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Histoires de l'art brésilien du XIX^e siècle : un bilan critique de la bibliographie, 2000-2012

Histórias da arte brasileira do século XIX: uma revisão crítica da bibliografia

Geschichten der brasilianischen Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts : eine kritische

Bilanz der Bibliographie, 2000-2012

Storie dell'arte brasiliana dell'Ottocento: un bilancio critico della bibliografia, 2000-2012

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Histories of nineteenth-century Brazilian art: a critical review of bibliography, 2000-2012

Rafael Cardoso

The history of nineteenth-century Brazilian art has undergone major changes over the first years of the twenty-first century. It would be no exaggeration to say that more has been done in the past twelve years than in the entire preceding century, at least in terms of a scholarly approach to the subject. A statement so sweeping needs to be qualified, of course, and it is the aim of the present text to do just that. This essay will attempt to give an overview of the historiography of nineteenth-century Brazilian art as it stands currently, focusing particularly on the publication of books, but also taking into account the production of catalogues, journals, scholarly articles, and websites. Since it is impossible to make sense of scholarship without understanding the social structures underlying it, some mention will also be given to the institutions involved in promoting art-historical knowledge and their relationship to the particular field of nineteenth-century art.

Until the 1980s, the study of nineteenth-century art was still plagued by Modernist antagonism to the idea of the “academic,” which lumped together the vast majority of the art produced during the 1800s under that label and relegated it to a position as a subject almost unworthy of study. This was true pretty much all over the world, despite the pioneering work undertaken in the 1970s by scholars such as T. J. Clark, Linda Nochlin, and Albert Boime. The reversal of this trend gained momentum internationally in the mid- to late 1980s, contributing to what became known in the Anglo-American world as “the new art history.”¹ The symbolic date for this great shift – which made it possible, and indeed requisite, to think about nineteenth-century art in a new light – is the inauguration of the Musée d’Orsay in 1986, the echoes of which were heard even in Brazil. It is noteworthy, however, that this movement did not impact Brazilian art history directly at that time. Most of the authors associated with this shift of art-historical perspective were not made available in Brazil until many years later. A single example will suffice: even a book as important and popular as Clark’s *The Painting of Modern Life* was only translated into Brazilian Portuguese in 2004, nearly twenty years after its appearance in English.²

Apart from dictionaries and encyclopedias of art, catalogues of private collections, and a few monographs on specific artists – most notably those published by Edições Pinakotheke – there was practically only one book dedicated to the history of nineteenth-century Brazilian art before the 1990s: *História da pintura brasileira no século XIX*, by the artist and critic Quirino Campofiorito, published in 1983.³ Though it was a daring initiative for its time – when nineteenth-century art was still widely perceived in Brazil as being unworthy of

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study – Campofiorito’s evaluation was steeped in Modernist rhetoric and prejudices against the “academic.” It is worlds apart from the new way nineteenth-century art was being treated in Europe and the United States at exactly the same time and only merits listing because of the absolute dearth of literature on the topic. The book is symbolic of a then prevailing culture of art history produced by authors who were not trained as art historians and, all too often, were in fact not even scholars. Well into the 1990s, the history of Brazilian art tended to be written by artists, art critics, and architects, as well as a handful of university professors teaching in departments of art, art education, literature, or communications. Professional art history is, in Brazil, a product of the last twenty years.

Not until the 1990s did the worldwide shift of opinions on the history of nineteenth-century art begin to make a dent on the Brazilian publishing and exhibition scene. A notable early example was the exhibition *O desejo na Academia 1847-1916*, staged at the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo in 1991 and curated by Ivo Mesquita (who is presently director of that institution), which generated a catalogue of the same title.⁴ Coincidentally or not, this was also the period when the first postgraduate programs dedicated to art history came into being at the Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp), in the state of São Paulo, and at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). The latter institution held an academic seminar in 1996 entitled *180 Anos da Escola de Belas Artes*, the published annals of which may well constitute the first significant attempt to re-evaluate the history of nineteenth-century art in Brazil.⁵ This was followed, in the year 2000, by a display focusing on nineteenth-century art within the framework of the so-called *Mostra do Redescobrimento*, a series of exhibitions with which the Bienal de São Paulo commemorated the five-hundredth anniversary of Brazil’s discovery by the Portuguese. Among the various catalogues produced for this major event, a volume on nineteenth-century art was edited by Nelson Aguilar, with a worthy contribution by Italian art historian Luciano Migliaccio, who is the author of one of the only accounts of the subject available in a language other than Portuguese (*Arte do século XIX*, 2000; fig. 1).

This was, essentially, the situation at the time when the present critical review begins, in the year 2000. It is no exaggeration to say that the entire twentieth century had to elapse before Brazilian society was prepared to engage critically with the artistic legacy of its nineteenth century; but it has done so with a vengeance over the past twelve years, producing a body of scholarship on the subject that is happily much too extensive to list in a single bibliography or cover exhaustively in any one review. Having made such a claim, it is perhaps wise to step back and away from any sort of triumphalism. Despite recent gains, the history of nineteenth-century art in Brazil still has a very long way to go. There are more gaps and lacunae in knowledge than substantive scholarly debate. Only a small minority of nineteenth-century artists, for instance, have been the subject of monographs or historical retrospectives of their work. Even major names, such as Rodolpho Amoedo, Rodolpho Bernardelli, Henrique Bernardelli, or João Zeferino da Costa are inexplicably neglected. Those who have been studied are often restricted to a single book or author, with the outmoded tendency of scholars claiming an artist as their own exclusive possession still prevalent. A lacuna that reveals the lingering influence of

1. *Mostra do Redescobrimento: arte do século XIX*, Nelson Aguilar ed., (exh. cat., São Paulo, Parque Ibirapuera, 2000), São Paulo, 2000.

