulation of Colonial Art –following Benjamin- ranged between utter racism and Euro centrism. Among 19<sup>th</sup> century Civil War or 20<sup>th</sup> century political violence, there was a no less noisy confrontation of *mestizo* versus *castizo*, between the impure mix and the mediocre

purity. This paradox recalls the thought of Spanish philosopher Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936), often quoted by Sebastian, which differentiates between the big events *History* in brief time lapses of change, and what he calls *Intra-History* alluding the historic life on long period of time; *History* is the political befall of big changes narrates by the press, whereas *Intra-History* is tradition understood as the sedimentation of centuries, his legacy brought to us by the silent transmission of “men with no history” (Unamuno, [1895] 1916: 38-40). These two temporal dimensions recalls Braudel’s *longue durée* concept, even though Unamuno anticipates the French historian by half a century. The dialectic between History and Intra-History appeared on the essay “The eternal tradition” [la tradición eterna] that belong to the book “On Casticism” [En torno al casticismo] (1895). On this essay Unamuno reflects about the problem of cultural purity facing renovation and change understood as two faces of the same coin: “the sun of the future draws the shadow of past” (Unamuno, [1895] 1916: 26). The *pure*, that’s to say the *castizo* – says the philosopher – is not the “original” or the proper of a nation, but the “things that comes from the origin” or the common to all the human experience.<sup>14</sup> For that reason is more important the humble in daily life than the artistic depiction grandiloquence: “we prefer art to life, when the darkest life worth infinitely more than the greatest work of art”<sup>15</sup> (Unamuno, [1895] 1916: 40). Thus paraphrasing both Benjamin and Unamuno, as the *angel of history* looking backwards what is destroyed, we are building historiographic views upon which we project our more present questions, as the sun of future draws our shadow on the past.

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<sup>14</sup> Is a wordplay in Spanish, because “Originario” is a word close to “original” but the first means the things that come from the origin, while the former denotes mainly something *unique*.

<sup>15</sup> “Preferimos el arte a la vida, cuando la vida más oscura y humilde vale infinitamente más que la más grande obra de arte.”

# “Nombres dignos de memoria”: Writing the History of Mexican Art in the Nineteenth-Century

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**ABSTRACT** A review of the earliest publications on colonial art in Mexico from the mid to late nineteenth century reveals the roles of nationalism and partisan politics in the documentation and interpretation of colonial works of art. In the 1840s and 1850s, numerous articles were published in newspapers that describe various viceregal churches and monasteries. By mid-century, the Academy of San Carlos would take the lead in the process of defining a history of Mexican art and reframing colonial works of art as works by national artists. José Bernardo Couto, president of San Carlos started by building the collection of painting representing the Old Mexican School and then writing the first sustained history of painting in Mexico. When looking at the early development of art history writing in Mexico in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it is equally important to recognize that Mexican art during this period was drawing the attention of individuals from outside of Mexico, specifically in the United States. One such individual was Robert Henry Lamborn, a railroad mogul and art collector whose research and writing on the subject must be seen, not exclusively but in large part, as an outgrowth of his business interests. Comparing the work of someone like Robert H. Lamborn to Couto’s underlines the degree to which politicized nationalistic tendencies were shaping the narratives that were being written in Mexico City, and how that vision differed in relation to foreign perspectives of the same.

**KEYWORDS** Academy of San Carlos, colonial art, conservative, dialogue, liberal, Mexico, Nazarene, nineteenth century, New Spain, Old Mexican School, painting, Porfiriato, railroad, United States.

“[M]y main objective is to document the few items of information I have gathered so that they are not lost, and to motivate other artists and experts who are more capable than I so that they focus their attention on this material...”<sup>1</sup>

A review of the earliest publications on colonial art in Mexico from the mid to late nineteenth century reveals the roles of nationalism and partisan politics in the documentation and interpretation of colonial paintings as works by national masters and of a Mexican School of Art. Among the earliest post-independence publications addressing colonial art we find reviews in conservative and moderate liberal newspapers that describe historically significant architectural sites. An article published in 1856 in *La*

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<sup>1</sup> Rafael Lucio, *Reseña histórica de la pintura mexicana en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Mexico City: J. Abadiano, calle de las Escalerillas num. 13, 1864), 4.

*Cruz*, a politically conservative newspaper, explains the reasoning behind conservative interest in documenting Mexico's rich cultural heritage. The relevant excerpt states:

Just as our country suffers considerable retardation in all branches of public wealth due to its continuous revolutions, note that the taste for the fine arts develops on a daily basis. We can well say that concerning the arts, we are almost at the same level as the most civilized nations, at the same time that our political aberrations, resulting from the overpowering inexperience with issues related to government, call attention and cause scandal.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1840s and 1850s, numerous articles were published that describe various viceregal churches and monasteries with varying degrees of historical and cultural context; most of these reviews included lithographic illustrations of the referenced sites. Another article published in *La Cruz* in 1856 focuses on the Jesuit complex, the Church of San Felipe Neri, also popularly known as, *El Templo de la Profesa* and begins by providing the building's historical background:

Its foundation dates from the year 1592, the work of the Jesuits, who, in order to complete its construction, obtained pious donations; however, the exact dates of its reconstruction by the Jesuits are unknown to us. When the latter were expelled in 1767, the Colegio de San Ildefonso was established in that building, until the Fathers of the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri purchased it, taking possession of it on March 25, 1771.<sup>3</sup>

The text focuses on the architectural forms and describes certain interior structures, such as the main altarpiece; here, it is significant that the author brings the illustration accompanying the text to the reader's attention. The relevant excerpt states:

The church, whose interior view accompanies this article, is oriented from west to east, and consists of three naves, sustained by eight columns, the central nave being wider and taller than the lateral naves. Note, in its architectural aspect, the same style that has predominated in the construction of the first churches in Mexico, possessing much of the Gothic style, particularly in the columns. The main altarpiece, which appears more modern, consists of two sections, one, dominated by the Ionic order, while the Composite order is found in the other.<sup>4</sup>

Although an attempt is made to historically contextualize these sites by providing dates, there is no identification of the general period as colonial or viceregal. There are, however, indications of the

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<sup>2</sup> See, "Bellas Artes: Una visita a la Academia Nacional de San Carlos", *La Cruz*, volume 1, number 11 (January 10, 1856), 351.

<sup>3</sup> See, "El Templo de la Profesa", *La Cruz*, volume 1, number 18 (February 28, 1856), 574.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



perception of these constructions, both architecture and painting, as products of national masters, evincing a formative national identity and a developing historical consciousness.<sup>5</sup> By mid-century, the Academy of San Carlos would take the lead in the process of defining a history of Mexican art and reframing colonial works of art as works by national artists.

As the Academy of San Carlos' reopening was being planned ca. 1843-45, a competition was held in Europe to identify a new professor of painting. Among the list of applicants, which included an Italian, a German, and a Frenchman, the Spaniard, Pelegrín Clavé (1811-1880) stood out. (Fig. 1) Mexican art historians, among them, Esther Acevedo, have suggested that it is undeniable that the Mexican official, José Montoya, who was charged with hiring the new painting instructor hired Clavé due to his Catholic affiliation and identification with the Nazarenes.<sup>6</sup> Clavé was offered the position and in 1846, he relocated to Mexico City and began to teach at the academy.



**Fig. 1: Pelegrín Clavé, *Self Portrait*, 1835, oil on canvas.**

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 577. See, Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia de la dominación española en México*, 3 Volumes, Intro. Genaro Estrada (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de J. Porrúa e hijos, 1938) [first edition, 1849]; see also, Justino Fernández, *Estética del Arte Mexicano: Coatlicue/El Retablo de los Reyes/El Hombre*, Second Edition (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1972), 173-372.

<sup>6</sup> Esther Acevedo, Rosa Casanova, *et. al.*, “Modos de decir: la pintura y los conservadores”, *Estudios Históricos* (Mexico City: INAH, 1984), 78-79.

In the early nineteenth-century, the Nazarenes were a group of primarily Austrian and German artists working in Rome, who emulated what they saw as the inspirational, spiritual art of the medieval and renaissance periods; focusing on biblical subjects, they were critical of what they perceived to be the superficial virtuosity that had become characteristic of European painting. (Fig. 2) Contemporary figures like Burckhardt and Goethe were critical of the Nazarenes and by the 1840s, their brand of painting fell into disfavor; however, in Mexico, the Nazarene movement would find new life, thanks, in large part, to the conservative ideology dominating the academy and Clavé's work as a member of its faculty.



**Fig. 2: Johann Friedrich Overbeck, *Easter Morning*, 1818, oil on canvas.**

From the 1840s through the 1860s, the conservatives not only directed the Academy of San Carlos and other cultural institutions in the capital but also began to extend their authority into other spheres. Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794-1876), who governed Mexico at various times from the 1830s through the 1850s, contributed to, both, the academy's revitalization and the creation of what would become the first gallery of colonial Mexican painting at San Carlos, a collection of primarily

religious art. (Fig. 3) In April 1849, the same year that the academy introduced its annual art competition and public exhibition, the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastic Affairs circulated a memo to the Regular Prelates of the Republic communicating the interest of the president, Antonio López de Santa Anna:

The president wishes to establish a conservatory in the Academy of the best paintings, originals and copies of classic works, most of which are found in religious convents where the lack of attention and ignorance have allowed them to deteriorate. Consequently, the prelates are asked to circulate this request among the convents under their jurisdiction so that the latter may offer some paintings for said conservatory.<sup>7</sup>