Modernist prejudices is the dearth of new writing on Brazilian architecture in the nineteenth century. It was, after all, chiefly in the field of architecture that Modernism established its dominance in 1930s Brazil; and an important aspect of the rhetorical strategy employed by writers on architecture was to discredit the nineteenth-century predilection for historicism and ornament. Although a few article-length studies have appeared in the online journal *19e20* – e.g., Nivaldo Vieira de Andrade Junior’s “A influência italiana na modernidade baiana: O caráter público, urbano e monumental da arquitetura de Filinto Santoro” (vol. 2, no. 4, 2007) or Bernardo Domingos de Almeida’s “Portal da antiga Academia Imperial de Belas Artes: A entrada do Neoclassicismo no Brasil” (vol. 3, no. 1, 2008) – a substantial revision of views on nineteenth-century architecture is still lacking.

By and large, the historiography of nineteenth-century Brazilian art continues to suffer from three long-standing ills: it is still not scholarly enough, usually falling short of rigorous academic standards in terms of research methodologies, cross-referencing, and citations; it is still not historical enough, very often failing to engage with the major political, economic, social, and cultural problems that occupy historians involved in other aspects of nineteenth-century studies; it is still divided along sectarian and parochial lines, refusing to recognize trans- and interdisciplinary aspects of how fine art relates to other visual expressions such as photography, graphic arts, craft, and popular art – all hugely important in the Brazilian nineteenth-century context – and also skirting discussion with academic peers in other fields and rival institutions. Despite recent efforts to bridge divides, the historiography of nineteenth-century Brazilian art is still fragmented by tensions that reflect personal and institutional groupings, rather than along methodological lines or theoretical positions. The depressing result is that authors all too often fail to cite the work of fellows, either out of ignorance or contempt, leaving the period to fester in its own inability to coalesce as a convincing field of study.

General surveys

For the reader who is approaching nineteenth-century Brazilian art for the first time, at least three good introductions are available, all published between 2006 and 2008. Perhaps the best known is Jorge Coli’s *Como estudar a arte brasileira do século XIX?*, a short book that offers methodological guidelines for thinking about the subject based on the author’s readings of a few key works (COLI, 2005). A similar approach, based on a slightly wider range of examples, is *A arte brasileira em 25 quadros* by Rafael Cardoso (author of the present essay), which seeks to explore a cultural historical understanding of the long, long nineteenth century through analysis of twenty-five key works produced between 1790 and 1930 (CARDOSO, 2008). The third introduction is *Arte brasileira no século XIX* by Sonia Gomes Pereira, which, of the three, makes the most deliberate effort to structure the topic as an integrated narrative, focusing on the pivotal role of the Imperial Academy (PEREIRA, S. G., 2008). It is worth noting that Coli and Gomes Pereira are senior representatives of the two university programmes mentioned above – Unicamp and UFRJ, respectively.

For readers who want to dive into the pulsing stream of contemporary research on the histories of nineteenth-century Brazilian art, three other books, going by the general title of *Oitocentos* and with distinct subtitles for each of the volumes in the series, represent the state of the art of what is being currently produced (VALLE, DAZZI, CAVALCANTI, 2008; VALLE, DAZZI, 2010; VALLE, DAZZI, PORTELLA, 2013). All three are huge anthologies, containing the work of many dozens of contributing authors, and all are edited by the same group of scholars,

revolving around Arthur Valle, of the Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro, UFRRJ), and Camila Dazzi, of the Centro Federal de Educação Tecnológica (Cefet-RJ), both of whom are also responsible for the website *Dezenovevinte* (more on that later). Valle, Dazzi, and their collaborators offer a rich cross-section of the research and scholarship available in Brazil today, with a refreshing lack of institutional bias or distinction by orientation and methodology (fig. 2). If someone is doing research on nineteenth-century Brazilian art, they are likely to be included in at least one of these volumes. Due to their broad and inclusive nature, of course, these anthologies contain very discrepant levels of scholarship – from the brilliant to the not so brilliant. Undoubtedly, they reflect the general level of art-historical research currently available in Brazil.

2. Camila Dazzi, "Dois nus polêmicos: *Le lever de la bonne* de Eduardo Sívori e *Estudo de Mulher* de Rodolpho Amoêdo," in VALLE, DAZZI, 2010, p. 129-130.

Landscape and other genres

The genres of painting have often provided a useful analytical tool for structuring discussions of nineteenth-century art, and it is no surprise that they have affirmed their place in the current Brazilian historiography. Portraiture is the subject of Alberto Cipiniuk's *A face pintada em pano de linho*, a work that unfortunately falls short of the breadth of the topic it aims to cover (CIPINIUK, 2003). A better reference on portraiture is Elaine Dias's article "A representação da Realeza no Brasil: Uma análise dos retratos de D. João VI e D. Pedro I, de Jean-Baptiste Debret," published in the journal *Anais do Museu Paulista* (vol. 14, no. 1, Jan.-June 2006). The nude is the focus of Ana Paula Nascimento's *O nu além das academias*, the catalogue of a small exhibition held at the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo (NASCIMENTO, 2011), which updated the discussion launched twenty years earlier in that same institution by *O desejo na academia*. The nude is also taken up by Camila Dazzi in the article "O nu feminino na Argentina e no Brasil," published on the website *Artciencia.com* (vol. 7, no. 14, Sept. 2011-Feb. 2012). Other genres, like still life and religious painting, have not rated recent book-length studies, although Luiz Alberto Ribeiro Freire's *A talha neoclássica na Bahia* is an important contribution to the wider field of sacred art, focusing on the interior architecture of churches in nineteenth-century Bahia (FREIRE, 2006; fig. 3).