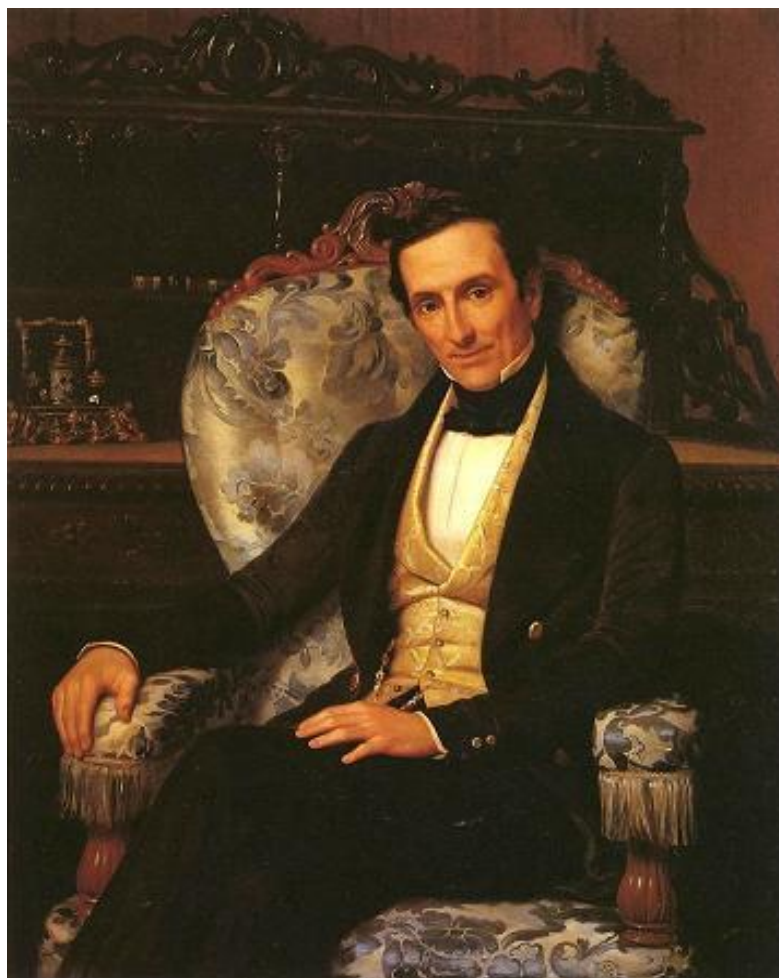


**Fig. 3: Carlos Paris, *Antonio López de Santa Anna*, 19<sup>th</sup> century, oil on canvas.**

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<sup>7</sup> See, Documents 5630 and 5631, Archivo de la Antigua Academia de San Carlos, Biblioteca Lino Picaseño, Facultad de Arquitectura, UNAM, Mexico City; Eloísa Uribe, “1843-1860”, *Y todo ... por una nación: Historia social de la producción plástica de la Ciudad de México. 1781-1910*, Second Edition, ed. Eloísa Uribe (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1987), 67-111; Widdifield (1996); and Eduardo Báez Macías, *Historia de la Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes: Antigua Academia de San Carlos, 1781-1910* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas, 2009).

Various officials received the memo, however, nothing came of it, perhaps due to Santa Anna's hasty retreat from Mexico City that same year.



**Fig. 4: Pelegrín Clavé, *José Bernardo Couto*, 1849, oil on canvas.**

In 1855, shortly following the final return to Mexico City by Santa Anna, another letter was sent to the minister of relations expressing the interest of the president, yet again, in forming a gallery of national art; this time, the new request was directed to José Bernardo Couto, distinguished lawyer and president of the Academy of San Carlos. (Fig. 4) Responding to the government's request, Couto began contacting churches and religious orders in and around Mexico City in spring 1855 to inquire about specific paintings. From 1856 through 1863, in addition to the acquisition of donated or purchased works, the government was reminded of the sizable body of viceregal paintings stored in convents, such as *La Encarnación*; it was from these assorted paintings that Couto drew exemplars of the Old Mexican School. These works were displayed in the academy galleries, where they were to serve not only as instructional models for academy students but, ideally, as a source of national pride for Mexican citizens. The first version of the so-called Old Mexican School of Painting gallery was installed in 1855-57, with an expansion a few years later in 1860-1861. (Fig. 5)



**Fig. 5: Manuel Benabad, detail of the Old Mexican School Painting Gallery, Academy of San Carlos, ca. 1898, albumen print.**

Although Couto has been credited with writing the first sustained historical treatment of colonial Mexican painting, there was another project to gather information on colonial painting being conducted around the time that he was reinstalling the colonial painting galleries at the academy and writing his text, ca. 1860-61.<sup>8</sup> The publication in question was an article by Dr. Rafael Lucio Nájera, which was initially published as a series of notes in 1863 and then later again, in a more developed form in 1864.<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 6) Lucio was a collector of viceregal paintings who traveled around central Mexico examining in-situ works of art located in different churches. He had compiled a list of artists limited to those whose names had been signed on canvases he encountered. Lucio based the content of his text on his own collection, and possibly on the collections of acquaintances, as well as on the art he saw in his survey of churches in and around Mexico City.

<sup>8</sup> José Bernardo Couto, *Diálogo sobre la historia de la pintura en México*, Intro. Juana Gutiérrez Haces (Mexico City: Cien de México, 1995) [first edition, 1872].

<sup>9</sup> Rafael Lucio's notes were first published in, *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana Geográfica y Estadística* (Mexico City, 1863), and then as, *Reseña Histórica de la Pintura Mexicana en los Siglos XVII y XVIII* (Mexico City, 1864). It should be noted that the earliest post-1821 publication to address the subject of colonial art in Mexico was written by the Italian traveler, J. C. Beltrami, who published a travelogue of his visit, titled, *Le Mexique* (Paris, 1830).



**Fig. 6: Cruces y Campa, *Dr. Rafael Lucio*, n.d., photograph.**

Lucio's analysis lacks a historical or narrative component; the main body of his text consists primarily of an inventory of names and titles, along with personal observations. His comments display limitations in his understanding of history, as well as his personal biases. Some of Lucio's more noteworthy claims include: 1) art was brought fully formed from Spain; 2) there is no regional distinction between painting in Mexico City and that of Puebla; and 3) the first known signed painting was from 1603, a work presumably by the artist Baltasar de Echave, whom he identifies as the first known painter in New Spain (sixteenth-century works were absent from this list). In regard to the late seventeenth-century painter, Cristobal de Villalpando, Lucio commented that although the artist had much invention, he also exhibited bad taste, bad drawing, and bad coloring.<sup>10</sup> He added that Mexico's revolutions had contributed to a significant loss of colonial art and that many paintings were destroyed when altarpieces were disassembled or hidden by religious and government officials, who either kept them or exported them abroad. He states that high-quality Mexican paintings had been misattributed to European painters and exported across the Atlantic for sale. In the 1864 publication, Lucio notes that Couto had told him about two unsigned sixteenth-century paintings he had come across. Lucio was

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<sup>10</sup> Lucio (1864), 8.

aware of the collection that Couto was in the process of building at the academy and wrote the following, “I should note, in praise of the director, don Bernardo Couto, who has acquired some Mexican works for the academy, which, although far from forming a complete collection, have been gathered with intelligence and with time will inspire interest in the history or art.”<sup>11</sup>

In 1861, as part of the art collection of Old Mexican masters was being hung in a renovated gallery space, José Bernardo Couto began writing what would become, *Diálogo sobre la historia de la pintura en México* (1872). Couto’s text takes the form of a conversation between three principal characters. The event takes place one morning in the final months of 1860 in the painting galleries of the Academy of San Carlos on the occasion of their reinstallation, which includes the integration of recently acquired Old School works. The narrative begins as Couto and his cousin, the poet, José Joaquín Pesado, enter the galleries and cross paths with Pelegrín Clavé. Clavé takes the opportunity to return a document to Couto that lists the names of Old School Mexican painters, including the titles and dates of some recently identified or attributed canvases. Since all three men are gathered in the gallery, Pesado suggests using the inventory as a guide with which to view the works, which were in the process of being installed. The ensuing conversation between the three men reflects the knowledge of Mexican art at that time and the academic criteria guiding all three participants’ perceptions of pre-Hispanic, viceregal, and contemporary (i.e., academic) art. Although it is unclear whether this conversation actually occurred it is highly probable that Couto visited the galleries on various occasions with Pesado, Clavé, and perhaps others, and later reviewed notes, editing sections as he constructed his narrative. The structuring potential of Couto’s personal vision was noted by Luis-Martín Lozano, who stated, “In becoming patrons of the arts, individuals such as Javier Echeverría and Bernardo Couto would now be able to project their own identity: their values and beliefs, their manner of understanding the world, and their particular vision of how to construct the Mexican nation.”<sup>12</sup> It is here that Couto’s political tendencies need to be considered since in addition to being academy president, a curator, and a patron of the arts, it was his role as writer of the first history of Mexican art that yielded the more significant legacy.

In the introductory section, the speakers set the stage for the works to be discussed. Pesado begins by stating the three primary criteria for inclusion in this collection: 1) works had to be by national masters of great renown; 2) the works were gathered in order to preserve the memory of said masters; and 3) the works were to provide models for Academy students.<sup>13</sup> Couto leads the conversation while Clavé presents a European perspective – at one point he states that Novohispanic

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 and 5.

<sup>12</sup> Luis Martín Lozano, “Renovación estética en la Academia de San Carlos: el purismo en la pintura de mediados de siglo”, *Arte de las Academias: Francia y México, Siglos XVII–XIX* (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1999), 61.

<sup>13</sup> Couto (1995), 67.

art is the Mexican branch of the Spanish school.<sup>14</sup> Although the academy had long held viceregal works in its collection, Pesado notes that the school had not maintained nor represented the Old Mexican School in its exhibitions, necessitating that this now-defined body of work be not only conserved but also expanded with new additions. Couto adds that through the creation of a painting gallery, the history of art in Mexico could be seen and not just read.