3. "Typology of altarpieces: 2nd type," presented in FREIRE, 2006, p. 213.

4. Rival works presented at the Salon of 1879: **a.** Pedro Américo, *Batalha do Avaí*, 1872-1877, Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes; **b.** Victor Meirelles, *Batalha dos Guararapes*, 1879, Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes.

As the queen of academic genres, history painting is, of course, a topic of vital interest, particularly in Brazil where the most heated artistic debates of the nineteenth century invariably revolved around it. Of particular note is the polemic between Víctor Meirelles and Pedro Américo, the two greatest history painters of nineteenth-century Brazil, around the Salon of 1879, explored by the author of the present essay in a 1999 article (republished in the online magazine *19e20*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2007; fig. 4). Curiously enough, though, history painting has received comparatively little attention in book form, with a

few worthy exceptions (FIGUEIREDO, 2004; COLI, 2005; CARDOSO, 2008; BORGES, CORNELLES, 2009; FLORES, PETERLE, 2012). In addition, Cláudia Valladão de Mattos has written on Pedro Américo's late history painting in the volume *Arte americano e independência: Nuevas iconografías* (GUZMÁN, MARTINEZ, 2010), picking up on earlier work on Américo done by her in the 1990s.⁶ History painting has been more often discussed, of late, in academic journals: for instance, Maraliz Castro Vieira Christo's writings on the subject, including the articles "Bandeirantes ao chão" in *Estudos Históricos* (vol. 2, no. 30, 2002); "A pintura de história no Brasil do século XIX: Panorama introdutório" in *Arbor* (vol. 185, no. 740, 2009); and "Caupolicán, Atahualpa, Aimberê e Cuauhtémoc: Índios vencidos na pintura histórica latino-americana" in *Portuguese Studies Review* (vol. 18, no. 1, 2010).

Among the various genres, landscape has proven to be the most fruitful in terms of the quantity and variety of work produced. Ana Maria de Moraes Belluzzo's lavish three-volume study of *O Brasil dos viajantes*, published in the 1990s, was a work that broke new ground, opening the way for much of what has been done since.⁷ Despite its narrow focus in terms of place and period, Ruth Sprang Tarasantchi's *Pintores paisagistas: São Paulo, 1890 a 1920* became an instant success upon its publication in 2002, precisely because of its ability to weave previously desultory information about a group of understudied regional painters into a coherent argument about the representation of landscape and the affirmation of cultural identity (TARASANTCHI, 2002). On the opposite end of the spectrum, focusing on wider issues of influence and style, Claudia Valladão de Mattos's work on the impact of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Jacob Philipp Hackert, and Alexander von Humboldt on ideas of landscape has been published both in article form in the journal *Terceira Margem* (vol. 8, no. 10, 2004), "A pintura de paisagem entre arte e ciência: Goethe, Hackert, Humboldt," and, more

recently, as a book entitled *Goethe e Hackert sobre a pintura de paisagem: Quadros da natureza na Europa e no Brasil* (MATTOS, 2008). She has also published a series of articles on Johann Joachim Winckelmann which, though not strictly covered by the remit of the present review, are important in situating the classicizing tradition and its relevance for the history of Brazilian art in the nineteenth century.⁸

An author whose work on nineteenth-century landscape has been consistently underestimated is Carlos Martins, who staged a series of major exhibitions on the subject between 1999 and 2013, including the groundbreaking *O Brasil redescoberto*, held at Paço Imperial in Rio de Janeiro in 1999.⁹ Alongside Valéria Piccoli, with whom he often works collaboratively (see the exhibition on Nicolau Antônio Facchinetti and the accompanying catalogue: *Facchinetti*, 2004), Martins has helped reshape critical understanding of Brazil's representations of landscape. The fact that both he and Piccoli are rarely referenced can, perhaps, be attributed to the fact that their work has been presented mostly in the form of exhibitions and catalogues, in which their names are not always cited prominently, rather than as individually authored books. Both are presently active as curators in the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, which houses the important Brasiliana collection that is the subject of a 2006 book edited by Roberto Bertani (BERTANI, 2006; fig. 5).

Another author whose work on nineteenth-century landscape is largely dispersed as essays and articles in various books, catalogues and journals is Vera Beatriz Siqueira, of the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ). In the bibliography accompanying this text, her name appears most prominently as the co-editor of two broad-ranging anthologies of art-historical writings produced at UERJ's Instituto de Artes. However, Siqueira's

5. View of the exhibition *Vistas do Brasil* at the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, 2012-2013, featuring a work from the Brasiliana collection: "Vistas do Brasil" (1829-1830), wallpaper inspired by Johann Moritz Rugendas' *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil* (1827-1835) (see also BERTANI, 2006).

work on landscape figures in several volumes to which she has contributed essays, including *Castro Maya, colecionador de Debret* (*Castro Maya...*, 2003), *Coleção Brasileira/ Fundação Estudar* (BERTANI, 2006), and *Nicolas-Antoine Taunay no Brasil: Uma leitura dos trópicos* (SCHWARCZ, DIAS, 2008). One of the editors of the latter volume, Elaine Dias, is the author of the book *Paisagem e academia*, an in-depth study of the place of landscape painting in the structuring of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, Brazil's leading artistic institution in the nineteenth century (DIAS, 2009). As one of the few works to cross a thematic approach with a biographical one – the focus is on Félix-Émile Taunay, the landscape painter under whose direction the Academy was effectively organized – this book is a key contribution to the larger debate on nineteenth-century art, transcending issues of both biography and genre.