Pesado proceeds to list the criteria that, according to his conservative, academic opinion, qualified a “true” work of art; these included, “correct” drawing, chiaroscuro, perspective, and a taste for “beauty” and “grace.” To this statement, Clavé adds that the most important elements for an artist were regularity and beauty, and that “deformed” paintings were repugnant, that is, an anti-esthetic from the academic perspective, which may have also been a veiled, Nazarene-inspired critique of colonial baroque painting, in addition to its more direct reference to pre-Hispanic art. These opening statements culminate with Pesado declaring pre-Hispanic art as alien to later painting (i.e., post-conquest), which, according to him, was completely European. Anchoring “the origin of the art among us”, as he called it, to a different moment in time serves as a point of departure for the narration of the history of painting in Mexico; in doing so, he distinguishes two periods of Mexican history, the pre-contact and the colonial. Not surprisingly, it is Pesado, the first person to speak, who in his introductory comments identifies colonial painters as, *maestros nacionales*, and colonial painting as, *la antigua escuela mexicana*.<sup>15</sup> The three men walk through the gallery and discuss each artist and the paintings they encounter in chronological order. Couto concludes the conversation by stating, “Dear sirs, whoever takes on the challenge of writing the history of this art in Mexico will have no lack of material, and should find names worth remembering”, or, “nombres dignos de memoria.”<sup>16</sup>

By writing and publishing the dialogue, Couto achieved a number of things: 1) he initiated the development of a modern canon; 2) he nationalized viceregal material; 3) he reinforced the emerging tripartite historical narrative: pre-contact indigenous state, the period of European intervention, and the modern nation; and 4) he modeled for Mexican citizens how to behave in a museum and how to look at and talk about art.<sup>17</sup> Although many liberals, and perhaps other members of the elite Mexican social classes, considered the viceregal period a time of oppression of Mexican cultural and economic development at the hands of the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church, Couto configured it as an early national phase by presenting the Academy of San Carlos as a link that unified the colonial, culturally, if not politically, with the modern independent period. This permitted the presentation of a linear and coherent historical narrative, beginning with the conquest through the present, facilitating the

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>17</sup> Regarding the dialogic format, see, Jon R. Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 48-55.



reevaluation and appreciation of colonial works of art across a range of often conflicted political ideologies. If contemporary work belonged to a new school, then works produced before 1821 could be positioned as representing an old school. This relationship implied a lineage that possessed a common cultural and historical thread in spite of any perceived disruption in the transition from viceroyalty to nation.<sup>18</sup>

Art historians, Fausto Ramírez and Juana Gutiérrez Haces both noted the importance of religion, according to the conservatives, as a useful tool in the creation of Mexican national identity. Ramírez wrote, “the most important influence in Mexican artistic production of the mid-nineteenth century was the conservatives’ emphasis on religious tradition...for being, ‘the only common link that unites all Mexicans when all the rest have been torn asunder’ (as Alamán stated).”<sup>19</sup> Gutiérrez Haces noted that Couto and his academy colleagues perceived the existence of one sole Mexican school across time and socio-political states united through a shared subject matter. She wrote, “religious subject matter becomes one of the characteristics of the Mexican school...the only link between the two periods and the two schools.”<sup>20</sup> However, as previously noted, the presentation of predominantly religious material was purely circumstantial due to financial and logistical limitations, and did not represent the entire spectrum of Novohispanic-cum-colonial art production. Given the conservative belief in the necessary role of the Church in government and society, and thus of the significance of religion and religious art, this serendipitous fact did not present a problem. Rather, it visually reinforced certain aspects of conservative and Nazarene ideology, and provided evidence of a unified Mexican tradition linked across time by its supposedly coterminous religious subject matter.

When looking at the early development of art history writing in Mexico in the latter part of the nineteenth century, besides tracking references to colonial art by Mexican authors or identifying early Mexican publications on the subject, it is equally important to recognize that Mexican art during this period was drawing the attention of individuals from outside of Mexico, specifically in the United States. One such individual was Robert Henry Lamborn. (Fig. 7) Lamborn was an art collector, scientist, and railroad mogul born on October 29, 1835 in Chester County, Pennsylvania.<sup>21</sup> With a liberal arts education under his belt and interested in civil engineering, he pursued his graduate education in mining and metallurgy in Europe. After completing his doctoral degree at the University

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<sup>18</sup> See Juana Gutiérrez Haces, “Algunas consideraciones sobre el término ‘estilo’ en la historiografía del arte virreinal mexicano”, *El arte en México: Autores, temas, problemas*, ed. Rita Eder (Mexico City: CONACULTA/Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 90–193; and Ray Hernández-Durán, *A Historiography of Colonial Art in Mexico, ca. 1855–1934* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, forthcoming).

<sup>19</sup> Fausto Ramírez, “Pintura e Historia en México a mediados del siglo XIX: El programa artístico de los conservadores”, *Hacia otra historia del arte en México: De la estructuración colonial a la exigencia nacional (1780-1860)*, ed. Esther Acevedo (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2001), 90.

<sup>20</sup> Couto (1995), 54.

<sup>21</sup> Carrie B. Aaron, “Biographical Notice of Robert Henry Lamborn”, *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, vol. 53, n° 2 (1901), 486.

of Giessen in Germany, he briefly studied in Paris before returning to the United States, which was in the midst of the civil war.<sup>22</sup> Shortly after arriving in the U.S., Lamborn joined the army and after the war, he began working for the Pennsylvania Railroad and was eventually promoted to General Manager of several different railways. In this capacity, he introduced various innovations to the railways located west of the Mississippi.



**Fig. 7: Photographer Unknown, *Robert Lamborn and Dalton Dorr in Lamborn's Gallery at the Pennsylvania Museum at Memorial Hall, n.d., photograph.***

Lamborn's decisions on how to best develop the railroad reflected the general attitude of Americans and their interest in investing in railway expansion. By 1865, the United States already had more miles of railroad tracks than any other country in the world, and in the following three decades, that number tripled.<sup>23</sup> Because of a strained relationship between Mexicans and the English, Mexicans were more than eager to allow Americans to extend their railroad lines south of the border starting in 1880.<sup>24</sup> This enabled railroad workers to move beyond the United States and make a profit constructing railroads in Mexico. The completion of the first Mexican railroad occurred in January 1873 when Mexican president, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada took a celebratory trip from Mexico City to Veracruz.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> For more on the Civil War and the Battle of Antietam, please see, William Frassanito, *Antietam: The Photographic Legacy of America's Bloodiest Day* (New York: Scribner, 1978); Kerry Graves, *The Civil War* (Mankato, MN: Capstone Books, 2001); and Brooks D. Simpson, Stephen W. Sears, *et. al.*, eds., *The Civil War* (New York: The Library of America, 2011-2014).

<sup>23</sup> William Chafe, *The Rise and Fall of the American Century: The United States from 1890s-2009* (New York/London: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>25</sup> David Plecher, "The Building of the Mexican Railway", *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 30, n° 1 (1950), 26.

With the completion of the Mexican railway extension, both U.S. and Mexican travelers were spared what had been arduous, if not dangerous traveling conditions. One visitor to Mexico, William P. Robertson, had remarked on the deplorable condition of the roads, providing an idea of the challenges of travel before the railway construction; he wrote, “The road from Jalapa to Puebla in some parts, was terrific, for though paved, the large blocks of stone were everywhere loosened, and lying about; while great holes and ruts sent us jumping, every now and then, towards the roof of the coach.”<sup>26</sup> This development brought people like Lamborn to Mexico, where they not only toured the country’s cities and towns but photographed colonial churches and other notable historical sites.



Fig. 8: Photographer Unknown, *Porfirio Díaz*, ca. 1904, photograph.

While in Mexico, Lamborn purchased 72 paintings, which he researched and wrote about. He published the work he did on his acquisitions, along with a general history of Mexican art in 1892 under the title, *Mexican Painting and Painters: A Brief Sketch of the Development of the Spanish School of Painting in Mexico*, a book of which five hundred copies were released.<sup>27</sup> When Lamborn began writing his book on colonial art, Mexico was governed by Porfirio Díaz, a military figure during the War of 1846 who rose to power on November 24, 1876 when he entered the capital and declared himself the president of

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> See, Aaron (1901), 489; also, Robert H. Lamborn, *Mexican Painting and Painters: A Brief Sketch of the Development of the Spanish School of Painting in Mexico* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott: 1891).

Mexico.<sup>28</sup> (Fig. 8) During the so-called Porfiriato, the country's foreign investments increased thirty times, and money for railroad construction received 30% more than any other area of spending.<sup>29</sup> Lamborn's art collecting and writing can be seen as an index of how the railroad not only facilitated but also motivated U.S. Americans to travel south and familiarize themselves with Mexican culture, to learn about Mexico's history, and to cultivate an appreciation for its art. While the exact reasons for Lamborn's decision to write this book remain a mystery, it seems probable that he published the book to generate interest among members of his social and professional circles in the U.S. in the hope of increasing tourism and attracting investors south of the border. Because Lamborn was a railroad mogul and not an art scholar, like most men who were collecting and writing about Mexican art at that time, his research and writing on the subject must be seen, in large part, as an outgrowth of his business interests.

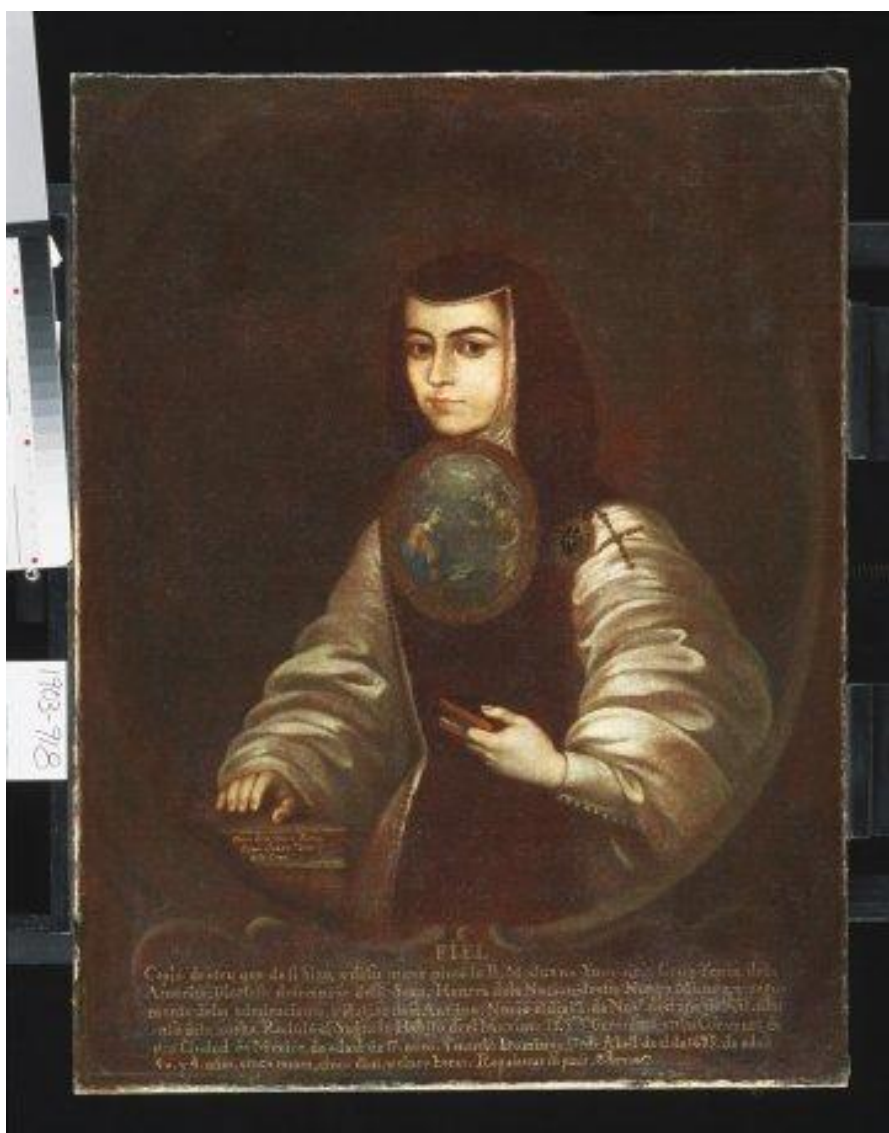


Fig. 9: Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, 18<sup>th</sup> century, oil on canvas.

<sup>28</sup> Charles Johnston, "Porfirio Diaz", *The North American Review*, vol. 176, n° 554 (1903), 115 and 121.

<sup>29</sup> Teresa van Hoy, "La Marcha Violenta? Railroads and Land in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Mexico", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 19, n° 1 (2000), 35.

In his book, Lamborn seeks to educate the American public by discussing an era of Mexican art history, which he felt had been neglected. Although his painting collection is the main focus of the book, he provides a brief index of the Mexican colonial painters with which he was familiar. He begins his book by introducing and discussing two colonial paintings in his collection. The first painting, attributed to Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas (Mexico, 1722-1787), is a portrait of the renowned, late seventeenth-century, Novohispanic nun, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, dated 18<sup>th</sup> century, who Lamborn describes as an academic and an artist.<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 9) The second painting, by Juan Rodríguez Juárez (Mexico, 1675–1728) is a religious image of the Peruvian nun, Santa Rosa de Lima, ca. 1710, the first American saint.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 10) Lamborn's reasons for opening with these colonial images are not entirely clear although it is possible he wanted to highlight the cultural achievements of the viceregal period while featuring two of the strongest works in his collection. Interestingly, he does not cite any of the Mexican publications on the topic, with the exception of a brief mention of José Bernardo Couto.

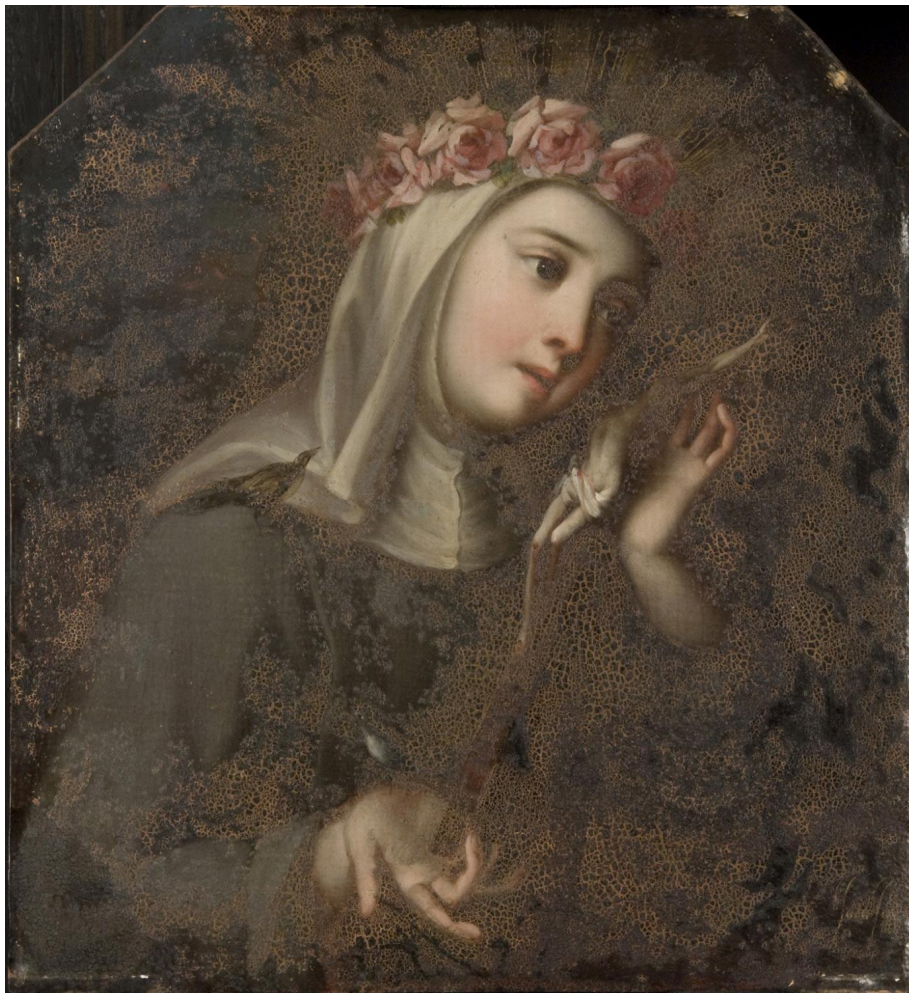


Fig. 10: Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *Santa Rosa de Lima*, ca. 1710, oil on canvas.

<sup>30</sup> Philadelphia Museum of Art: Collections Database at: [www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/39031.html](http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/39031.html); The Dr. Robert H. Lamborn Collection, 1903; consulted on August 11, 2017.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, [www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/39015.html?mulR=17734425403](http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/39015.html?mulR=17734425403); The Dr. Robert H. Lamborn Collection, 1903; consulted on August 11, 2017.

In the first chapter, Lamborn laments how tragic it is that Mexican colonial art has been neglected while scholars have exclusively focused on European art; he adds that while there are numerous encyclopedic surveys covering European painting, there is no equivalent scholarship for Mexico. He then discusses the great civilizations of Egypt and Rome, up to the Italians and the Dutch, pointing out the economic and cultural elements necessary for civilization to bloom; notably, he includes the United States in this section, focusing on its coal production, steam, and electricity, references that indirectly allude to the railroad industry, as factors evincing the U.S.'s high level of civilization and prosperity.

It is important to note that as an American who had traveled extensively, his perspective is more global than that of coeval Mexican art historical publications; he not only focuses on Mexico and colonial art but attempts to bring that material into conversation with the larger span of European art history. For example, according to him, the Council of Trent laid forth the type of religious paintings that were to be used in churches, art forms that the Spanish brought to the Americas and shaped the resulting artwork in New Spain. He claims that churches in New Spain were decorated with artwork by Spanish Old Masters, such as Diego Velázquez and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, and he seems to quote Lucio's observation that during the independence period, many of these works of art were sold for money, concluding, that, as a result, the majority of the artwork in Mexican churches was produced by native artists. Lamborn explains that when religious orders came to the Americas in 1521, they requested religious paintings in large numbers to be used during their masses and baptisms.<sup>32</sup> He adds that the desire for religious paintings was so large that the religious orders had to train native artists in order to keep up with the demand.<sup>33</sup> Significantly, and contrary to the Mexicans, Lamborn characterizes this era of Mexican art as a branch of the great Spanish school of art. As a U.S. American, he is not invested in Mexican nationalism or motivated to reify a Mexican national identity; rather, his perspective and interests lay elsewhere. It is no coincidence that, given U.S. ventures in Mexico and the Mexican government's interest in attracting foreign investment, in the years following Lamborn's publication, tourism to Mexico grew and U.S. investments in Mexican railroads would increase to \$644,300,000 by 1911.<sup>34</sup>

Reviewing art historical writing about colonial Mexican painting from the mid to late nineteenth century reveals the gradual consolidation of national identity and the incorporation of Mexican art into larger discussions of Mexican history and culture. In Mexico, the Academy of San Carlos takes center stage as the secular, educational locus where the first colonial painting collection was gathered and displayed to the public, and also, where the first art historical text on the subject was

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<sup>32</sup> Lamborn (1891), 32.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>34</sup> John Skirius, "Railroad, Oil, and Other Foreign Interests in the Mexican Revolution, 1911–1914", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 35, n° 1 (2003), 25.

conceived and produced. José Bernardo Couto's dialogue on the history of painting in Mexico was not only shaped by an interest in defining a distinct Mexican culture and esthetics, but also by a conservative political agenda with its emphasis on Catholicism as a unifying framework, both, historically and culturally. Comparing the work of someone like Robert H. Lamborn to Couto's underlines the degree to which politicized nationalistic tendencies were shaping the narratives that were being written in Mexico City, and how that vision differed in relation to foreign perspectives of the same.





# “Nombres dignos de memoria”: Redactando la historia del arte mexicano en el siglo diecinueve

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**RESUMEN** La revisión de las publicaciones más tempranas sobre el arte colonial en México desde mediados del siglo diecinueve hasta sus últimos años revela los roles del nacionalismo y de la política partidaria en la documentación y interpretación de obras de arte coloniales. En los años 1840s y 1850s, numerosos artículos fueron publicados que describen varios conventos e iglesias virreinales. A mediados del siglo, la Academia de San Carlos llegó a dirigir el proceso de definir una historia del arte mexicano y reinterpretar obras de arte coloniales como obras de artistas nacionales. José Bernardo Couto, presidente de San Carlos comenzó a reunir la colección de pintura de la Antigua Escuela Mexicana y después a escribir la primera historia sustancial de la pintura en México. Trazando el desarrollo inicial de la historia del arte en México durante el siglo diecinueve, es importante reconocer que el arte mexicano de la época igual estaba llamando la atención de individuos fuera de México, específicamente en los Estados Unidos. Un tal individuo fue Robert Henry Lamborn, un empresario y coleccionista de arte cuyo trabajo debe ser visto, no exclusivamente pero en gran parte, como una extensión de sus intereses comerciales. Un análisis comparativo entre el trabajo de alguien como Robert H. Lamborn con el de Couto subraya la manera en que tendencias políticas nacionalistas llegaron a formar las narraciones que se estaban escribiendo en la Ciudad de México, y como esa visión fue distinta a las perspectivas extranjeras del mismo momento.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE** Academia de San Carlos, arte colonial, conservador, diálogo, liberal, México, Nazareno, Nueva España, siglo diecinueve, Antigua Escuela Mexicana, pintura, Porfiriato, ferrocarril, Estados Unidos.