Biographies and monographs

The importance of biography can, certainly, never be ruled out in art history. Despite the methodological preference of contemporary art-historical practice for thematic approaches, both publishers and public retain a predilection for the lives and individual oeuvres of artists. As a result, monographic studies and exhibitions continue to hold a pivotal place. Among the nineteenth-century artists who have attracted the most attention in recent years are Jean-Baptiste Debret (*Castro Maya...*, 2003; BANDEIRA, LAGO, 2007; LIMA, 2007), Nicolas-Antoine Taunay (LAGO, 2008; SCHWARCZ, 2008; SCHWARCZ, DIAS, 2008); Eliseu Visconti (*Eliseu Visconti*, 2007, 2012; SERAPHIM, 2008; OLIVEIRA, 2008; VISCONTI, 2012) and Pedro Weingärtner (*Pedro Weingärtner*, 2008, 2009). Numerous other artists have been the subject of at least one monographic study, including Arnaud-Julien Pallière, Pedro Américo, Victor Meirelles, Almeida Júnior, Nicolà A. Facchinetti and Carlos Oswald. In some of these instances, the source of interest can be traced to one or two scholars who have studied an artist over many years and managed to raise awareness of his (or, rarely, her) oeuvre through exhibitions and books. This is assuredly the case with Júlio Bandeira's work on Debret or Mirian N. Seraphim's on Visconti. In other instances, a more worrying aspect of the monographic insinuates itself in terms of an unclear relationship with the art market. The present vogue for *catalogues raisonnés* in Brazil would appear to owe less to purely scholarly interests than to the ambition of collectors to satisfy the demands of an increasingly voracious appetite for nineteenth-century Brazilian art. In such a context, inclusion in or exclusion from a compendium of an artist's complete works is a burning issue. One problematic aspect of art-historical studies that demands serious attention in Brazil is the attribution of works by dealers, collectors, heirs, and even curators, at least some of which continues to proceed with a dismaying lack of regard for scholarship.

Thematic approaches

Scholarly excellence is more readily found in books that devote attention to a wider theme, cutting across issues of genre or biography. A good example is *O Rio de Janeiro dos viajantes: O olhar britânico (1800-1850)* by Luciana de Lima Martins, a historical geographical account of how Brazil was viewed in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century, revolving around iconography (MARTINS, L., 2001). Carlos A.M. Lima's *Artífices do Rio de Janeiro (1790-1808)* is exemplary of sound scholarship and a concern for relating art to wider social

and cultural issues (LIMA, C., 2008). Based on research in largely unexplored primary sources, the book investigates the role of artisan corporations in late colonial Brazil, providing invaluable insights into the ways in which art circulated prior to the onset of the academic system in the 1820s. For readers with a particular interest in this subject, a special volume of *Portuguese Studies Review* (vol. 18, no. 1, 2010) dedicated to “Iconography and History: Craftsmen, Tradesmen, Artists and Brazil (18th and 19th centuries)” is a useful reference.

A focus on the social constraints surrounding the production of nineteenth-century art can also be found in Ana Paula Cavalcanti Simioni’s *Profissão artista*, one of the very few books to engage with the difficulties faced by women artists in the patriarchal culture of Brazil (SIMIONI, 2008; fig. 6). Likewise devoted to a theme close to issues of femininity and gender roles, Marize Malta’s *O olhar decorativo* is an impressive and lively exploration into a subject that brings together decorative arts, illustrated magazines, art education, and the history of taste and of the gaze, cutting across traditional boundaries that tend to split up complex topics into simplified categories of media and/or authorship (MALTA, 2011). In the spirit of recognizing excellence in scholarship, it is impossible not to single out the work of Letícia Squeff, who has made a lasting contribution to the history of Brazilian art in the nineteenth century with two books. The first, *O Brasil nas letras de um pintor*, is a study of Manuel de Araújo Porto-Alegre, the artist and thinker who comes closest to qualifying as the “father” or “inventor” of Brazilian culture (SQUEFF, 2004). The second is *Uma galeria para o Império*, a work dealing with the riveting debates surrounding the formation of a “Brazilian school” of painting in 1879 (SQUEFF, 2012). By tackling these two strategic subjects – not unrelated, it should be said – Squeff has struck at the heart of how art contributed to the issue of national identity in nineteenth-century Brazil, managing all the while to avoid the tired dogmas that have surrounded this topic in the past.

Internet resources

No account of excellence of scholarship in the field would be complete without renewed reference to the writings of Arthur Valle and Camila Dazzi, cited above as co-editors of the three volumes of *Oitocentos*. Though they are little published, as yet, in book form, both Valle and Dazzi have produced a substantial body of work over the past five years, much of which is available on the website *Dezenovevinte*. Among the many outstanding pieces of research and reflection authored by the pair and published online are three recent articles by Dazzi, “Reverendo Henrique Bernardelli” (vol. 2, no. 1, 2007), “Pedro Weingärtner e a pintura neo-pompeiana” (vol. 4, no. 2, 2009) and “A produção dos professores e alunos

6. Abigail de Andrade, *Um Canto do meu Ateliê*, 1884, Rio de Janeiro, private collection (see SIMIONI, 2008, p. 209).

da Escola Nacional de Belas Artes na Exposição de Chicago de 1893” (vol. 6, no. 4, 2011), as well as “Ver e ser visto nas Exposições Gerais de Belas Artes do Rio de Janeiro” (vol. 8, no. 1, 2013) by Valle, whose own research is more focused on the early twentieth century. The problem of authors whose work is under-recognized because it has not yet appeared in book form is not restricted to Brazil, but it is recurrent in the historiography of nineteenth-century Brazilian art. Besides the scholars already cited, mention should be made of Ana Paula Cavalcanti Simioni, whose excellent study of Brazilian artists in Paris, “A viagem a Paris de artistas brasileiros no final do século XIX,” was published in the journal *Tempo Social* (vol. 17, no. 1, 2005). Ana Maria Tavares Cavalcanti, Claudia Valladão de Mattos, Elaine Dias, and Letícia Squeff are likewise authors whose work has been published much more extensively in journals and essays than as books. Updated bibliographies for these and other researchers are easily obtained online through the Lattes platform of the Brazilian National Research Council (CNPq; see <http://lattes.cnpq.br>).

The website *Dezenovevinte.net*, created and maintained by Valle and Dazzi, is definitely worthy of separate mention. Conceived and developed as a labour of love – that is to say, without institutional support – the site came into being around 2006, originally as a means of making out-of-print articles by veteran scholars available and providing a forum for publication of new work by young researchers. Since then, it has grown into what is probably the most important online database for information and studies on Brazilian art of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Apart from the many dozens of articles included in its quarterly electronic journal *19e20*, now in its eighth volume, the site also contains a wealth of primary resources such as exhibition catalogues, articles in the contemporary press, correspondence, texts by artists and other archival documents, as well as links to hundreds of images, all made freely available through the tireless efforts of its creators. If there is one project in Brazil relating to the history of nineteenth-century art that cries out for institutional support, this is it. That so much hard and fruitful work might not be kept up, through lack of funds, would be a setback to the entire field. *Dezenovevinte* is not the only online resource, of course. Itaú Cultural’s *Enciclopédia de Artes Visuais* is, as the name suggests, an encyclopedic reference tool for Brazilian art. Due to its very vastness, though, covering all time periods, it is necessarily limited in terms of the depth of scholarship it provides. Sadly, considering the vast wealth of the institution behind it, Itaú Cultural’s encyclopedia is all too often outdated or unreliable in the factual information it provides on nineteenth-century art. Whereas *Dezenovevinte* has done so much with so little, Itaú Cultural proves that excellence in scholarship is not simply a matter of spending money.

Institutions: museums, universities, publishers

Institutions play a vital role in keeping the histories of nineteenth-century art alive in Brazil, and three key categories should be cited for their important part in the production of art-historical knowledge: museums and libraries, universities, and publishers. Museums have long been the guardians, in Brazil, of nineteenth-century art; and it is impossible to conceive of the field without the precious collections of the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Biblioteca Nacional, Museu Histórico Nacional, Museu Imperial, Museus Castro Maya, Arquivo Nacional, Casa de Rui Barbosa and Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, all located in Rio de Janeiro, which house between them the vast majority of paintings, sculpture, prints and drawings, photographs, books, and magazines of interest to nineteenth-century scholars.

7. View of one of the nineteenth-century rooms at the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, featuring (from left to right): Pedro Weingärtner, *La faiseuse d'anges*, 1908 ; Eliseu Visconti, *Maternidade*, 1906 ; Almeida Júnior, *Saudade*, 1899.

Despite the preponderance of Rio-based archives and collections for the field, though, it is in São Paulo that the most important work has been done over the past decade in reshaping the histories of nineteenth-century Brazilian art. A single institution – the Pinacoteca do Estado – has achieved the greatest impact, particularly through a series of exhibitions on three leading artists of the late nineteenth century: Almeida Júnior, Pedro Weingärtner and Eliseu Visconti. The work done at Pinacoteca, both in terms of temporary exhibitions and in organizing the *Brasiliana* collection of the Fundação Estudar, has consistently contributed to advancing research and publications in the field. A re-hang of the museum's permanent exhibition was inaugurated in 2011 under the leadership of former director Marcelo de Mattos Araújo and conceived by a team led by Ivo Mesquita and Valéria Piccoli, and is summarized in the guide *Arte no Brasil* (*Arte no Brasil*, 2011; fig. 7). It has set a new standard for exhibiting nineteenth-century art in Brazil, leaving the federal institutions in Rio de Janeiro with a lot of catching up to do.

Universities are another category of institution worth discussing in terms of the production of art-historical knowledge, and they are responsible for taking art history into a newly professionalized stage in Brazil. Six universities currently offer undergraduate and/or postgraduate degrees specifically focused on art history, as opposed to the more traditional structure of courses in the visual arts with an art history component. They are the three universities previously mentioned, Unicamp, UFRJ and UERJ, and the relative newcomers, Universidade Federal de São Paulo (Unifesp), Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), and Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA). This is not the place to discuss the quality of educational provision at these institutions, but rather an occasion to comment on their effectiveness in terms of promoting the publication of art-historical research. All have been active, to some degree, in producing journals, annals, and other publications. The proliferation of academic journals, many of which are listed in the accompanying bibliography, is largely a phenomenon of the universities. Another important outlet for art-historical writings is the volume of annals resulting from the annual colloquium of the Comitê Brasileiro de História da Arte, affiliated with the Comité international d'histoire de l'art (CIHA), which has come to function in recent years as a sort of informal pool of the main university-based postgraduate courses. Among the universities, Unicamp is at a slight advantage in the publication of books due to the excellence of its university press, as well as good relations with the Editora da Universidade de São Paulo (Edusp), the most important university press in Brazil, also located in the state of São Paulo. The research council of the state of Rio de Janeiro, the Fundação de Amparo

à Pesquisa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (Faperj), recently instituted a programme for supporting academic publications (modeled on the similar system long in place in São Paulo), with notable successes in the field of art history over the past three years. It is to be hoped that Faperj will maintain this valuable initiative.