“No llevo mas objeto, que consignar los pocos datos que he recogido para que no se pierdan, y escitar á algunos artistas y aficionados mas capaces que yo, á que fijen su atencion sobre esta materia...”<sup>1</sup>

A mediados del siglo diecinueve en México, entre las primeras publicaciones mexicanas sobre el arte colonial se encuentran reseñas en periódicos conservadores y liberales moderados que describen sitios históricos arquitectónicos importantes. En un artículo publicado en 1856 en *La Cruz*, un periódico

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<sup>1</sup> Rafael Lucio, *Reseña histórica de la pintura mexicana en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: Oficina Tip. de la Secretaria de Fomento, 1889), 3.

políticamente conservador, se explican las razones del interés conservador en documentar la herencia cultural de México. El pasaje relevante dice lo siguiente:

Por un fenómeno singular, a la vez que en nuestro país, a consecuencia de sus continuas revoluciones, sufren atraso considerable los ramos todos de la riqueza pública, nótase que de día en día se desarrolla el gusto por las bellas artes, y bien pudiéramos decir que respecto de ellas casi nos vemos al nivel de los pueblos mas civilizados, al mismo tiempo que nuestras aberraciones políticas, resultado forzoso de la inesperienza en materias de gobierno, llaman la atencion y ocasionan el escándalo.<sup>2</sup>

En las décadas de 1840 y 1850, se publicaron numerosos artículos que describen varios conventos e iglesias virreinales con datos históricos y culturales; la mayor parte de esas reseñas incluyen ilustraciones litográficas de los sitios nombrados. Un artículo publicado en 1856 sobre la instalación Jesuita, la iglesia de San Felipe Neri, conocida popularmente como *El Templo de la Profesa*, comienza por dar el contexto histórico del edificio:

Su fundación data del año de 1592, y fué obra de los padres Jesuitas, quienes para llevarla a cabo obtuvieron algunas donaciones piadosas; siéndonos desconocida la época fija de su reconstrucción, que hicieron los mismos padres. Espulsados estos en 1767, establecióse en aquel edificio el Colegio de San Ildefonso, hasta que los padres del Oratorio de San Felipe Neri lo compraron, tomando posesion de él en 25 de marzo de 1771.<sup>3</sup>

El texto centra la discusión en las formas arquitectónicas y describe ciertos elementos del espacio interior, como el retablo mayor; en éste caso, es importante notar cómo el autor dirige al lector a la ilustración que acompaña la reseña. El pasaje relevante comenta lo siguiente:

El templo, cuya vista interior acompaña á este artículo, está situado de poniente á oriente y consta de tres naves, sostenidas por ocho columnas, siendo la nave de en medio mas ancha y alta que las laterales. Nótase en su parte arquitectónica el mismo estilo que ha presidido á la construcción de los primeros templos en México, y que tiene mucho del gótico, particularmente en las columnas. El altar mayor, que parece mucho mas moderno, consta de dos cuerpos, dominando en el primero el orden jónico, y en el segundo el orden compuesto.<sup>4</sup>

Aunque hay un intento de contextualizar históricamente los sitios elegidos con la presentación de fechas, no existe indicación alguna de la identificación del periodo general con los términos ‘colonial’ o ‘virreinal’. Sí hay, sin embargo, indicaciones de las percepciones de esas construcciones, arquitectura y

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<sup>2</sup> Véase, “Bellas Artes: Una visita á la Academia Nacional de San Carlos”, *La Cruz*, vol. 1, n° 11 (10 enero, 1856), 351.

<sup>3</sup> Véase, “El Templo de la Profesa”, *La Cruz*, vol. 1, n° 18 (28 febrero, 1856), 574.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

pintura, como obras de maestros nacionales, evidencia de una identidad nacional en formación y una conciencia histórica en pleno desarrollo.<sup>5</sup>

En los años 1843-45, cuando la apertura de la Academia de San Carlos se planeaba, se inició en Europa un concurso con el motivo de identificar un nuevo profesor de pintura. Entre la lista de candidatos, que incluía un italiano, un alemán y un francés, el español, Pelegrín Clavé (1811-1880) se destacó. (Fig. 1) Historiadores de arte mexicanos, entre ellos, Esther Acevedo, han sugerido que es innegable que el oficial mexicano, José Montoya, cuya meta era identificar un nuevo profesor de pintura, empleó a Clavé debido a su afiliación católica y su identificación con los nazarenos.<sup>6</sup> Se le ofreció el puesto a Clavé y, en 1846, llegó a la Ciudad de México a iniciar sus clases.



**Fig. 1: Pelegrín Clavé, *Auto retrato*, 1835, óleo sobre lienzo.**

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 577. Véase, Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia de la dominación española en México*, 3 Vol., Intro. Genaro Estrada (México: Antigua Librería Robredo de J. Porrúa e hijos, 1938) [primera edición, 1849]; véase también, Justino Fernández, *Estética del Arte Mexicano: Coatlicue/El Retablo de los Reyes/El Hombre*, segunda edición (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1972), 173-372.

<sup>6</sup> Esther Acevedo, Rosa Casanova, *et. al.*, “Modos de decir: la pintura y los conservadores”, *Estudios Históricos* (México: INAH, 1984), 78-79.

A principios del siglo diecinueve, los nazarenos fueron miembros de un grupo de pintores mayormente austriacos y alemanes quienes trabajaban en Roma y emulaban lo que ellos consideraban el arte inspiracional y espiritual de los periodos medieval y renacentista; concentrados en temas bíblicos, ellos tomaron una postura crítica ante lo que ellos percibían ser la virtuosidad superficial de la pintura europea de ese entonces. (Fig. 2) Figuras contemporáneas, como Burckhardt y Goethe, criticaban a los nazarenos y alrededor de 1840, el estilo de la pintura nazarena perdió favor; sin embargo, en México, el movimiento nazareno encontró nueva vida, gracias en gran parte a la ideología conservadora que dominaba el pensamiento en la academia y el trabajo que promovía Clavé en su rol de profesor de pintura en San Carlos.



**Fig. 2: Johann Friedrich Overbeck, *Mañana de Pascua*, 1818, óleo sobre lienzo.**

Desde los 1840 a 1860, los conservadores no solo dirigían la Academia de San Carlos y otras instituciones culturales, sino también comenzaron a extender su autoridad a otras esferas capitalinas. Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794-1876), quien gobernó en México en varias ocasiones desde los 1830 a los 1850, contribuyó a la revitalización de la academia y creó la que sería la primera galería de

pintura colonial mexicana en San Carlos, una colección de obras mayormente religiosas. (Fig. 3) En abril de 1849, el mismo año que la academia inauguró el concurso anual de arte y exposición pública, el ministro de justicia y asuntos eclesiásticos circuló una carta entre los prelados regulares de la República (miembros oficiales del clero en la capital) comunicando el interés del presidente López de Santa Anna:

El señor Presidente tiene el mayor empeño en establecer en la Academia un conservatorio de las mejores pinturas, originales y copias de clásicos, que en su mayor parte se encuentran en los conventos de los religiosos, en donde la incuria y la incapacidad han dejado que se deterioren. En consecuencia, se exhorta a los prelados a que la circulen entre los conventos de su obediencia, para que cedan algunas pinturas para el conservatorio.<sup>7</sup>

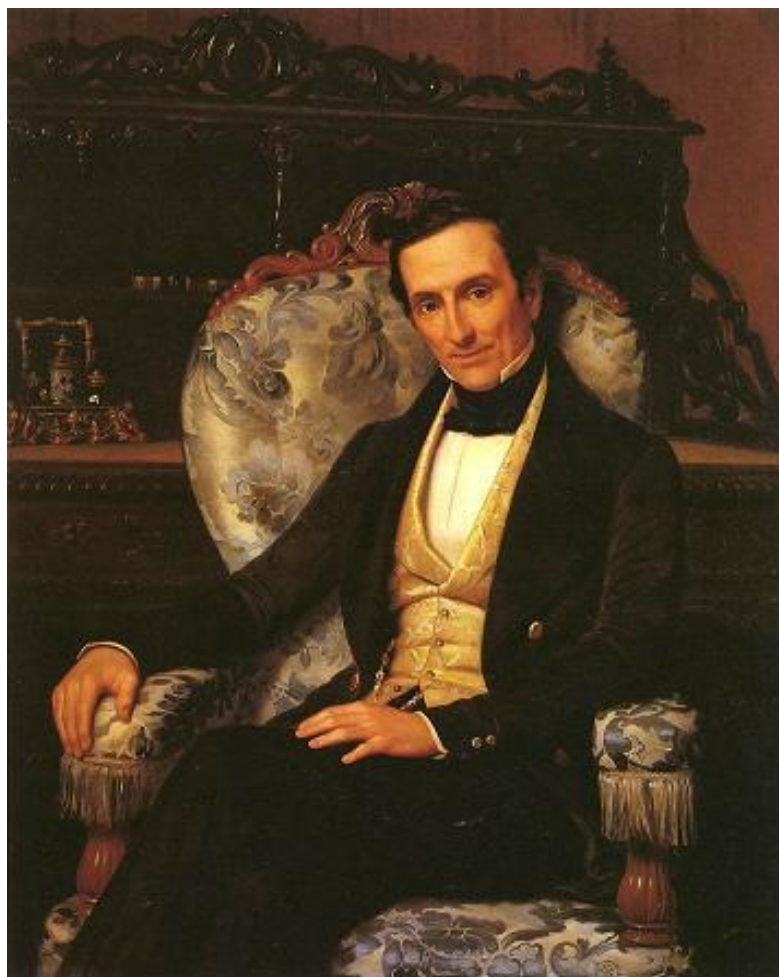


**Fig. 3: Carlos Paris, *Antonio López de Santa Anna*, siglo 19, óleo sobre lienzo.**

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<sup>7</sup> Véase, documentos numeros 5630 y 5631, Archivo de la Antigua Academia de San Carlos, Biblioteca Lino Picaseño, Facultad de Arquitectura, UNAM, México; Eloísa Uribe, “1843-1860”, *Y todo ... por una nación: Historia social de laproducción plástica de la Ciudad de México. 1781-1910*, segunda edición, ed. Eloísa Uribe (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1987), 67-111; Widdifield (1996); y Eduardo Báez Macías, *Historia de la Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes: Antigua Academia de San Carlos, 1781-1910* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas, 2009).

Aunque varios oficiales recibieron la solicitud, no causó resultados evidentes, tal vez debido a la apresurada retirada de Santa Anna de la Ciudad de México ese mismo año.



**Fig. 4: Pelegrín Clavé, *José Bernardo Couto*, 1849, oil on canvas.**

En 1855, poco después del último retorno de López de Santa Anna a la Ciudad de México, otra carta fue enviada al ministro de relaciones expresando el interés del presidente, de nuevo, en la formación de una galería de arte nacional; esta vez, la solicitud fue dirigida a José Bernardo Couto, abogado distinguido y presidente de la Academia de San Carlos. (Fig. 4) Respondiendo a la solicitud oficial, Couto comenzó a contactar iglesias y órdenes religiosas de la Ciudad de México y de sus alrededores en la primavera del 1855 averiguando sobre cuadros coloniales específicos. Desde 1856 a 1863, además de la adquisición de obras donadas o compradas, el gobierno reconoció el cuerpo de pinturas virreinales guardadas en ciertos conventos, como el de La Encarnación; de tales acervos artísticos Couto seleccionó ejemplos de la Antigua Escuela Mexicana. Dichas obras fueron expuestas en las galerías de la academia donde no solo sirvieron de modelos didácticos para los alumnos académicos sino, idealmente, de motivo de orgullo nacional para los ciudadanos mexicanos. La versión preliminar

de la susodicha galería de la Antigua Escuela Mexicana de Pintura se instaló en 1855-57, seguida por una expansión unos años después en 1860-61. (Fig. 5)



**Fig. 5: Manuel Benabad, detalle de la galería de la Antigua Escuela Mexicana de Pintura, Academia de San Carlos, ca. 1898, impresión de albúmina.**

Aunque el presidente de la academia, José Bernardo Couto, ha sido identificado como el autor de la primera historia del arte colonial, había otro proyecto con el motivo de reunir datos sobre la pintura colonial en desarrollo justo cuando Couto reinstalaba las galerías de pintura colonial en la academia y comenzó a redactar su texto, ca. 1860-61.<sup>8</sup> La publicación en cuestión fue el artículo del Dr. Rafael Lucio Nájera, que se publicó inicialmente en 1863 en forma de una serie de notas en un panfleto y después, en 1864, en una versión más desarrollada.<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 6) Coleccionista de cuadros virreinales, Lucio viajó por el centro de México examinando obras de arte ubicadas en varias iglesias. Lucio recopiló una lista de pintores limitada a aquellos que firmaran en los cuadros que él encontró y estudió.

<sup>8</sup> José Bernardo Couto, *Diálogo sobre la historia de la pintura en México*, Intro. Juana Gutiérrez Haces (México: Cien de México, 1995) [primera edición, 1872].

<sup>9</sup> Las notas de Rafael Lucio fueron publicadas por primera vez en, *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana Geográfica y Estadística* (México, 1863), y después en, *Reseña Histórica de la Pintura Mexicana en los Siglos XVII y XVIII* (México, 1864). Se debe notar que la publicación post-1821 más temprana sobre el arte colonial en Mexico no fue escrita por un mexicano sino por el viajero italiano, J.C. Beltrami, quien publicó su diario sobre su jornada por el país bajo el título *Le Mexique* (Paris, 1830).

Basó su texto en su propia colección y, posiblemente, en las colecciones de sus conocidos, e incluyó el arte que vio en su trayectoria por las iglesias de la Ciudad de México y sus alrededores.



**Fig. 6:** Cruces y Campa, *Dr. Rafael Lucio*, sin fecha, fotografía.

El relato de Lucio carece de un contexto histórico o narrativo; el cuerpo de su trabajo en su mayoría consiste de un inventario de nombres y títulos de obras, con varias reflexiones personales. Sus comentarios revelan limitaciones en su conocimiento de la historia, al igual que sus prejuicios. Algunas de las afirmaciones más notables de Lucio son: 1) el arte llegó de España completamente formado; 2) no existe distinción regional entre la pintura de la Ciudad de México y la de Puebla; y 3) el primer cuadro firmado es de 1603, un trabajo supuestamente del pintor, Baltasar de Echave, el cual Lucio identifica como el primer pintor conocido en la Nueva España (esta lista carece de obras del siglo dieciseis). En cuanto el pintor del siglo diecisiete tardío, Cristóbal de Villalpando, Lucio acerta que, aunque tenía mucha invención, igual exhibía mal gusto, mal dibujo y mal colorido.<sup>10</sup> Lucio añade que las revoluciones mexicanas contribuyeron a la pérdida de arte colonial dado que muchos cuadros fueron destruidos cuando los retablos fueron desarmados o escondidos por los religiosos y políticos, quien se quedaron con dichas obras o las exportaron al extranjero. Lucio afirma que pinturas mexicanas de alta

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<sup>10</sup> Lucio (1864), 8.



calidad habían sido malatribuidas a pintores europeos y exportadas para la venta al extranjero. En su publicación de 1864, Lucio aclara que Couto le había comentado sobre dos cuadros sin firma del siglo dieciseis que él había visto. Conciente de la colección que Couto estaba en proceso de reunir en la academia, Lucio escribe, “debe decirse en elogio del director el Sr. Bernardo Couto, que adquirió algunas obras mexicanas para la Academia, que aunque están lejos de formar una colección completa, han sido muchas escogidas con inteligencia, y con el tiempo tendrán grande interés para la historia del arte”.<sup>11</sup>

En 1861, justo cuando parte de la colección de obras de maestros mexicanos antiguos se instalaba en el espacio remodelado de la galería, José Bernardo Couto comenzó a redactar lo que resultaría ser *Diálogo sobre la historia de la pintura en México* (1872). El texto de Couto toma la forma de una conversación entre tres figuras principales. El evento ocurre un día por la mañana en los últimos meses de 1860 en las galerías de pintura de la Academia de San Carlos en la ocasión de su reinstalación, la cual incluía obras de la antigua escuela recién adquiridas. La narración se inicia cuando Couto y su primo, el poeta José Joaquín Pesado, entran a las galerías y encuentran a Pelegrín Clavé, quien toma la oportunidad de devolverle un documento a Couto que contiene los nombres de pintores de la antigua escuela, con títulos y fechas de los cuadros recién identificados y atribuidos. Dado que los tres están presentes en la galería, Pesado sugiere usar esta lista de pintores como guía a la instalación, debido a la presencia de pinturas en la galería por pintores identificados en el documento. La conversación que sigue consta de una serie de comentarios, preguntas y respuestas reflejando el conocimiento sobre el arte mexicano en ese momento y el criterio académico compartido por los tres participantes en cuanto sus percepciones del arte prehispánico, virreinal y contemporáneo (i.e. académico). Aunque no se tiene certeza sobre la veracidad de dicha conversación, es probable que Couto visitó las galerías en varias ocasiones con Pesado, Clavé y tal vez otras personas, y después, revisó sus apuntes, editando secciones mientras redactaba el texto. El potencial estructural que tuvo la visión de Couto fue notado por Luis-Martín Lozano, quien escribió, “Al convertirse en patronos de las artes, individuos como Javier Echeverría y Bernardo Couto adquirirían la posibilidad de proyectar su propia identidad: sus valores y creencias, su manera de entender el mundo y su particular visión de cómo construir a la nación mexicana”.<sup>12</sup> Aquí es donde las tendencias políticas de Couto se deben de tomar en cuenta dado que además de ser presidente de la academia, curador y patrono de las artes, su rol como autor de la primera historia de arte mexicana fue su mayor legado.

En la sección introductoria, los participantes definen el marco en que las obras serán analizadas. Pesado inicia la conversación aclarando los tres criterios que determinan la inclusión de obras en la colección: 1) las obras tienen que ser de los maestros nacionales de más renombre; 2) las obras se reunirán para preservar la memoria de dichos maestros; y 3) las obras servirán de modelos

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 and 5.

<sup>12</sup> Luis Martín Lozano, “Renovación estética en la Academia de San Carlos: el purismo en la pintura de mediados de siglo”, *Arte de las Academias: Francia y México, Siglos XVII-XIX* (México: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1999), 61.

didácticos para los alumnos de la academia.<sup>13</sup> Couto dirige la conversación mientras Clavé representa la perspectiva europea— Clavé llega a afirmar que el arte novohispano es una rama mexicana de la escuela española.<sup>14</sup> Aunque la academia había albergado obras virreinales en su colección por mucho tiempo, Pesado apunta que la institución no había mantenido o representado a la escuela antigua mexicana en sus exposiciones, requiriendo que este cuerpo de obras se conserve y se expanda con nuevas adiciones. Couto añade que la creación de una galería de pintura permitiría que la historia del arte en México pudiera verse y no solo leerse.

Pesado presenta el criterio que, según su opinión académica conservadora, califica a una verdadera obra de arte; éste incluye el dibujo “correcto”, claroscuro, perspectiva y el gusto por la belleza y la gracia. A esta declaración, Clavé añade que los elementos más importantes para el artista eran la regularidad y la belleza y que las pinturas deformes eran repugnantes, es decir, una anti-estética en cuanto la perspectiva académica. Su comentario pudo haber sido una crítica oculta e inspirada por ideas nazarenas, dirigida a la pintura barroca colonial, igual que al arte prehispánico. Sus comentarios preliminares culminan con la declaración de Pesado que el arte prehispánico era extraño a la pintura que le seguía (i.e. pos-conquista), la cual, según él, era completamente europea. Consecuentemente, él caracterizó a la pintura colonial como un fenómeno sin relación alguna a lo que había sido la tradición dominante en el México pre-colonial. Anclando “el origen del arte entre nosotros”, como él le llamaba, a un momento histórico distinto le sirvió como punto de partida para iniciar la narración de la historia de la pintura en México; por este proceso, llegó a distinguir dos periodos de la historia mexicana, el de la era prehispánica y el de la época colonial. No sería sorprendentemente que Pesado fuera el primero en hablar, quien en sus comentarios introductorios identificara a los pintores coloniales como maestros nacionales y a la pintura colonial, como la antigua escuela mexicana.<sup>15</sup> Los tres hombres pasan por la galería y comentan sobre los pintores y los cuadros que encuentran en un orden cronológico. Couto concluye la conversación con lo siguiente: “Señores, a quien se proponga escribir la historia de este arte en México, no le faltará materia, y ha de encontrar nombres dignos de memoria.”<sup>16</sup>

Por el hecho de escribir y publicar el diálogo, Couto logró ciertas metas: 1) inició el desarrollo de un canon moderno; 2) nacionalizó las obras virreinales; 3) reforzó la narración histórica tripartita que estaba en pleno desarrollo: el estado indígena del periodo pre-contacto, la intervención europea y la nación moderna; y 4) propuso un modelo a los ciudadanos mexicanos sobre cómo comportarse en un museo y cómo ver y analizar obras de arte.<sup>17</sup> Aunque muchos liberales, y tal vez otros miembros de las clases élites mexicanas, consideraban al periodo virreinal como una era durante la cual el desarrollo

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<sup>13</sup> Couto (1995), 67.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>17</sup> En cuanto el formato dialógico, véase, Jon R. Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 48-55.