Besides the main university presses that publish art history (Editora Unicamp, Edusp, EdUERJ, Editora UFMG, Editora UFRJ), a number of commercial publishers have also taken an interest in the field of nineteenth-century art over the past decade. Among these, the most interesting are small publishing houses like Mercado de Letras, in Campinas; Ateliê Editorial, in São Paulo; Mauad X and Garamond, in Rio de Janeiro; and C/Arte, in Belo Horizonte. These publishers have brought out books of a high intellectual standard in the field, with varying levels of editorial quality. Unfortunately, the major commercial publishers have still not shown much willingness to invest in nineteenth-century Brazilian art. Cosac Naify, which is the trendsetting publisher for art, design, and architecture in Brazil, still displays an almost Modernist contempt for the period. Among its hundreds of published titles, virtually none focus on the nineteenth century. Companhia das Letras, the market leader for literature and one of the major contenders in the humanities and social sciences in general, created a collection on the social history of art which, over the past decade, has helped bring names as important as Michael Baxandall, T. J. Clark and Svetlana Alpers closer to Brazilian audiences. However, the art history produced in Brazil appears to be of little interest to them. A close inspection of the bibliography accompanying this text will bear out that the dearth of publishers committed to the subject is still a bottleneck for histories of nineteenth-century Brazilian art.

The apparent lack of interest on the part of big publishers is understandable. Brazilian art of the nineteenth century is not exactly a subject with huge commercial appeal. In a country where most people still aspire to being “modern,” nineteenth-century culture and tastes are often perceived as outdated or even embarrassing. The same segments of Brazilian society that will flock to see an exhibition of French impressionism may very well take little or no interest in its Brazilian counterpart. Generally speaking, the art produced in Brazil before the 1920s has never recovered from the brutal campaign of anti-“academic” propaganda with which the Modernist movement buried it. It is still widely perceived, even among people who should know better, as being “deficient” in terms of artistic quality and “derivative” in terms of its relationship with European models. This is not the place to challenge the obvious fallaciousness and bias of the assumptions that underlie such thinking. The fact is they are still with us, although the large attendance and good critical reception of recent exhibitions of Almeida Júnior, Weingärtner or Visconti would suggest this is changing slowly. What is worth exploring here is how art historians themselves have contributed to perpetuating this stereotype of the irrelevance of nineteenth-century art.

Graphic arts, photography and craft

As suggested at the start of the present text, the Brazilian art-historical establishment (if it may be so termed) is guilty of a few cardinal sins, which have contributed to its insularity and kept it apart from wider debates in academia and society. First and foremost, a considerable contingent of Brazilian art history continues to structure itself around an elitist understanding of art firmly entrenched in a *beaux-arts* tradition that would have been conservative by the standards of 1913, much less 2013. For many art historians in Brazil

– if not most of them – design, graphic arts, and photography are certainly not worthy of being considered in the same light as the so-called fine arts. Most art historians still enforce an artificial separation between painting, sculpture, and architecture on the one hand and everything else on the other. Though such a split would be problematic anywhere, it is particularly preposterous in Brazil, a country where many fine artists were also active as graphic artists (e.g., Manuel Araújo Porto-Alegre, Pedro Américo, Belmiro de Almeida) and where even the Academy was open to exhibiting photographs alongside paintings, due to the sheer precariousness of an art world that was too small in the nineteenth century to allow for segmentation. This elitist disregard for other forms of artistic expression is art history's loss, since much of the most exciting work done in recent years has taken place in precisely these fields. The author of the present essay can easily be written off as a biased observer, considering the extensive amount of work undertaken by him in the history of graphic arts and printing in nineteenth-century Brazil (CARDOSO, 2005, 2009; HEYNEMANN, RAINHO, CARDOSO, 2009), but, biased though he may be, he is certainly not alone.

The present reevaluation of the importance of printing and periodicals as evidence for making sense of Brazilian cultural history in the nineteenth century began early in the decade with Ana Luiza Martins's *Revistas em revista*, a lavish and groundbreaking study of illustrated magazines in São Paulo just prior to the outbreak of full-blown Modernism (MARTINS, A. L., 2001), as well as Marlyse Meyer's *Do almanak aos almanaques*, focusing on that all-important source of information on Brazilian society in the nineteenth century, the humble almanac (MEYER, 2001). The renewal of the study of prints and print culture matured into *A imagem gravada* by Renata Santos (SANTOS, R., 2008), the most substantial and well-researched work on the subject since the now classic sources of the 1970s.¹⁰ Santos's volume stands out as an authoritative account of the early decades of Brazilian printing and begs the question of how soon someone will continue to pursue this essential topic through the second half of the nineteenth century. Of special relevance to anyone with an interest in caricature and the periodical press are the works of Isabel Lustosa, particularly the voluminous *Imprensa, humor e caricatura*, which provides multiple viewpoints on this practice as it relates to the issue of cultural types and stereotypes (LUSTOSA, 2011). Marcelo Balaban's *Poeta do lápis* is a long overdue account of the career of Angelo Agostini, perhaps the most influential graphic artist of the nineteenth century and certainly one of the outstanding figures bridging the gap between fine art and the periodical press during the period (BALABAN, 2009), and stands alongside the recent work of Gilberto Maringoni (MARINGONI, 2011). Finally, two essential anthologies have come out recently covering the history of illustrated magazines during the nineteenth century: *O moderno em revistas* (OLIVEIRA, C., VELLOSO, LINS, 2010) and *Revistas ilustradas* (KNAUSS *et al.*, 2011).

This vibrant development of the history of graphic arts and design is paralleled by an impressive output in the history of photography, a field in which nineteenth-century Brazil kept pace with and even, occasionally, rivaled Europe. Joaquim Marçal Ferreira de Andrade's *História da fotoreportagem no Brasil* is, contrary to its rather misleading title, more about the relationship between photography, printing and image-making in the nineteenth century than about photo-journalism (ANDRADE, 2004). This book is a weighty contribution to the art-historical study of visual culture, based on years of meticulous research by its author, one of the leading historians of photography in Brazil. Andrade was also the driving force behind the exhibition *De volta à luz: Fotografias nunca antes vistas do Imperador*, which focused attention on the extraordinary development of photography in Brazil during the early years

of this art and helped reveal to the world the importance of the collections amassed by the emperor Dom Pedro II and currently housed in Brazil's Biblioteca Nacional (*De volta à luz*, 2003). Pedro Karp Vasquez's *A fotografia no Império* makes accessible, in small format, some of the research done by the author, over many years, into Brazilian photography in the nineteenth century (VASQUEZ, 2002a). Vasquez is the author of *Fotógrafos alemães no Brasil do século XIX*; *Revert Henrique Klumb: Um alemão na corte imperial brasileira*; *Postaes do Brasil, 1893-1930*; as well as a number of previous studies published in the 1980s and 1990s (VASQUEZ, 2000, 2001, 2002b).¹¹ A major contribution to the history of Brazilian photography is Boris Kossoy's *Dicionário histórico-fotográfico brasileiro: Fotógrafos e ofícios da fotografia no Brasil 1833-1910*, consolidating nearly four decades of pioneering research (KOSSOY, 2002).¹²

If histories of graphic arts and photography tend to be marginalized by Brazilian art historians, then the situation is even worse for craft, popular art, and non-Western art forms (i.e., the majority of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous art), which are almost never cited in art-historical bibliographies. The short-sightedness of such a narrow understanding of art history is, indeed, shocking. It is absolutely inadmissible that the artistic production of the vast majority of the population should be written off as unworthy of art-historical investigation and willingly abandoned to other fields like anthropology and archaeology. So long as Brazilian art history refuses to come to terms with non-elite histories of art, relegating them to worn-out labels like "folklore," it will continue to operate within the culture as an insular and slightly irrelevant field. Though not specifically focused on the nineteenth century, Lélia Coelho Frota's *Pequeno dicionário da arte do povo brasileiro* (FROTA, 2005) and Roberto Conduru's *Arte afro-brasileira* (CONDURU, 2007) are positive steps towards redressing the grave imbalance of an art history that still sees art as the exclusive product of elite culture and European origins. Their methodological guidance will be needed in pursuing a serious reappraisal of what constitutes Brazilian art. As for crafts and decorative arts, it is safe to say that no substantial advance has been made in the art-historical appreciation of these fields in the nineteenth century. As concerns them, we are still stuck in the 1980s, when the last serious attempts were made to tackle the history of furniture, for example.¹³ The lone exception, and only tangentially in this respect, would be the volume by Marize Malta, already cited (MALTA, 2011).

Inter- and trans-disciplinarity

A second grave error that keeps the history of nineteenth-century Brazilian art from becoming more universally relevant is the reticence of many art historians to engage with their peers from neighboring fields in the humanities and social sciences. Art historians are all too often unaware of the political and economic contexts of the period they study, or even histories of literature, music, theater, leisure, science, and technology, much less the sociological and anthropological dimensions of the production, circulation, and reception of art. Andrea Marzano's and Victor Andrade Melo's *Vida divertida* is a recent exception that bolsters the rule (MARZANO, MELO, 2010). This lack of interest in the larger context is all the more reason that a book like Antonio Cândido's *Um funcionário da monarquia* should be taken as a precious gift to the field of Brazilian art history (CÂNDIDO, 2002). One of the most eminent scholars in Brazil, a leading light in the history of Brazilian literature for nearly half a century, Cândido structured this splendid study around the figure of Antonio Nicolau Tolentino, the longest-serving director of the Imperial Academy. Disguised as a micro-historical study of a "second-tier civil servant," the book is an object lesson in how to write the history of

art without necessarily focusing on objects produced by artists. This masterful study cuts across the artificial frontiers that separate artistic from literary from administrative history, and biography from sociology from political science, to construct a truly unique analysis of Brazilian life in the nineteenth century. A classic, carved out of the discarded footnotes of a lifetime of scholarship.

Antonio Cândido is not the only non-art historian to take an interest in topics vital to art history. Annateresa Fabris and Maria Lúcia Bastos Kern (FABRIS, KERN, 2006), Maria Lúcia Bueno (BUENO, M. L., 2012), and Lorenzo Mammi (MAMMI, 2012), among others, prove the importance of interdisciplinary exchange as a means of enriching art-historical research and lending it relevance beyond the confines of the art world. Another fundamental book for understanding Brazilian art of the nineteenth century written by a non-art historian is *A invenção do Brasil*, a collection of essays by the late historian Afonso Carlos Marques dos Santos, one of the most important scholars to think about the role of art and culture in Brazilian history (SANTOS, A. C. M., 2007). Art history is, after all, a branch of history; and one of the more interesting phenomena of the past years is the discovery of the history of art history in Brazil, which has resulted in new editions of important works from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Especially noteworthy, in this respect, is the work of Júlio Castañón Guimarães and Vera Lins, who have edited two volumes of criticisms by the great founding critic Gonzaga Duque (DUQUE, [1882-1909] 2001, [1888-1910] 2011), as well that of Tadeu Chiarelli, who – after bringing to light Gonzaga Duque’s classic, *A arte brasileira*, in the 1990s¹⁴ – has now recovered Felix Ferreira’s *Belas artes: Estudos e apreciações*, the rare 1885 volume that virtually inaugurated art history in Brazil (FERREIRA, [1885] 2012). These laudable efforts by cultural historians, art critics, literary critics, and curators prove that Brazilian art historians should think very hard about their own limitations before invoking any sort of privilege or corporative claim to the field. Professionalization of scholarship and research must certainly not be used as an excuse to suppress debate or thwart the vital contribution of scholars from other disciplines.