mexicano fue arrestado debido a las acciones de la corona española y la iglesia católica, Couto redefinió este periodo como una etapa nacionalista temprana y a la Academia de San Carlos como un vínculo que unía la época colonial, culturalmente si no políticamente, con el periodo moderno independiente. Ello permitió la presentación de una narración histórica coherente y lineal, comenzando con la conquista hasta el presente, y facilitó la reevaluación y valorización de obras de arte coloniales a través de una gama de ideologías políticas contradictorias. Si el arte contemporáneo pertenecía a una nueva escuela, entonces las obras producidas antes de 1821 podrían ser representativas de una escuela antigua. Tal relación insinuaba un linaje que poseía un hilo cultural e histórico a despecho del trastorno ocasionado por la transición en México de estado virreinal a nación independiente.<sup>18</sup>

Fausto Ramírez y Juana Gutiérrez Haces, historiadores de arte, notaron la importancia de la religión, según los conservadores, como herramienta para la creación de la identidad nacional mexicana. Ramírez afirma, “lo que mayor influencia ejerció sobre la producción artística mexicana de mediados del siglo XIX fue el énfasis de los conservadores en cuanto al respeto a la tradición religiosa... por ser ‘el único lazo común que liga a todos los mexicanos, cuando todos los demás han sido rotos’ (como lo expresó Alamán).”<sup>19</sup> Gutiérrez Haces apuntó que Couto y sus colegas percibían una sola escuela mexicana tras el tiempo y los estados socio-políticos; una escuela unida por temas religiosos compartidos. Ella comentó: “la temática de carácter religioso llega a convertirse en una de las características de la escuela mexicana... el único lazo de unión entre las dos épocas y las dos escuelas.”<sup>20</sup> Sin embargo, como fue observado previamente, la presentación de un cuerpo de obras principalmente religiosas fue completamente circunstancial debido a los límites económicos y logísticos de la época y no representaba la gama completa de la producción artística novohispana-cum-colonial. Dada la creencia conservadora en el papel que jugaba la iglesia en cuestiones de gobierno y sociedad y, consecuentemente, en la importancia de la religión y el arte religioso, la colección de obras sagradas no presentó ningún problema. Al contrario, ello reforzó visualmente ciertos aspectos de la ideología conservadora y nazarena y presentó evidencia de una tradición coherente mexicana vinculada a través del tiempo por sus temas sagrados compartidos.

Al estudiar el desarrollo temprano de la historia del arte en México en el siglo diecinueve, además de notar referencias al arte colonial por autores mexicanos, o identificar publicaciones mexicanas sobre el tema, es igualmente importante reconocer que el arte mexicano de este periodo

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<sup>18</sup> Véase, Juana Gutiérrez Haces, “Algunas consideraciones sobre el término ‘estilo’ en la historiografía del arte virreinal mexicano”, *El arte en México: Autores, temas, problemas*, ed. Rita Eder (Mexico City: CONACULTA/Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 90-193; y Ray Hernández-Durán, *A Historiography of Colonial Art in Mexico, ca. 1855-1934* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, próximamente).

<sup>19</sup> Fausto Ramírez, “Pintura e Historia en México a mediados del siglo XIX: El programa artístico de los conservadores”, *Hacia otra historia del arte en México: De la estructuración colonial a la exigencia nacional (1780-1860)*, ed. Esther Acevedo (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2001), 90.

<sup>20</sup> Couto (1995), 54.

estaba llamando la atención de individuos fuera de México, específicamente en los Estados Unidos. Un tal individuo fue Robert Henry Lamborn. (Fig. 7) Lamborn fue coleccionista de arte, científico e industrial del ferrocarril, nacido en el 29 de octubre de 1835 en el condado de Chester, Pennsylvania.<sup>21</sup> Después de terminar sus estudios en artes liberales y dado su interés en ingeniería civil, continuó sus estudios de posgrado en minería y metalurgia en Europa. Habiendo terminado su doctorado en la Universidad de Geissen en Alemania, estudió brevemente en París antes de regresar a los Estados Unidos, el cual estaba en plena guerra civil.<sup>22</sup> Poco después de su arribo a los Estados Unidos, Lamborn se unió al ejército y, cuando la guerra terminó, comenzó a trabajar en el ferrocarril de Pennsylvania, donde llegó a ser gerente de varios ferrocarriles. En esta capacidad, Lamborn introdujo varias innovaciones a los ferrocarriles en las regiones estadounidenses al oeste del río Mississippi.



**Fig. 7: fotografía desconocida, Robert Lamborn y Dalton Dorr en la Galería Lamborn en el Museo de Pennsylvania en el Memorial Hall, sin fecha, fotografía.**

Las decisiones de Lamborn en cuanto a cómo mejorar el ferrocarril reflejan las posturas estadounidenses y sus intenciones de invertir en su expansión. En 1865, Estados Unidos tenía más millas de vías ferrocarrileras que cualquier otro país; en las tres décadas que siguieron, ese número se

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<sup>21</sup> Carrie B. Aaron, “Biographical Notice of Robert Henry Lamborn”, *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, vol. 53, n° 2 (1901), 486.

<sup>22</sup> Sobre la guerra civil y la batalla de Antietam, véase, William Frassanito, *Antietam: The Photographic Legacy of America’s Bloodiest Day* (New York: Scribner, 1978); Kerry Graves, *The Civil War* (Mankato, MN: Capstone Books, 2001); y Brooks D. Simpson, Stephen W. Sears, *et. al.*, eds., *The Civil War* (New York: The Library of America, 2011–2014).

multiplicó.<sup>23</sup> Dadas las relaciones tensas entre los mexicanos y los ingleses en 1880, los mexicanos estaban dispuestos a permitir que los estadounidenses construyeran sus vías de tren al sur de la frontera.<sup>24</sup> Esto permitió que trabajadores del ferrocarril salieran de los Estados Unidos a ganar dinero construyendo vías de tren en México. La primera vía de tren en México se terminó en enero de 1873 cuando el presidente mexicano, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, tomó un viaje desde la Ciudad de México a Veracruz.<sup>25</sup> Ya hecha la vía de tren mexicana, viajeros estadounidenses y mexicanos evitarían las previas peligrosas y difíciles condiciones de viaje. Un turista en México, William P. Robertson, comentó sobre las condiciones deplorables de los caminos, proporcionando una idea sobre los retos de viajar por el país antes de la construcción de la vía de tren. Robertson escribió: “El camino de Jalapa a Puebla fue terrible en partes, porque, aunque pavimentado, había grandes bloques de piedra sueltos por todas partes y tirados alrededor; mientras enormes huecos nos hacían saltar de vez en cuando hacia el techo del coche.”<sup>26</sup> La expansión del tren atrajo a individuos, como Lamborn a México, los cuales no solo recorrían las ciudades y los pueblos del país si no fotografiaban a las iglesias coloniales y a otros sitios históricos notables.



Fig. 8: Fotógrafo desconocido, *Porfirio Díaz*, ca. 1904, fotografía.

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<sup>23</sup> William Chafe, *The Rise and Fall of the American Century: The United States from 1890s–2009* (New York/London: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>25</sup> David Plecher, “The Building of the Mexican Railway”, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 30, n° 1 (1950), 26.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

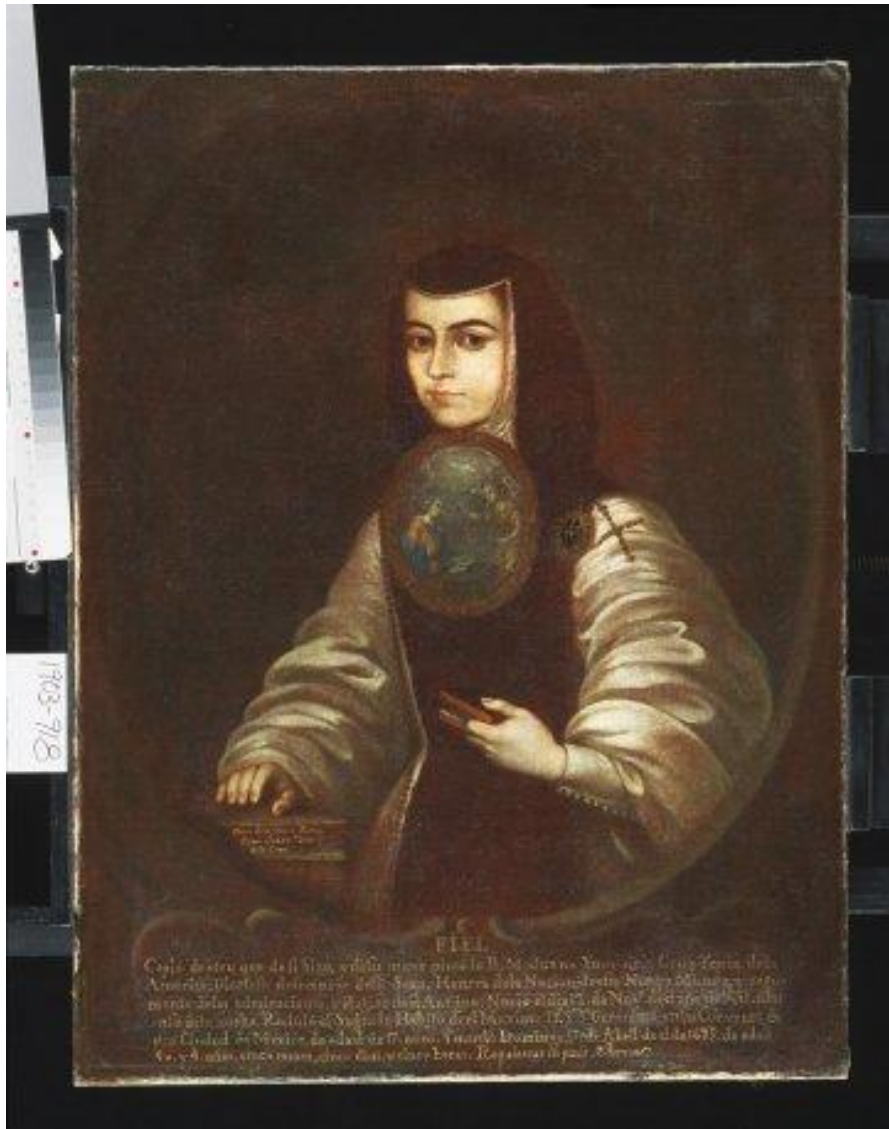


Fig. 9: Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, siglo 18, óleo sobre lienzo.