There is hope that Brazilian art history will continue to move away from its traditional insularity and embrace the wider academic community. One very promising trait of recent years is the intensification of regional studies, breaking the centralized mold of the past. São Paulo can no longer be considered a region, in this sense, since the evolution of the field over the past few decades has thrust it into a position of centrality equal, if not superior, to that of Rio de Janeiro. The real challenge of doing art history off the “Rio-São Paulo axis,” as it is known in Brazil, is effectively being met by studies produced or edited by Aldrin Moura de Figueiredo, Moema Bacelar Alves (FIGUEIREDO, 2004, 2009; FIGUEIREDO, ALVES, 2009); Luiz Alberto Ribeiro Freire, Norma Correia, Roseli Amado, and Célia Gomes (RANDAM, 2003; FREIRE, 2006; GOMES, 2007); and Otoni Moreira de Mesquita (MESQUITA, 2009). Aldrin Moura de Figueiredo, in Belém; Luiz Alberto Ribeiro Freire, in Salvador; and Paulo Gomes and Alfredo Nicolaiewsky, in Porto Alegre, have exercised an important role in bringing regional perspectives into view. It is to be hoped that such studies will affirm themselves more fully in these locations and also in so many others in Brazil that share a rich nineteenth-century heritage. For the history of this period of Brazilian art to become relevant to an international audience, it is advisable that it should first become relevant to Brazilian society as a whole, and not just to the small minority that has always embraced it with an eerie sense of personal entitlement to this shunned portion of the nation’s past.

As for the international audience, and particularly those who do not read Portuguese, Brazilian art of the nineteenth century remains a hostile and unfamiliar landscape. A very few texts are available to help the outside observer begin his/her explorations. Luciano Migliaccio's *Arte brasileira del secolo XIX* by is a good option for Italian readers (MIGLIACCIO, 2007), as is *Arte americano e independencia*, by Fernando Guzmán and Juan Manuel Martinez, in Spanish (GUZMÁN, MARTINEZ, 2010) or the catalogue *Brasilien: von Österreich zur Neuen Welt*, for readers of German (*Brasilien*, 2007). Among the few sources in English are two texts by the author of the present essay: an introduction to the history of the Imperial Academy in the volume *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century* (CARDOSO, TRODD, 2000); and the article "The Brazilianness of Brazilian Art: Discourses on Art and National Identity, c. 1850-1930," published in the journal *Third Text* (vol. 26, no. 1), in 2012. An excellent project for the near future would be some sort of standard introductory textbook on the subject in English (and/or French or German), which would help open the field to the contributions of scholars from abroad and stimulate new research along transcultural lines.

Notes

1. For more on the nature of this shift, see Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction*, London/New York, 2001.
2. T. J. Clark, *A pintura da vida moderna: Paris na arte de Manet e seus seguidores*, São Paulo, 2004 [orig. ed.: *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, Princeton, 1984].
3. Quirino Campofiorito, *História da pintura brasileira no século XIX*, Rio de Janeiro, 1983.
4. *O desejo na Academia 1847-1916*, (exh. cat., São Paulo, Pinacoteca do Estado, 1991-1992), São Paulo, 1991.
5. *180 Anos de Escola de Belas Artes*, (conference, Rio de Janeiro, 1996), Rio de Janeiro, 1997.
6. Claudia Valladão de Mattos, Cecilia H. Salles Oliveira eds., *O Brado do Ipiranga*, São Paulo, 1999.
7. Ana Maria de Moraes Belluzzo, *O Brasil dos viajantes*, São Paulo, 1994.
8. Claudia Valladão de Mattos, "Os Gregos de Winckelmann e os Falsos de Mengs e Casanova," in *Designio: Revista de História da Arquitetura e Urbanismo*, vol. 3, 2005; Claudia Valladão de Mattos, "A História da Arte de Winckelmann e a emulação dos antigos na obra de Antonio Canova," in Luiz Marques ed., *A constituição da tradição clássica*, São Paulo, 2004;

Claudia Valladão de Mattos, "Recuperando a Antiguidade: Winckelmann e o restauro de estátuas antigas no século XVIII," in *Revista Turba*, no. 5, 2003.

9. Carlos Martins ed., *O Brasil redescoberto*, Rio de Janeiro, 1999.

10. Orlando da Costa Ferreira, *Imagem e letra: Introdução à bibliologia brasileira*, São Paulo, (1976) 1994; Marcello and Cybelle de Ipanema, *A Tipografia na Bahia: Documentos sobre suas origens e o empresário Silva Serva*, Rio de Janeiro, 1977; Cláudia Marino Semeraro, Christiane Ayrosa, Alice A. de Barros Fontes eds., *História da tipografia no Brasil*, São Paulo, 1979.

11. Pedro Karp Vasquez, *D. Pedro II e a fotografia no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1985; Pedro Karp Vasquez, *Álbum da estrada União e Indústria*, Rio de Janeiro, 1998; and others.

12. Boris Kossoy, *Hercule Florence: A descoberta isolada da fotografia no Brasil*, São Paulo, 1977; Boris Kossoy, *Origens e expansão da fotografia no Brasil, século XIX*, Rio de Janeiro, 1980; Boris Kossoy, *O olhar europeu: O negro na iconografia brasileira*, São Paulo, 1994; and others.

13. Tilde Canti, *O móvel no Brasil: Origens, evolução e características*, São Paulo, 1985; Tilde Canti, *O móvel do século XIX no Brasil*, São Paulo, 1989.

14. Gonzaga Duque, *A arte brasileira*, Tadeu Chiarelli ed., (Rio de Janeiro, 1888) Campinas, 1995.

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