En México, Lamborn compró 72 cuadros, los cuales él investigó y sobre los cuales escribió. Publicó el trabajo sobre sus adquisiciones y la historia general del arte mexicano en 1892 bajo el título *Mexican Painting and Painters: A Brief Sketch of the Development of the Spanish School of Painting in Mexico*, con un tiraje de 500 ejemplares.<sup>27</sup> Cuando Lamborn comenzó a redactar su libro sobre el arte colonial, Porfirio Díaz gobernaba a México; Díaz fue un líder militar durante la guerra del 1846 que llegó al poder cuando entró a la capital y declaró que era el presidente de México.<sup>28</sup> (Fig. 8) Durante el periodo denominado porfiriato, las inversiones extranjeras del país aumentaron 30 veces, y el presupuesto para la construcción del ferrocarril recibió 30% más que cualquier otra área.<sup>29</sup> El proyecto de Lamborn, consecuentemente, puede ser visto como índice de la manera en que el ferrocarril facilitó y motivó a

<sup>27</sup> Véase, Aaron (1901), 489; y Robert H. Lamborn, *Mexican Painting and Painters: A Brief Sketch of the Development of the Spanish School of Painting in Mexico* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott: 1891).

<sup>28</sup> Charles Johnston, "Porfirio Diaz", *The North American Review*, vol. 176, n° 554 (1903), 115 and 121.

<sup>29</sup> Teresa van Hoy, "La Marcha Violenta? Railroads and Land in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Mexico", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 19, n° 1 (2000), 35.

estadounidenses a viajar al sur y así familiarizarse con la cultura mexicana, aprender la historia de México y cultivar una apreciación de su arte. Aunque las razones exactas que motivaron la decisión de Lamborn a escribir su libro se desconocen, es probable que publicó su trabajo para generar interés entre sus círculos sociales y profesionales en los Estados Unidos con el motivo de aumentar el turismo y atraer inversionistas al sur de la frontera. Dado que Lamborn era empresario y no estudioso, como la mayoría de aquellos que coleccionaban y escribían sobre el arte mexicano, su trabajo debe ser visto, no exclusivamente pero en gran parte, como una extensión de sus intereses comerciales.

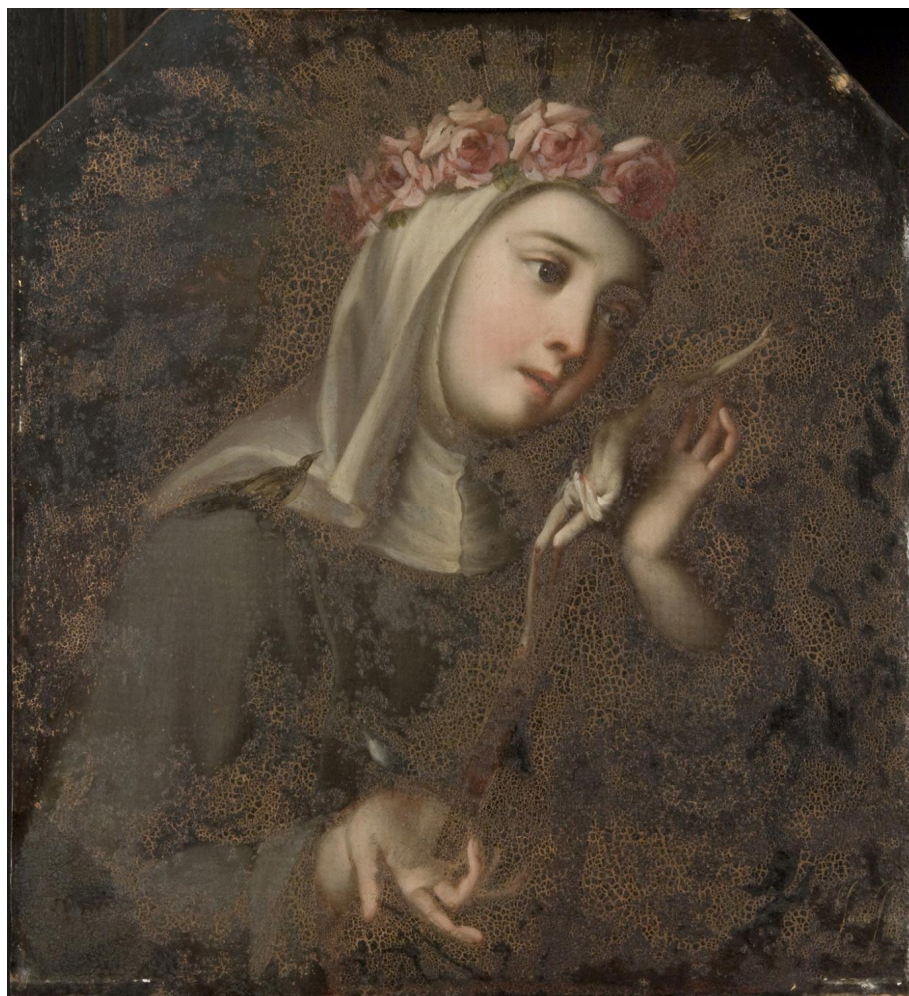


Fig. 10: Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *Santa Rosa de Lima*, ca. 1710, óleo sobre lienzo.

Con la publicación de su libro, Lamborn tenía la intención de educar al pueblo estadounidense sobre una era de la historia de arte mexicano que, según él, había sido ignorada. Aunque su colección particular era el tema central del libro, Lamborn proporcionó un breve índice de pintores mexicanos que él conocía. Lamborn introduce en su libro a dos cuadros coloniales que pertenecían a su colección. El primer cuadro, atribuido a Nicolás Enríquez de Vargas (México, 1722-1787), es un retrato de la famosa monja novohispana del siglo diecisiete tardío, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, fechada en el siglo

dieciocho, a quien Lamborn describe como académica y artista.<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 9) El otro cuadro, por Juan Rodríguez Juárez (México, 1675-1728), es una imagen religiosa de la monja peruana Santa Rosa de Lima, ca. 1710, la primera santa americana.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 10) Las motivaciones de Lamborn por iniciar su libro con estas dos obras coloniales no son evidentes, pero es posible que deseara subrayar los hechos culturales y la importancia del periodo virreinal presentando las dos obras más importantes de su colección. Curiosamente, no citó ninguna publicación mexicana sobre el tema con excepción de una referencia breve a José Bernardo Couto.

En el primer capítulo, Lamborn lamenta que el arte colonial mexicano haya sido descuidado mientras que los estudiosos dirigían sus atenciones exclusivamente al arte europeo; añade que aunque existen numerosos estudios enciclopédicos sobre la pintura europea, no hay estudios equivalentes sobre el arte en México. Lamborn comenta sobre las grandes civilizaciones de Egipto y Roma hasta llegar a las de los italianos y holandeses, y señala los elementos económicos y culturales necesarios para que una civilización florezca; es notorio que en esta sección también se incluye a los Estados Unidos, destacando a su producción de carbon, vapor y electricidad, referencias que indirectamente aluden a la industria ferrocarrilera, como factores que demuestran el alto nivel de civilización y prosperidad estadounidenses.

Es importante resaltar que, al ser un estadounidense que había viajado extensivamente, la perspectiva de Lamborn era más global que aquellas que se perciben en historias de arte mexicano contemporáneas; no solo se centra en México y en el arte colonial, sino que también intenta ponerlos en conversación con la gama más amplia de la historia de arte europeo. Por ejemplo, según Lamborn, el Concilio de Trento estableció el lenguaje iconográfico de los cuadros religiosos que se debieron usar en las iglesias, formas pictóricas que los españoles introdujeron a las Américas, las cuales determinaron las obras de arte resultantes en la Nueva España. Asimismo, afirma que las iglesias en la Nueva España fueron adornadas con obras de arte por los maestros españoles, como Diego Velázquez y Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. Parece citar las observaciones de Lucio cuando comenta que, durante el periodo de la independencia, muchas obras de arte fueron vendidas, y concluye que, consecuentemente, la mayor parte de las obras que se ven en las iglesias mexicanas fueron producidas por artistas indígenas. Lamborn explica que cuando las órdenes religiosas llegaron a las Américas en 1521, ellas pidieron cuadros religiosos en grandes cantidades para usar en sus misas y los bautismos.<sup>32</sup> Añade que el deseo por imágenes religiosas fue tan grande que las órdenes religiosas tuvieron que educar a los artistas

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<sup>30</sup> Philadelphia Museum of Art: Collections Database at: [www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/39031.html](http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/39031.html); La colección del Dr. Robert H. Lamborn, 1903; la base de datos fue consultada el 11 de agosto 2017.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, [www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/39015.html?mulR=17734425403](http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/39015.html?mulR=17734425403); La colección del Dr. Robert H. Lamborn, 1903; la base de datos fue consultada el 11 de agosto 2017.

<sup>32</sup> Lamborn (1891), 32.



indígenas para poder responder a la demanda.<sup>33</sup> Significativamente, y en contraste con los mexicanos, Lamborn caracteriza a esta era del arte mexicano como una rama de la gran escuela de arte español. Como estadounidense, él no estuvo comprometido al nacionalismo mexicano o motivado a reforzar una identidad nacional mexicana; su perspectiva y sus intereses estuvieron vinculados a valores distintos. No es coincidencia que, dadas las inversiones estadounidenses en México y el interés del gobierno mexicano de atraer inversionistas del extranjero, en los años que siguieron la publicación del libro de Lamborn, el turismo a México creció y las inversiones estadounidenses en el ferrocarril mexicano llegaron a los \$644,300,000 para el año de 1911.<sup>34</sup>

El reconsiderar las publicaciones sobre la historia de la pintura en México desde mediados hasta las últimas décadas del siglo diecinueve revela la consolidación paulatina de una identidad nacional y la incorporación del arte mexicano en discusiones más amplias sobre la historia y la cultura mexicanas. En México, la Academia de San Carlos tomó el lugar principal como el locus secular y educativo donde la primera colección de pintura colonial se unió y fue expuesta al público, e igual, donde el primer texto de arte histórico sobre el tema fue concebido y producido. El diálogo de José Bernardo Couto sobre la historia de la pintura en México no solo fue formado por el interés en definir una cultura y estética mexicanas particulares, sino también por una agenda política conservadora que enfatizaba al catolicismo como un marco organizativo histórico y cultural. Un análisis comparativo entre el trabajo de alguien como Robert H. Lamborn con el de Couto subraya la manera en que tendencias políticas nacionalistas llegaron a formar las narraciones que se estaban escribiendo en la Ciudad de México y cómo esa visión fue distinta a las perspectivas extranjeras del mismo momento.

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>34</sup> John Skirius, "Railroad, Oil, and Other Foreign Interests in the Mexican Revolution, 1911-1914", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 35, n° 1 (2003), 25.



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